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Footprints, Wheel Tracks, and Stirrings of a Movement:
Positioning People with Disability and
the Disability Rights Movement within Australia

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for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Social Work and
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ABSTRACT

The Disability Rights Movement, which emerged internationally as a major force operating to emancipate people with disability, can be identified as leaving only fragile footprints within Australia. In contrast, there are other new social movements that have received a higher level of recognition, prominence and influence within Australia. A sampling of two of these movements—the Women’s Liberation and Indigenous Rights Movements—were used to develop a tool for analysing the struggle of people with disability and the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. This research was framed through the critical inquiry, disability studies – emancipatory and critical pre-action paradigms. A documentary method was used, where annotations were made from literature representing the sampled movements. A study was presented of the sampled movements, with the aim of learning from these movements. An analysis tool was then developed for application to the Disability Rights Movement from the information gained. This tool involves three aspects: domains, which explore the roots of the struggle; details, which investigate significant visions, events, and voices within a context of local conditions and international influences; and dimensions, which explicated the levels of consciousness that develop through new social movements.

This analysis tool was then applied to disability literature in Australia. People with disability were identified, as a group within Australia, as having been oppressed and ‘othered’ by their non-disabled counterparts who have assumed medical, professional and economic dominance. This study established the positioning of people with disability in Australia as one characterised by exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence within the medical, professional and market domains. The struggles of the disabled ‘other’ were framed through the denial of citizenship, segregation within institutions, living on the margins of society and the Disabled Body. These themes were identified and explored as areas of oppression for people with disability in Australia.

Through an initial critical analysis, this study then revealed a fragmented picture of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. An explanation was presented for these tensions, where two streams were identified within the movement, namely the ability stream and the disability pride stream. These streams were identified as running concurrently through the movement, creating a confluence which inhibits the movement from leaving significant footprints within Australia. Each of these streams, including their motivations and visions were evidenced.

This research concludes that disability in Australia is still considered within modern thought, and thus the ‘othering’ of people with disability within an hierarchy of dominance continues to be reinforced through regimes and institutions, and is evidenced through the privileged control of public and private spaces. The Disability Rights Movement in Australia was reviewed as individually fragmented, collectively divided and publicly restricted, allowing the privileged to maintain control and impose multiple definitions and interventions on the disabled ‘other’. This research provides an alternative picture for the Disability Rights Movement in Australia, which frames

disability within post-modernity, evidencing counter-hegemonic strategies to challenge privileged control, a commitment to liberation, a celebration of diversity and a reclaiming of private and public spaces.

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Also, I must thank all the authors of works cited within this research. In particular I would like to thank those who recorded their movement histories, wrote their autobiographies, or voiced their opinions through the written word. Many of these authors have been an inspiration to me. This research would not have been possible without the recordings of each of these voices.

I cannot end without thanking my family, on whose constant encouragement and love I have relied upon throughout my time at university. In particular I would like to mention my parents, Stan and Francy Carling, who have seen me through too many years of study☺ and my husband Gary who met and married me during the course of these PhD studies (brave man).

This work however is dedicated to my son, Terry, who has borne the brunt of a distracted mother over the past three years. I started out on this research journey so that he may grow up in a better place, always optimistic in the value and contribution of academic work. For you, Terry, I promise to continue working towards this goal.

Prologue

The following is a rendition of an ancient parable, a story of the power of respect, a lesson in community building and a timely reminder for those of us who want to make a difference, but get discouraged and disillusioned against a backdrop of individualism, terrorism, economic rationalism and a widening gap between groups.

The Rabbi's Gift

(version written by Dr M Scott Peck, *The Different Drum*, 1987, pp.13 – 15)

The story concerns a monastery that had fallen upon hard times. Once a great order, as a result of waves of anti-monastic persecution in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the rise of secularism in the nineteenth, all its branch houses were lost and it had become decimated to the extent that there were only five monks left in the decaying mother house: the abbot and four others, all over seventy in age. Clearly it was a dying order.

In the deep woods surrounding the monastery there was a little hut that a rabbi from a nearby town occasionally used for a hermitage. Through their many years of prayer and contemplation the old monks had become a bit psychic, so they could always sense when the rabbi was in his hermitage. "The rabbi is in the woods, the rabbi is in the woods again..." they would whisper to each other. As he agonized over the imminent death of his order, it occurred to the abbot at one such time to visit the hermitage and ask the rabbi if by some possible chance he could offer any advice that might save the monastery.

The rabbi welcomed the abbot at his hut. But when the abbot explained the purpose of his visit, the rabbi could only commiserate with him. "I know how it is," he exclaimed. "The spirit has gone out of the people. It is the same in my town. Almost no one comes to the synagogue anymore." So the old abbot and the old rabbi wept together. Then they read parts of the Torah and quietly spoke of deep things. The time came when the abbot had to leave. They embraced each other. "It has been a wonderful thing that we should meet after all these years," the abbot said, "but I have still failed in my purpose for coming here. Is there nothing you can tell me, no piece of advice you can give me that would help me save my dying order?"

"No, I am sorry," the rabbi responded. "I have no advice to give. The only thing I can tell you is that the Messiah is one of you."

When the abbot returned to the monastery his fellow monks gathered around him to ask, "Well what did the rabbi say?" "He couldn't help," the abbot answered. "We just wept and read the Torah together. The only thing he did say, just as I was leaving—it was something cryptic—was that the Messiah is one of us. I don't know what he meant."

In the days and weeks and months that followed, the old monks pondered this and wondered whether there was any possible significance to the rabbi's words. The Messiah is one of us? Could he possibly have meant one of us monks here at the monastery? If that's the case, which one? Do you suppose he meant the abbot? Yes, if he meant anyone, he probably meant Father Abbot. He has been our leader for more than a generation. On the other hand, he might have meant Brother Thomas. Certainly Brother Thomas is a holy man. Everyone knows that Thomas is a man of light. Certainly he could not have meant Brother Elred! Elred gets crotchety at times. But come to think of it, even though he is a thorn in people's sides, when you look back on it, Elred is virtually always right. Often *very* right. Maybe the rabbi did mean Brother Elred. But surely not Brother Phillip. Phillip is so passive, a real nobody. But then, almost mysteriously, he has a gift for somehow always being there when you need him. He just magically appears by your side. Maybe Phillip is the Messiah. Of course the rabbi didn't mean me. He couldn't possibly have meant me. I'm just an ordinary person. Yet supposing he did? Suppose I am the Messiah? O God, not me. I couldn't be that much for You, could I?

As they contemplated in this manner, the old monks began to treat each other with extraordinary respect on the off chance that one among them might be the Messiah. And on the off chance that each monk himself might be the Messiah, they began to treat themselves with extraordinary respect.

Because the forest in which it was situated was beautiful, it so happened that people still occasionally came to visit the monastery to picnic on its tiny lawn, to wander along some of its paths, even now and then to go into the dilapidated chapel to meditate. As they did so, without even being conscious of it, they sensed the aura of extraordinary respect that now began to surround the five old monks and seemed to radiate out from them and permeate the atmosphere of the place. There was something strangely attractive, even compelling, about it. Hardly knowing why, they began to come back to the monastery more frequently to picnic, to play, to pray. They began to bring their friends to show them this special place. And their friends brought their friends.

Then it happened that some of the younger men who came to visit the monastery started to talk more and more with the old monks. After a while one asked if he could join them. Then another. And another. So within a few years the monastery had once again become a thriving order and, thanks to the rabbi's gift, a vibrant centre of light and spirituality in the realm.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Disability is a human rights issue! I repeat: disability is a human rights issue. Those of us who happen to have a disability are fed up being treated by the society and our fellow citizens as if we did not exist or as if we were aliens from outer space.

We are human beings with equal value, claiming equal rights...

If asked, most people, including politicians and other decision makers, agree with us. The problem is that they do not realise the consequences of this principle and they are not ready to take action accordingly.

(Lindqvist, 2000, p. 1).

New social movements have left a plethora of footprints throughout Australian history, initiating changes in public attitudes, government policy and legislation; as well as enhancing quality of life and expanding opportunities for inclusion to the groups of people they formed to support. Global and national conditions have both aided and hindered these movements at different periods in history. The 1960s was a time when new social movements were able to voice their challenge to oppressive socio-political structures against a backdrop of liberation (WSU, 2006). Internationally, Martin Luther King's popularity as a black human rights activist was at its peak. He famously 'dreamed' of a time when all people would be accepted with equal value (Luther King, 1963). Australian women developed international sisterhood links—learning from their overseas counterparts (Caine, 1998; Curthoys, 1998). Indigenous Australians were exposed to international events/conditions and found inspiration from the Civil Rights Movements they found there (Dawkins, 2000a). The Australian economy was booming. There was an increase in the need for women in the workplace, giving weight to their demands for equality (Burgmann, 2003). Throughout the 1970s, Australia experienced a period of full employment and continued economic growth. During the 1980s, oppressed groups and their movements began to be influenced by economic rationalism (Cox, 1998; Thornton, 1998). Governments saw 'movement platforms' as less popular, adopting more economic rhetoric in a time of recession. Internationally, globalisation continued to rise, aided by rapid technological advances (IMF staff, 2002). The 1990s followed similar trends, seeing the end of the Cold War and the rise of global capitalism. The rhetoric of economic rationalism and managerialism continued to accelerate with

marginalized groups now viewed primarily as disposable—‘special interest’ groups within the economy (Meekosha, 2000).

We are now half way through the first decade of the 2000s, a new millennium for the development of new social movements. This could be described as an age of terror for Australia and its militant allies (Sibley, 2006) following such incidents as the September 11 attacks on America (2001), the Bali Bombings aimed at Australians (2002), and the London Bombings (2005). Within this context, the push for everyone to do their part, under ‘mutual obligation’ has eroded many of the social reforms advocated for in previous decades (Cox, 1998; Dodson, 2004). The Australian government of 2006, led by Prime Minister Howard, was focused on Australia’s position in the international community, exemplified through market acts of alliance building within the United States, North America and Britain. Meanwhile, land rights have not been won for Indigenous Australians, glass ceilings still exist for Australian women, and people with disabilities are rarely considered as part of the national agenda.

Disability in Australia has been perceived, portrayed and presented with a wide range of views. These views exist on a continuum between two extremes. One extreme and more popular view frames disability as a negative trait, with beliefs rooted in philosophies such as ‘better dead than disabled’. Philosopher Peter Singer (formerly of Melbourne) promoted this attitude through the articulation of arguments for infanticide and euthanasia on the basis of disability. Singer (1994) called into question the very essence of what it means to be a person:

[T]he term ‘person’ is no mere descriptive label. It carries with it a certain moral standing. ... (p.182)

The right to life is not a right of members of the species *Homo sapiens*; it is ... a right that properly belongs to persons. Not all members of the species *Homo sapiens* are persons, and not all persons are members of the species *Homo sapiens* (p.206).

Singer’s distinction between ‘who is’ and ‘who is not’ a person has led him to advocate for the infanticide of infants with impairments (as they were not persons until at least 28 days old) and for the euthanasia of *homo sapiens* with cognitive and other impairments

(as they also were not considered persons). Singer claimed that such actions cannot be equated to murder and that they would not necessarily have any adverse effect on those who are involved in and affected by the making of these decisions, such as family members (McBryde Johnson, 2003; Not Dead Yet, 2006).

The essence of this view, of the value (or lack of value) of human life, has infiltrated the big screen through movies such as “Million Dollar Baby” (2004/5). This movie has been condemned by disability activists such as Drake (2006) who described it as playing “out killing as a romantic fantasy” and as giving “emotional life to the ‘better dead than disabled’ mindset lurking in the heart of the typical (read: non-disabled) audience member”. “Million Dollar Baby”, which grossed over eight million dollars at the Australian Box Office (Movie Marshall, 2006), promoted euthanasia as the most viable option for a person with paraplegia and arguably misrepresented many of the medical, social and emotional issues surrounding the onset of disability (see links on Not Dead Yet, 2006). McBryde Johnson (2003) saw Singer’s philosophies as based on the assumption that to be disabled is to suffer and to be worse off, and wrote about the position she, as a person with a disability, faces: “As a disabled pariah, I must struggle for a place, for kinship, for community, for connection” (p. 23). Such a struggle was also described by Kathleen Ball (as cited in Goggin and Newell, 2005):

We have made some legitimate gains in terms of physical access but the real problem is yet to be fully addressed. Negative attitudes towards people with disabilities are rife in the community. If we are to achieve any sense of true emancipation, we must fight attitudinal barriers to equal participation in all aspects of community life. Nothing is really going to change until we do... Our lives are governed by legislation. Carers refuse to handle our bodies without the protection of latex ... our bodies remain the property of those who lift, dress and wipe. Women with disabilities continue to be sterilized and when we do reproduce, over one third of our children are removed from our care. Quite often, our pregnancies are terminated against our will. We are raped by institutional staff and yet forbidden to engage in consensual sex. Our finances are managed and our lifestyles are regulated by duty of care (p. 14).

At the other end of the philosophical continuum disability is celebrated, as a form of diversity, acceptance, and contribution (Newell, 2004). In 2005, Scope, a disability organisation in Victoria which represents people with cerebral palsy, launched a television advertisement campaign with the tagline “Disability Means Possibility” (Scope, 2006). This campaign portrayed people with disability as an integral part of the community. Each year, Queensland celebrates Disability Action Week in July. In 2006, Disability Queensland (2006) promoted the use of messages such as “diversity and difference enrich communities”. However, despite these gains, many use public spaces to frame disability as a tragedy, as a personal flaw; an affliction; or as a diminished quality of life (Egan, 1998; Goggin and Newell, 2005). Instead of celebrating and encouraging diversity within our community these differences are often feared, as described by High Court Judge Kirby (2005):

Fear of difference is an infantile disorder. It is common in kindergartens. However, it survives and flourishes long thereafter. Diversity is threatening to people who suffer from this disorder. They like things packaged in a safe, familiar presentation. This is so whether the challenge of difference comes because the other has a different skin colour, an unusual religion, a distinct sexuality different from the majority, sits in a wheelchair, or manifests some other genetic disability or difference (p. 9).

It is this fear of difference which has historically segregated, marginalized and alienated people with disability within Australia.

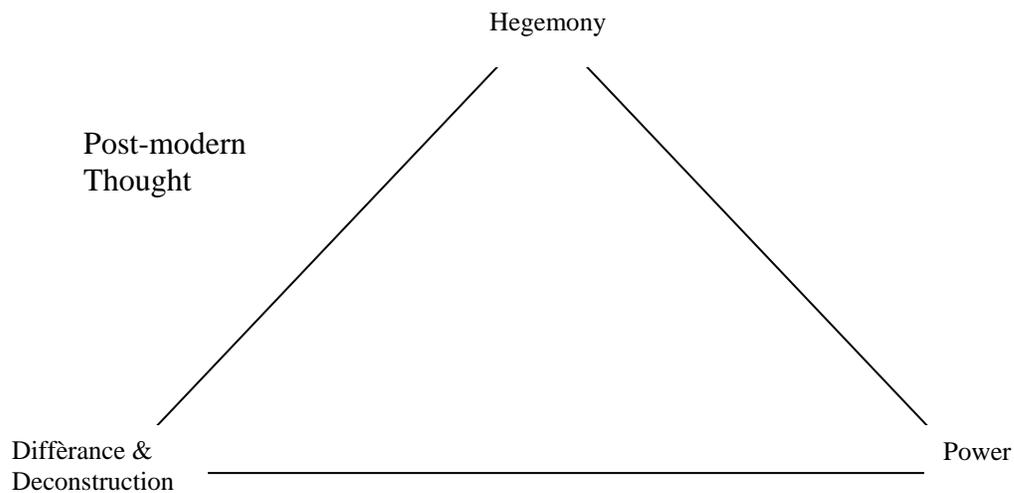
Philosophical Foundations

The Idea of Truth, that is the idea of philosophy... is an infinite Idea... one cannot account for everything except the infinite opening to truth, that is, philosophy.
(Derrida, 1978, p. 201)

This research drew on three philosophical concepts which were contextualised within an umbrella context of post-modernity. An umbrella understanding was used because the broader definition is more appropriate to this study. The articulation of these philosophies enabled the understanding and formulation of the research problem. Kincheloe and McLaren (2003) described post-modern theory as “an umbrella term that includes anti-foundationalist writings in philosophy and social science” (p. 456). They

used this term in a general sense, encompassing what they described as post structuralist currents. Other authors (such as Fitzpatrick, 2001) distinguish between post-modern and post structural thought as related but distinct. For the purpose of this research, Kincheloe and McLaren’s (2003) umbrella understanding has been adopted. The depiction of these philosophies in a triangular structure is especially useful in understanding these contributions—demonstrative of each unique entity and position whilst also allowing for the interaction and fluidity of these positions, within their application to the research process, to come into play. The three philosophic concepts which present an understanding of how people with disability have been excluded from the hierarchy of dominance are: hegemony articulated by Gramsci; power explained by Foucault; and diffèrance and deconstruction as developed by Derrida. Each concept is presented in order of historical appearance. They provide a foundation to be revisited within the analysis and presentation phases of this research, as demonstrated particularly in Chapter 6 (Conclusions and Implications). These concepts and their interplay are depicted in Figure 1.1 below.

Figure 1.1 Philosophical Foundations of this Research



Post-modern Context

To understand post-modernity, or the post-modern condition (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2003), modernity must first be considered. Modernity was characterized by a shift in focus from an agrarian economy to that of capital—a shift from communal life to life

focused around the individual (Carling-Burzacott, 2004). Modernity advocated the culture of the Enlightenment, which was characterized by assumptions such as the unity of humanity, a focus on the individual as the creative force of society and history, Western superiority, and science as Truth. These assumptions became meta-narratives, they were accepted as extant and true (Corker and Shakespeare, 2002). Essentialist descriptors were used to categorize and separate different groups of people, without accounting for interrelatedness, connectedness or responsibility (Carling-Burzacott and Galloway, 2004). Modernism supported individual and medical models of disability—models which rely on meta-narratives of deviance, tragedy, and the separation of ‘normal’ from ‘abnormal’ (Corker and Shakespeare, 2002).

Within modernity binary notions are created to separate those with privilege and those without, the latter becoming the ‘other’. Those who are thus ‘othered’ are stereotyped and made inferior in public spaces such as health, economy and policy. The impact of this for various ‘other’ groups was described by Carling-Burzacott and Galloway (2004):

Thus Indigenous peoples of the “new” world were thought of, and presented by those in control of public discourse, in less than fully human terms (Banton, 1987). Women were presented in particular ways which focused on emotionality, intellectual weakness and the biological imperative to reproduce and care (see for example, Rowbotham 1986). Poor people were presented as having a particular predisposition to psycho-social dysfunction (Kennedy, 1982). These traits were presented as fixed, or “natural” and therefore immutable. Socio-politically these traits were used to “rationally” explain the inferior health, economic, political and social status of people (p. 110).

Modernists polarize ‘others’ from the privileged by choosing not to recognize the relationship present between them, despite the privileged having the power to name and label the ‘other’. The privileged use their status of ‘truth’ to accrue social, economic, political and linguistic privilege over the ‘other’ (Carling-Burzacott and Galloway, 2004). Within modernist practices people with disability are framed individually as the ‘other’ (Newell, 2005). They are separated from privileged spaces, disenfranchised from the polity and dispossessed of resources which would allow them to compete with the privileged.

Post-modernists provide an alternative understanding of society where macro theories and grand narratives are rejected in favour of multiple meanings surrounded by dynamic and fluid interactions (Giddens, Duneier and Appelbaum, 2007). Post-modernity, as a school of thought, initially emerged in reaction to modernity in the late 1970s. Barnhart (1994) described post-modernity as the most important paradigmatic shift of the past 50 years. It has been used to refer to contemporary changes in social conditions—conditions which formed the basis of (and sustained) modernity. These social changes included a transformation from mass production to information technologies; a shift towards global rather than national economies, with an accompanying weakening of the nation state as a local regulator; and a decline of class politics and a subsequent rise in new social movements (Giddens, 2006; Martin, 1999). Post-modernists emphasize the need for micro-theories to understand the nature of ‘difference’ rather than an all-encompassing, monolithic, macro theory approach (Barnhart, 1994; Giddens, 2006; Giddens, Duneier and Appelbaum, 2007).

To explore the context for this research, modernity and post-modernity were contrasted. The implication of disability as both a modern and post-modern concept was considered in relation to the economy, knowledge, reality, view of society and subject. The result of this consideration is contained in Table 1.1. Within contemporary society (Table 1.1), people with disability continue to be located as ‘other’ and therefore remain stuck within modernity, colonised as they are by malevolent, benevolent, caring, knowledgeable, socially, economically and politically esteemed, dominant society (Carling-Burzacott and Galloway, 2004).

People with disability are effectively ‘othered’ within public spaces, dominated by the privileged, as well as within their private spaces which are invaded and often controlled by the privileged. Barriers marginalize and exclude people with disability from experiences and privileges taken for granted within Australian mainstream society. Cohoone (1996) described the process of the concept of ‘othering’ as:

What appears to be cultural units – human beings, words, meanings, ideas, philosophical systems, social organisations – are maintained in their apparent unity only through an active process of exclusion, opposition, and hierarchization. Other phenomenon or units, must be represented as foreign with ‘other’ through representing a hierarchical dualism in which the unit is ‘privileged’ or favoured, and the ‘other’ is devalued in some way (p. 24).

