

**The Employment Requirements of Disabled Persons:
A Study of the Development of State Supported Employment
Provision**

by

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Author's Declaration

At no time during the registration for this degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award. The author wholly funded the entire study. The registration and completion of the work for this degree was on a part-time basis, during which the author was employed as a part-time lecturer in the Department of Social Policy and Social Work at the University of Plymouth.

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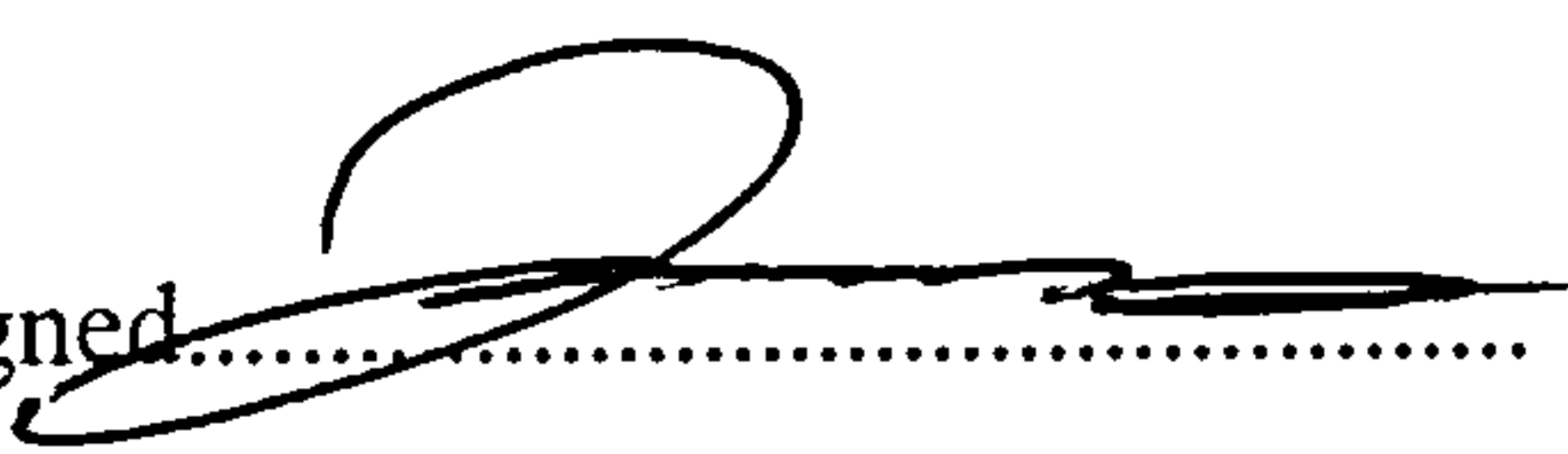
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Contents

<i>Copyright</i>	ii
<i>Authors Declaration</i>	iii
<i>Contents</i>	vi
Abbreviations and Acronyms	xi
Acknowledgements	xiv
<i>Abstract</i>	xv
1 Disabled People: Employment and the State	
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Aims and perspectives of the research	10
1.3 Competing perspectives on impairment and disability	12
1.4 The needs assessment process that is intended to identify disabled people's labour market requirements	16
1.5 The employment support strategy that is intended to provide work capability enhancement	18
1.6 The rehabilitation and training programmes that are intended to promote work-integrated environments and conditions	27
1.7 Thesis summary	30
1.8 Thesis conclusion	34
2 The Legacy of History	
2.1 Introduction	36
2.2 Disability: backgrounds, horizons and legacies	41
2.3 Disabled people's historic marginalisation from labour markets	46

2. 4	State disability and impairment interpretative reasoning	47
2. 5	The transformation of state employment policy in the 1990s	49
2. 6	Opposition to disabilism within state welfare policy	51
2. 7	Theoretical frameworks of disability policies	55
2. 8	Summary	57
2. 9	Conclusion	59
3	Policy Responses to Disability: Ideologies of Employment	
3. 1	Introduction	62
3. 2	From poor law to modernity	64
3. 3	Welfare or work - a central paradox	64
3. 4	State services and policy transformation	67
3. 5	The dominant post-war state policy: protected disability employment	68
3. 6	From Tomlinson to globalisation: the shifting hegemony of exclusion	69
3. 7	Supported work environments: the effects of policy transformation	76
3. 8	The ES policy response to contemporary disability and employment discourse	78
3. 9	Summary	87
3. 10	Conclusion	88
4	Disability Service Provision: Service Delivery and Policy Response	
4. 1	Introduction	91
4. 2	The local state and local provision	94
4. 3	Effects of national policies on local services	100
4. 4	Service provision and statutory policy	106
4. 5	Local services and the needs of disabled users	108

4. 6	Survey Methodology and Ethical Protocol	114
4. 7	Study rationale and operationalisation	119
4. 8	The challenge of research using emancipatory paradigms of reasoning	124
4. 9	Operationalisation of the study	130
4. 10	The ethics of disability research: oppression or empowerment	135
4. 11	The sample population and selection criteria	138
4. 12	The collection and collation of research information	139
4. 13	Summary	143
4. 14	Conclusion	145
5	Findings and Analysis	
5. 1	Introduction	148
5. 2	The experience of using ES-ESDS	149
5. 3	Rehabilitation and/or training: results and analysis	152
5. 4	Study participants perceptions of ESDS rehabilitation	154
5. 5	Participants' views regarding the support provided by the ESDS	166
5. 6	Participants' perceptions of the shortcomings of the ES-ESDS	170
5. 7	Placement experiences of study participants	170
5. 8	Role of the DEA/ESDS in meeting post-training/ rehabilitation need	171
5. 9	Participants' labour market experiences of social/attitudinal barriers	176
5. 10	Perceptions of the quality of service relating to supportive resources	180

5. 11	Rehabilitation: the experience of study participants	183
5. 12	Conceptual outcomes and policy implications	184
5. 13	ES-ESDS statutory policy: progress, cosmetic change or social stasis	185
5. 14	Shifting towards the NDDP framework of disability work policy	187
5. 15	Gender, Ethnicity, ageism and work-related socio-cultural barriers	189
5. 16	Disabled workers and contemporary labour market policy	194
5. 17	ES policy rationale in the 1990s	196
5. 18	Summary	199
5. 19	Conclusion	203
6	Conclusion	
6. 1	Introduction	207
6. 2	The rationale of disability critique into the social context production(and reproduction) within late capitalism	212
6. 3	The employment related needs of disabled people	217
6. 4	The changing ideological context of social disabilism	219
6. 5	Real opportunities in labour markets	223
6. 6	Short-term observation of the outcome of affects upon disabled persons of work discipline oriented state benefit reform	224
6. 7	Development of non-segregated state disability policy	226
6. 8	Policy development - implications for service users	229

Appendix

Appendix 1	Interviews with service providers	235
Appendix 2	Tables A1, A2 and A3	251
Appendix 3	Changes to the LFS method of disability assessment	254
Appendix 4	Policy recommendations presented by study participants	255
Appendix 5	A broad disability policy chronology	256
Appendix 6	Questionnaire 1	275
Appendix 7	Questionnaire 2	293
	<i>Bibliography</i>	310

Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACDET	Advisory Committee for Disabled People in Employment Training
ACAS	Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service
ADC	Ability Development Centres
ATW	Access to Work Scheme
B A	Benefits Agency
BCOP	British Organisation of Disabled People
BIP	Benefits Integrity Project
CBI	Confederation of British Industries
CSDPA	Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act 1970
CORAD	Committee on Restrictions Against Disabled People
CSJ	Commission on Social Justice 1994
DDA	Disability Discrimination Act 1995
DHSS	Department of Health and Social Security
DIAC	Disability Information and Advice Centre
DLA	Disability Living Allowance
DWA	Disability Working Allowance
DSS	Department of Social Security
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DPI	Disabled People's International
DCRB	Disabled Persons Civil Rights Bill 1995
DIAC	Disability Information and Advice Centre
DSD	Disability Services Division
DRO	Disability Resettlement Officer

DEA	Disability Employment Advisors
DP (E) A	Disabled Persons (Employment) Act 1944
DP (E) A	Disabled Persons (Employment) Act 1986
ED	Employment Department
EFD	Employers Forum on Disability
ERC	Employment Rehabilitation Centre
ESSW	Employment Service South West
ESDS	Employment Department Disability Section
ET	Employment Training
ES	Employment Service
HCSSC	House of Commons Social Services Select Committee
HSE	Health and Safety Executive
ISG	Industrial Services Group
JSA	Job Seekers Allowance
ICIDH	International Classification of Disability and Handicap
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ISG	Industrial Services Group
LEC	Local Enterprise Company (Scotland)
LFS	Labour Force Survey
LMST	Labour Market Skills Trends
MSC	Manpower Services Commission
MSC/HCSCE	House of Commons Standing Committee on Employment
NACEPD	National Advisory Council on Employment of People with Disabilities.
NDDP	New Deal for Disabled Persons.
NAO	National Audit Office
NDC	National Disability Commission

OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ONS	Office for National Statistics
OPCS	Office of Population Censuses and Surveys
PACT	Placing Advice and Counselling Team
RADAR	Royal Association of Disability and Rehabilitation
T.T.W.A	Travel To Work Area (Employment Service)
TfW	Training for Work
FfW	Fit for Work.
TT	Two Ticks (Disability) Symbol
PAS	Personal Advisor Service
TEC	Training and Enterprise Council
TUC	Trade Union Congress
UPIAS	Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation
UNIYDP	United Nations International Year of Disabled Persons (1981)
WHO	World Health Organisation
WCTS	West Country Training Services
WPIDP	Working Party on Integration of Disabled Persons

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Abstract

This thesis deals with the historical background concerning the development of disability-related employment measures and the employment exclusion experienced by disabled persons. In particular, the enquiry focuses upon the early post-war period up until the introduction in 1997 of the New Deal for Disabled Persons.

The thesis postulates that:

1. major policy shifts within the Employment Service Disability Services (ESDS) in the early 1990s did not sufficiently reflect the employment integration needs of disabled persons;
2. in spite of a major social values shift, to welfare-to-work measures for disabled persons these measures proved to be problematic;
3. problems existed because of the following three inter-related negative social factors;
 3. 1 lack of adequate needs assessment and response to disabled persons labour-market requirements;
 3. 2 lack of support for work capability enhancement; and
 3. 3 lack of suitable work-integrated environments, accessible jobs and adequate socially 'adjusted' working conditions.

Although the study was carried out prior to the New Deal for Disabled Persons (NDDP), the main concerns raised by this study, regarding disabled persons labour market integration needs, would still appear to prevail. However, the post-NDDP developments and implications for the employment of disabled persons under the NDDP would require further research that is beyond the ambit of the present study which terminated prior to the introduction of the New Deal. The

study examined national developments of disability policy of the Employment Service (ES), in the light of transitions within service philosophy during the 1990s. This took the form of a major shift on the part of policy makers of the 'position' of disabled persons to mainstream labour markets. Prior to the early 1990s, the position of disabled persons was largely one of relative labour-market marginality. Many disabled persons experienced social alienation, denoting exclusion from or restricted entry into employment, on terms that were often significant of a position of exploitative 'integration'. With the collapse in the 1980s and 1990s of the Keynes-Beveridge Welfare State, the outcome for disabled persons was a reconceptuality of their relationship to labour markets. This factor was driven by rising state-benefit dependency and de-commodification. The perspective of the New Right, with its anti-state-dependency ideology, ushered in a new regime wherein disabled persons were to be exposed to similar labour-market rigours as the non-disabled. While the two tier disability-employment regulatory system, set in place by Tomlinson (1942), remained relatively intact, the new requirements of what has been described as a 'Schumpeterian Workfare State' (Jessop, 1992, 1994), ensured that the ES, Disability Service, faced a need for radical reform. It is the framework and conception of this revised approach, to disabled persons labour-market involvement, that constitutes the basis of the present study. The research contribution to disability and employment lies in the presentation of employment service users' own perceptions of the suitability of the ESDS. However debate presented, maintains that the fundamental relationship of disabled persons to employment, without corresponding change towards the social values perceptions of disabled persons, ensures that employment associated alienation will remain intact.

Chapter 1

Disabled People: Employment and the State

The type of discrimination encountered by disabled people is not just a question of individual prejudice, it is institutionalised in the very fabric of our society and is faced by disabled people every day of their lives. Institutional discrimination operates throughout society and is supported by history and culture. Until fairly recently disabled people have been excluded almost completely from all aspects of community life. Our culture is full of disablist language and imagery, which keeps the traditional fears and prejudices alive. Institutional discrimination is evident when the policies and activities of all kinds of organisations result in disabled people being denied the same treatment or equal access to goods and services as non-disabled people (BCODP, 1994, p. 16).

1.1 Introduction

Historically, disabled persons have become marginalised within society. In the context of work, their enforced absence from mainstream production, reproduction and consumption processes (Bocock, 1993) constitutes a legacy of disablist employment exclusion values (Oliver, 1990). From the creation of an administrative category of those with impairments within Poor Law regulation (Stone, 1985) to the disability-regulatory policies of the modern state, disability-work philosophy has been upheld by a conceptual rationale based upon the segregation of those deemed least productive from their non-disabled peers (UPIAS, 1976; Blaxter, 1980; Lonsdale, 1985; Oliver, 1992; Abberley, 1992, 1996; Barnes, 1994). However, by the 1980s and 1990s the legitimate principles for sustaining an employment exclusion-oriented policy underwent a radical paradigmatic shift (Kuhn, 1996). Denhardt (1995, p. 69) describes policy as a, “statement of goals and intentions with respect to a particular problem or set of problems.”

One causal motivatory factor for this shift in disability employment policy values is identifiable in the processes of rapid alteration in the global labour market. This process has involved significant transformations of the international division of labour, particularly as regards the balance between service industry and manufacturing industry shares in the modern economy (Callincos, 1994). Within Britain these transformative employment conditions affect on state welfare ideology, produced an unprecedented post-war growth both in employment flexibility and employment insecurity (Gorz, 1994; O'Brien and Penna, 1998). Supra-national tensions guiding this process of shifting global labour market conditions heightened the pressures upon individual nation-states regarding the intensification of political demand for major reconceptualisation of state-led welfare expenditures. Subsequent de-regulatory measures, enacted during the 1980s and 1990s, were to ensure greater labour-market discipline through means of a radical revision to the framework of state-welfare founded de-commodification (see Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1996; Jordan, 1998; Puttick, 1998 and 1999; Finn, 1999; Tonge, 1999). Application of draconian employment and social security policy response connote the emergence of a model of welfare shaped by New Right (Edgell and Duke, 1991) ideological values thought to be indicative of the conceptualisation of welfare as upheld by a Schumpeterian Workfare State (see Jessop, 1994; Mead et al., 1997). The creation of the conditions for an alternative welfare order to that delivered by the post-war social contract (Timmins, 1996) necessitated a market-oriented transformation of the Keynesian-Beveridge model of the Welfare State (see Gough, 1979; Mishra, 1984; Leonard, 1979, 1997; Mead et al., 1997; Pierson, 1999). The core hegemonic values underpinning this new order of welfare invoked a return to the (1834) Poor Law Amendment Act's concept of less eligibility (Fraser, 1984; Roulstone, 2000), a factor apparent in the retrenchment of state-welfare, notably that of disability benefit, throughout the 1980s and 1990s (Gramsci, 1971; Jordan, 1996; Dean, 1996; Thompson, 1999).

The values shift applied within the re-appraisal of state-led Employment Services (ES)¹-based disability-work perspectives plays a vital role in the attainment of more state-de-regulation and in the extended marketisation of ES-led disability-related provision (Stone, 1985; Pierson, 1991; Esping-Andersen, 1992). The legitimate basis for the social climate of acceptance of the transformational shift from state-led to market-oriented welfare values, was fashioned through the creation of a renewed social contract. The principle feature of this renewed framework of welfare is represented by a public/private partnership approach to the provision of social welfare (Le Grand, 1991). This is a perspective that instils a welfare ideology whose fundamental values are upheld by a contract-culture framework described as a middle or third way option to that of a state planned economy or a deregulated market economy (see Etzioni, 1995; Philpott, 1997; Mead et al., 1997; Hutton, 1999; Barnes et al., 1999).

This new social compact in welfare philosophy, drew upon the influences of both New Right liberal market ideas (Healey, 1993) and the social inclusory value upheld by a stakeholder vision of society (Etzioni, 1995; Hutton, 1999; Giddens, 2000). The shift to extended state de-regulation in the mixed economy of welfare (Spicker, 1988) foreshadowed the transformation of disability-employment policy, from one of tolerance and acceptance of disproportionately high employment exclusion, to one designed to further the participation of disabled people within mainstream labour markets (ED, 1990). However, this process has not been matched by what disabled people identify as a corresponding social values shift. The transformation of the state disability-employment

¹ It is necessary to differentiate between the ES (the Employment Service in general) and the ESDS (the Employment Service Disability Service), which is the section of the ES that historically has dealt specifically with disabled people. However, there is a need for an elementary clarification between the period within which the survey was undertaken and the relational framework of policy that the ESDS operationalised during the duration of the survey. Although the interviews with disabled persons undertaken during this study were conducted prior to the introduction of the New Deal for Disabled People (NDDP), interviews with public sector service providers were enacted during the first operative year of the NDDP. These interviews provided a basis for both the observation and critical examination of disability-related policy development over matters of employment-based integration and social inclusion.

ideology, within the 1990s, saw the abolition of prior statutory work inclusion obligation placed upon employers to employ (some) disabled people through the provisions of the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act 1944. This Act's abolition provided favourable conditions for disability employment recruitment and retention approaches founded on market-led values (see Hyde, 1996; Barnes et al., 1998; Barnes et al., 1999). Indeed, state reform of welfare and employment conditions were set amidst a strategy of labour market de-regulation in which state disability employment integration policies was underpinned by the adoption of a supply-side reaction to work exclusion principles. This agenda was in marked contrast to agendas influenced by disabled people's own evaluation of demand-side interpretative need based upon rights-led disability-work-inclusion principles. Lunt and Thornton (1996, p. 118) describing this situation noted:

Economic and ideological factors have framed recent governments' responses to disability issues ... Since 1979. Government policies have promoted supply side solutions, emphasising the role of uninhibited market mechanisms as "solutions" to economic problems. Government therefore seeks to limit intervention in the labour market.

Oliver (1991) notes that policies aimed primarily at the supply-side ignore substantial barriers to inclusion into the mainstream and have symbolic political significance. He states:

Unemployment of disabled people their institutionalisation and segregation, have performed a particular ideological function, standing as visible monuments to the fate of others who might no longer choose to subjugate themselves to the disciplinary requirements of the new work system. (p. 139).

Shifting deregulatory values in state welfare set the basis for the abolition of keystone corporatist dynamics observable in post-war disability-work inclusory policy such as the ESDS, disability employment quota scheme and disability register. Both were sanctioned by the 1944 Act. The ES disability quota required employers of over 20 persons to ensure that 3 per cent of their workforce be recruited from amongst registered disabled people (Bolderson, 1980; Thornton and Lunt, 1995). Following the abolition of the quota scheme in 1996, and abandonment of registration, shifts of existing policy values clearly

expedite the aim of promoting competitive marketisation within ESDS disability programme schema.

For instance, a recent ESDS report aimed at employers of disabled people in the Supported Employment Programme (SEP), urged private contractors to extend their input into the operation of the scheme (ESDS, 1999). Furthermore, deregulatory measures congruent with the quota scheme's abolition were observable in the policy preference applied by the ESDS since the early 1980s. This involved the promotion of 'Codes of Good Practice on the employment of disabled persons'. Employers continue to be encouraged, though not lawfully obliged, to abide by this practice (Gooding, 1996). This preference for market values, exercised through compliance flexibility on the part of employers, as shown within the current ESDS service philosophy, has clearly gained prominence over the defunct disability policy philosophy of the 1944 Act (see ESDS, 1983, ESDS, 1994; Denhardt, 1995; DfEE, 1996; Hyde, 1996 and 1998; ESDS, 1999).

An evident concordance within centre-ground politics, apparent within Britain and elsewhere in the 1980s and 1990s, for the reconceptualisation of state policy values, signalled the onset of the competitive tendering of State-led services to the private and voluntary sectors (NACEPD, 1994; Jordan, 1998). This confluence of political agreement for the economic liberalisation of the state, which is apparent mainly amongst those with the power to determine policy, has been described as a post-state vision of welfare (Leonard, 1997). The political values shift for the enhancement of the labour market inclusion of disabled people, apparent within UK state disability-employment policy (NACEPD, 1986-97; ED, 1990, ES, 1998; WCTS, 2000) included the drive for more efficiency in the ESDS, and for more marketisation of ESDS-led services (ED, 1990; ESSPI, 1990). This policy shift was singularly apparent with the wholesale contracting-out of the former state rehabilitation and training process from the mid-1980s (Finn, 1987 and 1993).

With the shift to privatisation and marketisation the ES-ESDS also underwent structural and administrative alteration to facilitate the 'fast-tracking' of disabled people into newly de-regulated employment training and/or rehabilitation programmes (ED, 1990; Oliver, 1990; Finn, 1987 and 1993; Finkelstein and Stuart, 1996; Berthoud, 1998). The promotion of state disability-employment policy was accommodated by publicity targeted at employers, which entailed notional reform to existing 'incentives' for employers to adopt employment integration responses, primarily, through the promotion of the Access to Work Scheme (AtWs) of 1994 (Thornton and Lunt, 1995). However, as Beinart et al. (1996) and Roulstone (1998) observe, the AtW programme has had little impact upon employment-related social exclusion. As far as the relationship of disabled people to labour market participatory norms are concerned, the policy of work re-commodification has entailed the application of a re-invigorated labour market disciplinary response aimed at the unemployed, principally, those dependent upon state-led welfare benefits, particularly incapacity benefits. This approach to state welfare, saw the application of the Job Seekers Allowance (JSA), in 1996 (Finn, 1997), the Benefits Integrity Project (1997-99) and the All Work Test (Roulstone, 2000), as a means of deterring disability benefit entitlement. The rationale for the enactment of such measures lies in the desire of governments to instil a reciprocal welfare obligatory ethos to state-led welfare entitlement, whose core values reinstate and sustain a welfare ideological outlook centred upon the hegemonic ideas of the work ethic (Leonard, 1997; Byrne, 1999).

The perception of state-welfare as the foundation for social alienation and exclusion through means of the growth of a culture of dependency (Mead et al., 1997), and an alienated underclass (Smith, 1992; Murray, 1994), represented an interpretative basis within welfare ideology that by the late 1980s had attained distinct cross-party political consensus (Jordan, 1998). Consequently, ensuring the aim of more labour-market participation by disabled people has been lauded as a paramount moral and economic policy objective of subsequent welfare regimes (see Howard (1990), and Scott (1991).

With the electoral victory of New Labour in 1997, the opportunity arose for welfare policy revision within renewed approaches to pre-existing social contract relationships between citizen, state and society (see the Borrie Report, 1994; Massie, 1994; Hutton, 1999). New Labour's state welfare reforms, outlined in the Green Paper, *A New Contract for Welfare* (DSS, 1998), set out the *New Deal for Disabled People* (NDDP). Principle Four (p. 14) declared, 'those who are disabled should get the support they need to lead a fulfilling life with dignity'. Revised policy was pledged to:

Introduce effective civil rights for disabled people,

remove the barriers to work and give active help to disabled people who wish to work;

fundamentally reform Incapacity Benefit (IB) for future claimants; and

ensure the welfare system recognises the extra costs faced by disabled people.

Introduction of the NDDP was supported by a number of nation-wide disability-employment pilot schemes (to be completed by 2000) that were undertaken in high unemployment areas that included large numbers dependent upon disability-welfare-income. Under the NDDP, there were to be four key measures: (1) Innovative Schemes to assist work; (2) Personal Advisers to help individuals; (3) Information Campaigns aimed at employers; and (4) more Research and Evaluation on the quality of the ESDS (DfEE, 1998; WCTS, 2000; Roulstone, 2000; Hyde, 2000). Despite a major emphasis upon employment inclusion with an ethos of 'work for those who can, security for those who cannot' (DSS, 1998), existing state policy still operates on the basis of individual disabled people entering into a contract (currently with the NDDP), to pursue 'a policy of actively seeking work'. In this respect, at least, it differs little from the pre-NDDP order, where individual support was also offered by DEAs, and where access to ESDS provision was regulated on an individual basis by DEAs acting as gatekeepers for the Disability Service Teams (DSTs) and ESDS services entitlement (Roulstone, 2000). In the last two decades, the combination of Codes of Good Practice, the Supported Employment Programme (ES, 1999), the disability symbol (Barnes, 1994; EFD, 1996), and

development in quality standards of employment for disabled persons (ES, 1999), clearly indicate a heightened propensity for work inclusion designs. However, as Oliver and Barnes (1991) identify, we have witnessed a disability shift from rights based to needs based policy responses. Undeniably, the struggle to realise integrated employment on a more universal basis to that previously upheld by the post-war settlement on labour market participatory values presents problems. For example, a core concern relates to the matter of labour market expansion and scepticism shown towards New Labour's 'return-to-work strategy' in the 1990s. This was expressed by Berthoud (1998), who noted that it is unlikely to affect many disabled people presently seeking work. This is despite disabled persons being a target group for rehabilitation and work-recruitment programmes within the NDDP, new contract for welfare (DSS, 1998). A core factor of the shift to improving the employment opportunity of disabled people is concerned with the evolution, evaluation and efficacy of state services. For example, Sharkansky (1970, p. 280), noted,

Public services may be measured in several ways: by the products which are received by clients; by the improvements in the clients conditions that result from the service; by the popularity of a service among the clients; or by some standards of quality that are set by an organisation of professional persons who are concerned with the service at issue.

However, the intention here is to address developments in the ESDS prior to the introduction of the NDDP. The objective is to give voice to the perceptions of disabled people on the ability of the pre-1997 ESDS, in responding to service-users requirements. Prior to the introduction of the NDDP, the disadvantageous relationship existing between impairment acquirement, disability and social barriers to employment were partially acknowledged (see Martin et al., 1989; Prescott-Clarke, 1990; DE, 1990; DSS, 1990). The ED survey (1990, p. 6) states it is clear that the chances of someone with a disability being unemployed are significantly higher than someone without a disability.

During the 1980s and 1990s, successive Government Ministers for Disabled Persons argued for greater awareness of the need for social inclusion of disabled people into the

labour-force (see DE, 1990; ED, 1993; Enable, 1994; ES, 1995). However, recognition of labour-market inequality was not supported by adequate policy for tackling the disparate range of social barriers to employment, as Berthoud et al., (1993, p. 34) noted, by the late 1980s, for every £19 spent on benefits, £1 was spent on employment policies. Although as Sharkansky (1970, p. 295) observed, expenditure - or any other single output - by itself is not likely to produce the kind of service that is intended. Sharkansky notes:

Expenditures are amongst the most evident manifestations of agency policy ... Some of the policies that have important effects on service outputs may be independent of spending levels. Several aspects of an agency's staff may have a bearing on the quality or quantity of service outputs ... The crucial dimensions of physical plant and equipment that may affect service outputs include compatibility with contemporary methods of providing service, flexibility with respect to the multiple needs and changing demands of clients and durability in the face of heavy use (1970, p. 281).

Sharkansky observed administrative outputs within public sector agencies shows that,

The policies that are produced by administrative agencies do not by themselves guarantee results. They must interact with whatever social, economic, or political conditions exist in the environment, some of which generate the problems that administrators' outputs are designed to attack (1970, p. 292).

She adds,

Outputs are frequently measured by the efforts directed at services by administrators. Yet some of these outputs may fail to deal with the needs of agency clients. And some may work at cross purposes with one another. Such outputs as agency expenditure, the recruitment and selection of staff, the design of physical facilities and the purchase of equipment may not make their expected contribution to the services that an agency renders (1970, p. 280).

This is patently the case as regards the lack of broad social commitment for reducing physical and attitudinal barriers to the employment of disabled people, through, concerted strategies that reach beyond the confines of single agency jurisdiction to challenge the socio-cultural legitimacy that presently underpins social exclusion. Essentially, by the mid-1990s the keystone of state-led policy for disability-employment-protection relied upon individuated redress over matters of unjustifiable employment

discrimination through the use of the *Disability Discrimination Act* (1995) (Gooding, 1996; Singh, 1996).

1.2 Aims and perspectives of the research

The study's hypothesis is that without corresponding social values shifts to support policy values shifts, the government's capacity to implement welfare-to-work measures for disabled persons is constrained by the capacity and willingness of employers to create the appropriate work culture or environment for disabled people and to integrate them adequately into a diverse range of occupations. Thus the assessment, assignment and placement roles of the ESDS, which are central to the implementation of government disability employment policy, must be scrutinised with a view to ascertaining whether the employment-related needs of all disabled persons are capable of being met within a policy framework that is dedicated to selective recruitment. Thus this study will examine the following three core services factors provided by the ESDS from the perspective of disabled people:

1. The needs assessment process that is intended to identify disabled people's labour market requirements,
2. The employment support strategy that is intended to provide work capability enhancement; and
3. The rehabilitation and training programmes that are intended to promote work-integrated environments and conditions.

Disabled persons' employment prospects, which are the product of the constrained capacity of government to implement its desired disability employment agenda, reflect the long standing disablist legacy of history and the continuance of general work-related alienation. The present study, which was undertaken between 1993-1998, contributes to two debates on employment-related needs: those of working class disabled persons (Edgell and Duke, 1991; Edgell, 1993; Wright, 1994), and those relating to gender

(Lonsdale, 1990; Morris, 1991; Imrie, 1998). Indeed, the class paradigm of disability-employment-related disadvantage is presently acknowledged as an under-researched area in social policy analysis, as Barton (1996) observed, there have been few studies of working class disabled people's labour market problems or needs. Study's analysis of the historical construction of disabled identity looks to continuity, whereby negative impairment-related policy values legitimate exclusion from mainstream society.

Disabled people's class-centred inequality experience within labour markets has previously been addressed in an abstract fashion that has omitted the personal perceptions of disabled people with regard to the desire for work-inclusion. There is little available evidence (though see Lonsdale, 1990) in the literature, on disability and employment, regarding disabled people's perceptions of the gendered nature of disability-employment-related work exclusion and oppression. Oliver and Barnes (1998) highlight the ways that gender discrimination impacts particularly upon disabled women by adding an additional barrier - a double glazing to the glass ceiling thesis - in the form of restricted access to a range of gendered and non-gendered occupations.

This study addresses these issues by focusing upon disabled persons' perceptions of the ability of ESDS to their felt needs. These perceptions are, of course, set against the backdrop of socio-cultural, structural, institutional and attitudinal disadvantages, which disabled people endure within contemporary employment and social matters generally (UPIAS, 1976; Barnes et al., 1999). It has been argued, by those whose research has engaged with the role and practice of the ESDS, that disability-employment services principally serve to meet particular needs of employers, and those of state welfare regimes above the needs of disabled people (Bolderson, 1980; Lonsdale, 1986, 1990; Berthoud et al., 1993; Lunt and Thornton, 1994; Thornton and Lunt, 1995, 1998; Hyde, 1996, 1998; Berthoud, 1998; Gleeson, 1999). Consideration of these matters, presented within the ensuing debate, adopts a social materialist model perspective grounded in an historical analysis of policy values governing disability-employment regulation (see

Oliver, 1990 and Glesson, 1999). The study's conceptual basis is significantly influenced by theoretical paradigms developed by Stone (1985), and Finkelstein (1980, 1993a), who view oppressive evaluations of disabled persons as having arisen from the transformative 'phases' of the mode of production and state regulation.

Impairment and disability have traditionally been interpreted through an individualising medical model approach. In response, Finkelstein and others, laid foundations for a social model of disability, where causal factors that deny social rights are identified as located within society (Hunt, 1966; Finkelstein, 1980; Oliver, 1990, 1992). Critics of the individualised personal tragedy, or medical model of disability, argue that these approaches to the interpretation of impairment disadvantage ignore disabling social factors, including the cultural barriers that actively exclude social model ideas.

1.3 Competing perspectives on impairment and disability

Before engaging in debate on the employment-related marginalisation and alienation that disabled people encounter, it is necessary to provide an explanation for the rationale for the present study is interpretation of impairment-related disability. The political tensions, underpinning the need for a paradigmatic shift in state policy evaluation of the relationship of disabled persons to labour markets, was not solely driven by the pressures upon state welfare regimes to lessen dependency (Abberley, 1996, 1998). Another vital factor influencing disability re-evaluation lay in the re-interpretation of disability as social oppression, and the emergence of an emancipatory disability consciousness upheld by social model theorisation of disability that challenges the oppressive values of abstracted and alienating disability interpretation upheld by non-social model theories of disablement (Oliver, 1990; Gleeson, 1999). Where social model interpretations of disability differed from prior models, was that they were based upon disabled people's own critical knowledge and evaluation of oppressive socially abstracted impairment-

related reasoning. The development of a 'liberatory consciousness of disability oppression' analysis, instils an ethical basis for the empowerment of disabled people (Thompson, 1993), through the rejection of disability interpretation based upon medicalised or individualised bureaucratic paradigmatic negative disablist values (Oliver, 1996). Social model perspectives challenge the rationale of the social construction of disability, the marginalisation of disability matters, and the alienation caused by the social exclusion of disabled people, for, as Barnes (1996, p. xii) noted:

Impairment is not something which is peculiar to a small section of the population; it is fundamental to the human experience. On the other hand, disability ... is not. Like racism, sexism, heterosexism and all other forms of social oppression, it is a human creation.

The disability movement argues that there is sufficient historical and anthropological evidence to show there is no universal approach to disability, either in the way disabled people are perceived or in the way societies respond to them (Hanks and Hanks 1980; Oliver 1990). Describing competing ideological values upheld within disability interpretation, Oliver (1990) argues that if disability is seen as a tragedy as the medical model implies, then disabled people are likely to be viewed as victims of individual misfortune, thereby legitimating a medicalised view of disability. Conversely, if disability is defined as social oppression, as implied by the social model then 'disabled people will be seen as collective victims of an uncaring or unknowing society' not as isolated victims of circumstance.

Abberley (1996, p. 172) noted the medical model 'locates the source of disability in the individual's supposed deficiency and her or his personal incapacitates when compared to "normal" people.' Furthermore, Oliver (1990, pp. 2-3) argued, that the adoption of a social model will ensure social policy is 'geared towards alleviating oppression rather than compensating individuals.' A central causality for disablist definitions of disability and disabled people lies within negative interpretations of disability (see DPI, 1986;

BCODP, 1994; Abberley 1997; Priestley, 1999). The UPIAS (1976, pp. 3-4) defining their approach to disability interpretation stated:

In our view, it is society that disables physically impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group in society.

The UPIAS (1976, p. 4) viewed disability:

As the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organisation which takes no or little account of people who have impairments and thus excludes them from the mainstream of social activities.

Disability is therefore a particular form of social oppression. Defining their terms of reference, the DPI (1982, p. 105) viewed impairment as:

The functional limitation within the individual caused by physical, mental or sensory impairment. Disability is the loss or limitation of opportunities to take part in the normal life of the community on an equal level with others due to physical and social barriers.

Development of a social consciousness of the social model of disability interpretation has unfolded via a process of starts and stops. For example, over a decade later, proto or quasi-social model disability interpretation, as adopted by the WHO (1976), was wholly absent in the interpretative values used by the OPCS (1989), which applied an oppressive medicalised interpretation of disability (see Oliver, 1992). However the negative disablist interpretative reasoning in the ICIDH, endorsed by the WHO (1981), was roundly condemned by the disability movement (Abberley, 1996). The modus operandi, upheld by social model interpretations of disability, signify a radical shift from methodological individualism (Lukes, 1973), and dependency or victim blaming thesis (Jordan, 1973; Finkelstein, 1980) towards an interpretative understanding of disability discrimination, alienation and oppression (Oliver, 1990; Priestley, 1999).

The medical model interpretation of disability involves the equipping or returning of an impaired individual to the labour market. Essentially, the principle dynamic operating in this approach rests upon rehabilitative policies that call for 'adjustment' on the part of

disabled individuals to the normative ideals of a work-culture, itself determined by environments and conditions dictated by the non-disabled (Finkelstein, 1980; Abberley, 1997). By contrast social model theories of disablement uphold the axiom that it is society that disables disabled people (Oliver, 1990 and 1996). Exclusion of disabled people from mainstream employment is evident through the lack of integration of disabled persons into the processes of production. There is clearly a need to engender viable work environments to effect meaningful participation (Morris, 1994; Roulstone, 1998). Adoption of projects similar to Workfare schemes within the United States of America (see Borrie, 1994), and the formation in 1999 by the DSS/DfEE of the Single Work Focused Gateway (SWFG), represent major steps towards work-centred policy through use of the NDDP and the single Gateway. Doorn (1999, p 22), states that the role of the SWFG

marks the beginning of a new era for the delivery of social security. It aims to achieve closer labour market attachment for many benefit recipients (including the disabled) who have previously been pushed into economic inactivity.

While the present study pre-dates these policy actions, there is the need to establish that the reforms of the NDDP and the SWFG by themselves are incapable of annulling disability-employment exclusion barriers. Drawing upon the LFS (1998), Doorn (1999) identifies an estimated two million people, from amongst lone parents and disabled persons, who are either actively seeking work or who want employment. The inauguration of a series of one-stop jobclubs, in the shape of the new ONE office, coupled with telephone contact (or home visits for a minority of disabled people) denotes major transformation in employment communications practice. However, the patchwork of earnings replacement, employment subsidies, wage top-ups and benefit revision to assist work integration (Barnes, 1994; Hyde, 1998), were confronted by major obstacles. Berthoud (1998, p. 40), noted that work objectives set against macro-economic factors such as global market or business cycle downsizing pressures, meant that it was likely

‘each person entering a job may be at the expense of another who does not’. Berthoud (1998, p. 40) argued that return-to-work policy aimed at the two million disabled and similar numbers of others seeking work suggests, “there is little prospect that the economy could absorb an extra four million workers.”

This is an important point, and one that is also reflected in the critical views expressed upon personal work expectation or aspirations, as shown by participants of the current study (see Chapter 5). Typically, this outlook was interpreted through the perception that the ESDS appeared to have so few suitable job vacancies, and that what was available through the ESDS was perceived as less desirable. While it was reasonable to accept that DEAs do indeed seek to match all available jobs with individual disabled people, a perception of this as a discriminatory ‘vetting’ process, represented the belief held by a significant minority who felt that they faced a double jeopardy, whereby DEAs overlooked them and employers lacked any direct contact with them. Post-NDDP, this dichotomy has been partially addressed through the use of the PAS. However, the impact of welfare-to-work policy upon the ESDS during the 1990s, represented a significant shift from recent practices of disabled people waiting in the wings for employment inclusion and job opportunity, or moving in or out of what some respondents to this study describe as ‘an endless process of training with no apparent job prospects at the end of it all’.

1.4 The needs assessment process that is intended to identify disabled people’s labour market requirements

Throughout the post-war period, Government came under criticism for the failure to provide an adequate labour market needs assessment of and social response to disabled people’s work requirements (Barnes, 1994). Furthermore, the policy volte-face on employment exclusion as the principal response to impairment conditions led, as Oliver

(1990) notes, to the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act (1944), which recognised disabled peoples right to work, however, since the Second World War, the proportion who remain unemployed or under-employed has been consistently higher than the rest of the population (Barnes, 1994; Oliver and Barnes, 1998; LFS, 1998; LMt, 1999). The marginalisation of disabled people's employment need was noted by Graham et al., (1990), who observed that a internal government report, leaked in 1989, reports the deliberate transfer of resources, originally allocated to the ESDS, to other areas of the ES. Graham et al., (1990), claimed this resulted in a subsequent decline in the priority, afforded by the ES, to the ESDS. The effectiveness of the contemporary state ESDS was perceived by many participants to be a subject of general criticism. Participants' replies to this issue form the basis for a critical analysis of existing state-led employment service agency policy, particularly with respect to what Hughes et al. (1998, pp. 299-300) describe as the recent

attempt to refashion public services in such ways that they resemble the private sector. All sectors of state provision have been subjected to new regimes of managerialism, quasi-market mechanisms and attempts to change, not just the organisational forms, but also the culture of public services ... Part of this process has been to subject public service providers to new forms of inspection, assessment and regulation, usually in the name of efficiency and quality ... which has frequently invoked the right of the public ... to have access to more information to guide their choices, and the responsibility of the state to ensure value for money, in stark contrast to the principles that underpinned the Beveridge welfare state.

Turning to functional aspects of the service, the ESDS describes the disability-employment assessment process as having three stages. First, an initial interview, which provides a broad understanding of the service users' skill level and work aptitude. Second, a series of tests, which are designed to ascertain dexterity and appropriateness of their chosen or desired form of occupation. These test results, together with test instructor's comments, are then evaluated by an industrial psychologist in order to pinpoint a suitable type of employment. Third, a final meeting, which is described by

the ESDS as 'a more in-depth interview', is held to establish service user feedback on the first two stages.

From this process certain occupations are identified as being either suitable or unsuitable for the particular client. The individual service user and the DEA then design an action plan to find employment (PACT, 1998). Few people interviewed, either fully understood the ESDS assessment process, or felt that it was based upon 'a mutual agenda of interest', which reflects the previous description. Indeed, as prior research reveals, joint planning is often less effective than was anticipated by service planners (Topliss, 1982; Swain et al., 1993, Williams, 1993; Simpkins, 1994; Barnes, 1994; ES, 1995; Hyde, 1998; Barnes et al., 1998).

Within the study findings, shown in Chapter 5, it is apparent that service claims of assessment processes being conducted upon 'an informed mutual basis' do not correspond to the overall response of study participants to this aspect of the service. While a minority expressed relative satisfaction, many people cited being confused and thoroughly dissatisfied with the entire assessment process. Comments on assessment, such as 'a somewhat hit and miss affair', or 'I didn't even know this was an assessment' and 'I did not know what was going on', or 'the whole process was too narrow', clearly indicates a discernible degree of scepticism and an obvious degree of license regarding the merits of service providers' views of service user empowerment, applied within the assessment of employment-related need.

1.5 The employment support strategy that is intended to provide work capability enhancement

Within the state-decoupling of welfare during the 1980s, concerned with instilling privatisation objectives for the ESDS, it was acknowledged that under the existing state system those with severe impairments were often denied work opportunities (Martin and

White, 1988). Criticisms of disability policy, noted by the National Audit Office (1987), signify two precursory aspects of de-regulatory marketisation (NAO, 1987). First, there was the matter of the failure of Remploy (the major disability-employment agency within the UK) to reduce costs in training and rehabilitation, or to increase its trainee throughput to open working. This perspective was prefigured by a desire for more integrated training environments, preferably, outside the state sector.

There was also a concern expressed about the redeployment of ES resources to the non-disabled in preference to disabled trainees, which had also engendered criticism by the Public Accounts Committee (1988), who noted Remploy's overall lack of accountability (see Barnes, 1994). Second, enhanced emphasis upon improvements in SEP programme productivity rates, and a desire for more open market competitive work conditions, reveals that as early as the late 1980s 'the service was becoming less accessible to the more severely disabled' (Barnes, 1994). Historically, most disabled persons, who entered into what were previously described as sheltered employment/workshop regimes, of which Remploy was a major part, were mainly representative of those who (using a medical model evaluatory critique), experienced more severe or incapacitating levels of infirmity or impairment.

Only a minority of the present study's participants (see Chapter 5) felt a strong association existed between certain types of impairment and limited success in using the ESDS, though most did not conform to an identification of very severe impairment (see Prescott-Clarke, 1990), although some of those interviewed did meet the criteria of severe impairment, as defined by the OPCS, and applied within Prescott-Clarke's (1990) survey. However, in terms of a social model evaluatory ethos, Abberley (1996) describes the OPCS 10-point scale, as an arbitrary and spurious ranking of impairment (see debate in Chapter 4). Amongst the respondents within the present study, those representative of the more 'severe' end of the OPCS scale, several cite examples both of attitudinal and physical barriers within ES-ESDS service environments.

Concerns over service operative criteria, and the desire to de-couple training and rehabilitation from the state sector, prompted further reviews of the 'failure' of existing services. Within the ED's Consultative Document (1990) a number of core policy conceptualisations were set out as benchmarks for improving services (see disability chronology: Appendix 3). However, the egalitarian ethos, proclaimed by the 1990 review, fails to correspond to this study's participants' perceptions of the capability of ESDS services meeting their felt needs some five years after that particular service review. In seeking to define perceptions of service user felt need within the renewed service policy framework, one apparent dimension of inclusion centres on the need to address the observations of those who felt the ESDS did not instil them with any optimism regarding the attainment of work.

Indeed, over half of the current study's participants gave examples of personal discontent with the operation of the ESDS service. Criticisms range from physical barriers within service environments, to, perceived attitudinal prejudice towards service users stated preferences with respect to selection for both ESDS-led training and work placements. Examples of which include inadequate response by service personnel, including disapproval regarding certain types of training, and the perception that some service personnel appear to write-off certain service users' prospects of any productive involvement or employment likelihood. Indeed, similar contemporaneous attitudinal critical perceptions of disabled people's work prospects are also to be found with regards to the NDDP (see Brewster, 1998). Despite disabled people's employment-needs being apparent within the welfare-to-work policy, particularly the desire of service providers to achieve greater work-based integration via resource allocation and delivery, an ED report by Crowder and Pupynin (1993), dealing with training in the UK, fails to mention disability and excludes disablement from its taxonomy of ES-training matters.

The re-appraisal of services in the early 1990s, through the introduction in 1992 of the Placing Advice and Counselling Team (PACT), led to existing support schemes being

combined (ESSPI, 1990). On the 6 June 1994, these were amalgamated into the Access to Work (ATW) programme (Cooper and Vernon, 1996; Beinart et al., 1996). Research on ATW shows that it has yet to become an 'established' framework for employers, though its existence is becoming more widely known (see Beinart et al., 1996). In April 1993, in line with proactive workfare ideology, Employment Training (ET) was superseded by Training for Work (TfW). One of the requisite features of this programme is that disabled people, wanting to join the scheme, were to be more stringently 'vetted' by DEAs, as classifiable as 'disabled' service users (Finn and Murray, 1995). Despite publicity on disability matters within the DDA and the AtW Programme, the vast majority (69 per cent) of the current study's respondents were unaware of the scope of ESDS's supportive measures. Asked to identify the focus upon or awareness of supportive provision, during ESDS interviews, reveals that only those who had requested direct assistance (23 per cent) held any substantive knowledge of the overall range of ESDS related provision.

In line with enhanced state deregulation, rehabilitation also came under pressure for policy reform compliance (Prescott-Clarke, 1990; Finn, 1992; Pozner and Hammond, 1993). As Finn (1992, p. 8) states, 'according to the Chief Executive of the ES the objective is 'to provide a professional, more co-ordinated service to help the maximum number of people with disabilities into work'. Recent policy in supported employment vocational skills training and the ESDS, includes more emphasis upon employment placement and the expansion of the basis for acquiring certificated skills training; key areas of which involved development of the Training and Enterprise Council (TEC) in England and Wales and the Local Enterprise Company (LEC) in Scotland (see Pozner and Hammond, 1993). Williams (1993) also notes policy innovations in rehabilitation measures. However, the perceptions noted by study participants on service transformations (see Chapter 5) show that the matching of need and provision has yet to

fulfil the aspirations of many service users (DSS, 1990; Lamb and Layzell, 1994; ES, 1995).

These observations raise a number of as yet unanswered questions. For instance, how effective were pre-1996 ESDS reforms? What is the impact upon the employment integration of disabled persons, and how effective was the ESDS in assisting this process? These matters will be addressed. Amongst study participants without adequate employment, one consistent issue that regularly arose was limited range of employment options open to disabled people, despite the existence of known vacancies across a range of occupations (ESSW, 1998; ONS, 1999). One of the difficulties in correlating the growth or decline of disabled people's labour market activity, at the local area level, is that the publication of statistics on notified employment vacancies, covers the entire regional area of the ES. This includes several other counties in addition to the study area (see ONS, 1999). Published statistics are rarely disaggregated by county, though recent ES detail reveals that the Devon area of south-west England, where the study was conducted, experienced the highest national decline in claimant unemployment (ESSW, 1999). This general 'downward trend' in local area unemployment, observable over the period 1994-6, overlapped the study's duration of longitudinal interviews (see ESSW, 1996). Despite this factor, the time that elapsed between interviews revealed that amongst those who had actively sought employment (see Chapter 4), many remained long-term unemployed. However, it must be noted that specific data showing localised labour market activity or non-activity rates of disabled people during this period are either absent from published data, or are largely unavailable on either a ward, district or county basis. As part of a strategy for extending the employment prospects of disabled people, a new Bill was presented in Parliament. In 1995, the Minister for Social Security and Disabled People William Hague (1995) extolling the then Disability Discrimination Bill, argued it would mark the United Kingdom out as one of the World leaders and the leader in Europe in the move towards comprehensive anti-discrimination legislation for

disabled people. However, while there is significant evidence to show that during the 1980s the desire to enhance the labour market participation of disabled persons is apparent, there is no single policy statement that clearly elucidates this objective, beyond rhetorical criticism by government Ministers over the failure of both government and employers to realise this aim. Policy need not be overtly defined, or may be integrated into wider policy schema, for instance Dunsire (1978, p. 35) argues, that public policy, “is simply what an agency or the entire government decides to do or not to do.”

Indeed, Dunsire (1978, p. 52) argues:

policy implementation may be subject to general legislative discretion, wherein, public managers may apply flexibility in terms of the actions taken to assist or comply with policy aims.

There is evidence of the application of policy implementation discretion in the accessing of various areas of state disability-related programmes. In particular, participants of the current study, identify examples of positive and negative outcomes due to the lack of discretion or flexibility to accommodate some individual’s preferences within training and employment rehabilitation requirements. Examples of unmet needs in core areas of policy provision have a direct bearing upon the regulatory policy ethos derived from or commensurate with state distributive or redistributive employment based policy frameworks. There is also the impact on the policy conception and implementation process as weighted by the variables of organisational aesthetics, and hierarchy traditions observed in agency practices (Dunsire, 1978). Some participants (see Chapter 5) recount instances of a perception of the denial of service provision by the ES-ESDS personnel contrary to their own perception of either presumed entitlement or of felt need. This type of criticism, unclear guidelines or inflexible response was levelled at both arms of state regulation relating to disability-income: the social security system and the employment service. Perceptions of the denial of service provision arose due either to an apparent lack of flexibility or, conversely, to the absence of inclusivity of access or entitlement to specific public services dedicated to disability-employment related matters. However,

Some of this criticism has to be ascribed to the gap between policy ideas and actual delivery, for, as Dunsire (1978, p. ix) noted², “policy is one thing implementation is another.”

Dunsire (1978, p. 44) comments,

An actor chooses, or decides, by virtue of a definition of the situation that is his (sic) -own subjective appreciation; to that extent, he selects what he will regard as the stimulus to which he then responds. The ‘real’ situation is always too complex, he pays attention to part of it, according to what he thinks significant for him.

Therefore, March and Simon (1958, pp. 151-3), argue “information is ‘filtered’ in entering the [bureaucratic] unit and repeatedly filtered in use.” March and Simon (1958, p. 165) state:

Hence the world tends to be perceived by the organisation members in terms of the particular concepts that are reflected in the organisation’s vocabulary. The particular categories and schemes of classification it employs are reified, and become, for members of the organisation, attributes of the world rather than mere conventions.

The margin for bureaucratic interpretative variation between individuals in the bureaucracy’s policy execution process shapes the operative values adopted by service providers in the promotion or denial of access to service-related redistributive resource measures. Policy objectives connected with actions to include, or to exclude, certain individuals from particular service-related programmes become legitimated through practice. Over time, the dilemma of the ambiguity surrounding the exclusion of those with substantial incapacitating forms of impairment (actual or presumed) has continued despite growth of statutory powers designed to challenge the continuance of labour market exclusion of those more severely incapacitated. Essential to the identification of

² Dunrise (1978, p. 69) identifies three causalities effecting the failure of policy implementation: i) undeniably, the outcome was other than predicted (and desired), although the actions intended and taken were such as might have been (by a reasonable man) predicted to produce the desired outcome; ii) the actions intended to be taken (because of force majeure of some kind, let us say), although the intended actions were such as might have been (by a reasonable man) predicted to produce the desired outcome; and either no action at all was taken (and so no outcome) , or unintended actions were taken; iii) the actions taken were not such as might have been (by a reasonable man) predicted to produce the desired outcome. The implementation of an exclusionary disability employment policy falls into category iii).

such negative continuity, is the question of how far along the path of accommodation, with the influence and demands set out by social model-led interpretation of employment exclusion, are governments willing or able, to proceed. For, as Pressman and Wildavsky (1973, p. xiii) note:

There must be something out there prior to implementation; otherwise there would be nothing to move toward in the process of implementation. A verb like 'implementation' must have an object like 'policy'.

Unfortunately, for those with severe impairments, the existing disability-employment policy framework has proven inadequate to the task of creating cultural values commensurate with positive work-based social inclusion outcomes. Within the operations of the legislative, executive and juridical framework of the state, throughout the 1980s and early 1990s, the above observation by Pressman and Wildavsky is wholly apposite in relation to disabled people and the policy shifts required to promote positive employment inclusion. Clearly, legislative response, in the shape of the 1944 Act, failed to overcome the enculturation of social exclusion - indeed, many argue the statutory framework presented by that act - its division of labour amongst disabled individuals along the lines of degrees of impairment either established or exacerbated exclusion (Gooding, 1994). Likewise, within the executive framework of state ideological policy conceptualisation and response, the methods adopted help sustain dependency-based interpretations of disability grounded in medical model based reasoning.

While the significance of impairment-related disablement has been brought into focus, through independent and state research enquiry, particularly as regards employer's views on employing disabled people (see above), the impact of this upon the aim of reducing barriers to inclusion remains a subject interpreted through individualised abstracted methods that exclude the accounts of disabled people's own perceptions of these matters. The third arm of the state, the judicial realm, legitimates and upholds an individual-based approach to the adjudication of statutory financial compensation ruling within state

welfare and employment regulation. These individuated regulatory measures operate either via pro-active impairment preventative means, established by employment law, health and safety legislation, or, through retrospective compensatory policy means such as Industrial Injury awards, and social welfare-related ruling on injury and impairment acquirement protocol, and state-centred social security income-related compensation based entitlement criteria (Cooper and Vernon, 1996; Thompson, February 1999).

Problems relating to the dichotomy, presumed or actual, between policy and administration aims and objectives and the filtering effects between the process of command and execution that Dunsire (1978, p. 7) notes, includes the likelihood of a policy reinterpretation, or refinement, between those who shape policy at the apex of organisational bureaucracy, such as Government Ministers, and those responsible for its interpretation and subsequent execution at the bottom layer, or front line of service delivery, such as the DEA's. These two parties clearly operate in a culture and climate whose shared mutual objectives are invariably viewed or made real through differing effects and varying implicit operationalisation pressures. For instance, where a Minister for Disabled People may have encouraged research into disability matters, or be seen to place emphasis upon the execution of a particular policy idea, those in the front line of ESDS service responsible for policy execution do not necessarily experience a concomitant significant effect on service values or practice as a result of any given policy initiative. Where there is recent evidence of a tangible effect on the ESDS, at the level of service delivery, due to a temporary upsurge in demand as a result of recent policy shifts and service transformation (see Chapter 3), arguably this was as a consequence of the impact upon the ESDS of the rising numbers of people within state sickness and disability related income in the 1980s and 1990s.

However, to contextualise the points raised on policy administration and service personnel response, there is the need to avoid the cycle of observations presented solely as service phenomena. Any endeavour to subject these factors to critical observation,

clearly necessitate a recognition that the views of service users own perceptions of the shortcomings of existing policy need also be addressed. The prior observations concerned with the continuance of the exclusion of disabled people from employment and from policy formation or development has to be viewed as more indicative of state-led policy failure above that of any explanation based on faulty service implementation or execution of ESDS policy. The perception of inadequate policy was testified to by the service providers interviewed (see Chapter 4), who emphasise the exercising of discretion, flexibility and inclusivity with regards to service values. However, these providers were sceptical about the prospect for creating inclusive environments via existing policy. If a consensus can be shown, it was that, attaining social inclusion through employment-centred means requires both a cultural shift in labour market recruitment values, and major improvement to disabled people's access to empowering work-based skills.

1.6 The rehabilitation and training programmes that are intended to promote work-integrated environments and conditions

Since the 1980s a diverse range of training and rehabilitation schemes designed to tackle unemployment have been adopted by the state. However these programmes often applied a selective basis to disabled persons. All prior programmes significantly failed to halt or challenge the sustained exclusion of those with severe impairments from mainstream work re-integration policy. Therefore, recent welfare-to-work strategies are examined in terms of whether policy transformations can best be defined as a process of gradual progress in this direction, or essentially a set of cosmetic changes that depict relative social inertia in the pursuit of pro-active non-disablist macro-oriented disability-employment integrative policy (Stepney et al., 1999; Barnes et al., 1999; Tonge, 1999).

Extensive cross-national comparative evaluation of the developmental features of contemporary rehabilitation schemes were provided by Floyd (1997), who noted an array of vital requirements for improved procedures, not least for disabled people to influence the planning of services. However, the debate presented centred upon macro policy, which excluded the discussion of micro integrative strategy based upon workplace adaptations and resource allocation for the maximisation of work adjustments. For an appraisal of International employment policies, see Lunt and Thornton (1993, Summary), wherein the authors noted: 'It was difficult to obtain a clear picture of guidance, training and placement services on the ground' in all countries studied. Despite efforts to elevate job-based placement over prior segregated work environments (Hyde, 1996) the evidence existed to show that a considerable number of current users, and employers, were unaware of the supportive policy that does exist. An example of this situation was shown in the low take-up of the Access to Work scheme due to the lack of knowledge by employers and service users of the existence of the programme (Beinart et al., 1996). The closure of state-led major training centres during the 1980s, and their replacement by a combination of state and private contracted services, signified a major transformation in training ideology and in the mode of delivery (Lunt and Thornton, 1994).

One explanatory basis for the criticisms expressed on the pre-NDDP framework of service delivery, noted by participants was that, skills training, unlike rehabilitation, was perceived as being more likely to be within mainstream placements or conducted via integrated working, see Chapter 4 (Barnes, 1994; Lakey and Simpkins, 1994; PACT, 1998). Unfortunately, a number of ES training placement environments were perceived as inaccessible or, due to lack of adjustment, as unsuitable work environments (Finn, 1994; Floyd, 1997). Furthermore, as Hallier and Butts (1999) caution, work-based training is more about finding ways to secure employee commitment in uncertain times than about transforming skills levels. While tensions surrounding the types of

placement-related training or rehabilitation environments were apparent (see Chapter 5), for the vast majority of this study's participants (90 per cent) requirement of skills training was accorded high, immediate or continuing priority (Beyer et al., 1996). In line with findings shown within prior studies that showed disabled people's work-related exclusion, many participants lacked highly marketable skills (see Thornton and Lunt, 1995; DfEE, 1998; Roulstone, 1998; Johnson and Moxon, 1998).

A fundamental basis for the importance attached to the acquisition of both adequate and appropriate skills training reflected altered patterns in work skills requirement (Roulstone, 1998; DfEE, 1998; Lunt and Thornton, 1999). The ES, Labour Market and Skill Trends reports (1997; 1998; 1999) identified the importance of skills diversification for disabled people within changing labour markets. The ES acknowledge (DfEE, 1997) that, 'the disabled have more difficulty in finding employment', though this is attributed to rapid change in contemporary work. However, arguably this factor is a de facto admission of a shortfall in flexible work preparedness arrangements within recent ESDS-led service measures.

To this end, the DfEE (1998) report does identify the necessity for more labour market restructuring to accommodate disabled workers varying work integration requirements (see Hall and Reid, 1998; DfEE, 1998). In line with the development of a more proactive agenda of enhanced labour market involvement, the ES commissioned more empirical research (see Chapter 5) into the effectiveness of work-support measures (see Barnes et al., 1998; and Meager et al., 1999). Unfortunately, due to the fact that there are presently very few published accounts of the use of disability services based upon service users own perceptions of the quality of services, comparative evaluations are difficult to secure.

At the International level, policy on disability-employment integration and equality of opportunity in the workforce is regularly monitored by the International Labour Organisation (ILO). The ILO (1993) report: Equitable Training and Employment

Opportunities for Disabled Persons, set out a series of social inclusory benchmark values. However, as Cornes (1982, p. 93), noted,

the operation of the labour market is considerably more significant as a determinant of outcome than the delivery of rehabilitation services however competently accomplished.

Although in the 1990s, non-government and non-ES based studies were conducted into disability and employment matters, to date there exists little comprehensive detail involving disabled people's own perceptions of using ES-ESDS services (Mainstream, 1990; Lonsdale, 1990, Graham et al., 1990; Barnes, 1991; Hyde and Howes, 1993), Hyde and Howes (1993) noted previous research on the effectiveness of formal employment related advice available to disabled adults was limited, it was this area of disabled people's struggle for social inclusion, and their perception of the ES that formed the backdrop to the present study.

Analysis of the perceptions of the capability of the ES-ESDS to cater adequately for the employment-preparedness requirements of disabled people clearly varied from individual to individual. Present study participants' perceptions revealed substantial agreement on the inability of the ESDS to meet their needs. However, these concerns were more indicative of an inappropriate conceptualisation of the problems confronting disabled persons due to inadequate state policy prescriptions³. Perceptions that specific service providers appeared positive to some individual service users indicated that some of the shortcomings within ESDS service delay can be ascribed to faulty implementation.

1.7 Thesis summary

This chapter has contextualised the socio-historical legacy of employment disadvantage that disabled people encounter within contemporary modes of production and

³ Perhaps more importantly, ESDS service shortcomings, has to be viewed as the failure of state related policy response because it does not embrace disability employment inclusivity as its prime orientation.

employment. Debate focuses upon those factors that sustain the process of work and social exclusion of disabled people from mainstream labour markets. It was argued that the normative basis for the exclusion of many disabled people from employment and the alternative of reliance upon state welfare benefit was undermined by a radical shift in the 1980s in welfare to work policy to reduce dependency levels. Disabled people, along with single parents, and other long-term unemployed, became a target group for re-commodification to be realised through increased state-welfare discipline. However, this thesis argues that despite this paradigmatic shift in the ideological response to disabled people's historic position of work-social exclusion, there exist three primary reasons why this policy framework is incapable of achieving this transformation. First, the absence an adequate basis from the defining of the need assessment process intended to identify disabled people's labour market requirements. Here, it is argued, the solutions to work exclusion or marginality remain located in the process of enforced or inappropriate accommodation of disabled people into what are often plain hostile or negative unadjusted working environments. The endeavours, through new voluntary and statutory measures to continue this process of imbalanced integration designs are, the thesis maintains, wholly inadequate (see Chapters 2 and 3). Second, the employment support strategy that is intended to provide work capability enhancement, still relies upon an approach of assisting the disabled individual to overcome these social barriers, instead, of tackling the structural and attitudinal premises that sustain a form of employment apartheid. Third, the same dilemma, an absence of consultation and joint policy development, is true within the sphere of the rehabilitation and training programmes that are intended to promote work-integrated environments and suitable conditions. Again, such measures are predicated upon 'adjustments' by disabled individuals with scant recognition regarding the question of work environmental or socio-cultural transformations to assist the process of work inclusion. Within the remaining chapter's,

these three factors are debated and their implications considered. For example, Chapter 2 explores the legacy of disabled identities and the negative perceptions of disability that have arisen from the use of a medical model interpretation of impairment and disability, which, allied with methodological individualism, acts to deny social citizenship (Marshall, 1950). Debate focuses upon the materialist analysis of negative cultural hegemonic influences that affect disabled persons utilisation of the current ESDS (see Gramsci, 1971; Lukes, 1973; Oliver, 1996; Hyde, 1996, 1998).

The historic developments that shaped the modern framework of disability-related employment policy are addressed in Chapter 3 where debates examines the practical base of state policy responses to impairment and disability, and the influence upon such work supportive measures of the disablist values that sustain the negative employment status of disabled people. Contemporary debate is shaped by concepts of welfare-state retrenchment, and the disablist values upheld by recent state-led disability-employment perspectives. Debate, considers post-war state disability-employment interventions, it identifies, the impact upon service users of the ESDS of rapidly altering conditions within contemporary labour markets, extended globalisation and shifts in the international division of labour. Debate outlines certain implications that these phenomena present, both, as regards the existing framework of the ESDS, and in the construction of suitable anti-disablist policy response to disabled persons employment-related needs.

Chapter 4 focuses upon contemporary local area services, noting service providers' opinions upon disability-employment matters. In particular, how, at the local government level, council officials perceive the need to meet the statutory requirements of the Disability Discrimination Act (1995). Here, the anti-discriminatory policy of one local authority Social Services Department is examined. Discussion with public sector providers allows for comparative analysis of the service-related perceptions shown in the study with regard to respondents' own evaluation of their requirements. Discourse also

considers methodological problems in identifying and collecting particular national, regional or local data on disabled people, via current national data sets, labour market information, and the problems of ES-related dissemination and accessibility of known labour market activity details. This study's theorisation drew upon Marxian perspectives of Capitalism, and is mindful of the policy of sustained selectivity in labour market integration, which has historically created a set of problem causation assumptions that have generated an inappropriate conceptualisation of the disability employment integration issue that results in policy ambiguity and, ultimately in implementation failure of varying state disability-related policy initiatives. Its conceptual values were also decisively shaped by the emancipatory philosophy of disability interpretation as signified by the anti-oppressive values of the 'disability movement', and by those of liberation-oriented feminist critiques (see Lonsdale, 1986, 1990; Morris, 1991; Dalley 1991; French, 1994; Meekosha, 1998; Vernon, 1998; Corker, 1998; Finkelstein, 1998; Abberley, 1998; Oliver and Barnes, 1998; Drake, 1999; Gleeson, 1999 and Priestley, 1999) central to which are the ethics of researching disability using a social model approach as discussed above (see also Abberley, 1987, 1992; Oliver, 1992).

Chapter 5, considers a number of issues and outcomes presented by the empirical data drawn from service users' perceptions of ESDS operational practices. The interpretative values applied were influenced by emancipatory research theories that reside in the perceptions of the use of the ESDS presented by study participants. Debate explores implications arising from empirical considerations of the strengths and weaknesses of the present mode of ESDS service delivery, while the essential focus highlights where and how participants perceive that the ESDS fails to meet particular needs, and how the service ought to attune its theory and practice to provide a less-disablist service use experience. Indeed, the evidence reveals that a substantial gulf exists between how service providers view the capacity of the ESDS to meet users' needs, compared to how users' perceive such matters. Enquiry pinpoints certain policy or practice features of the

ESDS which participants perceive as warranting revisions. Analysis includes a synopsis of the key determinants that limit existing state disability-employment policy frameworks. Critical response acknowledges the growth of supply-side responses adopted by the ESDS, following the recent transformative shift in the normative condition of employment exclusion of disabled persons that has arisen from within the welfare-to-work ideology as developed throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

Finally, Chapter 6 expounds the basis for understanding the continuity of employment-related oppression which disabled persons encounter. It links the issue of labour-market marginality and alienation engendered by disablist socio-cultural factors, with the need for a paradigmatic shift in state policy perspectives to broaden policy response. Debate argues that to engender positive social inclusion of disabled persons into the labour force not only necessitates an appreciation of disabled people's own negative perceptions of the framework of the ESDS, but also need for the development of a climate of non-oppressive flexible labour market anti-disablist inclusory policy values. State reform concerned with disability-employment intervention options include commitment to work integration policy by Government, disabled persons and employers through the adoption of policy, operated by several Countries whereby preference for state-contracts entails obligation towards disability-related employment integration (Lunt and Thornton, 1993; Roulstone, 2000).

1.8 Thesis conclusions

The thrust of this study its thesis, is that the policy objectives underpinning welfare-to-work strategy that seeks to counter the normative values base of employment exclusion that disabled people encounter in modern society, cannot be realised through what is essentially a reaffirmation of the traditional methods applied within state-led responses to this condition. The cumulative effect of this response, is the maintenance of the

selection criterion process in state agency based on classificatory principles that sustain an approach to work integration whose primary function centres on the regulation of the entry into labour markets of those who have significant impairment. Debate locates the key historic factors underpinning the development of state regulation of disabled people that legitimate denial of parity of access to work and society. The transformations of labour markets and state welfare regimes revealed how divergent pressures combined to challenge this particular regulatory phenomenon. Foremost, this relates to the changes within state ideological-based hegemonic views surrounding disability and the employment of disabled persons. Renewed perspectives signifying a departure from traditional exclusion principles were enshrined in the core policy response to work integration of disabled people upheld by 1980s welfare state regimes.

It was argued that a crisis of welfare in the 1970s, set in train the major impetus for tighter regulation of welfare dependency, and instilled efforts to ensure re-commodification of those of working age, so as to challenge the continuance of entrenched state welfare dependency on the part of those perceived as being contingent or core members of a rising 'underclass' of workless people who remain long-term dependants of state benefits. Whilst similar perceptions of the threat of welfare dependency straddle centuries of social policy interpretation of state-welfare conditions, it was not until the 1980s that this social pariah was addressed. The effects of increased demand for the employment of disabled people, and for greater control over state disability benefits, became central to the maintenance of the welfare-to-work strategy. However, the approach taken by governments in the 1980s and 1990s, concerning disability-related social exclusion remained piecemeal and unable to tackle the structural or attitudinal basis for employment exclusion that disabled people have identified within the current study.

Chapter 2

The Legacy of History

It looks to me like most employers just don't want to employ disabled people. When I say 'I'm disabled', they quickly lose interest. That hurts, I know I can work and that I have skills, but there seems so little chance of finding work. As for the disability-service, frankly, they never have any suitable jobs. (Study Participant November 1996).

The New Deal is the first programme ever to provide disabled people who want to work with the opportunities to do so and the assistance they need. It marks a clean break with the past, when disabled people were left for years on benefit without help or advice on how to return to work. (Frank Field MP Secretary of State for Social Security and the Minister for Welfare Reform, March 1998).

2.1 Introduction

The above quote notes the ethos and nature of the response to labour marginality and exclusion as proclaimed by New Labour's New Deal for Disabled People (NDDP). However, prior to considering the shift from inadequate policy response to disability employment post-NDDP, this chapter first discusses the background of disability, its horizons and legacies and the prevailing disablist cultural hegemony prior to the NDDP. In particular, it examines the inadequacies of reasoning upon disability-employment matters over time, the limited opposition to disablism within state policy, and, the theoretical framework of disability policy and social inclusion. The debate addresses a needs assessment that will identify disabled peoples' labour market requirements. From this issue, the focus shifts to employment support to assist work capability enhancement drawing upon the perceptions of the current study's participants on matters relating to

rehabilitation and training programmes. These issues are considered in more detail within Chapters 3 and 4.

With regard to the background of disability several introductory observations require to be made by way of introduction. This relates to the key historical determinants associated with the origins and constructions of the concept of impairment-related disability. Study analysis considers key philosophical continuities arising from the negative influences enshrined within prior policy responses to disabled people, and notes their affect upon contemporary state disability-employment policy frameworks. Focusing upon the legacy of disadvantageous interpretations of those with impairments, the debate identifies the historical links between disabled people's employment marginalisation and transformative aspects in the mode of production. Theoretical discourse points to the implications that negative historical response to disability issues holds for the constitution and the ethos of existing disability employment policy. Therefore, the analysis presented addresses ideological and theoretical foundational negative values operative or influential in the construction of state-led employment-disability policy. These observations relate to contemporary impacts of specific disablist legacies, that engender negative responses to disabled people, which some ES-ESDS service providers are said to exhibit, as noted by the perceptions and experiences of disabled people (see Chapter 5) as users of these services. In doing so, the analysis provides a basis for appreciation of how particular negative conceptions of disabled people accrued to a culture of disablism resulting in denial of meaningful social inclusion.

To attest the essential impact of negative disablist legacies, there is a need to consider how interpretative reasoning of disability has occurred over time before the main discourse of this Chapter. Specifically, the study's theoretical conceptualisation explores cultural origins and expediencies in time of varying policy interpretations brought to bear upon persons with impairments. Consideration of policy influences, which is

contextualised by state-led welfare regimes within which disability-related perspectives, were grounded upon discrete political influences and negative disablist cultural values. This involves outlining policy interpretative frameworks (Colebatch, 1998) on disability engendered by differing precepts relating to specific regulatory frameworks concerning the labour market relations of disabled people. The main focus is upon the two core state-led agencies that regulate disability-employment matters: the DSS and the ES-ESDS. To appreciate the differences in the treatment of and response to disabled people, prior to the current period, necessitates an understanding of the impact upon disabled people's access to employment engendered by the diversification of regulatory influences on disability-employment issues due to the medical and rehabilitation professions dominance of such matters, and the effect of state welfare and disability-related employment measures upheld by the post-war policy framework of labour force segregation of disabled people. For a recent example of critical analysis of state disability policy see Barnes et al. (1998) and Drake (1999, pp. 18-31).

However, the research perspective and analysis does not lay claim to the provision of a definitive conceptualisation of what Abberley (1987) describes as an account representative of the historical specificity of the experience of disability. For example, drawing upon an unpublished source by Abberley (1985), Gleeson (1999) decries non-materialist-based, hence abstracted socio-cultural, evaluations in historical accounts of disability, arguing that these non-materialist representations denote a high element of unsubstantiated subjectivism or an ahistorical basis to debates on disability-related social/employment alienation (Abberley 1987). These aspects lead on to the next part of this chapter, which will consider theoretical frameworks underpinning disability policy. Abberley's (1987) interpretative criticism accords with debate presented within Finkelstein's (1980) analysis of the historical relationship between the genesis of the negative identification of people with impairment conditions, and state policy governing

the disabled person (Mandel, 1980; Esping-Andersen, 1992; Barnes et al., 1998; Byrne, 1999).

Finkelstein (1996), argued that due to the advent of post-industrialism (Hahn, 1986; Giddens, 1994a) and a decline in mass-production neo-Fordist (Walby, 1994; Jessop, 1994; Pierson, 1994) physically exclusionary work environments, disabled persons may find that current service sector expansion (see Mishra, 1990) could create increased potential for labour market participation. The essential logic of this view, its regional dynamic specific to the study's locality (see ESSW, 1996), indicated that the newly expanded leisure sector, and flexible, particularly part-time work within the service industry, could be capable of responding to disabled people's employment needs, such as flexible working practices, temporary work contracts, flexi-time conditions, shift work or job share arrangements, see study respondents comments in Chapter 4. However, Finkelstein's (1993a, b) outlook on work, harbours no illusion of the likelihood of employment equality between disabled people and non-disabled people arising as a consequence of the transformative employment conditions of extended globalisation of labour markets (Grint, 1994).

Finkelstein's (1993a) critique clearly acknowledges impacts of historic disadvantage underpinning disabled people's patterns of employment entrenched within modern work practices. However, in terms of gradual dissolution of the normative position of comparative work exclusion, such analysis challenged this relatively statist condition, though note the criticism of over optimism for the integration of disabled people into the labour force due to the shifting mode of employment and new technology changes, as noted by Oliver (1990) and Roulstone (1998). Although Barnes et al. (1999, p. 84) suggested that Finkelstein's critique errs on the side of a 'mechanical' account of the relationship between mode of production and people's accounts and perceptions of disability, the general logic of the view, that altered employment trends could extend the employment prospects of disabled persons — given the transformation of patterns of

production and consumption — this is a moot point — for example the practice of some major employers in the 1990s, notably supermarkets, targeting the recruitment of disabled persons as employees — though, as Finkelstein (1993a), warned the tendency was still for employers to recruit from amongst those least incapacitated.

Roulstone (1998) examined the oppressive and subordinated positions of other less powerful groups within labour markets (notably women and ethnic minority workers) and drew parallels with exploitative experiences encountered by disabled workers. He considers negative aspects of gendered, racial and disability commonalities upheld within employment. Priestley (1999) addresses the unique additional stratum of exploitation that disabled persons encounter, that is, their enforced absence from many mainstream occupations, the experience of stigma, and, a culture of oppressive anti-disablist values. Anti-disablist theorists also noted that disability-related professions have a vested interest in the maintenance of an interpretation of disability as representative of a condition of either nominal or virtual dependency (Finkelstein, 1980; Oliver, 1990; Barnes, 1991). Therefore, shifting the rationale of employment exclusion from the individual to society, involved challenging and re-defining the role specialist disability related agencies occupy through the creation of a cultural shift of values that essentially threatened the existing normative values upheld by these professional bodies.

As previously stated, the philosophical stance applied in the current study was significantly influenced by historical materialist interpretations of capitalism and state welfare regulation (see Castoriadis, 1991; Offe, 1993; Giddens, 1994a; O' Brien and Penna, 1998; Callinicos, 1999), especially disability movement materialist critiques of class and gendered analysis on disability matters (Abberley, 1987; Oliver, 1990; Morris, 1991; Hevey, 1992; Barton, 1996 and Gleeson, 1999). Therefore the perspectives advanced signified an explanation for the continuity of socio-economic marginality and the limits to integration in current disability-employment responses. Disability movement materialist critiques on impairment oppression challenged the atheoretical

accounts of disabled people's socialisation that neglected the historic rationale underpinning the oppression of disabled people (Abberley 1987; Oliver, 1990; Gleeson, 1999). This principally denoted the negative factors sustained by a work culture that exhibits relative indifference to disabled people's work integration, and sustains a culture of oppression and exploitation. Gleeson (1999, p. 215) notes:

The twin definition of disability used by materialists instates the body as the key site where disabling social relations are registered; in short, the perspective draws upon an embodied ontology.

Gleeson (1999, p. 43), refers to

Foucault's ... investigations of social embodiments in different epochs that ... show that human corporeality is a historically and socially specific phenomenon.

From this starting point we can look to the rationality of oppressive interpretations of disability by acknowledgement of what Oliver (1990) argued was the importance of understanding disability definitions in a broader socio-cultural construction of identity and social regulation (see Leonard, 1984; Abberley 1998; Gleeson, 1999). Abberley (1992) noted that the exclusion of disabled people from employment legitimated a culture of disablism. This conceptualisation was embedded within a framework of unchallenged disablist values and abstracted disadvantageous historical perspectives on disability. These damaging influences, founded upon uncritical perspectives, implied that disabled people were inherently incapable of sustaining mainstream employment. Consequentially, where the basis of social barriers to work opportunity remained substantially ignored this shaped disablist interpretative reasoning (see Barnes, 1994; Barnes et al., 1999; Priestley, 1999).

2 2 Disability: backgrounds, horizons and legacies

Historical evidence revealed that the onset of the employment-related exclusion of disabled people prior to the 19th century was due to the segregated values upheld by the

Poor Laws (Topliss, 1975; Bolderson, 1991; Barnes, 1991; Geremek, 1997; Gleeson, 1999). Bolderson (1980) observed that it was not until the latter period of the 19th century that disabled people's social conditions became a matter of urgent policy concern. However, these concerns were predominantly influenced by the values of social Darwinism and eugenics (Finkelstein, 1980; Oliver, 1990). Pressures for policies on acquired impairment, such as Insurance-based compensation and state welfare, reflected developments in the mode of production and labour movement influence in state-welfare reform (Bolderson, 1991; Campbell and Oliver, 1996). Historically, mass industrialisation and large-scale production methods (described as neo-Fordism in the UK context), led to the exclusion of disabled people from mainstream production (Morris and Butler, 1969; Ryan and Thomas, 1980; Oliver, 1990; Amin, 1994; Gleeson, 1999). Subsequent enforced dependency of disabled people upon state and non-state welfare provision, laid the basis for an hegemony of disability interpretation determined by ideological values of dependency and segregation that resulted in the employment alienation of disabled people. Ensuing ideological social responses to those so excluded, were representative of a paternal charity-oriented perspective and, with the marginalisation of state response to disability-related employment inclusion, provision, such as rehabilitation was primarily located in the voluntary sector (Topliss, 1975 and 1982; Bolderson, 1980).

During the 19th century due to the impact of the medicalisation of disability (Finkelstein, 1980; Finkelstein, 1993a), policy was aimed at eradication or containment of disease and the reduction of handicap. Topliss (1975, pp. 11-12) noted that the Poor Law Commission (1838) states, 'much destitution was caused by disease' which set in motion health reforms. Finkelstein (1980) and Bolderson (1980) identified the emergence of a welfare ideology based upon individuated policy responses determined by non-disabled people's interpretations of disabled people's needs. This approach to disability matters legitimated the medicalisation of impairment and the pathologising of

disability through means of an interpretative theory of disablement as inadequacy. Effectively, disability caused by impairment was perceived solely as an individualised misfortune and 'interpreted' as a health issue, although in policy terms, it is much more complex. At the turn of the 20th century, reforms to consolidate regulation of the working classes, amidst pressures for class policy reform by the Labour Movement (see Hobsbawm, 1969; Fraser, 1973; Hay, 1975; Lovell, 1977; Campbell and Oliver, 1996), resulted in the Workman's Compensation Act (1897) and National Insurance Act (1911), with national provision for the sick and those injured in industrial accidents. However, as Bolderson (1991, p. 30) observed,

these measures were to do little for the employment needs of the disabled. In fact, they disadvantaged disabled workers by excluding the infirm and elderly from work opportunities, while others were directed to unsuitable forms of occupations in order to prevent employers having to provide economic compensations for loss of work due to injuries acquired whilst engaged in industry.

Charitable provision led to the establishment of workshops for blinded ex-soldiers, as Topliss (1982, p. 45) states, 'to use their diminished productive capacities'. Questions of causation or actuality regarding 'diminished productive capacities' were excluded from medical model disability theorisation. Instead, rehabilitative strategies, as Finkelstein (1980) argued, perceived disability and impairment as 'individualised tragedy', whose causalities went largely unrecognised or ignored. During the First World War, Bolderson (1991, p. 30) noted: 'policy for the restoration to health and employment of disabled soldiers and sailors' was totally inadequate. Fears of social unrest by ex-services personnel prompted government committees of inquiry to provide employment measures for the two and a half million people disabled by the 1914-18 war (Stevenson, 1984).

Government, local authority and voluntary bodies laid the foundations of modern policies on disability welfare provision; the growth of state control and segregated provision within institutionalised rehabilitative environments (Bolderson, 1980 and

1991). Foundations for disability-related employment policy adopted by the Tomlinson Committee (1941-1943) were actually conceptualised in the inter-war period, though disability-related employment initiatives were abandoned due to economic crisis (Whiteside, 1991). The profound shift in employment exclusion values, engendered through the shortage of labour in the wars years, prompted a major review of disability policy. Humphries and Gordon (1992) stated that labour force activity during the Second World War showed that half a million disabled people were recruited into the UK labour market (Oliver, 1996). The origins of the concept of disability lies in the specificity of the embodiment of a disabled identity and the categorisation of disabled bodies (see Leonard, 1984 and 1998; Gleeson, 1999), arguably, the grounds sustaining the social regulatory values of the 'medical model' thesis of disablement, lies deep in the historical process of ideological constructs of the disabled person (Douglas 1966). While the transformative interpretative rationale of disablement has shifted between various agencies of social construction, within the core disability regulatory framework of employment matters: social services, the medical profession, the employment service and social security regimes, its causal nexus remained firmly rooted in an oppressive image and condition upheld by the embodied disabled individual. For an illustration of these factors, see Leonard's (1984) debate on negative cultural values, marginality, disablement and employment matters. Constituent elements of the social construction of the disabled person, ascribable to wide-ranging socio-cultural influences, have devalued disabled people's ability to contribute to mainstream production. The result has been the perpetration of an inadequate secondary status relationship between disabled people and labour markets. Historically, embedded values of disablism included cultural phenomenon, such as the ascription of disability as undesirable alien 'otherness' (see Young 1990; Barnes, 1994; Barham, 1992; Bynoe et al., 1991; Porter, 1987; Foucault, 1962; Geremek, 1997; Barnes et al., 1999).

Stone (1985) argued the legacy of the denial of work integration was decisively influential in the formulation of hostile measures within the historic constitution of state welfare regulatory policy responses towards disabled people. Thus, disability constructs and values were pivotal to the requirements of capitalist production and were realised through the process of poor law regulation of vagrancy, poverty relief, pauperism and nascent industrial labour market discipline (Oliver, 1990).

Disability categorisations were formally enshrined, in the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, as the 'aged and infirm', collectively considered the 'deserving poor', who were separated from other paupers and accorded different treatment (see Fraser, 1975), principally by the burgeoning medical profession which was to become the principle arbiter of disability and the main vehicle for medical influenced values in work policy development (Foucault, 1973; Oliver, 1990). Stone (1985) implies that the influence of Malthus (1798) upon the redistributive role of poor law officials, who defined the severely incapacitated as unproductive, acted to legitimate disabled people's inclusion in the ranks of classical liberalism's surplus populations (Jordan, 1998; Byrne, 1999). The absence of severely impaired people from production regimes culminated in the incarceration of those defined (by clinical and morally-based statutory onus) as the most incapacitated (Abbott and Sapsford, 1987; Humphries and Gordon, 1992), consolidating what Finkelstein (1980), noted as the 'medicalisation of disability', and the 'social death' of disabled people (see Goffman, 1963; Foucault, 1962; Hunt, 1966; Finkelstein, 1980 and 1993a; Oliver, 1990; Barnes, 1994; Campbell and Oliver, 1996; Barnes, 1996).

Finkelstein (1993a) noted how a medicalisation thesis sustained and legitimated the dependency thesis of disablement and an administrative approach to disability issues. Gleeson (1999) argued that the rationale for such policy values was predicated on the influences of post-enlightenment medicalisation of disability that sanctioned the separation of those seen as having a severely incapacitating impairment from society (see Foucault, 1962; Porter, 1987; Finkelstein, 1980; Oliver, 1990; Stone, 1985; Barton,

1996; Oliver and Barnes, 1998; Gleeson, 1999). The values that underpin social or neo-Darwinism significantly influenced evaluations of disability, those deemed to possess either 'aberrant minds or bodies' were subjected to 'treatment' as suitable candidates for social eugenic policies (Abbott and Sapsford, 1987; Bailey, 1996). People with visible impairment conditions were presented as 'a spectacle', that is, as 'a freak show' (see Barnes, 1994; Hevey, 1997; Mitchell, 1997; Shakespeare et al., 1998) with resultant vilification and deprecation of those with certain physical and/or intellectual characteristics or perceived abnormalities.

2.3 Disabled people's historic marginalisation from labour markets

Oliver and Barnes (1998) argued that these historical developments served the interests of employment profitability by removing and confining the least productive. Subsequent employment-related exclusion resulted in the absence of people with significant impairments from mainstream production. Oliver (1990) argued this phenomenon created a socio-cultural disability vacuum that was filled by institutional-centred rationality's that promulgated disablist legitimations for this occurrence. Cultural homogeneity, that interpreted disability as inability, upheld through the factor of disabled people's labour market exclusion, underpinned negative societal perceptions of disability, that presented disabled people with unique physical and cultural barriers as well as varied heterogeneous forms of social oppression related to class, ethnicity and gender. For example, current employment trends revealed increased specialisation, de-skilling and the necessity for enhanced skills acquirement (see Chapter 3), all of which required disabled people to attune their perceptions of employment practices and respond to current labour market requirements despite their continued work exclusion.

The locus of the study's analysis, the relationship of disabled people to labour markets, drew upon Marxist materialist analysis of the mode of production within capitalism

(Clarke, 1994; Morrison, 1997). Marx's historical materialist view of the inherent changes in social production outlined by Forder et al. (1984, p. 89) maintain:

the relationship between people, their work and their environment is to be related to the socio-economic structure of society. So an understanding of historical process makes possible an understanding of human nature and the social relationships which exist at any particular point in time.

Oliver (1983) also located disabled people's socio-cultural environmental context within a materialist framework. Therefore, an understanding of the existence of an historical correlation between transformational features within modes of production, and the enforced absence of disabled people from mainstream employment are of pivotal importance to a materialist-based understanding of disability within modern society. Locating this process within an anti-disablist values contextualisation provides for the shift of analytic ethos away from assumptions of disability as individualised 'tragedy' or 'misfortune' by confronting the legitimations and rationale for the interpretation of impairment as an individuated socially abstracted matter (Gleeson, 1999). Having examined aspects of policy philosophy within state administrative regimes, the focus of observation returns to the construction of disabled identities. In considering the existence of employment barriers faced by disabled people within contemporary society, primacy must be accorded to the reasons why social constructs determining who is classed as 'disabled' have arisen.

2.4 State disability and impairment interpretative reasoning

Broadly speaking, Stone (1985) stated, disabled people were those who warranted separate classification in relation to social welfare and employment policies. As Stone (1985, p. 179) asserted:

We have seen that disability is a flexible category, created and adapted in different political contexts.

She noted:

The disability concept was essential to the development of a workforce in early capitalism and remains indispensable as an instrument of the state in controlling labour supply.

Historically, the division of disabled people into those deemed likely to engage in employment and those exempted from a compulsion to labour, due to factors other than the absence of workplace adjustments and of the need for positive inclusory cultural values shifts, has been beneficial to those disabled persons unable to labour who became entitled to state income alternatives to working such as disability-related welfare benefit (Stone, 1985; Abberley, 1997). Unfortunately, the resulting devaluation of disabled people's ability to engage in the modern labour process has had a negative effect upon the conceptualisation of disablement. The struggle to define acceptable interpretation of the meaning of disability has led to a challenge of the language and negative values of disablism.

For example, Lonsdale (1990, pp. 2-3), argued that the term 'disabled' acts as a pejorative blanket term which leads to disabled people being excluded from all spheres of social life. Brisenden (1986) argued that to be called 'disabled' was also seen eventually to lead into a state of conditioned passivity, a factor indicated by some of this study's respondents, see Chapter 4 (see Brisenden, 1986; Sutherland, 1981; Barnes, 1994). Essentially, then, disabled people were separated from the mainstream located within secondary or 'special' status categorisations in segregated or mainstream agencies. Consequently, they more than most non-disabled people, are subject to draconian regulation resulting in marginalisation (Barnes, 1996; see also Berger and Luckmann (1971), and Thomas (1982). The effects of this strategy contributes to the perspective of disability as social oppression in which socio-economic and political forces restrict the lives of certain people (Oliver, 1983, 1986; Finkelstein, 1980; Abberley 1992). Disability movement theorists argued that abstracted concepts of disability reflected specific agency-led codification's of impairment-related policy, whereby normative

service values sustained organisational continuities and requirements above those of empowering service users by direct involvement in shaping service design, delivery and implementation (Topliss, 1975; Croft and Beresford, 1992; Doyle, 1994; Campbell, 1996; Priestley 1999).

Priestley (1999) identified the development in Social Services, particularly within Community Care provision, of an endeavour to overturn the practice of the exclusion of disabled people from service matters. Gibbs and Priestley (1995) noted that certain public sector agencies have made efforts to include disabled persons in service matters. However, despite shifting values within disability-related service implementation, the core bastions of disability regulation, Social Security regimes and the Employment Service, resist user-empowerment thesis challenges to the primary functions of either agency. Commenting on the prospects for DSS service user inputs to the implementation, delivery and service response to disabled people's welfare need, Ling (1994), expressed scepticism on empowerment prospects, and, whilst the ES, has been subject to moderate user-related pressure (see Thornton and Lunt, 1995), it remains patently non-amenable to consumer driven or service-user-led agendas that threaten the regulatory values and ideological framework of this state agency, see debates in Chapter 6. Service user participatory influences, therefore remain suppositions and decisively ethereal in character (see Thompson, 1993, Price, 1996, see also the interview with a Social Services Policy Officer in Chapter 4, and Appendix 1.

2.5 The transformation of state employment policy in the 1990s

Transformations of state welfare philosophy within the past decade were predicated on enhancing employment for those excluded from labour markets (Jordan, 1996). To enhance the welfare-to-work agenda, New Labour drew upon eclectic influence within contemporary policy, much of which (as regards 'welfare') is the progeny of prior

agendas of new right dependency deterrence (Pierson, 1998), appeals to active citizenship and moral regeneration (Gray, 1993). For example, ideas of rights combined with responsibilities as depicted by the individualist tenets upheld in Communitarian theories (see Etzioni, 1995; Byrne, 1999). Critical views on New Labour's communitarianism presented by Driver and Martell (1998), noted that despite rhetorical evidence of a third or middle way policy synthesis, New Labour, 'increasingly advocates conditional, morally prescriptive, conservative and individual communitarianism at the expense of less conditional and redistributive, socio-economic, progressive and corporate communitarianism'. Such an individualised response to the collective work integration needs of disabled people restricts the agenda of response to social barriers, see also Hutton (1999).

However, this revised policy framework was more indicative of poor law austerity, given the demographics of unemployment (Tonge, 1999) and extension of labour market exclusion of disabled people well beyond the confines of pre-1980s reserve army constituent groups (Jordan, 1998, p. 35; Economist, October 31 1998, pp. 35-6; New Left Review, January/February 1998, pp. 131-46). The conceptualisations of policy instrumentalism in order to attain a culture of affirmation of individual citizen's obligations and adequate rights was brought centre stage (see Leonard, 1997, and Berthoud, 1998). Clearly, New Labour has produced welfare orthodoxy with elements of philosophical influence absent from the ideological framework of pre-1980s Labour Party constituted welfare state principles (Oliver and Barnes, 1998). However, analysis on disability provided by The Commission on Social Justice (CSJ) retained an ideological underpinning that owed much to the medicalisation or administrative thesis of disability interpretative conceptuality (Borrie, 1994), even though the CSJ report by Massie (1994) emphasised the importance of social model analysis and suggested social and income reform proposals.

Giddens (1994b) noted that transformative impacts upon modern society weakened the frameworks for state welfare social interventions aimed at the amelioration of income inequalities. Indeed, Giddens (1994b) argued that the transformation of the Keynes/Beveridge project of state welfare produced a climate of insecurity that dictates the limits to transformative developments of welfare regime redistribution policies. New Labour's tightening of welfare benefit, begun under the last Labour Government's Social Security Reviews 1975 and 1978 and radically extended by the New Right in the 1980s (Dean, 1996), were noted by Hutton (1999), who asserted, in a sense, New Labour is already a prisoner of the political economy that inequality has created. For example, the decision not to retain or develop the ES-led disability-employment quota measure was a case in point (Roulstone, 2000). Commenting on the rationale of a 'third way' for Britain's welfare state - as an alternative to European or American capitalism Hutton (1999) argues, New Labour's shedding of socialist ideology and commitment has gone so far it cannot even be defined as a social democratic party (see also Gray, 1995; Hutton 1999).

The demise of Britain's manufacturing base in the 1980s and 1990s (Philpott, 1997; Gorz, 1997) and crisis of welfare ideology (Offe, 1984; Oliver 1990) within capitalist economies was met by renewed welfare austerity and extended work-based re-commodification (Esping-Andersen, 1990, 1992). This extended to disability welfare regulation (Oppenheim and Harker, 1996; Jordan, 1998), of poorly paid or unskilled working class disabled persons as a consequence of the tightening up of the access to social security benefit entitlements (see Drake, 1999).

2.6 Opposition to disablism within state welfare policy

Disability policy shifts of the 1980s to 1990s from attitudes of presumed incapability towards strategies for renewed social participation, were arguably, influenced by the

challenge to the hegemony of disablist values by the disability movement (Erlanger and Roth, 1985; Driedger, 1989; Thompson, 1993; Shakespeare, 1993; Campbell and Oliver, 1996). Uppermost this entailed the struggle of disabled people to reject social exclusion by challenging what Wolfensberger (1980a) described as the subjection of disabled people to enforced normalisation processes, typically, those upheld in rehabilitation theories. In Britain during the 1980s, organised reaction by disabled people to the oppressive paradigms upheld by 'normalisation' perspectives of disability promoted the concept of the Ordinary Life movement that challenged the cultural perception of disability as passivity (see Derricourt, 1987; Wood, 1991; French, 1993).

Integration initiatives in the philosophy, or rhetoric, of Government's pronouncements upon de-institutionalisation (Barnes, 1994; Hulley and Clarke, 1993) cite user empowerment and service accountability (Barnes et al., 1998; ES, 1998), both concepts that are fashionable within agencies responsible for delivering disability-related services (Morris, 1997). Influence for policy reformation reflects tensions within bottom up demand-led pressures, as well as, top down supply-driven agency response to need 'satisfaction', accountability and service quality frameworks (Percy-Smith, 1996; Priestley, 1999). The relationship between state employment disability policy and social security reforms is a case in point (Hyde, 1998). For example, the perceptions shown by current study participants, on power disequilibrium (between clients and professionals) within agencies 'serving' disabled people, revealed that a significant minority (14per cent) reflected upon policy practice and power inequality (Lukes, 1973) also identified being positively influenced by the growth of disability-rights-based organisations. The radical shifts of the Disabled People's Movement in the 1980s and 1990s exerted a social model influence of emancipatory values and cultural and ideological transformations in organisations run by disabled people (Campbell and Oliver, 1996). Arguably, the influences of organised resistance to work exclusion had a significant impact upon some service users' perceptions of rights and needs (see Gibbs and Priestley, 1995; Priestley,

1999, and Simpkins, 1994, and Chapter 4 below). However, the development of 'self-help' approaches to disability-exclusion that place reliance upon single-issue campaigns, has invoked a criticism of 'pressure group' politics that obstructs the creation of a united front to disability oppression (see Oliver and Zarb, 1989).

The absence, within society of a general consciousness of disability as social oppression, sustained a socio-cultural interpretation of disability as individual misfortune or inadequacy. Such self-negating interpretative evaluations of disability-alienation were apparent in the views expressed by participants of the current study. Comments by a significant minority of this study's respondents (N29, 41 per cent) revealed a discernible correlation between perceptions of distorted or negative self image, and disablist self image (Morris, 1996; Shakespeare, 1998), where negative self evaluation, based upon stigmatised stereotypes, were accepted, or feared, as an embodiment of a negative self-victimising disabled identity (see Foucault, 1965; Hunt, 1966, 1981; Porter, 1987; Goffman, 1963, 1969; Finkelstein, 1980; Giddens, 1991; Morris, 1991). A significant minority of people questioned, some one-third, stated that perceptions of impairment-related stigma exerted a strong negative effect upon their self-confidence, especially when seeking employment (Baldwin et al., 1994).

The analysis by Morris (1991) of disability as 'spoiled identity' (see Goffman, 1963), revealed how gendered features of disablement produced dual disabling effects of oppression manifest within gendered stereotypes. Stereotypes that portrayed disabled people as primarily failing to adequately reproduce the desired or required normative (gendered) representative image (Wolfsenberger, 1980a; Brown and Smith, 1992; Lonsdale, 1990; Morris, 1996; Shakespeare, 1998). Morris (1996) showed how this 'dual oppression' played a crucial role in instilling on the part of the recipient, a sense of low self-esteem with distinct gendered oppressive outcomes for disabled females, though clearly for disabled males, 'masculinist' dual oppressive parallels were also evident.

Specific evidence of negative self-portrayal arising from perceived stigma or alienation that impairment oppression manifested, particularly in the responses shown by employers, are addressed by this study's respondents in Chapter 4. Undeniably, the accumulated effects of disabling conditions - overtly as well as covertly - played an obviously crucial role in presenting disabled would-be job applicants, and employed disabled people, with additional pressures to prove themselves worthy of inclusion or acceptance by the non-disabled mainstream (Barnes, 1991; Oliver, 1990, 1996; Morris 1992, 1996). One common effect of disablist cultural values was the pathologising of disabled people. For example, studies conducted in the 1970s, predicated on medical model values, placed emphasis on the health 'stabilising' effects of employment opportunity on particular disabled people, notably, those classed as mentally ill (Wing and Brown, 1970). Similar abstracted and subjective impairment denouement interpretative claims were made for women suffering from depression (Brown and Harris, 1978).

However, Oliver (1990), warned of the need to guard against acceptance of the bio-medical model operative in under-theorised social constructs of disability analysis, wherein subjective assumptions of 'normalisation' legitimated normative ideological tenets that obscured or denied the specificity of disability experiences (see Morris, 1991, 1994; Shakespeare, 1996a; Crow, 1996). Most 'normalisation' debates, addressed contemporary community care policies, though Bornat et al., 1993, and Priestley, 1999, noted the negative effects of de-institutionalising strategies upon disabled people (see Barnes, 1994; Gooding, 1994; George and Miller, 1994; Clarke et al., 1994). In employment matters, normative theories steer rehabilitation programmes dedicated to the pursuit of a normative order, through the 'adjustment' of disabled people, rather than re-adjustment of a disablist society (Topliss, 1975; Oliver, 1990; Barnes, 1994).

It has been argued that we are witnessing a paradigm shift to a social model understanding of disablement. On a positive note, this change has consolidated the

struggle for social justice, exemplified by the radicalisation of disability organisations, though on a negative level, this coincided with the marketisation of the post-war state welfare infrastructure, arguably, to the detriment of disabled people as state service users (Barnes, 1994). Nonetheless, this study's analytic perspectives were firmly grounded by the growth and development of solidarity amongst disabled people (Campbell and Oliver, 1996).

2.7 Theoretical frameworks of disability policies

Since the early 1990s, increased critical debates upon the social origins of disability and theories of impairment-related disablement have entered the lexicon of disability analysis. Some originate within academic debate, including disability studies. Many of the analytical matters raised were addressed by proponents of the disability movement (Oliver, 1990, 1996; Barton, 1996; Morris, 1991; Morris, 1996; Campbell and Oliver, 1996; Davis, 1997; Shakespeare, 1998; Oliver and Barnes, 1998; Gleeson, 1999). However, despite increased attention to disability matters, within policy production environments, debate upon employment and disability (see Oliver, 1990; Hahn, 1997; Gleeson, 1999) remained rare and largely under-theorised (Abberley, 1996).

Under-theorised debate into impairment-related employment was apparent within government and academic analysis. This was particularly true where analyses of impairment and employment concepts of 'non' discriminatory policy, designed to promote social inclusion, lacked adequate theoretical perception of the causalities and implications of disability oppression. One often neglected facet of analysis of impairment and disability concerned the need for inclusion within the rubric of 'disability analysis' of those who experienced physical or intellectual impairment due to associated conditions of ill-health (Crow, 1996). Gleeson (1999) discussing the divorce of health-related conditions from physical and intellectual disability, noted the causal basis for

separation was due to the struggle by disabled people to disassociate concepts of disability from the hegemonic dictats of the medical model. However, as Reiser and Mason (1990) warned it must not be assumed that disabled people do not need or see, at specific points in their lives, the necessity of medical support.

This approach denoted the need for analytical perspectives on disability to ensure social predominance in research methodologies of the social causality of impairment-related disablement over abstracted medicalised viewpoints. This separation of the concept of 'illness', from that of 'disability', led disability theorists, notably feminists (Morris, 1996), to argue that a post-medicalised social model needs to recognise the impairment and disablement wrought upon people by conditions of chronic or periodic ill health. They pointed out the need to return these experiences to disability analysis by showing how illness and impairment were related facets of oppressive conditions (Williams, 1998).

Whilst only a small minority of this study's participants ascribed a major influence of their disablement as due to debilitating ill-health effects, many perceived health and well-being as an accompanying aspect of impairment related to physical or intellectual disablement. Two significant factors can be identified. First, the policy response to those currently at the margins of disablement for disability employment or welfare provisions. Second, the need for more experientially grounded analysis of negative policy-based interpretative perspectives on impairment matters (Barton, 1996). Primarily, this entailed appreciation of the challenges presented to the social development of 'disability consciousness' by the perpetuation of negative (disablist) theorisations of disablement. In particular, the purportedly natural atheoreticised and individualist accounts of disability presented within government and employment service policy conceptualisations of disability matters.

The implications of the culture of disablist interpretations of disabled people's desire for integration into mainstream work impacted upon the framework of existing needs

assessment procedures, as practised by both the ESDS, and by employers. Study participants' identified problems associated with their personal experiences of employers' who appeared to lack significant knowledge of disability matters in respect to employee recruitment practices. Indeed, impairment by itself, was not felt to be the major obstacle to attaining (or retaining) employment. Those who identified the nature of the direct experience of disablist barriers in relation to work, laid stress upon the lack of an adequate disability-employment framework for supporting work inclusion design within the welfare-to-work programme. A core area of concern cited by participants' related to the inadequacy of existing rehabilitation measures predicated upon medicalised values and the poor access to work preparedness within some training schemes. These employment inclusion matters are debated within the following chapter.

2.8 Summary

This chapter considered the negative historical affects upon people with significant work-limiting impairments that arose as a consequence of oppressive interpretative rationalisations of disability and disablement prevalent in the socio-cultural values of modern society. This negative interpretative perspective on impairment matters, a medical model theorisation of disability, derived from the processes of a socially abstracted conceptualisation of disabled identity, viewed as concomitant with notions of undesired otherness or assumed inability. The segregation of disabled people from their non-disabled peers was a result of the regulatory mechanisms of state-welfare policy enacted by the Poor Laws. Over time, socially abstracted institutional-centred views, on impairment-related matters, have acted to underpin and sustain the work-related marginality of disabled people.

An hegemonic uncritical and under-theorised perspective on disability phenomenon, as upheld in medical-centred or administrative-based explanations for impairment-related

(social) disablement, acted as a disablist cultural legitimation for the alienation and social oppression disabled people experienced. An oppressive portrayal of disability matters sanctioned the view of disabled people as unfortunate, or dependent individuals incapable of employment, irrespective of the nature of the physical or attitudinal barriers that perpetrated this socially abstracted rationale. The result has been that negative hegemonic views of disability obstructed disabled people's right to social inclusion by excluding them from employment integration within mainstream occupations.

The emergence of socio-cultural disablist evaluations, of disabled people was a product of a number of socio-economic ideological factors that, over time, became indicative of atheoretical notions of non-disabled people's response to disability matters.

Impairment-related employment exclusion outcomes then, were the result of abstracted misunderstanding of disability and disablement set in place through the negative principles of the social construction of disabled identity. The critique presented argued for the application of a materialist socio-historical interpretative view of disability analysis guided by social model values. This approach served to anchor debate over the meaning of disability by revealing the influences of socially exclusionary values upheld in under-theorised social policy interpretations of disability analysis. The process of unravelling oppressive 'hidden' historic empirical dimensions of disabled people's lived experience revealed evidence of negative reasoning in the interpretative rationale on disability matters within contemporary state disability-employment policy.

The arguments advanced suggested that the major continuity of state-led employment policies were located in the abstract approaches towards impairment reflected within medicalisation and administrative regulatory principles that ignored the oppressive social regulatory legacy placed upon disabled people in respect to work alienation. Focusing upon historical policy conceptions of disability, the debate examined the rationale upheld by the Poor Law construction of a disabled identity as the origin of social regulation based on segregation and work exclusion. The development of poor law policy

regulation led to the adoption of disability classification principles based upon segregated approaches towards impaired individuals. This arbitrary process was transformed into a framework of so-called 'scientific' categorisation principles of disability, based upon culturally historical oppressive foundations.

The presentation of ideological determinants for the conception of the social mode of disabled people's integration or exclusion, within feudal and post-feudal society, shifts between policy conceptuality and theoretical legitimated explanations for these processes and practices. Taking the example of late 19th and 20th century socio-political policy ideological tenets, the debate focused upon the differences or similarities of the response to the needs of disabled people within specific periods of policy formulation. Policy regime approaches to disabled people were often draconian and penal in outlook wherein presupposed 'enlightened' objectification and pseudo-scientific rationality was principally founded upon the institutionalisation, subordination and social exclusion of those with presumed or actual lesser productive potentiality. Entering into the modern epoch, disabled identity is portrayed as having undergone significant re-appraisal. However, the 'culture of disablism' stands relatively intact despite the exigencies of modern welfare state regime requirements of greater re-commodification of disabled people. Within the social response to disabled people by government, state and non-state social institutions, anti-disablist values are gaining ground. However, the case is far from made for the universal recognition of a social theory of disablement, or for the assertion of a right to social liberation from the supra-exploitative realities that shapes the lived experience of disabled people within this and other modern societies.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the social construction of disability, its horizons and legacies and the disability net. It examined the interpretative reasoning of disability over time,

opposition to disablism within state welfare policy, theoretical frameworks of disability policy and the impairment-related critiques of disablement. These considerations and discussions lead to the following conclusions. The backgrounds, horizons and legacies were debated as part of the formal constitution of a disabled population, where, by the early 19th century, state hegemony of welfare represented the dominance of a medicalised outlook over disablement. Employment disability policy (see Chapter 3) set in motion at the turn of the 20th century, remained piecemeal and predicated on the least impaired individuals. Mid-1940s adoption of the 'Tomlinson principles' led to work integration matters being constituted via a revised segregated policy framework. Casting the disability net, consigned the more severely impaired to segregated work regimes from which there was little social mobility, whilst those deemed fit for mainstream industry were afforded limited support. Within the pre-Beveridgian or Keynesian Welfare State era, policy perspectives amounted to a fragmented and marginalised approach to disabled people's employment requirements. Interpretative reasoning of disability over time revealed how post-war disability policy statism was gradually replaced by market-liberal approaches within the 1980s and 1990s.

Generally, ideological approaches to state welfare related redistributive social justice theorisation, either, by-passed disabled people's work-related needs, or effectively compounded their social disadvantage. Within the post-war Welfare State cultural hegemony of disability conceptualisation remained embedded within medicalisation paradigms and administrative regulatory policy nexus that imposed its service values on disempowered service users. However, by the 1980s, New Right-influenced shifts to de-regulatory social welfare and market-centred disability policy prescriptions, led to the marketisation of state-led rehabilitation frameworks.

Growing opposition to disablism, within international policy, saw supra-national ideological development absorb tenets of the social model as upheld by the disability movement's challenge to negative interpretative reasoning on disability. Within

government administrative realms, policies to enhance the re-commodification of disabled people was sought through welfare-to-work compulsion measures aided by formed ES-ESDS work support perspectives (see Chapter 3). However, disability work requirement response awareness based upon inadequate understanding of the advantages encountered by disabled people in relation to work are clearly an outcome of the non recognition of the shortfall within existing state employment policy. This failure to shift disability related work responses beyond medicalised values invariably failed to challenge the real basis for the preservation of cultural-historical disablism.

The roots of disablist social exclusion lies in the political economy parameters set up by the interpretation of incapacity, that shaped state response towards the regulation of disabled people's work related needs from perspectives that were profoundly socially abstracted. It was argued that the current conditions of unchallenged employment-related socio-cultural disablism were determined by the absence of disabled people from mainstream work environments. Over time, work exclusion as a normative response to impairment and disabled people, acted to legitimate the negative labour market values of employment-based social alienation and oppression associated with those who experienced work limiting impairments.

Chapter 3

Policy Responses to Disability:

Ideologies of Employment

The 1990s will be a decade of increased opportunity for people with disabilities. New job opportunities are being created for them by demographic change. People with disabilities themselves have increased aspirations to control their own affairs, to realise their full potential at work and to train alongside non-disabled colleagues. (Comment within the ES., 1990, Consultative Document on Employment and Training for People with Disabilities).

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents debate on theoretical dimensions of disability policy from Poor Law to the 1990s. It considers the disability-employment-related assessment process that identifies the nature of current social barriers that confront disabled people's labour market opportunity. The debate draws upon the historical developments in state and non-state influences upon the employment support strategy that is intended to provide work capability enhancement. In particular, this chapter looks to the shaping of the rehabilitation and training programmes that are intended to promote work-integrated environments and conditions for disabled people. From a presentation of the historical precedents shaping disability-employment-related policy values, to the pre-1908s debates on the role of the state, private and voluntary sectors, the critique presented consider the implications for disabled persons employment aspirations by the policy values shift in favour of the de-coupling of state-led rehabilitation and supported work programmes that unfolded throughout the 1980s and 1990s. It has long been recognised that the lack of sufficient support for disabled people's work requirements has led to employment

disadvantage (Morris and Butler, 1967). Considerations over of the scope of current provision shown by the ES report (October 1990, pp. 53-4) estimated there were:

between 130,000 and 270,000 people with severe disabilities who are in employment or self employment, including those people numbering rather more than 20,000 supported by the Sheltered Employment Programme; and

a further 60,000 to 100,000 people with similar characteristics who are actively seeking work.

Doorn (1999) noted that research within the late 1990s, through welfare-to-work contextualised enquiry into unmet work requirements, revealed an estimated 1.1 million plus disabled persons, who although available for work were absent from the labour market (see Prescott-Clarke, 1990; Meager et al., 1999). Similar assessments of work-related needs, apparent within research into ES-led supported work practice, revealed that many disabled people desire supported employment opportunities, whilst amongst those presently within the welfare-to-work scheme and the SEP, many cited a preference for open mainstream working (see Johnson et al., July 1992; Hyde, 1996; Meager et al., 1999). Traditionally, many working class disabled people have endured highly oppressive work conditions and poor wages (Graham et al., 1990; Berthoud et al., 1993). Welfare-to-work policy therefore, presents a distinct paradox for disabled people given that employment-related oppression, unemployment or welfare dependency represent the normative condition upheld in their relations to labour markets. Enquiry into rehabilitation and training matters explores the trajectory of the impact of marketisation upon state-led disability services philosophy. However, from the work segregated values sustained by Tomlinson 1943, to the 1990s, ES-ESDS disability-related work integration support had been perceived as highly alienating (Hyde, 1996), (for an appreciation of the ES-led Supported Employment Programme see Pozner and Hammond, 1993; Beyer et al., 1996, and ES, 1999).

3.2 From poor law to modernity

Impairment-related policy owes its origins to the Poor Law Act 1599-1601. Elizabethan state intervention, into employment conditions, includes wage controls, and working conditions which date back to the statute of Labourers (1351), and the statute of Artificers (1563). Disability-related policy is present in the 1601 Poor Law Act. Arguably, the different phases of the Industrial Revolution produced the exclusion and segregation from work of many disabled people (Gleeson, 1999; Novak, 1988; Fraser, 1984; Barnes, 1991). Stone (1985, p. 12) has argued that,

“The very notion of disability is fundamental to the architecture of the welfare state; it is something like a keystone that allows the other supporting structures of the welfare state, and, in some senses the economy at large, to stay in place.”

Retrenchment of welfare led to the dismantling or restructuring of state-led disability provision in both social security and employment services (Berthoud et al., 1993; Thornton and Lunt, 1995). Pierson (1996, pp. 139-40) observed,

“whereas the development of modern welfare states modified the workings of the market, poor economic performance in the past two decades reaffirmed the tight link between the health of the private economy and the political status of social programs ... persistent fiscal strain dramatically altered the welfare state's position.”

However, welfare state rationalisation alone cannot increase disabled people's employment prospects, Oliver (1990, and Lunt and Thornton (1994) have argued that this required more than cosmetic refurbishment of some of the social barriers that obstructed the employment potential of disabled people.

3.3 Welfare or work - a central paradox

Indeed, welfare or work remains a paradox for disabled people and policy-makers in what Lunt and Thornton (1994) viewed as fragmented responses that excluded the work-

related perceptions of need that disabled people have identified. However, to date there remained few research observations of the effects upon disabled people of the 1990s reform to benefits and employment policies. Recent policy change (Thornton and Lunt, 1995b), such as the Social Security (Incapacity for Work) Act 1994 and in April 1995 the replacement of Invalidity Benefit with Incapacity Benefit, reflected the desire to curb disability welfare expenditures. Incapacity Benefit reform, aimed to save £3 billion over three years by the disqualification of 400,000 people. However, this policy response entailed severe criticism (Thornton and Lunt, 1995b; Finn, 1995). Pierson (1996, pp. 139-40) outlining these tensions noted,

Disability expenditures grew significantly during the first half of the [1980s] decade, due largely to a sharp increase in the number of beneficiaries. Higher unemployment appears to have encouraged applicants for disability, and government efforts to pare the rolls were largely unsuccessful.

Thompson (1999) citing enforced 'assimilation' into labour markets of people considered 'unfit' for work remarked that disabled people were being forced into the job market, where they could not compete. For an example of these concerns, in April 1996 the Government stated of the 1.5 million people tested in the benefit's first year, 75,838 were refused Incapacity Benefit, while only 289 previously awarded prior Invalidity Benefit had found jobs. Historically, what also evident Parker (1980, p. 16) suggested,

“is that while the nature and organisation of production is responsible for the exclusion of a significant proportion of ... disabled people ... social policies have failed both to ensure adequate safety standards and to secure the return to work of injured and disabled workers.”

Not only have prior policies failed to contextualise rehabilitation policy that enhances labour market opportunity, social policy has discouraged older disabled people from working. For instance, disengaging older workers from the labour force, formalised in 1977 by the Job Release Scheme, was extended by 1982, to disabled men aged 60-63 (Laczko et al., 1988), despite the existence of statutory measures to promote the employment of disabled persons (NACEPD, 1984; Barnes, 1991). Labour market

exclusion and high levels of dependency on state-welfare reveals that by the mid-1990s, disability benefit constituted over a third of the UK social security budget (Jordan, 1998) although UK welfare expenditure is less than in other developed economies, amounting to less than 24 per cent of GDP in 1993 (OECD, 1998), it is slightly below the OECD average and well below that achieved in many European Union member states.

The growing number of recipients of sickness and incapacity provision reflects the growth in the number of people entering into the category of unavailable for work in the last two decades (OECD, 1998). However, the increased number of persons claiming sickness and disability benefits, in this period, resulted in disability welfare expenditures being described as having reached 'unacceptable' levels (Berthoud et al., 1993; Alcock, 1993; Cash and Care, 1996; Field, 1997). Welfare retrenchment in the 1980s via Fowler's reviews of social security (see Fowler, 1985; Silburn, 1985; Becker, and McPherson, 1988; Lister, 1990) had a negative effect on disability income (Daly and Noble, 1996), of less entitlement (see Finn, 1992; Barnes, 1994; Philo, 1995; Oppenheim and Harker, 1996; Timmins, 1996).

The restructuring of benefit in the 1990s (see DSS 'The Way Ahead' 1990) and the creation, in 1991, of the Benefits Agency, saw a review of disability policy, see the Government's Next Steps Programme (Hadjipateras and Howard, 1992; BA, 1994). Prior to this review, assessing the OPCS reviews of disability, the Social Security Advisory Committee, (SSAC 1988, p. 31) had urged,

the provision of disability benefits should be accessible to disabled people and delivered promptly so that they know what is available, have easy access to it and can acquire it with a minimum of delay and inconvenience.

Daly and Noble (1996) citing the DSS report (1990, p. 12), comment upon welfare benefit complexity. Many respondents, of this study, voiced confusion over the matter of benefit entitlement (see comments in Chapter 5). In 1992, the new benefits DLA and DWA, saw self-assessments introduced to eliminate problems in medical examination (Corden, 1995). This came about at the behest of the HCSSC (1990), see also (LASA,

1995; Barnes, 1994). Deterrence by the use of stringent medical examination, Sumpton (1985) notes, had a similar effect in depressing take-up as a financial means test. Corden (1995) noted that medical examination seemed the focal point of the claiming process and caused anxiety, apprehension and pain. Despite reforms, such as self-assessment, such criticisms were still evident (DN, 1997; DN, 1998).