Table 1.1 Disability as a Modern and Post-modern Concept

	Modernity	Disability as a modern concept	Post-modern	Disability as Post-modern concept
Economy	Manufacturing based economy	Commodified	Post material interests	Considered outside of economy
Knowledge	One truth	Disability defined by dominant	Many or no truths	Disability defined in many ways including by people with disability themselves
Reality	Objective reality, Logic, science and reason	Discussed scientific, economic, medical, individualized terms	in Socially constructed, Subjects created by social world, Subjectivity	Socially constructed reality imposes barriers and defines disability
View of Society	Certainty, Grand narratives, absolutism, Reductionist, Notion of progress	Bounded by functional definitions – including categories. Disability is reduced to narrow definitions.	Multiple meanings created, orientation towards ambiguity, diversity, difference, contradiction; Knowledge as a process. Society as dynamic, interactive and fluid	Celebration of difference, disability as a more relative concept related to barriers rather than impairment. Disability as a fluid concept
Subject	Autonomous, transcendental subject: unified, centred sense of self	Defined externally, binary notions	Fragmented, de-centred sense of self, Multiple, conflicting identifies	Rejection of functional definitions, Focus on identity
References: Berger, 2003; Corker and Shakespeare, 2002; Fitzpatrick, 2001; Giddens, 2007; Giddens, Duneier and Appelbaum, 2007; Irvine, 1998 as cited in in Berger, 2003; Kincheloe and McLaren, 2003; Oliver, 1993; Rader and Rader, 1998; Solomon, 2001, as cited in Berger, 2003				

People with disability, as part of the ‘other’, are surrounded by a hierarchy of dominance where they are defined, devalued, excluded and marginalized within society. In opposition to this position of ‘other’ is the position of privilege, which is held by the rich, the powerful and the influential, and for the politically franchised. Carling-Burzacott and Galloway (2004) described the binary position of myriad oppressed groups disenfranchised and dispossessed by the politically incorporated dominant group. They argued that binary notions of black/white; straight/gay; male/female; rich/poor hide the relationship of oppression and privilege between people in these groups and suggested that only through the recognition of *relationship* could we reclaim the space between these groups, enabling us to work towards a different relationship.

Hegemony

Gramsci (1891 – 1937) was an Italian writer, political theorist and activist, who was influenced by Marx and the Leninist tradition of communism. His writings and activism led to his imprisonment later in life by the fascist government. As part of his writings in prison, Gramsci popularized the concept of hegemony (a term used earlier by Marxists such as Lenin) as a way of understanding the societal construction of dominance and power relations (Gramsci, 1975). Hegemony can be defined as “cultural leadership” (Gramsci, 1975, p. 235), exercised by the privileged, which is internalized by the general population, thus permeating the social consciousness (Gramsci, 1975; Table 1.1). Hegemony represents political and economic control by the privileged, as well as a projection of the privileged’s worldview, which is accepted as ‘common sense’ within society (Chandler, 2000). Young (1990) described hegemony as a ‘normalizing gaze’ used to assess an object according to an assumed hierarchical standard (p.125). This gaze has enabled the privileged to control people with disability within Australian society. By promoting the agenda of the privileged, hegemony becomes a vehicle for assimilation (Barnhart, 1994). Hegemony is evident throughout the media, the arts, and dominant (mis)conceptions such as the construction of the body and unconscious fears of and aversion towards oppressed groups (Young, 1990).

An explication of hegemony facilitates an understanding of how the ‘other’ is created and maintained. The existence of hegemony allows dominant groups:

...to accrue social, economic, political and linguistic privilege at the expense of those who were subsequently disenfranchised (from the polity) and dispossessed (of land and other resources including those of psycho-materiality) (Carling-Burzacott and Galloway, 2004, p.113).

Hegemony has reinforced the oppressed position of the Disabled Other through their location with moral, medical and economic models. To understand disability in society, the hegemony surrounding the definitions of ‘normal’ must be understood. Davis (1995) focused on this construction of normalcy rather than that of disability and claimed “that normalcy is constructed to create the ‘problem’ of the disabled person” (p. 170). If there is hegemony, then those in opposition to dominant prescriptions or views could be seen as producing counter-hegemony. Counter-hegemony is an oppositional world view. Davis (1995) went on to describe the counter-hegemony of normalcy:

The hegemony of normalcy is, like other hegemonic practices, so effective because of its invisibility. Normalcy is the degree zero of modern existence. Only when the veil is torn from the bland face of the average, only when the hidden political and social injuries are revealed behind the mask of benevolence, only when the hazardous environment designed to be the comfort zone of the normal is shown with all its pitfalls and traps that create disability—only then will we begin to face and feel each other in all the rich variety and difference of our bodies, our minds, and our outlooks (p. 170).

Counter-hegemonic strategies are employed by new social movements to effect political and structural change within society. New social movements play a role in the creation and operationalisation of counter-hegemonic strategies. This critical position is further expanded and applied within Chapter 3 which presents disability in history and the theorisation of disability.

The philosophy of hegemony contributed a number of understandings to this research. Hegemonic assumptions regarding what it means to be ‘normal’ are part of the cultural fabric of Australia—an internalized consciousness. Thus, hegemony reinforces and perpetuates the control of people with disability. The development of strategies to counteract this hegemony provides a challenge to the hierarchy of dominance.

Power

An understanding of power was articulated by Foucault (Table 1.1). Power, according to Foucault (1991) is not a structure, or even an absolute attribute, 'owned' by one group of people, but a complex strategic situation within society. Power operates in different directions, features in all social relations, and can be located throughout all levels of society (Rees, 1991). Foucault (1926 – 1984) was a French philosopher who played a major role in the development of post-modern thought and in post-modern critical awareness (Racevskis, 2002). Foucault challenged the legacy of the Enlightenment, identified the influence of genealogy (what has come before) within the values and meanings constructed in individual lives, presented society as decentred and pluralistic, and promoted the concept of knowledge and power as mutually constitutive (Fillingham, 1993; Racevskis, 2002; Seidman, 2004).

Foucault contested the traditional view of power—where power is equated with control. He described this type of nexus as a form of power exercised in ancient and medieval times, where it was based on the right of the sovereign to control his/her subjects through the threat of death. Foucault (1991) wrote:

Power in this instance was essentially a right of seizure; of things, time, bodies, and ultimately life itself; it culminated in the privilege to seize hold of life in order to suppress it (p. 259).

As capitalism replaced feudalism, power relations changed. Foucault (1991) identified a number of different and diverse techniques whereby populations were controlled and bodies subjugated through biopower. Biopower is a technology of power which exerts power over life, rather than power over death, through institutions of power such as the family, the army and schools which contribute to the maintenance and development of economic processes (Foucault, 1991). Foucault (1991) said:

They also acted as factors of segregation and social hierarchization exerting their influence [and]... guaranteeing relations of domination and effects of hegemony (p. 263).

Foucault's writings within the context of this research therefore led to an understanding of how various institutions of power contribute to the creation and maintenance of the hierarchy of dominance—a hierarchy which reinforces the position of people with

disability as the 'other'. Foucault asserted a multi-dimensional view of power where individuals could be both subjected to the effects of power, as well as being vehicles for the articulation of power (Rees, 1991). For example, in colonial Australia, a white woman who was dominated by her husband may also have dominated Indigenous people. The woman, in this example, is subject to the effects of power under patriarchy and is also the vehicle for its negative articulation across race. Thus power, in Foucault's view, is not an absolute entity with a simplified formula of 'haves' versus 'have nots':

Rather, it is a property of the interactions between individuals, groups and institutions. It therefore needs to be understood as a relatively fluid entity that is open to constant change and influence (Thompson, 2004, p. 53).

According to Hindess (1996), Foucault conceptualized power as the 'total structure of actions' exercised by those in a position to choose, sharing an intimate relationship with liberty. Power relationships, in this view, are deemed as unstable and reversible (Hindess, 1996), and are dispersed in nature (Thompson, 2003). Foucault (1991) said:

I do not think that it is possible to say that one thing is of the order of 'liberation' and another is of the order of 'oppression' ... (p. 245)
There are only reciprocal relations, and the perpetual gaps between intentions in relation to one another... (p. 247).

Foucault (1991) further conceptualized discipline as one form of power. Discipline, according to Foucault, is a form of management of the population (Hindess, 1996). Discipline is evident within regimes of sexuality, the prison system, asylums and psychiatric regimes. Foucault (1991) said:

Power of the disciplinary type such as the one that is exercised, that has been exercised, at least in a certain number of institutions ... is absolutely localized, it's a formula invented at a given moment, it has produced a certain number of results, has been experienced as totally intolerable or partially intolerable, and so on; ... discipline is a possible procedure of power (p. 380).

Regimes which reinforce hegemony need to be deconstructed, according to Foucault. For example, the regime of sexuality, which defined sex roles, has reinforced domination over women and homosexual people. In the past asylums have disempowered people

with mental illness; and the white colonial prison model system evident within Australia continues to dominate Indigenous Australians.

Foucault's insights on power contributed to an understanding of disability for this research. Historically, disability can be understood in terms of having 'power over', or control. This 'power over' is being reasserted through the renewed popularity of eugenic doctrines, now framed as euthanasia for example. Disciplinary power has been exercised over the disabled 'other' through medical and professional regimes. Institutionalisation is a prime example of this procedure. On a more positive note, Foucault helps position people with disability as participants in power relations. While they experience oppression on many levels they also contribute to relationships of power. People with disability therefore can contribute to their own liberation; be vehicles of power; reverse social relations and compete strategically towards the aim of effecting more equitable power relations. This research deconstructs power to prefigure action.

Deconstruction and Différance

The philosophy of deconstruction and *différance* was drawn from the work of Derrida (Table 1.1). Derrida (1930 – 2004) was both a contemporary and a student of Foucault. Derrida contributed a theory of *différance* and a post-modern strategy for understanding these differences—known as deconstruction—which can be used to further understandings of power relations between the privileged and the 'other'. Derrida (1981) conceptualised *différance* as follows:

The play of differences supposes, in effect, syntheses and referrals which forbid at any moment, or in any sense, that a simple element be present in and of itself, referring only to itself. Whether in the order of spoken or written discourse, no element can function as a sign without referring to another element which itself is not simply present ... The gram as *différance*, then is a structure and a movement no longer conceivable on the basis of the opposition presence/absence. *Différance* is the systemic play of differences, of the traces of differences, of the spacing by means of which elements are related to each other (p. 20).

The concept of *différance* rejects binary oppositional notions which separate persons as more or less privileged. Instead, this concept emphasizes the differences and the spaces

that emerge as part of the relationship which exists between people. According to Derrida (1981), the marginalized 'other' exists in a space whilst simultaneously acting for the privileged group (Berger, 2003). Différance exists within Foucault's understanding of a multi-dimensional, multidirectional relationship of power and is addressed through Derrida's development of deconstruction.

Deconstruction moves beyond a literary critical strategy to involve a politic of subversion (Silverman, 2002). It challenges institutions and public authorities who sustain linguistic, social and political privilege within public spaces. It supports, reaffirms, identifies and locates the 'other' in their relationship with the privileged (Berger, 2003; Derrida, 1981).

Deconstructive strategy exhorts us to:

Find the opposition, go to the less privileged side, reaffirm the less privileged side and name the difference with the less privileged side in order to mark the place of difference... (Silverman, 2002, p.116).

This strategy enables an understanding of power relationships within society through the recognition of the social hierarchies which sustain these relations, and an identification of the spacing between the privileged and the 'other' within these hierarchies.

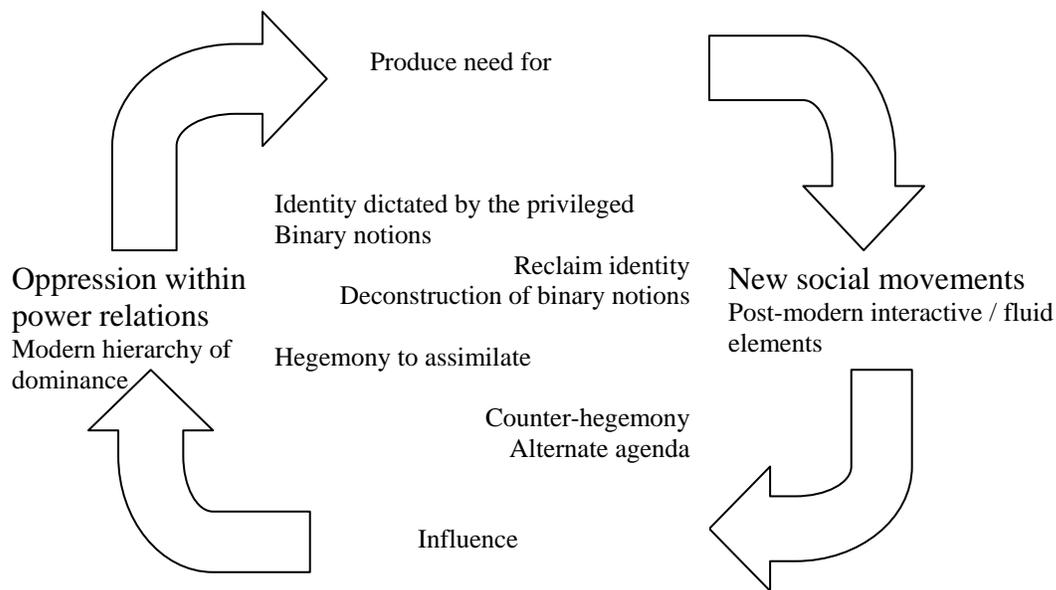
Derrida's philosophy further contributed to an understanding of people with disability as the 'other'. These concepts reject binary notions surrounding notions of 'normality'. Disability is placed within a hierarchy of dominance and is framed in terms of relationship (Carling-Burzacott and Galloway, 2004). Research which seeks to deconstruct these hierarchies—highlighting the spaces within which the privileged and the 'other' interact—can be used to challenge dominant perceptions. This research articulated a pre-action discourse which could contribute to such a deconstruction.

Theoretical Positioning

This research is positioned theoretically, through the interaction between oppression within power relations and new social movements (see Figure 1.2). Disability is defined in terms of oppression within power relations as an expression of the hierarchy of

dominance. Disability, when constructed as a relationship between people with and people without disability, contains the potential for developing a new, more emancipatory relationship. Disability is then re-framed and transformed in terms of post-modern understandings, as a potential new social movement. This theoretical positioning gave the project a criteria for and description of oppression as the process which reinforces the power relations within contemporary society; as well as criteria for new social movements. These criteria became guides within the research process, enabling sampling decisions and guiding data collection.

Figure 1.2 Theoretical Positioning of the Research: Interaction between *Oppression within Power Relations* and *New social movements*



Oppression within Power Relations

Power relations in society are understood as existing within a hierarchy of dominance (Figure 1.2). Power relations can be identified within relationships, regimes and institutions. They are a complex interplay of dominance/privilege and oppression/'othering'. Oppression is inherent within power relationships which give rise to a separation of the 'other' from the privileged. When people with disability are viewed within modernist terms, oppression is expressed as an 'us' versus 'them' concept. Mullender and Ward (1991) described oppression as both a state of affairs, whereby

social relationships are structured and encoded to favour the privileged, and a process which is created, maintained and emergent from this state of affairs. Inherent in this understanding of oppression is the concept of hegemony. Russell (1998) explained that to combat oppression, the institutional support and historical roots of oppression, must be understood. Charlton (1998) said:

Oppression occurs when individuals are systematically subjected to political, economic, cultural or social degradation because they belong to a social group. Oppression of people results from structures of domination and subordination, correspondingly, ideologies of superiority and inferiority (p. 8).

Therefore, it can be rightly assumed that oppression rises from systemic, historical processes which have enforced the position of the 'privileged' versus the 'other'. Oppression is contained within and expressed through a hierarchy of domination which is supported through ideologies and hegemonic assumptions.

Identity is created by the privileged in terms of binary notions of 'us' and 'them' where they became the 'deficit other'. People incorporated within a privileged identity need the 'other' as a contrast on which to base their own perceptions of 'normal' (Davis, 2000). As identity is produced and incorporated within the consciousness of society, through the process of hegemony, binary notions support this separation. Thus, people who experience oppression within the hierarchy are left to claim only these essentialist descriptors for themselves (Carling-Burzacott and Galloway, 2004). The processes of hegemony as a vehicle for assimilation also interact within the hierarchy of dominance. As described in the previous section, hegemony is a normalising gaze (Young, 1990) which reinforces power relations and the position of the privileged within these relations.

Oppression, as the operationalisation and consequence of 'power over', is one of the key points of investigation for this research. The work of Young (1990) presented five 'faces' of oppression which can be used to make sense of social experiences. These faces incorporate exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence. These categories are useful for defining oppression (Charlton, 1998). These

faces provide a structure for identifying groups who are dominated within the hierarchy described. Furthermore, these faces also define and/or describe the types of oppression faced by these groups. Young's (1990) faces of oppression are summarised, through definitions and examples in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Faces of Oppression

Faces	Definition	Examples
Exploitation	Oppression within the process of labour	Exclusion from the mainstream workforce Lower rates of pay for the 'other'
Marginalisation	Inability or unwillingness of economic system to incorporate a group of people into its political, economic and cultural life	No, or token, representation of the 'other' within parliamentary debate
Powerlessness	A group's lack of power or authority	Inability to make life decisions, such as those relating to housing, education and employment
Cultural Imperialism	Demeaning of a group by the dominant culture's values	Limited recognition of the unique aspects of culture of the 'other'
Violence	Random or organised attacks on a group	Racial violence
Reference:	Young, 1990	

The first three faces of oppression; exploitation, marginalization and powerlessness; are based on the division of labour in a society, and thus on questions of who benefits within the economy (Table 1.2). Exploitation refers to exploitation which takes place directly in the process of labour where the 'other' does not fully receive economic recognition for their contributions. Marginalization refers to the inability or unwillingness of the economic system to incorporate a group of people in its political, economic and cultural life. Young (1990) portrays this facet of oppression in terms of material deprivation and even extermination when some groups of people are expelled from participation. Powerlessness incorporates a group's collective lack of power or authority. Young (1990) described groups which fit into this criterion as those who are prevented from acquiring expertise (ie non professionals) and thus lack status and respect. This lack of

status and respect by the general population, entrenched as they are in hegemonic assumptions/ideals of what constitutes 'expertise' and 'status', leads to the deprivation of autonomy for groups rendered powerless.

The final two faces, cultural imperialism and violence, devised by Young (1990) are interrelated. Cultural imperialism is characterized by the demeaning of a group through the operationalisation and articulation of the dominant culture's values. Young (1990) described this as invisibility where the dominant group claims universality, setting the norms and standards. The 'other' is then stereotyped and classified as deviant, whilst the dominant group remains largely uncontested. Violence encompasses all random or organized attacks on a group. Young (1990) described this face as a social justice issue due to the social context surrounding the acts of violence perpetrated. This type of group-directed violence can be systemic and institutional. The five faces, as previously described, were used within this research to investigate the positioning of the 'other' by the privileged within Australia.

New Social Movements

Oppression is challenged through new social movements which work within the post-modern context (see Figure 1.2). These new social movements are a way of deconstructing and contesting power relations by reclaiming the identity of the 'other' and promoting alternative counter-hegemonic agendas. New social movements have been described and defined in a number of ways; as networks of informal interactions engaged in political or cultural conflict on the basis of shared collective identity (Diani and McAdam, 2003); as complex sets of actions by various actors who are united by a shared social change goal (Oliver, 2003); and as collective challenges based on common purposes and social solidarities, set within sustained interactions (Tarrow, 1998). Melucci (1989) described new social movements as a collective action involving solidarity, engagement in conflict, and the breaking of limits of compatibility within a system. New social movements articulate collective demands and question commonly held assumptions within society. Martin (2000) described the participatory ethic within

new social movements, where members are involved on a number of levels within the movement, thus representing a new way of ‘doing politics’.

Social movement theories, and social movements themselves, have developed through three main phases which now exist as contending or competing paradigms (Table 1.3). New social movements differ from classical movements and resource mobilisation movements in that they do not compete with each other. These former movement types competed for shares within the market and the economy, and were concerned with issues of class and redistribution—they occurred in a phase of industrial capitalism (Melucci, 1989). New social movements share a more universal goal based on human rights and societal transformation for the benefit of all oppressed. They therefore have enormous potential when intersecting and interacting, as opposed to working in parallel to each other. Social movement theories can be explored through their theoretical origins, view of member behaviour, basis of emergence, focus, perception of leadership, activism strategies, type of action and movement phases (see Table 1.3).

A new social movement can be considered to have a *collective* group of people, presented with and drawn together by a *challenge*, in which they actively engage in *conflict* at either a political or cultural level, or both, to effect *change* within society, either on a national or global level. New social movements cannot exist without each of these features. For example, without conflict change cannot be effected, and without a challenge there is no need to engage in a collective conflict. New social movements do not develop neatly through linear phases. They are dynamic and fluid, they evolve and grow. Burgmann (2003) described new social movements as a dynamic “enduring process of confrontation characterized by capacity for protest” (p. 20). New social movements deal with a variety of issues, thus change and conflict occur on different levels. New social movements can be fragmented and as a result phases coexist and overlap.

Table 1.3 Social Movement Theories

	Classical	Resource Mobilization	New Social Movement
Theoretical Origin	1940s	1970s in U.S.A.	1980s in Europe – applied to movements post 1960s
Examples	Communism Nazism	Black civil rights, environmentalism, Greenpeace, first wave women’s movement	Queer liberation, disability rights, later women’s movement(s), anti-nuclear, ecological, land rights
View of Member Behaviour	Deviant, irrational	Rational, collective	Individual, collective, can be fragmented
Basis of Emergence	Unhealthy society Structural strain not addressed by normal institutions	Marxist, economic interest Mobilization of resources surrounding singular issues	Reaction to Marxism’s inability to explain movements not economically motivated Celebration of alternative political/cultural agendas
Focus	Extremism Belief in “right”, absolute truth of movement goal	Resources strategy Political focus - political action Singular issues	Values, consciousness raising, identity Political / cultural Membership
Perception of Leadership	Deviant Dominant Based on unequal power relations	‘From above’ Professional, national organisations taking the “high moral ground”	‘From below’ Alliance building, fragmented, global organisation – loose ties (less formal)
Activism strategies	Deviant forms of collective activism: eg extermination of non-likeminded	Conventional forms of collective activism: eg demonstrations	Unconventional forms comprising of both collective and individual strategies
Type of Action	Deviant Defiant	Instrumental Targets political and economic agenda, reality, structural conditions and institutions	Symbolic Targets value systems and social constructs
Phases	Develop sequentially	Develop sequentially	Coexisting, overlapping
References	Larana, Johnstone and Gusfield (1994); Melucci (1989); M Oliver (1990); P Oliver (2003); Swain, French and Cameron (2003)		

The first feature of new social movements is *collective*. For a group to engage in the sustained interactions inherent in new social movements, a collective identity must be constructed based on a common purpose and social solidarity. As Melucci (1989) details:

Collective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced by several interacting individuals who are concerned with the orientations of their action as well as the field of opportunities and constraints in which their action takes place (p. 34).