3.4 State services and policy transformation

Hadjipateras and Howard (1992, pp. 65-7) noted that despite Benefit Agency claims that, 'You have the right to expect us to deal with your benefits promptly and accurately', state-led services still failed disabled people in a number of respects. These failures included service delay, non-entitlement, inadequate assessment of needs, and evidence also showed that the existence of the DWA encouraged employers to further reduce the appalling level of wages offered to disabled workers. Clearly, state income subsidisation measures played a significant role in regulating work participation by disabled people, and had a bearing on the introduction of the minimum wage and the raised profile of employment requirements of disabled people (ED, 1990; Van Parijs, 1992; Berthoud et al., 1993; ES, 1999).

However, provision remained inadequate to the task of generating work inclusion priority amongst employers (Prescott-Clarke, 1990; Barnes, 1994; Finn, 1995; ESDS, 1996; Community Care, August 1999; Community Care, September 1999). There was a recognition that retrenchment in state-welfare had not been matched by sufficient expansion of work-integration initiatives (Thornton and Lunt, 1995; Roulstone, 1998). Within the state-led SEP, the through-put rates of less than 2 per cent per annum had remained fairly constant for the last two decades (see Prescott-Clarke, 1990; NACEPD, Annual Reports 1984-1998; LFS, 1998; ES, 1999).

3.5 The dominant post-war state policy: protected disability employment

The policy values of post-war work preparedness of disabled people were underpinned by a rehabilitation industry that had been severely criticised for marginalising disabled people from open employment. In the 1980s Cornes (1982) noted that successful rehabilitation via the ERCs was largely dependant on endeavours to create realistic work atmospheres within Industrial Rehabilitation Units. However, current ESDS-led rehabilitation policy was criticised for focusing on lower skilled work which perpetuated occupational disadvantages (Thornton and Lunt 1995; Tebbut and Cornes, 1982; Lonsdale, 1985, 1990; Barnes, 1994; Roulstone, 1993, 1998; Drake, 1999). In 1992, the ERC's, framework of rehabilitation first established in 1943, were transferred to the PACT regime (Thornton and Lunt, 1995). The ILO, (1993) reiterated that in the current period, rehabilitation for successful integration into the workplace of persons who become ill or incapacitated was a common goal in the developed world. However, this lead Kearns (1997, p. 96) to argue to a critical impasse whereby, legislation which sought to promote integration had absolved employers of a moral and social duty in itself. Roulstone (1998), debated varying implications of new technology on disabled peoples' labour market aspirations identified the need for policy shifts within 'rehabilitation' and employment philosophy that acknowledged disabled people's perceptions of needs. Government led state reform in the last two decades, had produced significant effects upon rehabilitation programmes (ED, 1990) which included major changes in approach involving adaptive innovations in locations and policies (see Momm and Konig, 1989; Konig and Schalock, 1991). Finn (1993) and Roulstone (1998) debated critical factors arising from post state-led ES reconstitution. Since the mid-1980s, the dynamics for change have centred upon privatisation and marketisation of state rehabilitation services (ESDS, 1996). Changing approaches to rehabilitative work readiness reflected the shift from mass-workshop or semi-integrated temporary

placements to more diverse alternatives (see Lunt and Thornton, 1993, 1996; RADAR, 1993, 1994; Pozner, 1997). However, Neath and Schriener (1998, p. 218), refuting the level of progress claimed, argued for genuine moves towards the employment of disabled people, based on positive empowerment values (see also Lunt and Thornton, 1994). Furthermore, despite rehabilitation programme revisions, from 1989 to 1994, employers took on fewer disabled people.

3.6 From Tomlinson to globalisation: the shifting hegemony of exclusion

Despite ILO demand in 1923 for governments to sanction compulsory employment rights for disabled people, statutory measures were not introduced in Britain until the mid-1940s (Doyle, 1994). Lonsdale (1981), and Topliss (1982), noted that the disadvantaged and vulnerable labour market position of disabled people was recognised by the Tomlinson Committee in 1943. Indeed, the architects of the Tomlinson Report noted that, for a minority, training and job opportunities remained restricted (Bolderson, 1980). Crucially, however Bolderson (1980, p. 179) observed, the ES-disability register was used not so much for information which might determine ‘need’ but in order to exclude those who might be a threat to industry. Clearly, selective criteria has resulted in the exclusion of many disabled people from training opportunities or work integration. From the inception in 1944 of disability registration, until its abolition in 1995, only a minority of working-age disabled people were registered with the employment service.

The 1944 Act set special employment protection via the work quota scheme with unfair dismissal a prosecutable offence (Lonsdale, 1981). However, Blaxter (1980), and Barnes (1994), stated that the scheme was never taken seriously by either the ED, or industry. Floyd (1991, p. 38), criticising the ES-led disability-quota scheme noted,

“in any event the quota scheme has been ineffective in overcoming the exclusion of people with disabilities. Many ... are not registered ... the

system is inadequately enforced and the average proportion of disabled employees in organisations within the scheme is nearer to one per cent.”

Relative indifference to disabled workers was evident, since only three employers were prosecuted for failing to apply the quota since 1964, the last case being in 1974 (Barnes, 1994). In essence, due to associations of stigma, registration steadily declined since its introduction. In 1950 there were 936,196 registrants and by 1990 this had fallen to 355,591. In April 1993, the number registered rose to 371,734 (ESDS, 1994) but decline, reversed by a discernible increase in 1993, accords with theoretical views cited (see above) on the masking of unemployment through the increased inclusion of the unemployed into disability benefit provision.

Doyle (March, 1994, p. 11) noted that findings on disability registration in the late 1970s show ‘only 20 per cent of respondents had unprompted awareness of the quota scheme and that only 19 per cent of disabled persons surveyed had registered.’ The low levels of transition from workshops to open employment (see above) are due to the failure to adequately reflect labour markets changes (see Blaxter, 1980; Comes, 1982). However, employment disadvantage also applied to sheltered work (Barnes, 1994). Ironically, as Alcock (1993; Martin and White, 1988; Mainstream, 1990; Prescott-Clarke, 1990; Graham et al., 1990; Lonsdale, 1990; Morrell, 1990) argued, poor work conditions and low pay were associated in particular with the sheltered workshops and training centres, developed specifically to provide work opportunities for disabled people. While the above conception of supported employment was contested by a service provider in a supported work environment, interviewed during the study, the majority of disabled people interviewed (see chapter 4, and Appendix One) endorsed the criticisms noted on supported employment work-related pay and conditions.

Although combined pressures for post-war reconstruction, 'Fordist' work practice and full employment influenced Tomlinson's Committee (Hyde, 1996), awareness of need was selective (Topliss, 1982; Blaxter, 1980). Medicalised 'normalisation' was

discernible in Tomlinson's three 'classes' of disabled persons: those 'fit' for open employment, those less likely to do so, and those outside the Acts jurisdiction (see Bolderson, 1980). Not until the 1980s shift towards market values, were those born with severe impairments or mental illness included in re-commodification strategies of welfare, though the motives for doing so were less concerned with meeting work integration needs (Bolderson, 1980; Lonsdale, 1986). Ideologically, constructs of disability upheld by welfare paternalism maintained visions of rehabilitating disabled people via enculturated images of 'normalisation' through a hierarchy of impairment with those most severely incapacitated denied work inclusion (Wolfsenburger, 1980; Finkelstein, 1980; Brown and Smith, 1992).

However, the driving impetus for policy reform elevated regulating expenditure on disability welfare provision above that of work access via positive employment integration strategies (Thornton and Lunt, 1995; Thornton and Lunt, 1996). Bolderson (1980, p. 179) noted that Tomlinson had argued that government should not:

try to create employment or preference for disabled people regardless of their capacity to undertake the work required given the need for efficiency in production, but should aim, to secure for the disabled their full share, within their capacity of such employment as is ordinarily available.

Clearly, disability-employment policy, based on 'such employment as is ordinarily available', failed to engage reasons why so many occupations remained unavailable to disabled people. The outcome of this wholly selective and inadequate policy prescription has meant, as Jenkins (1991, p. 562) noted that,

"those who are economically active are typically marginalised in the labour market vulnerable to unemployment, poorly paid, outside the mainstream in sheltered employment at the bottom of the occupational ladder."

Tomlinson's committee had envisioned quota compliance to be an employer's duty rather than a statutory obligation (Tomlinson, 1943; Barnes, 1994). However, it was Barnes (1994) argued a rigid arrangement that took no account of the fluctuating nature of impairment, or the socio-environmental consequences of disability. The NACEPD,

set up to advise the Secretary of State for Employment on the employment and training needs of disabled persons, involved sheltered workshop managers and 'professionals' co-opted into the NACEPD committees, but disabled people were not involved (Lunt and Thornton, 1995). Lunt and Thornton (1995) noted that productive capacity assessment for mainstream access to employment was negatively defined. Indeed, as Lonsdale (1986, p. 65) stated,

“It also became clear that implementation of the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act was more concerned with the attitudes of employers than the rights of disabled people seeking employment.”

Blaxter (1980) rationalising the low level of demand for sheltered work, argued that the 1944 Act virtually precluded movement from sheltered work to open jobs. While the Tomlinson Report adopted a medicalised abstracted and individualised interpretation of disability, as a rationale for the reduced capacities of severely disabled persons, it had not stated the likely numbers involved. The Piercy Committee's Report of 1956 defined the numbers (Topliss, 1975, p. 52), as an estimated less than 10 per cent for whom open employment was not a realistic option. Topliss (1982, p. 166) noted that the committee's employment policy outlook argued that,

those too severely handicapped to be economically productive were not properly regarded as the responsibility of the employment services, but of the welfare services.

Consequently, the onus of rehabilitation policy for this “10 per cent”, shifted back into the 'therapeutic' domain of welfare - primarily health - based policies. In effect, transition to open employment for a significant minority in workshops had become less likely. Policies to reduce work segregation were introduced via the Sheltered Industrial Groups (SIGs), employing disabled and non-disabled workers. Lonsdale (1981) noted although the DE (1973) consultative document contemplated abolition of the quota scheme, this was deferred due to protest. Furthermore, the manifest failure of employers to meet quota targets resulted in tensions between the DE, and Industry.

Wansbrough and Cooper (1980) noted, policy to assist transition from workshops to open employment and to effectively police policy remained inadequate, despite the employment of several hundred DRO's. However, employment department concerns over unemployment and lack of supported working employment transition was the desire to shift to voluntary employment registration criteria. This minority view within the Tomlinson Report, and reintroduced in Piercy's 1956 Report, reduced employer liability for quota compliance (Gooding, 1994). Concern over the viability of workshops was responded to by state 'preferential' policies in the form of state tenders. Despite this policy, Barnes (1994, p. 74) noted, 'the economic viability of sheltered workshops could be greatly improved by harnessing the purchasing power of local and central Government', a factor established within the United States of America in the 1973 Rehabilitation Act (Scott, 1994; Gooding, 1994).

The NACEDP (1977) report argued that the Government should give preference to workshops as the amount of public sector business received was extremely low (Barnes (1994) its share amounting, in the mid-1980s, Lonsdale (1986) noted, to only 1-2 per cent of the products made in workshops. The ED (1990) report suggested that widespread privatisation in the public sector made it even less likely that this figure would rise in the future, thereby paving the way for 'justifications' for their wholesale closure in the next century. ED's employer targeting through two campaigns set up in the 1970s, 'Positive Policies' and 'Fit for Work', were effectively based upon voluntary criteria (see Lunt and Thornton, 1995).

The campaign to persuade employers to develop enlightened policy on disability employment (Barnes, 1994), led to the Adaptations to Premises and Equipment Scheme, (APES) later incorporated into the 1994, Access to Work scheme. Whilst the 1979 'Fit for Work' campaign proclaimed achievements in the employment of disabled people its objectives were founded in voluntarism, Lonsdale (1985, p. 58) stated, the effect of the

campaign was, “a shift away from policies of enforcement and equal rights to one of charitable benevolence and official approval.”

Doyle (1994) noted in the 1980s, enquiries by the WPITD, and CORAD, recorded evidence of systematic and institutional discrimination against disabled people and strengthened the demands for renewed statutory measures. The United Nations declared supra-national policy in 1981. The (UNICYDP, 1988) stated that disabled people had the same basic human rights as non-disabled people and that Governments should ensure that disabled people were able to achieve a standard of living equal to that of their fellow citizens. However, the contemporary impact of supra-state statements on social equality were more rhetorical than actual, no new policy shifts towards employment integration were discernible.

Lonsdale (1985) commented that in the 1980s the CBI openly opposed strengthening the quota system via statutory means, while organisations representing disabled people took the opposite view calling for enhanced statutory powers. However, a 1981 working party of the MSC/HCSCE of employers, trade unions and voluntary groups recommended a voluntary approach with maximum publicity to encourage employers to employ disabled people. Year on year the TUC had argued that the quota system should be retained and improved, and that greater statutory protection for disabled people in the workplace would be best served by increased powers to the quota scheme principles.

Editorial observation in Social Work Today, (1986) noted that pro-quota voluntary organisations urged the MSC to follow a prosecution policy and allow fewer exemptions to the scheme in the form of bulk permits. Within this period the ES implemented new market driven initiatives, and while the Tomlinson principles are not necessarily inimical to the marketisation of supported work production (though see interview with a Supported Employment Official in Chapter 4), there was to be less emphasis on workshops and more use of employer based or voluntary sector placements. Barnes (1994, p. 73), stated,

by the early 1990s over one-third of rehabilitation courses were provided by the voluntary sector, and government called for a further shift in the balance of the rehabilitation programme towards these voluntary agencies.

Research by Graham et al. (1990) noted that the DE's Training Agency trebled the number of people it attempted to see by reducing the time spent on assessment from 2-8 weeks, to an average total of 10 hours. They also noted staff shortages led to non-qualified personnel conducting assessments. Disability supported employment research by (Beyer et al., 1996), noted that Government sought to reduce sheltered employment costs, whilst Barnes (1994) observed that new measures to reduce reliance upon sheltered workshops represented a significant retreat from the idea that disabled people have a legal right to employment, and that limited take-up by employers of state schemes for labour market integration was also evident. Negative outcomes, resulting from the reform of disability-employment policies, were also indicated in the reduction of budgetary allocations to the APE's scheme in the 1980s (Lonsdale, 1985; Barnes, 1994; Beyer et al., 1996). These factors indicated crucial matters that clearly related to the utility of developments within ES-ESDS service philosophy and practice within the formation of welfare-to-work disability-related employment policy.

However, not only were supportive resources shown to be lacking, Gooding (1994), noted the lack of public awareness of disability services, despite the Disabled Persons (Services, Consultation and Representation) Act (1986) being in force for almost a decade. Gooding (1994, p. 157) argued, there was little evidence of its having elevated knowledge, or promoted awareness of the range of services and equipment available to disabled people. This particular observation was borne out by the vast majority of the current study's participants (Chapter 5). In April 1985, Sheltered Employment Groups (SEG) were superseded by the Sheltered Placement Scheme (SPS) and the number of people on SPS, has grown steadily since the scheme's introduction. In 1989, there were around 6,500, by 1996 this had risen to 8,173 (ES, 1990; NACEPD, 1996; ACDET,

1999). For appraisal of study's participants' perceptions of the merits or failure of supported employment see comments in Chapter 5.

3.7 Supported work environments: the effects of policy transformation

The 1990 ED, Consultative Document (ES, 1990), commenting upon SEP policy, presented an optimistic view on the capacity of the SEP to assist open employment growth, impetus for the review arose from the report by Prescott-Clarke (1990). Commenting on Prescott-Clarke's (1990) research, the ES (1990) noted that it provided information not previously available about the number of people with severe disabilities in labour markets, and provided details about their characteristics. However, the ES (1990) report, also noted that the aggregated data totals cited were based on arbitrary estimates, given that the report's methodology did not allow precise judgements about the extent to which the individuals identified would or would not prove to be eligible for support in the sheltered employment programme. Voicing, criticisms made by the Disability Movement, Barnes (1994, pp. 74-5) argued, that the SPS was nothing more than a subsidised placement scheme. He cautioned,

The emergence of SPS therefore, signals a significant retreat from the idea of employment as of right, and a return to the begging bowl. Indeed a recent study stated that although SPS is presented as a helpful transition to mainstream employment, few within the Disability Rehabilitation Service (DRS) expect it to happen.

As Mainstream (1990) pointed out, in the early 1990s there was no training programme to help people move on from SP or SPS. Instead this was seen as the employer's responsibility, with the result that too few workers were retained after acquired impairment. Furthermore, employers recruited too few disabled people. By the early 1990s, Hyde and Howes (1993) noted that those with more significant levels of impairment, within the workshop environment, faced the burden of increasingly open

market-led competitive production norms. The ES, Consultation Document (1995, p. 8) recognised that,

there may be understandable tensions at times between the wishes of providers to have a reasonable balance of productive workers (especially in workshops) and ES's needs to be able to refer and get placed a wide range of disabled people.

The ES commissioned report conducted by Johnson et al. (April 1992) into sheltered employment produced a number of salient observations on the practice and future of this provision. The central objective of the study being 'to examine factors which facilitate and hinder the progression of disabled people from sheltered workshops and Sheltered Placement Scheme places into open, unsubsidised employment'. Primary reasons for unsatisfactory levels of progression were, the report notes, due to funding constraints, unemployment rates, physical work environments factories, workshops and office production systems that were designed for the able-bodied. Attitudes within industry and commerce were seen as inhibiting the progression and subsequent acceptance of disabled people into open employment. It was felt that these obstacles to integration acted as major disincentives for progression into open employment. However, by the beginning of the 1990s, the case for consolidation of employment service provision became paramount. The ED (1990, p. 9) stated,

employment related schemes for people with disabilities have been built up over the [post-war] years, but in an ad hoc manner rather than as an integrated package.

The major reform measure of PACT, in 1992, and the 1994 Access to Work (AtW) scheme, appear to offer more comprehensive provision (see Finn and Murray 1995). However, two factors combine to tarnish this image. First, the unwritten though discernible policy, adopted in the late 1980s, whereby General Practitioners saw rising numbers of patients register as unfit for work (Finn and Murray, 1995). The tolerance for rising numbers, entering sickness and disability benefit entitlement schemes, was set

in reverse during the 1990s (see Finn and Murray, 1995; Labour Research, 1998). A matter the ES (1995, p. 8) report noted,

Without the help of the Supported Employment Programme, many disabled individuals would not be able to compete effectively in the labour market, resulting in a possible increased burden on state benefits.

Finn and Murray (1995) stated, clearly re-commodification policy, will place increased pressure on the services which the ES-ESDS provides, in particular there was the matter of concerns relating to the method of funding and administering the SEP programme (see introduction). The possibility that some that were denied welfare benefits might qualify as workshop employees, was a view advanced by Johnson et al. (April 1992). Also, with the streamlining of services, essential practices, such as the time spent upon individual assessments of need were being eroded (see Chapter 4). In elevating the role of open employment placements over that of workshops, in 1994, the Secretary of State for Employment condemned the failure of employers to employ disabled people (see Hunt, 1994; ES, 1995).

3.8 The ES policy response to contemporary disability and employment discourse

The ES (1990) report noted evidence from a National Opinion Poll (NOP) survey 1989 which, with data from the Labour Force Survey (1989a, and 1989b), revealed that ES-ESDS, service beneficiaries were clustered around the lower levels of the educational and qualifications scale, and were also concentrated in the lower strata of the Socio-Economic Group (SEG) adopted by LFS surveys. Arguably, these findings reflected the extent of class-related employment exclusion and supported the claim that social class was a prominent variable in the employment disadvantage evident in disabled people's work exclusion and employment oppression, see Chapters 4 and 5 (see also Drake, 1999).

Morrell (1990) had observed, research demonstrated that awareness by employers of the ES-ESDS service was unacceptably low, for instance the ES commissioned study by Watson et al. (1998), noted that, just over 40 per cent of employers surveyed viewed disabled people as unsuitable employees⁴. However, Watson et al. (1998), also noted where employers had provided work opportunities, their scepticism eroded as the experience of employing disabled people proved to be positive (see also EOR, 1992; Honey et al., 1993; Dench et al., 1996 and Labour Research, 1998). In 1990, the ES launched its 'Two Ticks' symbol awarded to employers with 'positive' response to the employment needs of disabled people. In 1993 the disability 'Two Ticks' symbol, included five specific commitments to action by which users agree to abide. Critics argue that this is largely a cosmetic exercise (DPI, 1996; Thornton and Lunt, 1995). However, following ESDS service restructuring, the NACEPD (1993) stated, that an ES (1993) report had noted the improved range of resources to assist employment and training. Furthermore, local PACTS were to be supported by nine regional Ability Development Centres (ADCs).

Policy influence at the supra-national level, particularly the United Nations Standard Rules on Employment (1993), underpinned the growth in demand for opportunities in the labour market, though these remained predicated upon individualised responses (Thornton and Lunt, 1995a). Whilst emphasis was placed on the need to promote open

⁴ Watson et al. (1998) revealed that more than 50 per cent of disabled employees were aged 25 to 44. A further 31 per cent were aged 45 or above. 2. The types of job most frequently held were clerical/secretarial (34 per cent) and unskilled manual (20 per cent). The least frequently held jobs were technical (8 per cent) and skilled manual (11 per cent). 3. Nearly 50 per cent of the sample had physical disabilities, and, 10 per cent had a long-term health condition. 4. Employers arrangements for disabled applicants shows the most frequent help was with access to buildings (28 per cent), and personal assistance, for example, the provision of a signer (26 per cent). 5. The most common adjustments made by employers were: physical working environments (43 per cent), and, support or assistance (27 per cent). 6. By far the most common cost band for adjustments introduced was from nil to £49 (44 per cent). Only 5 per cent were estimated to have cost more than £ 5,000. 7. Where adjustments had been introduced and costs incurred around 30 per cent of employers had received some external financial help - the ES had provided assistance in more than 60 per cent of these cases and charitable organisations in just under 10 per cent.

employment opportunities, retaining support working remained a recognised factor in disability policy. As United Nations Reports cited by the TUC (1996, p. 7), attests,

Sheltered or supported employment may be an alternative for people whose needs cannot be met in open employment.

Further disincentive to the labour market recruitment and retention of disabled people was observed with the decision to charge employers who apply for workplace funding to meet disabled workers integration needs. Reports in Disability Now, April 1996 and Disability Now, July 1998 revealed that in March 1996, despite criticisms by the disability lobby, the Minister for Disabled People re-introduced an employer's levy. The introduction of charges to employers to offset supported employment grants that subsidise employees, would, the DPI argued, act as a strong deterrent to employers in the employment of disabled persons.

Bert Massie, of RADAR (1994) criticised recent policy shifts, for further debate on the AtW see Lunt and Thornton, 1995, NACEPD, 1995. In May 1996, the Government relented and announced an increase in work assistance funding. This response came in the wake of protest about the deleterious effects of planned budget cuts to the AtW scheme, and the question of labour market participatory needs. However, Gillian Shephard, then Employment Minister, stipulated that the AtW budget would have to be controlled (see DN May 1996). In a survey of the Access to Work scheme Beinart et al. (1996), assessed the use of AtW for work adjustments. On the effectiveness of the AtW, Beinart et al. (p. 130), had observed that one of the schemes key strengths was felt to be the ability to focus on individual clients and allow for increased flexibility of DEAs for more scope and innovation. Whilst the ESDS acknowledged unmet employment need, the service also faced increasing numbers eligible for work placement (see NACEPD, 1996) while placement expansion remained restricted to a minority of employers.

The NACEPD reports (1983-1998) revealed discernible change in the decline of workshop personnel totals as placement locations expanded during the 1980s to 1990s.

The increased numbers placed outside workshops (from 429 in 1983, under the aegis of SIG's to 8,173 in 1996, in supported placements) reflected ESDS commitment to enhancement of the progression from supported to open forms of employment (Berthoud et al. 1993), see also the ESDS (1996, p. 7), which noted that,

Labour market policy over the past 15 years has increasingly focused on the activities of individuals in the job market. In recent years, there has been substantial reorganisation of the way in which supply-side employment policies are delivered with major reforms to the disability service such as the 70 nation-wide PACT teams and local training policy development, of Training and Enterprise Centres (TEC's). Restructuring disability services, particularly SEP, is set, within policy encouraging increasing progression from workshop employment towards open employment.

However, where there is evidence of employment transition, this consists exclusively of people involved with supported placements and is less than 2 per cent per annum of the total number of disabled people in supported employment (ESDS, 1996). The ED (1990, p. 55) stated that it,

has made available resources to help a steadily increasing number of people in sheltered employment over the last 10 years - by about 5.1 per cent per annum on average. Most of that growth has been in SPS, which increased by 5,400 between 1985 and 1990 - or by 45 per cent per annum on average.

The ES (1995) stated that there was an average annual turnover of 2000-3000 within the national network of workshops, though they concurred this was an arbitrary estimate. Identifying the impetus for this policy shift, Beyer et al. (1996) revealed that costs of supported placements were substantially less than those of ordinary workshop placements. However, despite stated objectives for improved work opportunities for disabled people, the ESDS has been unable to meet known demand for either workshop or open work placements (Prescott-Clarke, 1990). The ED Consultative Document, (1990, p. 54) by way of an apologia stated:

Economy and cost effectiveness are particularly important to a programme where potential demand exceeds the amount of provision for which resources can be made available. There have been considerable improvements in cost-effectiveness in recent years.

The ED (1990) report noted a major failing of prior workshop planning was the lack of a systematic effort to establish methodically and objectively the needs of disabled people for help and to relate that to existing provision (see Meager et al., 1999). There was also a need for 'supported' employment provision that allowed and encouraged movement across a continuum of supported services ranging from Adult Training Centres (ATC) and sheltered workshops through to open employment. In 1996, SEPACS (cited in NACEPD, 1996) debated marketisation and cost effectiveness of workshops and transformative aspects of employment. This included heightened emphasis on relocating training and productive centres to maximise geographical spatial diversity to accord greater linkage with manufacturing bodies, both as regards skills utility and the promotion of recruitment from workshops to open employment, involving largely manufacturing-based employers.

Following the decision in 1982 to apply voluntary criteria to Section Two registrations under the 1944 disability act, reforms were conducted against a backdrop of falling numbers. Within the first year of voluntary registration, numbers actually registering fell by 36 per cent. The NACEPD (1984) report revealed workshop managers' concerns over a decline in the supply of severely disabled persons was 'beginning to affect workshop recruitment.' This shortfall rose again in the late 1980s, where as the NACEPD (1996) report revealed, 1988-9 saw an increase of 46 per cent over the previous year in those entering workshops. The crucial point on this debate that Berthoud et al. (1993, p. 49) noted was that,

of equal importance is the insufficient numbers of workshops able to meet the employment related demands of people with severe or significant impairments.

The consultation document (DE, 1990, p. 53) accepted that potential demand exceeded the provision available and that progression affected mainly the most productive individuals in workshops. NACEPD (1996) analysis of, March 1995 to March 1996, showed a total of 4,318 persons in workshops of which only 27 had progressed into either

SPS or open employment. The turnover in workshops for the period was 9 per cent, while progression (from SPS to open employment) was only 2 per cent. The key factor regarding the poor degree of progression was due to, Johnson et al. (1992, p. v) stated,

the lack of a group or organisation within the ES system which sees progression as a central or primary objective of sheltered employment.

This was a policy objective the ES claimed it would respond to. Problems identified by Johnson et al. (1992) Barnes (1994) and Hyde and Howse (1993), concerning low levels of progression identified specific factors that had acted as disincentives in promoting open working progression. However, with the drive to efficiency Barnes (1994) remarked, Remploy was asked by the DE, to produce a business plan to become more cost effective' and eliminate 'their trading deficit. This policy Barnes (1994, p. 73) noted,

effectively signalled the end of any pretence that sheltered workshops were to provide a gateway to mainstream employment.

Growing emphasis on workshop cost-effectiveness and increased production and expenditure efficiencies have led to the necessity to maximise the productive capacities of key workshop personnel. Hyde and Howes (1993) suggest this had resulted in the increased alienation of many workshop employees. NACEPD (1994, p. 9) claimed that current workshop policy supported the gainful employment of severely disabled people by helping sheltered industry businesses via Priority Suppliers Scheme (PSS), become more competitive, efficient and marketable (see also NACEPD, 1996). However, Brown and Gardner (1994) noted, preferential trading status (PSS) failed to comply with deregulation and had to be abandoned in favour of open market competition. One consequence of market-based competitive trading norms concerned the reluctance of workshop managers to encourage progression. Hyde and Howes (1993) summarised reasons for reluctance regarding progression by workshop employees. In the light of their findings, there did not appear to be a shortage of supported workers who sought open employment. Disadvantageous factors on employer reluctance to engage more

disabled workshop trained personnel were detailed by Topliss (1975, pp. 59-60) who commented that,

Economic life in modern society is so organised as to put a premium on youth, qualifications and stamina. She adds, It is, however, unrealistic to expect employment services to: put the social and psychological needs of disabled people prior to the need of the economy for an efficient and cost effective labour force.

This economic rationale still influenced progression rates, as does the degree of employment availability at national or local levels. Historically, progression was viewed not as a matter of general desire, despite objectives of Tomlinson, but rather as a matter of individualised opportunity whereby some realised open employment, whilst others to all intents remained segregated in supported working. Indeed, theories about work integration were, as Townsend (1981) asserted, predominantly individualistic, and dependent on the capacities, skills, willingness and other personal characteristics of disabled people themselves.

Roulstone (1998) argued that the social challenge to acknowledge the disability movement's rejection of a social apartheid between able-bodied and disabled people (Finkelstein, 1980) necessitated improved measures to assist meaningful and positive workplace integration. Kearns (1997) suggested diversity of training, including flexibility of skills attainment and work practices, was of paramount importance to encourage increased progression from supported working to open employment. Johnson et al. (1992, p. 39) criticised workshop managers who viewed training employees with dissuasive comments such as, 'as far as training is concerned they come here to fill a particular role' or, 'Most of the training given to them will be on-job.' Johnson et al. (1992) suggested this type of approach was of limited value, particularly if the workshop or factory was operating within a static or declining sector of the economy, or with outdated equipment. Johnson et al. (1992, p. 40) maintained that,

within sheltered employment as a whole the predisposition of the client population towards progression ... is a rarity rather than a norm.

Conversely, evidence from Hyde and Howes (1993) found that a quarter of 'workshop' respondents were motivated to progress. However, both surveys also revealed a significant minority who had expressed reluctance to progress, preferring to remain in the workshop environment due to the importance attached to employment within a broadly non-disablist work culture. The essence of this supportive work culture was described, by participants of this study, as being based upon the identification of 'solidaristic or supportive' values (see Chapter 5). Leaving supportive work cultures for unpredictable open employment conditions, reflected a principle feature of 'progression' disincentive. Primarily, this involved reluctance to risk disappointment and failure in unsuccessful endeavours to sustain open employment in negative or unadjusted work conditions.

Comments made by this study's respondents (see Chapter 5), revealed evidence of a belief held by some 'workshop' employees that, in the event of unsuccessful 'integration' into open employment, they automatically forfeited a right to return to the workshop environment (see Hyde and Howes, 1993). Examination of annual disability services NACEPD reviews (1983-96), showed evidence of regression (return to the workshop), by those who felt that their open work placement options were unsuitable (ESDS, 1994). For some, placement was unsuited to specific training needs, and return to the workshop was due to perceived social and attitudinal barriers encountered within placements (see Chapter 5). What becomes apparent, was the need for greater social recognition of disabled peoples' rights to integration into mainstream employment at all levels under flexible terms and in ways that involve open consultation and post ES service use communications improvements. The criticisms noted on the poor quality of rehabilitation and the limits to training initiatives cited by some study participants revealed significant concern over the capability of the welfare-to-work programme to adequately equip disabled people with work preparedness, work skills, or to persuade employers to address employment-related barriers to work integration.

Figure 1 Number of disabled people within sheltered or supported employment programme 1982-97. Annual statistics for severely disabled people in workshop and work placement schemes.

Year 90's	Sheltered Workshops	*SIG's + SP(S	Placement	Total**
1982/83	5,350	429	14,410	20,189
1983/84	5,497	632	14,936	21,065
1984/85	5,554	1,049	15,557	22,160
1985/86	5,675	834	16,367	23,876
1986/87	5,782	2,684	17,400	25,866
1987/88	5,458	3,720	18,413	27,591
1988/89	5,356	4,956	19,276	29,588
1989/90	5,297	6,436	20,650	32,383
1990/91	5,167	6,838	20,777	32,782
1991/92	4,910	6,986	20,722	32,618
1992/93	4,677	7,210	20,386	32,273
1993/94	4,708	7,461	20,973	33,106
1994/95	4,654	8,159	21,910	34,723
1995/96	4,318	8,173	21,793	34,284
1996/97	4,323	8,760	22,944	36,027

* Sheltered Industrial Group phased out 1984/5. 1985/1997 = SP or SPS

Note** Totals are from 31st March to 30th March.

Source: Figure 1, abridged from E.S., Disability Services Division, NACEPD Annual Reports: 1982/3 – 1997/8.

The details within Figure 1 reveal two core factors. First, there had been an obvious major shift from workshop and other supported environments to open work-based supported placements. Second, there was also little doubt that the aggregated totals shown above were well below the levels of employment requirements with regards to either form of employment inclusion. As many participants in the present study indicated, the real problem that disabled people faced, alongside attitudinal prejudice and physical social barriers to open employment, was the reluctance of employers to respond to disabled people's own assessments of their perceptions of work support needs.

3.9 Summary

The focus upon state-led employment constitutions of disability-policy reveals how the formation of the relationship of disabled people to labour markets have shifted over a period of centuries. Essentially, the approach to impairment and employment upheld by Governments and employers became concretised, over time, through the application of abstracted rehabilitation policy values that were based upon hostile interpretative definitions of disability. The key determinant for varying factors primarily shaped policy approaches to the regulation of disabled people's entry into, or retention within mainstream work, determined by labour market needs. From Poor Law measures of the deserving and undeserving poor, to modern work practices, disabled persons experienced differentiated forms of social exclusion from the non-disabled. Policy regarding impairment matters was interpreted through a medicalised individuating person-centred 'rehabilitation' discourse.

The practice of separating disabled people into those deemed 'fit' for work, and those deemed 'unsuitable' for mainstream occupations produces an in-built legacy of dependency upon inadequate state welfare. Until recently the outcome of policy frameworks produced the dilemma of 'welfare' applied as the principle 'alternative' to the 'right' to labour market participation. Current policies to increase labour market participation are predicated on the need to strengthen work discipline criteria. This policy perspective is necessary to counter the rising costs of welfare state benefits. It is argued that state employment service transformations are restricted to de-regulation of ESDS services, and intensification of labour market discipline. For disabled people changes have not resulted in a concerted policy for meaningful re-integration (historically speaking) back into the mainstream. Recent research reveals evidence of increased provision for what is in essence nominal and selective entry of some disabled people (those least impaired) into state-led employment oriented training programmes.

However, notwithstanding European Community funding, national and local government-led initiatives with new flexible rehabilitation/training programmes, strong evidence reveals many disabled people are still denied such opportunity. Despite the existence of a substantial recognition of the desire for increased labour market participation, ranging from short-term part-time to full-time work, research evidence shows many people did not find the disability service an asset in this objective. Instead, they find it to be yet another barrier to desired opportunity.

Historically, within the social construction of the 'disabled person' the division into three separate categories reflects the post-war policy consensus on disability employment philosophy by the Tomlinson committee in 1944. External marketisation pressures significantly challenge the basis of the future role of national (and in turn local) state-led employment services provision of rehabilitation, training and employment placement, within either supported or mainstream working. The restructuring of sheltered/supported work, with a policy values shift towards greater open work-based integration, reveals little evidence of a discernible rise in the annual throughput of disabled people from workshops to the mainstream. It was argued the effects of policy rationalisation on workshop trainees produced a heightened emphasis upon increased productivity and marketisation, at the expense of increased participation in workshops of the more severely impaired.

3.10 Conclusion

The debate presented contextualised the construction of a disabled identity and the constitution of a segregated policy response to disabled people's work-related needs. Considering the rationale for these developments, the root of this approach lies in a strategy for the limitation of severely disabled people's entry into work environments. Debating the central paradox of welfare or work, the discourse reveals that welfare-to-

work policy to integrate disabled persons into employment has taken on a renewed urgency within government social policy strategy. However, the methods of assessment of welfare support and employment assessment were conducted through oppressive medicalised and individuated policy approaches. Findings on disability benefit unmet income matters underpinned prior research into disability welfare benefit entitlement complexity. Whilst the ESDS may aver that work enhancing policy is presented as a conception of disabled people's right to work, the abstracted nature of welfare-to-work policy predicated upon individual service users 'adjustment' to employment environments, over those of changing working practices and environments adaptations, entails there is very little 'social model' influence over policy for selective opportunity. State policy innovation within rehabilitation and training in the 1980s and 1990s, shows that despite a desire for trainee progression to open working, state-led sheltered/supported work environments have achieved very little success in producing a discernible increase in trainee throughput.

Where there has been an increase in open labour market participation, this has resulted in a very small minority of disabled persons realising open employment opportunity, principally, those engaged within the most developed forms of supported placements. Numbers of disabled people within the range of supported or sheltered projects nationwide are well below the known number of people with moderate to severe impairment who wish to enter or remain within such programmes. What is all too apparent, is that state-led work preparation methods retain specific negative work practices, especially in supported non-mainstream environments, where, despite recent policy rationalisations, disabled workers endure segregation, marginalisation, prejudice, and stigma resulting in subsequent alienation within the very agency 'designed' to address and ameliorate these factors. In particular these concerns were apparent with regard to increased competitive marketisation pressures brought about by 'sheltered' workshop policy rationalisation (see Chapter 4). Employment preparedness and rehabilitation training philosophy,

clearly fails to match supply with demand. What is also apparent is the ES-ESDS alone cannot create the social values shift required to furnish a social climate of acceptance or acknowledgement of the right of disabled people to enter into mainstream employment on par with their non-disabled peers.

Chapter 4

Disability Service Provision:

Service Delivery and Policy Response

States should ensure the development and supply of support services, including assistive devices for persons with disabilities, to assist them to increase their level of independence in their daily living and to exercise their rights. UN Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities (1993): cited in Cooper and Vernon, (1996, p. 303).

4.1 Introduction

Addressing the local state and local provision, this chapter examines the opinions of local area disability-related service providers on local-level ESDS state disability-related services in Devon. It debates the effects of national policies on local services provision and statutory policy. In particular, it presents ESDS service provider's perspectives on disability, social exclusion, and disability employment. The method of enquiry focuses upon local services and the needs of disabled users. Discussion pinpoints the survey methodology and ethical protocol, in particular, this study's rationale and its operationalisation. Foremost, this involved the challenge of research using emancipatory paradigms of reasoning. It shows how the development of the operationalisation of the study was guided by social model values. These revolve around the ethics of disability research and study design described as a non-oppressive approach to disability research perspectives based upon the values of opposition to oppression and the objectives of study participant empowerment. Debate considers the difficulties relating to constructing

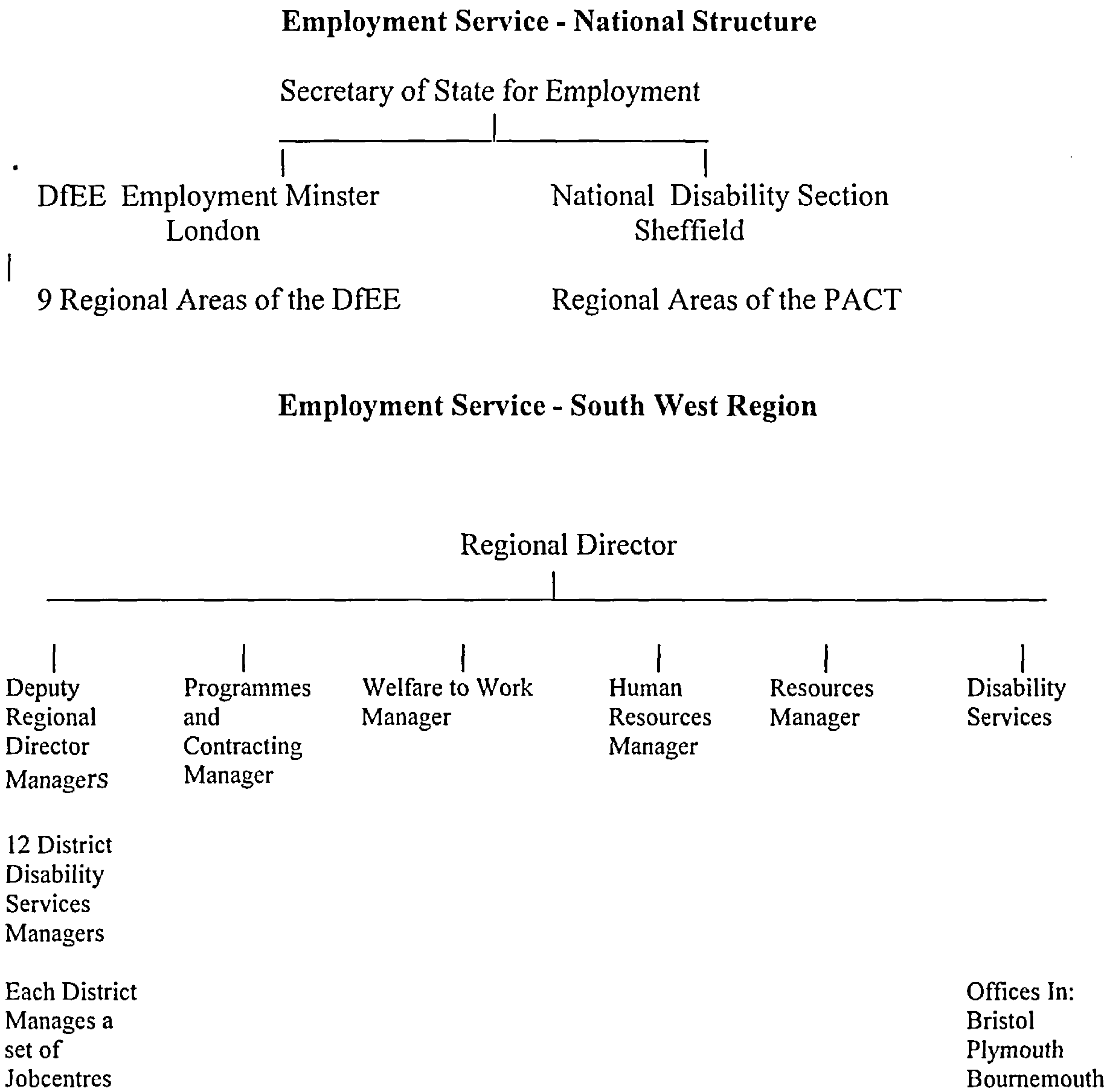
the study's sample population and its selection criteria. This process revealed the problem of collection and collation of information regarding the labour market requirements and work-related position of disabled people in the 1990s.

It begins with an analysis of the evolution of disability employment policy within the Plymouth City Council. It then considers the findings of recent local disability employment research and the effects on service provision of current national disability policy. Overall, this entails appraisal of the effects of national disability-related employment policies on local service provision, service providers, employers, and service users.

Service compliance with statutory policies is examined through prior local area studies, in disability and employment service provision, which are grounded in debates concerning service users' expressed needs. Local provision in relation to the needs of disabled service users formed the basis of discussion with a number of disability service providers. This pinpoints where policy actually relates to the type of need or concerns identified by disabled people, including the viewpoints expressed by the present study's participants. Before consideration of the local-area dimension of disability-related services there is the need to describe the existing ES-ESDS structures at the National, regional and local level (see Figure 1).

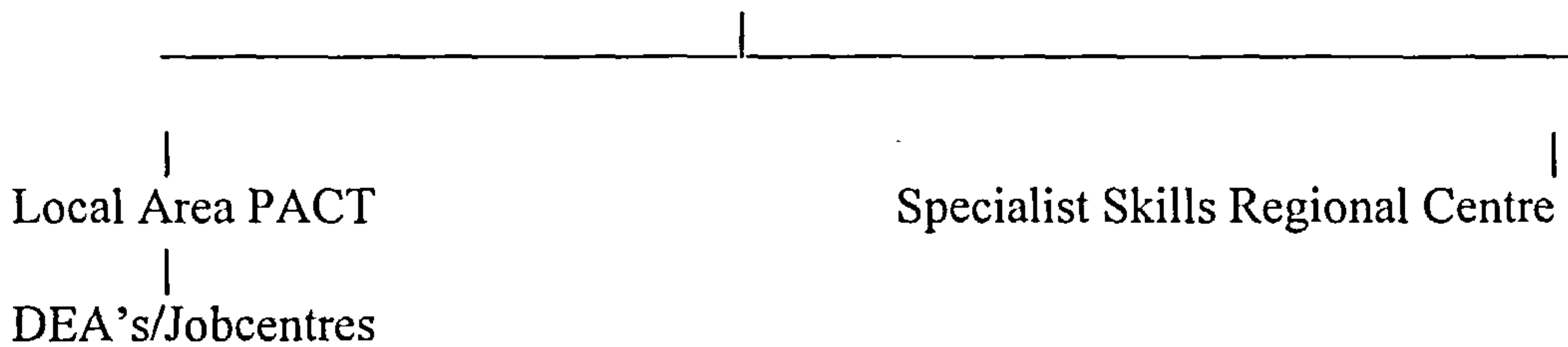
Devon lies in the south-west region of England, which has as its most densely populated city, Plymouth which has been described as a middle ranking English city (Chalkley et al., 1991). On 1st April 1998, Plymouth became a unitary authority. This administration status change initiated substantial revisions in disability policies, foremost of which was the need to implement a policy with respect to the Disability Discrimination Act (1995) (DDA). Employment disability services also underwent regional restructuring in 1997 with the administrative section of the PACT team relocating to the main populated centre, from the former Devon County based ES-ESDS administrative centre at Exeter.

Figure 1. Employment Service Structure



Disability Organisation – Regional/Area Structure

Placing Advice and Counselling Team – Area Manager



4.2 The local state and local provision

Telephone interviews conducted with PACT officials revealed that the restructuring of the ESDS, would, as one PACT administrator stated, 'result in significant upheaval for the client base built up within the former administrative location involving additional travel costs and time delays for those who use the service most regularly' (Interview, June 1997). Census data reveals that in 1991 the County's demography has a higher than average elderly population while Plymouth has an above average ratio of disabled persons (see Hyde, and Howes, 1993). While the industrial manufacturing base of the locality is less prevalent than in other regions of the UK, a high level of service sector growth is discernible (Gripaios, 1998).

The Plymouth local authority employs a full-time disability officer who, during an interview in March 1996, declared the Council's disability policy development has mainly been influenced by the need for local authorities to respond to the introduction and implementation of measures contained within the DDA (1995). The disability officer expressed concern over the failure of most local authorities to comply with prior disability-related statutory measures, such as the employment quota scheme and the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act (CSDPA) (1970). This included her own admission that her authority had yet to meet a fundamental recommendation of the CSDPA, which is, to develop and maintain of an area 'register' of numbers of disabled people. The principle reason for this, she argued was fiscal limitations rather than a lack of will on the part of Council policy makers. Communications with personnel and equal opportunities officers at the county and local authority levels reveals specific policy perspectives regarding disability employment and disability issues. Comparative policy declarations by the Plymouth City Council in 1981 and 1997 (see Figures 4. 1 and 4. 2) illustrate the nature of the evolution of its disability-employment policy.

Figure 4. 1: Statement One: City Council's 1981 six principles document

- 1). The City Council will give full and fair consideration to applications for employment made by disabled people, having regard to their particular aptitude and abilities
- 2). It will aim, wherever possible, to continue the employment of, and arrange training for, employees who have been disabled while employed by the authority
- 3). Provide fair opportunities for the training, development and promotion of disabled employees
- 4). Endeavour, by modification of equipment, by the use of special aids or by job restructuring to enable a disabled person to be or remain employed
- 5). Seek, by adaptation of premises wherever reasonably practicable, to make possible the employment or continued employment of disabled persons
- 6). And will require the Chief Personnel Officer to liaise with the disablement resettlement office and with the City Council's Officers to ensure the application of these positive policies for the employment of disabled persons.

Source: Plymouth City Council

..The council corporate strategy document (1997) (see below) reveals perspectives for a more holistic and proactive agenda on disability employment matters than the 1981 statement. However, in line with general findings on disability employment regulatory compliance with the 1944 Act, a majority of public sector agencies, including local authorities (Barnes, 1991), failed to meet the minimum employment (disability) quota levels. For example, despite policy within the six principles statement in 1995, the city council were criticised for being substantially below the 1944 Act's employment quota of 3per cent of disabled workers, with less than 1per cent of known disabled employees within its labour force (see Powell, 1995). Statement Two: Figure 4. 2 represent the council's most recent policy principles on disability.

Figure 4. 2: Statement Two: City Council - corporate strategy on disability 1997.

The city council aims to:

- 1). Ensure our own recruitment practices are undertaken with best practice
- 2). Look at setting up a register of people with disability who wish to work for the Council, with regular job bulletins, and interviews promised if CVs meet job requirements
- 3). Implement equal opportunities policy in our own employment practice and in our service delivery

- 4). Ensure all Council services are delivered in an accessible way including the physical accessibility of buildings
- 5). Information from the Council will be written in plain English, and will be available in Braille, cassette tape and community languages
- 6). Ensure that groups subject to discrimination will be targeted in the delivery of services
- 7). To consult with relevant agencies and voluntary groups working in the field of anti-discrimination
- 8). That members of staff will have access to advice on equal opportunities to ensure that they are aware of the nature of discrimination and how to tackle it.

Source: Plymouth City Council, Personnel Sub-Committee 1997

Clearly, differences in conceptualisation of policy are observable between the two documents reveal the medical model influence in the 1981 report, contrasted with the social model influence in the 1997 report's emphasis on equality in disability-related policy. De-segregation of disability ensured that equal opportunities policy was applicable to all those who were disadvantaged (see third interview below). Endorsement of a shift from weak supportive measures to more far reaching inclusion policy is observable in the heightened emphasis upon disability-related resource allocation and inter-agency liaison. Current Council policy is enshrined by a social model approach, as the Corporate Services Directorate Report (Personnel Sub-Committee, 30th Sept, 1996) on the DDA (1995) revealed:

The Authority adopts the principle of the social model of disability for employment issues and states it is "working towards" its implementation. In fact, it could be argued, that the social model is the only sensible way of implementing the [1995] Act.

Within the last decade four local studies on disability and employment were undertaken, though two were weighted towards special needs issues. These included a report on specialist training needs by Burnett (1993), and a survey of supported employment needs of disabled people by Hyde and Howes (1993), that significantly influenced the present study (see Chapter 5). Review of special needs policy in 1990 arose from deliberation of the 1990 Annual Conference of Devon Careers Services. A

survey by Williams (1990) noted attitudes of employers towards the employment of disabled people. Here, policy impetus had arisen from the disability-employment Consultative Document, (ED, 1990). This review noted the findings of a major national survey for the ES by Prescott-Clarke (1990).

Disability policy reviews that profiled existing services were conducted against a backdrop of rights activity by disabled people. This development, reflected local and national demand for comprehensive disability rights for disabled people (Hyde et al., 1995). It is difficult to ascertain whether local employers' perceptions of disabled people had altered since the 1990 survey by Williams. One non-independent means of assessment was the confirmation by a DEA that since the DDA (1995) there had, 'been a small but encouraging rise in the number of companies adopting the "Two Ticks" system' (see Chapter 3). However, actual numbers were not confirmed. One a positive outcome of the survey by Williams (1990) was that where employers employed disabled workers their positive perceptions reflected the findings of other recent studies. Namely, that this had led to a reduced sense of stigma, prejudice or reluctance on the part of employers to employ disabled workers (Honey et al., 1993; Meager et al., 1999).

However, this was a difficult factor to weight when presented only with the viewpoints of employers. It needed to be borne in mind that passivity was sometimes associated with those with an impairment (Morris, 1996) as with others denied equal rights over employment. Given this factor, positive appraisal of employment of disabled workers ought to be aware of the vulnerability where disabled workers endured employment exploitation. The survey of employers by Williams covered:

Figure 4. 3. Survey of employer's perceptions of disability

- 1). links with schools, colleges and training providers
- 2). employment
- 3). recruitment practices
- 4). experience of disabled persons at work
- 5). progression
- 6). examples of good practice

Source: Williams, 1990, p. 6.

Sixty-three county-based companies took part in the survey by Williams (1990), ranging in size from those employing seven, to those with over 4000 staff. Recent detail on local labour market demography was provided by the County Chamber of Commerce.

(Figure 4. 4 below):

Figure 4. 4. Percentages of Employees within Companies Surveyed

Number of Employees	per cent of all Firms
0 - 25	17
26 - 100	19
101 - 249	13
250 and over	51
	Total 100

Source, Williams, 1990, p. 5.

Clearly, the majority of companies (64 per cent) were medium to large employers of whom 51 per cent were subject to the Companies Act (1984). The act required companies employing over 250 persons to identify in Directors' Annual Reports what, if any, measures were adopted to enhance employment needs of disabled workers. However, local area research revealed little more than cursory mention of integration or provision for disabled people. Only two of the 20 firms Directors Annual Reports examined, mentioned specific policy to enhance employment integration or opportunities. Some cited awareness of disability issues, though most provided only titular observation on requirements to record such 'policy'.

The City Task Force commissioned the fourth local study, by Hammond et al. (1996)⁵. Its basis of enquiry involved perceptions of service providers, disabled people and local employers. Sampling for inclusion was based upon the definition of disability used by the Labour Force Survey (1995). This method produced an estimated total of 380 disabled people within the Task Force catchment area, from which the survey sample base of participants numbered 44 people. Amongst Hammond et al. (1996) survey findings critical commentary noted (see Footnote), reflected observations made by respondents of the current study (see Chapter 5).

In order to contextualise the points raised and to assess local service providers perceptions of disability matters, policy development and service philosophy, four interviews were conducted with local service providers. The first, with an area Manager of PACT, the second with a DEA advisor, the third, with a Social Services Manager, and the fourth, with a Supported Employment Official. Prior to consideration of these interviews upon the present study, a brief description of pertinent issues is presented with description of core national policy change arising from the introduction of the Disability Discrimination Act (1995).

⁵ Footnote. Hammond et al. (1996) on local service matters noted that:

1. Low wages in the area will mean that some people on benefits would be worse off in employment. Also, regaining benefits if employment fails can be problematic (see Berthoud 1998). 2. That unemployment engenders a lack of self-confidence, isolation depression, lack of self-motivation and passivity in some people (see Piachaud 1997). 3. People were unaware of the information and services which are available (see Chapter's 5 and 6 *ibid* this study, and Simpkins 1994 and Hyde 1996). 4. Some people 'revolved' from one training scheme to another without any employment outcome (see Hyde and Howes 1993). 5. Integrated training was preferred by most people but there was concern about the lack of flexibility and physical access (see Chapter's 5 and 6 *ibid.*, this report). 6. There should be more co-ordination between the training that is provided and the skills that employers need (see Chapter' 3 and 6 *ibid.*, this report). 7. Self employment might be a solution but there is a need for advice. 8. Disabled People should have more control of employment projects and initiatives (see below and Chapter' 4 and 6 *ibid.*, this report). 9. Many employers need to be made aware that disabled people are individuals with varying needs. This would help to counteract stereotyping (see Finkelstein 1993a). 10. Local authorities and health trusts/authorities should set an example to other employers in their employment practice regarding disabled people; and 11. Lack of accessible transport.

4.3 Effects of national policies on local services

An overall increase in the numbers of people deemed unfit to work during the late 1980s and early 1990s, (Labour Research, 1998) led to draconian state measures affecting the long-term sick or disabled. Amongst these, some would be eligible for entry into local-area supported-employment placements (Prescott-Clarke, 1990). For the severely disabled, problems of workshops or supported employment projects seeking greater competitive output by applying selective criteria, (choosing the least incapacitated) restricted the entry into supported work of 'less productive' impaired individuals (Hyde, 1998). Supported employment programme emphasis on profitability above work integration need of disabled people, influenced the growth of demand for disability-related civil rights, including meaningful employment support (Zarb, 1995).

In 1995, after a bitter and protracted campaign to ensure entry onto the statute book of a Disability "Bill of Rights", the disability movement backed Parliamentary opposition Bill was finally defeated. In November 1995, the Government sponsored DDA entered the statute books. From its inception, the 1995 Act has come in for extreme criticism. Gooding (1996, p. 1), stated that Lord Lester, the prominent civil liberties lawyer, has described the Disability Discrimination Act (1995) as:

riddled with vague, slippery and elusive exceptions making it so full of holes that it was more like a colander than a binding code.

The new Act is one aspect of fundamental policy change affecting the question of disabled people's employment needs. In the main however, such changes do not fully reflect the extensive considerations of demand-side issues, but rather as Berthoud et al. (1993, p. 39) indicated,

In recent years, there has been substantial reorganisation of the way in which supply-side employment policies are delivered.

Disability services revision in the current period, involved restructuring the Sheltered Employment Programme (SEP) within a policy framework of encouraging increasing

opportunities for progression from workshop based employment towards that of open employment, usually via the Supported Placements Scheme (SPS) (see Chronology Appendix 7). Where there is progression, this is almost exclusively the experience of those involved with supported placements and amounts to less than 2 per cent per annum of the total number of severely disabled people within supported employment (ED, 1996). It would be apposite to describe change as an emphasis on balanced expenditures and cost-effectiveness which has led to a greater demand for workshop profitability (ESDS, 1996).

However, there were several consequential outcomes for local services arising from this perspective, particularly, the resultant pressures on all types of supported working to seek greater equilibrium between employee subsidisation costs and production profitability. This factor was brought sharply into focus during discussion with one service provider (see Interview Four below). The broad political objective of the reduction of state subsidy to workshops (National Audit Office, 1987; Prescott-Clarke, 1990; NACEPD, 1994) was served by endeavours to increase numbers of disabled people entering supported placements and progressing to open employment. Critical of the strategy of separate development, Lunt and Thornton (1994, p. 233), described supported employment as:

separate provision within units for disabled people where there is little integration with non-disabled people ... at best, the emphasis is on learning skills and the transition to open employment, while at worst they are just containment measures.

Critics of the framework of existing supported employment initiatives have argued that these programmes had failed to alter the social barrier conditions that segregated disabled people from open working and had the effect of undermining employment integration agendas (Johnston et al., 1992; Hyde and Howes, 1993; Barnes, 1994). In order to assess recent developments in state services four service providers whose work brought them into regular contact and liaison with disabled people were interviewed. The

first interview, in November 1996, was with an Area Manager of a PACT, addressed the pathway for clients of the ESDS service. The premise for interviewing the area official was to establish how the service sought to respond to recent statutory policy change (see below) and identify how senior management within disability services viewed the situation of unmet employment need and service provision. A detailed account of the questions asked and replies given are shown in Appendix 1. The Manager discussed provision of services describing options clients might be presented with. In response to enquiry concerning the present level of need, he commented that around one fifth of all disabled people who used the employment service might have recourse to disability services. The PACT Manager stated,

therefore we would only deal with the 20 per cent who are usually severely disabled, or who encountered particular problems in the labour market.

A prime policy influence governing the outlook of services was reflected in the statutory measure and general ethos of the requirements placed upon the service by the DDA 1995 (see below). In response to how PACT assesses forward planning to meet user need, four salient points concerning the functional dimension of the service identified by the Area Manager were:

- 1). The number of Clients we were likely to see in a given year;
- 2). The number of disabled people who require the service in a given year
- 3). The types of employment needs they might require; and
- 4). The factors in the local labour market that would need to be addressed to provide for the employment needs or re-location of clients.