Whilst some commentators distinguish between social movements and identity politics as two distinct entities or processes (for example see Langlois, 2003), others integrate these two concepts, not seeing them as mutually exclusive (Johnston, Larana and Gusfield, 1994; Melucci, 1989). Melucci (1989) emphasized that all new social movements have an identity component. In defining the dimensions of social movements Melucci (1989) stressed solidarity, defining this as the “actor’s mutual recognition that they are part of a single social unit” (p. 29). Johnstone et al. (2000) promoted the search for identity as a collective search. This collective search is central to movement formation for new social movements who are mobilizing around cultural and symbolic issues shared by differentiated social groups. As a consequence, the collective groups forming a new social movement are based on defending and redefining identity in their own terms.

Identity within new social movements can be defined *individually*, *collectively* and *publicly* (Johnstone et al, 2000). Individual identity can be viewed as “the wholly personal traits that, although constructed through the interaction of biological inheritance and social life, are internalized and imported to social movement participation as idiosyncratic biographies” (Johnstone et al, 2000, p. 12). This form of identity is strongly influenced by the imposed definitions of the ‘privileged’ within the hierarchy of dominance. These descriptors have been used by movement participants as both a source of identity and as a basis for challenge. Collective identity involves the formation or adoption of a definition used to describe themselves as a group. Johnstone (2000) cites Melucci’s (forthcoming) description of collective identity:

Collective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) and concerned with the orientations of action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which the actions take place (p. 20).

From this description we can further our definition of collective identity as the construction of a collective ‘we’ and an adoption of a worldview for movement participants. On the other hand, public identity “...captures the influences that the external public have on the way social movement adherents think about themselves” (Johnstone et al, 2000, p. 18). Public identity is clearly evident in the influence of the ‘privileged’ view in the definition of the ‘other’. This influence may be exerted through state agencies, counter-movements, the media, institutions and regimes.

Incorporated into this concept of identity is the creation, adoption and maintenance of ideology. Ideology enables movement participants to redefine their position, to name their oppression and to provide a basis for developing strategies to counteract dominance. Ideologies are both reactive, towards the hierarchy of dominance; and proactive, in that they facilitate counter-hegemonic strategies. According to Thompson (2003), ideology is a set of ideals, beliefs, and assumptions in general, that specifically reflect existing power relations. In this way, ideologies provide frameworks for making sense of the world (Thompson, 2003). Through ideologies meanings are constructed, and thoughts, actions and interactions are filtered.

The second feature of new social movements is *challenge*. A collective group is both unified by and motivated to challenge the identity imposed on them by the ‘privileged’. Challenges can be political, cultural or both. New social movements extend beyond personal issues—although these are often used to collectively unite and motivate—to institutional, systemic and global challenges. New social spaces are created through these movements where new identities can be both experienced and defined (Johnstone et al, 2000). Collective challenges are concerned with new conceptions of time and space. New social movements contest both macro-power relations existing in public spaces, and the less visible power relations existing in the public and private spaces of movement participants. Individuals bring a variety of agendas, needs, motivations, beliefs and

experiences of oppression to new social movements. These individuals then unite around collective challenges (della Porta and Diani, 1999).

The third feature is *conflict*. Group formation around collective identity and unification around common purposes or challenges are translated into action within new social movements. This action is in conflict with the dominant, hegemonic assumptions reinforced by society. Melucci (1989) stated that engagement in conflict “presupposes adversaries who struggle for something which they recognise as lying between them”, and described actors as “nomads who dwell within the present”, where the ‘present’ is the locus of current conflict (p. 36).

Engagement in conflict leads to the fourth feature, *change*. Change is effected through new social movements on a number of systemic, institutional levels. Melucci (1989) described this as breaking the compatibility of a system:

Its actions violate the boundaries or tolerance limits of a system, thereby pushing the system beyond the range of variations that it can tolerate without altering its structure (p. 30).

Therefore, change effected by new social movements alters the structure of power relations within society. It creates alternative ways of organising society and reconstructs service provision (Oliver, 1994). After change in one area has been effected new social movements continue to evolve and grow—regrouping as needed, reforming their identity, and engaging continually in conflict on multiple fronts. This understanding of new social movements contributed to the development of criteria for identifying the sampled movements, and subsequently enabled an examination and analysis of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia.

Rationale for the Study

People with disability in Australia are engaged in a power struggle where they are ‘othered’ through processes which devalue, exclude and marginalize them within a hierarchy which ‘privileges’ people who are non-disabled. New social movements have

emerged as contemporary vehicles for social change, which collectively unite oppressed groups to effect change through organised opposition directed at deconstructing the hierarchy of dominance (Melluci, 1989; Swain, French and Cameron, 2003). Many groups have experienced oppression, however only some of these groups have provoked a challenge to the established order. Clemens and Hughes (2002) have termed the evidence of these challenges as 'leaving footprints'.

Internationally, the Disability Rights Movement is one of many new social movements that has left footprints. The successes of this movement across many countries includes the promotion of human and civil rights for people with disability; the motivation of people with disability to action; the reformation of oppressive structures within contemporary society; the challenge of definitions which focus on limitations and an increased recognition of the central role of people with disability to determine their own rights (Bleasdale, 2004; Charlton, 2000; Hancock, Hughes, Jagger, Paterson, Russell, Tulle-Winton and Tyler, 2000; Horsler, 2003).

The Disability Rights Movement within Australia has been described within this larger context in terms of deficit. Newell (1996), for example, identified the Disability Rights Movement in Australia as fragmented; lacking in political power, organisation and positive medial portrayal. French (2001) further identified the lack of awareness of the international engagement of the Disability Rights Movement as these could pertain to the Australian context. Despite some evidence of protest, particularly during 1980s Australia, the Disability Rights Movement has had only limited success in effecting social change in this country (Bleasdale, 2004; French, 2001; Newell, 1996). Disability rights in Australia today appear to be prominent only when in reference to a one-off focus. People with disability are viewed individually or within the context of a limited issue, rather than as a collective group with a range of collective needs. Goggin and Newell (2005) argued that people with disability in Australia experience a form of apartheid, which is characterized by isolation, discrimination, systemic exclusion, fundamental injustices, poverty, abuses, and subhuman status and depictions.

Conceptualising disability, and a disability rights agenda, within a new social movement framework has had little publicity in Australia. There are comparatively few academics writing about and researching disability, and public policy in Australia has little focus on specific group rights. In contrast, other vehicles for social change such as the Women's Liberation Movements and the Indigenous Rights Movements within Australia have left significant footprints, establishing themselves in Women's and Indigenous studies programs. They have radically impacted upon academic writings, government policy, community development practice and the public view of race and gender as a whole, as demonstrated through sophisticated analyses, wider literature bases and expanded awareness in the public spaces. For example, the Women's Liberation Movement won equal pay rights, establishing women as equal workers and contributors within public spaces. The Indigenous Rights Movement won land rights legislation, raising awareness of land rights within the public consciousness. However, the rights of people with disability within Australia remain as individualised struggles fraught with fragmentation, the institutionalised oppressed, commodification and medicalisation. A cohesive movement of influence, power and identity is not readily perceived (Newell, 1996; Russell, 1998). This was clearly demonstrated when a disability activist from the UK, who had visited Australia, asked in reflection where the Disability Rights Movement was, as he had not been able to find evidence of it (Newell, 1996).

People with disability are an oppressed group in Australia. This oppression invades public and private spaces, and reinforces a hierarchy of dominance which privileges people without disability. While achievements, such as legislative reform, have been made (particularly since The Year of Disabled Persons, IYDP 1981), people who identify as having a disability continue to live lives characterized by poverty, marginalisation and discrimination. In comparison, there are new social movements within Australia that have received a higher level of recognition, prominence and influence within public and private spaces, and which have openly challenged the hierarchy of dominance surrounding their experience of oppression. The Disability Rights Movement in Australia can learn from these other liberation struggles.

Research Question

This research asked: What can the struggle against the hierarchy of dominance, engaged in by people with disability in Australia through the Disability Rights Movement, learn from the footprints left by a sampling of other Australian new social movements?

Aims of the Study

This research was designed to deepen understandings of disability and the Disability Rights Movement in Australia by learning from other new social movements. It was essentially designed as a catalytic work to broaden the scope of disability studies within Australia by learning from other social movements, and developing academic positions from which to document the Australian Disability Rights Movement. These characteristics have also been identified internationally as potential directions for disability studies (Oliver and Barton, 2000; Shakespeare, 2004). This is a unique, original contribution to research in Australia.

Three specific aims guided this research process:

1. To develop a tool for analysis through an examination of sampled new social movements.
2. To establish the positioning of people with disability in Australia.
3. To provide an initial critical analysis of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia.

Methodology

This is a qualitative study which draws from three paradigms: critical inquiry, disability studies - emancipatory, and critical pre-action. This research utilized a bibliographic method (a sub-branch of documentary research) to collect data on the two social movements sampled. These movements were the Women's Liberation and Indigenous Rights Movements. A tool for analysing new social movements was developed through an analysis of the data collected. This tool took the form of three sets of questions surrounding the domains, details and dimensions of new social movements, these

questions were then applied to available literature on disability and the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. The positioning of people with disability was established through a literature review of disability in Australia and through an application of key questions for the domains. A deeper understanding of the Disability Rights Movement was gained through the application of key questions for details and dimensions of new social movements.

Terminology

Framing 'disability' appropriately through terminology has been a major preoccupation of the Disability Rights Movement. Upon first starting this research, the term 'disabled people' was employed (Carling-Burzacott, 2004; Carling-Burzacott and Galloway, 2004). This was an adoption of the prominent language of the UK Disability Rights Movement. According to activists who advocate for this terminology, owning the label 'disabled' underlies the social and political oppression, assists in building a shared identity and removes the disabling effect from the site of the individual (Clark and March, 2002; Russell, 1998). The term 'disabled people' is also favoured by some Australian activists (Clear, 2000; Meekosha, 2000; Sherry, 2005).

During the research process, the terminology 'people with disability/disabilities' and 'the disabled other' began to emerge as the most appropriate terms to use. The first term 'people with disability' (also 'people with disabilities') remains the preferred terminology of the Australian Disability Rights Movement. This is evidenced by Australian authors in the disability field such as Goggin and Newell (2004); Parsons (1994, 1999); and Dempsey and Nankervis (2006) who promote the use of this terminology. Goggin and Newell (2004) noted that they preferred the phrasing 'people with disability' "because it does tend to stress disability as not the personal attribute of a person" (p.23). This terminology is commonly referred to as the 'people first' principle, as described by Dempsey and Nankervis (2006):

This principle states that it is essential to recognise that individuals are people *first*, and that disability may be just one of a person's characteristics, not the overriding characteristic. (p.8 – original emphasis)

The terminology ‘the disabled other’ (also ‘other’) has also been used throughout this research, to emphasise the positioning of people with disability within Australia. Australian society has created structures and processes which favour the ‘privileged’ and dominate “the objectified and acted-upon ‘other’” (Goggin and Newell, 2005, p. 72). People with disability as the ‘other’ experience marginalisation and oppression, while groups who possess privilege are enabled to exert an oppressive force over these ‘other’ groups (Gray, 2004). Goggin and Newell (2005) described: “One of the reasons we think the situation for people with disabilities in Australian society has been slow to change is precisely because they are positioned as the ‘other’ in our culture” (p.199). Goggin and Newell (2005) depicted this situation as an apartheid or apart-ness where: “In Australia, and in other countries, a kind of apartheid exists too, partitioning those who are ‘able-bodied’ (at least temporarily so) and those who are ‘disabled’. There are special places, practices and accommodations that mark a line not to be crossed between ‘normal’ and ‘disabled’” (p.20).

Limitations of the Study

A limitation to this study is evidenced within this research regarding the hierarchy within the disability spectrum. The disabled ‘other’ was portrayed as a collective (although fragmented) group who jointly experience a hierarchy of dominance that positions non-disabled people at the top of the hierarchy and people with disability lower down. While different ‘categories’ of disability, such as people with intellectual disability, women with disability and people with physical disability, were at times mentioned separately, it was beyond the scope of this research to investigate the levels of dominance within this disabling grouping. For example, it has been recognised that certain groupings of people with disability are favoured over others—within government policies, organisational practice, and general societal attitudes. People with intellectual disability are often considered to be at the bottom of this hierarchy (and are even considered to be invisible within the Disability Rights Movement) while people with sensory disabilities such as

hearing impairment 'score' much more highly (Bleasdale, 2004; Chenoweth, 1993; Clear, 2000).

This portrayal of the disabled 'other' as a collective was unable to explore the tensions within international literature regarding deafness and disability, where deafness is often considered a unique and separate category (Jakubowski and Meekosha, 2000). The disabled 'other' within this research included all people with disability, including those with physical, intellectual, sensory, psychiatric and dual disability. While this represents the inclusivity on a movement level, this caused tensions within the research(er) as it did not take into account these wider debates.

There was a wealth of literature on the Disability Rights Movement and the development of disability rights frameworks within the international context. However, this was outside the parameters of this study which focussed on the Australian Disability Rights Movement and was therefore excluded.

Movements within this research were considered in parallel. This did not facilitate a full discussion on the nexus of oppression faced by many people with disability or of the interrelatedness of movements.

More recent information, such as the Federal Government's introduction of increased 'mutual obligation' within the 2006/07 budget and the introduction of the Industrial Relations legislation in June 2006, were too recent to include within the discussion of this research, yet these phenomena reinforce the need for the Disability Rights Movement in Australia, rather than detract from it since they further marginalize people with disability.

Location of the Researcher

Within qualitative post-modern research, the researcher is recognised as a crucial instrument within the research process. Researchers bring particular skills, knowledge, tools and assumptions to the project. Research, from a critical perspective, sides with the

oppressed (Barnes and Mercer, 2003). The researcher within this type of research does not set themselves up as an expert, but rather as a partner/participant or even as a “tool” of the research. Carling-Burzacott and Galloway (2004) explored the role of the researcher with oppressed groups, in the context of developing an inclusive and respectful relationship of liberatory support. As the researcher in this study, I acknowledge myself as non-disabled, with a political commitment to the emancipation of the disabled ‘other’ within Australia.

There has been much debate regarding the position of non-disabled people within disability research, as summarised by Barnes and Mercer (2003):

The role of the non-disabled researcher[s] have raised similar questions to those of representation. For some, their lack of personal experience of disabling barriers means their contribution lacks authenticity, for others, disabled and non-disabled researchers live in a disabilist society and can both contribute to disability theory and research (p.6).

Some research by people without disabilities within the disability field has been characterized by objectification, and a reinforcement of oppression and exclusion (Priestly, 1997) through reinforcing a focus on individual models and stereotypes. Stone and Priestly (1996) suggested that non-disabled researchers within disability studies needed to adopt a position tied to political action, where oppression is challenged and there is a commitment to the emancipation of people with disability through research (see also Priestly, 1997; Swain and Cameron, 1999). Oliver (1999) came to the conclusion that emancipatory research was not dependent on whether the researcher had a disability or not, but rather to where the researcher positions themselves within society.

I work from a social justice position, which is based on the principle of human rights. I support the position expressed within the Good Shepherd Sister’s (2006) Mission Statement:

When any person is oppressed, we are all diminished.
Where any part of creation is abused or destroyed, our lives are impoverished.
We are prepared to challenge people, institutions or structures that diminish fullness of life and human dignity.

As a member of society, I believe that whilst the disabled ‘other’ remains oppressed, abused, marginalized and exploited, the lives of all Australian citizens will remain diminished and impoverished. Working for social justice means working towards the transformation of society. Morley and Ife (2002) best summarise my stance:

The idea of a ‘love of humanity’...is a potent concept for challenging the dominant discourses of individual material wealth, greed and power. It can be associated with the post-modern agenda of emancipation from oppressive discourses of professional ‘expertise’.... [and] has the same intent as formulations ...grounded in post-modern critical theory, but it uses a different language. It uses a language of lived experience and personal commitment ...a language passionate about, and incorporating, human rights and social justice (p.69).

Working from a social justice framework, for me, means working towards a post-modern understanding of power and oppression within Australia, and therefore towards the promotion of a post-modern agenda of emancipation.

My social justice position requires that I take an emancipatory approach to research. I am politically, personally and morally committed to the emancipation of the disabled ‘other’ from the disabling structures surrounding them. Carling-Burzacott and Galloway (2004) outlined a prerequisite for emancipatory research practice, establishing:

... the need to engage research with relationship as a key organising concept, rather than research which continues to privilege binary notions of the researcher and the researched. This opens up possibilities for each group to develop and operationalise more inclusive ways of being with the ‘other’, liberating each of us from our superiority complexes and compliance with processes of inferiorization (p.112).

Both my social justice and emancipatory positions are catalysts for me to seek to understand the disabled ‘other’ and their Movement through an investigation of literature representing the voices of the ‘other’ and their movements within Australia. To ensure that this research was comprehensive, I sought out literature which was representative of the voices of the disabled ‘other’ in Australia. (This is expanded in Chapter 3 – Methodology). I have sought to develop partnerships at the movement level by engaging in data collection, then analysis of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia.

Structure of Thesis

This thesis was not structured along conventional lines. Chapter one introduced the research problem, question and aims. It provides an explanation of why this study was carried out with particular emphasis on the philosophical foundations and theoretical positioning of the research. Chapter two outlines the methodology for this research which builds on the philosophical foundations and theoretical positioning, providing paradigms for research and methods congruent with these foundations. Chapter three provides a literature review of disability in Australia and the theorization of disability within this chapter, the bases of oppression for people with disability in Australia are explored, with an application of the philosophical foundations and theoretical positioning presented in Chapter one. Chapter four presents the tool for analysis, developed from the sampled movements. It begins with the key questions derived for the tool, and then discusses some of the findings from the sampled movements which led to these questions. Chapter five investigates the positioning of people with disability in Australia, then explicates the understanding of the Disability Rights Movement developed through an initial critical analysis, facilitated by the tool previously developed. Chapter six concludes with reflections on findings and recommendations for future study. Within this chapter, philosophical foundations are revisited and the theorisation of disability is reflected upon.

CHAPTER TWO

Methodology

Challenge. Test. Develop thinking. Find evidence.
Deepen understandings. Apply theory. Develop academic positions.
Ask the difficult questions.
Learn from other social movements.
(Shakespeare, 2004)

This research was a process of discovery—an interactive and fluid course of action. The research problem was formed through a study of philosophy, theoretical positioning, choice of topic and an initial look at literature. This was then complimented by the development of the research question, aims and specific methods. Data from sampled movements were collected and reduced, and used to develop key questions which were then applied to disability literature. This fluidity and interaction is indicative of McNeill and Chapman's (2005) four-cornered relationship between topic, practical considerations, choice of method and theoretical preferences; and Gray's (2004) interactive model of data analysis, which depicts analysis as occurring simultaneously to data collection. Throughout the research process, reconstructive logic was used where processes were continually under review and refinement (Creswell, 2003; Sarantakos, 2003). In line with this, the steps of this research process did not occur neatly within boundaries.

The philosophic foundations and theoretical positioning underlying the research project became a primary consideration in the early stages of the research. Miles and Huberman (1994) support the development of these aspects as a way of giving focus, assuming relationships and bounding the research. Much of this information was presented in Chapter 1 as a background to this study.

The research topic was chosen with reference to the skills, prior knowledge and experiences of the researcher. Time was spent in the initial conceptualising of the research topic with supervisors; brainstorming ideas and becoming familiar with various writings concerning disability in Australia. A working problem statement was developed initially and was presented to the School of Social Work and Community Welfare

research seminar series for peer review. A workshop was presented entitled: “Disability as a Liberation Struggle” at the Grassroots and Human Rights Conference, Melbourne 2004, which was attended by a number of people with disability and by people involved in working with people with disability. This workshop was the only reference to disability in the four day conference and thus reinforced the topic’s purpose and validity as a human rights issue often ignored in Australian academic discourse.

This research asked: What can the struggle against the hierarchy of dominance, engaged in by people with disability in Australia through the Disability Rights Movement, learn from the footprints left by a sampling of other Australian new social movements? The intention of this research was to deepen understandings of disability and the Disability Rights Movement in Australia by learning from other new social movements. It was essentially designed as a catalytic work to broaden the scope of disability studies within Australia by learning from other social movements and developing academic positions from which to document the Australian Disability Rights Movement. These characteristics have also been identified internationally as potential directions for disability studies (Oliver and Barton, 2000; Shakespeare, 2004).

Three specific aims guided this research process. The first aim was to develop a tool for analysis through an examination of sampled new social movements. This tool would, in turn, be used to investigate the next two aims. The second aim was to establish the positioning of people with disability in Australia. This involved an investigation of the historic and contemporary perceptions of the hierarchy of dominance experienced by people with disability relative to their non-disabled counterparts. This aim led to the articulation of the history of disability in Australia, the theorisation of disability and the domains of oppression. The third aim was to provide an initial critical analysis of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. This led to a description of the details and dimensions of this movement.

Research Paradigms

This research, as a qualitative study, was both suggestive and interpretative—rather than conclusive (Gray, 2004). Qualitative research has been described as a set of interpretative activities without a specific alliance to theory, paradigm, or methodological practice (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). Qualitative researchers focus on social constructions; situational constraints which influence inquiry; questions of paradigm; and their own worldview (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003). This research necessitated a qualitative study of literature and was informed by three research paradigms: critical inquiry, disability studies – emancipatory, and critical pre-action. It had a broad location within the critical inquiry research paradigm, supported by the project’s philosophical and theoretical positioning. It drew on the disability studies – emancipatory paradigm which provided the disability specific criteria to guide this research. The research was also positioned within the critical pre-action paradigm, as an emergent and study specific paradigm which contributed to the boundaries for this thesis. Table 2.1 is an overview of these paradigms, and has been structured on Crotty’s (1998) foundations of social research. Each paradigm is considered in terms of epistemology, ontology, theoretical perspective, purpose or focus, methods and techniques, outcomes, methodology, and the role of the researcher (Table 2.1).