Clearly, given the relatively unknown number of disabled persons within local labour markets, including those wishing to enter work, there has to be an arbitrary element to the first two responses shown. While an estimate of demand may be ascertained from prior practice, there was obvious ambiguity as to the exactitude attainable concerning informed assessment in meeting both service use prediction levels and asserting adequate

provision. As noted (see above), this issue can be traced back to the failure of most local authorities to implement the requirement of the CSDPA (1970), for a local area population census of disabled people, so that services such as PACT might accurately gauge their potential client base.

With regard to the third point it must be noted that again prior practice acted as a means for defining need. However, it needs to be recognised that the types of jobs on offer, those within the purview of the ESDS, were generally speaking often the least desirable. A degree of scepticism on the delivery of the disability service was illustrated in the comment by an ex-DRO, previously employed within the local area service, who stated:

“often the types of vacancies within the disability section are those that the ES have failed to fill from amongst the majority of non-disabled service users.”

A common criticism of services noted by participants in this study (see Chapter 5), was that too often, ‘the service had no suitable vacancies, or that, service providers ‘seemed to ignore the actual skills/experiences’ service users possessed, thereby creating a mismatch between service users stated or known work preferences, and their competence or requirements in favour of filling the few ‘suitable’ job vacancies. Central to this dilemma and extant within point four above was the question of how many notifiable vacancies existed which might be filled by disabled people. This point was raised in the second interview (see below), where a frontline service provider, a DEA, was asked to comment on the routine operations of the service.

A PACT Manager interviewed, emphasised that comments made were unofficial, and information provided was ‘not for release’, being as he stated, solely to enhance understanding of the range and criteria of services provided by the PACT. It was apparent, from the responses shown, that policy conceptualisation based upon individuation of need remained sacrosanct. Whilst a supportive framework was deemed to be operative within the service, comments pertaining to client-identified need and

proclaimed service capacity for flexible response were not necessarily paramount considerations.

The fact that DEAs were essentially having to persuade employers (of the merits of employing disabled people) was itself indicative of the true picture of limited opportunities that prevailed despite recent enhanced statutory and non-statutory work policy shifts. The ES notwithstanding a history of specialism in disability (and regardless of the positive approach of PACTs or particular DEAs), performed a regulatory function whose fundamental mode of employment identification and service delivery, notably in the case of disabled people, had remained segregated since its inception in 1911.

Essentially, despite recent policy shifts discussed within the previous chapter, the ES/ESDS was nonetheless instrumental in regulating disabled people's restricted employment integration into the mainstream of work. The core basis for success of the ES-ESDS inevitably depended upon local labour market recruitment, its expansion or contraction, as much as the preparedness of individual employers to employ disabled people.

The second interview, conducted 16th July 1997, took the form of an unstructured conversation with a DEA. The interview was conducted at a local Jobcentre. An examination of the public access areas of the Jobcentre, revealed the presence or absence of information regarding disability and employment; nothing clearly relating to disabled people could be found and to speak to a counter clerk to ask for the DEA's location, or about disability related issues required joining one of five queues. The area where the interview was conducted was up a flight of stairs. It was apparent that this jobcentre, like others, was still largely inaccessible to disabled people with mobility-based access needs. This was so some three years after the introduction of anti-discriminatory policy and a set of in-house measures, including the restructuring of jobcentres, designed to provide for improved access. Amongst this study's participants (see Chapter 5), several cited

examples of inaccessibility with respect to their local ES-ESDS, jobcentres, and training or rehabilitation environments.

From the interview outset, the DEA noted that guidelines made it plain that as an employee she would not be able to discuss specific ESDS policies. In reply to the request regarding how policy details might be obtained, the DEA advised that contact should be made with the area ES, or the Regional Disability Advisory Service. On numerous occasions, contact with these bodies had been made in order to ascertain details regarding regional, national and local ES-ESDS policy developments, though often the results proved to be ineffectual. Whilst many individuals within these agencies were very supportive and helpful, concise policy details were often difficult to obtain. Although some ES-ESDS officials were clearly willing to provide advice and detail on specific policies, others when asked for information on policy matters either became obfuscatory or simply refused information requests without any explanation. One critical aspect of service development (discussed with the DEA) concerned how service providers would 'identify' the client base of disability services in the wake of the policy revisions of the DDA (1995), in particular, the abolition of the ES disability-employment register.

The DEA's reply suggested that where new clients were concerned, given that the majority of disabled people have 'hidden disabilities', the onus was placed upon service users to identify specific needs. While this, in itself, was a reasonable observation, many of those interviewed within this and other recent disability related studies testified to a lack of knowledge by service users of the jurisdiction of the specialist disability services (Mainstream, 1990; Graham et al., 1990; Johnston et al., 1992; Hyde and Howes, 1993; Simpkins, 1994). Indeed, observations from the literature on state service users identified service user 'passivity', notably amongst employment services and state welfare service users (Walker, 1993).

These pre-stated factors presented a flawed reasoning within the DEA's approach to service implementation or delivery. In seeking to identify unmet need by means of reliance upon service users self-identification, there was a danger of perpetuating service user reluctance or hesitance to fully or adequately utilise the service. The DEA referred to 'service user centred approaches to need', such as 'service flexibility' and 'client oriented empowerment' appearing genuinely to believe these were self evident in service practice. To address lack of awareness of the ESDS and the under-utilisation of the ESDS (a factor highly discernible in the present study - see comments in Chapter 5), necessitated that the endeavours of DEA's to ensure service user satisfaction were supported by adequate service values.

However, the demonstration of positive service implementation values aside, there remained too many unknown quantities regarding an adequate evaluation of disabled service users' preferences or needs. This was despite fundamental service reforms (1992-6), such as enhanced local Jobcentre's refurbishment through greater physical access to the ES-ESDS and the adoption of service user charters (ES, 1998).

4.4 Service provision and statutory policy

Before continuing the account of the third interview, it was apposite to outline principle aspects of the Disability Discrimination Act (1995), since this affected both service users and providers. The DDA contains four main clauses that relate to disability issues:

- A revised definition of Disability;
- Legislation on Employment;
- Legislation on Goods and Services; and
- Legislation on Access and Reasonable Adjustments to Premises/Workplaces.

Definitions of disability applied in the DDA 1995, differed in significant detail from that of the Disability Movement or the World Health Organisation, as noted above in Chapter 1. Gooding (1996), argued that whilst the DDA had created a new definition of disabled person it had not superseded the prior definitions laid down by the DP(E)A (1944). In some respects, it was narrower. Gooding (1996) stated (p. 9), that where an individual had for example been able to qualify for the disability living allowance or incapacity benefit, this did not automatically mean that he or she would come under the terms of the DDA's definition, although clearly there would be considerable overlap. Persons registered under the 1944 Act will be deemed to be disabled, under the terms of the DDA, for a period of three years from the 2nd of December 1996 when employment provisions of the Act came into force. Though as Gooding (1996, p. 8), stated,

such persons must have been on the employment services disability register, since 12th of January 1996. Although the 1995 Act establishes a new definition of disabled person, it does not reflect any fundamentally new understanding of disability.

The Act's definition of disability was one of the most contentious issues during its passage through Parliament. Problems were reminiscent of the ambiguous definitions contained in prior legislation. Gooding (1996, pp. 10-11), identifying its disablist individuated framework stated,

it focuses solely on the inability to perform certain physical or mental functions caused directly by the 'impairments' of an individual. To be protected against discrimination an individual must either be a disabled person (defined as a 'person who has a disability' (s. 1(2)), or be a person who has had such a disability (s. 2). A disability is defined as either a physical or mental impairment, which has a substantial and long term adverse effect on a person's ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities.

The DDA asserts that in order to qualify for inclusion four specific criteria must be applicable:

- 1) There must be a 'physical or mental impairment';
- 2) The impairment must adversely affect the individual's

ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities';

3) The adverse effect must be 'substantial'; and

4) The adverse effect must be 'long-term'.

If the above criteria were met, the person could expect to be afforded elementary rights relating to the accessing or supplying of services, goods and facilities. However, as Gooding (1996) observed, there were several exclusions to this section of the Act. The Act then, had established entitlement to a range of goods and services, but, had not as Gooding indicated, include goods and services not supplied to the public. This situation then, excluded liability or demand upon manufacturers to incorporate relevant functional aids for the specific benefit of disabled consumers, such as Braille. Discrimination in the provision of goods and services were described by Gooding (1996, p. 13) as when,

a service provider discriminates if he or she treats a disabled person less favourably for a reason which relates to a person's disability and which cannot be justified under the Act.

The DDA (1995), was itself the outcome of a long period of campaigning and compromise on the issue of disability rights and social citizenship. Its critics, especially the disability movement, condemn it as failing on all levels to meet the needs of disabled people. Decades of campaigning for comprehensive disability rights anti-discriminatory statutory provision (Morris and Butler, 1967; Barnes, 1994) had failed to address, not only important social factors relating to disability, but also even within its own terms of reference, the ESDS often failed to meet individual's needs. These criticisms were noted by the Trade Union Congress in its support for the disability Rights Now Campaign (TUC, 1996a; TUC, 1996b).

4.5 Local services and the needs of disabled users

Doyle (1994) argued that in the case of employment, current legislation needs to address the UNSREOPD principles, adopted in 1993, wherein nation states have a responsibility to create the legal bases for measures to achieve the objectives of full participation and equality for disabled people. As Doyle (1994) maintained, domestic legislation addressing the rights of disabled people must be measured against the yardstick of the UN Standard Rules. What was evident was that those responsible for the formation and delivery of services, and those who used the services, were clearly dissatisfied with a number of shortcomings evident within existing disability-employment legislation, see interviews below, Appendix 1, and comments within Chapter 5.

The RADAR newsletter (May 1997, p. 3) noted that according to the Arbitration Conciliation Advisory Service, between 2nd December 1996 and 28th February 1997, ninety-one Industrial Tribunal applications were submitted. However ACAS had anticipated around three thousand cases would be submitted to industrial tribunals within the first year. This low-take-up of legal redress, on the part of disabled people, accorded with the crucial evidence provided by (N67, 96 per cent) within the present study who stated that prior to ES contact they were unaware of a specialist disability service (the ESDS), a point reinforced by the views of 12 of the 20 people, who, during in-depth interview, stated almost two years after introduction of the 1995 Act, that: 'they were unaware of its existence.'

Lack of knowledge of general information on the rights and duties of state 'welfare' agencies and non-state welfare bodies has been shown to be prevalent amongst both disabled and non-disabled people who used state welfare agencies (Bynoe, Oliver and Barnes, 1990; Walker, 1993; Zarb, 1995; Dean, 1996). Indeed, Oliver (1990), and Barnes (1994) argued that meaningful citizenship for disabled people had not been provided within the post-war Welfare State. They cited the proposition of the Speaker's Commission on Citizenship (HMSO 1990) which recommended that a floor of adequate

social entitlements should be maintained, monitored and improved when possible by central government with the aim of enabling every citizen to live the life of a civilised human being according to the standards prevailing in society.

These authors maintained the great majority of disabled people were not well served in the present system. However, sceptical opinion regarding the shortcoming of the DDA (1995) noted by the disability movement and its allies, were not shared by all concerned. The Institute of Directors, (see DN, May 1994, pp. 6-7), commenting on Dr Roger Berry's Disability Civil Rights Bill (DCRB) (1995) argued that, 'legislation will be a tax on British business'. However, the organisation was prepared to sanction 'greater protection for disabled persons.' As Finkelstein (1996) had observed, entry into the statute books of the DDA (1995), and the demise of the DCRB (1995) (Hyde et al., 1995), brought to the fore subterranean ideological schisms within the broad alliance of disability organisations. However, in the local service context, the first two service providers interviewed appeared to take cognisance of reformulated disability legislation and theoretically at least, acknowledged empathy for a 'passive' social model approach (see Finkelstein, 1996) to service delivery frameworks. The impact of such policy revision upon services and service users formed a large part of the discussion with the third service provider interviewed.

The third interview was with a local authority social services policy advisor. The person interviewed, employed by social services since before the Local Government Act (1974), and had a history of involvement in disability matters. Consequently, she profiled 'historic features' of service-related disability policy shifts. The Officer, a member of a Planning and Development Team (PDT), described the team's role and function as to be mindful of what legislation was coming from central government. She stated that the team researched arising policies, interpreted guidance from central government and reported to the relevant council committees.

Discussion with this PDT officer entailed a more generalisable resume of the nature and conception of disability-related service philosophy. The PDT officer dealt more directly with construction and constitution of policy guidelines, rather than direct delivery of employment-related disability service provision. This situation presented an advantage, which lay in the opportunity to engage in critical or controversial evaluation of services within a wide ranging debate centred upon the perceptions of a service provider at middle-management level. In contrast to prior interviews with ES-ESDS personnel, the conversation's breadth of enquiry provided by the social services interviewee was far more conducive, allowing for critical depth of commentary upon disability related services, particularly, the marginalisation and low-status of disability provision amongst many social agencies. A core part of the interviewee's role, was described as 'the production of information on the value of services for the council's 'Public Information Strategy'. Discussion revolved around the compliance achieved regarding the DDA (1995). Here, emphasis was placed upon the degree of intra-Council and inter-Agency liaison that recent policy revision within the authority had sought to realise.

The PDT official described the Council, as having gradually undergone an attitudinal change whereby current 'disability' policy included heightened awareness of employment (including disability) needs of the authority's own labour force. This centred around the recognition of the importance for flexible responses by the Council towards achievement of universal compliance with established policy of disabled worker retention. This included broadening the authorities own workforce skills attainment levels, including new technology use and basic literacy and numeracy schemes. A committee dedicated to the provision of special needs training has been established, though as the PDT official commented:

It has evolved over a few years and had involved service users and health workers in joint policy planning. I know they have involved people with physical disability but how realistically they represented other disabled people I'm not sure.

Concern over the shortfall of universal representation of disabled people, within the service design and operationalisation of Council policy, were contrasted with the modest growth of positive employment lobbying by the local area Employers Forum on Disability. It would be reasonable to have described the framework of Council policy, regarding either internal or external liaison on employment matters, as being incorporated into equal opportunities policy. The interviewee maintained that to date, this approach had reduced the segregation of assessment and a provided policy of service use feedback that opened up the accountability of local services.

An essential aspect of the discussion with the PDT officer involved consideration of how agencies such as social services in particular and local councils in general, might best 'lend their weight' to the realisation of enhanced promotion of local area disability organisation. It was felt such supportive liaison should be grounded by an empowerment oriented ethic of user-led service values influences. Features which included the need to address community based fiscal development and support for local disability organisation.

Agreement on a basis of a relational framework of empowerment and the attainment of maximum self-autonomy were expressed as intrinsic values noted in support of such issues. However, beyond idealised aspirations, the PDT officer raised the perennial concern of the all too common transience of many community based self-help organisations. Given this factor, supportive measures for disability organisation at grass-roots level appeared to be predicated on the survival and perpetuation of groups who demonstrated an ability to achieve self-publicity and recruit empathy (including resources) via an active public profile and presence.

The fourth interview was with the Supported Employment supervisor of a local-based Industrial Services Group (ISG). He spoke of his concern that increasing emphasis on work placement, of which he naturally approved, hastened the threat of closure or privatisation of the company. The group is currently cost effective, but its financial

future resides in short-term contracted ES and other agency funding. The particular crisis of the service was addressed in the headline 'sheltered workshops saved', see Powell (1998).

Following the development of Unitary status, county policy joint co-operation on the running of the Industrial Service Group (ISG) (Workshops) has been ratified by a three year agreement. This agreement, it is stated, has secured the employment status of the 675 county disabled workshop employees, amid fears that the group might have to be restructured. The group, one of the largest sheltered employment services in the country has annual sales of some £9 million to 600 companies.

Questions asked of the supported employment placement officer and his replies are shown in Appendix 1. The foremost concern expressed by that officer concerned the likelihood of the failure of the ISG organisation to meet the demands of marketisation. He noted a decrease in the numbers recruited to the workshop and the low turnover of employees. These factors were due in part to the good wages and fair work conditions of the ISG compared with other employers. It has been argued previously that low pay and exploitative working conditions were directly associated with segregated forms of employment of disabled people. The observation by the placement officer that external work related conditions actively deterred some from amongst his own factory personnel from progressing into open work was a salutary reminder of the continuity of this oppressive situation. Asked to comment upon how the ESDS might respond to this situation, the placement officer remarked that in the wake of the recently formed NDDP:

one of the most the most vital aspects [of the sector] has been to promote not just work skills but to place more emphasis on social skills training ... we need to retain some sort of workshop environment, clearly the onus should be on training rather than permanent location.

Such comments clearly denoted recognition of policy transformation that possibly indicated the eclipse of workshops as a long-term viable measure. The desire, however, to retain some elementary form of workshop environment, as a form of rehabilitative or skills training location, as noted by the placement officer, accorded with comments made by (N23, 33 per cent) of the present study's participants. These people, whilst

expressing varied concerns on the shortcomings of workshops (see Chapter 5), were doubtful, given their abolition, that sufficient numbers of employers would be prepared to employ the more seriously incapacitated.

For this reason, retention of 'workshops' devoid of problems identified (see Chapter 2 and 5) remained a felt need of a minority of disabled people's perceptions of employment-related requirements. The citing by the placement officer of consideration by SIG personal of the viability of a worker co-operative (to sustain a 'supportive' work environment) denoted the insecurity and concern for the workshop regime. A more optimistic outcome under the Routeways scheme saw the inauguration of joint policy initiatives (with the City Council and EC, funding) of disabled people's support workers as part of the local pilot disability-employment programme currently operating at the national level (see ES, 1999).

4.6 Survey methodology and ethical protocol

The debate now describes this study's methodology, its operationalisation and the specific ethical values that informed this process. For example, the disability activist and Professor, Michael Oliver (1992, p. 111), noted:

Disabled people have come to see research as a violation of their experience, as irrelevant to their needs and as failing to improve their material circumstances and quality of life.

Therefore the values of the disability movement's interpretation of a social model basis for disability inquiry constitutes the research framework adopted. The study's research process involved conducting two sets of interviews; the first with seventy disabled persons by telephone; the second comprised in-depth, face-to-face interviews with twenty persons purposively selected from the first interviews. All were asked to describe their perceptions of their experience as users of disability services, and to illustrate

functions and procedures of the service, by indicating the suitability of provision with regard to their particular needs.

The rationale of this study's theoretical premise is to examine the role of the ES-ESDS in the process of integration or exclusion, of disabled people from work. Until the 1980s most studies of disabled people's employment circumstances applied an individualised approach; one limited to agency-centred perceptions of barriers to opportunity, or restricted comments upon disability that were often anecdotal and unsupported by empirical data. This study aims to fill certain gaps in the empirical research. This involves specifying the types of barriers to employment opportunity that study participants indicate in their use of the ES-ESDS, which includes unmet service-related needs, lack of access and other obstacles.

As disability is a non-static, socio-cultural construction, a freeze-frame universal model unique to 'disability' was therefore impossible to construct. Essentially, the study's methodological framework resided in the realm of perceptions provided by its participants' experiences. However, analysis extends beyond homogenous depiction: disability experiences are inevitably mediated and influenced by variable factors such as social stratification through class, occupation, ethnicity, age, gender, labour market participation, form of impairment and so on. Hence, given the immense diversity of social barriers accompanying acquirement of impairment, these factors cannot be adequately explained by use of a static universal model. Identifiable differences invariably affected how different social barriers and attitudinal prejudices were perceived or responded to. Therefore the methodological approach adopted here was grounded by the need to reveal and understand such matters.

A central claim of disability movement theorisation's was that research perspectives should challenge oppression and aid empowerment (Oliver, 1990; Zarb, 1995). Therefore, the analysis applied dismissed value neutrality, recognising that disability research has a political function where disabled people could be oppressed by its mechanisms values or

outcomes (Oliver and Barnes 1998). The research methodology, therefore, relied upon the experiential narratives of those interviewed to identify and assess the experiences of social barriers to work requirements. Study sample population and selection criteria stressed the problem of defining a sample universe, given the ambiguous nature of disability classificatory principles and the social stigma of disabled identity. The research process, though primarily qualitative, was mindful that there could be no single framework that constituted the definitive qualitative methodology (Wright, 1985; Hammersley, 1995).

However, the development of suitable survey methods acknowledged the theoretical conceptions of disability analytical reasoning applied by the disability movement (see Oliver, 1990; 1992; Abberley, 1987, 1992, 1997). The study's research values also drew upon the ideas critical social research (Harvey, 1990). Study methodological analyses sought to identify patterns and themes of employment-related disadvantage manifested within the current practices of the ESDS, including those that were the product of unintentional though negative outcomes. The study drew upon a sample of disabled people who had participated in a prior survey on disability employment matters conducted by Hyde and Howes (1993). From a list of two hundred and twenty eight people, drawn randomly from participants of the above mentioned study, seventy people fitted the selection criteria (see below) and were prepared to take part in the present study. Subsequently, interviews averaging eighty minutes were conducted with these seventy people, in order to contextualise the nature of the inquiry into service-users' perceptions of need.

Conducting the research with participants who had previously taken part in disability research enhanced the basis for mutual understanding on such matters. Essentially, a significant minority of participants (about a third) viewed the present study's interview process as an interactive one that endeavoured to reject 'active expert and passive subject' power relations. However, in effect, only a minority of participants expressed

keen personal interest in the desire to further contribute to research on disability matters, others expressed less candid views, although none were judged of greater value since each had equal bearing upon the research and its limits.

Explanation of the application in the study, of a social model perspective, on disability matters met with a mixed response. For some the research was viewed as beneficial mainly to the researcher, for others the research process was interpreted as a vehicle for involved mutual identification and deliberation on the meaning of disability and the nature of social barriers. Development of a mutual agenda between researcher and researched emerged from the process of exploration of shared knowledge of the social context of disability, and the particularities of employment-related need as identified within the realm of service use.

Information from pilot study respondents, together with evidence from the literature contextualised the key pertinent issues to be explored. The initial interviews provided a template for the production of a more in-depth focus of enquiry, with 10 women and 10 men, using purposive sampling (see Robson, 1993, pp. 141-142) and the application of a class status sifting process using the Registrar General's Classification principles in order to select from amongst the 'lower' status groups (see Edgell, 1993, p. 34; Crompton, 1998; Rose and O' Reilly, 1999), together with the definitions of disability and work restriction applied by the OPCS and LFS (Martin et al., 1989; Prescott-Clarke, 1990; LFS, 1996). Principal inclusory criteria lay in recent or current use of the ES-ESDS, a work limiting form of impairment, and a desire to attain employment within a year from the interview (see Hyde and Howse, 1993). Reflexive analysis applied to respondents' individual perceptions aimed at pinpointing the shortcomings of state employment values relative to the work-related needs expressed by disabled people. While the study concentrated upon class and gender related disability matters, other features of disablement such as stigma, alienation, disempowerment, supra-exploitation and marginalisation applicable to disability matters influenced debates. However, the

paramount focus of the study process was concerned with the suitability of ES-ESDS service policy implementation and practice in relation to the actual experiences of service users.

Explanation of this study's theoretical premises and of the methods applied necessitates recognition of the importance for the methodology adopted of the disability research ethical criteria, described by its exponents as research based upon non-oppressive principles. These principles denote the construction of what are deemed positive paradigms for researching disability (Abberley, 1987, 1992; Oliver, 1990; Barnes, 1994, 1998; Booth, 1996; Shakespeare et al., 1998). This perspective - the use of anti-disablist research values (see below) - was considered a precondition of disability research (Abberley, 1987, 1992, 1996; Oliver, 1996; Priestley, 1999). Debate on theoretical implications of specific research related ethical factors shows their bearing upon the philosophical basis of the study's methodology. Therefore, a core intention of the study can be described as:

The identification establishment and contribution towards greater understanding of the nature and form of existence of the causal relationship existing between disabled people's labour market disadvantages and the policy frameworks of contemporary ES-ESDS services. Principally, the ability of existing state disability work policy to meet disabled service users' expressed employment-related needs.

Study method and methodology objectives consisted of discovering the locus of service users' own perceptions of negative, or positive, aspects of ES-ESDS service use. This task involved identification of core factors relating to the perceptual outcomes shown, including the exploration of service users suggested solutions. However, it has also been pointed out that there can be few universally shared hegemonic conditions unique to all disabled persons.

This factor requires further clarification. Admittedly, a significant degree of homogeneity can be found within negative attitudinal interpretations of disabled people and of disability. This was particularly the case with respect to perceptions held by non-

disabled people. However this condition, unlike race or gender prejudice, could not be described as an overt universal experience, given that most disabled people have what are termed hidden disabilities. Nonetheless, disabled people faced similar social disadvantages to those associated with both ethnic and gender related prejudices. The major characteristics of such negative factors were typified as inaccessible socio-cultural environments compounded by oppressive attitudes towards those with impairment. It was in the perceptions of inability shown to be held by those who discriminated against disabled people, that associated substantial ideological and physically oppressive frameworks operated to deny disabled people elementary social rights and opportunities. Prior analysis, established within the literature on disability and employment showing the use of the ES-ESDS (Prescott-Clarke, 1990. pp. 10-11; Hyde and Howes, 1993, pp. 26-40; Hammond et al., 1996, p. 12), revealed that service users' questioned the capability of the ESDS to adequately perceive or respond to their employment-related felt needs⁶.

4.7 Study rationale and operationalisation

The rationale for a social model analysis was guided by the observations of Oliver (1996, p. 129) on the necessity for opposition to the 'hegemony of disability, as it is produced by capitalist society [that] stems from the ontological assumptions it makes about the pathological and problem-oriented nature of disability.' This represented the logic of medical model understanding whereby disability required eradication via prevention, cure or treatment. The defining principles for respondent inclusion into the present study were laid down by recent studies.

⁶ Principal sources of empirically grounded disability-employment debate included Patricia Prescott-Clarke's seminal 1990 survey, Lunt and Thornton's 1993 study of international disability work policy, Johnson et al. 1993, and Hyde's and Howes' 1993 attitudinal-based survey of disabled people's perceptions of supported employment needs.

For example, survey inclusion criterion adopted by Hyde and Howes (1993), (whilst similar to selection principles used in Prescott-Clarke's 1990, pp. 4-5 study) involved significant difference in selection criteria compared to that used by Prescott-Clarke (1990, p. 13 see also Appendix A and B), and provided for a wider scope of disability experience within its selection basis.

In the study conducted by Prescott-Clarke (1990, p. 13), in order to provide a representative sample universe, those selected were drawn from an initial sample frame of 39,960 addresses from the Postcode Address File. The number of persons of working age was 46,141; whilst findings show 27 per cent of addresses contained no one of working age. Problems in obtaining a representative sample are clear, in that the eligible total was only 1,453 people. Prescott-Clarke's (1990) survey, includes use of the ES-ESDS, though its primary aim was establishment of inclusivity for registration under the DP(E)A (1944). However, whilst its methodology was broader than comparable studies such as the General Household Survey (see Prescott-Clarke, 1990 pp. 16-19), its unsuitability (with respect to a social model ethos) lay in two core aspects. First, it combined service providers and users determinations of services, with insufficient disaggregation, or discrimination, on concurrence or disagreement on the part of either party. Second, its perspectives signified an approach of interpretative orientation akin to a generally quasi-medicalised view of disablement, the methodological criticisms of which have been outlined previously. This interpretative logic reinforced similar negative factors noted within Abberley's criticisms of the OPCS disability surveys (Abberley, 1987, 1996).

In line with the methodology of Hyde and Howes' (1993) survey, this study's procedure of using service users' own interpretative perceptions, denotes a social model ethos of enquiry, whilst also presenting a longitudinal dimension to the analysis of its participants' experience. Initial preparation and development consisted of extensive examination of the literature on historical state disability-related policy and construction

of a disability-measure chronology showing development in state-led disability employment policy (From the 1890s-to the end of the 20th Century), as a basis for critical analysis of the rationale of the role and practice of the ES-ESDS (see Appendix 7). This involved identification of negative (and positive) aspects of services, particularly, the incidence of disablist conceptualisations of impairment conditions. Evidence and analysis of these factors were shown (see Chapter 5) within respondents' accounts of negative attitudinal opinions held by service providers. Those participating in the current study revealed a relatively wide range of impairment 'classification' or typology (see Prescott-Clarke, 1990, pp. 39-43).

However, they do not yield a sample representative of those with very severe impairments, a matter pre-determined by two factors. First, most respondents did not identify their impairment condition as very severe disability. Second, exploration of disability-related employment need and suitability of the ES-ESDS grounded in the perceptions of those with mild-to-middle ranging impairment reflected the degree of impairment-related incapacitation more representative of current ES-ESDS service users. This situation was reinforced by the fact that, within existing oppressive and alienating social conditions, those with the least severity of impairment, were more likely to be accommodated within labour markets than those with more severe impairment (Abberley, 1996). Whilst the adoption of this approach was selective, even divisive, the intention lay in the establishment of the service requirements of those with practical knowledge of using the ES-ESDS. The determining of which goes some way towards clarifying the debate on why those with very severe impairments were denied employment opportunity or access to the ES-ESDS (see Chapter 5).

Although PACT specifically catered for disabled service users those interviewees with more severe impairments were adamant that the ES-ESDS was largely unable to assess or respond to their felt needs. Therefore, part of the analytical dynamic of the research concerned the need to examine the implications for further development of state

disability-employment policy as well as the ES-ESDS services. This study's methodological objective of ascertaining service users perceptions of the ES-ESDS through participants' non-working or working experiences did not imply that those unable to secure employment were 'disqualified' from study inclusion. On the contrary, for the minority of study participants who perceived themselves as excluded from employment study analysis included these ES-ESDS-users experiences. The observations noted, indicated perceptual barriers to felt needs shown by prospective employers, social agencies and most notably the ES-ESDS itself. However, it was important, both for the methodological approach to the research task, and from the point of view of the role of the ES-ESDS, that the 'limits' to this particular state agency be explored and contextualised. Despite the development of welfare-to-work strategies for disabled people, the criticisms made by Oliver and Barnes (1998, pp. 95-97), reflected the fact that employment matters were subject to influences brought about by shifting global labour market phenomenon.

Uppermost of which was the lack in Britain's labour market of suitable vacancies (OECD, 1998; LMT, June, 1998). This study's methodology therefore, considered the relationship between ES-ESDS service values, labour market shifts, and state policy contradictory tensions. Such macro policy issues determined the limits to the transition from benefit dependency to meaningful social and financial autonomy via employment attainment through use of the ES-ESDS. The objective then, was to show how crucial externalities impacted on ES-ESDS policy intent, creating substantial limits to service schemata. The intention being to provide explanations for the employment disadvantage experienced by disabled people, whilst acknowledging the continuity of employment marginalisation of disabled people (DE, 1990) despite, or indeed as a consequence of recent State benefit and ES-ESDS policy reform measures (Hyde, 1998; Thompson, 1999). Historically, disabled people were subject to disproportionate work oppression (Doyle, 1994), through shifting patterns of productive practices (Oliver, 1990; Philpott, 1997, pp. 22-24; Maruani, 1996, pp. 113-122) that effected the employment or retention

of disabled workers within rapidly altered labour markets (Roulstone, 1998; Barnes et al., 1998). Therefore, the identification of the rationale for existing state employment-related social policy needs to show how these factors related to current state disability employment and welfare benefit values.

Perspectives embodied in this study's research paradigms aimed to incorporate recognition of effects upon policy ideology and practice of the implications of certain major social phenomena. The following four factors contribute to the concerns previously noted, and act as constituent overarching causal determinants of work problems debated by participants during this study's interviews.

- First, global and national employment transformations in modes of production, and the international division of labour affect the labour market position and employment potential of disabled people.
- Second, lack of sufficient commitment to disability matters by the State, employers and society, maintains disablist cultural reproductions or hostile environments. This legitimates social exclusion and disadvantage as conditions coalesce to deny employment opportunities to disabled people.
- Third, socio-economic political economy explanations for the resultant increase in general levels of employment insecurity creates continuing employment disadvantage for disabled persons.
- Fourth, influences within service policy that denote institutionalised disablist representation of impairment, produces negative policy prescriptions. It is argued such factors affect the capacity or ability of the service to address overall service quality, notably, service capabilities, accountability and user empowerment.

It was apparent that the role of the ESDS needed to be contextualised by understanding the instrumental effects upon the service of government employment policy response (or lack or response) to disabled people's diverse employment integration requirements.

Deacon et al. (1997) analysed the constraints and limitations applicable to state services that have been imposed by supra-national transformations within the current international division of labour. At the supra-national macro level, external factors to reduce state welfare impacted upon the scope of the ES-ESDS. Having acknowledged certain key determinant influences on disability-employment policy prescription and rationale, debate now addresses the construction and operationalisation of the study's particular methodology and method, beginning with an account of disability-related research ethical values.

Oliver (1990) pinpointed the inadequacies present in research conducted on behalf of disabled people by able-bodied researchers whose method and methodology reinforced the marginalisation of the experience of disability. Much research into disabled people's needs reflected what Lukes (1973, p. 122) described as methodological individualism, which finds its apogee in the ideological values of Hobbes (1651) and was,

guilty of presenting exclusivist, prescriptive doctrine about what explanations are to look like ... it excludes explanations which appeal to social forces, structural features of society, institutional factors and so on.

Methodological individualism, a core paradigm that Oliver challenges, is an evaluative stance and process inherent in the disablist ethos of much disability research. Furthermore, Oliver (1992) argued that this approach sanctioned a viewpoint that problems faced by disabled people were caused by individual impairment. This rationale resulted in disability being interpreted as an individual problem with the rejection of other possible explanations.

4.8 The challenge of research using emancipatory paradigms of reasoning

Schematically, interviews were designed to reflect participants' individual use of the ES-ESDS, in order to assess the nature of unmet needs. The accounts rendered, identified common phenomena arising from service user/service provider relationships

such as unequal power and unmet needs (Simpkins, 1994; Lindlow, 1996). However, analysis on disability matters must also contend with the probability of a gulf between the philosophical ideal of conscious adoption of an anti-disablist approach, and the reality of participants' own possibly differing conceptualisations of the issue or issues in question. Part of this impasse concerned the correspondence of the relationship of researcher to researched (see Abberley, 1987, 1992; Barnes, 1996b) and the true synchrony of shared accounts of meaning or interpretation of stated events. In order to address this potential or perhaps inevitable dilemma, study respondents were informed of the application of a social model approach to conducting the research (Finkelstein, 1980, 1998). Whilst none opposed this approach, there is a need, as Haraway (1988, p. 585) noted, to ensure that diversity of opinion on disability interpretation was not silenced. In contrast to the medicalised or individualist disability research approach Oliver (1992, p. 110) proclaimed the need for the:

development of an emancipatory research paradigm [which] is not simply about confrontation with or accommodation to the power structures which fund and resource research production; it is also about the demystification of the ideological structures within which these power relations are located.

In order to identify where non-disablist frameworks influence research processes by applying liberation critique values, the study method draws upon perspectives adopted by feminist approaches to social analysis. Oliver (1992a, p. 111) stated, feminist research had probably made most progress in the demystification of existing ideological structures. This assertion affected this study's desire to reflect the perceptions of disabled people's experiences by applying a methodology that singularly accorded with disabled people's own interpretations rather than those of disability professionals. Oliver (1992, p. 112) argued that in 'emancipatory research paradigms' a dialectic of meaningful mutual accord of interest in identification of the express purpose of the research may emerge between researcher and researched. The importance of such values were noted by Reason (1988, p. 2).

The present study's application of a social model approach sought to prevent the disablist rationality of pathologising, or laying the blame for policy failures upon disabled people. Therefore, the study interview questions were framed to express the shortcomings of either the ESDS, service implementation, providers or current provision, rather than the interviewees'. For, as Abberley (1992, p. 140) stated the form of questions asked and the methods used to define answers within disability research invariably denoted a political decision. An incipient problem presented for the methods adopted involved what constitutes a significant inclusive independent variable, which can be measured and conceptualised within the research framework, thereby providing significance for the study's theoretical premises (see Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992, pp. 54-61). This perspective then concerned the need to ascertain the relationship between the study's core dependant variable (disabled persons' disadvantaged position in relation to employment) and pertinent independent variables. Identification of the implications of the independent variables upon the core dependant variable, furnished explanation for identifiable discrete factors arising from respondents' experiences of the employment service. The objective was to link perceptions shown by service users' to the study's stated theoretical critique and main hypothesis.

This necessitates showing how the analysis of the outcome of such measures required inclusion of key work-relating independent variables. The main independent variables identified were: service use relating to gender, and service use relating to class. Survey analysis also involved identification of recent effects of policy transformations within the service including: the effect of privatisation - the contracting out of core features of the service, marketisation of state-led rehabilitative or skills training environments upheld within a process of workshop commercialisation and increasing competitiveness.

In practice, these features of services were conceptualised by the accounts provided by service users' explanations of negative service experiences shown in the responses provided during the operationalisation of the study's two questionnaires (see Appendix 8

and 9). The intention was to show how and where such factors constituted a core determinant for particular disablist manifestations within service philosophy or policy praxis. This was achieved by showing how study respondents comments revealed the nature, prevalence and association of perceptions of stigma, marginality and alienation observable with respect to ES-ESDS service use (see Oliver and Barnes, 1998).

Methodologically, the study's empirical conception of recent policy transformations upon service users' perceptions of the quality of the ES-ESDS rested upon stated levels of satisfaction expressed by study participants. Within the interviews, people were asked how long they had used the ES-ESDS and if they had noticed any significant change to the quality of the service within recent years. Though few people were conversant with policy change several indicated perceptions of either improvement or decline in various aspects of the ES-ESDS services. Reflection on the methodological objectives involved identification and subsequent operationalisation of a number of tangible or ascertainable variables that influenced services. Foremost, of which was the condition of impairment that in terms of classificatory meaning is the elementary precondition for service use entitlement. Beyond this shared condition, other related inclusive or salient independent variables were employment experience, education, training, skills, and age. Such factors invariably influenced service users' evaluations of the efficacy and suitability of the ES-ESDS service responses regarding their felt needs.

The analysis presented considered the effects of these divergent concepts in terms of the outcomes revealed. At a generalisable level, detrimental conditions were identified as principally due to the existence, extent and effects on service users, of negative attitudinal responses towards impairment incapacitation to the detriment of individual ability. These perceptions were delineated by service users' interpretations of the utility, overall quality, and ability of both services and service providers to meet or respond to a range of expressed work related needs (see Chapter 5). Bolderson (1980), Stone (1985), Oliver (1990) and Barnes (1994) argued that the role and function of employment

services was primarily a regulatory mechanism for controlling entry into labour markets by disabled people. Abberley (1996, pp. 169-70) argued, such mechanisms operated within clearly definable politically determined social policy agendas.

Stated policy such as proclaimed service flexibility and user-centred parameters of service ethos and operation (see interview with DEA above) were inevitably subjected to altered labour-market demand pressures. However, Oliver (1993) had asserted policy on disability was ideologically driven, the category disability was not fixed or absolute, therefore, disability could only be properly understood as a social construction. However, this recognition must avoid analysis that ignored or disregarded the specificity of disabled people's experiences. Crow (1996, pp. 206-226) criticised the tendency for 'some able-bodied researchers to 'overlook' the effects of impairment on disabled persons' when criticising or conceptualising disability policy. For as Mill (1959) argued, neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society could be understood without understanding both.

What was also discernible was that the main employment agency concerned with production and reproduction of state employment policy, the ES, does not possess a definitive and accessible account of policy connected with disability and employment. In order to ascertain these developments, a policy chronology was constructed which involved communication with numerous individuals in state organisations or other bodies (ES, Disability Services, DSS, House of Commons Library, the Library of the American Embassy, International Labour Organisation, DIG, BCODP, SCOPE and several research organisations connected with employment or disability matters) on several occasions spanning the period of the research. The information collected and collated was presented as a broad chronology framework designed to assist the narrative of policy analysis presented in the study (see Appendix 7).

Matters concerning the status and social position of disabled people within capitalist society raised matters surrounding issues of social stratification. An aim of the research

was to examine the disproportionate degree of marginalisation, alienation, and exploitation encountered by disabled people, noting how these pertained to disabled people's individual and collective work related experiences. Oliver's (1990) theoretical perspective, a neo-Marxian interpretation, revealed that consciousness of the role in society of disabled people was itself shaped by the requirements of the mode of production within late capitalism (Lee and Turner, 1996; Deacon et al. 1997; Jordan, 1998).

Legitimative rationale for the segregated regulation of disabled people within policy ideology was predicated upon negative perceptions of disabled people's abilities to positively contribute to society. This institutionalised legacy, Oliver (1990) maintained, was at the root of the social construction of disability and disabled identity (see Leonard, 1984, pp. 2-4). This line of analysis implied that sustained segregation affected societal and individual perceptions of the 'acceptance' of disabled people, either as citizens or workers. Layder (1998, p. 26) speaks of the need to ensure that theories of causal formations and inference be enhanced by the adoption of what he described as an adaptive approach to theories (see Layder, 1998, pp. 26-7). The research perspectives adopted by the present study may not, strictly speaking, fully embrace the preconditions for adaptive research paradigms as identified by Layder.

However, the interpretative reasoning adopted by Layder (1998, p. 27), reflected the eclecticism of the current study's multiple-theoretical outlook. It also acted as a vehicle for explanation of the rationale behind undefined or under-theorised explanations of the negative social reality endured by disabled people. Indeed, the ways in which disabled people interpreted their experience of impairment and disability clearly varied in accordance with a plethora of personal circumstances. It appeared reasonable to presume that there can be no absolute conception that epitomised either the effect or perception of any form of impairment upon the person concerned.

Whilst certain factors long associated with impairment were undoubtedly institutionalised, and innately typical of modern society, such as social exclusion, oppression and economic disadvantage; they cannot be declared as axiomatic universal outcomes or total social realities of impairment matters, they did however signify the extent of social alienation and oppression that disabled people have endured.

4.9 Operationalisation of the study

Kuhn's (1996) assertion that traditional research conditions can lead to a form of conformity (normal science) lacking a critical dimension clearly accords with Oliver's criticisms of disablist (inflexible-uncritical) research practice. In considering the dilemma whereby qualitative analysis has been criticised for failing to provide an adequate quantitative dimension (see Blaikie, 1993, p. 19). However, whilst quantitative analysis provides statistical 'evidence', that may enhance potential replicability, Heisenberg (1948, p. 333, cited by Marcuse, 1974, p. 123) noted:

What we establish mathematically is 'objective fact' only in small part, in larger part it is a survey of possibilities.

The study's research perspective, then, accords with elementary features of critical social research (see Hammersley, 1995 for evaluation of the weaknesses of these methods). However, although noting awareness of the inherent danger of reproducing a new dogma, the present study found emancipatory research ethics of the 'disability movement' the most non-oppressive basis for the survey. Nachmias and Nachmias (1992, pp. 21-27) pointed out the stages of the research process where the concepts used as part of the language of social science that provided an elementary basis for replicability. However, concepts are not the phenomenon itself but rather a symbol of the phenomenon that introduces a perspective; a way of looking at empirical phenomena.

Nachmias and Nachmias (1992, pp. 29-30) noted “we must however guard against concepts being either presumed or assumed ... in effect we must ensure that we strictly define our concepts”. See Gergen (1989, pp. 3-4, cited, Nachmias and Nachmias (1992, p. 14) and Feyerabend (1993, p. 2). The bearing upon the present research of these observations centre upon the validity of the application of a social model ethos in qualitative analysis. It is argued that disablist research values are alienating both for disabled people and researchers themselves. For, as Oliver (1992, p. 101) has stated,

Disability cannot be abstracted from the social world which produces it; it does not exist outside the social structures in which it is located and independent of the meanings given to it. In other words, disability is socially produced.

Oliver (1992a, pp. 108-112) noted that the broader social locations for such disablist perspectives have often been abstracted from research analysis. In the last 100 hundred years industrial societies have produced disability first as a medical problem requiring medical intervention, and second as a social problem requiring social provision. And, as Oliver (1992) had noted, only recently had this conceptualisation of disabled people’s labour market position (medicalised or individualised interpretations) been significantly challenged by disabled people.

Examples of non-oppressive research constructs discussed by Bourne (1981), and Maguire (1987), cited in Oliver (1992, p. 102) give examples of exploitative research into racial and gender experiences. Consequentially, disabled persons’ rejection of inadequate oppressive paradigms present within medicalised, administrative or dependency model approaches to disability analysis, draws upon the analytical basis of parallel critiques produced by non-white ethnic people and women. What lies at the core of this debate is the specificity of social relations of research production (see Abberley, 1992; Oliver, 1992; Barnes et al., 1998).

Oliver (1992, pp. 101-113) highlights shortcomings of both positivist and interpretative social science traditions of conducting disability research by identification of the limits

to prior theoretical paradigms. These are represented by three dimensions of research conceptuality wherein, it is argued, prior research into disability has tended to foreclose debate and analysis at either the first or second level. Oliver (1992, p. 108), illustrates this in Figure 2. Three-dimensional perspectives of social research and social policy applicable to modes of disability analysis.

Positivist paradigm	Disability as an individual problem	Engineering model
Interpretative paradigm	Disability as a social problem	Enlightenment model
Emancipatory paradigm	Disability as a political problem	Policy as struggle

These three paradigms are indicative of the trajectory of philosophical change within disability theoretical perspectives, from the hegemonic influence of containment and exclusion representative of an individuated engineering model, to the development of regulation of disabled people using an oppressive enlightenment model based upon normative medicalised, administrative and dependency paradigms. A third stage policy-as-struggle is indicative of non-disablist policy reasoning. Hence, policy ought to provide grounds for social transformation based upon experientially derived conceptions of social policy that meets the needs of disabled people as defined by them.

The present study was influenced by this third perspective in both its theory and practice, particularly where disability policy theorisation and social analysis failed to identify negative ideological pressures that shape and determine social policy contrary to the self-defined needs of disabled people. Oliver (1992, p. 108) argued, part of the problem was undoubtedly that normative ideologies underpinning disability social policy were so deeply embedded in social consciousness generally that they became 'facts' and, as Oliver asserted, they became 'naturalised'. Thus Oliver (1992, p. 112) argued, 'everyone knows that disability is a personal tragedy for individuals so 'afflicted'; hence ideology becomes common sense wherein this 'common sense' is reinforced both by

'aesthetic' and 'existential' anxiety.' Hahn (1986) proposed that the locus for disadvantage resided in the non-disabled populations' domination of the social perceptions of disablement matters.

This interpretative values alienation legitimated the social construction of dependency paradigms based upon a conceptualisation of 'disabled people' as being fundamentally 'different', 'other', 'passive', 'threatening' or simply unacceptable as 'normal'. Given these negative associations, one of the most pressing ethical factors of anti-disablist research lies in development of non-oppressive research paradigms for the analysis of disabled people's social inclusion needs. The present study lacked the necessary resources to realise a group-research perspective. However, what was desirable and achievable within its confines was the application, to both the methodology and method, of a perspective that took ample cognisance of researching disability by the application of non-oppressive ethical criteria (MacIntyre, 1995).

The present study's methods for conducting the research - its interpretative framework (its measuring instruments, sampling procedure and operationalisation process), to accommodate the specific perspectives identified - are considered next. Nachmias and Nachmias (1992, p. 31) state, that concepts such as 'alienation' 'marginalisation' and 'stigma', where non-behavioural properties such as perceptions values and attitudes cannot be observed directly, requires an approach showing how the empirical existence of a concept may be inferred. This requires the use of specific operational definitions which were, Nachmias and Nachmias (1992, p, 31) suggested, a set of procedures that,

Tell you what to do and what to observe in order to bring the phenomenon defined within the range of the researcher's experience.

The relevance of this approach for the study's theoretical orientation as Nachmias and Nachmias (1992, p. 34) noted was that scientific concepts should not be evaluated only in terms of their observability but also in terms of their theoretical import (see Hempel, 1996, pp. 96-97; Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992, pp. 14-15). The three realms of

disabling social reality interpreted in the present study were: unequal power, neglected history, and disablist theorisation were shown to have underpinned the negative effects upon the employment needs of disabled people addressed within the preceding chapters. These paradigmatic features of disabilism clearly played an essential part in the conceptualisation of the present study's framework of analysis. For as Pawson (1993, p. 9) had noted,

sociological inquiry is essentially incomplete unless it is premised on an understanding of how empirical outcomes are constituted by the actions of mechanisms and structure.

To this end, the current study sought to locate the raison d'être for present disability employment philosophy which, it argued, lies within the dominant ideology and prevailing ethos of capitalist socio-economic relations and the exclusion of disabled people in the mode of production. Hence profit based on calculated and pre-determined exploitative expropriation by a minority of the population of the productive energies of the majority, invariably, supersedes matters of general human wants and needs, including those of impairment related work needs. A core objective of the study involved interpretation of disablist attitudinal values. This was realised by the presentation of inquiry questions upon service quality, based upon an ordinal related ranking or Likert scale (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1992, pp. 152, 436-38) wherein participants' evaluations and responses were ranked (and subsequently interpreted) by reference to the selection criteria applied by a variable scale. This consisted of a series of optional evaluations expressed by attitudes ranging from very suitable, suitable, neutral, unsuitable to very unsuitable.

These quantifiable scaled responses were supported in turn by a request for the provision of a qualitative explanatory interpretation providing for clarification and justification of the logic used when choosing the designated level of service quality specifically identified. Nachmias and Nachmias (1992, p. 16) declared that scientific methodology was first and foremost self-correcting. Essentially they argued that the

'precedents' of these laws emerged from the research process itself. Morris, Cohen and Nagel (1962, pp. 395-396) commented,

the canons of inquiry are themselves discovered in the process of reflection, and may themselves become modified in the course of study.

Nachmias and Nachmias (1992, pp. 16-21) stated that by making the rules of methodology explicit, public and accessible, the framework for replication and constructive criticism was set forth. The method applied to the present study involved the use of semi-structured interviews. The merits of using this specific approach were described by Layder (1993, p. 41).

4. 10 The ethics of disability research: oppression or empowerment?

Abberley (1987, 1992), discussing the fundamentals of anti-disablist ethical dimensions when conducting research with disabled people cited the negative example of the OPCS disability surveys. Abberley (1992, pp. 139-152) criticised the disablist values of the research methods applied within these surveys. Oliver (1990, pp. 7-8) constructed a comparative analytical framework that overturned the oppressive disablist conceptions of disability interpretation observable within the OPCS surveys. He did so by showing how the questions presented by the OPCS researchers on disability matters (using a medical model approach), could be reinterpreted to produce a non-oppressive framework simply by the application of a social model perspective to the original interview schedule.

Within the OPCS survey, questions were framed in such a manner as to reinforce a vision of the 'problems arising as a consequence of some form of impairment', inferring that these were due to specific limitations of the disabled person. Oliver (1990, pp. 7-8) argued that the negative way the questions (in Table 1.1 OPCS 1986, survey of disabled adults) were framed compounded disablist reasoning. These questions, Oliver (1990, pp. 7-8) argued could be reformulated in 'a non-oppressive manner'. Abberley (1992, p.

140) stated that it was a political decision conscious or otherwise, to use the OPCS's criteria for examining the social status of disabled people:

Since state researchers, whatever party is in power, have consistently asked individualising rather than socialising questions.

Substantial expositions of the emancipatory basis of disability research and the values of non-oppressive approaches to disability have been presented by disability movement theorists. For example, Zarb (1992, pp. 125-8), examining non-disablist research ethics noted, "that although there are significant constraints imposed by the material relations of research production, genuine progress [viz the relationship between researcher and researched] can still be made in changing the relations of disability research." Zarb (1992, p. 127) also argued study method should be based on the experience of doing research within a framework of user's perspectives of services and policy. The essential quality of this method was described by Zarb as grounded by participatory research design. Within this approach the objective was to create emancipatory research paradigms which were, Zarb (1992, p. 127) noted,

more a set of principles - fairly loosely defined at that - than a set of rules for doing disability research.

For debate on rationalisations of emancipatory research views as provided by disabled people see Abberley, 1987, 1992; UPIAS, 1976; Finkelstein, 1980; Morris, 1992, 1996; Oliver, 1990, 1992. Zarb (1992, p. 128) noted, that emancipatory principles were a product of an increasingly vociferous critique of existing disability research by disabled people, who have been or are potentially its objects (or victims) and non-disabled researchers application of reflexivity upon their own research practices. Zarb (1992, p. 128) suggested that in a dialectical sense, "both the critique and the potential for resolution are always reflected in existing research." Emancipatory research requires application and realisation of two qualities 'empowerment' and 'reciprocity', the attainment of which Oliver (1990) noted, disabled people must seek for themselves, as

empowerment was not something that could be given. It was more a case of precisely what could the research process do to facilitate this process?

Zarb (1992, p. 128) stated that the gulf between established oppressive disability research traditions and the ideal process of 'emancipatory' non-oppressive research design necessitates the need to develop participatory forms of research, thereby achieving a framework for transformation of the problematic orthodoxy of disablist research relations used within (non-social model) disability research paradigms. Observation can now turn to research values and the conceptualisation of the situating of disability-employment needs related discourse. O'Brien and Penna (1998, pp. 124-132) discussing the situating of needs discourses in social policy, cite Fraser's (1989) critical theory of welfare and needs rationalised via the application of Foucault's analytical discourse. Fraser (1989, p. 167), argues needs-discourses on definitions of need are themselves the 'products of political struggle over meaning'. Fraser (1989, p. 167) identified three kinds of interacting needs discourse in late capitalist societies: expert, oppositional and reprivatisation discourses. Each represented essential aspects of current theories of empowerment and social organisation. For example, expert needs discourses denote the product of professional and authoritative agency, O'Brien and Penna (1998, p. 125), stated expert needs discourses:

Serve most readily as vehicles for translating politicised needs into objects of state intervention by redefining them into categories of administrative service. This redefining process classically takes the form of translating a particular 'expressed' need into a 'case' of a more generalised social problem ... unemployment, disability ... for example. Whereby, the effect of the redefinition is to recontextualise the need from its class, gender and racial locations and to depoliticise the conditions which gave rise to its expression in the first place.

Oppositional needs discourses, the core of the current study's framework of inquiry, were located within what have been described as new social movements (Touraine, 1981), representative of active social struggle for the realisation of autonomous or

collective (social) interests. O' Brien and Penna (1998, pp 125-6) comment that within oppositional needs discourse,

private troubles and concerns are brought into the public arena by action on the part of disadvantaged or oppositional groupings ... other examples would include the success of the disability movement in forcing problems of access, attitudes and resources onto the public agenda ... Reprivatisation needs discourses challenge directly both expert and oppositional discourses by contesting the rationality, efficiency and morality of public responsibility for need. In essence, reprivatisation discourses seek to re-establish clear boundaries between public and private, political, domestic and economic interests and to shift responsibility for needs from the public to the private sphere.

However, Thornton and Lunt (1995, p. 1) have noted 'responsibility for achieving a fair share of employment for disabled people has passed from the state to the individual', the effect of which was to counter 'dependency' on public provision. As Fraser (1989) observed, marginalising oppositional discourses and rejecting claims for public representation and action, in reprivatisation discourse has the effect of politicising the demands of oppositional social movements and strengthening their case for action (see Loney et al., 1983; Loney et al., 1991). Indeed, several participants within the present study identified a raised consciousness on disability awareness due to disability movement demands for citizenship.

4.11 The sample population and selection criteria

Smith (1991, pp. 132-172) debated sampling, representation and external validity. However, the production of an adequate sampling frame, reflecting as closely as possible, shared characteristics between a study sample and the population under enquiry was, as Smith showed, fraught with difficulties. It was argued that the principal shared characteristics between the current study's sample group and its particular 'working universe sample' lies in a condition of impairment. Further complication was presented

by the fact that there is no universal accord with which to conceive the grounds for definitive identification of what constitutes disability within modern society.

Topliss (1982), and Abberley (1996) argue the actual sample universe of disabled people in contemporary society was largely unknown, though progress has been made in identifying the numbers of people with impairment related work limiting conditions (see Meager et al., 1999, pp. 467-476). In order to acquire information to attest the nature and extent of unmet employment-related need amongst disabled people as ESDS users, two sets of interviews were undertaken. The first were conducted using the method of telephone interviewing. Sudman and Bradburn (1982) compared answers to the same questions in mail, telephone and personal interviews and found little difference in their validity. Lavrakas (1987, pp. 46-7) debated other relevant issues of sample representativeness and sampling methods.

The problem of 'sensitivity' of topics has a decisive bearing upon the subject of investigation, and implies two principle considerations. First, the research ethics, described above, whereby as Oliver (1990) states, an objective should be a commitment towards changing the focus of attention away from disabled individuals and onto disablist society. Second, the dilemma whereby a research critique based upon individual enquiry may reproduce individuated or abstracted interpretations of social disablement. In order to avoid this outcome, as much as practically possible, respondents were engaged in an interview process based upon non-disablist paradigms of language, orientation and perspectives which sought to avoid oppressing its participants. A significant factor associated with gathering relevant information on disability matters was difficulty in accessing comprehensive data on existing as well as prior government policy on disability-related matters (Abberley, 1996; Priestley, 1999).

4.12 The collection and collation of research information

This task was complicated by a lack of universal agreement upon methods of inclusion of disabled people within existing employment statistics, particularly, prior to the reconceptualisation of the LFS's disability-related inclusory methods adopted in the late-1990s (see Sly et al., 1997; and Jukes, 1997). Four principle sources for the identification of work-limiting conditions, due to either health related factors or disability could be found within the surveys conducted by the OPCS (1960-1980) on disability. Contemporary data on employment and disability can also be found within the Labour Force Survey (LFS); General Household Survey (GHS); Family Expenditure Survey (FES) and National Census Surveys. However, Abberley (1996, pp. 182-3) cautioned on the uncritical application of information drawn from oppressive theory. Such aspects were especially evident in the OPCS reports. Abberley (1992, p. 139) observed,

While the first [OPCS] report highlights the systematic underestimation of the prevalence of disability which was enshrined in previous government research, it should by no means be interpreted as providing the 'true' figure. Such a project is an impossible one, since disability is a social construct, and definition is dependent upon the interests, and intentions of those with the power to define.

Abberley (1992) challenged the ethical rationality and motivations of the definitional criteria used in the assessment of the numbers of disabled people within contemporary society. His scepticism was based on the knowledge that despite the development of statutory provision and national data collection, so-called disability research had achieved little in the way of identification or resolution of disabled people's needs. In the light of the failure of prior disability legislation (such as the disability employment register 1945-1996), participants of this study as with previously conducted surveys (Lonsdale, 1990; Mainstream, 1990; Prescott Clarke, 1990; Hyde and Howes, 1993) were shown to be reluctant to comply with registration. Essentially, most people adopted this perspective in response to what they had viewed as employers' virtual disregard for the spirit of meaning behind such policy.

Abberley (1996, p. 169) argued that the OPCS 10-point scale was both subjective and arbitrary lacking any grounding in the contextualisation and meaning of a social basis for the applicability of a degree of severity of impairment or to the work capabilities or labour market needs of individual disabled people (see Disability Alliance, 1988a, cited in Abberley 1996, p. 169). By way of explanation Abberley (1996, pp. 169-170) comments,

there are then inevitable restrictions on any understanding which fails to relate functional limitation to its social context. Functional definitions are essentially state definitions, in that they relate to the major concerns of the state: as regards production, capacity to work as regards welfare demands that have to be met from revenue if they cannot be off loaded on some other party. They ignore any consideration of the role of the state in the construction and perpetuation of disability.

Instrumentally Abberley (1996, p. 171) argued,

whilst the meaning of impairment is not explored in terms of such variables as age, ethnicity and gender in the [OPCS] report, its incidence is discussed in terms of these variables.