Critical Inquiry Paradigm

The critical inquiry paradigm has a focus on critique, social justice and the transformation of society, as described by Kincheloe and McLaren (2003):

Inquiry that aspires to the name *critical* must be connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society or public sphere within the society. Research thus becomes a transformative endeavor unembarrassed by the label *political* and unafraid to consummate a relationship with emancipatory consciousness (p.453).

Table 2 .1 Paradigms Influencing the Research Project

	Critical Inquiry Paradigm	Disability Studies – Emancipatory Paradigm	Critical Pre-Action Paradigm (Study specific)
Epistemology	What we see is not <i>what</i> we see, but what we <i>perceive</i>	Knowledge is socially constructed. Relationships based on empowerment & reciprocity	Combined critical and study specific
Ontology	Recognizes multiple interpretations of reality, but is concerned with influences of social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, gender and disability values.	Operationalises the concept of disability as a social construct	Combined critical and study specific
Theoretical Perspective	Rights framework	Social model of disability	Combined critical and study specific
Purpose / focus	Social justice awareness raising challenge power and oppression	Political & moral commitment to secure social justice for disable people, enhance autonomy, promote the maxims of the social model	Setting the scene for political and social emancipation of disabled people
Methods / techniques	Analyse oppression challenge and deconstruct dominant discourse, reconstruct new ways of being	Rejects mainstream objectivity; actual methods are debated – predominantly qualitative but no clear guidelines except to be “enabling not disability” forms	Comparative / exploratory
Outcomes	Confront and change the status quo, assumptions and policy emancipation of individuals	Inform political struggle, change society to ensure full participation and citizenship for disabled people. Reciprocity, gain & empowerment	Sets the scene – provides a basis – acts as a catalyst to action
Methodology	Post-modern	Predominantly post-modern, but could be seen to bridge the divide between post/modernism and post/structuralism	Post-modern
Role of Researcher	Represent and promote the interests of the oppressed partisanship in struggle	Partnership with disabled people; facilitation focus	Set the scene
References: French, 1994; Galloway, 2002; Kincheloe and McLaren, 2003; Lincoln and Guba, 2003; Oliver, 1992			

Critical inquiry presented a counter-hegemonic approach to research by challenging the elements which unify what Gramsci would frame as the economy, state and civil society—elements of the dominant consciousness. Critical inquiry promotes the adoption of a critical view of society within the context of research. Within this critical view, researchers work in partisanship in the “struggle for a better world” (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2003, p.453). Derrida’s work on deconstruction is a critical strategy which is used within this paradigm to challenge the institutions and authorities sustaining existing hierarchies of dominance (Barnhart, 1994). Critical inquiry is rights based and focuses on challenging power and raising awareness of the effects of power. Foucault’s work lends a critical view of power which is reflected within this research paradigm (Foucault, 1991). Critical inquiry involves questioning existing assumptions and challenging social structures (Gray, 2004). Kincheloe and McLaren (2003) described critical researchers as viewing their research as a form of political action; redressing injustices; setting out their assumptions clearly; aiming to expose the dominant culture; and being a source of emancipatory action. The methods often associated with critical inquiry include deconstruction, theory building and power analyses. Research from this paradigm ultimately aims to confront and challenge society, or public spaces within society, to change (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2003).

The critical inquiry paradigm as applied to this research was based on assumptions surrounding the individual, society and the research itself. These assumptions also underlie the researcher’s commitment to the representation of people with disability in Australia. Individual assumptions related to the concept of and the existence of the ‘other’. There are groups of people in society who are marginalized and experience the effects of oppression that is incorporated into the social fabric. Groups in society who possess privilege are enabled to exert an oppressive force over other groups (Gray, 2004). This research is based on the assumption that people with a disability in Australia experience oppression and as such can be perceived as ‘other’. The assumption continues that this situation needs to be deconstructed and strategies for promoting social, political, economic and linguistic inclusion need to be promoted.

Societal assumptions relate to the creation of hegemony by dominant groups as a means of constructing power relations within society. As Gray (2004) said: “what are presented as ‘facts’ cannot be disentangled from ideology and the self interest of the dominant groups” (p.24). The private and public spaces of people with disability in Australia, as well as the attitudes and prejudices surrounding the view of the disabled ‘other’, are mediated by power brokers. This power rests with the medical profession and governments, for example, who maintain the hierarchy of dominance.

Research assumptions based on the critical inquiry paradigm articulate research as providing a challenge to society; and as assisting the ‘other’ to challenge existing power relations. Alternate research approaches, which adopt a critical, multi-dimensional view of power—such as research which is grounded in the critical inquiry paradigm—can challenge society as a whole, unlike mainstream research approaches which have been criticised for reproducing oppression by not providing a challenge (Gray, 2004; Kincheloe and McLaren, 2003). Masters (1995) discussed a critical approach to research which purposed to uncover and understand inequality and hegemony, as well as to change practice. Thus research plays an important role in challenging society and in assisting the ‘other’ to challenge existing power relations. Critical inquiry is a broad field which encompasses the disability studies – emancipatory and critical pre-action paradigms.

Disability Studies – Emancipatory Paradigm

The disability studies – emancipatory paradigm is based on the social model of disability. The social model promotes the abolition of barriers surrounding, society attitudes, the economy, and education, for people with disability (Oliver, 1996). This relates to counter-hegemonic and deconstructive strategies, as well as understandings of difference. The focus of the social model on empowerment has direct links to Foucault’s multi-dimensional view of power (Foucault, 1991). The social model seeks to link people with disability with sites of power by employing political and collective measures, focusing on challenging society to be more accepting and accommodating of individuals, and

consequently of diversity. The disability studies – emancipatory paradigm relates these concepts to the realm of research (M Oliver, 1992). This paradigm operationalizes the concept of disability as a social construction and focuses on securing social justice for people with disability, enhancing autonomy and promoting the maxims of the social model. It is associated with ‘enabling not disabling’ forms of research where mainstream notions of ‘objectivity’ are rejected (Alston and Bowles, 2003; M Oliver, 1992).

The purpose of research within the disability studies – emancipatory paradigm is to inform political struggle and change society; to ensure full participation and to realise citizenship rights for people with disability. Alston and Bowles (2003) described the role of the researcher in such a context as being on the side of the oppressed, actively working for liberation. When discussing whether specific research processes are transformative or not, Zarb (2003) stated that this “...is really a question only disabled people themselves can answer and one which, ultimately, depends on the uses (if any) they and others find for the products of research” (p.53). Thus, the question of whether this research becomes a transformative process or not, is ultimately a decision which will be made by people with disability themselves. The role of the researcher adopted within this paradigm involves engaging with people with disability on a meaningful level; avoiding the recreation of oppressive or exploitative research processes; working towards an emancipatory goal and a political commitment to people with disability.

The disability studies – emancipatory paradigm also contributed assumptions surrounding the individual, society and research. This paradigm holds that if collective rights are awarded to the disabled ‘other’ as a group, then individuals with a disability will necessarily be empowered. The social model is focused on enabling people with disability to share the same level of equality and participation accorded to the privileged (M Oliver, 1990). Whilst the disability studies - emancipatory paradigm maintains a more practical outcome focus than this research affords, this paradigm influenced the development of pre-conditions for action.

Assumptions were made about society, within this paradigm, that relate directly to the research. These assumptions were: that society needs to be rehabilitated and that since society itself is a disabling force, therefore the creation of disability is embedded in social construction. The social model affirms that society “disables” people through marginalization and disempowerment on the basis of impairment, and that *society* has the responsibility to change, not *individuals* (M Oliver, 1996). These societal assumptions are supported by previous discussions regarding hegemony and deconstruction.

An assumption is made regarding research that emphasizes the moral commitment of the researcher to the disabled ‘other’, if research is to be truly emancipatory. Oliver (1996) promoted the idea that the social model is accompanied by a moral commitment to the integration of all people with disability into society. He continued that this commitment needed to be translated into political rights through supporting the empowerment of people with disability. Oliver (1992) saw disability research as being a ‘rip off’ since it failed to confront social oppression, isolation or have a significant impact on improving the quality of life for people with a disability (Barnes and Mercer, 2003). Barnes and Mercer (2003) described the influence of critical social research on disability research, and the political commitment to research.

Critical Pre-action Paradigm

The critical pre-action paradigm is an emergent paradigm which is study specific. It can be understood for the purpose of this research as based on critical inquiry and the specific study of disability. The critical pre-action paradigm sets up an agenda, provides a framework and foundation, investigates strategies, explores avenues and stops short of implementation. It is designed to recommend, motivate and ‘set the scene’, and in this way it may set up the preconditions for, or be, a catalyst for future action (Galloway, 2002).

Critical pre-action research links closely with Gramsci’s assertion that creating counter-hegemonic tendencies first in one space, will in turn impact other spaces within society (Barnhart, 1994). It is also aligned with Derrida’s description of *différance* as a “critical

force of destabilization” (Berger, 2003; Silverman, 2002). This destabilising force indicates a pre-active catalyst. Thus, critical pre-action can be seen as existing within the space of the marginalized ‘other’. It can also be viewed as aligned with Foucault’s understandings of power, which sets out the ability to influence power relations and (ultimately) to set up a challenge and thus an agenda for change within society (Foucault, 1991).

It can be argued that the epistemology, ontology and theoretical perspective of the critical pre-action paradigm could work across different paradigms, and in this case involves a combination of the critical inquiry and disability studies – emancipatory paradigms. Within the context of this research, the critical pre-action paradigm is focused on setting the scene for the political and social emancipation of people with disability in Australia through an analysis of the new social movement currently representing their struggle. Methods associated with this paradigm would include comparative, exploratory studies and consciousness raising (Galloway, 2002). The outcome of this paradigm is to act as a catalyst for action, or as Derrida would call it, as a destabilizing force. The role of the researcher is a combination of critical inquiry and the study specific area of research; thus representing and promoting the interests of people with disability in Australia, as well as potentially serving as a catalyst for future action on a movement level.

The critical pre-action paradigm is also based on individual, social and research assumptions. It is necessary to start from the broader, societal view in order to thoroughly inform and equip individuals for action. A solid foundation is a forerunner to sustained and successful interaction. This research set the scene for action that was designed to stimulate and sustain prolonged engagement on a movement level. Action does not exist in a vacuum, but rather operates within systemic interactions dominated by the assertions of the privileged. There are preconditions to actions. Critical pre-action research pays particular attention to these preconditions. This research was designed as a precursor to action. It fulfilled this aim by offering a foundation, a clear analysis of, and a contribution to, the future development of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. The paradigm is also based on the assumption that research plays a vital role in providing

a catalyst for action. Critical pre-action research is based on the third assumption that research is able to impact upon society. This is an important basis for research. Critical pre-action research is able to provide a valuable contribution to, in this case, the future development of new social movements. Research has a valuable contribution to make not only to the academic world but also on a practical, societal level. This research is committed to ensuring the publication and general dissemination of findings to ensure that this research is able to make an impact upon society.

Research Methods

The theoretical and research paradigms set up a guide for choosing the research methods most appropriate for answering the research question and for fulfilling the aims of the project. Below, the research sample, documentary research, collection and collation of data, and data analysis are presented.

Sampling of New Social Movements

In an effort to learn from other new social movements, movements had to be chosen which represented groups of people who had been positioned as ‘other’ in Australia and had subsequently formed a movement leaving significant footprints within Australia. The first consideration in this process was to decide how many movements to sample. This was decided upon with consideration of time frame parameters. For each movement to be sampled in enough depth to provide information for the development of key questions, while also staying within the timeframes for the project, the number was set at two. By choosing two movements, two different perspectives were enabled that were then considered in parallel to each other. The second consideration was to determine which movements would be chosen. This was decided by the development of macro-sample criteria. This criteria was informed by the theoretical positioning that explored new social movements and gave a reference point for identifying which movements could be viewed as leaving significant footprints. It was also informed by practical considerations regarding the accessibility of the literature sample representing the movement and the desire to parallel Australian movements. The criteria developed as a result of this process are contained in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Criteria for New Social Movement Sample

Criteria	Questions
New Social Movement	Can a collective group of people who identify as ‘other’ be identified? Does this group unite around common issues? (power/rights based) Has this group been engaged in conflict? Has this group left footprints – through effecting change?
Australian	Is the movement Australian or well established within Australia?
Literature Base	Does it have a broad literature base supporting it which is easily accessible?
Level of Recognition	Is it a well recognized movement both within academia and in the public space?
Historical Context	Does it share a similar historical context to the Disability Rights Movement within Australia (ie, since the 1980s), or does it have a longer history?

The first movement identified as fulfilling the sampling criteria was the Australian Women’s Liberation Movement. The Women’s Movement has often been framed as occurring in three waves: the first wave evidenced in the work of suffragettes who fought for the right to vote, the second wave evidenced in the work of liberationists, and the third, most recent wave, which frames feminism more as an individual journey, also known as ‘do it yourself feminism’ (Kallen, 2004; Kaplan, 1996). It is the second wave, often called the Women’s Liberation Movement, which was chosen as the focus for the first sampled movement. The Women’s Liberation Movement answered the questions posed in the criteria (Table 2.2). It represented a collective group identifying women in Australia as the ‘other’, framed initially through consciousness raising groups. The Women’s Liberation Movement identified common areas of challenge around which women could unite and was engaged in prolonged conflict as evidenced through staged protests and formalized lobby groups. The Women’s Liberation Movement brought about change through the introduction of legislative reform, the establishment of women’s centres and shelters, and changes in public attitudes towards women.

The Women’s Liberation Movement also fulfilled the criteria of being a distinctly Australian movement which developed both independent from, and parallel to,

international women's movements (Kaplan, 1996). This Movement had a broad literature base to support it, with documents easily accessible through libraries and online. There were a number of publications written at the time of the movement, as well as later reflection on the movement. The Women's Liberation Movement is also a well recognized movement. Within academia it is represented through the presence of women's studies. It is also part of the public space. For example, one of the central issues of the Women's Liberation Movement was the need for out of home child care. This is an issue which is now on the national agenda and is frequently debated within the media as a high profile issue. Historically, the second wave of the movement can be traced to the 1960s. Thus, it has a longer history and is more established than the Disability Rights Movement in Australia which first emerged in the 1980s.

The second movement to be chosen, was the Indigenous Rights Movement. Many different terms have been used to describe this movement including; the Aboriginal Movement (Burgmann, 2003; Indigenous Law Resources, 2004); Land Rights Movement (Charlesworth, 1984); Reconciliation Movement (Reconciliation Australia, 2004; Tickner, 1991, 2001); the Contemporary Aboriginal Political Movement (Vibe, 2004); the Aboriginal Protest Movement (Mansell, 2003) and the Movement for Indigenous Rights (Bullimore, 2001). The term Indigenous Rights Movement was adopted to encompass the movements of land rights and reconciliation.

There is evidence to support that the Indigenous Rights Movement is part of the new social movement phenomenon which answered the questions posed in the criteria (Table 2.2). There is a clearly identified collective group of Indigenous Australians deemed by dominant society as 'other'. The group, though diverse, have united around collective challenges and issues. Significantly, these challenges have included struggles for sovereign recognition and land rights. The Indigenous Rights Movement has been engaged in protest and conflict. The most prominent local conflict engaged in at the time of making this sampling decision was the imposition of alcohol bans in Cape York, where the Federal Government brought in alcohol bans within Indigenous communities without consulting with people within the communities (Bernoth, 2004).

The Indigenous Rights Movement is a uniquely Australian movement. While it drew part of its initial strength from the Black Civil Rights Movement, it has emerged as a distinct movement with its own group identity and challenges, and its own ways to engage in conflict. The Indigenous Rights Movement has effected some change within the socio-political landscape, most significantly that of Native Title legislation for land rights (Attwood, 2003). Areas identified for this at the time of the sampling (early 2004) included public awareness of their issues, a national body to represent their needs, and the high profile of activists within the media. Subsequent to this, the national body representing indigenous Australians—the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC)—was abolished by the Federal Government, leaving Indigenous Australians with no political representation or power with an advisory body, the National Indigenous Council now being its only remaining voice.

The Indigenous Rights Movement further fulfilled the criteria of a movement for sampling through its extensive literature base. A number of documents were easily accessible through libraries and online. This document base initially did not appear to be as broad or as large as the Women’s Liberation Movement; however it was still adequate for the research purposes. Further criteria were fulfilled through the recognition of the movement within academia, an example being specific Indigenous Australian studies programs. Within the public space, the media has played a significant role in presenting the struggles of the Indigenous ‘other’, in both a positive and negative light. The Indigenous Rights Movement also shared a similar historical context to the Disability Rights Movement. There have been examples of protest from the 1930s (Lippman, 1981; Vibe, 2004) as well as significant protests through the 1980s, such as the 1988 bicentennial protests (Bullimore, 2001).

This research project presumed that the Women’s Liberation and the Indigenous Rights Movements would make a valuable contribution to informing the struggles of people with disability. The sampled movements were considered in parallel and not in comparison, thus avoiding value judgments from being made. Both the Women’s Liberation and the Indigenous Rights Movements had an equally significant contribution to make to a

deepening understanding of new social movements in Australia, and thus to the fulfilment of this project's aims.

Documentary Research: Bibliographic Method

Documentary research is a large field with many sub-branches, however unlike many other forms of research such as survey and action research, there are very few books devoted to the topic (Scott, 2006). Branches of documentary research include content analysis, semiotics, discourse analysis and the bibliographic method. Content analysis, has been likened to social surveys of images and text (rather than of people) because of its rigid structure for coding and categorising data (Scott, 2006). It examines the manifest or latent content of documents by means of categories (Sarantakos, 1993), with a distinct emphasis on method, with theory arising from textual observation (Scott, 2006). This research sought a method where theory played a more significant role in informing the research process. The method of semiotics, involves a process of interpretation, with a much greater emphasis on theory and relatively little on method (Scott, 2006). Again, this method was not appropriate for this research, as the documents utilised within this research were being examined to provide further tools for analysis. Method, therefore, was as important as theory, within this research. Discourse analysis is most similar to the bibliographic method chosen, with more emphasis on working from texts or from transcripts, including the collection of documents, the interrogation of assumptions, immersion in documents collected, and then the coding of these documents (Rosalind, 2006). Discourse analysis is a broad field which involves an emphasis on context and regards text as action rather than a reflection on action. The bibliographic method is an historical method concerned with a meaningful reconstruction of the past (Gottschall, 2006). It uses bibliographic chains to develop its sampling frame and values both theory (as informing, for example, the collection of documents) and method (as informing, for example, the reduction of documents). Unlike content analysis, it does not conform to a rigid structure, and thus the interaction between documents is more fluid. It is distinct from semiotics in that the bibliographic method is less concerned with interpretation and more concerned with reflecting and preserving the words of the authors. It is also distinct from discourse analysis, as it accepts documents as reflections on actions, seeking to

develop partnerships with the documents collected in an effort to stay true to the world view of the authors.

The bibliographic method entails the study of personal and biographical documents, and provides a chain to direct the collection of further documents (Sarantakos, 1993). This method has been described as developing through a sequence, described by Sarantakos (1993) as the identification of original documents; organisation and analysis of the documents; evaluation of the information; and the interpretation of the data. Original documents are also used to direct the collection of further documents through the use of bibliographies within the original text. This research applied the bibliographic method in two sequences. In the first sequence, the bibliographic method was applied to the two sampled movements (see *Collection and Collation of Documents* for more detail). This resulted in the development of a tool for analysis. This tool took the form of key questions that covered the domains, details and dimensions of new social movements (see *Analysis: Learning from other new social movements* for more detail). These questions were then used to guide the second sequence of the bibliographic method. In this second sequence, the tool was applied to literature relating to people with disability and the Disability Rights Movement (see *Analysis: Deepening Understandings of the Disability Rights Movement* for more detail). This represented an interactive process where the literature review and the application of the first set of key questions (domains) became intertwined. Thus, documents initially used to inform the research question and to establish it as an avenue for study, also became documents analysed through the application of key questions.

The bibliographic method was especially appropriate for this research due to its alignment with the critical inquiry paradigm. As Foucault (1989) described:

... history, in its traditional form, undertook to 'memorise' the monuments of the past, transform them into *documents*, and lend speech to those traces which, in themselves, are often not verbal, or which say in silence something other than what they actually say; in our time history is what transforms *documents* into *monuments* (p. 7 – original emphasis).

This research focussed on the monuments of the past to deepen understandings of the positioning of people with disability and their new social movement within the Australian context. Documentary research, particularly through the bibliographic method, has the purpose of enhancing understandings within a historical context and developing new meanings. Documents, and the analysis of them, has been a feature of social research for some time, however, “critical approaches to documentary sources is far from a unified body of thought” (May, 2001). New directions are being made, away from positivist to critical approaches, reflecting elements of realism, critical theory, feminism, post-modernism and post-structuralism (May, 2001).

Using a bibliographic method from a critical inquiry paradigm involved seeking out documents that represented the voice of the ‘other’, as opposed to those of the privileged dominant group. Research from this perspective was not a simple reflection on documents, as it involved a critical approach to the documents throughout the research process. Clemens and Hughes (2002) adopted this critical perspective when they warned that a simple reflection model was insufficient and urged researchers to adopt a skeptical view of documents, taking into account aspects of authenticity, intended audience, credibility, genre and representativeness.

The bibliographic method has many strengths as well as some disadvantages. Strengths of this method include being able to be retrospective, accessibility of documents; economy and strengthened audibility (Sarantakos, 1993). Scott (2006) argues the strength of all documentary research methods as embedded in documentary survival, which is especially valuable to the researcher as documents were not deliberately designed for the benefit of the researcher, and can therefore “be seen as the objective residue of the past” (p. 13). Disadvantages of the method include the question of documentary reliability (Sarantakos, 1993) and the questionable authenticity of authorship (Platt, 2006; Scott, 2006); and methodological dilemmas such as coding issues (Sarantakos, 1993). Platt (2006) also described potential sampling problems arising from too few or too many documents, with particular reference to the “problem of abundance” (p. 89) where a sampling frame is needed to establish boundaries for research.

Collection and Collation of Documents

Documents were collected purposely, based on criteria and availability, and bounded within strict time frame parameters (Alston and Bowles, 2003). The purpose of this data collection was to assemble a sampling frame that would deepen understandings of the position of people with disability, and enable the Disability Rights Movement to learn from other new social movements. Criteria based on philosophical foundations, and the theoretical positioning of the research, were encapsulated within a coding register (Appendix A), enabling the data collection to connect directly with the research question and aims (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The register guided searches into; the lifecycle of the sampled movements; themes associated with new social movements (such as identities, processes and catalysts); ‘general’ information which could be used to inform disability struggle.

This register was used to guide the collection of documents which were readily available and accessible within either a time frame of two months, or up to a point of saturation for each sampled movement. This is supported by Miles and Huberman (1994) who recommend sampling within the researcher’s means. An initial search of readily available existing documents, assisted by key words supplied by the register, was made. This involved sourcing documents from the internet and libraries, and provided a wealth of more recent documents. From these originally identified works bibliographic and thematic chains were followed; searching by author and piece (bibliographic), and event / actor (theme).

Simultaneous to collection, documents were collated through detailed records. These records were in the form of annotations and quotes for larger documents, such as book chapters, and a copy of the full text for smaller documents, such as articles. Each document was treated as a single entity and the words of the author were reflected in the collection. No attempt to interpret or assign meaning was made. Annotations (see Appendix E for a proforma) were true recordings of the author’s experience of, opinions about, reflections on, or recordings of the movement. All texts were treated the same – including bibliographies, reflective articles, and historical recollections. These records

became the tools for the development of key questions. Key words and connections to the coding register were recorded at the end of each record. These records contributed to the auditability and transparency of the method. They also became a quick and efficient way of sorting relevant information and themes that needed to be reflected in the development of understandings, which could be used to inform the development of an analysis tool for new social movements.

An important tool within this data collection specifically, and within the research process more generally, was the recording of methodological and personal memos, which were described by Miles and Huberman (1994) thus:

Memos are primarily conceptual in intent. They don't just report data; they tie together different pieces of data into a recognisable cluster, often to show that those data are instances of a general concept. Memos can also go well beyond codes and their relationships to any aspect of study—personal, methodological, and substantive. They are one of the most useful and powerful sense-making tools at hand (p.72).

These memos were notes to self which outlined thoughts on methods, tensions and reflections on the process, the documents; thus forming the basis of a process of rhetorical and constructive logic within the research process (Creswell, 2003; Sarantakos, 1993).

For the Women's Liberation Movement, 138 records were collected, a bibliography of which is contained in Appendix C. For the Indigenous Rights Movement, 100 records were collected, a bibliography of which is contained in Appendix D. There are two explanations for the disparity in number, firstly the point of saturation occurred earlier for the Indigenous Rights Movement and less documents were collected, as the sampling frame available was significantly smaller for this movement and thus bibliographic chains were more limited; and secondly the point where repetition was occurring was recognized more quickly, possibly due to the experience of the researcher from the previous sampling frame.

Analysis: Learning from other New Social Movements

The task of learning from the sampled movements initially involved familiarisation with the records and memos written through the collection and collation phase. It also involved a revisiting of the research problem and aims of the project. Through this process notes were made about common threads which were appearing. Notes were written in the order they were read (ie, no particular order) on large pieces of paper as an individual brainstorming exercise. Appendix F contains an example of the notes taken in this initial analysis phase. All notes were then used as prompts for the process of mind mapping. Generating meaning from data collection involves noting patterns, themes and clustering (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Mind mapping, involves creating a series of pictures which arrange words around key concepts, illustrate the linkages of concepts through lines and arrows and has been described thus:

... a diagram used to represent words, ideas, tasks or 'other' items linked to and arranged radially around a central key word or idea....It is an image centred diagram that represents ... connections between portions of information...Most often the map involves images, words and lines. The elements are arranged intuitively according to the importance of the concepts and they are organised into groupings, branches, or areas. (Wikipedia, 2006, Mind Mapping).

Mind mapping is a brainstorming approach, which was initiated through the themes emerging from note taking. Particular focus was given to the issues considered important to the authors of the literature (Alston and Bowles, 2003). Three separate but interrelated maps emerged which were named domains, details, and dimensions. The domains mind map provided insight into the positioning of people who have been 'othered' within the hierarchy of dominance. It contributed three domains of oppression – medical, professional and market – which were shared by the Women's Liberation and Indigenous Rights Movements. From this mind map, a number of generic key questions for application to new social movements were raised, which are presented with the findings (see Chapter 4). The second mind map was named details. These key questions asked for specific details surrounding the voices, the events, and the visions of the new social movement, within the local and international context (see Chapter 4). The third mind map, dimensions, asked how a movement can be defined as a new social

movement. Dimensions relating to individual, group and public consciousness were identified as common to the sampled movements (see Chapter 4).

Analysis: Deepening Understandings of the Disability Rights Movement

It was harder to access information on the Disability Rights Movement in Australia when compared to searches for the sampled movements. For example, internet searches did not yield many results, and in some cases no results. Details of events and Movement descriptions of the Disability Rights Movement were particularly difficult to collect data on. Each of the three sets of questions generated key words and key areas for searching within the disability literature. The key questions surrounding domains were framed for application to people with disability in Australia, initiating a search for historical recordings and writings (see Chapter 5). The key questions explicating details were framed for application to the Disability Rights Movement in Australia, which led to a search for descriptions of the Movement (see Chapter 5). The key questions analysing dimensions were also framed for application to the Disability Rights Movement in Australia, prompting a search for analyses of the Disability Rights Movement (see Chapter 5). At first, each set was applied separately to literature. When analysing this information for presentation, two surprises emerged from the data. This changed the presentation of the three sections that had formed the first analysis set. The first surprise came from within the domains, where four themes superseded the three domains within the tool. The second surprise emerged within the details and the dimensions of the Disability Rights Movement were found to be best presented together, allowing the tensions within the literature to be more clearly discussed.

Presentation

The initial construction of this thesis was lengthy. Ten sections presenting; the introduction; conceptual framework; methodology; the domains, details and then the dimensions of the sampled movements; the domains, details and then the dimensions of the Disability Rights Movement; and the conclusions were written. However, in the interest of presenting a clear thesis, it was decided that these sections were to be presented in a manner that would improve the flow and readability of the text. The

philosophical and theoretical positioning of the thesis was placed within the first chapter because of the centrality of this conceptual framework to the development of the research problem and aims. The third chapter now contains a literature review of the history of disability in Australia and the theorisation of disability. Thus, Chapter one introduces concepts later explored in critical depth when applied to people with disability and their movement in Chapter three. Chapter four introduces the tool for analysis—with three separate sections introducing the findings in terms of key questions, then a brief discussion of the sampled movement literature to support the development of this analytic tool. Chapter five presents the application of the analysis tool to disability literature. While the tool offered three domains, it was found that the positioning of people with disability could best be told through four themes which superseded these domains. Within Chapter five, the presentation of details and dimensions of the Disability Rights Movement was intertwined to illustrate the unique development of, and the tensions within, this movement. This chapter deepens our understanding of the movement's lack of visibility within Australia and provides one explanation for this lack. Chapter six then draws the thesis together with reflections on the aims and recommendations for future research.

Ethical Considerations

There are a number of ethical considerations that underlie this research, which were posed by Miles and Huberman (1994), including project worthiness, competence boundaries and beneficence. Research with a political commitment to the disabled 'other' must ensure that it meets high ethical standards.

This project demonstrates its worthiness through its aims. The need for this research was evidenced in Chapter 1 where the position of the disabled 'other' within Australia was framed in terms of oppression, dominance and apartheid; and the location of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia was proposed to be fragmented, depoliticised and invisible. This need led to the development of aims which sought to contribute to counter hegemonic strategies, shifting power relations and a destabilization of the status quo. Miles and Huberman (1994) argued that project worthiness depends on research

contributions which relate to a broad domain, rather than to the fulfilment of funding, publications and career agendas. The aims of this research are broad and systemic.

My competence to conduct this research stems from academic, professional and personal experiences. Academically, I have a degree in Community Welfare and a post graduate Honours where I studied advocacy in a small rural town through the emancipatory and participatory action research paradigms. Professionally, I have worked in the disability field for a number of years across many different locations such as employment, recreation, housing, group homes and independent living. It was this background which led to my disillusionment with current disability practice and policy within Australia. This ultimately led me to go back to university to study disability from a broad, systemic, movement level. Personally, I have a son diagnosed with a disorder, who is unable to attend state schooling. My journey with him has led me to experience the discrimination, prejudice and lack of understanding prevalent within Australian society. This experience has given me insight into the disabling social structures which promote normal, prescriptive definitions of behaviour, and reject, label, ignore, and devalue those who do not fit within these boundaries.

The quality of beneficence takes into account who will benefit and what this benefit will be (Miles and Huberman, 1994). This was demonstrated through the research paradigms (critical inquiry, disability studies – emancipatory and critical pre action) adapted for this project. The first paradigm is the Critical Inquiry paradigm. The quality of beneficence demonstrated within this paradigm is in its practical and political commitment to change. This paradigm seeks to uncover and understand inequality and hegemony and to change practice (Masters, 1995). This research aims to uncover and understand inequality as experienced by the disabled ‘other’ and to assist the ‘other’ to challenge this within Australia through the development of the Disability Rights Movement. The second paradigm is the Disability Studies – Emancipatory paradigm. The quality of beneficence evidenced within this paradigm is its moral and political commitment to the disabled ‘other’ on a broad systemic level. This research is committed to representing the voice of the disabled ‘other’ as recorded in literature. It is also committed to, and focussed on, the

future development of the Disability Rights Movement into a strong influential movement in Australia. Zarb (2003) stated:

... disability research can only be said to be transformative to the extent that disabled people (and other groups or organisations with an interest in challenging social and material exclusion) are able to use such research as an aid to bringing about changes in the status quo. .. (p.52).
Emancipation is not an event or series of events with a fixed beginning and end. Rather, it is an ongoing dialectical process of growth and development which, as the history of the disabled people's movement itself illustrates, is essentially characterized by conflict and resolution (p.53).

This research has demonstrated a commitment to contribute to this ongoing dialectical process. Barnes and Mercer (2003) discussed the tensions which have risen over non-disabled researchers within this paradigm, concluding that the most important aspect of this paradigm is its self critical, reflexive and political commitment to making a difference. The disability studies – emancipatory paradigm has often adopted the slogan 'Nothing About Us, Without Us'. This research could be judged as not working 'with us' on one level—this is the personal or even organisational level—as no consultations with individuals or organisations were undertaken. However, this research is working 'with us' at a much broader level. Partnerships were developed with bodies of literature—literature representative of the views of the 'other' within Australia. Partnerships were developed at a movement level by engaging in data collection then analysis of the Disability Rights Movement which has enabled the development of directions and deliberations which can affect a catalyst for change. The quality of beneficence is exemplified within the research of the third paradigm, Critical pre-action, through the results of the research, which set the scene for future action.

Quality Audit

The quality of this thesis can be assessed using a number of standards derived from Denzin and Lincoln (2003). These standards are objectivity and confirmability; reliability, dependability and auditability; internal validity, credibility and authenticity; external validity, transferability and fittingness; and utilization, application and action orientation.

For Miles and Huberman (1994), the reliability, dependability and auditability standard referred to the consistency and stability of the research over time across researchers and methods. Within this thesis there is a research statement and related aims, and the research process was guided by these aims. The research was connected to theory and philosophy. Each step of the research process was considered with reference to the conceptual framework and theoretical paradigms. Reliability, according to Gray (2004), is improved (if not guaranteed) by employing triangulation. Triangulation involves using a combination of methods to study the same phenomenon, or studying the same issue from different angles. This research employed triangulation on two levels. Firstly, the conceptual framework used a combination of philosophies and theories to provide a structure for this research. Secondly, the lens developed had three parts. This enabled the investigation of disability literature from three different angles and gave the research a fuller and more consistent picture of the Disability Rights Movement within Australia, contributing to the reliability of the conclusions presented in the final chapter. This research has also left an audit trail. Literary records are supplied for the sampled movements in the appendices, as well as a reference list, all features of dependable research (Gray, 2004). This audit trail also shows connections between the data.

In regard to internal validity, credibility and authenticity, Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that findings must make sense and the report (thesis) must provide an authentic portrayal of what has been achieved. Internal validity was strengthened by the application of triangulation through prolonged engagement with the data collection. Investigation into research processes were also made, involving the use of memos as a critical reflection on the research process throughout the data collection and application phases, and the use of reconstructive logic, where the researcher reflected on the research continually, both by self and in conjunction with supervisors and peer review forums.

Miles and Huberman (1994) presented the external validity, transferability and fittingness criterion to evaluate the larger import of the conclusions of the study. While a fuller picture of the sampled movements was not presented, due to the time constraints of the

research, thick descriptions of sampled literature are presented in this thesis (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Evidence was provided to support the development of the lens, and to support the conclusions based on the application of the lens. These thick descriptions enabled the potential for transferability to disability literature. On a broad level, this research sought to represent the voices of people who have been ‘othered’ through these descriptions.

CHAPTER THREE

Literature Review

The women living in the unit were both locked out and locked in. They were locked out of community and institutional life, and out of many of the positions that they may have been expected to have as girls and later as women. At the same time the women were locked in physically and also locked into perceptions and practices by those around them which positioned them as a problem and which allowed them to be constrained and managed
(Johnson, 2000, p.1).

In Australia, people with disability are more likely to be found in prison (Jakubowski and Meekosha, 2000); in aged care facilities, even if young (Young People In Nursing Homes, 2006); in Centrelink queues (Hastings, 1998); and in public housing (ABS, 2003). A person with a disability in Australia is more likely to be indigenous (Wired, 2003), aged over 65 (ABS, 2003), a victim of physical or sexual assault (Frohmader, 2002; Meekosha, 2000; Sherry, 2000b), chemically or medically restrained (Gillespie, 2004), aborted (Bolt, 2004; Hume, 1996), sterilized (Brady and Grover, 1997; Dowse, 2004; Hume, 1996; Spicer, 1999), or barred from receiving medical treatments (Mowbray, 2005). In contrast, their non-disabled counterparts are more likely to be found in places of higher education such as university (Leipolt, 2005); in their own homes; and in paid positions of power, including positions within the disability sector (Goggin and Newell, 2005). A person without a disability in Australia is more likely to be born (Hume, 1996; Spicer, 1999), enabled to have and keep children, and in receipt of treatments such as organ transplants (Mowbray, 2005).

Australian writers in the disability rights field record disability as sitting in a 'discursive space of its own' outside of mainstream consideration where people with disability are engaged in a battle (Meekosha, 2000, p.6; Diamond, 2005), and as 'akin to a system of otherness – an apartheid' (Goggin and Newell, 2005, p.195 - 6). Polarized notions of 'us' as the non-disabled and 'them' as disabled have been prominent within Australian society since the time of settlement. The privileged non-disabled group relies on these polarized notions to justify their control, alienation, commodification and isolation of the disabled

'other' (Davis, 1995) who have been locked up, segregated, medicated, physically constrained, denied accessibility, stereotyped, categorized, and individualized. The privileged continue to accrue their social, economic, political and linguistic dominance at the expense of the disabled 'other' who remain disenfranchised, dispossessed and disillusioned (Carling-Burzacott and Galloway, 2004). In addition, a collective fear of disablement as a condition to which all people are susceptible permeates society, which further isolates the disabled 'other' from the privileged who cling to notions of normality (Fleisher and Zames, 2001).

There are many examples of this 'othered' positioning of people with disability in Australia. In 2000 a baby was aborted at 32 weeks gestation because the mother was unable to cope with the child's expected disability (Bolt, 2004):

The mother believed from ultrasound tests that her baby, Jessica, could be a dwarf. But the tests were in fact inconclusive and the staff notes written immediately after the baby had been killed in the womb and still born at the Royal Women's Hospital state: 'On delivery, the baby doesn't look small'. It seems possible, perhaps even likely, that the baby had no 'defects' after all. (Bolt, 2004, p.1)

This incident outraged many people with disability, parents of children with disability and pro life groups (Bolt, 2004; Mowbray, 2006). The reality is that in Australia many abortions occur on the basis of disability (Mowbray, 2005). Accompanying this debate is the increasing preoccupation with the elimination of disability via genetic engineering, which portrays disability as an absence of quality of life (Hastings, 1998). This exemplifies the ultimate vulnerability for people with disability (Cocks, 1996). People with disability in Australia are more vulnerable than their non-disabled counterparts in many areas of their lives (Goggin and Newell, 2005; Meekosha, 2000).

What follows is a review of literature which both informed the development of the research problem, and was facilitated by learning from other social movements. The history of disability in Australia is traced, and the theorization of disability is discussed. The literature review then seeks to tell a story of the roots of struggle for the disabled 'other' within Australia through four themes: the denial of citizenship, segregation within institutions, living on the margins and the 'disabled body'. These four themes emerged

through the application of the medical, professional and market domains, and were found to transcend these sites of oppression.

Disability in History

People with disability have been treated as ‘different’ since the arrival of the First Fleet in Australia in 1788. The culture which developed within Australian society conceals its socio-economic and political flaws behind the rhetoric of ‘the lucky country’, where its inhabitants are socialized to automatically answer ‘I’m fine’ when asked ‘How are you?’ (Kaplan, 1996). The following summary introduces the major influences, events and legislation in Australia, relevant to people with disability and their experiences of this ‘lucky country’ from 1788 to 2006. An expanded chronology of this is contained in Appendix B.

Australia inherited a view of disability perpetuated by colonial imperialist England. People with disability were often framed in spiritually inferior terms as either demonic or the holy innocent (Russell, 1998). In ancient times Aristotle wrote in his famous work, *The Politics*, “as to the exposure and rearing of children, let there be a law that no deformed child shall live” (Aristotle, translated by Jowett, 1885). During the middle ages people with disabilities were regarded as ‘fools’, who survived through beggary or by amusing the privileged through positions such as court jesters (Metzler, 2006; Pacer Centre, 2004). They were sometimes locked in ‘idiot cages’ in the town square, or were expelled from their communities (Pacer Centre, 2004). The world’s oldest institution, Bethlem Royal Hospital, commonly known as ‘Bedlam’, was opened in 1247 in London to accommodate people with mental disorders. “Conditions were consistently dreadful, and the care amounted to little more than restraint” (Wikipedia, 2006, p.1).

Table 3.1 Summary of Major Influences, Events and Legislation for People with Disability in Australia

1788	People with disability imprisoned on hulks
Early 1800s	Asylums open for convicts, lunatics and invalids <i>The Lunacy Act 1843</i>
Late 1800s	<i>Benevolent Asylums Wards Act 1861</i> 'Lunatics' responsibility of prison system Restrictions to education People with disability labeled as 'idiots', lunatics and invalids
1900s	Vote denied to people of unsound mind
1910s	Eugenics Movement influenced Australia Commission set up to assist disabled veterans
1920s	Eugenics continues to influence Australian policy re people with disability People with disability divided as 'educatable' or non-educatable
1930s	Great Depression effects Australian social policy First folding, tubular wheelchair invented
1940s	Vocations Training Scheme introduced for people receiving an Invalid Pension Australian Advisory Council for the Physically Handicapped established Commonwealth Rehabilitation Service established for veterans
1950s	Sheltered workshops first appear targeting children with disability <i>Aged and Disabled Persons' Homes Act 1954</i> Australian Association for Mental Retardation established
1960s	Australian Council for Rehabilitation Of the Disabled (ACROD) formed <i>Disabled Persons' Accommodation Act 1963</i> <i>Commonwealth Sheltered Employment Assistance Act 1967</i> <i>Handicapped Children Assistance Act 1969</i>
1970s	<i>Handicapped Persons' Assistance Act 1974</i> Henderson Commission of Inquiry into Poverty 1975 links disability and poverty
1980s	Formation of local, state and national committees for IYDP International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP) 1981 Survey of Handicapped Persons conducted by ABS Reviewed <i>Handicapped Persons Assistance Act 1974</i> Funding available for self help groups and consumer groups New Directions report 1985 <i>Disability Services Act 1986</i>
1990s	<i>Commonwealth-State Disability Agreement 1991</i> Disability Support Pension replaces Invalid Pension Marion Case 1992 restricts sterilization of girls with disability Burdekin Inquiry 1993 into human rights of people with disabilities Carer Allowance introduced
2000-2006	Paralympics held in Sydney Stem Cell debates held Restrictions to Disability Support Pension proposed

Links were closely drawn between disability, criminality, and institutionalisation (both in medical and prison facilities) within colonial Australia. Congregate facilities, for those who did not fit the 'norm', were commonly promoted in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries throughout the western world (King, 2000). The first asylum opened in Australia in 1811. Prior to this, people labelled as 'lunatics' and 'idiots' were imprisoned

with criminals on the hulks (State Records NSW, 2006). The *Lunacy Act* was introduced in 1843, and made provision for the criminal and dangerously insane to be confined to a jail or public hospital. The act also allowed for committal to be ordered for the non-dangerous by means of request from a relative plus two individual medical certificates and the agreement of a Supreme Court Judge (State Records NSW, 2006).

People with disability were portrayed in terms of a 'lack of worth' throughout Australian history, which depicted people with disability as invalids (Table 3.1, 1890, 1907), and as defectives (Table 3.1, 1890). Soon after federation, the Eugenics Movement became influential within Australia and was widely embraced by the privileged (Table 3.1; Cavanaugh-O'Keefe, 1995). Eugenics was adopted worldwide as a study of methods to improve the human race by controlling reproduction (Carlson, 2001). The Eugenics Movement sought to control people with disabilities right to life and reproduction. The early 1900s saw this movement flourish internationally when the United States led the way with the forced sterilizations of people with disability recorded as early as 1907, and when Hitler initiated the T4 project where 'useless eaters', a category which incorporated people with disability, were gassed, poisoned or starved to death (ARC, 2005).

Due to a number of polio outbreaks Australia's disability population rose throughout the 1900s (see Table 3.1). The use of medical institutions as the primary source of care continued. King (2000) described her experiences of the 1950s, of spending two years in a rehabilitation hospital as a child where parental visits were limited; strict authority was displayed; therapy and food were forced, and there was zero tolerance for 'cry babies'. The Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS, 1975) described such segregated residential institutions as "the ultimate human scrap-heaps" (p.17).