In terms of the gendered findings presented by the OPCS (1988) survey evidence indicated that there were far more disabled women than men, except in the lowest impairment category. Abberley noted that social policy on disability matters was predicated upon normative values applied in structurally unequal approaches that depended heavily on gendered stereotypes. When looking at gender and ageing, it was evident that there were more women with impairments (some estimates suggested twice as many), reflecting their greater life span (Campling, 1981b; Lonsdale, 1986, 1990; Zarb and Oliver, 1993; Drake, 1999). Oliver (1983, p. 40) noted that differential aspects of gender and disability were also attributable to sexual divisions in society whereby many activities of work and leisure were dominated by males. However, as Abberley (1996, p. 171) stated, given that,

seven out of 10 disabled people are over retirement age, and of those of working age fewer than one in three is in employment, the Registrar-General's categorisation of class by occupation is of very limited applicability.

Though Abberley concurred that, there was clear evidence of a greater probability of impairment, (applying the Registrar Generals' Categorisation principles) amongst the 'lower' working class (see Taylor, 1977; Townsend, 1979, 1991; Doyal, 1979, 1995; Nichols, 1996; Abberley, 1996; Drake, 1999; Population Trends, Spring 1999, p. 3). Feminist theorists have effectively argued that the values used in the construction of the Registrar Generals' classificatory principles denied women an independent status (West, 1996, pp. 121-141; Crompton, 1993, 1998; Rose, and O'Reilly, 1999). The same was true of the exclusion of disabled people in the classification principles. However, when considering the extent of disability employment-related need, although diverse factors shaped the ambiguity of meaning or prevalence of disabled persons a significant percentage of the working-age population experience disability (Abberley, 1997; Drake, 1999). According to Craig and Greenslade (1998, p. 9), around,

four million people of working age, can be defined as disabled, and one million more with an illness or minor impairment.

Whatever the statistical reality, for a diverse range of reasons, many people have 'chosen' not to avail themselves of the specialist support that the ES-ESDS may provide. Whilst a significant number of disabled people in employment, appeared by default, to have little or no grounds for need of the ES-ESDS service (Meager et al., 1999, p. 87) findings revealed that many who used the ES-ESDS, including those in work, were unaware of the scope and scale of provision. However, successful local strategies required resolute national policy perspectives of an emancipatory outlook backed by political will. In statute law, a contrast of the limitations of the Disability Discrimination Act (1995) with its US counterpart the Americans with Disabilities Act (1990) revealed that, although as Gooding (1996) made plain, statute law can be a reason for non-action by government or employers, potentially, the broader horizon of US law allowed more scope for political debate concerning disabled people's social emancipation and the role of local agencies in this social challenge. The National Disability Council, Disability

Rights Task Force and Disability Rights Commission represented a shift to a disability empowerment agenda that challenges work exclusion and disablist values. However, what was also required, to assist this process, was a paradigmatic shift in the work inclusion values held by employers towards the recruitment, retention and employment of disabled people. Within this study ESDS service users identified a range of unmet needs, and offer opinions on disabling conditions with respect to employment need, workplace integration and the use of the ES-ESDS. Participants perceptions of these matters are grounded in a shared experience of the social barriers that underpins social exclusion and the alienation manifested by the disablist evaluations of disabled people's work-related capabilities (see Zarb, 1995).

4.13 Summary

This chapter examined local state based disability related service provision, and determining factors that shaped both the study's methodology and its operationalisation. Enquiry involved service providers' perceptions of disability-related matters, particularly in regard to the employment-related needs of disabled persons. Interviews with service providers identified the effects of statutory policies on local services provision and disability-related policy based obligation. The views cited reveals evidence of an empowerment perspective within local disability service implementation criteria towards meeting the needs of disabled service users. Indeed policy adopted by the local authority in question, reflects a social model approach to disability-related service development. An illustration of Finkelstein's (1996) two social models, a passive and an active variant, is borne out by the differing opinions of the service providers interviewed. For instance, while both the PACT Manager and the DEA expressed concern over the effectiveness of state disability-employment recruitment and retention policy, their responses indicate the barriers to employment opportunity rest mainly with employers. This observation is

valid, given the lack of employment opportunity, extended to disabled people by a majority of employers. However, the service outlook that these ES-based providers endorse could at best be described, using Finkelstein's analysis, as 'passive' with respect to acknowledgement of the need for service user influence on policy formation to identify the social barriers to work centred inclusion. What is less obvious was their ability or willingness to focus a critical gaze on the ES disability service itself.

Service perspectives presented by the social services policy analyst and the supported placement officer provided a critical analysis of the success or failure of service providers to engage with a radical social model approach to disability-work matters. However, a discernible feature of service provider opinion was the perceived need for continuation of state based supported work. Discussion of the survey's methodology and ethics considered the importance of the social model for research into disability matters. Social model perspectives represent a challenge to disability oppression research centred orthodoxy through adoption of emancipatory paradigms of reasoning on disability. Consequently a framework of anti-disablist research values underpin the operationalisation of the study's methodology. These disability research ethics apply social model principles that reject oppressive research values, the hallmark of the medical model of disability interpretation, by the use of an empowerment approach shaped by anti-disablist social model values. The sample population and selection criteria brought into focus the dichotomy of the acceptance and therefore application of existing impairment stratification classificatory principles, as adopted by the DSS or the ES-ESDS, and the challenge presented by social model criticisms of socially abstracted interpretative accounts of impairment and work related incapacitation. Set within this ethical framework, the collection and collation of research information identified and interpreted perceptions of local state disability-related service providers, regarding social barriers to work opportunity and the role of their particular agency in assisting emancipatory social inclusion development.

4.14 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter focused upon the local state and local provision. This involved consideration of the effects of national policies on local services with respect to disability service provision and statutory policy. Consideration of both the implementation and design of policy for local services and the needs of disabled users focused on the response to disability-related statutory policy interpretations shown to be held by ES-related and non-ES related disability-services service providers. Debate on this survey's methodology and ethical protocol examined the influence brought to bear upon disability research matters by the anti-disablist values of the disability movement. Therefore, these emancipatory precepts - anti-oppressive non-disablist research theories and research protocol - shaped the study's analytical rationale and operationalisation.

The challenge of research using emancipatory paradigms of reasoning rejects medical model values where disability is perceived as individual failure due to inadequate methods of assessment of impairment-related work needs. Therefore, the study's operationalisation acknowledged the shift to emancipatory research paradigms. The basis of this approach denoted a social model evaluation of the oppression of disabled people through application of non-social model interpretations of impairment-related disablement. The research ethics and study design adopted, reflected the paradigm shift from disability interpreted as a pathologised phenomena, to disability research perspectives that challenged oppression, and promoted disabled peoples' empowerment through an interpretative values framework based upon disabled peoples' own perceptions of work oppression and integration needs.

The sample population and selection criteria was conscious of the hidden dimension of disability employment matters and the absence of recorded data. This revealed that it was not until 1997 that disabled peoples' labour market activity, or non-activity rates

were incorporated into the statistical framework adopted by the Office of National Statistics for the Labour Force Survey. Collection and collation of the study's research data revealed evidence both of the unmet employment support needs of disabled people, as ES-ESDS service users, and, of the problems associated with obtaining discrete data relating to the labour force circumstances of disabled people. Detail on the ethos and operation of the ES-ESDS reveals inadequate physical access to ES-ESDS services remain three years after policy to address this issue. Most people expressed concern over a lack of disability-related literature and information on employment integration matters. These factors have been partially rectified within the publications accompanying the NDDP programme.

Interviews with local based disability-related service providers considered the physical and attitudinal barriers that denied disabled people the opportunity to work. A corporate disability-related work integration approach by the local authority in question, with planning for disability-related need had made progress, through improved inter-agency liaison. However, a major obstacle to anti-disablist work-integration was reflected in the low priority afforded disability-employment supported employment policy agendas. The major catalyst for capital expenditure designed to address the needs of disabled people were determined by the DDA 1995. To date, local development of a disability forum, enhanced inter-agency collaboration and the acquisition of European Union funding had resulted in more proactive commitment towards disability-employment related need. The views of the service providers interviewed, and the needs of disabled service users' were contextualised by an appraisal of recent local studies and by the comments of these service providers. Observation, noted by the ES employees on matters of employment retention and recruitment, and the findings of Williams 1990, indicated that recruitment of disabled people was a policy matter responded to by a minority of the study area major employers. Within the local authority cited, educational policy resulted in school-based

literature to counter negative stereotyping and the stigma associated with impairment, and to debate social exclusion aspects of disability.

However, many representatives of several service providing agencies contacted during the local area enquiry, expressed scepticism on the ability of current legislative means to fundamentally alter the legacy of disablism identifiable within both statutory and non-statutory local area services. While an understanding of the social model had elevated the profile of certain agency responses to employment based needs, local organisations run by and for disabled people still struggled to gain a significant profile.

Furthermore, policy was closely linked to state-led supported employment interpretative response, above that of employer-led response to disabled persons own perceptions of their work-integration requirements.

The rationale for the methods chosen and the methodological criteria adopted for research into the requirements of disabled people in employment matters, were operationalised through a social model values approach. This entailed explanation of how methods applied in the research constitutes a non-oppressive critique on the ethics of conducting research with disabled people. The study's methodology and ethical protocol has been defended, both from the perspective of the present research objectives, and as a basis for meaningful empirical enquiry into disabled people's known employment disadvantage and their perceptions of the ESDS. In response to disabled persons' employment need the study's theoretical conceptuality and praxis rejected an individualising approach. The study therefore addressed social inclusion requirements and citizenship needs from the standpoint of service users' perceptions. Debating the ethics of disability research, study discourse focused on the responsibility of researchers, who addressed the circumstances or needs of disabled people, to ensure that disablist research values did not contribute to the further alienation and oppression of disabled people.

Chapter 5

Findings and Analysis

There is substantial statistical evidence of the level of disadvantage disabled people encounter in the modern labour market. Unemployment is significantly higher. Disabled men and women are up to three times more likely to be without a job (Oliver and Barnes, 1998).

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the experience of using ES-ESDS. It also presents the results and analysis of rehabilitation or training. It considers the participants' perceptions of ESDS-led rehabilitation and the experience of study participants and their placement experiences. In particular, it examines the role of the DEA/ESDS in meeting post-service users' needs and users' perceptions of the obstacles to employment created by social barriers. With regard to the evaluation of the service to meet needs, the chapter next considers the participants' perceptions of the overall quality of the ES-ESDS service relating to supportive resources and the participants' views regarding positive support provided by the ESDS. Having considered the above factors, the discussion then turns to the conceptual outcomes and policy implications raised by the preceding debate. In particular, the question of statutory policy may be viewed as gradual progress, cosmetic change or social stasis. The participants' opinions regarding disability benefit and employment are cited and evaluated. Following upon these considerations, the chapter takes into account the shift towards the NDDP policy. Next, in this context the gendered labour markets, ethnicity, age and cultural barriers in the late 1990s are discussed.

Lastly, the chapter focuses upon disabled workers and contemporary labour market policy and the framework of ES-ESDS policy rationale in the 1990s

In the in-depth stage of inquiry further detail was sought concerning the premise or nature of negative or positive aspects evident within the ESDS initial interview assessment process itself. Participants were asked to register their experiences concerning the utility of the framework of elementary service practice and proposed resource provision, as applied by the DEA. This concerns the three main pathways that the ESDS operates when seeking to evaluate or meet disabled people's employment needs. These are (1) assessment, (2) rehabilitation, and (3) skills training. Study participants were specifically asked to respond to the questions on the three elementary forms of disability service provision:

1. Whether the DEA/ES, provided enough information for them during interview(s) to make informed decisions on the suitability of their assessment procedures regarding work purposes;
2. Where applicable could they furnish detail concerning the experience of the process of rehabilitation for employment purposes; and
3. If they could identify the suitability of skills training provision either in workshops or work-based placements.

5.2 The experience of using ES-ESDS

In order to assess the suitability of the ESDS interview, and the communication of the assessment procedures, participants were asked to indicate which of the following five options best reflected their opinion:

- i they were very satisfied;
- ii they were satisfied;
- iii they felt neutral about services;
- iv they were dissatisfied; and
- v they were very dissatisfied.

Response to the question of satisfaction or dissatisfaction on the advice and support given during contact and interviews with the ESDS revealed that over half of the participants were critical of the assessment aspect of the ESDS.

For example Robert, a respondent who did find employment, remarked,

When I first spoke to the disability person at the Job Centre, although he knew [that] I had worked at [...] he did not ask me what work I had done before the accident. It seemed like he knew what I should do next, but I don't think he knew enough about the work I did before. I said that I wanted to do something like the work I used to do, because I felt that I was a bit too old to start out again with a new trade. I suppose I was sort of lucky that the job I have now came about.

Others were even less sanguine or clear about assessments. As Mike stated,

I didn't even know I was "having an assessment" he, [disability advisor] told me what was what ... and to be quite honest at the time I simply went along with it. I thought that was how these people do things, so I didn't think to say what my feelings about it all were ... I was just glad to get some help.

David, one of the six people who chose very dissatisfied, recounted his less than satisfactory appraisal of the assessment process. He stated,

I was not pleased with how things turned out at the interview, in my view she (DEA) was very unsuccessful. She seemed to be doing the interview for her sake not mine. The job centre did not tell me anything of any use.

Bob another person who stated he was very dissatisfied suggested,

My feelings about contacting the disability service in the first place caused me enough grief. I was told by some people at disability advice agencies that if I actually contacted the DEA this as good as meant that my right to incapacity benefits would cease. I was not told for instance, that I could go to college and still get some benefit help. Well, regarding the so-called 'assessment', quite frankly, I felt that the whole assessment process was too narrow. I found myself treated as though I didn't have any real disability ... which is all very well, apart from the fact that I do. I have difficulty in standing for long periods and even when seated, I have to get up occasionally and walk around a bit to ease the pain. Frankly, it felt to me like I wasn't a severe enough case to justify using the ESDS service.

Several factors arising from response to this question provide an indication of the reasoning behind respondents' expressions of degrees of satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

For instance, findings indicate those broadly satisfied with services base this appraisal on

successful attainment of employment or satisfactory training and/or rehabilitation outcomes. The level of dissatisfaction expressed by others was connected to the absence of suitable training and/or rehabilitation, and in the case of some, lack of attainment of any suitable type of employment. The comment of one participant, Rosaline, who to date had yet to find suitable employment personifies this sense of dissatisfaction. She stated:

They didn't seem to have any suitable vacancies, each time I contacted them they had so little on their books even though I have several skills. All they had was low-paid full-time work, and as I'm a part-time carer, for my elderly father, I needed part-time work. I thought that I could at least expect to get something suitable! But nothing seemed suitable in terms of the hours. Their attitude was friendly - but not a lot of help. During recent contact with the service I ended up seeing two disability advisors, the first was fine, but the second was useless. He didn't seem able to advise me on what steps I might take to get a suitable job.

Most study participants held some reservation on the service whilst a minority considered the service limitation to be due to external factors, such as the overall lack of suitable employment (Barnes, 1994; Abberley, 1996). Others presented ambiguous neutral responses weighted by the belief that while personnel were positive the capacity of services to meet need was found wanting. Beginning with first contact, participants' opinions of assessment processes indicate service capacity to respond to felt needs.

Robert, broadly satisfied with the service voiced a concern:

It seemed like he [the DEA] knew what I should do next but I don't think he knew enough about the work I did before. I felt left in the dark about what happens next.

Mary, although having obtained employment nonetheless, remained critical of the service.

My reason for criticising them was that when I finally did get to make contact with an employment advisor ... He had ... arranged for me to join a workshop ... I would have to describe [that] "assessment" as a somewhat hit and miss affair.

Kathy, who chose very satisfied as an evaluation, noted,

The DEA explained the range of options that allowed me to make a decision on the best choice.

However, she also stated the mutually chosen option arising from the assessment turned out to be less than satisfactory. Martin who chose very dissatisfied cites a less positive account.

I got more help from the people at the rehabilitation centre than at the employment service. I didn't know what was going on I think the [employment] service did little to help.

David, who was also very unsatisfied, recounted his appraisal of the ESDS process of assessment.

I was not pleased with how things turned out at the interview in my view the [DEA] was very unsuccessful. She seemed to be doing the interview for her sake not mine. The job centre did not tell me anything of any use.

Bob, who stated he was 'very dissatisfied', was highly critical:

I was told by some people at disability advice agencies that if I actually contacted the DEA this as good as meant that my right to incapacity benefits would cease. I was not told for instance, that I could go to college and still get some benefit help ... the whole assessment process was too narrow ... It felt to me like I wasn't a severe enough case to justify using the service.

A keynote point most respondents indicated with respect to the interview and assessment criterion was that there should be more continuity. Most expressed a need for greater clarification on what the service can provide and a desire for more understanding and acknowledgement of the importance to them of their stated preferences.

5.3 Rehabilitation and/or training: results and analysis

Following assessment, the ES-ESDS may present service users with an option of skills training and/or rehabilitation. Whilst some concur with the orthodox service view that rehabilitation is concomitant with renewed social opportunity and work commitment, others view it as an oppressive realm of services. Rehabilitation, Finkelstein argues, is largely a process whereby the disabled person is 'encouraged' to replicate as closely as possible normative (non-disabled) social practices (Finkelstein, 1980; Brown and Smith,

1992). Within the realm of rehabilitative employment training, existing policy requires 'adjustment' by the disabled individual to a disabling society (Oliver, 1990).

By virtue of this medicalised perspective those 'attaining' so-called normalcy may be assimilated into the 'able-bodied determined' world (Finklestein, 1998). Those 'failing' this process remain consigned to the margins of society or to the bottom of the labour market (Jenkins, 1991). Participants who had undergone 'rehabilitation' were asked to state their views upon the suitability of this process and to contrast the reality of involvement in rehabilitation practices with perceptions of the arrangement obtained during interview or placement advice. John's description of the rehabilitation process typifies the difference felt between stated and actual conditions, as defined by several people.

I discovered that things were somewhat different to what the DEA said they were. I found that they asked you to do really silly things ridiculous, things like cut up pieces of cardboard ... The ES had said that you would do a variety of things ... when I got there I found this was not the case.

Valerie, who was dissatisfied with the service, felt that 'rehabilitation' was used as a poor alternative to finding work.

They seemed to think that I wanted new skills, when what I wanted was a position reflecting my years of employment experience not any old job.

Jane, who commented, endorsed this perceptual point,

I did not really want rehabilitation ... I am perfectly able to do a range of clerical jobs [rehabilitation] seemed like a poor substitute for finding me a real job.

In both sets of interviews the accounts presented were critical of pre-1990s mass-workshop neo-Fordist ordered rehabilitation environments. Some people described these settings as firmly associated with de-personalising stigmatic and/or marginalised social conditions. In particular this was felt to be the case by two groups. First, those who had recently acquired an impairment and were unsure of how they would re-integrate into work; secondly, those who remain long-term unemployed. Those who fit these typologies expressed strong desires for job-based rehabilitation, viewing this as a vital

aspect of employment continuity, although this requirement was perceived as acceptable only in open employment placement. In Chapter 3, rehabilitation was criticised for its failure to adequately adjust to changing modes of employment (Lunt and Thornton, 1995). In the view of a significant minority of study participants there was a need to provide more diverse work-enhancing skills within rehabilitation-oriented work-related programmes.

5.4 Study participants perceptions of ESDS rehabilitation

Participants were asked to identify which of the categories from very satisfied to very dissatisfied (as listed above) were most applicable to their recollection of the ESDS service rehabilitation provision. The responses of those in the second interview (N= 20) are shown below. With regard to the level of satisfaction with rehabilitation certain interviewees' were highly critical. John, a former clerical worker, presented an account of the experience of 'rehabilitation' that essentially portrayed the gulf between the packaging and promotion of rehabilitation as described by DEA's, and the reality of actually undertaking this process. He stated,

When I went to the rehabilitation centre, I discovered that things were somewhat different to what the DEA said they were. I found that they asked you to do really silly ridiculous things - like cut pieces of cardboard. They treated you as if you were stupid. They did not give you anything stimulating. The ES had said that you would do a variety of things while on Rehabilitation, and that you would get the opportunity to question and comment on what you were doing. But when I got there this was not the case. I felt that this was unproductive - I mean - in effect, they did not raise my expectations. I was feeling very low at the time and the way things were designed in the programme made me feel less able. I really needed a boost. Instead, I left the [programme] feeling less able.

John added,

The whole programme was in effect totally unsuitable. I felt that they were all over the place. The people running the course seemed to get on with their own business and ignore you. I wasn't the only one, other people felt this way. I was so disappointed with it I finished before the completion date.

A substantial number of the interviewees experienced considerable degree of stigma within the rehabilitation process (see Hyde and Howse, 1993; and Morris, 1991). For many participants 'rehabilitation' was simply perceived of as totally unnecessary and a way of overcoming lack of employment prospects. As Jane, a skilled office worker, responded,

I didn't want rehabilitation. I wasn't interested in going on a rehabilitation course. I'm perfectly able to do a range of clerical jobs, so I didn't see work related rehabilitation as relevant to my needs, this seemed like a poor substitute to finding me a real job.

Or, as Valerie, a former nurse stated,

They [Rehabilitation Staff] seemed to think I wanted new skills. when what I really wanted was a position of employment reflecting my years of experience.

Stephen a former accountant who worked part-time in community therapy environments with people with learning difficulties described his frustration concerning rehabilitation.

He commented,

I did start out on a rehabilitation course at [...], but the timing was all wrong. I mean, I had only began to 'recover' from a breakdown, and you know, I just couldn't handle it so I sort of finished quite quickly really. [What were your feelings about rehabilitation. Did the course suit your needs at all?]. No, not for me personally. I would sooner be doing what I'm doing now at the [...] Community Centre, helping out and all the rest of it, it's very comfortable because, I benefit and they benefit.

Clearly, there was food for thought in these perceptions of the sense of unsuitability of the typical rehabilitation environment. Nonetheless, despite the adoption in the 1990s of the title "vocational rehabilitation", unmet need was a matter of concern for most. However, rehabilitation had remained a necessity for some disabled people, for example, Trevor, an unskilled labourer, perceived that taking part in a rehabilitation course had been beneficial to his needs. He commented,

After the accident, I was completely at a loss what to do. I knew that I could not continue in my former employment. The DEA suggested that I might find it useful to do a rehabilitation course at the [...] centre. I went there, and did a course of training, and, I would have to agree that it was very useful to me. The staff were very helpful and I found that there were

a number of things that I could attempt, some which I would not of had the confidence to try without their help.

One common criticism identified was the perception that rehabilitation programmes were often inflexible. The ES-ESDS stated that every effort was made to ensure flexibility and reciprocity in planning services (see interview two Chapter 4). However, no one shared this perception. Several respondents presented adaptations of the quote from Kathy, a former National Health Service worker,

When I got involved with the rehabilitation course, I found that it wasn't much good for me. The things that they taught were far too basic - most of it involved doing things I already knew. To be honest it was of little use to me and I became very bored with it.

Though therapeutic objectives were said to be a feature of the rehabilitation ethos (Riches, 1993), some participants described rehabilitation placement as a form of social dumping where you went if there was no apparent real employment available. Mary captures the essence of this view,

After the assessment, the disability services obviously decided that a workshop would suit my needs so I ended up at the [...] workshop. I wasn't really sure if that was what I wanted but I knew I wanted to carry on working. In the end I waited seven months after the medical for a placement. I heard nothing from the ES during that time. I didn't know if I would be taken on by the [...] workshop. I don't think I could describe the process there as rehabilitation! It was more a case of fit in and get on with it.

An apparent problem noted resided in the rejection by many people of rehabilitation options. The reasons they gave for this view related to the question of the 'denial' of the impact or perception of an acquired impairment. In particular, some people deny the impact of impairment upon their working lives. This approach represented the fear people had of being labelled as impaired and stereotyped as abnormal (Abberley, 1996, 1998; Barnes et al., 1999). Whilst this was not a universal perception, a significant minority of respondents found the process of rehabilitation demeaning and decidedly different to the positive images of the practice as described by DEAs. In-depth study participants were asked to comment upon levels of satisfaction with service

recommended skills training courses. Contextualising experiences of the skills training element, a few examples served to illustrate participants' viewpoints.

For instance, Roger, a manual labourer who undertook a skills based course answered that he was satisfied with the appropriateness of training. His account of the overall situation revealed that while the course itself was positive the ES-ESDS lacked the same prestige.

A few years ago I was injured in an industrial accident. The DEA sent me to a skills training centre where I did a course in engineering. While I was on the course I went to a firm for a short placement period with the prospect of being taken on by them. After completing the training I was employed by that company. However, after six months there I was made redundant.

He added,

My main complaint is that while the training centre was excellent, for example a woman from the training centre visited me while I was on placement with the firm, once I completed the training course the DEA completely lost touch with me. It was down to the training centre staff to help with a job application. They wrote to the company and through them I got the job. Why then can't the ES ensure that they check up on your situation after you complete a course. I recently went to see the DEA after unsuccessfully trying to get work with an employment bureau. The DEA said, when I asked for some help in finding work, that she 'couldn't do anything for me as she had not yet received my papers back from the training centre', even though it had been several weeks since I had left the course.

It was evident that there was concern over a lack of liaison by disability service providers with those who had completed or had recently undertaken some form of employment or rehabilitation training. Lack of follow-up was felt to contribute to the negative condition of continuing employment disadvantage that ex-trainees such as Roger described. Peggy, currently a long-term unemployed person, and who stated that she was 'very dissatisfied' with the training, had been disabled since childhood. She found that the training given was not really suited to her needs.

I had spent much of my childhood in institutions so when I came to enter employment both the effect of [impairment] and lack of general skills put me at a great disadvantage. I felt that the ES understood this and were willing to help me but it was unfortunate that the range of training I took part in was frankly just not suitable. I found that in the factory, due to the

weakness of my arms, I just could not keep up the pace. Looking back at it the type of things that I did while on training were just not suitable for me. I would have to say that the training I received did not help keep me in work.

She added,

After a number of unsuccessful, unsuitable low-skilled jobs where I found that the pace of work was too much for me frankly, I just sort of gave up the prospect of ever finding a suitable job. At the moment I cannot see the DEA finding me a job as I have too few qualifications.

Peggy also stated that none of her former employers had made an effort to adjust her work environment to suit her needs. Most study participants (42.61 per cent) had a work history of unskilled or semi-skilled forms of employment, thereby reflecting the lower levels of class stratification that many disabled persons occupied with respect to labour markets (see also Drake, 1999; Meager et al., 1999). For them, as with some who possessed numerous skills (9 people 13 per cent), training was viewed as a prerequisite to realisation of new or more suitable types of employment (see also Roulstone, 1993 and 1998; Barnes, 1994; Finn and Murray, 1995). Amongst those in the in-depth interview who undertook skills training, more than half of those who replied suggested either being dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the outcome. For similar critical appraisal see Hyde and Howes (1993) and Roulstone (1998).

David, a skilled engineering worker, who acquired impairment whilst working indicated that during the assessment interview the DEA was very keen on him taking up a training course. However, David disagreed about the need for training. He explained that,

after a life-time of working in engineering I have about as many skills as I need for the job. The [DEA] mentioned re-training but I was not too keen on the idea. [David asked to expand on why this was the case?] commented - a lot of older men end up with useless jobs that don't pay so I was very set on keeping to my trade and not taking part in something I probably wouldn't be able to do or would regret ... what I really wanted was an appropriate job.

Bob, described his impairment as 'incapacitating, but not too restrictive'. He felt that being 'assessed' had not produced a positive outcome.

The person who interviewed me didn't even mention the question of training options. In the end I came away from the interview with very little understanding of what the DEA was going to do on my behalf.

It was apparent that some service personnel had failed to present a comprehensive understanding of the range of service provision or an adequate clarification of operative procedures. All those interviewed expressed some confusion concerning ESDS standard provision. One important contention lay in development of personal plans of action - provided for users rather than developed with users - by employment staff. Even those whose interviews were founded upon 'joint determination' (see debate below) lacked a clear picture of what their particular 'action plan' entailed. The rationale for exploration of people's recollections of specific aspects of provision lay in a desire to maximise accounts of the service, thereby engendering stimulus in the recollection of individual assessment and perceptions of the overall strengths and weaknesses of the service. In particular participants were asked to describe their opinion of the interview process itself. Within the process of inquiry the success or failure of interviews were shown to be of deep significance. For instance, a minority of people cited being actively dissuaded from future ESDS service use because of their negative perceptions of interviews. Interviews, as a DEA noted (see interview two Chapter 4), were based upon,

mutual agreements whereby people using the service are encouraged to make decisions based on their sense of need together with the DEA's suggestions.

Participants were asked which statement shown below best reflected their recollection of interviews. The options presented were as follows:

- i). 'was it a case of basically ignoring your needs?'
- ii). 'did the ESDS select which options you should take?'
- iii). 'was the attitude towards you a negative one?'
- iv). 'were suggested opinions based on joint decisions, or were your needs left out?'
- v). 'was it generally a mutual process with your needs recognised and meet?'

Responses to these options are shown below. Participants were asked to identify one of five choices that most aptly described the context of interview communication processes. In response to Option one: 'was it a case of basically ignoring your needs?' - many participants remarked that:

Uppermost in my mind at the time was the desire to regain employment. As to whether the DEA ignored my needs I would have to say on the whole yes.

Comments cited revealed mixed opinions, most of which denoted a negative perception of the interview process, examples of which are show below.

In some ways the answer to this question is yes, but they did get me onto a useful training course. I felt that at times he was not taking much notice of what I was saying, so I would have to say that it was a bit like ignoring my needs.

No. they were quite willing to listen to me. But I did not end up with anything of any real use to me.

I think that they ignored my needs. I feel that the interview could have been done a lot better. I came away not knowing half the things I should have been told.

No. I wouldn't say that he [DEA] seemed to be as concerned as I was that I get back into work. Mind you I can't say he was well up on what I can and cannot do - but he did listen.

I felt that he had one view on where things were going, which was not a lot like the one I had. I was not interested in either rehabilitation or training. I was expecting far more information than I actually got from them. To be quite honest, after that I was more determined to try and sort out getting a job without their help.

I've had a number of interviews with both the DROs and the new DEAs, and I would have to say that in my experience, which is based on several meetings with disability services, the DEAs often know less about the service than the old DROs did.

I would not say that any of them 'ignored me' I make damn sure that's not likely to happen. Mind you, I have been asked by ESDS staff, 'why do I bother to keep looking for work.

In response to option two, 'did the DEA/ESDS select which options you should take?' - participants commented:

I'm pretty sure that if I had let him [DEA] he would have pushed me towards the [...] training centre or some such place. I suppose you would have to say that he was making the decisions on my behalf, while I disagreed on some points he was definitely setting the terms of the interview.

Yes. I think this was the case. I'm in a wheelchair and I felt that the DEA had a stereotype of employment in mind for me almost from the start of the interview.

In response to that question, I would have to say that on the whole there were no reasonable options available. In the end I decided to seek advice, at a later stage, on becoming self-employed.

I don't honestly recall them giving me much in the way of options. The DEA mentioned a rehabilitation scheme and sort of suggested this would be the best thing to do.

No. I suggested what type of help I wanted, that is, which form of training I was interested in doing and where I wanted to do it. But considering the lack of positive advice on this matter they didn't do a lot to sort things out.

I would have to say yes to that question. I got the telephone call from the employment service, telling me to attend the workshop. So I went there, even though I wasn't very keen on the idea at the time.

I got on very well with the DEA, but when it came to finding me a suitable job ... well that was different. She did tell me about some of the things that I might try ... but none of them were what I really wanted to do.

It was all confusing to me there seemed to be several things they could do for me ... in the end I just agreed with what he said was the best option.

In response to option three, 'was the attitude towards you a negative one?' respondents commented,

I don't think it was. Looking back on it - I suppose that I felt that I had to do what they wanted. You sort of see them like an employer. I mean. I was desperate to get another job after having been made redundant, so the workshop idea was something I was willing to give a try.

I felt that they didn't really want to have anything more to do with me after the course at [...] was all arranged. I found that you have to be a bit pushy to get any advice.

No. I wouldn't say that was the case. Certainly not on the part of the person interviewing me. She was very helpful and not long after the interview, they found me a suitable job which I'm still in.

Oh frankly in my opinion it was very negative, in that if I wanted to consider going for certain jobs which he did not seem to approve of, then the pressure was on me to 'agree' with his decision or choice. I felt that

much of his prejudice towards me had more to do with gender than disability. He [DEA] clearly had particular types of occupation in mind for my future, ones which seemed to me to be those that he viewed as expectable choices for a disabled woman. Those careers that I had mentioned or had shown a strong interest in doing were somehow conveniently side-stepped or ignored.

At first yes - he [DEA] seemed to have a routine that meant he was going to say what was what. I had to insist that I would not go into a dead-end job. I knew I could still do some of the things I had done before the disability got too much for me. I wanted the chance to do some of the types of jobs I'd done during my working-life.

It's difficult to say that he [DEA] was negative towards me. Yet at the same time I felt like I was back at school. It was almost like a kind of job interview but you didn't know what the job was for ... I wouldn't say it was very useful.

When you go to see them [disability services] they always seem to have somebody new there. I don't think I ever saw the same person twice. The last time I saw someone there, about getting help from them, the man I spoke to was very considerate to me, but the ESDS never have anything that I could do.

In response to option four, 'were suggested option(s) based on joint decisions, or were your needs left out?' - respondents stated,

I felt that they were prepared to recognise my situation, but as, at the time, I could only do part time work they were unable to find anything suitable in my local area.

I suppose as I only knew a bit about the rehabilitation centre, and that was what was arranged by him, there didn't seem much point trying to ask about other things.

No. I was treated well and he seemed to know what he was doing, and he did talk about trying to sort something out for me with training ... I don't think you could say that it was something we both agreed on ... I mean your in their hands, they're the ones with the file on you - with details even you don't know about.

I felt that things were out of my hands and I had to go along with what the disabled advice people wanted.

I would have to say- yes to that one. He [DEA] set up an interview with the rehabilitation centre which, to be quite honest would have been just right. However, what he forgot was that there was no way I could get to the place. I couldn't use public transport because of my back injury so I had no way of getting there everyday. I was very upset about this, and I suppose it put me off keeping in touch with them. There didn't seem much point.

Several times I asked her about doing a specialised course but she [the DEA] said that there was nowhere in their area where I could train to do it. I've done a lot of craft work, so I don't need to do anything basic, which was all the training option they were keen on me doing had to offer.

I wanted to do some training in office work, as I felt that I could not do the heavy work I did before the accident. Even though I said it twice he seemed to ignore my feelings and suggested that I do a rehabilitation course, or go to the [...] workshop. That was not what I wanted. I felt let down by them. I can't say the decision he made was what I wanted.

In response to option five, 'was it generally a mutual process with your needs recognised and meet?' - respondents stated,

By and large I think it was mutual the person I saw was well meaning towards me during the interview. And he was trying to arrange something. In the end though my needs were not met by them. I did not get the type of training I wanted to do.

There was no doubt in my mind who was in charge. They sorted things out, and because I felt that I was not able to question their opinions I went along with them.

I don't think it was. For a start he seemed to have plans in mind that I knew nothing about. I thought he was keen to get me off the books even if it meant something I was not prepared to do.

I can't say that it was a joint effort. He knew what was going on and where they were sending me. I didn't have a clue. In the end I found the course at [...] was great, but it was stupid of him not to tell me a lot more about it before I went and did it.

Yes. I reckon it was [positive] when I think about it. She [DEA] did all she could to help me out. I don't remember much about what she said then ... It was a bit of a time back ... but she was very nice to me.

I don't think that it was adequate for me. He [DEA] told me what they were going to arrange with the training centre for me. You don't feel that you can have a say in it. After all they know the situation and you do not.

I only spoke to them on the phone and during that conversation she [DEA] did all the arranging of my work placement so I couldn't agree that it was a joint decision.

No, it was not, but to be fair to him [DEA] he did try to get me interested in doing a number of things like going on a training course at [...]. I don't think he really understood that all I wanted was a part-time job. You can't say when you go to see people at the dole that it's a joint decision. You know they can cut your benefit off if they think you're not really looking for work.

I would say that the suggestion of going to the [...] centre at [...] was a joint decision. I did feel that he had done all that he could do, all things considered. What annoyed me was that even when you know you can do a type of job, they don't have any suitable vacancies for you if you've got a disability.

Summarising accounts of the basis on which interviews were conducted reveals evidence that during interview a number of respondents were clearly ill informed as to actual procedures and possible outcomes resulting from their use of disability services. It was also apparent, from the responses shown above, that despite notions of mutual evaluations of requirements, many people felt unable to question or dispute the stated opinions regarding the interpretation of participants needs shown by particular ESDS personnel. Participants were also asked to evaluate their perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of ESDS suggested placement and/or advice procedures. The nature of the comments noted, concerning evaluations of core aspects of the service involved accounts shaped by two considerations.

First, people were asked to state how positive, or negative their interview(s) had been with the ESDS service providers, when they were giving advice and discussing placement issues. Second, people were asked for their perception of the suitability and/or appropriateness of either suggested or actual services provision. Their comments conveyed considerable dissatisfaction with advice given or options presented. For example, some stated, 'I would say that I was more or less told what to do'; 'throughout the interview it was the DEA who said what was going to happen'; 'in the end it was the DEA who was definitely in charge;' or that 'the DEA did not seem to know what I could do'.

Two immediate essential factors concerning levels of dissatisfaction were observable. First, some ESDS service providers seemed unsupportive of the expressed needs of disabled service users. Those who had used the ESDS service on numerous occasions cited instances of interviews and contact that were perceived as distinctly unsatisfactory. This dissatisfaction was felt to be due to a lack of knowledge of their specific needs or

the attitude towards them shown by some service providers. Second, there was the matter of ESDS service providers' degree of understanding of respondents work-related needs or of local labour markets. Given the voicing of ESDS service dissatisfaction participants were asked to prioritise reform measures that contributed to improvement in the quality or utility of ESDS services. Participants in the in-depth interviews were asked to list an order of preference of five hypothetical, though pertinent ESDS reforms. Their preferences and comments are shown below in Figure 5.1.

1.	More information on what the service offers	6
2.	More contact with disabled service users	4
3.	More staff with disabilities	3
4.	More training options	3
5.	More access to continuing education	2
6.	Cannot Say	2
Total		20

Asked to qualify the basis for they're chosen options, participants remarked,

I think that disabled advisors [who have an impairment] would know more what you're going through. They would have greater understanding of the frustrations, and also be more able to help you with positive advice on filling in job forms, or contacting employers.

If they [ESDS] had more disabled staff you could expect them to have more idea about your problems. When you've spent a long time in work, you don't know about these things. It was all a shock to me to try to sort it all out I didn't have a clue about the dole or the disability people.

As I spent years working in my trade, I know that keeping up with new training ideas is important if you wish to find suitable work. While I don't need any particular training at the moment, I feel that training is a vital issue for anyone with some sort of disability. To me, the ESDS seems out of touch with new ideas such as computer use.

I always feel that so many disabled people lose out at school. They don't get the chance to go to college, and then of course their job chances are so much less than other people's. The disability service never seemed to be able to help you catch up with the type of education you need to get a decent job.

Well, it's like I said before, when I first had the accident, I know-nothing about what I could do to get help and a job. Now I do know. Working here in the workshop I have to look after people both with training and with some advice. All too often these young people have no idea of what they reach these youngsters. They need to talk more with disabled people to find out their needs. The ESDS staff tends to lump you together as a disabled person. They don't ask what you feel you need and why, or try to find out what you might want.

5.5 Participants' views regarding the support provided by the ESDS

Participants were asked to comment on the motivations for their perceptions of the quality of services. Overall, degrees of satisfaction were based largely upon the receipt of a job or adequate training. In response to the question - Why did you feel the ESDS was positive, the following perceptions were noted.

I suppose the main thing was that they did find me a job. Without their help I felt that I was unable to do it on my own.

Because they eventually found me a job, within the ES, but I don't think they went to great lengths to find out what I might have been able to do. I mean, when I first contacted them I was quite interested in education, but apart from the Rehabilitation Centre they didn't identify any other choice.

I would have to agree that the ESDS did all that I wanted them to do for me. It's certainly true that I did not think much of the [...] Centre but I did get work which was really all that was worrying me about the amount of time it took to get anything.

For me the most helpful thing was getting the disability green card, then going into the workshop, as it made life easier.

Participants were then asked. Why was this the case?

I wasn't very impressed with how the disability services treated me when I first went to the rehabilitation centre. The ESDS person definitely gave me a load of old flannel about the place, saying how good it was and how useful it could be...' But I do have to agree that they did help. And they have given me some support since then.

My only real regret about using the service was that I did not ask enough questions about the sort of schemes that I now know they have available. If I needed to go back to see them [ESDS] I would be a bit more confident about finding out exactly what they really can do for you instead of just going along with what the disability person said you should do - sort of like take it or leave it.

Because before I started to use the disability services, I had found that all too often employers did not want to know you if you are disabled. Without the help of the DEA, I honestly don't think that I would have found anything as useful, such as the work I have now.

I had never been unemployed before I had the accident, so I knew nothing about going to the dole or the disability people [ESDS]. I didn't think much of the ordinary Job Centre staff they don't seem to have a clue about the disability side. The disability person ... he was very good. He got me into the training programme ... Mind you, I 'm still on the dole but I'd have to say that he did about all he could to help me. When all is said there is not a lot they can do to get you a job.

People's comments included remarks such as: 'they eventually found me a job' or, 'the amount of time it took to get anything.' 'But I do have to agree that they did help' and, 'If I needed to go back. I would be a bit more confident about finding out what they really can do for you', denoted an elementary outcome of employment oppression whereby the failure of the service to either equip or place a person within employment was weighted by the evidence of endeavours to attempt this objective on the part of individual DEA's. More positively some stated, ' Without the DEA, I don't think that I would have found anything...' a typical outcome was 'The disability person ... was very good he got me into training ... mind you, I'm still on the dole' Respondents were asked what was negative about the ESDS, and to comment on why this was the case. Why did you feel the ES-ESDS was negative? The following comments were noted.

I think that as far as I was concerned, this was because they were not taking into account the huge problem that trying to use public transport causes me. As I could not find any suitable work in my area I could not get to most of the locations that they had in mind.

The disability services took so long to get anything done for me. In the end I began to lose any hope of working again, so I gradually stopped going to see them altogether. I would just turn up to sign on at the Jobcentre and then go home without even bothering to see the disability people.

They just leave you go. They don't follow up anything. It was months and months, and I went back to them before they did anything. I asked, what's happening about the green card. This was when I signed on as unemployed. The ESDS person I spoke to didn't seem to want to know as far as I was concerned.

A typical negative comment on the ES-ESDS was

Whenever I went into the Jobcentre there never seemed to be any jobs suitable for a disabled person without recent work experience.

ES-ESDS staff appeared to ignore stated preferences or overlooked crucial felt needs.

As one person noted 'the person who interviewed me did not fully grasp the situation I was in.', another noted, 'I wanted to do something that would interest me. This did not appear to be part of their plans for my career.' Critically, a number of people found accord with the following viewpoint, 'I don't think that they [the ES] understand the needs of disabled people. They don't have the time to discuss your needs.' The perception of marginality and exclusion were summed up by the following observations. 'The DEA seemed to be saying ... your not likely to find a suitable job;' or 'there always appears to be nothing available that I can do...' and '... I used to go to the dole almost every week... Now I've given up what's the point...' Participants were asked. Why was this the case? Their replies, shown directly below, reflected barriers to work integration based upon participants' perceptions of agency limitation or social barriers to work-based integration. The following comments illustrated this:

Simply because the person who interviewed me did not fully grasp the situation I was in. The very fact that I had difficulty in travelling to work seemed to be less important than the type of work I might do. But as it turned out, I couldn't get to most of the places that were suggested.

I suppose it was due to the way they assumed that you would be willing to go along with their view of what you wanted. For instance, I wanted to do something that would interest me such as more training for useful skills - but this did not appear to me to be part of their plans for my career. I'm quite pleased with the job I have but I do not see myself as likely to improve upon the type of things that I do in this job.

Mainly that I had to find out what they could do for me. [Could you explain that a bit more?]. Like I said, he [ESDS advisor] seemed set on getting me back into work ... any problems that I might come across was not a thing that we talked about. I suppose that partly this was because he

[the DEA] never asked me enough about the type of work I could do. I just felt that it was all done without enough information on their part to help with long-term needs.

I don't need their help now ... but I could have done with much more advice on what I should ask my employer if work problems kept coming up. They [ESDS] ought to give you more details on what the disability [service] can do for you.

To tell you the truth about my opinion of them, I don't think that they [the ESDS] understand the needs of disabled people. Well, I think this is because they don't have the time ... you need to sit down and discuss your needs. I went down and saw a DEA, she was very helpful and gave me a list of firms I could try but I never found anything.

I found the whole experience of using the disability service an embarrassment. The DEA seemed to be saying ... you're not likely to find a suitable job. Which I suppose is really the case. I felt that he could have done more to encourage me to look at some of the things that might be possible. Instead, I came away feeling that too all intents I might just as well not bother any more.

Well, It's not as if they moved heaven and earth to help me sort something out. It was a bit like going to the dole looking for a job ... not getting one, and then being told why you can't find a job is because you're disabled. I knew that before I went to see them. In the end you get depressed by the [ESDS].

I have a disability - though I don't like the term, which in my opinion does not stop me from working, at least part-time. So I cannot see why there always appears to be nothing available that I can do.

Because once you've done a training course and they still can't find you a job, they won't let you go back there and do another one, even though that might help you get work.

I never bother with them anymore - they just keep you on their books ... they've never got anything suitable. The disability service cannot really help with showing employers that you can still do the job even if you have less energy than before.

When I spoke to you last time I used to go to the dole almost every week. Now I've given up. What's the point. I can't see any sense in working for next to nothing and making myself feel worse than I do.

Clearly, these comments revealed that the perceptions of negative features of the ES-ESDS reflected some participants' perceptions of a lack of employment opportunities. Furthermore, many interviewees were cynical about the merits of the use of the ES-ESDS in furthering employment aspirations.

5.6 Participants' perceptions of the shortcomings of the ES-ESDS

Analysis revealed that respondents' critical perceptions of the capability of the ES-ESDS centred upon a number of the concerns shown below.

Many respondents felt that some service personnel failed to fully recognise users' specific preferences and needs;

Most participants relate examples of confusion upon matters of service procedure, leading to a perception that the advice and information, as supplied by ES staff, is often too vague to assist in informed decision making;

Despite frequent contact with the ES, many participants were shown to possess limited information upon the range of service provision; and

A significant number of participants felt that they lacked access to service resources, and, voiced concern over the inaccessibility of some service environments.

The ES-ESDS policy of promoting work-based placement in mainstream employment had had some degree of success. Thornton and Lunt, (1995a), noted the growth of supported employment placements from 1985 to 1993. More detail has already been discussed within Chapter 3.

5.7 Placement experiences of study participants

While most participants, not within 'secure' employment, expressed strong preference for placement experience, many amongst those who had undergone placement were sceptical as to their outcomes. In summary, critical perceptions of work-based placement noted showed that:

Placements were often conducted in inappropriate environments, and involved working under conditions that were considered as disabling, rather than appropriate.

Some people felt that within certain placements there was a lack of liaison with trainees, examples included infrequent contact and poor communication about the nature of the work tasks required.

Amongst some who had undertaken work in placements there was a perception of a failure to match placement with preferences for the types of work preferred by participants.

It has been shown that within the last two decades the ES had applied a conscious policy of seeking work-based placement over that of workshop or supported employment work environments. However, renewed policy still failed to address the disadvantageous labour market position affecting those with more severe impairment. Endeavours by governments to address this impasse placed most emphasis on diversity within training and placements (Floyd, 1997). However, governments have placed less emphasis on reforming the ES-ESDS to meet with or reflect service users' own perceptions of required changes.

5.8 Role of the DEA/ESDS in meeting post-training/rehabilitation need

Having explored service users' perceptions of basic rehabilitation and training provision, enquiry was directed towards service continuity and quality of support provided by disability advisors, as perceived by those who underwent training or rehabilitation under the aegis of employment services. Participants were asked whether disability advisors provided sufficient long-term support following involvement in service provision.

In particular, they were asked to state their perception of satisfaction with DEA support upon completion of training/rehabilitation programmes. Their opinions are shown below.

Well, I have gained a lot of useful skills because I went to the rehabilitation and training centre. Though I'm not sure I would describe them as "high tech!" but they were certainly useful to me that is they would be if I could find work.

No - the subject of training for new skills has never come up when I visited the Job Centre, or when I spoke to the DEA I feel that this is possibly due to my age I'm 56.

I can only really talk about my current situation. I have more than enough skills to do the job I'm in now. Mind you if I lost this job, then I would need their [ESDS] help to find something similar. I think a lot of the trouble with this question is to do with my age. I'm in my late fifties now... I don't suppose there are too many employers who want a worker with back troubles my age? [Does the knowledge that the ESDS could offer you a range of training provide a sense of security?]. Yes, I would have to agree with that, but could they find me another job?

Not as a separate thing. I did use some 'new tech' as you call it, when I did the training course but that was part of the work there. At the moment, I receive the same training as my work mates. When I first took the job my employer made great efforts to get me started. This basically meant re-arranging my working desk and ensuring that I could reach and use the machines.

One factor influencing these perceptions of service-centred placement was that the follow-up of post-service users appeared to be arbitrary. Indeed PACT policy interpreted by a DEA interviewed stated that,

follow-up is primarily a matter of chance and conjecture left virtually entirely down to either the particularities concerning the person having undergone such provision, and the perception of necessity for such action as determined by individual DEA's.

Recent reports have noted the consolidation of policy following reformulated services measures in the early 1990s (see Lakey and Simpkins, 1994; Meager et al., 1999). However, participants were asked whether DEAs should provide after service contact, either on a voluntary basis or as a guaranteed part of the service, once their initial contact with the ESDS service had ended. Participants' levels of satisfaction with DEA's service continuity and ESDS-led post-service supportive policy are shown below. Comments noted were,

After I left the [Training Centre] I was quite confident that I would be able to get some type of work that was going to be less physically tiring than what I was doing before I saw the ESDS and went on the course. A few weeks went by and I heard nothing from the ESDS. I tried to telephone [the DEA] but she was not there. In the end I waited almost over a month before I was able to take up going to a placement. I can tell you I wasn't very impressed with all the delays.

Frankly I got so fed-up waiting for the DEA to do anything for me that I went and saw a company about taking me on. As a result of this when I went to the dole they said that I could not get my money as I was late. Well, I know I was late that was because I had gone to try to get work

where they had not been able to do this. As for follow-up well it's fortunate for me that I knew my DEA very well. He got onto the dole and sorted it out. But I would agree that it is vital to someone who has just been through the nightmare of an accident like mine to have all the back-up you can get. So I would definitely say that they should always check-up on how your doing. I'm fairly sure my direct boss wouldn't be too pleased to have to spend time sorting it all out but I think he would reply. They [ESDS] have not been in touch with me since I left the [Training] course. If contacting you after rehabilitation was to be done. I would say that it would have to be through Parliament I couldn't see it happening any other way?

My ESDS advisor was so very helpful to me after I did the rehabilitation course at [...]. To be honest, I don't think I should try to keep in touch ... after all I probably will find a job ... there are so many others who desperately need his help more than me. However, it would be nice to be contacted from time to time ... I must admit I have not been in touch with the DEA for some time now though I still use the Job Centre.

In conversations with service users', impressions of qualitative difference in the mode of delivery of disability services between DROs and DEAs was noted (see Barnes, 1994; Barnes et al., 1998). Some who used the service prior to and after 1992 cited a perception of the DEAs as appearing to have less time at interviews, or in the assessment of need, and to have communicated less detail on services than their DRO predecessors, a point noted by Barnes (1994). However, post-service contact by DRO's and DEA's was not perceived as not having made much difference to the level of service response received. Service users evaluations on after service use response in ESDS, provision, and DEA service follow-up, produced the following remarks,

As I said, the employment service does not generally do enough follow up contact with disabled people. When I needed help after I came to the workshop, they ignored me for several months.

Participants were asked. What are your views on this?

As someone who has been disabled since childhood, I know how difficult it is even to begin to imagine what sort of career or job you might get. I've always been quite determined to have a normal job, but I know there are lots of disabled people who believe that they will never get the chance to do any job.

I think yes ... I agree with legislation ... because I think disabled people are capable of doing the job they just need the chance. If a disabled person can be retrained they can use a computer. I'm certainly in favour of the need for such legislation and in my view, it should include making it

compulsory for companies to have to register all workplace accidents. In my time here and in other places I have come across quite a few people who have had accidents at work which never get formally reported. I know that it is wrong as far as the Health and Safety Acts are concerned so any new law should tighten up on this breach of the law.

If I was working in an ordinary place, say a shop, and people found out I was disabled they [other workers] might think that I was getting all the easy jobs. I suppose as far as the customers were concerned it would depend on the type of disability. If you were facially [different] they [customers] might not like that.

While I personally don't need any follow-up I do work with a lot of disabled people who do need more support. I have had to try to sort out a number of problems for other workshop employees. In my view this should be the work of the DEA's.

At the moment, things are fairly good where I am but I would like to know that the ESDS would check to see if I was doing OK. Well. I wouldn't want them to visit me at work but they could have contacted me to find out if I was OK ... so that if not I might get some support from them?

Well take my situation ... I felt able to carry on working in my trade but if my employer had not been convinced that I would be able to do the work, what would have happened to me then? I feel that the DEA's should have to check on your situation ... perhaps for the first six months?

Definitely, I felt that I was forgotten as far as they were concerned. You need to be in touch ... they [ESDS] could write and ask how you're getting on? They could get in touch say every three months or so to see if you have got on OK since they last contacted you?

As I was saying before ... they [ESDS] seem to be too busy to spend enough time with you ... If you knew that they were going to contact you again you would feel there some hope of working. Or perhaps a chance to keep up with new training and work skills? As I haven't worked for nearly two years now, it would be nice if they had said after a year why not do a sort of refresher course in training?

It would be far easier to get better help if you had just one person dealing with your caseload, the same as you do with Hospital patients. The ESDS should assign one member of staff to follow through on your case.

There has to be some sort of guarantee if it were left to a voluntary decision by employers some people would be bound to lose out and end up being ignored as far as working is concerned.

In an ideal world everyone who uses the service should feel that they are given the best, but all too often [wearing my ESDS hat] you can only deal with one step at a time. I sometimes feel that apart from follow-up what else is vital to consider is the question of privacy for disabled people when using the ES. They often have to discuss very sensitive issues almost in public.

It's rather the same as with employment. If it isn't set down as a rule no one will do it. There are always so many other pressures.

As far as I could see, they have so few people employed as disability workers that I doubt if they do follow-up with half the people who go to see them. I don't recall my boss ever saying they got in touch. They certainly didn't tell me if they did Oh I would agree, if disabled people have any real rights then real support at work has to mean something, not just a tick on a form.

Essentially, the 'success' or 'failure' of the ES-ESDS in meeting individuals' employment needs influenced perceptions. However, all those presently in work supported a statutory rights and obligation approach to disability-employment policy over voluntary codes or contracts (ES, 1993). For some people, concerns were raised by the lack of follow-up after service use, which resulted in unmet employment related need. This problem occurred due to the absence of the ESDS service's obligation to guarantee service follow-up (see Pozner and Hammond, 1993; and Hyde and Howes, 1993). However, on the matter of general ES-ESDS service reforms, a sizeable minority of participants, 23 in all (33 per cent), felt unable to comment.

Those who did comment tended to be more familiar with the service, often over a longer time scale, and had more personal contact with the service. Within the first interview group a clear majority (87 per cent) were in favour of more statutory protection, though many were sceptical as to the likelihood of securing it. Service users' evaluation of service provision and service procedures, indicated that there was a need for accountable regulatory checks on the currently ill-defined scope of DEA jurisdiction. This common viewpoint was reflected in such comments as, 'I waited almost over a month before I was able to take up going on a placement;' and 'frankly I got fed-up waiting for the DEA to do anything for me...' With regard to the matter of service provider follow-up, critical observation included remarks such as: 'the [ESDS] does not generally do enough follow up contact'; and, 'the [ESDS ought] to check to see if I was doing OK...' or, 'They [ESDS] should assign one [DEA] to follow through on a person's case...' Another

person commenting on the lack of contact stated, 'I haven't worked for ... two years why couldn't they have contacted me and offered a training place after a year ?' On the question of ESDS policy being based on statutory or voluntary criteria, one person remarked,

There has to be some sort of legal guarantee. If it were left to a voluntary code, you can bet that many disabled people would end up being ignored by both the ES-ESDS and by most employers.

Some respondents were cynical with regard to the shift from statutory guidance to voluntary agreements within the direction of current service policy. However, only a minority was sufficiently aware of such alterations in the delivery of services. Indeed, a ratio of two to one, amongst those who did offer an opinion, and who envisioned the need for some departure from existing 'follow-up' policy principles, were in favour of stronger statutory obligation. The absence of a broad awareness of statutory policy with regard to ES-ESDS services within Britain might explain why many were reluctant to commit themselves on this matter. In their stated preferences, almost a third of interviewees were greatly affected by employers' negative response towards compulsory statutory work-integration measures. They feared that new legislation would threaten their current weak occupational position rather than strengthen it (IDS, 1996).

5.9 Participants' labour market experiences of social/attitudinal barriers

The nature of established entrenched and institutionalised disablist social barriers to disabled people's employment opportunities, such as attitudinal prejudice, stigma and alienation were discussed in the first set of interviews. In an endeavour to up-date the profile of participants' employment circumstances, particularly with regard to disablist factors, in- depth interview participants were asked,

Since we last spoke have there been any significant changes effecting you with regard to either employment or within the workplace?

Study participants' perceptions again revealed mixed views. Nine participants stated there had been significant changes affecting work related matters since they were last interviewed. Seven recorded no significant change with respect to their overall related circumstances. The data revealed that four individuals had become 'reconciled' to possibly never obtaining suitable employment and three identified that they were broadly 'satisfied' with their present circumstances. Amongst the interviewees it transpired that three of the seven who had expressed no significant change had virtually, 'given up trying to find suitable employment.' In contrast, of the four persons who had found work between interviews, three stated that they were 'broadly satisfied with their new position'.

However, due to the lack of employer response to their work related needs, two people presently in employment were concerned about their continuing employment. Their concerns were founded upon the belief that the deleterious effects of their impairment, upon their capacity to cope with demands of increasing work, gave rise to detrimental feelings about continuing in employment. This view was attributed to the lack of employer recognition, or non-response to unadjusted work conditions. To assess the extent of work-based attitudinal barriers and their form and circumstance participants were asked,

Since we last spoke, has employment-related prejudice affected your ability to work in any particular type of employment?

Employment-related prejudice was an integral factor. As Kathy remarked,

Since we last spoke, I have become employed with the ES as a clerk with a PACT team but even so there are still some [attitudinal and physical access] problems that I come across.

Whilst Kathy was optimistic about the general suitability of her occupation, she nonetheless recounted negative experiences within her current employment. In the initial interviews 38 per cent, of all study respondents noted a degree of work-related prejudice applied directly to them. Amongst the 20 persons, within the in-depth interviews, 11 stated that they had experienced some degree of felt prejudice attributable to impairment.

Some degree of felt prejudice regarding their ability was discernible. Amongst those employed, eight gave examples of the nature of such prejudice. Kathy cites concerns from within the ES itself,

I would have to say that even in this type of employment I still feel that some people think that I cannot do the work as well as the non-disabled staff. While there were no obvious comments some people gave me the impression that I'm not confident enough. On a number of occasions I have found myself left out of 'group' decision making. This has partly been due to the lack of access of the particular meeting venue chosen at the time. But, there is also the sense of being an outsider not being able to take part in the social side of work.