The disability population in Australia also began to increase due to the return of injured war veterans. After the World Wars there was greater recognition of the need for rehabilitation of ex-serviceman with physical disabilities. Alternatives to institutions were sought, with a focus on vocational and financial initiatives (King, 2000). The

Commonwealth Rehabilitation Service (CRS) was founded in 1948 to assist injured men and women from the armed forces, as well as those receiving invalid pensions (Table 3.1; CRS, 2006).

Following World War II, the United Nations (UN) was formed. In 1948, international recognition of human rights issues were formalised by the United Nation's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Table 3.1). Goggin and Newell (2005) described this pursuit of human rights:

Rights were consolidated in the international legal and diplomatic framework with the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights and key covenants that have arisen to compliment this. Though more observed in the breach perhaps, the pursuit of human rights is still crucially and strategically important in the twenty-first century, as a framework for dealing with issues of oppression and freedom in a world where older political categories are being reworked. We see human rights in a broad sense, nourished in and by community. They have civil, political and economic dimensions, as well as encompassing dimensions of human freedom and human potentiality revealed in contemporary struggles by feminist, indigenous, sexual, religious, anti-colonial and disability movements (pp. 36-7).

Rights movements emerged internationally in the 1950s. Significantly, this included the Black Civil Rights Movement, which challenged segregation of black and white Americans through law and social customs. Protests were held in the form of sit-ins, freedom rides, protest marches and other highly publicised campaigns. Martin Luther King Jnr (1963), a prominent leader of this movement, famously stated:

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at a table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state, sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today.

In terms of disability rights, an international movement towards de-institutionalisation occurred in the 1970s and was taken up in Australia in the following decade. Quick (2006) described de-institutionalisation as being motivated by the philosophy that getting rid of institutions would ‘make everyone normal’. The mass exodus of people with disabilities from large institutions set the scene for community based service provision. These services, however, were not equipped to accommodate so many people with disability. Disability services “scattered their clientele into whatever accommodation was available” (Quick, 2006). De-institutionalisation operated on the rhetoric of consumer rights (Clarke, 2004), and thus repositioned people with disability within the market as commodities. Within Australia, de-institutionalisation was driven by neoclassical economic policy, rather than through any sense of social justice (Goggin and Newell, 2005).

During this period of international change for people with disability the Union for the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) was established in the UK. This organisation made a distinction between impairment, located within the body, and disability, located outside the body. The UPIAS (1976) made the following statement:

...In our view, it is society which disables... Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments... (p.3).

This idea of disability as located within society later formed the basis of the social model of disability, developed initially by Michael Oliver in 1983. The social model was an inclusive concept, encompassing all sections of the disability community (Roulstone and Barnes, 2005) which set up a political agenda for challenging a disabilist society (Sullivan, 2000). The development of this model marked the international emergence of a Disability Rights Movement that adopted the political agenda described by Sullivan (2000). This coincided with the UN’s focus on people with disability (UN Enable, 2003).

The International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP) was announced by the United Nations for 1981; followed by the United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons from 1983 – 1993. The theme for the IYDP was “full participation and equality” (UN Enable, 2003). The objectives for 1981 included full participation in society; equality of living conditions; socio-economic development for people with disability; increased public awareness, understanding and acceptance; and the formation of organisations controlled by people with disability, which were based on expressions of views and action (UN Enable, 2003). The IYDP has been described as a ‘watershed’ for people with disabilities in Australia (Goggin and Newell, 2005). The decade that followed can be described as the golden years for disability rights in Australia. In this decade, processes of de-institutionalisation began in Australia, with a move towards community based services (Bleasdale, 2004). The Federal Government also adopted different approaches to working with people with disability, turning away from a reliance on previous medical models (Cooper, 1999). Under the Federal Labour Government (elected in 1983) funding of ‘self help’ and ‘consumer groups’ became available. In 1983 the Disabled People’s International (Australia) (DPI(A)) Ltd was founded, with a focus on human rights for people with disability (Cooper, 1999; Newell, 1996).

In Australia, a number of government initiatives commenced in the 1980s. The Handicapped Programs Review in 1983 initiated a review of all Commonwealth disability programs. Its final report, *New Directions* (1985), outlined a number of recommendations regarding legislative reforms, including disability services and anti-discrimination legislation; clearer defined roles between the State and the Commonwealth; changes to income support, including an increased range of payments; and the provision of funding to ‘self help’ groups. The Home and Community Care program and the *Commonwealth Disability Services Act* were two prominent outcomes of this review. In 1986 the *Commonwealth Disability Services Act* was released. Bleasdale (2004) noted that this Act marked a reformation in Australia from institutional to community care. During the late 1980s however, the focus on human rights for people with disabilities began to wane and the peak body representing people with disability in

Australia, the Disabled People International Australia's (DPI(A)) focus was reassigned to the consumer rights of people with disability (Newell, 1996).

The Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) was established in Australia in 1986. The HREOC was a national, independent statutory government body responsible for the administration of various Acts that sought to overcome discrimination (HREOC, 2005). In 1993 the Federal *Disability Discrimination Act* was effected, and came under this Commission (Table 3.1). Disability Discrimination Commissioners were appointed to ensure that this Act was complied with (HREOC, 2005).

The 1990s was a decade of practicality in Australia, with a move away from whole-of-life services to individualised funding and corporate strategies. While the *Federal Disability Discrimination Act 1992* represented a continued legislative push towards social justice, it was still based on assumed notions of equality and maintained an individualised orientation (Cooper, 1999). The legislation was described as a *reactive* rather than *proactive* attempt to create a more inclusive society (Frangos, 1997). It was also recognised as a tool for change in some discrete arenas, but outside of a human rights perspective (French, 2001). In 1996 the Federal Coalition Government changed the focus of funding from disability organisations towards more individualised packages (Forbes, 2000). This increased competition between people with disability brought about divisions between people with disability (Forbes, 2000). During this same year, the DPI(A) was deregistered and the National Disability Advisory Council was founded. This Council focused on providing reactive and consumer-based advice to the Minister (FACS, 2006). At this time, Newell (1996) despaired over the decline of interest and lack of advancement in disability theory in Australia, with the shift in terminology from human rights (which emerged briefly during the UN decade of Disabled people) to consumer rights, being most notable within Australian government funding guidelines.

While Australian disability agendas were being co-opted by a neoconservative government strongly influenced by economic rationalism, internationally activists

recognised that the disability struggle needed to remain framed in terms of human rights. Bengt Linguist (2000), UN Special Rapporteur of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, stated:

Disability [is] a Human Rights issue. So long as people with disabilities are denied the opportunity to participate fully in society, no one can claim that the objectives of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have been achieved.

The Federal Coalition Government has been in power in Australia for the past decade (1996 – 2006), and has actively promoted mutual obligation and an erosion of services, based on economic rhetoric (Meekosha, 2000). This present climate has led many authors to lament that little has changed over the past 20 years in Australia, since the initiatives of the IYDP (Goggin and Newell, 2005; Meekosha, 2000).

In 2001 the UN General Assembly established an Ad Hoc Committee to develop a proposal for an international convention on the rights of people with disabilities (People with Disability, 2004). A consultation process was held within Australia in 2004 (People with Disability, 2004). The Committee has continued to meet, with no convention yet established to 2006.

In the year 2006 people with disabilities in Australia continue to face numerous challenges. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 2003), 20% of Australians have a disability. The rate of disability in Australia has increased from 15% in 1981, to 20% in 2003; and will be an estimated 25% by 2051 (Commonwealth Disability Strategy, 2003). The Commonwealth Disability Strategy (2003) attributes this rise to people living longer and thus acquiring disability with age; people with disabilities living longer with improved standards of care; and to an increased acceptance in people identifying themselves as having a disability. Men and women have similar overall rates of disability (19.8% for men, 20.1% for women, see ABS, 2003), however there are more disabled younger men and older women (CDS, 2003). Indigenous Australians are over-represented proportionately in disability services, with estimates of being two and half times more likely than non-Indigenous Australians to have a disability (Wired, 2003).

The challenges faced by all people with disability in Australia include limited access to personal support and care as well as to affordable, adaptive technologies; appropriate accommodations, environments and income supports; increasing risk of homelessness, inappropriate placements in institutional care and of timely, appropriate health care; under-representation in employment, in secondary and higher education and a continued lack of understanding (Clear, 2000; Meekosha, 2000; Newell, 2004; Ozdowski, 2004).

The Theorisation of Disability

As members of society who have been ‘othered’, people with disability are often defined and explained through the discourse of the privileged. The most prominent definition of disability used in Australia today is located in the *Federal Disability Discrimination Act 1992*. This Act broadly defines disability, describing the conditions that qualify someone as having a disability. It does not attempt to explain the meaning or concept of disability. The definition of disability according to this legislation is as follows:

‘Disability’ includes:

- loss of physical or mental functions, for example, a person who has quadriplegia, brain injury, epilepsy or who has a vision or hearing impairment;
- loss of part of the body, for example, a person with an amputation or a woman who has had a hysterectomy;
- infections and non-infectious diseases and illnesses, for example, a person with AIDS, hepatitis, TB, a person with allergies or who carries typhoid bacteria;
- the malfunction or disfigurement of a part of a person’s body, for example, a person with autism, dyslexia, attention deficit disorder or an intellectual disability;
- any condition which affects a person’s thought processes, understanding of reality, emotions or judgments, or which results in disturbed behaviour, for example, a person with mental illness, neurosis or personality disorder;

(Commonwealth Government, *Disability Discrimination Act, 1992*).

While this descriptive definition could be useful in a functional sense when it comes to questions of who is entitled through legislation to the beneficence of the state, it does not accommodate the full complexity of disability. As Caltabiano, Hil and Frangos (1997) described, disability “is a phenomenon which defies simple definition” (p.1).

In an effort to more fully define disability, a number of models have emerged, each of which jostle with others for pre-eminence. These are the moral, medical, economic, social role valorization, social, and paradox models. Each model came into prominence during different eras, and as such have varied, historically-situated views of disability. Within each model, different terminology, and different understandings on the location of disability have developed. Each model, however, defined the role of privileged society, offered a policy and practice focus, and had implications for the oppression of people with disability. These are outlined in Table 3.2.

The *Moral Model* (Table 3.2) traditionally described people with disability as dangerous, deviant and/or not quite human (Russell, 1998). Disability is morally defined through a charity framework of welfare provision, involving the reinforced dependency of people with disability as poor, passive, welfare recipients (Wilde, 1997). In contemporary Australia this model is not advocated in policy, legislation or practice guidelines, but persists in individual practices and broader societal attitudes. The attitude of alternately helping and avoiding those who deviate from the dominant perception of what is normal still persists. Workers who feel they are ‘special, gifted people’ for ‘helping’ people with disability reinforce oppression by re-introducing this moral standard. On a wider societal level, there are people in Australia who do not see the derogatory nature of labelling someone as a ‘mongoloid’ if they have Down syndrome or an ‘idiot’ if they have a mental illness (Mowbray, 2005). The media portrayal of people with disability also often reflects a moral positioning by continuing to use this discourse (SANE, 2006). Salthouse (2005) said:

If the moral viewpoint is that it is better to be well than sick, by extension it is better to be whole than disabled. This immediately puts 20% of the Australian population into that immoral cohort where they are not self reliant and use up valuable government resources through welfare support. Some have the audacity to be so disabled as to be unable to repay anything. Disability compounds and confuses that concept of moral rights and obligations in welfare (p.3).

People with disabilities are the eternal children. But we are the naughty kids in the family, who need to be ‘sent to our rooms’ and kept out of the way (p.4).

Table 3.2 Models for Understanding Disability

	Moral	Medical	Economic	Social Role Valorization	Social	Paradox
Historical Prominence	Pre-industrial revolution	With the rise of the medical/scientific professions	With the rise of capitalist economy,	1970s (US)	1980s (UK)	Has not risen to prominence to date
View of Person with Disability	Deviant Lack of moral character Dangerous	Biological Sick Dependent	Commodity	Devalued In need of enhancement, establishment and definition of a new social role	Society disables via marginalisation	Disability as both impairment and societal response
Language	Mongoloid	Handicapped	Medical terms Rehabilitation	People with disability People first language	Disabled identity	Language is paradoxical
Privileged Society	Sets the moral standard	Provides medical saviour	Profits	Remains the same, as the “normal” standard	Challenged to change	Challenged to change
Focus	Segregation	Sterilization Segregation Institution-alisation	Institution-alisation Rehabilitation	Policy focus De-institutionalisation Community based services	Politics focus UN resolutions Anti discrimination Systemic advocacy	Supports complex, multi-dimensional approaches, models and responses
Location of Disability	Individual who needs to be helped	Individual who needs to be treated	Individual who can be profited from	Individual who needs to change or conform	Society. Disability is social oppression	Both individual (as impairment) and society (as process of disablement)
Oppression	Unrecognised & Reinforced	Unrecognised & reinforced	Capitalised on through Marketing strategy	Acknowledged, solve through changing individuals	Recognised & society is actively challenged	Recognised & Challenged
References:	Barnes, Mercer and Shakespeare, 1999; Caltabiano, Hil and Frangos, 1997; Dempsey and Nankervis, 2006; Fullwood, 1990; Oliver, 1996; Russell, 1998; Wolfensberger, 1983					

The *Medical Model* (Table 3.2), like the ‘moral’ model before it, continues to label people within a scientific frame. Thus, people with disability are ‘sick’ and ‘dependent’ on medical expertise, opinion and care. They can therefore justifiably be isolated, segregated and restrained. This model focuses on individual limitations and impairments

as both the source of and solution to disability (Caltabiano, Hil and Frangos, 1997). The medical model adopts the paternal view of people with disability, categorising them through medical terminology, treating them as patients and viewing them as needing to be segregated, sterilized and institutionalised (Gibilisco, 2005; Russell, 1998). It uses emotive terms to describe people with disability, such as afflicted, restricted, stricken, unfortunate, victim, housebound, and confined (Clark and March, 2002). This model remains prevalent in Australia today where ‘a personal tragedy’ view of people with disability continues to be reinforced (Newell, 2003). The *Mental Health Act 2000* (Queensland) emphasizes involuntary assessment and control of people with mental illness. Under the guise of rights and equity it promotes a custodial role for a medical practitioner over the lives of people with mental illness (Mental Health Act, 2000). Another example of the prominence of this model in practice is in supported living and institutional care, where people with disability are segregated from mainstream participation. Cocks (1996) said:

People with disability are perceived as eternally sick under the medical model. When people are sick they are excused from the normal obligations of society: going to school, getting a job, taking on family responsibilities, voting, etc. However, they are also expected to come under the authority of the medical profession in order to get better. Thus, people with a disability involuntarily surrender their identity to the medical authorities, the doctors and the lay medical practitioners (p.5).

This surrendering of rights and identity has led to instances of violence and failure in duty of care within service provision (Cocks, 1997; Sherry, 2005).

The *Economic Model* (Table 3.2), promotes a corporate solution to disability, where “the disabled human being is a commodity around which social policies are created or rejected based on their market value” (Russell, 1998, p.97). Barnes, Mercer and Shakespeare (1999) attribute this commodification of the disabled ‘other’ to the simultaneous growth of human services; the rehabilitation industry, where cures can also be bought or sold; and technological advances, where technology can be bought, sold, and invested in. Welfare provisions for people with disabilities that are based on ‘mutual obligation’, to ensure that the government is receiving ‘value for money’, is one example of the prevalence of this model. Disability services are now in competition for funding with

each other, with an emphasis placed on quantity, statistics and monetary values, rather than quality of life (Forbes, 2000).

The *Normalisation or Social Role Valorization (SRV) Model* (Table 3.2) focuses on the role of professionals to enhance the lives of people with disability, and was originally developed concomitant to the growth of human service industries (Barnes et al, 1999), with particular application to people with intellectual disability and learning difficulties. This theory was developed by Wolf Wolfensberger, who clarified the goal of his theory “to be the establishment, enhancement, or defence of the social role(s) of a person or group, via the enhancement of people’s social image and personal competencies” (Wolfensberger, 1983, p.234). SRV initiated a movement away from institutions, towards community-based services in the 1970s. Policy and service provision, grounded in SRV, focused on changing individuals, not their circumstances of devaluation, in order that they engage; society itself remains unchanged and unchallenged (Walmsley, 2001). Banks and Kayess (1998) claimed that SRV in practice:

... reinforces the stigma of difference experienced by people with impairments. Wolfensberger’s focus on the protection of the vulnerable and their externally determined ‘best interests’ continues the medical model’s characterization of disability as personal or individual (p.159).

SRV guarantees the role of professional ‘experts’ (Barnes et al., 1999). Oliver (1994) also strongly criticised this theory, claiming that it is based on interactionist and functionalist sociology, which at best is a bystander in liberation struggle, and at worst is a part of the oppression itself because it provides no challenge to society to change. SRV was adopted by the Federal Government in the 1990s as a guiding principle for people with disability (Bleasdale, 2004). Despite the poor critique of SRV, the main reference points for disability organisations today are the Disability Standards, found in the *Disability Services Act 1992*, which are based on SRV principles. These principles predominantly guide recreation, employment and advocacy practices (Bleasdale, 2004). Meekosha (2000) emphasized that legislation and policy formulated during the 1980s and 1990s within Australia were based on medical and de-institutional (SRV) discourses. However, she believed that there were increasing signs “of a return to and refinement of medical and economic arguments to justify punitive treatment and discrimination of

disabled people”. An example of this can be found on the Young People In Nursing Homes Website (YPINH, 2006), which was set up in protest to the number of young people with disability whose only option is to live in an aged care nursing home where the housed needs are disproportionate with those of young people with disability.

The *Social Model* (Table 3.2), by contrast to these other models, locates disability as a societal phenomenon. This model defines in terms of social oppression, rather than as a moral, medical or individual problem. Its academic formulation is credited primarily to Oliver (1996), who described the Social Model as focused on rehabilitating society, a moral commitment to integration and political activism. The Social Model aims to remove environmental, systemic/institutional, and attitudinal barriers, which create the label ‘disabled’ (Oliver, 1996). What social modelists have achieved, most significantly, is a re-conceptualisation of disability, breaking the link between ‘disability’ as a societal response and ‘impairment’ as the medically classified condition (Barnes et al. 1999; Thomas, 1999). Services provided through a social model are based on a human rights framework. Newell (1996) claimed that the change in funding focus from human rights to consumer rights (as mentioned previously) makes it difficult for Australia to implement the principles of the Social Model. Unlike previous models, such as SRV and the Medical Model, the Social Model celebrates the notion of difference, emphasizing the discriminatory structures present in society (Baron, Stalker, Wilkenson and Riddell, 1998). The Social Model has become a motivation for, and cornerstone of, the international Disability Rights Movement (Oliver, 1996).

The ‘social’ model has been extended by some writers and activists who advocate for disability culture. Unlike SRV which seeks to disperse people with disability into ‘normal society’, ‘disability culture’ presents an alternative community for people with disability, a community separate from this ‘normal society’. One writer distinguishes this as a separate model, the *Affirmative Action Model*. Parsons (1999) supported the development of a new and radical identity which resulted from such a challenge to the status quo. This is an under developed area of study, with Parsons (1999) urging: “For

the disability movement to catch up we will need to look more closely at the ways of creating an environment where this more radical sense of identity can develop” (p.96).

An emergent model of disability describes disability as a *Paradox* (Table 3.2). This model is an attempt to grapple with the criticisms of the social model, while maintaining a focus on society’s role in ‘disabling’ (Dempsey and Nankervis, 2006). Dempsey and Nankervis (2006) said:

The paradox approach recognises that impairment occurs at the level of the person, but the process of disablement is influenced by both the capacity of the person and the capacity of society to support people with diverse needs and abilities....At the individual level, the process of disablement (and the resulting level of disability) is influenced both by the nature of the impairment and by the person’s capacities, motivation and preferences. At the societal level, the process of disablement is influenced by community attitudes, financial priorities, the integrity of the community and the nature of society... (pp.16 -17).

The *Paradox Model* has a broader focus than the social model. It claims that the needs and views of people with disabilities are not universal; and that disability is complex and multi-dimensional, thus requiring complex and multi-dimensional approaches, models and responses (Dempsey and Nankervis, 2006).

These models of disability became a valuable tool in the analysis of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia and in the explication of the emergence of the movement’s two streams (see Chapter 5). They also assisted in the development of an analysis of and the conclusions surrounding the Disability Rights Movement (see Chapter 6).

CHAPTER FOUR

Results I: Developing a Tool for Analysis (Learning from the Sampled Movements)

The past is full of protest, but only some have left footprints
(Clemens and Hughes, 2002, p.200)

The first aim of this research was to develop a suitable analysis tool to apply to the Disability Rights Movement. This was achieved through the collection, collation and analysis of documents representing the two sampled movements. The collected data exposed three areas for application: domains, details and dimensions. This chapter presents this analysis tool, framed as three sets of key questions, which were developed to guide a deepening understanding of disability and the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. A discussion of some of the knowledge gained from the sampled movements then supports each set of questions.

Domains

Domains are territories of oppression, representing the roots of struggle, within historical moments in Australia. Three key areas common to both the Women's Liberation and Indigenous Rights Movements—biological, professional, and market—were identified through an in-depth analysis of both movements. These domains clearly displayed the faces of oppression provided by Young (1990): exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence. These domains are roughly aligned with three periods of Australian history: settlement, economic prosperity through the 1950s and 1960s, and most recently economic rationalism of the 1980s to present. Not all of the struggles of these movements can be explained through these three sites; however these provided a starting point from which to explore the roots of struggle for people with disability in Australia.

A dominant domain for oppression, which developed internationally after the Industrial Revolution with the ascendancy of the medical profession, and was adopted within Australian society from the time of settlement, was the 'biological' or 'medical' domain.

The assertion of this domain fostered patriarchal and racial superiority, supporting a hierarchy of dominance, framing others in terms of biological deficiency and inadequacy. Subsequently, this allowed the privileged to control both public spaces of work—politics and the economy—and the private spaces of family, children and sexual relations.

Another domain for oppression developed during the 1950s and 1960s in Australia, concomitant with economic prosperity and the establishment of the modern welfare state (Kaplan, 1996). This domain valued the role of the professional who were more educated, respected and resourced than others. The rise of the ‘professional’ domain subjected ‘others’ to regimes of care and narrowly defined prescriptive roles, while allowing the privileged to assume expert control over many of their life decisions. The privileged role of the professional received their legitimacy from systems and legislation, and under these mandates became gate-keepers to resources and services; co-opters of decision-making powers, promoters of assimilation, instigators of regimes of care, and experts in defining need through their own worldview where the hierarchy of dominance remained unchallenged. This domain was strong during the formation of the Women’s Liberation and Indigenous Rights Movements in Australia.

A more recent domain for oppression which has challenged and weakened the sampled movements was the ‘economic/market’ domain. This domain, traced to the 1980s with the rise of economic rationalism (Stilwel, 1997) saw the social agendas of previous governments replaced with economic concerns and market-dominated public policy, undermining notions of citizenship and decreasing any sense of entitlement (Cox, 1998). This domain defined ‘others’ as a profitable entity for capitalist society with a marginal dispensable position (Fletcher, 1995). Consequently, ‘others’ shared conditions of poverty and continued under-representation in education, employment and positions of influence, while the privileged used the rhetoric of economic rationalism to support the diminishing welfare state and to redefine needs in terms of what the market provides.

Key Questions from the Domains

The explication of domains of oppression prompts the questions: Why were people 'othered' in Australia? Why did new social movements develop? What was the root of their struggle?

Has there been a biological (medical) element to the struggle of people who have been 'othered', where they have been defined paternally, biologically and in terms of deficit through models of social Darwinism?

Has there been a professional element to the struggle of people who have been 'othered', where they have been defined as unable to exert expert control over their own lives?

Has there been an economic (market) element to the struggle of people who have been 'othered', where the rise of economic rationalism has objectified, commodified, and/or separated their rights from mainstream concern?

Roots of the Struggle – Australian Women

Women in Australia have been defined in terms of biological inferiority when compared to their stronger, privileged male counterparts and since settlement have been accorded the biologically-based reproductive role of mothers and carers as based on the philosophy of social Darwinism (Brook, 1998; Rea, 1998). While the white male body has been historically used to establish a 'norm', women have been framed as infantile, decorative, idle, weak, dependent, incompetent, hysterical, irrational, emotional and helpless in comparison (Brook, 1998; Quarterly, Jansen and Grieve, 1995; Rea, 1998; Saltman, 1997). Womanhood was viewed as a disease, and reproductive rights were in the control of the medical profession who could treat clinically without consultation, limiting women's ability to make decisions, regarding their bodies, for themselves (Bashford, 1998; Lobato, 1999; Saltman, 1997; Gilding, 1997):

... disputes between women and the medical profession about women's rights over their bodies centred on their reproductive organs. Ovaries, uteruses, vaginas and labia were seen as the territory of obstetricians and

gynaecologists, rather than as belonging to women themselves (Saltman, 1997, p. 222).

Women who took contraception were viewed as ‘deviants’ cheating nature (Gilding, 1997); abortions were illegal, shameful, hidden and often unsafe (D’Aprano, 1977, 1997; Kaplan, 1996).

The imposed inferiority of the ‘medical’ domain marginalized women from full participation in the economy and polity, imposing the belief that they had to be ‘brought up’ to male standards, given remedial treatment and treated as children in need of discipline and discipleship (Kaplan, 1996). Women were excluded from the public life that was the space of men, where the opinions of women were rarely valued, their ideas rarely legitimized, and their beliefs rarely voiced (Grieve et al, 1983). Public policy ignored women, with the exception of health policy where women were defined within their biologically determined role of ‘mother’ (Rea, 1997). Australian women have often been allocated the role of ‘homemaker’ and ‘mother’, providing the bulk of unpaid domestic labour within the home, while being forced to depend on their male counterparts for financial support (Kaplan, 1996; D’Aprano, 1977, 1997; Baxter, 1998; Grieve et al, 1983). Women were paid less for the same work, were under-educated, were given fewer opportunities to play sport, were unable to run for election and could not participate fully in many social activities (Kaplan, 1996; Lake, 1999). Convict women were a ‘necessary evil’ serving a biological purpose within the home and the colony—controlled by the husband and bound to the private domestic sphere (Quartly, Jansen and Grieve, 1995; Grieve et al, 1983). Public child care services were deemed unnecessary (Lake, 1999). Women, it was assumed, found fulfilment in domesticity—caring and being cared for—and were subsequently content with limited autonomy (Brook, 1994, 1998; Pringle, 1998; Rea, 1997; Richards, 1997; Sawyer and Simms, 1993). They were isolated from each other, their social circles defined by men (Eisentein, 1985; Kaplan, 1996). Australian children were socialised to accept gendered roles (Deutscher, 1998; Kaplan, 1996).

Medical professionals practiced and condoned institutionalised forms of violence such as unsafe abortions, intrusive treatments and general control over the bodies of women (D'Aprano, 1997; Kaplan, 1996; Kallen, 2004; Spongberg, 1998). In the 1800s husbands were permitted to beat their wives, to 'keep her' within the bounds of duty (Raman, 1997). Convict women were 'whores' and 'public women' devoid of human feelings, who could be raped and violated without consequence (Spongberg, 1998). Men were enabled to violate women through a widespread social acceptance of violence, where perpetrators, if convicted, continued to receive minimal sentences (Macdonald and Hinman, 1994; Mason, 1998).

The Women's Liberation Movement exposed medical definitions and criticised the role of men as the 'privileged' within this domain (Burgmann, 2003; D'Aprano, 1977, 1997; Kaplan, 1996;). They also challenged the patriarchal mandate held within the medical domain through the establishment of consciousness raising groups, which enabled women to form alliances and collectively establish a role for women free from biological essentialist descriptors (D'Aprano, 1997; Dicker and Piepmeier, 2003; Eisenstein, 1985). The movement formed social connections for women to combat isolation, openly challenged restrictions in public spaces and advocated the rights of women to share in these spaces as equal counterparts (Burgmann, 2003; D'Aprano, 1977, 1997; Eisenstein, 1985; Kaplan, 1996; Lake, 1999). The movement also exposed the violence against women evident within the medical domain, concerned with the incidence of sexual violence, rape and domestic violence which restricted the freedom of women (Denfeld, 1995; Kaplan, 1996; Mason, 1998).

Women in Australia have been defined as being in need of expert professional assistance since the inception of the professional domain concomitant with the move to the suburbs in the 1950s (Kaplan, 1996). The 'privileged' adopted professional roles such as school guidance counsellors and teachers, enabling them to influence and reinforce the stereotyped roles of girls into domesticated positions (Deutscher, 1998; Eisenstein, 1985; Greer, 1999). Australian women were constrained by a "new breed of educators, psychologists and others" who "assumed a place as givers of advice on every aspect of

life and specifically on ‘growing up’” (Kaplan, 1996, p.6). The nuclear family was promoted by the professional as the common family ‘ideal’, isolating women from previous networks and wider family connections (Richards, 1997), and became “the central institution of patriarchy and a primary site of women’s oppression” (Pringle, 1998, p.98). Women were condemned to a prescriptive domestic and family life, where their labours were unrewarded financially and access to birth control and child care provisions were denied (Pringle, 1998; Sawyer and Simms, 1993).

In the workforce women were accorded lower wages and expected to be content with low-status occupations (Cass and Mitchell, 1998; Gilding, 1997; Probert, 1997). A ‘breadwinner’ model of social security was maintained during the professional domain, whereby women were assumed to be dependent on men, and men were assumed to have dependent families, thus leading to unequal wage practices (Cass and Mitchell, 1998; Gilding, 1997). The public space of men was characterized by freedom under the ‘breadwinner’ role, where they were able to dominate political arenas and to pursue educational and career goals (Watson, 1998). Women seen as ‘housewives’ or ‘dependent’, however, were assumed to have a radically different attachment to the workplace, where they found no personal identity or worth through their work outside the home, and therefore were assumed to be content with less interesting jobs and less pay since they were fulfilled within their domestic roles (Probert, 1997).

The ‘professional’ domain further marginalized and rendered women powerless through the allocation of legislative and ‘gate-keeper’ powers to the professional, who were able to limit child care places, restrict access to employment through the creation of barriers, allocate public goods such as housing and finance, and grant monies for women’s services (D’Aprano, 1977, 1997; Deutscher, 1998; Kaplan, 1996; Lake, 1999; Watson, 1998). Professionals adopted roles as decision makers, excluding women from positions of influence within government for example, where policies were formed *for* women without adequate consultation *with* women (Gatens, 1998; Kaplan, 1996; Macdonald, 1997; Schofield, 1998). As the gate-keepers of resources professionals have been described as allocating goods according to prejudice or discriminatory practices, as a way

of maintaining the hierarchy of dominance or the status quo (Watson, 1998). As such, women were under represented within parliamentary and judicial systems (Pritchard-Hughes, 1998). The Women's Liberation Movement played a role in deconstructing the role of the privileged professional and in challenging governments for admission into decision making processes (Kaplan, 1996; Lake, 1999; Macdonald, 1997).

Within the professional domain, women experienced a form of cultural imperialism where sexual divisions occurred. Nurses, for instance, were overwhelmingly female, whilst doctors were usually male; thus the professions were sexually divided and weighted accordingly (Bashford, 1998). Psychiatry was a male dominated profession, and was considered of more value than social work—a predominantly female occupation. The Women's Liberation Movement sought to adopt roles of professionals, such as that of the femocrat (see later discussions), and used these roles to initiate change from within (Bulbeck, 1998; Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989; Sawyer, 1998).

Gendered violence, predominately committed by men in the home (domestic violence), continued to be reinforced within the professional domain (Denfeld, 1998; Pritchard-Hughes, 1998). The judicial system, a professional establishment, is structured along gendered lines, and therefore does not empower victims of the 'other':

If the women do press charges, they face a situation where it is overwhelmingly men they are dealing with in the judicial system because there are (in Victoria, for example) no women judges in the Supreme Court, only 2 out of 45 judges in the County Court, 14 per cent of the 95 Magistrates are female and only 14 per cent of the police force. Dealing with this is not easy for survivors of sexual assault – either at the first hurdle of getting the case into the court via the police, or later within the court itself (Pritchard-Hughes, 1998, p.11).

Not only do the victims suffer further oppression through the court systems, as described by Pritchard-Hughes (1998), the sentences imposed for gendered crimes were too lenient (Denfeld, 1998).

The Women's Liberation Movement rose to prominence during this era, highlighting the oppression of women within this professional domain (Schofield, 1998). Whilst formal

political equality had been achieved through the efforts of the first wave of the Women's Movement, women continued to be systemically oppressed (Colquhoun et al., 2001). The movement exposed the patriarchy inherent within the nuclear family (Pringle, 1998) and successfully challenged this institution, winning reforms such as equal pay for equal work (D'Aprano, 1977, 1997; Kaplan, 1996; Pringle, 1998), and influencing the introduction of Federal legislation such as the *Sex Discrimination Act 1984* and the *Affirmative Action/Equal Opportunity for Women Act 1986* (Mitchell, 1998). The movement contributed to the deconstruction of the role of the privileged professional and challenged governments for admission into decision making processes (Kaplan, 1996; Macdonald, 1997; Lake, 1999).

In response to an awareness of the violence women were facing, the Women's Liberation Movement initiated the refuge movement, feminist scholarship and demonstrations. Saltman (1997) stated, that prior to the refuge movement, professionals would seek to support and preserve the family even if it was found to be violent. The Women's Liberation Movement also promoted feminist scholarship which revealed the incidence of hidden violence (Probert, 1997). Watson (1998) described the refuges created by the Women's Liberation Movement as spaces for women where violence could be avoided and lives reconstructed. The Women's Liberation Movement also campaigned around issues of women's safety through Reclaim the Night demonstrations for example (Watson, 1998).

At a time when the Women's Liberation Movement was coming to prominence, a new site of oppression emerged within the market with the rise of economic rationalism. Within an economic/market frame, women were defined as objects to be bought, sold, bartered and rejected; ignoring their intellect, personality and humanity (Bevine, 2004). Evidence of the 'market' domain is found in continued discriminatory wage practices, where women earn less than their male counterparts, where the value of 'women's work' (eg. Child care) is financially rewarded at a significantly lower level than 'men's work' (eg. Technician), and where women are sidelined into jobs befitting their body image rather than their capabilities (Probert, 1997; Trioli, 1996). A 'glass ceiling' has been

identified where women are allowed to climb the corporate ladder until they reach a certain point, beyond which only the 'privileged' (men) are admitted (Trioli, 1996). Furthermore, the societal contributions of women in the areas of unpaid domestic and child care work *within* the home are not assigned a market value, and therefore remain both undervalued and largely unrecognised (Kaplan, 1996). Women are over-represented as sole parents and are more likely to experience economic disparity and exploitation. (Lynch, 2004; Probert, 1997).

The 'market' domain objectified women, framing them as commodities that often used sexist terms and imposed body imagery. An increasing amount of sexist advertising eventuated within the 'market' domain, which effectively controlled and pacified women, using their bodies to sell commodities (Bevine, 2004; Corrigan and Meredyth, 1997). The market-dominated definition of 'beautiful' emerged within this domain, where business profits were made on the basis of women's oppression; preying on created insecurities, where women will pay to attain the impossible—perfection (Corrigan and Meredyth, 1997; Voukelatos and Harris, 2001). Women have also been targeted through the rhetoric of weight loss and health, which again exploit women economically through the profiteering from weight control programs and cosmetic surgery, for example, and create an image of a feminine beauty ideal which has no connection with reality (Bevine, 2004; Voukelatos and Harris, 2001). This objectification of women has often been internally fostered (rather than externally imposed) through socialisation (Brook, 1998; Rowland, 1989).

The 'market' domain created a powerless and marginalized position for many women, sidelining their concerns into the realm of 'special interest' groups, where 'women's issues' are isolated from the mainstream agenda (Cox, 1998). The move towards enterprise bargaining, where rhetoric such as productively, efficiency and flexibility was utilized, saw a weakening in equal employment opportunities (Thornton, 1998). The rise of economic rationalist policies, at all levels of government, have left women worse off within the market—they do not face a secure economic future, as Australia can no longer offer full employment, and they face economic disparity (Fletcher, 1995; Sidler, 1997).

Women have once again become restricted economically and socially. Their continued under-representation within seats of 'real' power and exclusion from 'real' decision making processes means that the views of the 'privileged' continue to take precedence over women as the 'other'. Macdonald (1997a) identified the role of capitalism in defunding, co-opting, outlawing where possible and fragmenting (through competition) movements and struggles.

Science has also risen within the 'market' domain, as an objective process, and is used as a way to impose culturally imperial views upon women as the 'other'. Women in Australia have challenged the objectivity of science as a reinforcer of the world view of the dominant group and as a politically motivated process, involving ethical decisions about its practices (Roberts, 1998). The Women's Liberation Movement, and the later movement commonly referred to as the third wave, have provided a challenge to this emphasis on body imagery within the 'market' domain. Moore (1998) discussed the way women have used the arts to collapse categorisation through, for example, displaying sexual differences as natural. The arts therefore have been used to create a more authentic image of women in Australia. This is a counter-hegemonic strategy against the cultural imperialism prominent within the 'market' domain.

Violence against women remains a problem both on an institutional and indirect level within the 'market' domain, where the objectification of women's bodies lends a social legitimacy to violence against women as the gendered 'other'. Within this domain, women remain in an underprivileged position that leads to an increased acceptance of violence against them (Denfeld, 1998). The Women's Liberation Movement called for broad structural changes, which are needed for violence to be eliminated (Macdonald and Hinman, 1994). Portraying women as objects within advertising gives social legitimacy to perpetrating violence against women (Mason, 1998). The Women's Liberation Movement explored the phenomenon of gendered violence (Mason, 1998), and it became central to many feminist campaigns calling for education and the imposition of harsher penalties for perpetrators (Macdonald and Hinman, 1994). One example of the greater acceptance of the invasion of a woman's body in comparison to the body of the

'privileged' is found in the more severe sentences imposed on rapists of men compared to the much lighter sentences imposed on rapists of women. The Women's Liberation Movement supported the need to develop a broad strategy to eliminate violence towards women and children. Science has also been used as a tool which, similar to the 'medical' domain, can be seen as imposing violence against women. Corrigan and Meridyth (1997) stated the position of the Women's Liberation Movement, which "... pointed to the connections between beauty, female objectification, rape, violence, pornography and other forms of female subordination." (p.54). The Women's Liberation Movement also challenged the role of the media in reinforcing stereotypes which have lead to violence (Lumby, 1998). These economic issues were challenged by the Women's Liberation Movement (Lynch, 2004; Probert, 1997).

The Movement's campaigns for Equal Employment Opportunity and Equal wages have been weakened within the 'market' domain (Kaplan, 1996). Furthermore, the Women's Liberation Movement has been divided and fragmented through the 'market' domain (Kaplan, 1996).

Roots of the Struggle – Indigenous Australians

Indigenous Australians were defined as biologically and racially inferior from the time of European invasion (Bowler, 1995; Lippman, 1981). Indigenous Australians were accordingly framed as uncivilised, childlike, primitive, and doomed to disappear (Attwood and Markus, 1999; Blackburn, 1999; Rowley, 1986). European fascination with social Darwinism led not only to the 'othering' of Indigenous Australians within this domain, but also to their murder in the name of science:

There is documented evidence that the remains of perhaps 10, 000 of Australian's Aboriginal people were shipped to British museums in a frenzied attempt to prove the widespread belief that they were the missing links... Good prices were being offered for such specimens. There is no doubt ... that many 'fresh' specimens were obtained by simply going out and killing the Aboriginal people (Ham, Weiland and Batten, 2000, p. 120).

Violence against Indigenous Australians was established as common and acceptable, as evidenced through the subjection to inhumane treatments on reserves and the justification of murder under the guise of necessary police action, defence of property being seized or martial law (Attwood and Markus, 1999; Cameron, 2000; Chesterman and Galligan, 1997; Rowley, 1986). This fostering of racist attitudes has led to indirect forms of violence which continue to the present, as evidenced in poor levels of health care (Jonas, 2004).

Colonisers adopted the doctrine of 'terra nullius', which described Australia as 'a land belonging to no one', to justify the dispossession of land, histories and traditional forms of existence from Indigenous Australians (Attwood and Markus, 1999; Chesterman and Galligan, 1997; Hocking, 2005; Lippman, 1981). Legislative support for terra nullius enabled the 'privileged' to ignore the rights, and even the very humanity, of Indigenous Australians (Howitt, 1998). Indigenous Australians were segregated on reserves, confined to missions, and their labour was exploited (Attwood, 2003; Lippman, 1981).

A relationship was established whereby the 'privileged' European colonisers benefited from the land and the labour of Indigenous Australians, while Indigenous Australians were subjected to oppressive rules and laws, which limited their movements and their abilities to either maintain traditional lifestyles or to compete economically and politically within the European capitalist system (Attwood and Markus, 2003; Galloway, 2002; Lippman 1981). The model of deficiency framed Indigenous Australians as needing protection. This was enshrined in protection acts, which prescribed where Indigenous Australians could live, administered monies allocated by the Commonwealth and regulated the reserve system (Chesterman and Galligan, 1997). The 'privileged' group saw themselves as 'generous' in their design of protection and assimilation policies, which looked after the welfare of Indigenous Australians who were framed as unable to look after themselves (Blackburn, 1999; Barani, 2005; Chesterman and Galligan, 1997). Indigenous Australians were 'protected persons', rather than citizens, who were "to be protected from the evils of settlement" (Chesterman and Galligan, 1997, p. 16). Protection Acts institutionalised domination and confinement (Blackburn, 1999):

During the 1930s...[each] state passed new Protection Acts which effectively deprived Aboriginal people on reserves of such civil rights as: freedom of movement, freedom of association, the right to control property or earnings, the right to drink alcohol and the right to vote. Protection Boards had the power to determine who was Aboriginal and could force them onto reserves. They could also evict 'troublemakers' and there was no right of appeal (Cameron, 2000).

Indigenous Australians lost control of the ability to marry whom they wanted, to practice their traditional laws, to drink alcohol, to visit relatives without a permit, and to control their land or personal property (Attwood and Markus, 1999; Lippman, 1981). Within reserves, Indigenous Australians often lacked food, clean water, safe shelter and sanitation (Rowley, 1986). Indigenous Australians of 'mixed blood' were able to be released from these acts by obtaining a Certificate of Exception, commonly referred to as 'dog tags', which enabled them to visit their families and work on stations (Barani, 2005). As Indigenous Australians entered townships, they were often segregated within public pools, picture shows and other public spaces where they were forced to abide by town curfews and alcohol bans, take lower wages and educate their children separately from the white inhabitants (Jonas, 2003).

The culture of Indigenous Australians was actively destroyed by European imperialists who adopted the mandate of 'assimilate or annihilate' (Chesterman and Galligan, 1997). One dominant assimilation strategy was the forcible removal of children from their Indigenous parents, a practice which has become commonly known as the 'Stolen Generations' (Bradley and Seton, 2005; Dodson, 2004). In 1904 the Royal Commissioner in Western Australia recommended that Indigenous children were to be deemed 'wards of the state' and could be separated from their parents by the 'Protector', a practice where children "...of mixed descent were to be absorbed into the white community ... 'detribalized' Aborigines were to be educated and the rest were to remain on the reserves" (Lippman, 1981, p. 35). Indigenous Australians who were not of full blood were to be absorbed and assimilated according to the Commonwealth Government of 1937, with the aim of making the 'Aboriginal problem' disappear (Jonas, 2003). Indigenous Australians also experienced a repression of their traditional languages with

English being the only form of communication allowed in schools and on reserves (Cameron, 2000; Lo Bianco, 1990).

The Indigenous Rights Movements challenged biologically-based assumptions of superiority/inferiority, asserting the right to self-determination of Indigenous Australians (Attwood and Markus, 1999; Lippman, 1981). The movement challenged, through the High Court, the doctrine of terra nullius, which was successfully rejected in the landmark Mabo decision of 1992 (Whall, 2005). The movement also led protests against the biological segregation of Indigenous Australians. The Indigenous Rights Movement contested the cultural imperialism of the 'medical' domain through its visionary platforms of self-determination and sovereignty, achieving significant victory within the *Commonwealth's Aboriginal Land Rights Act of 1976* where Indigenous Australians' connection to the land was recognised (Rowley, 1986).