Participants were asked if the existence of stigma had had a bearing on employment opportunities and whether it applied to their work. Within the first interviews 26 (38 per cent) declared some element of stigma was observable within employment experience. Most crucially, physical impairment-related stigma acted as a deterrent to some in pursuing occupations where they felt appearance was a prime foundation for suitability. This was most notably the case for women, particularly those who were in forms of employment with a high public profile that entailed direct contact with the public. Joan noted an example of gender prejudice stated,

I felt that he [Employer] was keen to get rid of me. This I felt was due to my impairment. I felt that he would have liked to have some young dolly-bird doing the job rather than me. He seemed to complain about my work for almost any reason even though I have done this type of work for years. He certainly made me feel self conscious and frankly far from happy to be working there. He was clever enough to never say anything to my face ... but his snide remarks got on my nerves. In the end I got sick of it and left.

An evaluation of the existence of stigma associated with the form of sexist stereotyping, described above by Joan, reflected what Morris (1994) suggested were negative perceptions of impairment that denoted non-disabled people's prejudices. This was described as a sense of 'fear and loathing of disabled people' by Goffman (1963) and Abberley (1987, 1992). The question of stigma and employment prejudice clearly influenced some participants' poor self-evaluations, whether male or female. Absence of a critical consciousness of the legitimating foundations of a disablist culture

(Shakespeare, 1996, 1988), on the part of a substantial number of participants, clearly denoted the assimilation, by some, of the typology of deviance that Goffman (1963) describes as being based upon spoiled identity (see also Corker, 1998; Shakespeare, 1998).

Several people gave extensive accounts of post-impairment social alienation and exclusion. Others, who experienced life-long impairment, viewed relative exclusion as a social norm. Some cited workplace examples of exclusion. Ian identified the negative cultural transition that sometimes accompanied work upon becoming impaired. Struggling within a culture of general absence of awareness of disabled workers' needs,

Ian remarked,

After the accident I became quite seriously handicapped. I found that I was unable to re-enter the type of social life that my work mates led. One that I had previously also been part of. There were a number of little things, which over time led to me becoming more and more, an 'outsider'. I couldn't go drinking due to the medication. I found it difficult to get into most of the venues they went to as bright lights give me vicious headaches. So gradually, I found that my work was suffering, as I became more and more isolated. People were still well meaning, and given that you couldn't see my impairment, most of them could not appreciate why I did not take such an active role as I had previously done.

The response noted by Robert concerning matters of prejudice and stigma, as perceived by those with less severe levels of impairment, was fairly typical of the perceptions noted by those currently employed.

Nothing much has changed with the job. I do have some time off occasionally but he [the Manager] is quite good about that. I don't feel that people there [at work] see me as really disabled. As long as I don't lose too much time my employer doesn't bother. Usually I never get people complaining about the odd rest break. I can't really talk about stigma or insecurity - about having to, say, find different work. I don't really think that stigma means anything to me. Mind you I'm sure that a lot of companies would not be keen on employing me.

Essentially stigma tended to be closely associated with gendered stereotypical de-valorisation and gendered forms of employment (Oliver, 1991; Morris, 1991), as in Joan's account. The prevalence of employment-related prejudice underpinned some people's responses more perceptibly than those presented by others. However, over one-third of

all those interviewed recounted significant evidence of felt prejudice towards them within their employment or work-related circumstances. These findings highlight the need for greater awareness by employers of the oppression caused by prejudicial assessments of the productive ability of disabled people as employees, and the need for greater awareness of the role of the ES-ESDS in the provision of support for work adjustment policy. It was also indicative of the failure of the ESDS to identify work-related prejudice, and to challenge such factors through the ESDS rehabilitation framework.

5.10 Perceptions of the quality of service relating to supportive resources

David a public sector driver, with spinal injury, had been employed from the first interview to the current period. His particular environmental adaptation need was, in his own words 'very low tech', and consisted of a makeshift measure. He described his situation.

I need to use a supportive padding behind the driving seat to allow me to do the public service driving job that I do. Although, when I saw the disability people [ESDS] they never told me that I might request something of this sort. Yes I had heard of people getting some help with transport, but the question of me requiring anything just never came into it. In the end I simply struggled on carrying the cushion too and from the vehicle each and every shift. Often this meant going back and forth from the vehicle to the depot, making two journeys for everyone else's one. Just recently, the boss has complained about me taking too long to get in and out of the depot to do the run.

Robert, who had back pains, complicated by arthritis, is in employment and was also unaware of such ESDS resource provision. He commented,

I was very fortunate I found that my employer was as co-operative as the employment service had been. So I got all that I needed in order to do the job. Mind you I often worry that if I had to quit working in this job and go elsewhere, would another employer understand my needs?

Valerie was also surprised to discover the extensive range of supportive provision. As she stated,

To tell you the truth I had never heard of most of those things. The one that would be most useful to me would be travel costs help. As I live in an isolated area travelling to a nearby town for work would cost a lot on public transport. If I could get assistance in purchasing a car this would help.

The same was relatively true of Michael, as he remarked on the subject,

I had never heard of most of these schemes until you mentioned them last time we spoke. I knew about the mobility thing, but as for these other things I never knew they existed. With me it's only a case of not being able to bend or stand still too long, so I suppose most of them would be no use to me?

Stephen's impairment prevented him from standing for long periods of time without some break. He commented,

The most important thing for me is that I can rest my back during the day. My Boss is quite good. He knows that if I have to stop for a while I will pick up later. I do have a good seat but it would be nice to be able to put my feet-up and rest for a 10-minute break away from the line. [Was this help provided?]. No. I never asked after I got the seat sorted out I didn't think to mention anything else. [What are your feelings about this?]. I don't know if the ESDS people got in touch with my boss? But if they had asked what I needed to do the job during my interview this might have been sorted out then.

Mary, an amputee, had worked for a considerable time in a workshop. She described an example of positive results of practical adjustments to the working environment. Mary stated,

A number of minor adjustments have been carried out to assist me in my work. It only takes a little bit of sense to alter most machinery for disabled people to use it. I recall a recent incident when the boss got a new machine - a sort of welding unit. He said I should have a go on it. I said, 'I can't work that machine!'. To which he replied, 'of course you can'. 'O no I can't', I said. He had forgotten about my [impairment]. So he asked the fitter to come up with an alternative mechanism to operate it. Two weeks later this was done.'

Rachel stated:

If I had to quit this job would another employer be quite so understanding?

Whilst Trevor's comment was typical of many people,

To tell you the truth I had never heard of most of those [resource] things that the ESDS has. And I never heard of most of these schemes until you mentioned them last time we spoke the Jobcentre certainly never told me about them.

Considering the matter of physical adaptations or aids to assist working, and the poor attention in workplaces of adaptation requirements, within the in-depth interviews 12 people indicated that they would require such assistance if they were to change their current employment. Two people required significant work-supportive measures in order to acquire any satisfactory employment. Of the 14 people, 7 had previously utilised provisions or were benefiting from one or more ESDS supportive measure. Only 8 were familiar with aspects of supportive resources, while 4 identified current need, including 7 who had requested or attained assistance from employers or the ESDS (see Meager et al., 1999). Evidence of findings denoted that a significant number (also true in the first interviews) were unfamiliar with the ESDS resources discussed. The basic low costs and benefits derived from adaptations to work environments (see Graham et al., 1990; Barnes, 1994; Roulstone, 1998) were noted by Mary who worked in a supported industry setting. She commented,

It only takes a little bit of sense to alter most machinery for disabled people to make it easier for them to use it. Where I work, which usually calls for little effort or large costs.

It has been demonstrated by Graham et al. (1990) that most adjustments to either equipment or working environments cost very little. These have been of benefit to employers as well as disabled workers (Honey et al., 1993; Barnes, 1994; Gleeson, 1999; Meager et al., 1999). However, as Roulstone (1998) has noted, improved prospects for transformations of hostile work environments have at times been clearly restricted by disablist work culture values. Those participants currently employed, and who were provided with work-related resource or adjustments, benefited more because of supportive working conditions. It was also apparent that few service users were aware of the range of available ESDS provision. Because of a lack of awareness of the range of disability-work supported services, under current conditions, the negative implications for disabled people were overlooked arguably, many have not had the same degree of

work-assisted empowerment enjoyed by other non-disabled employees. Of particular concern, were those people who identified unmet work integration needs, but who previously had either created makeshift alternatives or who had tried to get by without any such support.

An overriding critical perception frequently noted was that the rationing of ES-ESDS resource information reflected attitudinal barriers on the part of some service providers and indeed of most employers. For several interviewees, around one in seven, the denial of work opportunity or work adjustment support constituted the real basis of impairment-related work disablement. While only three persons confirmed being overtly denied help by ESDS service providers, others were effectively unable to acquire assistance to meet work centred needs. A recent ES consultation document on development of the Supported Employment Programme has committed the service to increased marketisation. However, the ES-ESDS have still not addressed a number of practical and attitudinal concerns identified by this study's participants (ES, 1999). Following exploration of specialised resource supportive measures, participants were asked to evaluate the degree of utility of various forms of provision. Interviewees' perceptions of service supported resources provided a template for general perceptions and appraisal of the overall utility of ES-ESDS based services such the experience of rehabilitation.

5.11 Rehabilitation: the experience of study participants

The prime objective of disability services has been to equip disabled people with improved work readiness, via service expertise or specialism, however in practice many people argued that the realisation of this aim through their participation within rehabilitation had fallen far short of their personal expectations. Prior analysis of rehabilitation has viewed this as an inadequate individualised process, whose structural purpose legitimated and supported the functional regulation of disabled peoples'

employment, but through unequal power relations upheld by professionally controlled services (Oliver and Barnes, 1999; Drake, 1999).

In terms of interviewees' perceptions of ESDS rehabilitation, both its practices and procedures met with strong dissatisfaction. Dissatisfaction over existing rehabilitation practices reflected the importance of disabled service users' empowerment views as debated by Zarb et al. (1995), and by Lakey and Simpkins (1994).

Many people substantiated the view that:

1. Rehabilitation appeared as a punitive endeavour to instil enthusiasm for work by means of a process that appeared as both demeaning and often relatively pointless;
2. so-called 'therapeutic tasks' were perceived by some people to be more conducive with the acceptance of preparedness for unrewarding and low-skilled occupations;
3. significant differences existed between service providers' interpretations of the practical value of rehabilitation and service users' own less than satisfactory perception of the rehabilitative process; and
4. some service users felt compelled to participate in this aspect of services despite the belief that this was neither what they had specifically requested or indeed required.

In many instances, rehabilitation or training alternatives, proposed by ES-ESDS staff often failed to take into account respondents' perceptions of need or their expressed capabilities. In light of these negative experiences, many participants considered their employment aspirations or felt needs to have been ignored or essentially disregarded.

5.12 Conceptual outcomes and policy implications

Service users' opinions on the outcomes achieved through the use of the ES-ESDS revealed that deficient policy, poor quality provision and arrangements, or inadequate interpretation of service requirements had resulted in sustained employment marginality, and even, compounded some people's work alienation viewpoints. To address these

perceptions in terms of identifying alternative policy directions that the ESDS ought to consider, the analytic discourse surrounding these matters, included the matter of the policy reform implications arising from respondents expressed views on the present shortcomings of the ES-ESDS. In order to underscore the basis for a number of user-led proposed services related practice revisions, recent service development criteria were identified and critically assessed.

The critique prompted debate at interrelated levels. The first level of enquiry, was concerned with service provision; the role of the ESDS and its social fiat. The second was related to general impairment-centred work inclusion issues. The discourse addressed the rationale governing policies on impairment and work issues that were observable in the contemporary labour market. The salient pressures placed upon disability services were apparent. In order to contextualise key demographic aspects of disability, the discussion focused upon gendered, ethnical, and age related labour-market activity influencing variables as will shortly be addressed. A strong perception held by a majority of participants was that employers appeared reluctant to gamble on taking on a disabled worker (see Honey et al., 1993; Dench et al., 1996; Roulstone, 1998). This outlook was driven by the detrimental views of presupposed extra costs, associated with work integration adjustment, and the experiences of employers' attitudinal prejudice, particularly towards those with overtly stigmatised forms of impairment.

5.13 ES-ESDS statutory policy: progress, cosmetic change or social stasis

For many participants, service use outcomes in relation to employment opportunity represented a hit and miss affair. For example, the collated rehabilitation data revealed negative outcomes, even where interviewees had confirmed being broadly satisfied with rehabilitation. Criticisms were also noted regarding the attainment of appropriate skills and the building of a level of confidence to enhance entry or re-entry into labour markets.

With regard to the attainment of skills training, over a third of all participants noted being far from satisfied with either the appropriateness of the chosen work locations (too great a distance and inaccessibility were two particular factors raised), or were dissatisfied with the overall quality of training centred provision. A significant number, who had entered the ES/DS with positive expectations, found that either work based involvement was utterly unsuited to their individual needs. Or that after undergoing training programmes there was still, in their view, too little prospect of finding appropriate work. Three particular features of current ES-ES/DS/DSS services related disability-work policy presented grounds for definite concern. The following three summaries were formulated just after the completion of both sets of interviews.

The summaries revealed that:

- Targeted state benefits posed disincentives to the pursuit of employment opportunity, due in part to the overall complexity of the existing disability welfare system. Significant evidence denoted that benefit regimes failed to assist people on benefits to make informed choices on whether to seek part-time or full-time jobs, or how to avoid the poverty trap.
- Concerns were expressed about low-waged supported employment schemes and unpaid forms of rehabilitation or therapeutic production arrangements. A minimum wage or equivalent income for this work sector had yet to be formally achieved.
- Too little recognition had been given to the effects of interrupted employment due to sporadic or intermittent health/impairment circumstances. Benefit regimes were unable to respond with sufficient flexibility to prevent periodic or occasional withdrawal from employment becoming long-term unemployment.

Research on disability benefits, in particular disability working allowance, affect upon the labour market conditions of disabled workers by Rowlingson and Berthoud (1996) revealed that, in 1993 of the 1.6 million disabled people, who were or had been on disability benefits, only 425,000 had some attachment to work. Of these only 60,000 were working 16 hours a week or more. A further 17,500 were eligible for DWA, whilst only 3,500 had received the benefit. The authors noted that due to the absence of suitable employment integration policy, or as a consequence of the lack of suitable training and

rehabilitation, only a handful (some 200 people) had been encouraged to work, as a result of the introduction of the benefit (see also Barnes et al., 1999).

5.14 Shifting towards the NDDP framework of disability work policy

The paradigmatic shift of disability-work policy in the 1990s from the welfare-to-work agenda to the NDDP had been concerned with ensuring that disabled people ought to be considered as potential members of the mainstream labour force (ESDS, 1998; DfEE, 1998; Wood, May 1998, pp. 237-241; LMt, August 1998, p. 411). Under the auspices of the NDDP, this employment strategy contained two component elements within its agenda. The first element was aimed at the furtherance of labour market participation and involved personal advisor pilot schemes operated within selected areas of the UK, including the area under review. These schemes were designed to help a quarter of a million people currently on incapacity benefit find work. To achieve this, the ES had adopted two key policy implementation plans. First, an individual action plan for each disabled person was designed to enable him or her to find work. Second, promotion of voluntary contracts with employers was also provided to adopt formal disabled employee retention programmes. This scheme was to be reviewed in 2000 with a view to consolidate a National Programme under the Back to Work Scheme. The intended aim was to radically reduce the numbers exiting labour markets and obtaining disability benefit (see Berthoud, 1998; Lister, 1998; Brindle, 1998).

Evidence indicated that a rising number of disabled people had entered the labour market as a result of the NDDP (Hall and Reid, November 1998, pp. 549-53; Meager et al., 1999). Unfortunately, the ES data discussed by Hall and Reid (1998) had not provided precise information on the employment status of those involved within the NDDP. For instance, the data presented had not indicated what percentage of disabled persons had entered the labour market, or had simply enrolled in the NDDP programme.

However, analysis in LMt (August 1998, p. 411) did show that within the 'pathfinder' areas introduced in April 1998, of the 60,000 young people started on the New Deal for young people, more than half leaving the scheme had entered employment. The LMt (December 1998, p. 566) noted the gradual rising number of disabled jobseekers placed in employment by jobcentre services. For example, between October 3rd and November 6th 1998, excluding those placed via jobcentre displayed vacancies, those placed in work numbered 10, 593 people (see also Wood, May 1998, pp. 237-41).

Scope's chief executive, Richard Brewster (November 4, 1998), noted that the NDDP had made progress in meeting employment needs of disabled youth, though he cautioned on a strategy that slammed the door on benefits without corresponding meaningful social integration including that of employment policy. Labour Research (1998) drew attention to the link between ageism, disability and work exclusion. Currently, a number of essential ES based surveys (see LMt, November, 1999) into the demand of service requirement, and employers' perceptions of employing disabled people had yet to be released (Personal correspondence with ES, June, 1999).

There was considerable evidence that the composition of the labour force in Britain had undergone significant changes within the last two decades. As the numbers participating within the workforce have increased, the activity rates of those often excluded from the post-1950s labour force had radically shifted. For disabled people, altered labour market trends have had a bearing upon their actual or potential work activity rates within the post-1980s workforce (Philpott, 1997; Crompton, 1998; Meager et al., 1999). However, labour market conditions have not improved Britain's work-related disability-related employment conditions, worsened by gender and labour market inequality, ethnic-related work exclusion, ageism and impairment, or other contemporary cultural barriers to the realisation of non-disablist work inclusion agendas, as will be further explored in the next section.

5.15 Gender, ethnicity, ageism and work-related socio-cultural barriers

Although disaggregated data on gender disability and income matters were difficult to obtain, recent findings on gender and disability confirmed that the labour market position of disabled women in comparative terms were similar to that of non-disabled women, whose incomes were significantly less than those of men (Meager et al., 1999). Crompton's (1998) analysis of the dynamics of women's disadvantaged labour market status attributed its causation to the patriarchal values founded by 'gendered citizenship' and the inequitable division of labour. As with the Feminisation of poverty, women in work were subjected to practices that reflected the expansion of the services sector, in what Crompton (1998) described as the shift from 'abstract labour to customer care', wherein the supra-exploitation found within women's employment conditions were steadily increasing (Morris, 1994).

Sly et al. (1998) revealed that in spring 1997 there were 11.4 million working-age women in employment, constituting 44 per cent of all workers below state pension age, compared with 42 per cent in 1987. The number of women in employment had risen by 1.2 million since 1987, while the number of men in work was only 0.4 million higher. In spring 1997, 81 per cent of all those of working age who worked part-time were women. Some 44 per cent of women in employment worked part-time, which was a slightly higher proportion than in 1987 (43 per cent) and the percentage of male part-timers increased from 5 per cent in 1987 to 8 per cent in spring 1997, a rise of 515,000 people. Recent debate on the short-term conditions of the UK labour market (DfEE, 1998) predicted that the labour force was expected to increase in size to 28.7 million by 2001. This factor was due to small increases in the workforce participation rate and the proportion of the population of working age. This followed five years of decline between 1991 and 1995. It was anticipated, that female workforce participation rates would

continue to rise, partly due to increasing flexible employment, although male rates were expected to continue to decline.

In addition, while an ageing labour force might have reduced age discrimination (DfEE, 1998), any flexibility would not have created employment opportunities for women (see the British Household Panel Survey on changing household composition 1992-1994; Buck et al., 1994). Feminists, and other critics of women's disadvantageous labour market position, viewed this as the manifestation of the dynamic of gendered forms of occupation and the dual oppression found within the family and in employment (Pahl, 1988, 1997; Williams, 1989; Crompton, 1993, 1998; Walby, 1994; Morris, 1994; Morris, 1995). As Pahl (1988), commenting upon work inequality noted,

Gender has consistently served as a principle of stratification in the organisation of labour.

For working age-disabled women, additional factors coalesced around such issues. These involved the oppressive outcomes that arose from a disablist culture where negative perceptions were held with regard to disabled women's work aspirations (Morris, 1991; Oliver, 1991). For many people, both men and women, their class location had radically altered as a result of acquired impairment, the subsequent impacts of disabling society had resulted in specific gender related oppressive outcomes including employment disadvantage. It is worth noting that, there were few, traceable, concrete examples in the literature of improved work conditions, as a consequence of enhanced employment status related benefit following from an acquired impairment. Isolated examples found in this study, were connected to and explained by post-disablement attainment of improved employment prospects, due either to access to ES or work based specialist skills, previously unattained. Marshall et al. (1988) have argued that:

Class systems are structured by sex in ways that clearly effect the distribution of life-chances, class formation and class action among both women and men alike.

Fine and Asch (1985) have also suggested that the failure to address the specificity of the oppression of disabled women within western society can be explained by the dominance of male values. Their critique has argued that disabled males have been encouraged to replicate able-bodied normative social patterns, whilst disabled women have been denied this option. These authors have stated that disabled women were perceived as inadequate for economically productive roles (traditionally considered appropriate for males) and for the nurturing, reproductive roles considered appropriate for women (Fine and Asch, 1985). In the case of this study, a culture of disablist devaluation and impairment-identity stigmatisation (debated in Chapter 2) denied disabled women (and disabled men) the confidence required to pursue integration into the labour force on a par with their non-disabled peers.

Within the current study, the participants did not pursue the oppressiveness and alienation attributable to ethnicity and disability. One explanation, for the omission of debate upon the specificity of ethnic-related disability and employment, was to be found in the very low number of the non-white ethnic population within the county's demography, compared to other areas of Britain. In addition, the demography of the non-white minority within Britain revealed that they constituted less than 10 per cent of the UK labour force. Within the study area this was considerable lower. Local area related data was difficult to secure. For example, the Devon and Cornwall aggregated totals of ethnic minority groups, as a percentage of the working population with TEC training services experience, was shown to be 0.73 of the total workforce (DfEE, 1998).

Statistical data provided by the 1991 census, on long term illness, ethnic group, and migration into Devon revealed that 0.7 per cent of people within the region belonged to ethnic groups other than white (OPCS, 1994). Nationally, all ethnic minority groups had experienced higher unemployment rates than whites in 1997.

According to the LFS, 1997, 2.4 million adults in Great Britain (5.4 per cent of the population aged 16 and over) were identified as members of ethnic minority populations.

The percentage from ethnic minorities rose to 6.4 per cent of all people of working age. The ILO employment rates showing the ratio of unemployment by ethnic groups compared with whites, revealed that during the 1990s the level of unemployment was higher for ethnic minority groups than it was in the 1980s. However, ES enquiry into ethnicity and labour markets generally lacked detailed debate on disability, labour market participation and ethnicity (see Sly et al., 1998, on ethnicity and work). Coverage of disability and ethnicity in the major study in the UK on disability and employment by Prescott-Clarke (1990) had little to say. Prescott-Clarke (1990) noted,

“94 per cent of those interviewed were white [the other] 6 per cent were spread across other ethnic groups.”

In response to social alienation, black and Asian organisations were formed in the 1990s within the disability movement (see Campbell and Oliver, 1998). It has long been asserted that work disadvantage is commonly associated with ageing (Barnes, 1994), a factor more apparent for older workers with an impairment (Berthoud, 1998). However, 1990s based analysis of the demographic composition of the UK labour force identified a shift towards an older workforce. For example, the LMST (1999) stated, the number of people in the labour force who are over 35 was expected to increase by 1.5 million between 1996 and 2001. The number of people under 35 was forecasted to fall by 0.8 million, whilst the analysis provided suggested that patterns were broadly similar for men and women. In terms of gender balance, the decline in the number of younger women was about half the decline for younger men, whereas the increase in the numbers of older women and older men were quite similar. At the same time, the overall population of Britain has been ageing markedly. Between 1996 and 2001, the number of people of working age over 35 was expected to increase by 1.7 million or 9 per cent. Currently, a considerable number of people over the state retirement age have continued to work (797,000 in 1996). This was forecasted to increase marginally to 839,000 by 2001 (DfEE, 1998). However the employment trends based implications for older disabled

people did not appear as positive, given that the study by McKay for the Family and Working Lives Survey (1998) using a nation-wide representative sample of 9,139 adults aged between 16-69 revealed that,

- . The age of 50 appears to be a turning point after which people find it more difficult to return to the labour force if they become unemployed or leave work for other reasons.

Among men in their 50s, at the time of this research, almost two in three (64 per cent) were in full-time work, while one-in-10 was disabled, not working nor seeking employment, also, one-in-10 was claiming unemployment related benefits. The McKay report stated that, the percentage of people with a disability or health problem was higher among successively older groups, rising to more than one-third of men aged between 65 and 69. McKay adopting a medical model approach (July 1998, pp. 365-69) argued that, once people moved into disability the chances of recovery (sic) appeared to be small. Older workers, with an impairment condition who were active in labour markets, or who sought to enter or re-enter work, experienced dual, indeed triple disadvantage, when gendered oppression was added to disabilism through ageism (Bond et al., 1994). Illustrating the gendered basis of labour market activity in the 1990s, Denny (April 1998, p. 6) noted that the transformation of female workforce participation rates and men's declining workforce participation rate as attributable to sickness and disability, were unlikely to have revealed a complete picture.

Mindful of the exclusion of disabled people from employment data, research by Sly (September, 1996, pp. 413-24) into work participation identified newly integrated LFS (1997) data on disability and labour market participation. Further refinements to the methodological basis for inclusion, those relative to the age composition of workforce participation rate comparisons between disabled and non-disabled people were produced by Sly (August 1998).

Findings by McKay (1996) revealed disabled people experienced greater likelihood of unemployment and also noted that the tapering off in workforce participation commenced

at younger ages than those of their non-disabled cohorts. McKay also found that gender inequalities in workforce participation rates by age were discernible between disabled people and non-disabled people. This synopsis of labour market demography awareness, and altered assessment responses invariably represented only a snapshot of the overall picture of disability employment inclusion or exclusion matters. The core objective remained the exploration of the causal basis for the higher rates of labour market exclusion experienced by disabled people. Participants' views of work and social exclusion tensions were expressed as being synonymous with the lack of conscious anti-disablist social planning that engaged all facets of social exclusion arising from impairment. However, it would be naive to anticipate disability work inclusion as a byword for intensified social policy prioritisation or to presume that existing piecemeal or disparate policy measures could irrevocably alter the cultural framework of centuries of oppression associated with impairment and disability.

5.16 Disabled workers and contemporary labour market policy

The 1990s policy of encouraging increased labour market participation by disabled people (ES, 1995; Thornton and Lunt, 1995; DSS, 1998) was served by the tightening of disability benefit income entitlement (see Van Parijs, 1992; Offe, 1993; Berthoud, 1998). Increased emphasis on labour market discipline within Labour's welfare-to-work programme had produced a deterrent affect towards claiming disability benefits. While benefit reconfigurations were aimed at the reduction of state dependency (see Labour Research, 1998). However, this particular 'crisis of welfare', "solution" had not altered the labour market exclusion of many disabled people. Therefore, a key tenet of this study's thesis has asserted that disabled people's 'right not to work' should be afforded equity within revised 'disability' policy theorisations. With the introduction of the NDDP work compulsion tensions have, theoretically at least, been tempered by the

concept used by New Labour in the statement, 'work for those who can, support for those who cannot'. Although, there can be no guarantee that revised welfare provision had not actually jeopardised disabled peoples' work inclusion ambitions (see Chapter 6). Whilst a minority of this study's participants felt benefit retrenchment weakened disabled people's financial position, and for some, such changes produced a work deterrence outcome, no definitive perception of an ideal future development for means-tested entitlement arose. However, a majority was in favour of retaining a state framework of disability benefit entitlement. When asked to elaborate on this theme, the replies were premised mainly on a perception that a majority of employers would, despite statutory measures, continue to exclude disabled people from work. At a functional and structural level, participants felt that state employment policy needed to do much more to counter the basis for impairment and employment oppression.

At an elementary physical level, there was the problem of physical barriers, notably, inaccessible or inappropriate environments, including the ES-ESDS itself (Abberley, 1996; Imrie, 1998; Hyde, 1998). Furthermore, as Blakemore and Drake (1996) have argued, a policy of individual assimilation was insufficient to meet the employment-related needs of disabled people as a whole. However, the philosophy underpinning contemporary employment policy did not address the requirements, opportunities, expansion or participation of disabled people within full-time work. However, evidence drawn from the five year survey on employment trends, by White and Forth (1996), conducted between 1990 and 1995, had, resulted in a situation where,

Temporary, part-time jobs and self-employment which had become key routes to getting the unemployed back to work, were having limited success.

Similar disadvantageous employment-related outcomes for 'incapacitated' individuals was revealed within research by the Arkelton Centre for Rural Development Research, during the period 1991-1996, using data from the British Household Panel Survey (see JRF, 1998). Analysis of jobs and pay by Elliott and Denny (1998) had showed that

between 1979 and 1993 six Acts of Parliament were passed to reverse, in their words, 'the shift in power within the post-war period from capital to labour'. While a shift in the balance of social forces in favour of capital was apparent (Leonard, 1997; Bauman, 1998; Bryne, 1999), Elliott and Denny (1998) observed the labour market in the 1990s was, still not working well, and though unemployment had fallen since 1993, this was not evenly. Elliott and Denny (1998) suggested that 'it has been replaced by a patchy employment market where unemployment black spots can be found side by side with booming local labour markets'. Crucially, the PSI (1998) study, also revealed that only 6 per cent of the country was operating at full employment, with one worker for each vacancy. In other areas, there were four or five people seeking each job. The time someone spent unemployed had become increasingly determined by his or her qualifications. However, in the context of disability-benefit dependency, Elliott and Denny (1998, p. 11) also noted that,

"There has been a huge rise in the numbers retiring from the work-force into a life dependent on sickness and disability benefits. In the 'recovery phase' of previous economic cycles, such ex-workers would be sucked back into the labour market. This time unemployment has started to rise before making any dent on their numbers. There are now more people claiming benefits for long-term sickness than unemployment related benefits."

This crisis of disability-benefit provision (Offe, 1993, Field, 1997), with increased benefit dependency (Mead, 1997) and employment recruitment selectivity (Barnes et al., 1999), concurred with the Thesis interpretative perspective upon disability-employment, that is the apparent contradiction in the capability of the ESDS and welfare-to-work policy development to overcome social disabilism. The shortcomings of which, as signposted by the policy shift of the NDDP, were complimentary to the furtherance of state de-regulation and marketisation within current work integration measures (Pierson, 1998; Working Brief, 1999).

5.17 ES policy rationale in the 1990s

Lunt and Thornton (1994) argued that, the employment aspirations of many disabled people were restricted due to policy frameworks based upon individuality that could be seen as the dominant discourse, which precluded recognition and discussion of many other positions including structural disadvantages. If, as Oliver (1990) argues the citizenship of disabled people should to be assisted by universal employment rights, rather than individual opportunities, then existing structural barriers within work environments, must be addressed using a social model response. However, within this perspective, there was evidently an inherent danger of legitimating a reductionist approach, where the valorisation of disabled identity appeared to be solely predicated on the ability of disabled people to sustain employment. Clearly, this evaluation risked compounding the stigmatisation of those whom, due to the types of problems cited, remained unable, unlikely or unwilling to enter the world of work. In the context of employment inclusion reformulated aims necessitated a paradigmatic policy shift over ES-ESDS service provision functions, underpinned by an employment inclusion ethos that acknowledged what Lunt and Thornton (1994, p. 226) described as the need for,

“the redesign, reforming, reconstruction and reconstitution of work through inclusionary policies.

They also defended the need for change to production values. As they stated,

“work itself requires re-definition so as to encompass all people of all abilities.”

This observation, though relatively utopian in its ambitions (see Chapter 6), has been viewed as vital, as according to Abberley (1996, p. 70),

“for many disabled people the demand for access to work is seen as a crucial component of the struggle for equality.”

However, current altered employments were not seen as synonymous with raising the threshold of disabled peoples' work participation rates in any meaningful sense. As Philpott (1997) noted, temporary working had grown by a quarter work between the

1980s and the 1990s. Indeed, as Layard (1990) has noted, the unemployed in general stayed on benefit far too long without being given adequate help to return to work. Gooding (1995), noted that the prerequisite, of the need for enhanced employment inclusion flexibility, as signified by Prescott-Clarke (1990), had been acknowledged by recent governments. However, the approach adopted had shifted more definitively to voluntary policy conditions (ES, 1995), an approach to work inclusion opposed by the disability movement who argued instead for strengthened statutory regulation (see Gooding, 1994, 1996; Barnes, 1994; Hyde, 1998; Barnes et al., 1998; Barnes et al., 1999).

Hutton (1997) maintained that, in current policy 'contract is king'. This perception had been borne out by the growth of temporary employment contracts and by increased work insecurity. Neither of which was conducive with broadening employment integration practices simply by means of nominal adjustments to selected workplaces. In the absence of disability work-related registration policy, there emerged the ambiguity of purely discretionary criteria within ESDS service use inclusion principles, where DEAs were instructed to maximise discretion in order to assess disability related criteria of need and the appropriateness of access to specialised provision. Such a policy flexibility does, theoretically, allowed for inclusion of those whose disability lay outside the guidelines of disability classification in the DDA 1995 (Gooding, 1996). However, the core of this paradox, remained the capacity of service providers to match employment requirements of clients with available vacancies, or with employers who operated, or were prepared to create, accessible and suitable work environments.

This matching process, however, has been conducted through a disability work policy framework that to date had failed to challenge the lack of suitable integration policy initiatives by the majority of employers (ES, 1999). Despite the elevated profile of work integration support measures, such as the AtW scheme (Bienart et al., 1996), current policy had patently failed to effectively ameliorate the negative cultural basis for

continued impairment-related work marginalisation. It had also failed to effectively challenge the shortage of accessible, non-disabling work adjusted or flexible compliant employment environments, or suitable integrated work arrangements (see Hunt and Berkowitz, 1992; Roulstone, 1998).

5.18 Summary

This chapter debated study participants' experiences of using the ES-ESDS. Its findings revealed significant dissatisfaction with various features of the service. These included delays in contact by specialist staff, and numerous instances of unmet need, particularly, regarding the ES-ESDS work related assessment process, and, inappropriate service based resource allocation. Commenting upon rehabilitation and training, the results and analysis also revealed that these came in for specific intense criticism. Study participants' perceptions of ESDS-led rehabilitation can be divided between those who felt that there was pressure exerted by some DEAs to undertake rehabilitation, despite opposition to this proposal, and evidence that the methods used, or the environments in which rehabilitation programmes were conducted were deemed inappropriate.

Participants' views regarding the work-related support provided by the ESDS, revealed service-based failure to adequately match the employment requirements of many disabled service users with suitable occupations. Indeed, the comments made regarding participants' perceptions of the quality of the ES-ESDS service indicated a majority of study participants' felt that the quality of ES-ESDS services were less than satisfactory in a number of crucial respects. These included interview procedures, limited assessment of service users' work capacity, and a failure to meet some service users' stated preferences. The outcomes of participation within work placements noted by study participants' showed evidence of poor quality arrangements, and rehabilitation programmes that lacked the potential to furnish participants with suitable work preparedness.

For those with acquired work based skills, placements evoked perceptions of unsuited service provision deemed irrelevant to contemporary work requirements. Training and skills acquisition needs were core features whereby the ESDS were criticised over a lack of choice in training that resulted in inadequate skills attainment for work, other than poor quality low-skilled marginal occupations. The role of DEAs in meeting post-service use training or rehabilitation requirements revealed concerns that ESDS follow-up was restricted, or lacked a necessary level of support felt appropriate to ensure that ex-service users were kept informed of new service based options and employment-related matters.

Indeed, opinions expressed on rehabilitation indicated that a medical model approach to preparing disabled people for work in inadequate or unadjusted working arrangements was a shared experience, and one that acted to dissuade some people from seeking re-entry into employment.

Addressing transformations within disability-employment statutory policy and whether to describe the role of the ES-ESDS as denoting gradual progress, cosmetic change or social stasis, revealed a majority of study participants expressed anxiety over current supported work measures. Generally, these perceptions were indicative of the experience of a lack of support from past, or indeed present employers. Consequently, recent statutory policy or codes of conduct based methods to maximise disabled peoples' employment were generally perceived as unlikely to extend labour recruitment to the more significantly impaired. Consideration of the conceptual outcomes and policy implications drawn from the study, clearly indicated that criticisms levelled at the ES-ESDS reflected not only current service shortcomings, but were overshadowed by the dilemma of moving from ES-ESDS participation into unadjusted work conditions, or remaining unemployed with insufficient after service use communications.

Participants' labour market experiences of social barriers ranged from overt disablist work related circumstances, to the perception that the ES-ESDS itself should do more to overcome the obstacles that disabled people encountered within the service itself by

employing disabled people to advise on work prospects and employment needs. Another discernible lack within the ESDS assessment process, was the absence of any consideration of education options to assist work prospects. Opportunities in continuing education were shown to be an aspect of services currently under-utilised by service providers. Consideration of the perception of the quality of the ESDS employment support resources, signified that many people were totally unaware of the range of options that the ES-ESDS service could provide.

Within the present study, support for extending statutory disability-employment requirement compliance by employers, met with majority agreement. Indeed, most people had argued that existing legislation and current ES-ESDS assessment processes were insufficient to ensure the prospects of disabled people acquiring work other than marginalised forms of employment. The range of skills of study participants revealed two pertinent factors. First, that most respondents had acquired marketable skills but felt a need for more skills acquisition to enable them to compete within current job markets. Second, the question of disability welfare benefits and their impact upon employment, revealed criticism over the complexity of state benefits, examples of unmet income need, and an association of benefit receipt with social stigmatisation. Although a majority supported continuance of flexible disability-related benefit, a significant minority perceived the present DSS system as sanctioning low pay and work-based poverty above meeting the economic work inclusory requirements of disabled people.

Comments made on the shortcomings of the ES-ESDS service often-figured subsequent shifts in the NDDP framework of disability-work related ESDS service based initiatives. For example, extending service-design by means of greater involvement by disabled people in advisory groups such as the NACEPD/ACDET. Participants' commented upon how the ESDS ought to improve the quality of provision by means of disabled people's inclusion in service planning arrangements. This approach was viewed as an essential requisite to positive service development. However, current information

and communication aspects of the service were perceived as inappropriate and amounted to rationing of work access conditions predicated upon the exclusion of more severely impaired individuals from mainstream work involvement, and even ES-ESDS service use.

Effects of the division of labour on disabled people, either as employees or potential employees, were contextualised through experiential accounts rendered by men and women selected to reflect knowledge of disability-employment matters drawn from the perspective of working class disabled persons. Crucial outcomes of the division of labour and relational factors of impairment and work were attributable to the gendered, ethnic, ageist and other work-oppression experiences underpinned by negative socio-cultural exclusion barriers. The labour market structural disadvantages faced by disabled people through work stratification by gender, ethnicity, or age, revealed the paucity of available data on disabled people either included in or excluded from the labour force. Though disability-employment based data had emerged by the late 1990s, both from ES-sanctioned research and from within LFS findings, the debate highlighted the institutional failure of the ES-ESDS through an exposition of the impact upon the service of both operational and ideological tensions present within welfare-to-work state disability policies. The discourse considered evidence of causal factors that shaped state disability-employment policy. At the macro level, state policy failed to address core structural/attitudinal barriers to the attainment of work integration despite proactive measures created through recent DSS/ES reform, or by anti-discriminatory disability statute provision.

Developments within disability-employment integrated policy charted the shifting socio-political context of work with the demise of Beveridge-Keynesian-influenced, state policy. ES policy rationale in the 1990s revealed that the shift from state oriented social planning and welfare founded redistribution to heightened labour discipline and welfare austerity engendered significant ES marketisation. Deregulation of state intervention in

labour markets, coupled with a political desire to encourage disabled people to work, via the welfare-to-work programme, entailed a draconian response to benefit receipt. Indeed, presumed laxity over sickness or disability benefit entitlement prompted major revisions to state welfare values. Prior to the NDDP, the recruitment and retention of disabled people into work, via the welfare-to-work scheme failed to muster sufficient support for this policy objective. This strategy depended on individual initiative with poor quality support for those with more incapacitating impairments.

5.19 Conclusion

The chapter's introduction revealed that study participants' perceptual experiences regarding the use of ES-ESDS showed evidence of unmet work needs and service use dissatisfaction. Major determinants for service shortcomings were interpreted as largely due to the inadequacies of state disability-employment policy. However, the experience of using the ES-ESDS showed that many participants believed that the ES itself had failed to tackle disablism aspects of the ES service itself. For instance, several people indicated that they felt that service providers held little prospects for their attaining employment, contrary to their aspirations and felt capabilities. As a consequence, this deficit produced a condition whereby study participants' evaluations of ES-ESDS work support measures led to assertions of considerable shortcomings in the system.

Within the introduction to this thesis the aims and objectives of the research highlighted the three core aspects of the ES-ESDS under investigation. These were: service based needs assessment processes; the defining of and response to specific work-related needs; and the general utility of state rehabilitation and training schemes in assisting integrated employment outcomes.

This study's findings revealed that the ES-ESDS remained ill-equipped to meet the range of impairment work-related requirements, as defined by the study's participants who were

representative of the less seriously incapacitated. The core area of rehabilitation and training engendered opinions that the service ought to adjust its current practices to ensure that rehabilitation and training were grounded by the work requirements identified by disabled people themselves. Within rehabilitation provision tasks were perceived as too simplistic or did not reflect work preparedness skills acquisition that participants deemed were appropriate to modern work. Individuals from skilled work backgrounds did not rate procedures or support to be of sufficiently high quality. Overall, most participants' views on the support provided by the ESDS indicated that the assessment process was an arrangement imposed on service users, rather than a joint plan of action for work, as described by the welfare-to-work programme.

Many participants' felt ESDS assessments ignored prior work knowledge, and that procedures that sought to instil work flexibility, dexterity or experience, notably within rehabilitation, often failed to meet specific work requirements. Furthermore, participants' perceptions of the quality of the ES-ESDS revealed that a majority failed to acquire sufficiently adequate knowledge of the service. Some participants felt that individual ESDS staffs were not sufficiently conscious of the effects of impairments on a person's work abilities or requirements. There was also the perception that some service providers appeared to be unaware of the social barriers that determined work exclusion. The work related social and cultural alienation which participants experienced and described, undoubtedly served to artificially restrict the types of occupations sought, and reinforced the prevalence of the poor work status of disabled people.

One vital requirement of the ESDS service resided in the perception of the inadequacy of the supportive role of the DEA in meeting service users' post-service communication needs. Another significantly under-developed facet of assessment matters was the issue of access to further or higher education. The majority was in favour of improved policy on disability-employment rights. This included the need for more statutory interventions to affect favourable labour market regulation recruitment or retention practices.

Exploration of the skills, which the study participants actually possessed, revealed that, despite labour market disadvantages, most people had acquired some skills. At the same time, many believed that the ESDS had not provided adequate work preparedness. Others felt that DEA's endeavours to do so were unnecessary or perceived as a substitute to working. On income deprivation, most people were in favour of state benefits in response to unmet employment need, but, were also adamant that benefits should not be used as a license for the tolerance of labour market exclusion or for existing work marginality. Furthermore, while the ES-ESDS had made efforts to publicise the ability of disabled people as employees, there was insufficient effort, prior to the NDDP, to present employers and other service users with comprehensive work support plans or knowledge of services.

Participants' views, on the shifts required in the sphere of rehabilitation values, indicated that existing measures remained inadequate. This evaluation was contextualised by many people as a stigmatising experience, or one clearly lacking in quality as regards work support. Clearly, this tension or ennui supported the proposition of the thesis that current work integration could not succeed without a corresponding shift in social attitudes where the objectives of rehabilitation started from the perspective of acknowledgement of disabled peoples' own views on how to tackle the cultural barriers that currently denied them work integration. A revitalised 'rehabilitation' approach necessitated a paradigmatic shift in the existing normative policy of 'adjusting' the impaired individual to unadjusted disablist work environments. An updated approach also needed to address the state's ineffectual responses to disability-employment. Arguably, current policy had failed to ensure that work integration obligations by employers was little more than nominal - indeed it amounted to basic compliance with the Disability Discrimination Act (1995).

The Disability Discrimination Act (1995), National Disability Council, and Access to Work Programme, were criticised by some participants for being too limited as policy

solutions to work exclusion. Tightened labour regulation, market discipline and the reduction of state disability income entitlement had created both positive and negative outcomes. On the one hand, this policy shift had enabled some disabled people previously excluded from employment improved opportunity to attain employment. On the other hand, those who were unable to secure employment, not only lacked the means to attain work, but also faced the threat of more stigma and increased bureaucracy attached to obtaining state disability-related benefits.

The participants identified three particular perceptions of the development in state response to impairment matters. First, some perceived that recent development constituted discernible progress toward social inclusion. Second, others felt these changes were simply indicative of cosmetic changes to agency implementation. Third, some felt that despite the 1990s reforms too little social integration had yet been established. It was clear that critical perspectives regarding ESDS service shortcomings were linked to the failure of prior work-related legislation, such as the now defunct disability-employment quota.

Whilst the study centred upon participants' perceptions of ES supportive measures, many people expressed concern both with their personal sense of job preparedness, and the lack of employers' awareness of disabled peoples' work-related needs. Indeed, the results showed a distinct lack of familiarity by most non-employed participants with current employment trends or shifting work practices both in the ES-ESDS and in employment. However, although disability-work reforms have addressed some service related concerns and criticisms, which were also broached by this study's participants, the poor priority afforded to integrated working has meant that current policies had failed to substantially advance work integration policy prior to introduction of the New Deal for Disabled People.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The industrial infrastructures of Western societies have developed without reference to the needs of people with impairments. Hence, inaccessible buildings, work processes and public transport systems, and poorly designed housing prevent many from working where or when they want, or achieving their full potential if they find work (Barnes, Mercer and Shakespeare, 1999, p. 112).

6.1 Introduction

This thesis has dealt with the historical background concerning the development of disability-related employment measures and the employment exclusion experienced by disabled persons. In particular, the enquiry has focused upon the early post-war period up until the introduction in 1997 of the New Deal for Disabled Persons.

In line with the aims and objectives, this thesis has postulated that:

1. major policy shifts within the Employment Service Disability Services (ESDS) in the early 1990s did not sufficiently reflect the employment integration needs of disabled persons;
2. in spite of a major social values shift, to welfare-to-work measures for disabled persons these measures proved to be problematic;
3. problems existed because of the following three inter-related negative social factors;
 3. 1 lack of adequate needs assessment and response to disabled persons labour-market requirements;
 3. 2 lack of support for work capability enhancement; and

3. 3 lack of suitable work-integrated environments, accessible jobs and adequate socially 'adjusted' working conditions.

The study was carried out prior to the New Deal for Disabled Persons (NDDP), however, its main concerns raised by this study regarding disabled persons labour-market integration needs, would still appear to prevail. The post-NDDP developments and implications for the employment of disabled persons under the NDDP would require further research that is beyond the ambit of the present study.

The present study examined national developments of disability policy of the Employment Service (ES) in the light of transitions within service philosophy during the 1990s. This analysis examined the major shift on the part of policy makers regarding the 'position' of disabled persons within mainstream labour markets.

Prior to the early 1990s the position of disabled persons was largely one of relative labour-market marginality. Many disabled persons experienced social alienation involving exclusion from or restricted entry into employment that this study will demonstrate were often exploitative. With the collapse in the 1980s and 1990s of the Keynes/Beveridge Welfare State the outcome for disabled persons reconceptualised their relationship to labour markets. Rising state-benefit dependency and de-commodification drove this factor. The perspective of the New Right, with its anti-state-dependency ideology, ushered in a new regime wherein disabled persons were to be exposed to similar labour-market rigours as the non-disabled. While the two-tier disability-employment regulatory system, set in place by Tomlinson (1942), remained relatively intact, the new requirements of what has been described as a 'Schumpeterian Workfare State' (Jessop, 1992, 1994) ensured that the ES, Disability Service faced a need for radical reform. The framework and conception of this revised approach to the involvement of disabled persons in the labour market constituted influenced the theoretical framework of the present study.

The employment service users' own perceptions of the suitability of the ESDS provided insights into the requirements associated with disabled people's views regarding work assessment. However, the critique argues that the fundamental relationship of disabled persons to employment would not alter unless there was a process of corresponding change in social values that acknowledged the need for work integration and cultural value shifts. Without such change in social values, negative perceptions and sustained social barriers would ensure that employment associated alienation would continue.

In the light of these factors, this chapter considered certain work-related and impairment implications plus conclusions that were drawn regarding participants' perceptions of unmet work-related requirements. It also discussed study participants' opinions related to the assessment of their work-related needs. In particular, the discussion has addressed the following concerns:

- major policy shifts within Employment Service Disability Services (ESDS) in the early 1990s had not sufficiently reflected the employment integration needs of disabled persons;
- in spite of a major social values shift in welfare-to-work measures for disabled persons, altered responses remained problematic;

These problems existed because of three inter-related negative social effects:

1. lack of adequate needs assessment and response to disabled persons' labour-market requirements;
2. lack of support for work capability enhancement; and
3. lack of suitable work-integrated environments, accessible jobs and adequate socially 'adjusted' working conditions.

The debate considered state disability-employment shifts that would assist the construction of non-oppressive rehabilitation and training responses, especially those identified in study participants' accounts of unmet work needs. The thesis hypothesis had asserted that without commensurate shifts in social attitudinal anti-disablist policy

designed to assist welfare-to-work integration, assimilative transformations in related ES policy would remain insufficient to ensure social inclusion in work for disabled persons.

The discussion examined and analysed existing state disability work perspectives. However the discourse was also mindful of the social barriers sustained by negative socio-cultural response to disability work integration that necessitated, in the view of study participants, the need for major social shifts in the understanding of the causal basis for the exclusion of disabled people from mainstream work. To this effect, there was also discussion of conflicting values and political opposition to social transformations capable of promoting work-related social inclusion. The discourse argued that such limitations were evident in existing welfare to work policy frameworks.

The discussion of these matters noted the requirement for further in-depth study into the obstacles to integrated work presented by attitudinal and social barriers. Furthermore, the debate considered the necessity for clarification of the rationale for the tensions between varied philosophical interpretative approaches to impairment-related matters. Observations on the prospects for the realisation of meaningful work participation were contextualised by means of interpretative perception of the exploitative and negative social experiences encountered by disabled people in relation to employment. Drawing upon the participants' accounts and disability movement analysis, this thesis has maintained that disability must be understood as a social construction, and that impairment related disadvantage has arisen due to the interpretation of disability as a essentially a medical problem.

In order to provide an explanation for the present lack of adequate need assessment, and response to disabled persons labour-market requirements, the discourse addressed historical developments that had created and perpetuated negative outcomes. Failures of existing state employment policy were shown to have been significantly influenced, not only by the disproportionate extent of work exclusion, but also by the exclusion of disabled people from employment policy formation. The discourse has argued those

conditions of work exclusion, occupational marginalisation and employment oppression arose because of long standing employment tensions that existed from the industrial revolution to the present. However, reference to other competing explanatory theories were also necessary to avoid a simplistic conspiracy theory interpretative account of disabilist social outcomes. For example, to appreciate the rationale for state disability-employment policy shortcomings, it was necessary to acknowledge relational tensions between capital and labour within post-industrial work conditions (Nelson, 1995; Bauman, 1998; Byrne, 1999). Indeed, contemporary shifts in the mode of production were described by O'Brien and Penna (1998, p. 141) as, being an economic transformation akin to the industrial revolution.

Core features of post-industrialism were shown in Kumar (1995) and Allen (1992, p. 181). Study findings revealed that the virtual debarment of disabled people from numerous occupations, a perception (see Chapter 5) reflected the necessity of employers to maximise profitability and capital accumulation within conditions of heightened international competition.

The thesis has argued that the imperatives surrounding this prime motive, has indicated that most employers have remained reluctant to actively assist disability-employment integration through the adoption of pro-active or functional workplace adjustments. Furthermore, as the evidence of employer reluctance to assist this process showed (see Chapter 5), there was a lack of support for the introduction of non-segregated disability-employment policies. The failure of state policy and employers to address such conditions were key factors that prompted the scepticism shown by study participants towards the response process adopted by the ES.

Prior debate asserted that negative socio-cultural outcomes had arisen from unresolved impairment-related work exclusion. Furthermore, it was suggested that work exclusion engendered particular hegemonic perceptions of alienation. This perspective was most evident in the uniformity of study participants' recounting of their understanding of

disabalist cultural phenomenon and its impact upon them. To clarify this, the concept of alienation, discussed below, was subjected to interpretative analysis that linked conceptualisation of alienation, founded upon impairment oppression, to disabled peoples' perceptions of work marginalisation experiences. The debate also addressed recent ES-led studies on disability awareness of employers on disability-employment responses towards positive recruitment or retention practices.

Prior debate has established that most accounts of disability work matters had excluded from their critique factors governing the rationale for either the inclusion or exclusion of disabled people from the broad realm of social production. As Abberley (1996) noted, there has been the danger that an asocial approach to impairment related exclusion had merely legitimated a functionalist account of a materialist perception of impairment. Furthermore, such approaches simply adopted a reductionist view that impairment prevention alone constituted the prime objective of impairment and work integration inquiry processes. Within such an approach, work inclusion values were shaped by the divisive eugenics of individual adjustment to hostile work circumstances. Indeed, as Abberley (1998) has shown, employers' responses to impairment matters ignored the personal implications of the lived experiences of actual impairment (Crow, 1996), which obscured the potential for pro-active planning for meaningful work related social inclusion.

6.2 The rationale of disability critique into the social context of production (and reproduction) within late capitalism.

As the thesis has shown, radical transformation within contemporary welfare regimes undeniably altered the framework for welfare re-distribution practices (Jordan, 1998). This has been discussed by Leonard (1998, p. 35, emphasis in original) who has stated that work constituted,

the central dynamic of capitalist societies involves activities directed towards the accumulation of capital and the reproduction and social regulation of the labour power on which it rests and for which it requires the performance of various kinds of labour, both waged and unwaged. The dominant discourse of work is concerned mainly with waged work, for it functions primarily to reinforce commitment to abstract labour, that which Marxists and feminists would tend to argue subordinates individual needs and capacities to the imperatives of accumulation, profitability and social regulation. Because engaging in waged work not only provides, for most people, a primary means of material subsistence, but also a means of social solidarity — membership of 'the world of work', the dominant discourse of work focuses substantially on these latter benefits and is framed within a notion of work as a *moral obligation*.

Clearly, work ethic values guided the moral imperatives of the social agenda upheld within the welfare-to-work programme, as well as that of New Labour's social regeneration thesis that had reshaped the dynamics of the welfare-to-work programme through introduction of the NDDP. This study has shown that the elementary preconditions for inclusion into the world of work of disabled people necessitated that significant responses were also required by society as a whole to achieve employment inclusion. Such changes would endeavour to create work conditions based on values which Abberley (1996) described as post-disablist and post-exclusionary. However, the viewpoints held by a significant majority of this study's participants indicated that such transformative processes also required more support to bring about these changed work conditions.

In order to alter disability-employment responses based on individual assimilation into a world of work, designed to accommodate non-disabled people, Crow (1996) has argued, that transforming such conditions required greater understanding of the effects on disabled people's employment experience. Crow (1996) suggested that the impact of deep-seated impairment-related oppression were not recognised by either state services or employers. The development of improved social response through enhanced methods of assessment of work needs was also confronted by fundamental changes to employment. These were described by Gorz (1994, pp. 78-9), as indicative of post-industrial society where work was at a premium.

Rapid transformations in contemporary employment, observed in the Policy Studies Institute work-study (1990-95), provided evidence of significantly altered work conditions that undermined the prospect of work progression. These were identified by the ES (1990) as the notion of progression from part-time to full-time working. However, White and Firth (May 1998) have revealed that the idea of temporary work as a stepping stone to permanent jobs had proved disappointing.

As Chapter 5 has shown, most of the study's participants were adamant that their personal aim was to attain or sustain full time working. Others had opted for part-time or more flexible work conditions. However, it was apparent that some had restricted their preferences due to the negative impacts of social and cultural barriers. Indeed, almost a third of those currently unemployed had expressed the hope that part-time work might eventually increase their prospects for full time work. Therefore, it was reasonable to suggest that the PSI findings did not augur well for the work prospects of disabled people currently involuntarily unemployed or under-employed.

The implications of sustained unequal social class conditions and life chances have revealed that disability was a prime determinant of disempowerment and disadvantage. Attention will now turn to the specificity of disability related alienation. In addressing theoretical interpretations of the concept of alienation, Morrison (1995) cited Hegel's (1894) desire to conjoin critical consciousness of self to mankind's striving for a sense of self-actualisation. This might well be described in Hegel's notion of 'estrangement' as symbolic of the struggle for self-actualisation that duly encountered 'oppositions' that deny individuals the goal of self-actualisation in which individuals can experience themselves as not fully human, and that human beings can live their lives without ever being completely developed (Morrison, 1995, pp. 88-98). In addition, as Marx has argued (Meszaros, 1970, p. 16) the alienation of labour was the root cause of the whole complex of alienation's. This sense of alienation was exemplified by Marx (1858/1968, pp. 180-2) noted:

In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations which are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces ... It is not the consciousness of men, that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or ... the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters

Morrison (1997, p. 9), and Meszaros (1970, p. 14), showed that, Marx identified four strands of alienation which aptly describes the social oppression which was experienced by the disabled people in the study's sample. These were:

- i) alienation from the product of labour;
- ii) alienation from productive activity;
- iii) alienation from the human species; and
- iv) alienation from fellow human beings.

Alienation in the study was also shown to be markedly different for disabled people than that experienced by non-disabled people. This evaluative premise was drawn from the views of those who had acquired impairment after long periods in open employment. For instance, disabled people active in labour markets might experience all four conditions shared by employed non-disabled people, though this also entailed marked differences in the individual outcome which resulted from personal impairment oppression (Oliver, 1990). Finkelstein (1980), contributing to an understanding of the conditions of an alienated self, discussed the social position of disabled people. He argued that the perceptions of 'social' loss held by disabled people (in the materialist sense that Marxism implies) was both qualitatively and quantitatively separated from that of the majority of non-disabled peoples' experiences. The concept of alienation, then, harboured distinct meaning for those with impairments, albeit a 'condition' shared by some non-disabled people who for a variety of reasons such as gender exclusion, older age, and chronic

illness were also unable to enter or remain within mainstream environments (Crow, 1996) including employment.

However, for those disabled people effectively denied participation in labour markets alienated conditions appeared attributable not solely to the current mode of production (with its concomitant total sense of alienation as described by Marx) but additionally for many, it denoted a situation whereby alienation from the relations of production implied a distinctive characterisation. This was particularly true of those literally unable to physically access or utilise the products of the labours of others. The internalisation of a negative self-image has long been recognised as an attributed characteristic of the self-perceptions of many disabled people. Its subsequent effects upon disabled people have been shown to constitute a major social barrier to the realisation of work participation (Barnes, 1994; Shakespeare, 1998; Oliver, 1990; Morris, 1996). French (1991), and the DPI (1998), have argued that this phenomenon occurred through the perception of 'the self' as alien, that is, an impaired being ostracised and marginalised by society and viewed as abnormal.

The fact that disabled persons are active within the labour market does not essentially alter their alienated condition. It is assumed that disabled people's productive capacity or ability is likely to be less than that of non-disabled people. Here, we are confronted by the presumed and actual productive capacity or potential held by individual disabled employees. However, it had previously been argued that empirical evidence had not supported the view that disabled workers were inherently less productive than their non-disabled peers.

At this point it may help to further and deepen the analysis in this conclusion by incorporating Marx's understanding of conditions of production and their relationship to impairment. For example, Marx had noted that the value of any commodity was determined by the labour time it cost to produce, however, he had also argued that 'necessary labour time' to produce commodities was not a fixed entity (Marx 1973, p. 15;

see also Marx 1990; Aglietta, 1987 and Abberley 1998). In addition, significant technological development has extended the potential of the disabled worker, as one of the study's participant noted, "most machinery can be altered at little cost to enable disabled people to operate it."

Amongst the views expressed by participants in this study, evidence of employer acceptance or opposition to flexible and innovative working arrangements or needs had been identified. Nonetheless, amongst the opinions extrapolated from amongst a small minority of this study's employed participants, the onus of "give" on this issue, was weighted toward the employee rather than the employer. Given that statutory policy for the creation of reasonable adjustments to work environments had passed from the proclaimed stage to the statutory phase, it was possible that for some disabled people work will become more likely. However this prospect was also subject to the dynamics of increased labour market downsizing in developed economies (Bauman, 1998).

6.3 The employment related needs of disabled people

Given rapid changes in working and increased employment participation, disabled people's work activity may well expand in service sectors where work trends signified growth of low-skilled, part-time or short-term employment (Gorz, 1994). Although there was supportive evidence of relative increase in labour activity within supported work, recruitment had become more selective and was also restricted to those least incapacitated (Hyde, 1998).

Analysis of the demography of the employment circumstances of disabled people suggests that there were significant numbers of disabled workers who did not conform to the reserve army of labour theses. Disabled peoples' work exclusion or labour market activity suggested that many did not view themselves as belonging to the now somewhat redundant notion of a reserve army of labour. However, many who possessed valued

work skills periodically moved from employment to unemployment. There was also the discouraged worker syndrome, highly applicable to disabled people, whereby involuntary resignation (by those made redundant, laid-off or unemployed) from pursuit of employment was markedly higher than that experienced by non-disabled workers (Hyde, 1996; Meager et al., 1999).

To understand the lack of support for work capability enhancement, we also need to appreciate the specificity of meaning regarding perceptions of alienation, referred to above, as collectively felt by disabled people. From alienation caused by work exclusion to that caused by oppressive working conditions, there exists the fact that the process of production is itself the major causality of acquired impairment. It is this factor of disablement and the exclusion sustained through segregated 're-adjustments' to altered work conditions that explains the opposition to re-entering or remaining in work. This sense of rejection from the mainstream was a discernible and tangible perception of impairment alienation expressed by several people in this study. The fact that participants were purposively selected from the lower strata of the working class in order to reflect impairment and work oppression from this under-researched area (Barton, 1996) provided some explanation for the hostility shown by some study participants. Indeed, around one in nine expressed some hostility to resuming work under such oppressive conditions. Put simply, most employers had simply acquiesced to disabled workers feelings of reluctance to remain within work without adequate support. Given that most people have acquired impairments or have become disabled as a consequence of their participation in the labour market, opposition to re-assimilation into hostile work environments was hardly surprising.

In the period 1995-96 for instance 16,406 people within Britain received substantial injuries whilst working. These were described by the Health and Safety Executive as 'Non-fatal major injuries' (Health and Safety Executive Annual Report, 1997, pp. 110-111). During conversation in November 1997 with a member of the HSE statistical

section, an agency official remarked that, 'annual totals were not an accurate summation of the true extent of work related acquired impairment'. The practice of non-recording on the part of many industries, even of substantial work-based injury, was, this official believed, much higher than officially recorded totals indicated (see Nichols, 1996).

6.4 The changing ideological context of social disabilism

Significant social barriers to the realisation of integrated employment development have persisted despite a discernible shift being apparent in both departments of state disability policy regulation (ES, 1990, 1999; DSS, 1998). Anti-discriminatory policy in the form of the DDA was based upon long-term intent to overturn labour market disincentives.

However, there was little universal evidence that employers could or would address in sufficient scale the need to provide for what the DDA defined as "reasonable adjustments" to work environments (Roulstone, 1998; Meager et al., May 1999). While a growing minority of companies have committed themselves to employment integration via the Employers Forum on Disability (EFD) or the ES 'two-ticks' (EFD, Summer, 1996), the vast majority of companies have appeared to rely upon a similar stance to that prevailing during the period of the disability quota. That is, one of relative indifference.

However, priority status afforded to disabled people within 'integrated' training schemes together with the enhancement of fiscal measures to actively 'assist' disabled people into employment has ignored critical labour market problems. Problems such as 'lack of synchrony between labour supply and demand' or 'the need for restructuring of ES frameworks and policy ethos' facing the architects of the New Deal have been debated by Finn (1997, pp. 247-258) and by Turock and Webster (1998, pp. 309-328).

Throughout the 1990s, labour movement response to disability related work and social exclusion presented a pragmatic response to social model values that echoed post-

disablist integrated work values. The framework of union support has been aimed at shifting the agenda of employers and policy makers toward the prioritisation of altered work cultures and anti-disabilism in the workplace (TUC, 1996). The TUC 1997 Conference entitled "New Deal, new future" showed tacit support for welfare-to-work policy, although reservations were voiced. Concerns raised by unions centred upon the problems of increased work insecurity and exploitative working conditions (see Labour Research, January 1998, pp. 19-20), that harked back to the poor deal afforded disabled people under the old MSC.

To date, groundwork for the enhancement of disabled people's labour market activity has been largely derived from the impact of the HELIOS programmes 1 and 2. Powell and Lovelock (1997) described these as having held mixed fortunes for disabled people. Their criticisms reflected those made by the DPI with respect to selective recruitment and sustained segregation between different forms of impairment-related incapacitation. Although such programmes have yielded some gains with empowerment afforded to individuals through work, as Gorz (1994, p. 78) has noted, labour market insecurity was an integral feature of modern working conditions. Clearly, in the circumstances shown below disabled people were over-represented, for as Gorz (1994, p. 78) remarked,

in all the industrially developed countries, between 40 and 50 per cent of the active population are in what is called "atypical" employment - precarious, part-time, temporary or short-term jobs with periods of unemployment in between.

Altered conditions of work in the 1990s did little to offset the lack of suitable work-integrated environments, accessible jobs or adequate socially 'adjusted' working conditions. The misconception of a 'natural' virtually automatic association between illness and disability (Finkelstein, 1980) undoubtedly fuelled increased progression into the post-1980s 'disability benefits' regime. By the early 1990s, increased numbers of people (DSS, 1998) were seeking to claim out-of-work sickness or disability-related welfare. These state programmes remained intact despite two decades of far-reaching

deregulatory measures to avert welfare dependency (Dean, 1996). Throughout the preceding discussion it has been argued that the disability realm of the welfare state had become far more complex reflecting the conflicting needs of both capital and labour, a process succinctly described by Stone (1985), and Offe (1993).

Working class people especially paid a significant price in terms of health and disability within employment. As the General Household Survey (1996) showed, disability and illness were closely related to class, and there had been a substantial rise in state benefit dependence (Townsend 1988; Sennet and Cobb, 1993; Pierson, 1998). From 1972 to 1996 the number of people who identified having had a long-term illness or disability had risen by sixty-six percent. In manual households twenty-four per cent of men said they had a long-standing illness that limited their activities, compared to seventeen per cent in non-manual households. The corresponding figures for women were twenty-five per cent and twenty per cent. Despite this trend, a DSS report by Swales (1998) suggested that:

The growing numbers of disabled people claiming benefits because they are “incapable of work” may be due to increased job competition ... the growth in claims for such benefit as Incapacity benefit was not caused by more new claims but by people staying on the benefits longer.

The report concluded, ‘few of those who lost their benefit since incapacity benefit was introduced in 1995 with tougher [eligibility] tests have found work’. As an indication of the nature of current labour market insecurity Ahmed (The Guardian 23 June 1997, p. 17) noted,

“in a recent survey British employees were shown to work longer hours and take shorter holidays than their counterparts in the rest of Europe a factor predicated on the effects of efficiency drives in the 1980s which produced a workforce, more willing to take on a greater burden at work.”

However, this critique omitted to mention that altered working had also fuelled a rise in state benefit dependence. Bolderson (1991) noted that disability benefits had expanded and diversified to meet a broader range of needs. However, many of this study’s participants cited confusion over both state benefits and disability income compensation.

Two examples of which were as follows:

I have never claimed any disability benefit. When I was unemployed I did get social security - that's a laugh some security - but I didn't know that there was a benefit for disabled people like me who are not very disabled. I can't understand the DSS, they seem to make it more difficult to get any help if you are working. But, I would have to say that even getting disability benefit does not stop me from working. This is mostly because I have always tried to work. After I became disabled I was still very determined to try to get another job. Mind you I can see why some people give-up and just try to manage on benefits.

The reason I feel that claiming benefits would not stop me from working is simply because I don't believe in not working. I have never claimed disability benefit, though I have claimed income support before now. If disabled people are incapable of working they should be made to. The government ought to ensure that all disabled people who want to work should be able to get a job. If you only work part-time and you need to claim some sort of disability allowance you should be told that you might be able to claim it. Whenever I have been unemployed I was never told what sort of benefits I might get.

By far the majority of study participants had expressed concern over the degree of complexity associated with the social security benefits system, and disability benefit entitlement. As part of the emancipatory research approach adopted, those who stated that benefit income was a matter of direct concern were informed of disability-support/advice in the region that were independent from the state system, they, and others were also made aware of the DSS-based disability help line for clarification of benefit matters. Empirical findings in Social Trends (1999) revealed that in the UK amongst males aged 56-59 one-in-five was dependant upon Incapacity Benefit, while amongst those aged 60-64 the number was one-in-four. However, to appreciate the dynamic of these transformations requires that we do not limit analysis to the effects upon patterns of employment, such as shifting stratification's within labour markets (Crompton, 1993; Bradley, 1996). For disabled people currently in work or seeking employment, changes to the nature of disablement presented an obvious Janus-like dilemma. For instance, whilst on the one hand increased policy for assisting disabled people to work adopted by the ES-ESDS raised the profile of disabled people's employment rights, the failure of

social policy to match this shift towards work inclusion was made apparent by the lack of workplace policy shifts to accommodate this design.

Furthermore, policies were still conducted via what Finkelstein (1993a) has viewed as negative administrative or institutional values. That is to say social agencies have remained devoid of the input of disabled people's own perceptions of their requirements either as opinion forgers or as service users. Within industry there has also been little empirical evidence of disabled employees requirements having been met by structural adaptation or cultural development to accommodate work inclusion aims (Roulstone, 1998). Where such support did exist was within the ES 'supported' employment realm. However, there was clearly a need to ensure that more diverse evidence is provided in order that such arenas as works councils, work forums and quality control agendas might be influenced by such considerations (Abercrombie et al., 1992; Kessler and Bayliss, 1992; Jefferson, 1997).

6.5 Real opportunities in labour markets

The question of work opportunities, or rather the paramount lack of them, coloured the entire post-war debate on the labour market needs of disabled people in supported or open employment. Prescott-Clarke (1990) indicated that for many disabled people, training for a job in open work (or sheltered employment) was not a realistic option. The explanation provided tended to overlook the impact of disablist factors on labour force activity. Study participants were asked their views on the Disability Discrimination Act (1995) and to comment on their evaluation of the implications of the legislation. Examples of their remarks indicate the weak position of unskilled and marginalised members of the workforce.

I feel that the Act should make sure that employers are not able to discriminate against disabled people. When I write to employers now I never tell them I have a disability cause when I pointed it out I never got a

reply. If the new Act made employers give an interview to all disabled people, in their area who could do the work, then it might help ... but I can never see that happening.

Left to their own I doubt whether too many employers would chose to plan their workplaces to fit the needs of disabled workers. This new Act does offer some opportunity for disabled people, but it doesn't go far enough. I mean, the types of changes made usually only apply to those with minor handicaps. Some of the more severely disabled people those who have few skills are not able to convince employers that they could do the job.

In this line of enquiry participants were also asked: What are your views regarding the need to strengthen disability policy by passing more anti-discrimination laws? Their replies (shown below) denoted a high degree of scepticism on such policy shift matters.

I have worked as a nurse in the United States and there they have strong laws to protect the disabled. They [the USA] have laws that mean it is illegal to discriminate against the disabled on almost all counts. This applies to public transport which, as well as buildings, have to be accessible to disabled people. As far as I can tell there is nothing as positive as that in the new law?

The government will have to make more effort to ensure that the large number of disabled people who are unable to find the type of jobs they want are given more help.

Well, they've got good laws ... but a lot of the problem is that managers often do not talk to staff. I worked with one employer where the manager had arranged for me to leave early to avoid the rush hour, but they forgot to tell me. One day the Personnel Officer asked why I was still there at leaving time! I said I always left after most other people had gone, then he informed me of the company [policy] in my situation.

6.6 Short-term observation of the outcome of affects upon disabled persons of work discipline oriented state benefit reform

The findings shown by a select number of reports shown below clarify the prognosis that more people having sought to avoid unemployment poverty by seeking entry into sickness or disability benefits were 'encouraged' to abandon this strategy. The examples shown illustrate the outcomes presented in the shift from Invalidity Benefit to Incapacity Benefit. This altered condition resulted in more than just a change of name, as Swales (1998, p. 1) revealed, the policy objective of Incapacity Benefit (IB) was,

“to target incapacity provision across the social security system on those whose medical condition means it is unreasonable to expect them to be available for work.”

However, the development of this policy shift noted by Knight and Fletcher (October 1996), showed that,

“the recent introduction of the “All Work Test” had caused an increase in the number of people leaving Incapacity Benefit and moving to Unemployment Benefit.”

The report’s authors suggested, however, that this process had failed to yield as high a number of claimants undertaking this shift as anticipated. Findings suggested that most of those who left IB became inactive, that is they either retired or moved to another benefit. The proportion who found work was about 25 per cent, this compared less favourably with corresponding proportions ‘for all mainstream benefit clients and for over 50’s which were 54 per cent and 42 per cent respectively. The study by Knight and Fletcher found that those who became inactive were likely to enter into sickness benefits. Nearly a quarter of all ex-IB clients went back onto sickness benefits, the proportion rising to closer to 30 per cent for those aged 45 and over. Furthermore, the patterns of exits were markedly different from that of mainstream clients with very few entering training and education. A DSS commissioned study by Dorsett et al., (1998), entitled Leaving Incapacity Benefit found the take-up of benefits was very low and that most were denied benefits because of the All Work Test. The report stated that compared to those remaining on benefit both voluntary and disallowed leavers were much younger and more likely to be women. It was noted that even amongst those who had paid jobs only 18 per cent denied that poor health had had any effect on their capacity to work. Interestingly, as the authors noted, and as this study has argued, unaddressed disablist social barriers often outweighed the impact of impairment for many people. As the authors stated.

On the other hand, their reports of experiences of barriers placed in the way of work did not emphasise their disability, or even an employer’s likely view, as much as problems associated with their age, qualifications

and local competition for jobs ... Even the unemployed felt that other barriers to work were more significant than their disability; only those among the large numbers still classifying themselves as being sick and disabled placed their disability to the fore among reasons that make looking for work more difficult.

A third study entitled Incapacity Benefit Tracking Exercise by Swales for the DSS (November, 1998) examined benefits claimed by people who left IB, particularly by those who were found capable of work according to the All Work Test (that is, disallowed claimants). As the report's author noted, benefit-claiming behaviour was tracked using the Departmental Central Index (DCI). The ES argued that the DCI was best used to monitor and understand claiming behaviour rather than for calculating actual benefit receipt. However, as Swales (November 1998) noted, 300,000 persons were to be removed from benefits, furthermore, although this estimate was subsequently revised downwards, it was still expected that significant numbers would be found to be capable of work.

Furthermore, Swales concluded that a significant minority of entitled disabled persons did not make any benefit claims at all. Disabled persons, either as benefit recipients or unemployed, were subject to the normative regulatory regime ethos of both sectors of state benefits. Although processes of policy restructuring and posited expansion of alternatives to benefit dependency revealed that significant numbers of people did not qualify for particular forms of disability benefit.

However, such commentary needs to be weighted against the types of criticisms made by disabled people, including 'inadequate' employment services and draconian disability social security regimes operating in isolation from other dimensions of social exclusion (UPIAS, 1976, p. 15).

6.7 Development of non-segregated state disability policy

Prior discourse on the integration of disability services revealed that a majority of this study's participants agreed with integration. It had also been suggested that integration aims underpinned the values shown by those service providers interviewed (Chapter 4) on policy for meeting disabled persons employment-related needs. In addition to ES-ESDS work-related provision, other community-based services were actively engaged in disability-related needs.

Whilst for the purposes of integrated services the restrictive function of existing segregated state-led (or voluntary sector) day-centres presented a dilemma as a suitable starting point. Comments expressed by a few of this study's participants regarding 'therapeutic or assimilative' work-training environments indicated that these also needed to be made more accountable to service users.

Addressing the de-segregation of existing employment oriented services inevitably raised questions on the shortcomings of both a physical, structural and ideological nature of such services. Prior debate has addressed the core of criticisms of the employment service. However, there were also a number of community-based agencies that included disabled persons amongst their client-base. Essentially these groups were usually representative of organisations for disabled people, namely state-health led therapeutic services, voluntary or local authority programmes. Historically, the role of these agencies invariably reflected a legacy of segmentation specific to the conditions of agency cultural specific ideology that these diverse organisations represented.

Ostensibly, such bodies often presented a 'special pleading' approach to client need and one that sought to win a favourable response for individuals from disability services. This approach to disabled people's employment need was roundly condemned by disability movement theorists as indicative of a dependency paradigm (Abberley, 1992).

Within the general critique presented by the current study it has been argued that prior to the early 1990s reconstituted services, operative within proto-Fordist replicated frameworks, selected their client base with the agreement of the DRO-DEA. The

normative values of recruitment were discernible in the inhospitability and inaccessibility of these particular production centres. This was particularly the case for those whose impairment oppression necessitated a condition of society wide cultural or physical transformation.

Finkelstein, Abberley and others have indicated that there was the potential for more flexibility and inclusion of disabled persons in the labour force. Two examples of disabled people's perceptions of labour market exclusion illustrate the outcomes of employment exclusion.

There are still a lot of disabled people who cannot get work - even people like me who are not too disabled have a heck of a job to find work that is either suitable or possible to do. So I don't think that most firms would make too great an effort on their own. Say you have an accident and you can't work as well as before then the government should make sure you have a right to a job, to at least earn a living and do something - why waste all that skill?

I think that if you had a legal thing about it [discrimination], employers would be frightened to employ you ... I think that it would have to be something like ... where employers should take on a number of disabled people. [Do you mean like a quota system?] Yes, then employers would employ disabled people because they can do the work. So, I suppose you would have to make some sort of law just to get an interview?

Part of the strategy for a more inclusive disability policy has existed in the need to address, and arguably redress, the gulf between nationally operated agencies, such as TECs and the comparative Cinderella or 'peripheral' sector of low-paid often non-remunerative 'rehabilitation' schemes, including those local state or voluntary sector projects, operating as collectives that deliver individual-based therapeutic provisions. Social model response in the divergent areas of existing segregated or non-segregated programmes have been concerned with the equipping of disabled persons with social or work-related skills which has inevitably necessitated the attainment of a blue-print of multi-agency service user response to unidentified need, in order to pursue a policy agenda influenced by the ethics of service user-empowerment.

6.8 Policy development - implications for service users

Despite the discernible increase of work availability, most study participants remained sceptical of the capacity of the ES-ESDS to exploit this situation to their benefit. The types of opinion shown below indicate this sense of concern.

You go to see them hoping that they can sort out something for you, but in my case, the result was very poor, and I would have to say that they were unable to do this.

I had this feeling that I wasn't in charge of the situation. I didn't seem to have any choice, and I felt that I wasn't listened to. There was little response towards my feelings or opinions on what I was looking for from them, so I felt that the service was Poor. The suggestions that the DEA made were not really going to help me find a suitable job.

Although I thought the ES was good, this was because they helped me to get employment, and I'm grateful for that. I did have to keep on at them to see things my way, and to push for what I wanted. I felt that I was not told enough about what they could do for me, especially If I lost my present job.

In the introduction, the paucity of research into working class people's experiences of disability was identified. On the matter of class inequality and its salience within contemporary society, Lee (1994, pp. 408-410) has asserted, that despite cultural and political transformations in the 1990s, class remained a potent social factor. Lee (1994, p. 409) argued,

"I particularly want to claim that class relationships exist within, as well as without, the modern state and public sector, that class processes are not abolished with the sidelining of the old style entrepreneurial capitalists."

For, as Lee (1994, p. 410) has noted, ownership interest and the prime motive, realisation of profits, far from declining in importance have become institutionalised in the financial, i. e. pecuniary control systems of the modern enterprise, 'this is why the constraint of class relations and processes is still felt by us all ... class has largely been transformed from a substantive relationship between persons into a complex of formal relationships between pecuniary classifications.' Crompton (1993, p. 4), also considered

the continuing importance of class influences in social stratification and occupational classification principles. Crompton stated,

“the discourse of class has become one of the key concepts through which we can begin to understand [the modern world]. Class therefore is a major organising concept in the exploration of contemporary stratification systems.”

Within this classificatory system, Prescott-Clarke (1990) noted,

“disabled workers are nearly twice as likely as non-disabled workers to lack formal educational qualifications, while manual occupational status and low levels of qualifications tended to be associated with an increased incidence of disabled unemployment, disabled employees are likely to be under-represented in the professional and managerial occupations or non-manual jobs, but disproportionately represented in manual, semi-skilled and unskilled employment.”

Demographically, as stated earlier in the study, there was evidence to show that the lower the occupational status of disabled people the greater was the extent of poverty and disadvantage experienced (Townsend 1979; Lonsdale, 1990; Berthoud et al., 1993). Indeed the prevalence of class influence upon the acquirement of impairment had been borne out by earlier studies (Wilkinson, 1996, p. 105). The Department of Health (1998, pp. 91-94) revealed details on the demography of health and class-linked inequality, as also Townsend et al., (1992). Indeed, as Massie (1994, p. 25) remarked, although it would be wrong to suggest that disability and poverty were synonymous, the correlation was high. Investigation into the literature on disability has revealed that the advent of high technology such as artificial intelligence systems (Copeland, 1993) could diminish the impact of physical and/or mental impairment that prior to this technology would have meant virtual isolation for so many, because mechanisms can now be developed for the enhancement of work-relating communications and productivity. From the manifesto of UPIAS (1976) to that produced by the Disability Manifesto Working Group (1993), there has existed the need to strengthen demands for the overcoming of all forms of alienation.

One facet of action is to enhance the use of positive application of new technological innovations for enhanced self-determined autonomy, whilst acknowledging the fallacy of subjective normative idealisations that seek to deny the specificity of impairments.

Strategically, within the process of de-regulation of state sector training facilities, the break-up of the state-led rehabilitation and training sector is nearing completion. The protests raised about asset stripping and commercial graft made by Finn (1993, pp. 7-8) testify to the strength of the desire for privatised competition. What does remain, however, in the mixed economy of ESDS provision is increasing commercialisation. It is within the welfare sector of disability supportive measures, where limited powers held by some officials - to paraphrase Lipsky (1969) 'street level bureaucracy', wherein service providers can promote a sense of limited reciprocity and mutual benefit (Hudson, 1989).

Heron and Dwyer (1999, pp. 91-104) in their interpretative analysis of disability and employment policy, have argued that while New Labour's back-to-work philosophy has had an impact upon the poor working position of disabled people, recent policy impetus has revealed a notable shift from compelling disabled people to work to a policy of encouraging them to seek work. Reviewing the Green Paper on Disability Benefit Reforms and the New Deal for Disabled People, six months after its inception, Doorn (1998/1999, p. 2, 10-13) has noted the lack of awareness, on the part of ES policy makers and staff, of how 'job un-ready' a sizeable part of the New Deal population was.

Doorn has argued, that the Disability Rights Commission (DRC) may prove to be a linchpin around which job opportunity, including supported work may develop, though he urged the DRC to make greater efforts than had previously been realised to ensure that employers considered employing disabled people. Doorn (1998/1999, p. 14) stated,

The proposed expansion of specialist disability services and the extra £30 million funding available for the New Deal for Disabled People will have little effect unless the DRC can genuinely create, what Margaret Hodge MP, the Minister for Disabled People calls, "an inclusive society".

The constitution in 'A New Contract for Welfare - Principles into Practice' (28 October, 1998) set out criteria for meeting the work-related needs of disabled people as well as the need for a more comprehensive, less stigmatising qualifying criteria. This approach set out in 'Principle Four', included reforming the All Work Test so that it tells us about people's capacity as well as incapacity. This was arguably recognition of the dilemma of a too stringent workfare approach to regulation of disabled people's labour market conditions. In a review of the Welfare Reform and Pensions Bill, Ward (The Guardian, 11 February, 1999) has described the advent of need for 'tightening-up' of Incapacity Benefit qualifying criteria viewed as part of a concerted welfare to work strategy. The onus of claimant responsibility, reciprocity in receipt of benefit by means of an active job search approach has remained a central tenet. It is more notable, however, that the rhetoric has appeared less deterministic than earlier critiques on workfare or welfare-to-work policy approaches appeared to endorse.

Foundations of poverty linked with impairment lay in devaluation of those with impairments and was evident in the disadvantaged labour market position of the majority of disabled people. Inequality of socio-economic status together with inherent additional costs associated with impairment, has reflected financial disadvantage common to disabled people (Berthoud, 1998; Barnes et al., pp. 130-140).

Abberley (1996, p. 69) commented,

“Whilst other needs can be met for impaired people, and this can perhaps be done in a non-oppressive manner, the one need that cannot be met for those unable to labour is the need for work.”

The problem of the valorisation of disabled identity (Gleeson, 1999, pp. 129-36; Morris, 1991) interpreted as predicated upon inclusion into existing productive relations, was a strong point of contention noted by several of the present study's participants. The extent of perceptions of alienation by disabled people from employment participation clearly impacted upon the opportunity of attaining income derived from work. Estrangement from employment was noted by Martin and White (1988, p. 54) who found that 54 per

cent of disabled adults lived in households containing no wage earners whatsoever (see also Berthoud, 1998; Barnes et al., 1999, pp. 110-11). The struggle for social inclusion parity between non-disabled and disabled people, therefore, must include the opportunity and right to secure an adequate income.

Where employment fails to provide a basis for relative earnings equalisation, the case for state intervention (to establish a guaranteed adequate income) inevitably has remained an improbable (though apparent, albeit insufficient alternative) to earned poverty, or unemployment and poverty (Van Parijs, 1992; Thompson, 1999; Viet-Wilson, 1994; Massie, 1994). Current targeted benefits for disabled people, whether with or without work (Berthoud, 1998), have been a result of campaign and compromise that at best have reflected the normalisation thesis (see Brown and Smith, 1992), or at worst has consciously reinforced negative evaluations of those with impairments (Abberley, 1996). Within disability research and analysis, emphasis has been placed upon phases of transition in the modes of production and their implications for disabled people (Finkelstein, 1980; Oliver, 1990; Gleeson, 1999; Barnes et al., 1999, pp. 83-6; Priestley, 1999, pp. 29-31). These historical-materialist critiques pivoted upon recent radical transformations within the mode of production and employment in the 1980s and 1990s (Bain, 1997; Philpott, 1997, p. 11; OECD, 1998, pp. 9-11), such as the growth of flexible contracted part-time, or short term employment with limited statutory protections or rights (Oliver, 1995, p. 134) for disabled and non-disabled alike (OECD, 1998, pp. 69-107; Jefferson, 1997, pp. 1-16; Leonard, 1998; Bauman, 1998).

Contemporary disability policy adjustments signify a major shift from state-led provision toward pluralist or mixed economy approaches, which strengthen private market determinants (Lunt and Thornton, 1994; Hyde, 1996). One consequence of the marketisation of prior state-led agencies concerns the intrinsic nature or ethos of future service provision (Simpkins, 1994; Priestley, 1999). That is to say, what supportive employment or welfare provision will private sector organisations see fit to introduce,

maintain or expand (Barnes et al., 1998, pp. 21-29; Gleeson, 1999)? Essentially, what responses can a market-led, purely profit-driven approach, to disabled people's employment need actually produce? Taylor (1990, pp. 11-23) has argued that free-market policies have threatened the essential concord of post-war social democratic regimes and the ways de-regulated 'services' have operated with respect to consumer need (Bocock, 1993; Barton, 1994, p. 45; Bauman, 1998). This issue was considered by Wolfsenberger (1989), who in similar vein to Oliver (1990), argued, that in a 'post primary production society' such as Britain,

all [human] services have stated purposes, or 'manifest functions', it is the 'latent functions' of human services which are often the most powerful ... their unspecified function is to create and sustain large numbers of dependant and devalued people in order to secure employment for others.

He implied that regulatory functions had altered the characteristic operative role and practice (including spatio-temporal dynamics between state and non-state agencies), but that services that sustained power inequality (Lukes, 1973) controlled and regulated the consumption of the population (Bocock, 1993). In the case of employment services, motivations for pluralism denoted the consensus over pressures for further marketisation of state-led services (Jordan, 1998). Indeed, Thornton and Lunt (1995, pp. 35-8), suggested that the 1990s shift from state service monopoly to extended pluralism had produced negative effects on those most severely impaired with regard to entry into adequate rehabilitation or training or employment, as this study has demonstrated.

Appendix 1

Interviews with Service Providers

Text of chapter four interviews (1 to 4) involving local area disability-related service providers. The second interview, with the DEA, was not tape-recorded, however the other three interviews were.

Interview One: Conducted with an area Manager of a PACT, in June 1997, involved a broadly unstructured conversation conducted over a period of approximately 20 minutes.

Q 1 How are clients referred to your Agency?

Reply:

After consultation either with the Job Centre's, or by referral from a DEA, we see clients to arrange a 'mutual plan of action for the clients needs'. I emphasise that we work with the client to achieve this - we try to cater to their perceptions of need.

Q 2 What does this usually involve?

Reply:

We would either offer an assessment, or we would simply discuss options for that person. This would depend on whether they (the client), had a viable course of action in mind, or a possible aim which might be pursued.

Q 3 What degree of assessment might this involve?

Reply:

We might judge the degree of disability with the client in order to recognise the likelihood of them continuing in the type of occupation which they had normally pursued. In the event of this no longer being viable, for instance if they had been recommended to the agency as a consequence of their disability whereby they could no longer sustain a career in that type of trade or employment, then we would examine alternatives.

Q 4 What sort of options might this include?

Reply:

This could take the form of skill training, sheltered, or supported employment. It will depend on the individual clients needs. Support within their current employment to assist in adapting the workplace, or perhaps, providing work related equipment or advice.

Q 5 How many disabled people would PACT usually serve?

Reply:

The ordinary ES staff normally deals with some 80% of disabled people. Therefore, we would only deal with the 20% who are usually severally disabled, or who encountered particular problems in the labour market.

Q 6 What sort of forward planning does this require?

Reply:

Well if I were to indicate four areas of consideration you will appreciate that our client base is difficult to assess. In order to do this we need to consider the following:

- 1). How many clients are we likely to see in a given year?
- 2). What numbers of disabled people will require the services of PACT in a given year?
- 3). What types of employment needs might they require?
- 4). What factors in the local labour market would need to be addressed to provide for the employment needs or re-location of clients?

Q 7 Given these factors, what steps do you take to ensure that the disabled population are aware of the service?

Reply:

We liaise with local GPs to ensure that they are aware of the service and to encourage appropriate referrals.

Q 8 In light of the Disability Discrimination Act 1995, how do you envision the short term future developments of the Agency ?

Reply:

Well, as you will appreciate I cannot discuss these matters. It will of course, to a large extent, depend on the opportunities afforded by the local labour market.

Interview Two: This interview, conducted in June 1997 with a Disability Employment Advisor (DEA), was on a face-to-face basis at a Plymouth Job-Centre. A number of issues were raised as open-ended questions in an unstructured conversation that lasted for approximately 25 minutes.

Q 1 In the wake of abolition of the formal disability register how will the service respond to or identify need?

Reply:

As the majority of disabled people have 'hidden' disability we will simply respond to each persons requests for help the onus is upon the individual DEA to respond to each individual client - however, no apparent guidelines were identified or forthcoming although the subject was raised. The DEA felt that the introduction of the 1995 DDA, with the subsequent abolition of disability registration, did not in effect pose any particular identifiable problems to either the service or its users regarding identifying those who may require the service.

The point, the DEA stated, is that those who approached the service would in time identify any such need if it had or has a bearing on their employment prospects or needs.

Q 2 How will the new demands made on the service by the DDA 1995 effect your work?

Reply:

On the question of specialist service resources the DEA was concerned about cash limits, this being, as the DEA noted, 'an obvious problem with any public service'. Though once again the DEA was unable (or unwilling) to expand on this point. There was however, the DEA remarked, a good deal of flexibility in the nature of the service. In part, this response was engendered by recounting the somewhat draconian and stigmatising nature of the service during my own use of it. Contemporary attitudes, the DEA emphasised, were far different with respect to client/worker inter-action. However, comments from this study's respondents (see Chapter 5) regarding service ethos, heavily contests this point.

On the subject of changes in labour markets and the mode of employment, the conversation led onto the matter of new technologies and implications that these might hold for disabled people's employment prospects.

Q 3 What impact, if any, has new technology had on the development of services and employment of disabled people?

Reply:

Here the DEA re-iterated that the function of a DEA in such matters 'is to act primarily as a facilitator in order to link clients to such skills based opportunities', a factor that relates to the increased marketization of employment services per se. On the subject of home-based working the DEA, endorsed my own concerns that the reputation of out-working or home based piece-work had a poor history as regards wages and conditions - however, the subject of working from home, did engender some optimism regarding those who were able to utilise this situation from a position of strength, i.e., those with quality skills or specialism etc.

The DEA stated, 'some disabled people with the necessary skills (and possibly equipment!), to take-up this 'option' may benefit'. The downside of this particular employment strategy however, lay the DEA felt, in the problem of compounding social isolation. The DEA, expressed concern for the ability of the service to reach its clients, or indeed the ability of clients to access services in the more isolated areas of the region. A criticism made by twelve of this study's respondents. In general though, the DEA felt that the service was able to serve the needs of disabled users and was optimistic that many employers will make reasonable adjustments to the workplace for disabled people where viable. Much of the subject matter of the discussion revolved around the implications to the service of the DDA. 1995.

Q 4 What recent development has there been on service provision and extending service-users options?

Reply:

There are the DEA argued, many pathways that disabled people could explore vis-a-vis training, rehabilitation, education or skills etc. The emphasis however as far as the DEA was concerned [this point understandingly given the nature of the disability employment advisory service, appearing to be a prime policy directive] was on "vocational potential" and employment. The suitability of higher education or skills commensurate with this objective was a matter that the DEA would direct to another source e.g. Training and Enterprise Council (TEC), University, or the local Education Department. The onus of the service agenda is to be 'client-centred' with as the DEA described a tacit empowerment 'agenda' at the heart of the philosophy of service.

Q 5 What about contact and liaison with employers?

Reply:

We have a few employers who take special steps to recruit from the disabled population. I mentioned the Employers Forum on Disability (EFD), the DEA appeared to be

unfamiliar with this body. While the DEA mentioned the apparent success of the Employment Service Two Ticks system locally, in encouraging recruitment of disabled people, the DEA was less sure about the actual success of the system in terms of recruitment levels throughout the county, though the DEA felt that there were increasing numbers of employers throughout the region declaring an active involvement with the ES Two Ticks scheme.

An attempt to steer the subject onto general employment opportunities for disabled people met with less candour. This subject being viewed largely as a matter of individualised supply and demand. When asked if there had been a noticeable increase in the numbers of disabled persons entering the labour market via this particular service area since the inception of the 1995 Act, the DEA was unable to provide definite details.

Q 6 A number of people I have interviewed stated they were unaware of what the service can offer. What are your views on this issue?

Reply:

Asked about the 'profile' of the service and its functions, the DEA was 'certain that it did provide adequate publicity and literature.' Having stated that a number of my respondents expressed some confusion on this matter, the DEA mentioned the amount of literature available in the Job Centre, including a large poster advertising help for disabled people and clearly stating that a DEA was contactable. Initially, the DEA, was uncertain if I had raised this point with respect to people with learning difficulties, in point of fact only two of the present study's respondents from amongst the significant number who expressed confusion over the realm and range of services (Chapter Six) did identify such a 'condition'.

The DEA informed me that there was literature designed to make the service more accessible to people with learning difficulties. However neither of the two study participants who describes themselves as 'having' learning difficulties had acquired specialist literature, both described the interviews, and subsequent placements as being determined for them rather than with them. I pressed this point, indicating that several respondents had mentioned to me that they were unable to adequately comprehend the service. I broached the suggestion that had emerged from within the series of interviews undertaken within the study, that the ES might consider producing a more 'comprehensive' booklet on the service. Had there been such a document, many of this studies respondents suggest that this would have assisted them with their enquiries to the ES. In response to this point the DEA felt that there was sufficient levels of advice.

She noted that the local Disability Information Advice Centre (DIAC) had produced a disability guide-book. Having collected pertinent literature from the ES over the last five years, I can attest that the quality and range of information has generally improved. However, this information is still fragmentary, and often very superficial.

Q 7 • Can you describe what training DEA's receive ?

Reply

Here, the DEA was only prepared to state that, 'Yes it does take a considerable time to train DEA's', and that in her view the training was adequate. It was apparent from the DEA's description that the service sought to be 'client-centred', though this was never clearly defined, nor was there sufficient evidence or concrete detail supplied to be able to judge the impact of this particular credo other than affirmation on the part of the DEA of this somewhat theoretically idealised premise.

End of Interview

Enquiring at the local DIAC, after the interview with the DEA, I was informed that the booklet in question was currently out of date but that there would be a new issue soon. I was shown an earlier edition: 1994/5. It is however worth noting, that this booklet had little practical advice vis-a-vis employment matters, although it did offer a wide range of county oriented general information. Also, the cost of the booklet at £1.50p per copy, would doubtless be prohibitive for many people. Clearly this particular 'alternative' source of knowledge is inadequate for ESDS users who, like the majority of this study's respondents (see Chapter Six), expressed a great deal of confusion over the range and procedures of services. Once again the salient point is that the relationship of PACT and DEA's to employers is primarily an advisory one, being based as much upon voluntary persuasion and financial subsidisation, as on positive recruitment criteria and efficient supportive measures.

Interview Three:- This was on a face-to-face basis, with a Social Services Policy Officer, conducted in June 1998. Although, the person interviewed noted, she did not currently work directly with disabled people, or in disability policy, she did however have a history of direct involvement in support for disability social inclusion issues.

Q.1 You're obviously in a position to prioritise and interpret policy obligation. How does this apply to your position or situation?

Reply:

The prioritization I suppose is in some sense related to obligation and resources as well. Though it is an interpretation of what comes through from central government. We have a work programme that is based on projects, that we see in terms of using resources effectively, as the key aim, and then other areas of interest would be what we actually have to respond to at any given time - any issues arising.

I suppose in that sense an example might be Domiciliary Care Review to see if we are meeting the needs of individuals using that service, and also if finances are being used properly. One of the core aspects I'm involved in is the Council's Public Information Strategy and how effectively we are meeting those requirements and any legislative requirements. In terms of any reviews or policy, we go to the various project localities in order to assess if resources are being used properly and to liaise with those involved.

Q 2 I suppose your position could be described as middle-management. Would you describe what other aspects of policy your work involves?

Reply:

Yes, although in that sense we don't have any management responsibilities. In terms of the values and aims of the team, we wish to be as operationally based as possible. So, any of the reviews or projects that we are involved in, we then go to thank the staff in the locality's and to make sure that it's grounded in what is feasible.

Q 3 Would you describe this approach as a change in terms of the relationship? It seems to me, although I'm obviously working in the abstract sense, that planning in the context of policy development would at one time have been gradated and passed through a line so-to-speak, [Yes] and that you may not have seen the end product. What you seem to be saying to me now is that there is a more holistic approach which looks at the end product.

Reply:

Yes, Yes. I think so, certainly I mean there has been an attitudinal change. Now this doesn't mean that this has happened immediately, or as a result of the Council becoming a unitary authority - this has been a gradual process a steady flow - though I'm not sure if it was successful or not previously. The essential fact is working with users and getting a true sense of needs.

Q 4 In the context of disability you said you respond to policy What about other interpretations? Having read the Council's policy documents, the mission statement on disability, what I see is high profile philosophical ideal, but that obviously has to be tempered and balanced against fiscal limitation. What's the situation there?

Reply:

In terms of disability, they [the Council] are trying to be as proactive as possible, and obviously we have an equal opportunities working party. Previously a steering group was trying to tackle the issues and responsibilities of the 1995 DDA, and that covered the board about employment and access to services. Currently there is a [...] and it is difficult. Sometimes you think that the area of disability has been researched to death. But in another sense it is trying to find the exact needs in trying to respond to the individual. You can never be certain this is a general need.

Q 5 You imply to an extent that disability research has been done to death. However, my particular remit is employment, the suitability and applicability of disablement services. What are your views on this? For instance, implicitly, local authorities are still major employers. We all know that empirical evidence shows that nobody applied the disability quota, [Yes] but we can also see that there has been a discernible seed change of attitude, to paraphrase one of your own responses. If I can focus on one of the aspects you raised by default. What about policy for disabled employee retention.

Reply:

Looking at the policy of retention, it is not really my field, but policy is as far as possible to retain an individual. We would make accommodation and make adaptations where appropriate or necessary, and try to be as flexible as possible.

[Is this individual department based or general policy?]

Yes it's Corporate policy and departments will be expected to meet that. I suppose what they haven't done, in terms of say for example the DDA, is where to define reasonableness and a level of service ... that was quite an intensive debate at the time, as to how you actually realistically: One interpret that, or two, set limits and I think that by default the end point of our decision was that we decided we will have to do it on a case by case basis. And we will have to wait and see what litigation actually produces at the end of the day and see what guidance comes out. So in that sense, we have to, in terms of promoting equal opportunities. I would say this Council is well on the way.

Obviously transferring that into practicalities is working but the proof is in the pudding. What we are trying to do currently is collect the information. I mean we have just had two major departments (Social Services and Education) come into the same physical locality, so what we are trying to do is to identify the skills of those individuals that are there ...

I mean central personnel need to do some work in terms of researching on a Corporate basis the availability of people who speak other languages ... and who sign. What is coming forward is that given these services were not available before, people are not necessarily responding to these initiatives. The whole culture is trying to change now. [Obviously this is a disparate group in terms of needs].

Q.6 Recently, Gordon Brown spoke of the need, in terms of fiscal requirement, for greater co-operation between the private and the public sector. Using that as a template so-to-speak, what do you feel is possible or desirable in this context regarding disability employment related issues?

Reply:

I would have to say that my knowledge is limited and that the best area for this is the Economic and Urban Regeneration Project. I do have a draft copy of the EOP policy statement and review, and targets. They have set certain performance indicators for every department. In terms of working with other sectors, I would say that from a social service perspective and working with other agencies, (we have statutory requirements to work across the board), and we are relatively successful, I think in terms of disability policy in comparison with some other authorities.

The difficulty is in establishing these relations. The amount of re-organisation that has come upon us. For instance recent health policy. So we have established relationships between ourselves inter-agency wise and the voluntary sector. There certainly are thoughts and indeed it's a good idea, in certain instances to involve the private sector. [I 'm thinking broadly in terms of liaison with such bodies as the CHC, Disability Forum etc. The Council obviously does have some input into these groups?].

Yes it does. Very much so. Not just social services issues. I'm a member of DIAC and the sight and sound centre. The team try to have an understanding of local issues, not as experts but just to know what is being done. Between us we have a wide range of

specific knowledge of aspects of disability. Specifically regarding employment, where we are members or involved in the Council special needs training group. This was set-up by the City Task Force, which I now believe has gone?

Q 7 Has this process involved joint policy working with disabled service users?

Reply:

Yes, PTF was based in one locality [was this as part of Community regeneration?] Yes. Now, I cannot say what has grown out of that, but it was specifically focused on this special needs training group ... which I think has evolved over a few years, and involves service users and health workers in policy planning. I know they have involved people with physical disability, but how realistically they represent other disabled people I'm not sure. That's the difficulty, the support that's actually needed.

We have policy whereby we want to involve as many people as possible, but still our infrastructure in terms of involving them is about supporting them and being very mindful of how you then change the dynamics of someone who is actually a service user coming in and then being party to the 'professional' aspects. But, there is a sub-group of a local Employers Forum on Disability which does involve contact with local based employers, such as the Midland Bank and Marks and Spencers, who have a policy on disability and employment. A colleague of mine who is on the Forum says that, 'What is important is contact with small employers, even down to the local chip-shop who may not have a particular policy on disability but who is prepared to employ someone'. So there are levels where we can inform would-be employers about the type of help that is available.

Q.8 Observation on the effects of impairment, as you doubtless are aware, reveal a prevalence of a lack of skills, sometimes social skills, resulting from marginalisation. From limited enquiries made within the locality, the dimension of Training Programmes usually show that within mainstream private agencies, such programmes are often viewed as an adjunct or subsidiary policy. Also: whilst most agencies acknowledge this matter very few were able to clarify what was meant by this. Elementary factors such as inaccessibility still prevail in both the private and public sector. For instance, the development of disability employment legislation has meant distinct policy, in many instances negative ones, such as the comments made to me by an ES researcher, who stated, 'some employers show strong reluctance

towards employing a severely disabled worker for fear of litigation'. Could you please comment on this?

Reply:

Yes, in terms of policy the draft Equal Opportunities Policy document does provide some guidelines. The performance indicator developed by Contract Services shows that current policy is a broad-based one looking at the needs of individuals. It isn't just about disability it is about EOP, across the board, so they're looking at say moderate 'disablement' where they have set up a literacy group for their staff at all levels.

Q 9 Are such projects based upon an integrated framework?

Reply:

Yes, the policy certainly is, and trying to provide a practical application to that is certainly across the board, taking into account those who have disabilities, those who are lone parents, or women working part-time etc. Presently, the council are trying to collect some data on the levels of need. The mood is there to do that and the council is certainly trying. I mean, in terms of the area apart from the regional centre to my knowledge this is the only council who employs an access Officer. It has employed this officer for a number of years. Going back, I used to be employed by DIAC and undoubtedly the knowledge gained from this certainly helps with policy development.

Q 10 What about policy on general access I'm thinking specifically about access to public services. I appreciate that you can't alter architectural features overnight, it may well take decades. For instance the Americans With Disabilities Act (1990) envisions a time-span for access set out over thirty years. While the UK Disability Discrimination Act, has suggested similar policy duration. What is happening locally on this issue?

Reply:

For instance, a survey of all properties has been done. We have to meet that condition under statutory requirements set by the Audit Commission (in 1987).

Q 11 The County has an above average demography of older people, while this City appears, from LFS and Census data, to have an above average disabled population. The County seems to have developed a strong base of disability organisations. Can you comment on that with regard to your role in the council?

Reply:

Yes, I think so. I suppose it feels much longer, but only going back to 1984/85. I think change came about due particularly to the presence of the [Disability] Guild. The Guild is a real driving force. They appointed their first disability officer who raised the profile of disability, particularly those with physical and sensory disabilities. Prior to that, people with learning disabilities were not visible in the public eye, only to social services. With the development of a joint consultative committee that introduced joint finance, we have made a number of positive changes.

Joint finance is a lump sum of money that the health authority approves - in reality, it doesn't go across to social services, but it has to spend it in conjunction with other agencies to improve services. It's pump priming and it has a time frame on it. Generally speaking an agreed period of three years for a pilot project is allowed. Then, in reality, if you found that such a scheme was successful, further funding would be sought.

This area was one of the first in the region to set-up joint consultation committees, and work together across agencies, so we have a history of that. From that, in 1985, one of the first reports produced on disability was called: The chance to choose. It did discuss employment, but one of the problems we meet in trying to effect changes for service users is the fact that the organisations that deal with disability, the DSS and the ES are national organisations whose local autonomy is highly restricted.

Q 12 What sort of practical input into expanding employment opportunities for disabled people currently within sheltered work environments might such a major agency as the SS promote. For instance, with present job placement arrangements, many disabled people show reluctance to leave the 'protected' environment and move into more 'open work arrangements.

Could you, for instance, see support for a local council-led agency employment initiative with a joint workforce of non-disabled and disabled working on identification and production of City area based accessible environments projects and localised disability support service production for disabled people's range of social needs?

Reply:

Yes I can see that this might be something useful. At present the problems that so many disabled people have with Benefits is a major obstacle to changing things. I have had very little contact with the sheltered workshops, but I do think that the idea of an option such as the one you describe is worth pursuing with the appropriate agency. To respond to

the point you make though, the difficulty remains that these agencies may well be restructured in the near future.

Q 13 What are your views on what possible changes to social barriers and physical barriers the Council might be able to address?

Reply:

The council has a policy of introducing low-level platform buses for access. It did include issues and is mindful of those people who are seeking employment but have difficulties with transport. As well as that, it is trying to provide a more structured coordinated infrastructure of the transport system, so you have got shop mobility, you've got the taxi-card, concessions, ring and ride etc. Because of the costs involved that will only come about gradually, when new stock is required this will be vetted for its suitability. Much of the demand for this approach has come from European Community legislation.

Q 14 Does the Council have a proactive policy on disability and employment, and if so could you describe this?

Reply:

Yes, it has. It certainly has proactive policy. It now has a whole programme of EOP, which allows for support. As I stated, it has a disability Officer and it also has an EOP Employment Officer who deals with service delivery issues. Disability is a key part of that. Many Councillors are also committed to this approach.

Q 15 With financial restriction a constant reality, where do the priorities for disability (employment) related policy determinants lie?

Reply:

One of the difficulties we come up against time and time again, and it comes back to the point raised about the 1970 Act [CSDPA], if everyone who needs support under that Act did identify a need then we could be more sure that services and needs matched. However, as far as stigma goes there is little we can do to change the problem of people not willing to declare a need, which in turn means planning for need is frustrated. The problem of where this agency (SS) can, or whether it should be, a contributor to local employment support is difficult to conceive or to put into practice. I would say that the use of this agency for such an initiative would be disadvantaged by the stigma attached to the service. If the council, in the future, does adopt the social model across the board

within the city council we will probably move away from individual need, that is, while the individuals impairment must not be ignored, the emphasis will be on creating the environment by addressing social factors.

Q 16 What about council training on disability matters?

Reply:

We recently sent people on a three day residential course provided with the National Centre for Accessible Environments (NCAE). The course costs roughly £1,000. A couple of the designated access officers in the region have been on that. It is also a matter of co-ordinating those with the background experience and knowledge in order to focus on the environment and access matters. *[It seems to me from what you're saying, that we can only hope to reach and provide disability services for a small number of those who need them?]*

Yes. Even though this is the case. People do benefit from these projects. Word of mouth does get around and people do find out that such schemes are available. How, we then go about reducing stigma and isolation is another matter. All the policies that we have do declare that these resources are there, but we know that even with the numerous committees that disabled people are a part of the dispersal of information on such resources remains restricted. I feel that much of the debate rests on the changing of attitudes towards disabled people. If the range of groups that do exist contribute to empowerment of disabled people then this surely is a positive development.

Q 17 What about the local development of self-help forms of disability organisation?

Reply:

I can see a cultural shift on these issues, I have been involved with disability issues for some fourteen years now, and I find that if you are discussing disability more people are aware. You don't have to start from the beginning any more, people are becoming aware of the needs. I do feel that this council is one of the most proactive on these matters. Set against other authorities that I know of, it does appear to come tops on these matters. But in reality, what does this actually mean.

Say for example, you have the legislation of direct payments, and this ties in with what you were saying about service users involvement. Yes direct payments are philosophically and principally wise. Of course it's good to give people more control. When you come down to it though, the way it is structured, and its 'ability' [on the part

of service users] to even realise such change. It is not simply an issue for an across the board strategy. The problems of supporting new initiatives, such as local disability groups are to some extent financial, but also the duration of some of these schemes are often temporary. Much of the dilemma for these groups is what can be realised by self-advocacy groups. Some of these groups succeed. For instance the service users network has continued to grow, but too many collapse or dissolve. We certainly do what we can to support the groups that do exist.

End of Interview

Interview Four: Sheltered Employment Placement Officer. The interview conducted in August 1997 lasted approximately 30 minutes.

Q 1 Could you confirm whether you anticipate there is likely to be an increase or decrease of numbers employed within the ISG in the next few years?

Reply:

Definitely a decrease, due in part to recruitment problems and low turn-over, some of which is due to the good wages and fair conditions compared with 'outside' employers. This is also due in part, to the desire of the ES to 'encourage more non-workshop based forms of employment.' This atmosphere has led to heightened concerns about workshop employment security.

Q 2. What, if any, policy changes have most recently effected the service?

Reply:

The most important one has been the new [1995] Act. Initially, we found employers were scared that policy would be similar to the old [1944] quota system, and they were concerned that they would *have* to employ disabled people. I can't say if there has been an increase in disabled people in work. Certainly in this organisation we are struggling to preserve our position as a viable organisation, not simply a 'disabled workshop'. The background to this is the threat of privatisation and pressures of marketisation and cost efficiency.

Q 3 Have there been any significant recent developments in the work environment as a whole?

Reply:

We recently introduced expensive new 'high tech' machinery - but not all workshop personnel can use such equipment. In some respects it amounts to high expenditure for a minority of staff, while others for a number of reasons cannot benefit from this equipment.

Q 4 **Have there been any recent innovations to the Group?**

Reply:

One of the most vital aspects has been to promote not just work skills but to place more emphasis on social skills training, particularly for those people with learning difficulties, but obviously this effects all employees in some aspect or other. You could see this as part of the change brought about by the 'New Deal for Disabled People' with some workshop trained personnel likely to make a transition to open employment. Unfortunately, the effect of restructuring of the County Disability Industrial Service ... has resulted in a notable demoralisation of those within the agency.

Q 5. **What about options for de-segregation of the training or employment dimension apart from privatisation?**

Reply:

I feel that we need to retain some sort of workshop environment. Clearly the onus should be on training rather than permanent location. However your comments on an integrated scheme is one area we would consider. Indeed it was similar to an idea that a number of people in the service have discussed, the possibility of workers co-operatives.

End of Interviews.

Appendix 2

Tables A1, A2 and A3

Figure A1 below presents details of the gender and age composition of study participants.

Figure A1 Gender and Age composition of study participants		
(N=70)		
Gender	Number	%
Female	43	61
Male	27	39
Age		
16-20	3	4
21-30	9	12
31-40	11	15
41-50	20	28
51-60	17	24
61-65	9	13
65+	1	1

N.B. % = adjusted (+ or - . 5) rounded totals

The observable gender numeric imbalance shown in figure one above, reflected the preparedness of more female respondents than males to take part in further disability interviews. Features such as non-response, non-contact, demise or refusal resulted in substantial loss of males (and some females) from the original sample group. This was despite several people registering initial co-operation of their willingness to participate in a second survey on disability. Clustering of the age profile in Figure one, shown around age bands 41-60, broadly reflected general empirical findings concerning the demography of non-activity in labour markets on the part of the middle aged to older disabled population (see, Labour Force Survey, Summer 1995; Labour Market and Skill Trends, 1996/7 and 1997/8).

Figure A2 shows the types of impairments identified by study participants, which revealed a preponderance of 'Musculo-Skeletal' conditions effecting almost a third of the study population.

This profile reflected the findings of earlier study's on disability and impairment, such as those conducted by the Office of Population and Census Surveys (OPCS) during the 1970's and 1980's (see Roulstone, 1998; and Abberley, 1996). Figure 2 included a number of conditions which often concurred with, or signified, stigmatising or generally alienating social responses (Barton et al, 1996). Figure A2.

Figure A2 Type of impairment cited by study participants		
(N= 70)		
Type of Impairment	Number	%
Musculo- Skeletal	21	30
Cerebral Palsy	3	4
Multiple Sclerosis	2	3
Psychiatric	5	7
Sensory (head injury)	4	6
Visual	2	3
Auditory	2	3
Amputee	4	6
Respiratory	5	7
Diseases of heart and circulation system	6	8
Diseases of nervous system	4	6
Diseases of Blood	3	4
Congenital Abnormalities	2	3
Other (imprecise definitions)	7	10
Total	70	100
N.B. total includes 7% who identified multiple impairments		

Only one study respondent, who, at the time of interview was engaged in full-time higher education, stated that he had never been employed. The remainder possessed experience of at least one of the forms of occupation (shown in Table A3) where some form of marketable skill or skills had been acquired. Within the second series of interviews, only two people listed possession of only one such

skill, the remainder providing qualification of the acquisition of two or more types of employment oriented marketable skills. The construction of an abstract resume of study participants identified acquired skills (as shown in Table A3) does not constitute a definitive appraisal of individuals employment marketable opportunities, or potentialities. However it did reveal that many disabled persons possess more than one appreciable skill applicable to the pursuit of labour market opportunities and employment (DfEE, Labour Market & Skills Trends, 1997/8). Figure A3 below shows the range of skills held by the in-depth study respondents.

Figure A3 Range of skills of in-depth study respondents.

	(N=20)
1. Professional Careers	3
2. Domestic or social caring	3
Child Care, Relatives, Other	12
3. Manufacturing Production (Skilled)	6
4. " " (Semi-Skilled)	8
5. " " (Un-Skilled)	4
6. Sales, or Company Representative	2
7. Other Skilled Occupations	2
8. Managerial Position	0
9. Supervisor/ Foreman/woman	1
10. Labourer	3
11. Other	3

N.B. Numbers do not add up to 100% as 18 identified more than one marketable skill.

Appendix 3

Guidelines on Disability Data Inclusion into the Labour Force Survey

Cousins et al. (LMt, June 1998) suggest that the following four points (see below) need to be considered as contributing to the positive development of the composition of questions asked in the LFS relating to respondents' responses.

- In autumn 1997, just over 5 million people of working age in the UK had a long-term disability which affected their lives (14 per cent of the working age population); this estimate is based on different questions from those used from summer 1993 to winter 1996/7, and hence is not consistent with previous estimates.
- A series of data on a consistent definition adjusted for discontinuities has been calculated from spring 1992 to winter 1996/7, for Great Britain. Users of the LFS databases should be aware that these discontinuities can only readily be measured and adjusted at an aggregate level.
- The number of people of working age in Great Britain reporting a health problem or disability has increased by about 4 per cent a year since 1984, taking account of discontinuities. This trend is partly the result of an increase in the number of people in older age groups. But it is also likely that more of the increase will be due to changing attitudes towards, and increased awareness of disability, than to 'real' changes in the level of disability.
- 'Disability' can be defined in a number of ways from the new LFS questions, leading to a range of estimates of the prevalence of disability. The definition used in any tables or analysis should therefore be clearly stated.

Appendix 4

Recommendations Presented By Respondents:

- A comprehensive literature was needed to provide a broader scope of information on the range of what the employment service covers. This could be realised by annual production of a dedicated publication given over to detail of services jurisdiction and development, including coverage of positive employment integration within local area labour markets.
- Publicity mediums regarding the nature of the service were required to extend beyond the confines of the employment services physical environments, thereby ensuring wider access to service detail.
- One of the most commonly expressed viewpoints concerned need for the ES to ensure that disabled people were represented amongst service personnel. This perception of need was closely correlated with belief that DEAs and others who advised disabled people, would, if they themselves experienced disability, tend to know more about the lived reality of disablement.
- Problems relating to overall access to disability services were also given priority, particularly with respect to those who experience mobility barriers, due to being unable to access 'public transport' or those who live in isolated localities, or areas without a local ES premises. Outreach venues (periodic surgeries) might be one tangible solution to this perennial problem of service contact and utility.

Appendix 5

Disability policy and social developments: a chronology

The following chronology of both general statutory and non-statutory social policies indicative of disability-related provision is presented to assist the understanding of general policy developments:

- The aftermath of the Boer War (1902), saw development of non-state led voluntary based 'rehabilitation' and training environments. These initially for ex-service personnel, later extended to non-military disabled. Statutory policy in the form of Industrial Injuries legislation, precedes Liberal Government reforms of 1906-14. The Social Services State and the National Insurance Act (1911), (Topliss, 1975, 1982; Bolderson, 1980, 1991; Blaxter, 1984).
- Strong presence of disability organisations within the labour movement. Demands for civil rights. Ideological hegemony of the 'Medical Model'. Two and half million disabled after 1914-18 War (Campbell and Oliver, 1996; Humphries and Gordan, 1992).
- In 1916, creation of closed recuperative sheltered work environments called 'Village Settlements' whose prevailing ethos of rehabilitation rested upon the importance of skills and resettlement to obtain work. The absence of sufficient 'rehabilitative' and training resources in the voluntary sector and within military services brought pressure to bear on national government, to consolidate national (disability) policy (Bolderson, 1980, 1991; Topliss, 1982).
- In 1918, The Ministry of Pensions, first sector to encompass state rehabilitation frameworks established governmental 'instructional factories' (labour regulation policy) to retrain disabled ex-servicemen (Topliss, 1975, 1982; Bolderson, 1980,1991).
- In 1919, these institutions, transferred to the Ministry of Labour, and renamed Government Training Centres. Introduction of the 1919 Disabled Men (Facilities for Employment) Act (Topliss, 1975, 1982; Bolderson, 1980,1991).

- Also in 1919, Government introduced the King's National Roll Scheme, a precursor of current disability employment policy. The 'Two Ticks' system (see chapter three) was based on a 'patriotic duty' on employers to provide, by means of a quota scheme, jobs for known disabled ex-servicemen - a patriarchal framework of deserving and undeserving disabled (Topliss, 1975, 1982; Bolderson, 1980,1991).
- This proposal however, met with fierce opposition from the labour movement who feared that such 'charitable' responses to the employment needs of the disabled would result in low pay and exploitative conditions. This was to become the case (Campbell and Oliver, 1996).
- The case for enhanced state disability policy intervention was predicated, in part, on response to the limited industrial training provided on a voluntary basis by the Soldier and Sailors Help Society, within the Lord Robert's Workshops together with social unrest (Hay, 1975; Whiteside, 1991; Bolderson, 1991).
- In 1920, pressure from the trade unions and organisations of the disabled for more training and rehabilitation provision was extended to the civilian blind population and later, to other non-military disabled persons.
- Although a form of quota system was introduced, subsequent economic depression during the inter-war period, with prolonged high unemployment and recession, marginalised policy for the resettlement of the disabled (See: Topliss, 1975, 1982; Bolderson, 1980, 1991; Barnes, 1991; Campbell and Oliver, 1997; Barnes et al 1988; Oliver and Barnes, 1988).

1897

The Workman's (Industrial Injuries) Compensation Act

1898

House of Lords ruling (Allen v Flood) 'an employer may refuse to employ [a person] from the most mistaken, capricious, malicious or morally reprehensible motives that can be conceived but the workman has no right to action against him'. This precedent no longer applies with respect to The Sex Discrimination Act 1975 and Race Relations Act 1976. Also, certain types of discrimination against particular 'categories' of disabled people is illegal under the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 (see below)

1943

1. Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Rehabilitation and Resettlement of Disabled People, the Tomlinson Report

Main Recommendations

- • Adoption of a definition of disability related to employment;
- • establishment of a register of disabled persons;
- • employers should have a statutory duty to employ a quota of disabled persons
- • reservation of certain occupations for disabled people;
- • provision of sheltered employment for severely disabled people;
- • provision of vocational rehabilitation and training;
- • establishment of a specialist placing and follow-up service;
- establishment of local advisory committees which
- would assist with administration of Quota Scheme

2. First Industrial Rehabilitation Unit - (later known as an Employment Rehabilitation Centre (ERC))
opened at Egham

1944

Disabled Persons (Employment) Act

Main Provisions

- • Definition of a disabled person;
- • Register of disabled persons;
- • Quota Scheme;
- • Designated Employment Scheme (reserved occupations);
- • sheltered employment for severely disabled people;
- • vocational rehabilitation and training for disabled people; and
- • establishment of a national advisory council and local advisory committees

Reform, engendered by the legacy of World War. Tomlinson Committee (Tomlinson principles) 1941-43.

Dual programme for employment of disabled persons. State consolidation of sheltered workshops.

National expansion of state policy.

1946

Quota Scheme introduced for employers with 20 or more employees -initially placed a duty on them to employ 2% registered disabled people - raised to 3% later in the year.

Remploy established as a Government supported company with the prime objective of providing meaningful sheltered employment for severely disabled people.

1947

Government commenced funding of rehabilitation centres run by specialist voluntary organisations.

1948

National Assistance Act extended local authority welfare powers to cover the welfare of all persons substantially and permanently handicapped by illness, injury or congenital deformity. The Act repealed the Blind Persons Act of 1920 that had only covered the welfare of the blind.

1950

Early Residential Training Colleges, previously run entirely by charitable organisations begin to receive Government funding.

1955

International Labour Organisation

Recommendation 99:

- all disabled people have a right to vocational rehabilitation and services. This means they have a right to skills-training which can assist them in getting a job;
- vocational training also has to identify the obstacles a disabled person may face in the workplace, and try to find ways of getting around these;
- government should take responsibility for developing and financing vocational rehabilitation services.

1956

Report of the Committee of Inquiry on the Rehabilitation Training and Resettlement of Disabled Persons (the Piercy Report) (1953-56), concluded that: the facilities for enabling disabled persons to get suitable employment are comprehensive and well established, needing little change or development [and] would be the most suitable whatever the economic circumstances.

1958

The Disabled Persons (Employment) Act (1958), consolidated responsibility for sheltered employment under the Ministry of Labour, and made minor changes regarding eligibility to register as disabled.

1960

Development of Sheltered Industrial Groups (SIG) to provide employment for severely disabled people alongside workers without disabilities.

1962

Stewart Committee - Review of Workshops for the Blind.

1970

Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act, amended the role of the National Advisory Council on Employment of Disabled People (NACEDP), set up in 1944, to include advice on the training of persons concerned with helping disabled people into training or employment.

1973

Employment and Training Act (1973), section 2, assisting disabled people into training. Section 12(1) amended by the Disability Discrimination Act (1995).

Consultative Document issued by Department of Employment on the Quota Scheme for Disabled People led to transfer of responsibility for the scheme to the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). Threat to schemes continuity.

1975

United Nations Declaration of Rights Of Disabled.

The declaration expresses the right of disabled people to: economic and social security and to a decent level of living, [and] according to their capabilities, to secure and retain employment or to engage in useful, productive and remunerative occupation (see Doyle, 1995).

1976

The Snowden Report: Comprehensive review of disability issues including employment (s.20). The premise of the Sub-Committee on employment states, that 'employment is crucial to integration ... to be as similar a possible as that of able-bodied including work status and pay. (s.21), 'evidence of considerable unemployment, mis-employment and under-employment of disabled people. Report recommended comprehensive re-integration policies. Called for retention of the quota scheme, and suggested improved statutory protection.

1978

Employment Protection (Consolidation) Act 1978 (appeals to

Employment Appeal Tribunals) ."(ff) the D. D, Act 1995." see also: para 20, sch: 13 re, Sect 8 1995 Act (Gooding, 1995).

1978

The Warnock Committee Report on Education altered the term 'educationally subnormal' to 'children with learning difficulties'.

Increased retrenchment of post-war social security. Labour Government review's of Social Security system 1975 and 1978, followed by Conservative Government 1980s Fowler Review. Continuing frustration over civil rights for disabled people. De-regulation of public sector. Marketisation of workshops. Anti-inflationary policy and the growth of long-term unemployment, particularly amongst

disabled people. Formation in the early 1980s, of the 'Disability Movement'. Pressure for demands for Civil Rights Bill overturned by government 'alternative', the Disability Discrimination Act (1995). 1980s-1990s, policy conceptualisations uphold voluntary 'Codes of Conduct'. Late 1990s, stronger emphasis on workfare and employment of the disabled through welfare to work. Ministerial-led attack on 'growth of disability benefit 'dependency' by the unemployed.

1979

Fit for Work Award Scheme introduced.

1980

World Health Organisation (WHO) develops International Classification of Impairments, Disabilities and Handicaps (Geneva). Shift in the locus of the "medical" model of impairment towards a limited 'social' dimension.

Social Security Act: 1980 Nos. 1 and 2: reduction in scope of welfare benefits. Two-thirds of disabled persons on benefits.

1981

Education Act addresses many of the matters raised in Special Educational Needs (SEN) Report of the Committee of Enquiry into the Education of Handicapped Children and Young People.

Invalid Care Allowance (ICA) extended to non-relatives (to married women in 1984). Gender determined policy.

Disablement Advisory Committees (DAC) replaced by Committees for the Employment of Disabled People (CEDP).

Review of the MSC's Employment Rehabilitation Service - (ERS) Report recommended a series of developments to be tried

Main Recommendations

- A service should be established for recently disabled people;
- one Employment Rehabilitation Centre (ERC) to concentrate on basic core skills;
- examination of employment rehabilitation facilities at a National Health Service (NHS) rehabilitation unit; and
- voluntary bodies should be encouraged to develop projects aimed at rehabilitating clients through temporary employment.

1982

Job Release Scheme: early retirement program - introduced in 1977 extended to include disabled men aged 60-63.

1982

Report by the MSC on its Review of Assistance to Disabled People

Main Recommendations

- Specialist occupational advice and counselling should be concentrated on those who need it
- Mainstream employment service to help the majority of people with disabilities; and
- A more systematic approach should be developed towards advice to employers and towards people with disabilities at work.
- The introduction of a voluntary criteria for section two registrations under the 1944 Disabled Persons (Employment) Act.

1982

These recommendations were implemented, the last one led to the introduction (in 1983/4) of the Disability Advisory Service (DAS)

1982

The Mental Health (Amendment) Act changed the term 'subnormality' for the term 'mental impairment'. Disability movement, apply the term 'intellectual impairment' (DPI).

1983-92

United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons (UNDDP) World Programme of Action for Disabled People - shift towards more wide reaching international strategies for integration, though still framed largely within a medical model approach.

1983

ILO Conference adoption of resolutions 159 & 168 update of 1955 calls for: supportive equal opportunities policies for disabled people.

1983-4

Introduction of Disablement Advisory Service (DAS).

1984

Severe Disablement Allowance (SDA) introduced (replaced NCIP and HNCIP), and removes need for gendered household duties test.

Code of Good Practice on the Employment of Disabled People launched. (The first in Europe).

Report on the "Proposals for the Development of the MSC's Rehabilitation Service" published. Noted that the ideas proposed in the 1981 Report had not, after more than two years of development, proved cost-effective, with a few exceptions — e.g. the use of mainstream employers for placement.

• Main Recommendations

- A progressive programme of change to bring in those new approaches which did prove effective;
- A pilot project to develop new vocational assessment teams (later called Assets Teams); the adoption of new assessment materials; and
- More emphasis on job finding.

Asset Centres (ACs) set up to provide assessment and rehabilitation services in areas not well served by Employment Rehabilitation Centres (ERC).

1985

Disabled Persons Transport Committee (DPTAC)- statutory committee to advise Secretary of State on transport issues affecting disabled people.

Quota Scheme Report by MSC led Working Group on suggestions for improving the scheme's effectiveness. The MSC working group made a number of recommendations for strengthening the administration of the Quota Scheme - if it were to be retained.

1985

Quota Scheme for the Employment of Disabled People:

Main recommendation

- For research into the numbers and characteristics of people with disabilities who might be eligible to register as disabled, to help the Government to address issues related to the Scheme's potential.
- The Government agreed to the commissioning of research, and postponed decisions on the future arrangements for the Scheme until more information became available.
- Provisions introduced in building regulations covering access for disabled people to non-domestic buildings.

Sheltered Placement Scheme (SPS) (re)introduced⁷ Scheme expanded annually from 1,000 places in 1985 to around 8,500 places in 1995. This constituted a major promotion of the open placement strategy.

Companies Act 1985 (c.6) Inc. (disclosure in director's report of company policy in relation to disabled persons), in the definition of "disabled person" in sub-paragraph (4) (b), for "Disabled Persons (Employment) Act 1944" substitute " Disability Discrimination Act 1995" (see: Chapter 4, of this study for comments).

1986

Disabled Persons (Services, Consultation and Representation) Act 1986; section 3, requires LEAs to notify Social Services Departments (SSD) of all children aged 14, or over, who have Special Educational Needs. Section 5, of the Act, requires LEAs to re-contact SSDs nine months prior to the expected leaving time of pupils with SENs in order that their needs in relation to other statutory services can be determined.

1986

The 1986 (DPSCR) Act clarified local authorities duties to provide a range of services for disabled people under the CSDP Act 1970, including home helps, meals, special equipment, adaptations, holidays, leisure facilities and telephones.

Social Security Act (1986) reduced disabled people's access to 'supplementary (weekly payment) additions' Introduced a range of 'Disability Premiums', critics argue that these measures are still inadequate to address incidence of poverty and disadvantages of disabled people.

Publication in October (1986) of the Secretary of State's National Council on Employment of People with Disabilities (NACEPD) Report on the Working Party on the Principles Underlying Employment Provisions for Disabled People These principles (based largely on the Tomlinson Report) underpin the entry criteria for the E.S, Supported Employment Programme (SEP) and has not been changed by the passage of the Disability Discrimination Act 1995.

1987

Asset Evaluation Report published. Identified the strength and weakness of Assets and Employment Rehabilitation Centres (ERCs) — both considered as having value. Recommended the continued development of Assets and the adoption by the rest of the ERS of the good features of Assets. Less

⁷ Pilot schemes of SPS had been used for people diagnosed as having mental health problems in the 1960's, see Bolderson (1991).

emphasis on workshops and more use of employer placements and agencies. The main lessons of the October 1984 report had been implemented (see above).

1988

Report on the Development of the ERS considered the progress of the ERS, taking note of National Audit Office (NAO) criticisms came to similar views to that of the Asset Evaluation.

Recommended

- Improved geographical coverage, e.g., through mobile teams;
- The use throughout ERS of new techniques;
- More extensive use of agencies and other innovative approaches; and
- A centralised management structure with short management lines.

1988

Employment Rehabilitation Service (ERS) to be managed at national level. Indicative of the reforms for extended marketisation.

Education Reform Act - National Curriculum must be made available to all children with SENs unless the requirement is formally disapplied or modified.

1988/9

Office of Population Census and Surveys, Social Survey Division, OPCS Survey of Disability in Great Britain, Reports 1-6: Including employment needs - set the agenda for further review on the scope and range of employment issues and the framework of reform of the disability welfare benefits system.

1988

Evaluation of Sheltered Placement Scheme Main Findings

- Scheme is widely regarded as a simple but effective means of getting people with severe disabilities into open employment, and one which has potential for considerable further expansion;
- Scheme catering for people within all of the broad disability categories;
- SPS workers are found in a wide range of occupations;
- People with disabilities working under the scheme are generally well integrated with their non-disabled counterparts working for the employer direct;
- Scheme has achieved a good level of geographical coverage, even in areas of relatively high unemployment; and
- Cost-effectiveness of the Scheme could be further enhanced by changing fundamentally the basis on which it is funded. N.B, increased emphasis on non-governmental funding criteria

1988

Independent Living Fund (ILF) introduced in 1988 as an interim measure pending the full introduction of Community Care Social Security Act (1986). Part two of the 1986 Act governing the Social Fund brought into operation.

Disabled Persons Transport Advisory Committee (DPTAC)

"recommended Specification for Buses Used to Operate Local Services". Specification sets out features designed to make it easier for ambulant disabled and elderly to use buses.

All new licensed taxis in London required to be wheelchair accessible. Over 60 other nation-wide licensing authorities have mandated for all or part of fleet to be wheelchair accessible.

1989

Social Security Advisory Committee, (SSAC) Benefit for Disabled People - calls for improved 'earnings replacement compensatory' benefits.

Local Government and Housing Act 1989 (cf. 42) sections 5 and 6 of the Disability Discrimination Act 1995 (meaning of discrimination and duty to make adjustments). Local Authorities permitted to operate priority interview schemes to target, interview and appoint disabled people without positions being open to non-disabled people. This measure abolished with the introduction of the 1995 Act (see: RADAR, June 1996).

1990

White Paper 'Employment for the 1990s' Consultative Document 'Employment and Training for People with Disabilities' produced to take stock of service provisions and inform decisions into the 1990's. NHS and Community Care Act 1990, to promote development of domiciliary, day and respite services.

The Way Ahead: Review of Benefits for Disabled People - The report recommends a form of low-wage top-up designed to attract more disabled people into the workforce.

The original disability symbol 'Two Ticks' re-launched. To enable employers to signal a commitment to employing disabled people. Part of the apparatus of de-regulation and the shift to voluntary codes of practice.

Income - related benefits: Increases above inflation rate on premiums for long term sick and disabled. Child's disablement premium doubled, other benefits restricted.

Mobility Allowance: extended to deaf blind in April 1990, and to amputees in April 1991

Attendance Allowance: extended to under 2s and higher rate extended to terminally ill without the need to serve waiting time.

1990

Information Services: Government commits £3m to the National Disability Information Project (NDIP) over the following three years to improve information services for disabled people, carers and service providers.

Consultative Document 'Employment and Training for People with Disabilities', to take stock of disability provision and inform decisions into the 1990s. This report addresses six main policy aspects of services that required reforms.

Main Recommendations of the 1990 Consultative Document

1. Fully respect the changing aspirations of disabled people.
2. Full commitment of employers must be secured.
3. Services made relevant to changing labour markets.
4. Greater recognition of role of voluntary and community organisations with an appropriate mix of direct and contracted-out provision.
5. Greater coherence of services.
6. Disabled people need more incentives to work: recognition of disability benefit policy within the DSS review "The Way Ahead: Benefits for Disabled People" (Command Paper Cm 917).

Keynote Findings: The ES (1990, pp. 105-8), Report's resume of problems reveals: Several of the findings of the review (see points 1-5 below), contradict those of other reports' critical observations on the lack of service development.

- 1) The failure to help disabled people within existing schemes.
- 2) The issue of 'missing' training schemes - an identified need for which there is currently no provision. The failure to reach some occupational groups was also evident.
- 3) Belief that within existing schemes, certain people are not being helped in the most appropriate way and there is the suggestion that more flexibility might be required.
- 4) An identified need currently not being met is for a communicator service for the deaf. The lack of such provision is made the more striking because it exists both for YTS and Employment Training.
- 5) Evidence from ES staff survey states that there are many disabled people for whom self-employment would be a suitable option. Enterprise Allowance and the BOA scheme, presently restricted to Section II disabled people is failing to meet this need.

1991

Publication of major survey entitled: Employment and Handicap (1990) Influenced by the OPCS surveys; Report provides a range of suggestions for identifying employment-related needs of disabled people.

1991/2

Placing, Assessment and Counselling Teams (PACTs) and Ability Development Centres (ADCs) formed and the Employment Rehabilitation Centre network closed. Policy instrumental to the facilitation of privatisation/marketisation of Training Centres/Programmes.

1992

U N instrument called "Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities" introduced into United Nation's World Programme of Disability Action. Report states: not only that programmes and services for disabled people, need to be improved, but need to remove obstacles to rights to establish international standards on enabling disabled people to participate in every aspect of their societies on an equal basis.

The aim should always be for persons with disabilities to obtain employment in the open labour markets sheltered or supported employment may be an alternative to people whose needs cannot be met in open employment.

1992

Further and Higher Education Act 1992: Consolidated previous legislation. Laid a specific duty on LEA's and Further Education Funding Councils (FEFC's) to have regard to the requirements of people with learning difficulties (including all types of disability) in securing further education provision.

1992

Disability Living Allowance: from April 1992, replaced Attendance Allowance and Mobility Allowance - eligibility criteria extended too less severely disabled unable to qualify under previous rules, though take-up still low long after introduction.

Disability Working Allowance: designed to provide 'a major stepping stone into employment and independence' criticisms made of qualifying criteria- stigmatic and complex

Access — amended building regulations require all new non-domestic buildings to be accessible: introduced new provisions for people with impaired sight or hearing.

UK Prime Minister launches — The Employer's Forum on Disability Ten Point Agenda for Action. Measures aimed at maximising opportunities for employment, promotion, training and integration. Affiliate members of the Forum to provide monitoring audits.

1992

Report of the 1991 ES-led study of the Sheltered Employment System including Remploy, sheltered workshops and the sheltered placement scheme throughout Great Britain.

Main Recommendations

- The report focused upon issues of progression, regression turnover, quality and support in sheltered employment. The study recommends the following:
 - To provide ES. with 'good practice recommendations to facilitate progression both within and outside of sheltered employment;
 - To examine factors which prevent people gaining access to sheltered provision; to examine factors which prevent people moving between different forms of provision;
 - To explore factors which prevent employees moving out of sheltered employment into open employment;
 - To consider the value of incentives as a stimulus to progression within sheltered employment
 - To analyse the causes of turnover within sheltered employment and to what extent these are related to progression and regression;
 - To examine how declining output is handled and to provide examples of successful practices in this regard;
 - To explore perceptions of 'quality' by workshop managers, employers/supervisors, sponsors of SPS, ES staff (DRO/DAS) and participants on the programme;
 - To examine the perceptions of participants in sheltered employment with regard to progression, regression and moving into open employment

1993

Funding for Training and Enterprise Councils (TEC's) to provide special local training for severely disabled people as an alternative to residential provision

Re-launch of Code of Practice on the Employment of Disabled People a comprehensive guideline for a range of issues effecting the general employment needs of disabled people, and how to meet these within company: workplace recruitment and retention policy.

The disability symbol was strengthened by the addition of the words "positive about disabled people" around the design and five specific commitments to action by which symbol users agree to abide.

1994

Access To Work (ATW) scheme introduced 4th June, it is designed to support DEA's in their work with disabled clients by meeting the following aims:

- To provide support to overcome work-related obstacles because of disability;
- To enable them [disabled people] to compete for and in employment on an equal basis with their non-disabled colleagues; and

- To encourage employers to recruit and retain disabled people by offering practical help (ATW, para 1.2).

Access To Work resource applies if you are:

- Eligible (whether registered or not) for registration under the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act 1944;
- Unemployed with a job to start, in employment, non-employed or unemployed with a need for support at a job interview;
- In need of ‘support to compete, for or in work, on an equal basis with non-disabled colleagues’;
- Resident and with a job in GB; and
- Not in receipt of IB or SDA whilst in work (ATW, para 1. 23).

1994 Keynote policy reform

Minister for Disabled People, issues Consultation Document on Government Measures to tackle discrimination against disabled people

Main Recommendations

- Laid the groundwork for statutory measures within a voluntary framework,
- Found that ES placed 53,000 disabled people in jobs 1993-4 an increase of 30% on 1992-3,
- Range of help available to disabled people widened by the Access to Work Scheme,
- Improved focus on the education of employers on the development of voluntary Codes of Practice; and
- Report suggests that the majority of organisations consulted on these issues broadly concur with ES findings.

This opinion however, is not shared by the Disability Movement who demand comprehensive disability rights legislation (see Chapter 5).

OPSS issued Programme of Action, similar to that for Race and Women - replaced Code of Practice to demonstrate Government/Civil Service commitment towards equal opportunities for disabled people.

Educational Code of Practice to help schools, LEAs and related services provide integrated services at local level introduced.

Sheltered Employment changed to Supported Employment June 6th 1994.

1995

The Supported Employment Programme - October 1995: Consultation Document on Criteria for Severely Disabled People entering the Employment Service's Supported Employment Programme. (Disability Services Branch - ES) Incorporating criteria for ES., Disability Discrimination Policies, ex post facto.

Disability Discrimination Bill introduced in Parliament - and White Paper - Ending Discrimination Against Disabled People - published detailing Government proposals in the Bill and including non-legislative measures in transport and education.

Disability Discrimination Act, (DDA 1995) enters statute books.

1996

Employment related provision of, DDA, enacted 2/12/96

Main DDA (Employment) measures

- A new statutory right to make unlawful less favourable treatment of disabled people at work (including recruitment), excepting where 'justifiable reasons' apply;
- Right applies to disabled with a physical or mental impairment long-term or recurring. Impairment must have 'substantial ability to carry out normal day to day activities';
- Employers required to make 'reasonable adjustments' to working conditions or workplace to assist disabled employees to overcome practical effects of an individual's disability;
- Employers with fewer than 20 employees exempt. Government powers to make regulations to specify or amend criteria for assessing what is 'reasonable adjustment'; and
- Disabled people aggrieved by employment circumstances viz discrimination - have a right to seek redress with Industrial Tribunals (IT). Advisory Conciliation and Arbitration Service (ACAS) also able to help resolve disputes.

1996

Introduction of Code of Good Practice and other guidance after consultations with employers, disability organisations and disabled people. Code designed as proactive measure to reduce disputes - provision taken into account (where relevant) by Industrial Tribunals (IT's), measures;

1. PACT's to provide advice on good employment practice, Bill to repeal the existing statutory quota scheme which is widely recognised as outdated;
2. Review of Access to Work Scheme - Reintroduction of proposal for employers contribution (criticised by disability organisations);
3. Introduction of Job Seekers Allowance (JSA): (Ministerial response Secretary of State to House of Commons enquiry - 12th December 1994 notes: 'recognition that some disabled people will be unable to meet standard employment measures regarding hours worked and types of employment vacancies sought');

4. Disablement Income Group (DIG) expressed its concern that some disabled people would find themselves unable to meet the more stringent rules applied: Benefits Agency (BA) stated rules will be slacker for Disabled People (Disability Now, September 1996); and
5. Reformulation of Ability Development Centres (ADC) into regional based agencies alongside PACT's.
 - * PACT's to remain within the local Employment Service with a more centralised presence within the ADC's (Nov 1996).

Governments draft Employment Code criticised by the Confederation British Industries (CBI), and the Employers' Forum on Disability (EFD). Proposals revised and presented to Parliament on June 6th. EFD Chairperson describes original code as "potentially inviting more questions than it answers". 'Revision' built around employers' perceptions of the implications to 'industry' of the DDA.

Finalised Employment Code due to come into effect on 2nd of December 1996. Report of the 'Consultation on the Employment Code of Practice, Guidance on Definition of Disability and Related Regulations'.

Main Findings

1. The Disability Discrimination Act 1995 (DDA) contains provision which makes discrimination against disabled people unlawful. This report represents the findings from the consultation on a draft employment Code of Practice, draft Guidance on the definition of disability and proposals for regulations covering the employment and definition provisions of the DDA;
2. Although many respondents were broadly content with contents, clarity and comprehensiveness of the proposed Code of Practice and Guidance, fewer than 25% felt, on any given part of the Code, that it was very effective in helping employers understand how to avoid discrimination;
3. Over 50% of those who responded to the relevant question felt that the Code contained too few examples;
4. Most respondents felt that the proposed Guidance of the definition of disability helped them understand the relevant issues and over 60% felt that it contained sufficient examples;
5. All of the proposals for regulations were supported by a majority of those who expressed an opinion.

1997

ES, re-introduces charge to employers using the Access To Work (ATW) scheme. Disability organisations protest this move describing it as deterrence to many existing or would-be employers.

1997

Minister of State for Education and Employment - ES to set up a Disability Consulting Group (DCG) in each of its regions and in Wales and Scotland. Committees for the Employment of People with Disabilities (CEPDs) to end 31st March 1997, DCGs to begin April 1997 - to enhance relations, and liaison with local services.

*Review of requirements of those using the ES, SEP programme commissioned in 1996, subject to delay due to disagreement by the ES on its findings. Controversy concerned method of assessment of statistical analysis of survey findings. Revised publication to be published in 1999 (see bibliography below).

European Union member states meeting: European Jobs Summit Three Agenda Commitments.

1. Assess each states agreement on joint actions
2. Agree best practices strategies for employment creation of all member states
3. Develop agreed basis for employment policy guidelines including disability.

Social Security Advisory Committee (SSAC): Social Security provision for Disability: A Case for Change. TSO: Research to evaluate Incapacity Benefit, DSS. TSO.

1998

Government Manifesto welfare and social policy review launched New Ambitions for our Country - Employment & Welfare Social Contract proposals. Emphasis placed on increasing disabled people's entry into work. Strengthening of work discipline measures.

New Deal: Review of disability welfare policy by Secretary of State for Social Security - objective to produce 5% to 25% cut in disability benefits. Social Security Minister argues that presently the disability benefits system despite costing £25 billion per annum does not meet disabled peoples needs. In particular it fails to meet part-time workers needs. New Deal for Disabled People (NDDP), £195 million to be used to assist disabled people in returning to work.

1998 Keynote factor

Disability Benefits Consortium, state that they are not prepared to defend this policy. Suggest that benefits be organised to ensure improved employment opportunities - emphasis on skill attainment, together with the possibility of improved/increased benefit levels for severely disabled people. Restated demands for "Full Civil Rights" as the principle aim of policy. Publication of Review of Supply and Demand for Supported Employment Provision (August)

E U Member States Guidelines for Employment Policies for 1998 To give specific attention to women, and men, considering a return to the paid workforce after an absence and, to that end, they will examine the means of gradually eliminating the obstacles in the way of such return. Promote the integration of

people with disabilities into working life to give special attention to the problems people with disabilities may encounter in participating in working life.

Department of Social Security, (1998) *A New Contract for Welfare*, TSO. New contracts of services with emphasis on disabled persons work integration.

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Department of Social Security (1998) *Research Summary: Report No 86*, Dorsett, R., Finlayson, L., Ford, R. and Zarb, G. *Leaving Incapacity Benefit*.

DfEE, (November, 1998) *New Deal for Disabled People: Personal Adviser Service Pilot Aims and Objectives*. London: TSO.

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28th January (1999) *The Employment Relations Bill is Published* New culture of partnership at work.

February (1999) *The Fairness at Work Programme: New Ground rules for employment relations*, IRS Employment Trends 674.

February (1999) *National Conference: Implementing New Government Policies on Disability*. London: QMW Public Policy Seminars. Broad review of current work and welfare developments.

July (1999) *Social Policy Association Annual Conference: Globalisation and disability employment Policy: flexibility or insecurity?* London: Roehampton Institute.

Readings of the Welfare Reform and Pensions Bill (1998)

ES, *The Supported Employment Programme*, August 1999. A consultation on future development, Sheffield: ES. The SEP employs over 22, 000 people at an annual cost of £155 million. Consultation to examine good working practices for more flexible employment of disabled persons.

Appendix 6

Disability and Employment Telephone Interview:

Questionnaire 1

The Disability and Employment Research Interview Schedule Col 1

Hello, Am I speaking to Mr/Mrs/Ms... _____

My name is Tim Kleinschmidt from the University of Plymouth. You took part in a survey on disabled people some time ago. You may recall that I wrote to you about that survey?

I'm doing a different survey on disability. Would you like to take part?

Yes Col 2

No If No Col 3

Would you like to think about it further, and I could phone you later?

Now Col 4

Later Col 5

Date Suggested for Interview Day Time

Before I ask you the questions let me explain that any comments that you make to me will be confidential and I will not be naming anyone who takes part in the study.

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions if I may, about your employment experiences?

Question 1 Are you currently employed?

Yes Go to Question 3 Col 6

No Go to Question 2 Col 7

Question 2 Have you ever been employed?

Yes Go to Question 3 Col 8

No Go to Question 8 Col 9

Question 3 How long have you been employed?

In your present job _____

Before you stopped work _____

Question 4 could you describe your work history?

Question 5 What was your usual occupation?

Yes Go to Question 7 Col 10

No Go to Question 6 Col 11

Question 6 Do you have any comments on this matter?

Question 7 Have you had to change your employment due to the failure of employers to respond to disability?

Yes Go to Question 8 Col 12

No Go to Question 8 Col 13

Question 8 Has your choice of Career been affected by your disability?

Yes Go to Question 9 Col 14

No Go to Question 10 Col 15

Don't Know Go to Question 10 Col 16

Question 9 Why did you change your form of work?

Question 10 Has being disabled significantly affected your working life?

Yes Go to Question 11 Col 17

No Go to Question 12 Col 18

Question 11 in what way does this affect your work?

Question 12 Did you contact anyone in the employment service, or the ESDS concerning your employment needs?

Yes Go to Question 13 Col 19

No Go to Question 14 Col 20

Question 13 Was the person you spoke to based at either a Job centre, a Job club or Careers Office?

Job centre Go to Question 15 Col 21

Job club Go to Question 14 Col 22

Careers Office Go to Question 14 Col 23

Somewhere else? Go to Question 14 Col 24

Don't Know Go to Question 14 Col 25

Prompt Did he or she have any specific job title?

Question 14 Was the person you spoke to either a Disablement Resettlement Officer a (DRO) or, a Disability Employment Advisor (DEA)?

Yes Go to Question 15 Col 26

No Go to Question 15 Col 27

Someone else Go to Question 15 Col 28

Please specify

Don't Know Go to Question 15 Col 29

DRO DEA Other Col 30

1

2

3

Question 15 What options did that person offer you? Was it either:

Assessment? Yes Go to Question 16 Col 31

No Go to Question 17 Col 32

Rehabilitation? Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Question 18	Col 33	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Question 20	Col 34	<input type="checkbox"/>
Skill Training? Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Question 21	Col 35	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Question 24	Col 36	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other? Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Question 21	Col 37	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Question 24	Col 38	<input type="checkbox"/>

Can you please describe this!

Question 16 Was the assessment suitable for you?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Question 18	Col 39	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Question 17	Col 40	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not sure	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Question 17	Col 41	<input type="checkbox"/>

Question 17 Were you offered either a Rehabilitation Programme, or, a Skill Training Course?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	Which one?	Col 42	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rehabilitation	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q. 18	Col 43	<input type="checkbox"/>
Skill Training	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q.21	Col 44	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Q.26	Col 45	<input type="checkbox"/>

Question 18 Was this Rehabilitation Programme suitable for you?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Question 20	Col 46	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Question 19	Col 47	<input type="checkbox"/>
Don't Know	<input type="checkbox"/>	Go to Question 21	Col 48	<input type="checkbox"/>

Question 19 If No -Where did it go wrong? If Yes - What was beneficial?

Question 20 Which of these comments would you say best describes your rehabilitation experience?

- Very Suitable Col 49
- Suitable Col 50
- Neither Suitable or Unsuitable Col 51
- Unsuitable Col 52
- Very Unsuitable Col 53

Question 21 Because of your disability or health needs have you ever been offered any Skill(s) Training by the employment services?

- Yes Go to Question 22 Col 54
- No Go to Question 26 Col 55

Question 22 What was it called? Prompt: was it any of the following?

- Employment Training Col 56
- Employment Action Col 57
- Training for Work Col 58
- Rehabilitation Course Col 59
- Youth Training Col 60
- Youth Training Scheme Col 61
- Community Programme Col 62
- Training College Col 63
- Special Needs Training Col 64
- Prepatory Training Col 65
- Training Opportunities Programme Col 66
- Other? Col 67

Question 23 Did you get the type of training you wanted to receive?

- Yes Go to Question 25 Col 68
- No Go to Question 24 Col 69
- Partly Go to Question 24 Col 70

Question 24 If No - Where did it go wrong? If Yes - How was it beneficial?

Question 25 Which of these comments best describes your training experience?

- Very Suitable Col 71
- Suitable Col 72
- Neither Suitable or Unsuitable Col 73
- Unsuitable Col 74
- Very Unsuitable Col 75

Question 26 Have you ever requested any type of help with personal items to assist you in your employment needs?

- Yes Go to Question 27 Col 76
- No Go to Question 30 Col 77

Question 27 What kind of help was it?

Prompt Tools, Equipment for working - mobility, fees.

Question 28 Who offered this help?

Prompt Was it the Employment Department's Placing Advice and Counselling Team ?

- Yes Go to Question 29 Col 78
- No Go to Question 30 Col 79
- Don't Know Go to Question 30 Col 80

Question 29 Which of the following comments best describes the help you were given?

- Very Suitable Col 81
- Suitable Col 82
- Neither Suitable or Unsuitable Col 83

Unsuitable Col 84

Very Unsuitable Col 85

Question 30 Have you ever been offered Sheltered Employment?

Yes Go to Question 31 Col 86

No Go to Question 34 Col 87

Question 31 Was it suitable to your needs?

Yes Go to Question 33 Col 88

No Go to Question 32 Col 89

Don't Know Go to Question 34 Col 90

Question 32 What was wrong with it?

Question 33 Which of the following best describes your experience of Sheltered Employment?

Very Suitable Col 91

Suitable Col 92

Neither Suitable or Unsuitable Col 93

Unsuitable Col 94

Very Unsuitable Col 95

Question 34 Have you ever been offered an Employment Placement Scheme?

(Explain P.S. is if required)

Yes Go to Question 35 Col 96

No Go to Question 37 Col 97

Question 35 Was this option suitable to your needs?

Yes Go to Question 37 Col 98

No Go to Question 36 Col 99

Don't Know Go to Question 38 Col 100

Question 36 What was wrong with it?

Question 37 Which of the following best describes your Work Placement experience?

- Very Suitable Col 101
- Suitable Col 102
- Neither Suitable or Unsuitable Col 103
- Unsuitable Col 104
- Very Unsuitable Col 105

Question 38 When you were interviewed by the employment service was the range of choices available suitable?

- Yes Go to Question 39 Col 106
- No Go to Question 40 Col 107
- Don't Know Go to Question 39 Col 108

Question 39 Why did you feel that was the case?

Question 40 Was this because you felt that you were not adequately informed of what is available?

- Yes Go to Question 41 Col 109
- No Go to Question 41 Col 110
- Don't Know Go to Question 41 Col 111

Question 41 Which of the following comments would best describe the person who advised you for training or employment?

- Helpful 1
 - Neither helpful or Unhelpful 2
 - Unhelpful 3
- Col 112

Question 42 Are you registered as disabled under the 1944 Disabled Person's (Employment) Act?

- Yes Go to Question 43 Col 113

No Go to Question 43 Col 114

Question 43 Could you state the advantages of registration?

Question 44 Are there any disadvantages?

Question 45 Have you ever considered registration?

Yes Go to Question 46 Col 115

No Go to Question 47 Col 116

Question 46 What prevented you from going on to the disability register?

Question 47 As a result of disability or health needs, have you ever been offered any Training while you were actually employed?

Yes Go to Question 48 Col 117

No Go to Question 51 Col 118

Comment

Question 48 Was this training suitable to your needs?

Yes Go to Question 50 Col 119

No Go to Question 49 Col 120

Don't Know Go to Question 49 Col 121

Question 49 Why was this?

Question 50 Which of the following would best describe your experience of training?

- Very Suitable Col 122
- Suitable Col 123
- Neither Suitable or Unsuitable Col 124
- Unsuitable Col 125
- Very Unsuitable Col 126

Question 51 If you could have had any type of Training- what would you prefer?

Question 52 What Training would best meet your current needs?

Question 53 Due to disability have you undergone occupational changes during your working life?

- Yes Go to Question 54 Col 127
- No Go to Question 57 Col 128

Question 54 Was This - In under the last:

- Under 5 years Col 129
- Five years Col 130
- Ten Years Col 131
- Fifteen Years Col 132
- Twenty Years Col 133
- Twenty Five + Col 134
- Thirty + Col 135

Question 55 What caused this change?

Question 56 Why were you unable to continue in this type of work?

Question 57 Because of your disability, or health have you ever experienced any perception of prejudice, regarding your work ability either from employers or from people in positions of authority in the workplace?

Yes Go to Question 58 Col 136

No Go to Question 60 Col 137

Not Applicable Go to Question Col 138

Can't Say Go to Question Col 139

Comments

Question 58 On a scale of 1-10, which level would you say best describes your experience of workplace prejudice?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Col 140

Question 59 Could you give an example of this prejudice?

Question 60 Because of disability, or health problems have you ever experienced any perception of stigma towards you from employers or people in positions of authority at work?

Yes Go to Question 61 Col 141

No Go to Question 62 Col 142

Not applicable Go to Question 62 Col 143

Question 61 On a scale of 1-10, which level would you say best describes your experience of workplace stigma?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Col 144

Question 62 Have you noticed any improvements in the range or quality in the Employment Service in the last 3 years?

Yes Go to Question 63

Col 145

No Go to Question 64

Col 146

Can't Say Go to Question 64

Col 147

Question 63 Can you give an example of this?

Question 64 Are there any changes You would wish to see in the employment opportunities provided for disabled people?

Yes Go to Question 65

Col 148

No Go to Question 68

Col 149

Can't Say Go to Question 66

Col 150

Question 65 If so, What changes?

Question 66 Does this include Training advice?

Yes Go to Question 67

Col 151

No Go to Question 68

Col 152

Can't Say Go to Question 67

Col 153

Comment

Question 67 What changes would you like to see?

The next set of questions concerns Employment and Welfare Benefits:

Question 68 Have you ever sought help from any agency about your employment or income needs ?

Yes Go to Question 69 Col 154

No Go to Question 71 Col 155

Prompt: (If answer Yes) Which agency was this?

Question 69 Was this agency able to provide you with adequate information?

Yes Go to Question 70 Col 156

No Go to Question 71 Col 157

Sometimes Go to Question 70 Col 158

Question 70 Can you give me an example of this?

Many agencies who provide services for disabled people claim that they are becoming more aware and sensitive to the needs of disabled people

Question 71 Have you sought advice from any agencies that deal with the needs of disabled people?

Yes Go to Question 72 Col 159

No Go to Question 76 Col 160

Question 72 Which agency or agencies was this?

Question 73 Was the advice they gave you suitable to you needs?

Yes Go to Question 75 Col 161

No Go to Question 74 Col 162

Neither Go to Question 75 Col 163

Question 74 How did they fail to meet your needs?

Question 75 Have you ever claimed any welfare benefit connected to disability needs?

Yes Go to Question 76 Col 164

No Go to Question 77 Col 165

Question 76 Was it any of the following?

1. Disability Living Allowance Col 166
2. Disability Working Allowance Col 167
3. Income Support Col 168
4. Incapacity Benefit Col 169
5. Invalidity Benefit Col 170
6. Mobility Allowance Col 171
7. Attendance Allowance Col 172
8. Severe Disability Premium Col 173
9. Industrial Injuries Benefit Col 174
10. Any Other Type of Benefit Col 175

Please specify

Question 77 In your opinion, does being in receipt of benefits for disability or health needs, discourage you from seeking employment?

Yes Go to Question 78 Col 176

No Go to Question 79 Col 177

Don't know Go to Question 79 Col 178

Question 78 In what way does it do this?

Finally, If I can, I would like to ask you a few questions about yourself.

Question 79 What is the nature of, or medical term(s) for your particular impairment or condition?

Comment

Question 80 Did this condition happen as a result of an 'accident'?

Yes Go to Question 81 Col 179

No Go to Question 82 Col 180

Comment

Question 81 Was this 'accident' related to your work?

Yes Go to Question 84 Col 181

No Go to Question 82 Col 182

Comment

Question 82 Were you born with the condition?

Yes Go to Question 84 Col 183

No Go to Question 83 Col 184

Comment

Question 83 Did the condition just occur?

Yes Go to Question 85 Col 185

No Go to Question 86 Col 186

Comment

Question 84 How has it effected your working life?

Comment

Question 85 Has your disability meant that you have experienced significant health problems relating to your working life?

Yes Go to Question 86 Col 187

No Go to Question 87 Col 188

Question 86 Could you give an example of this?

Many people with a disability are denied an adequate education

Comment

Question 87 Can you tell me what type of schooling you received?

Mainstream State Schooling Tick One Box

- A Secondary Modern Col 189
- B Grammar School Col 190
- C Comprehensive School Col 191
- D Other Col 192

Please specify

Specialised Education.

- D Special School(s) Col 193
- E Specialised Education in the state system Col 194
- F A combination of mainstream and Special Schooling Col 195
- G Other? Col 196

Please specify

Have you formal or informal qualifications other than schooling?

Yes Col 197

No Col 198

If Yes: Please describe this

If No: Has lack of positive support denied you opportunity

Further Education?

Yes Col 199

No Col 200

If yes: Please describe

Higher Education?

Yes Col 201

No Col 202

Question 88 As a consequence of disability did you encounter prejudice during your schooling ?

Yes Go to Question 89 Col 203

No Go to Question 90 Col 204

N/A Go to Question 90 Col 205

Question 89 What type of prejudice was this?

Comment

Question 90 As a consequence of disability did you encounter disadvantage during your schooling ?

Yes Go to Question 91 Col 206

No Go to Question 92 Col 207

N/A Go to Question 94 Col 208

Question 91 What sort of disadvantage was this?

Question 92 Did your schooling adequately help you to cope with barriers in obtaining educational opportunities?

Yes Go to Question 94 Col 209

No Go to Question 93 Col 210

Not Sure Go to Question 93 Col 211

N/A Go to Question 94 Col 212

Question 93 Where did they fail to meet your needs?

Question 94 What problems, if any, do you encounter in Public Transport.

Question 95 What problems, if any, do you encounter in gaining access to private or public services.

Question 96 What problems, if any, do you encounter with barriers and poor planning in your locality

Question 97 What, if any, other types of social problem affecting issues to do with work or work opportunity do you encounter due to social barriers, disablement and people's negative attitudes towards you?

Question 98 What age are you? Is it?

20 or under	<input type="checkbox"/>	Col 213	<input type="checkbox"/>
21-30	<input type="checkbox"/>	Col 214	<input type="checkbox"/>
31-40	<input type="checkbox"/>	Col 215	<input type="checkbox"/>
41-50	<input type="checkbox"/>	Col 216	<input type="checkbox"/>
51-60	<input type="checkbox"/>	Col 217	<input type="checkbox"/>
61-65	<input type="checkbox"/>	Col 218	<input type="checkbox"/>

Question 99 Is the Respondent

Male	<input type="checkbox"/>	1
Female	<input type="checkbox"/>	2

Col 219

Finally, can I ask if there are any issues or matters that we have not covered that you feel should also be considered?

Once again. Thank you for your participation in this research.

Appendix 7

Questionnaire 2

In-Depth Questionnaire:

1

Interview Schedule

Participant Mr, Mrs, Ms _____

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this second interview. I found the information that you gave during your first interview very helpful in understanding problems that disabled people face, either in seeking work, or in using the employment services. When we last spoke, you may recall that I asked a number of questions about using the disability employment services to help with work related needs.

I have here a copy of your previous comments. In this interview, I really want to know about how things are with you now. I would also like to ask about any type(s) of resource-support you may require relating to work and employment

1. Experiences of using Employment Services

The disability section of the employment service run by Disability Employment Advisors (DEA's) provides these three main options.

- 1 Assessment of your capabilities for work purposes
- 2 Rehabilitation, for employment purposes, in workshops
- 3 Skill Training, either in workshops or on work based placements

1. 1 Did they provide enough information for you at your interview(s) to make informed decisions on the three choices described? (Please tick only one box).

1.1.1 On assessment of your capabilities for work purposes

- i) No, generally they did not 1
- ii) Sometimes they did not 2
- iii) Sometimes yes, sometimes no 3

- iv) Sometimes they did 4
- v) Yes, generally they did 5

Col 1

1. 1. 2 What are your views about that?

.

1.1. 3 On rehabilitation, for employment purposes

- i) No, generally they did not 1
- ii) Sometimes they did not 2
- iii) Sometimes yes, sometimes no 3
- iv) Sometimes they did 4
- v) Yes, generally they did 5

Col 2

1. 1. 4 What are your views about that?

1.1.5 On skill training course(s)

- i) No, generally they did not 1
- ii) Sometimes they did not 2
- iii) Sometimes yes, sometimes no 3
- iv) Sometimes they did 4
- v) Yes, generally they did 5

Col 3

1. 1. 6 What are your views about that?

Disability Employment Advisor's (DEA's) are instructed to ensure that interviews are based on mutual agreements. People are encouraged to make decisions based on their sense of need and the DEA's suggestions or information.

1. 2 With respect to the treatment or attitude towards you during interview(s) by disability service workers, which of these five statements best reflects your experience(s)?

1. 2. 1 Was it a case of basically ignoring your needs?

(Code Yes 1 No 2. N/A 3 Cannot Say 4.)

Col 4

1.2.2 Did they select which options you should take?

Comment

(Code Yes 1. No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4.).

Col 5

1.2.3 Was the attitude towards you a negative one?

Comment

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4.).

Col 6

1.2.4 Were suggested option(s) based on joint decisions, or were your wants or needs left out?

Comment

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4.).

Col 7

1.2.5 Was it generally a mutual process with your needs recognised and met?

Comment

(Code Yes 1. No 2. N/A 3. Cannot Say 4.).

Col 8

1.3 Considering the interview(s) with the Employment Service which of the following responses is closest to your experiences of using the service.

Very Good 1

Good 2

Neutral 3

Poor 4

Very Poor 5

Col 9

1.3.1 How would you describe the experience of being interviewed by the Employment Service?

1.4 In your opinion, which, if any, of the following five developments should the disability services seek to achieve? Please list as priorities 1-5 in order of importance to you.

- 1. More staff with disabilities Col 10
- 2. More information on what the service offers Col 11
- 3. More contact with disabled service users Col 12
- 4. More training options Col 13
- 5. More access to continuing education Col 14

1.4.1 What are your views about this?

1.5 Overall, how would you describe the quality of service you received from the disability employment service?

1. Very Good

2. Good

3. Neither particularly good nor particularly poor

4. Poor

5. Very Poor

Col 15

1.5.1 Please describe why you felt this was the case?

1.6 In your experience of using the service what types of improvements to the disability services would you advise?

2. Requirements relating to employment needs

With the introduction in 1992 of the Placing, Advice and Counselling Team (PACT) within the employment disability services a range of six existing support schemes were amalgamated. On the 6th June 1994, these schemes were formed into the Access to Work (ATW) programme.

I would like to ask you some questions with regard to these schemes.

2.1 Have you ever required or requested any of the following types of help relating to employment?

<u>Tick appropriate box(es)</u>	yes	no
1. Special Aids to Employment (SAE)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Adaptations to Premises and Equipment (APE)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Assisted Fares to Work (AFW)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Personal Reader Service (PRS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Job Introduction Scheme (JIS)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Business on Own Account (BOA)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7. Adaptations to Vehicles (AV)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8. Communicator Support at Interview (CSI)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9. Support Worker (SW)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10. Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please describe

2.1.1 If answer is yes to any of the above could you please describe this?

2.2 Can you name any work based support that might help you with your present employment/or for work purposes?

Comment

2.2.1 If answer is yes. Which of the following would it relate to?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. Special Aids to Employment (SAE) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. Adaptations to Premises and Equipment (APE) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Assisted Fares to Work (AFW) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Personal Reader Service (PRS) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Job Introduction Scheme (JIS) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Business on Own Account (BOA) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. Adaptations to Vehicles (AV) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. Communicator Support at Interview (CSI) | <input type="checkbox"/> |

9. Support Worker (SW)
10. Other please describe

(Code: Yes 1. No 2 Cannot Say 3 Not Applicable 4)

Col 16

2. 2. 2 Would you like to comment further on this?

2. 3 Was this help provided?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3).

Col 17

2. 3. 1 If yes. Would you like to make some comments?

2. 4 Who was it supplied by?

(Code Employer 1 Employment Service 2. Both 3).

Col 18

2. 4.1 Have you any comments you would like to make about this provision?

2. 5 Has the Employment Service ever refused you any request for support regarding the work environment

(Code Yes 1 No 2. N/A 3 Cannot Say 4)

Col 19

2. 5. 1 Could you describe this situation?

2. 5. 2 Has the Employment Service ever refused you any request for support regarding resource help or other general matters?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 20

2.5.3 Could you describe this situation?

2.6 Has an employer ever refused you any request for support in the work environment?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4)

Col 21

2.6.1 Could you describe this situation?

2.6.2 Has an employer ever refused you any request for support in general?

Comment

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 22

2.7 Can you identify what type of service/help given by the Employment Service you found the most useful?

Comment

2.7.1 Why was this the case?

2.8 Can you identify what was most unhelpful about the Employment Service?

Comment

2.8.1 Why was this the case?

3 Labour market experiences

3. 1 Since we last spoke have there been any significant changes effecting you regarding either your employment situation or in the workplace?

3. 1. 1 Could you please describe this situation

3. 2 Since the last time we spoke has employment related prejudice effected your ability to work in a particular type of employment?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 23

3. 2. 1 Please describe this situation

3. 3 Does continuing stigma concerning impairment prevent you from working in any particular type of occupation?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 24

3. 3. 1 Please describe this situation

3. 4 Because of disability, have you ever felt that you were excluded from workplace situations?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 25

3. 4 1 Could you please describe this?

Research evidence shows many disabled people have extra living costs:

3.5 What about extra living costs connected with disability - do you feel that you have any such expenses?

(Code Yes 1 No 2. N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 26

3.5.1 How much per week would you estimate it costs you to meet expense(s) associated with disability. For example: diet, clothing, laundry, heating, mobility, work, living expenses etc?

Less than £1

£1-£5

£6-£10

more than £10.

Col 27

3.5.2 Could you please describe this expenditure?

4. Training and Skills needs

4.1 What about essential training or skills. Do you feel that you lack support or opportunities in this area of needs?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 28

4.1.1 Please describe this situation

4.2 Has the Employment Service ever discussed providing you with new technology skills?

Comment

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3.Cannot Say 4).

Col 29

4. 2. 1 Has the Employment Service ever discussed providing you with specialist skills?

Comment

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 30

4. 2. 2 Do you have any comments on this?

4. 3 Was their suggestion or action useful to you?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say =4).

Col 31

4. 3. 1 If not, what did you feel was wrong with it?

4. 3. 2 Has an Employer ever suggested, or provided you with new technology or specialist skills?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 32

Employer suggested/provided:

New Technology 1

Specialist Skills 2

Neither 3

New Technology 1.

Col 33

Specialist Skills 2.

Col 34

4. 3. 3 If so, was their suggestion or action useful to you?

(Code Yes 1 No.2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 35

4. 3. 4 If not, what did you feel was wrong with it?

4. 4 What about training and education. Has the Employment Service ever suggested doing a National Vocational Qualification (NVQ)?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4)

Col 36

4. 4. 1 What are your views on this matter?

4. 4. 2 At present there are 160 occupations covered by this qualification. Were you informed of this potential option?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 37

4. 4. 3 What are your views on this?

In recent years the disability section of the employment service has placed growing emphasis on access to workplace-based training and experience.

4. 5 Are you presently in, or have you ever been on, an employment placement?

Yes =1

No = 2

4. 5. 1 Which of the following would apply to you?

I have been on a Placement 1

I am currently on a Placement 2

I have never been on a Placement 3

I have done a Job Introduction Scheme 4

I would like to do a Placement 5

I was unaware of these Options 6

Col 38

4. 5. 2 What are your views on this matter?

4. 5. 3 [If placement applies] was this a positive experience for you?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 39

4. 5. 4 Do you have any comments on this matter?

5. New Disability Policy

5.1 In 1995 the Government introduced an Act of Parliament called the Disability Discrimination Act. In your opinion has this legislation been of any use to you?

(Code Yes 1 No 2. N/A 3. Cannot Say 4).

Col 40

5. 1. 1 Can you describe why you think this is the case

5. 2 What measures would you recommend to reduce the disadvantage that disabled people face in the workplace and in general?

(Would it be: Legal Powers 1. Voluntary Codes 2. Other 3).

Col 41

5. 2. 1 Please describe your views on this matter

5. 3 What are your views regarding the Government's need to strengthen disability policy by passing more anti-discrimination laws?

5. 3. 1 Which of the two following statements would you agree with?

1. Yes. I agree there is a need for such legislation.

2. No. I do not agree with the need for more such legislation.

Col 42

5. 3. 2 Why do you feel this is the case?

5. 4 Can you give an example of what needs they might consider?

(Code Yes 1 No 2. N/A 3 Cannot Say 4)

Col 43

5. 4 1 Please describe

6. Disability and State Welfare Programs.

6.1 Have you ever tried to claim welfare benefits relating to disability?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Recall 4).

Col 44

6. 1. 1 Comments

6. 2 Was this claim made recently?

(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3 Cannot Say 4).

Col 45

6. 2. 1 What are your views about benefits. Do you believe that they can or do prevent you from working?

(Code Yes 1. No 2. N/A 3. Cannot Say =4).

Col 46

Please explain why you feel this is the case? (Prompt: are benefits too inflexible for your requirements?)

6.3 Did you have adequate knowledge of what type of benefits you might be entitled too?

(Code Yes 1. No 2 N/A 3. Cannot Say 4). Col 47

6.3.1 What are your views about this?

6.4 Were the disability services a source of help with benefits advice?
(Code Yes 1 No 2 N/A 3. Cannot Say 4). Col 48

6.4.1 What are your views about this?

6.5 Was the claim for benefit made while you were in part-time or full-time work? Tick appropriate boxes.

Part-time Code as Yes 1 No 2 Col 49

Full-time Code as Yes 1 No 2 Col 50

6.5.1 Please describe

6.6 Or, was the claim made while you were not employed?

(Code Yes 1. No 2. N/A 3. Cannot Say 4). Col 51

6.6.1 What are your views about this?

6.7 Have you had any of the following disability benefit problems?

Please tick appropriate box (es)

	Yes	No
1. Claiming benefits has meant negative effects on earnings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Claiming benefits has prevented you from working	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. The disability benefits system is too complicated to clearly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- understand what you can or cannot get
- 4. There is too much stigma involved in claiming benefits
- 5. Benefits appeared to be used by the disability services as
a rather poor alternative to finding you suitable work
- 6. Earnings are so low you have to rely on some state help
- 7. Other reason(s) (Please describe)

6. 7.1 What are your views about this?

The Employment Service Disability Employment Advisors, currently provide a discretionary based follow-up for some service users.

6. 8 Did the Employment Service Disability Employment Advisor(s) provide sufficient long-term support for your needs?

- i) No, generally they did not 1
- ii) Sometimes they did not 2
- iii) Sometimes yes, sometimes no 3
- iv) Sometimes they did 4
- v) Yes, generally they did 5

Col 52

6. 8. 1 What are your views on this?

6. 8. 2 Would you recommend that DEA's should provide a regular follow-up contact with service users?

(Code Yes 1. No 2. N/A 3. Cannot Say 4).

Col 53

6. 8. 3 Would you like to comment on this?

6. 8. 4 If yes, should this be on a voluntary basis, or Guaranteed as a regular part of the service?

7. There has been increasing general emphasis on expanding access to post-school education in the last decade

7. 1 Were you asked by disability service personnel if you were Interested in undertaking further or higher education?

(Code Yes 1 No 2.N/A 3. Cannot Say 4).

Col 54

7. 1. 1 If answers yes: please identify educational options suggested.

Was it?

1. College Diploma

2. Higher National Diploma

3. Degree or Post-Graduate

7. 1. 2. Would you want to take-up any of these options?

(Code Yes 1. No 2. N/A 3. Cannot Say 4).

Col 55

7. 1. 3 If yes: Which option might you chose, or have chosen?

7. 1. 4 if no: Why did/ would you decide against this option?

7. 2 Finally, I would like to ask you to identify which types of skills you have? Please select from the list below and feel free to add any other(s).

7.2.1.

1. Professional Careers
2. Domestic or social caring: childcare, caring for relatives, friends or neighbours
3. Manufacturing/ production (skilled)
4. " " (Semi-skilled)
5. " " (unskilled)
6. Sales, or company representatives
7. Other unskilled occupations
8. Managerial Position
9. Supervisor/ Foreman/woman
10. Labourer
11. Other (Please describe)

7.2.3 please identify which, if any, you have acquired?

7.2.4 Have you any comments on this matter?

Well that concludes the formal range of questions I wanted to discuss. Can I ask if you feel that there are any other matters that need to be considered? Any issues that we may have overlooked or have not yet fully gone into?

Once again, I would like to thank you for taking part in this interview and to assure you that your privacy will be fully respected and that you will neither be named nor identified either within the course of the research or in the case of any published report.

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