As the 'professionals' began to dominate in the 1950s, and Australia entered a time of economic prosperity, home ownership was encouraged; Indigenous Australians continued to be segregated within towns; separated on pastoral leases, missions and reserves; paid lower wages than their privileged counterparts through programs such as the Commonwealth Development Employment Programs (CDEP); were isolated from traditional forms of subsistence; and denied access to basic citizenship rights (Chesterman and Galligan, 1997; Galloway, 2002; Jonas, 2003; Lippman, 1981). As the 'privileged' adopted a 'professional' persona, exclusionary regimes continued to be imposed on Indigenous Australians, denying rights and empowering the 'privileged' to "police the boundaries of citizenship" (Chesterman and Galligan, 1997, p.212). 'Professionals' set up organisations and committees with predominantly white administrators and/or agendas (not with or even in consultation with Indigenous Australians) (Attwood, 2003). The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission (ATSIC), the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation (CAR) and the Australian Aborigines League have all been cited as examples of 'privileged' white administration, imposed as a monologue upon Indigenous Australians, rather than as true creations of political dialogue (Attwood, 2003; Castejon, 2002).

In the 1950s, the move towards citizenship for Indigenous Australians was shrouded in the Federal Government's ideal of assimilation, which meant cultural integration, not preservation (Attwood, 2003). The 'professional' began to address the physical needs of Indigenous Australians, through a 'privileged' model of provision that ignored Aboriginal culture (Crough, 2001). Stereotypes of Indigenous Australians, such as 'black fellas are drunks', enabled the 'privileged professional' to control the private spaces of the Indigenous 'other' through the imposition of alcohol bans in aboriginal settlements, for example (Bernoth, 2004).

'Professionals' reinforced attitudes of assimilation, cloaked under a different rhetoric such as integration (Attwood, 2003; Bullimore, 1999). For instance, Crough (2001) claimed that an argument for a 'practical reconciliation' represented little more than the continuation of the official Commonwealth Government policy towards Indigenous Australians, which has been in place for the past three decades. Chesterman and Gilligan (1997) described the move from 'protectors', within the 'medical' domain, to 'District Officers', within the 'professional' domain:

District Officers, no longer called Protectors, retained extensive power over those Aborigines and Islanders who were deemed to be 'assisted'. In particular, a District Officer could undertake and maintain the management of any property of an 'assisted' person, if the Officer was 'satisfied that the best interests' of the person warranted it. This enabled the Officer to retain, sell, or otherwise dispose of such property. Further regulations gazetted in 1966 set out that alcohol, although permitted to Aborigines elsewhere, was not permitted on reserves (p. 170).

'Professionals' further practiced their privileged assumptions of integration through the removal of children, first initiated within the 'medical' domain and continued by 'professionals' (Bringing them Home Report, 1997; Dodson, 2004). Within this domain, rather than being motivated by biological superiority, 'professionals' assumed the role of 'expert', believing that they knew what to do better than the Indigenous children's parents. They felt justified in their cause, supported by the strong hegemonic assumptions of the 'privileged'. This practice has now been widely condemned, notably in the *Bringing Them Home Report* (1997). Dodson (2004) commented on this report: "... [it] told stories of many Indigenous children and communities devastated by

government policies and laws which allowed Indigenous children to be taken from their families. The report estimated that between 1 in 3 and 1 in 10 Indigenous children were removed ...[between]1910 and 1970”.

There are many examples of ‘professional’ violence towards Indigenous Australians that occurred within missions, jails and other institutional settings. ‘Professionals’ could also be seen to foster racism, which led to violence within the community (Attwood, 2003). Begg (2000) described the divide and rule tactic employed by the government, citing the police, the government, and corporations as contributors to divisions. Attwood (2003) reported the incidence of violence perpetrated by police, including cases of intimidation, and brutality by police protectors, forced entry to houses and assaulting young men and teenage girls. One incident of this was brought to light in Mareeba, FNQ:

There was nothing unusual about ... these incidents. They were an expression of racial attitudes and practices that were part of the everyday experience of many Aborigines, taken for granted or accepted by most of those who perpetrated or suffered or merely observed such acts. What made these incidents exceptional was the fact they became the subject of accounts that were heard or read by people beyond the local contexts in which they had happened. Whereas for much of the century Aboriginal people on missions, reserves and pastoral properties had been unable to articulate their grievances adequately or their protests had been readily repressed without public knowledge of their oppression, alliances between the national organisation and regional bodies were enabling much more effective political representation. (Attwood, 2003, p.159 – 160).

The Indigenous Rights Movement, with a particular emphasis on campaigns for Land Rights, rose to prominence during the ‘professional’ domain (Lippman, 1981). The movement left significant footprints in many areas. It exposed the ‘stolen generations’ (Dodson, 2004). The movement also opposed the assimilationist policy increasingly adopted throughout Australia in the 1950s, calling instead for recognition as the original owners of the land (Attwood, 2003).

As the Indigenous Rights Movement began to oppose the ‘biological’ and ‘professional’ definitions which oppressed them, the ‘market’ domain introduced new forms of

oppression, reinforcing and promoting negative stereotypes of Indigenous Australians, continuing to impose and ensure bureaucratic and welfare domination, and denying positions of power and land rights under the rhetoric of economic rationalism (Bullimore, 2001a; Dodson, 2004; Jonas, 2003). Decision making processes continue to be imposed by the 'privileged' based on fiscal criteria, relegating Indigenous Australians' concerns to the realm of 'special interest' group (Castejon, 2002).

Indigenous Australians largely occupy a dispensable, and therefore powerless, position within the 'market' domain leading to economic disparity (Jonas, 2003). They also continue to be prevented from equal employment opportunities; face infrastructure inequalities; and are subjected to exploitative government schemes such as work for welfare programs within the 'market' domain, which segregates them from economic prosperity (Bullimore, 2001a; Crough, 2001; Dodson, 2004; Galloway, 2002; Jonas, 2003). Despite tokenistic expenditure on Indigenous programs, the Indigenous Rights Movement has highlighted the significant gap that exists between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians, especially in regards to living conditions and access to basic services (Crough, 2001; Jonas, 2003). The economic future and security of Indigenous Australians takes second place to the more profitable businesses of mining companies and pastoral lease holders within the 'market' domain (Bullimore, 2001a). Indigenous Australians are entitled to limited claims as long as they do not interfere with the economy (Attwood and Markus, 2003; Sharp, 1997; Shaw, 2004). When they do interfere, land rights are dispensed with in favour of the 'privileged' agendas and Indigenous values and ways of life are further corroded (Attwood, 2003; Chesterman and Galligan, 1997; Dodson, 2004).

The 'market' domain has weakened land rights legislation based on economic concerns (Attwood, 2003; Chesterman and Galligan, 1997). It has also introduced mutual obligation which equates contributions to economic values, with no concern for social or cultural contributions (Calma, 2004; Dodson, 2004). A co-option of reconciliation agendas has occurred, guided by economic rationalism rather than social forces (Bullimore, 2001a). The Indigenous Rights Movement continues to oppose the rhetoric

of 'practical reconciliation' as promoted by the Federal Government, whereby health, housing, education and employment are focussed on at the expense of Indigenous rights and treaties (Crough, 2001).

When the economic and social systems fail Indigenous Australians (which is often within the market), they experience an increased risk of violence. The disadvantaged economic position of Indigenous Australians has led to increased homelessness, which carries the risk of violence (Attwood, 2003). The 'market' domains disregard for the economically deprived 'other' reinforces attitudes of racism. This leads, as discussed earlier, to indirect forms of violence within this domain. The 1991 Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal deaths in custody detailed, what Jonas (2003) described as "a complex and devastating picture of the effects of dispossession, colonization and institutional racism on Aboriginal peoples". Within this report, Johnston (1991) identified institutional racism, which exists within a system of equality that continues to put Indigenous Australians down. He described racism during the 'market' domain as different from that experienced within the protection and assimilation periods, as it was more subtle, arising from a lack of staff training regarding culture for example:

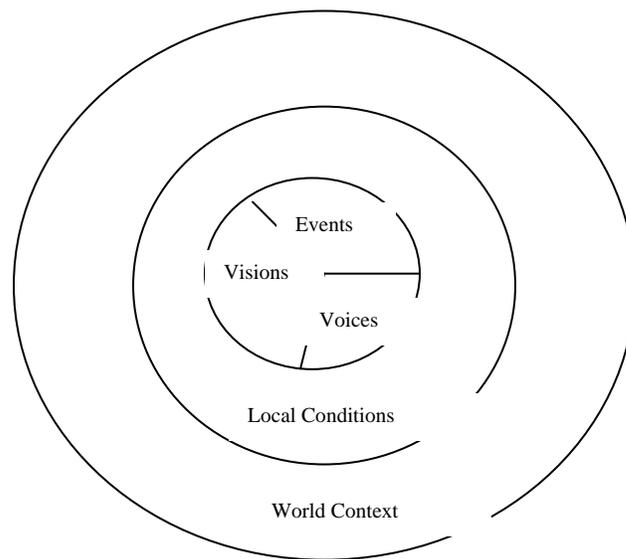
From the point of view of Aboriginal people the greatest example of institutional racism is probably their dependence upon the government and thus being required to constantly be under the scrutiny of departments. They feel that they are entitled to an economic base and entitled to make their own decisions. They feel that present arrangements subordinate them on an ongoing basis (Johnstone, 1991).

The Indigenous Rights Movement has long promoted the sovereignty of Indigenous Australians. The abolition of ATSIC in 2004 was an act of cultural imperialism on the part of the Federal Government, adopting an economic frame of reference regarding the special interest group 'Indigenous Australians' and signalling a return to paternalism (Reconciliation Australia, 2005).

Details

Exploring the details of the sampled movements provided insight into the way new social movements are structured. This analysis explores new social movements as a collection of significant visions, voices and events, which exist against a backdrop of local and global conditions (see Figure 4.1). Details of what visions were constructed and promoted within the sampled movements were investigated, who influenced the development of and voiced these visions was revealed, and what occurred within each was explored with an emphasis on different types of events. The backdrop of the movement, on both a local and global level, was also reflected upon. This combination of vision, events and people was cited by Lauren (2000) as an essential framework for the evolution of human rights. This study raised a number of key questions for application to the Disability Rights Movement in Australia.

Figure 4.1 Details of New Social Movements



Significant Visions

The adoption and formation of significant visions enabled the sampled movements to provide direction, motivate, inspire, and unite its members (Lauren, 2000). Within the sampled movements common visions had the ability to draw people with differing views together under a shared banner or cause. Visions are the first step to establishing a counter-hegemonic defence to the oppression generated and maintained by 'privileged'

power brokers within society. This section outlines the overall vision, set of core beliefs and issues which embodied these visions, through which the sampled movements were able to unite and use as the basis for action(s).

Reflections on the visions for the sampled movements revealed three main purposes being fulfilled through these visions:

1. Visions *unified* movement participants from different ideological positions to collectivise issues and efforts. This exemplified the power of visions within the collective consciousness of participants.
2. Visions *provided a plan of action*; a practical blueprint for what was needed to bring about an end to the oppression experienced. Visions strengthened resolve of movement participants to deconstruct the hierarchy of dominance.
3. Visions enabled participants to *revolutionise their surroundings when fulfilled* (in full or part). Laws have changed, social attitudes and stereotypes have been challenged, and histories have been rewritten. Both sampled movements have left significant footprints on the Australian landscape in this way.

Each vision provided a platform for the development of beliefs and issues.

Significant Events

Within new social movement literature an event is sometimes referred to as a ritual, which is “designed to create, enhance, and/or express the belief system and/or emotional tone of a movement culture” (WSU, 2006). In investigating events for the sampled movements, three types of event were identified: precursor, protest, and perpetual. Precursor events were those leading up to the movement, setting the scene, and enabling development of significant visions. Protest events strengthened movement participants through a collective stand, introducing issues into the public arena. Perpetual events were those reoccurring events that were established and institutionalised, often run now by organisations, but formed initially through sampled movements. Each of these events were made up of preconditions, the actual event and consequences. There was often a complex interaction between these, but for the purpose of investigation/developing insight, demarcations were made. Preconditions detailed the catalysts (motivations) and

planning phase; the event was described in terms of where it happened, when, who, and what issue was being represented; and consequences or reactions to the event in terms of public impact or political reform for example, were recorded.

Significant Voices

Visions need thinkers and spokespeople. Events need organisers and participants. New social movements need voices. New social movements draw strength from the collective group, making it difficult to establish 'leaders', with participants being described as "nomads of the present" (Melucci, 1989, p.6), visionaries known for their personal commitment and sacrifice in action (Lauren, 2000), and activists who "self-consciously practice[s], in the present, the future changes they sought" (Burgmann, 2003, p.18). Many different voices were identified within the sampled movements, including; voices who left documents to record their movement; voices who led protests and demonstrations on behalf of their movement; voices who worked within governments or hierarchical structures in an effort to effect change from within; and collective voices in the form of organisations or groups, established by and for the movement. Each voice demonstrated a commitment to the movement's visions, and to the furthering of the beliefs and issues of the movement. Each contribution was recorded.

Local Conditions and International Influences

Each of the sampled movements developed against a background of local (national) and international influences. Visions, events and voices do not exist in a vacuum:

There is no such thing as an 'unbroken chain' or straight line of progress. Instead there are twists and turns, fits and starts, advances and setbacks, progressive movement and detours, complexities and paradoxes, all heavily influenced by domestic and international politics (Lauren, 2000, p.297).

On a national level the Australian polity, particularly aligned with Federal Government administration, was revealed to be a major influence on the sampled movement's development. Internationally the sampled movements were influenced by international movements and human rights declarations.

Key Questions for Details of a New Social Movement

The explication of details of new social movements prompts the question:

What are the details of the new social movement in Australia? A number of questions have developed outlining the details of the sampled movements:

Visions: What visions were represented within the new social movement? What visions and desired outcomes unified and provided a plan of action for this movement?

Events: What events were significant within the new social movement? What occurred at the movement level?

Voices: Who influenced or was influential within the movement? Who left documents, led protests, and worked within hierarchical structures to effect change? What organisations or groups gave a collective voice to visions?

What was the background for the new social movement? What was the influence of the Conservative Polity, Economic Prosperity or Economic Rationalism periods within Australian polity? Which international social movements and/or human rights covenants provided inspiration to the new social movement?

Details of the Women's Liberation Movement: Visions, Events, Voices

The Women's Liberation Movement adopted the vision statement: 'the personal is political', which represented a challenge to the role of male power and privilege in the private lives of women (Cox, 1998; Lake et al., 1995; Lake, 1998; Pritchard-Hughes, 1998). 'The personal is political' expressed the need for a new politics where the concerns of women both in the public spaces of work and influence, and the private space of relationship and family could be established within the socio-political arena (D'Aprano, 1977, 1997; Pritchard-Hughes, 1998). This presented a challenge to the way Australian society was constructed along gendered lines and called for the liberation of women from the restraints imposed by the 'privileged' (Cox, 1998; Larbalestier, 1998; Wills, 1984). This vision united women under a common banner:

Many women were convinced that, despite differences between women ... their identity as women would provide common ground for emancipatory struggles. What was stressed was the shaping of gender differences within a framework of male power and privilege. This shaping of sex/gender difference was seen to impinge on *all* women (Larbalestier, 1998, pp.150 – 151).

Within this visionary statement, three visions were central: the right to earn an independent income, the right to feel safe, and the right to control their own bodies (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Women’s Liberation Movement: Vision and Desired Outcomes

Visions	Desired Outcomes
Right to Financial Independence	Equal pay for equal work Child care: affordable, accessible, good quality Affirmative Action: equality and representation in education and employment
Right to Feel Safe	Rape Crisis Centres Women’s shelters for domestic violence victims Awareness of violence (prevention) End to sexism and sex-role stereotyping
Right to Control own Body	Access to safe, legal abortions Access to the contraceptive pill & choice of birth control
References: Albury, 1998; Burgmann, 2003; D’Aprano, 1977, 1997; Dicker and Piepmeier, 2003; Kallen, 2004; Mason, 1998; Probert, 1997; Thornton, 1998	

Through the Women’s Liberation Movement women fought for the right to live financially independent lives (Table 4.1). For this to be achieved, the Movement promoted equal opportunity and equal rewards in public, including the right to earn the same money for doing the same job (Kallen, 2004; Probert, 1997), while highlighting the economic disparities between women and their dominant male counterparts (see Dicker and Piepmeier, 2003). Related to this right was the issue of available and affordable child care, which the movement claimed as a fundamental social requirement for any serious challenge to the sexual division of labour (Brennan, 1998). Once equal pay was formally achieved for women the platform of affirmative action continued to be raised, including equal opportunity in education, representational access to employment and

access to positions of power (Kallen, 1999; Kaplan, 1996). The Women's Liberation Movement fulfilled this vision, in part, through the "Equal Pay for Work of Equal Worth" Decision of 1972, and the implementation of *Commonwealth Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action* legislation of 1988 (Caine, 1998; Mason, 1998; Kaplan, 1996). Women in Australia continue to struggle for adequate child care funding and for recognition of the unpaid domestic labour, which largely remains the domain of women (Brennan, 1998; Dicker and Piepmeier, 2003; McVey, 2004).

The Women's Liberation Movement used their banner 'the personal is political' to promote the right of women to feel safe within their homes and their communities (Table 4.1). The movement also united women around the issue of gendered violence, generating extensive campaigns, which publicly revealed for the first time in Australia the high incidence of domestic violence and rape (Dicker and Piepmeier, 2003; Mason, 1998). The movement established rape crisis centres; domestic violence services and women's health organisations; raised public awareness of the abuse of women and children; lobbied governments to support their cause; and called for an end to sexism and sex-role stereotyping (Kaplan, 1995; Saltman, 1997). The incidence of rape was used as an example of the overall oppression of women in society, and became framed as not just a personal, but a political concern (Spongberg, 1998). This vision has been fulfilled, in part, through the government funding of rape crisis centres and women's refuges, as well as through an increased public awareness of gendered violence (D'Aprano, 1977; Lake, 1999; Sawyer and Simms, 1993; Summers, 1994).

The Women's Liberation Movement also promoted the women's right to control her own body, both sexually and medically (Table 4.1). They questioned the delivery of health care to women (Saltman, 1997) and promoted the rights of women to assert control over their bodies within medical and personal relationships (Lake et al, 1995). Access to the contraceptive pill, and to legal, safe abortions were two platforms for conveying this vision (D'Aprano, 1977, 1997). The Women's Liberation Movement challenged the censorship, laws and public policy regulating sexual practice and fertility control:

‘Abortion is a woman’s right to choose’ became one of the best-known slogans, changing cultural and political understandings of abortion. It represented abortion as an issue in women’s rights as citizens and significantly reshaped both public debates about abortion and women’s personal reasoning about unexpected pregnancies. (Albury, 1998, p. 273)

This vision has been partially fulfilled through improvements in women’s health care services and the accessibility of the contraceptive pill, however, there are continued calls for the legalisation of abortion (Burgmann, 2003; Kaplan, 1996; Schofield, 1998).

There were a number of precursor events for the Women’s Liberation Movement, which included events within the first wave that set the scene for the following liberation (second wave) movement and the early establishment of various consciousness raising groups. Two significant events were identified as being catalytic to the formation of the movement in Australia: Thornton and Bogner chaining themselves to a public bar in 1965 in protest of women’s exclusion from such public spaces, and D’Aprano chaining herself to the Melbourne treasury building in 1969 to advocate for women’s equal pay (Burgmann, 2003; D’Aprano, 1977, 1997; Kaplan, 1996; Thornton, 1998). The former event will be discussed in some depth.

In April 1965, Ro Bogner and Merle Thornton chained themselves to the public bar at the Regatta Hotel in Brisbane (Burgmann, 2003; Kaplan, 1996; Thornton, 2002). Thornton (2002) reflected on their motivation:

The public bar was the iconic institution at the time for social mixing and networking among men, so it was a very important public space ... and symbolised women’s exclusion from careers work (p. 1).

This exemplified the vision of ‘the personal is political’.

This protest, as described by Thornton (2002), was not just a response to the rejection of the case for equal drinking rights previously presented to the Minister for Justice, but also a protest of ‘privileged’ control. Bogner and Thornton were widely criticized within the media, as well as in parliament, as a result of this event (Thornton, 2002; Lake, 1999). Through the media coverage of the protest an increased consciousness around the issue of

liberation for women occurred, and a new ‘phase’ in the history of Australian feminism was born (Lake, 1999). The details of this event are summarised in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Precursor Event for the Women’s Liberation Movement: Protest at the Regatta Hotel

Event Parameters	Description
Preconditions	<p>Women ‘othered’ within the ‘medical’ and ‘professional’ domains</p> <p>Women socialised to occupy spaces within the domestic sphere</p> <p>Public spaces, such as bars, were the domain of the ‘privileged’ (white men)</p> <p>Case for equal drinking rights presented to the Minister for Justice, without result</p>
Event Itself	<p>Who: Ro Bogner and Merle Thornton</p> <p>Where: Regatta Hotel, Brisbane</p> <p>When: April, 1965</p> <p>What happened: Bogner and Thornton arrived at the public bar, ordered a drink, and when refused they chained themselves to the foot rails of the bar. The police were called and were forced to use bolt cutters to remove the chains.</p> <p>The issue: Protesting the exclusion of women from public spaces represented by their exclusion from public bars</p>
Consequences	<p>For Bogner and Thornton:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. death threats received b. criticized in the media and in parliament c. Parliament considered taking their children into care d. husbands questioned as to whether they should have psychiatric assessments <p>For the Women’s Liberation Movement:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> e. consciousness raising of women’s rights f. catalyst for the establishment of the movement g. extensive media coverage both in Australia and internationally <p>For women in Australia:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> h. 1966 Government abolished the Marriage Bar and introduced maternity leave within the public service i. 1970: women were allowed in public bars (but not always welcomed) j. Equal Opportunity for Women Association founded (by Thornton) k. Thornton went on to introduce women’s studies into Australia (at University of Queensland, 1973)
References:	Burgmann, 2003; D’Aprano, 1977; Kaplan, 1996; Lake, 1999; Thornton, 2002.

A number of protest events occurred within the height of the Women’s Liberation Movement. These included the Tram Ride of 1969, protesting for equal pay; pro abortion demonstrations held outside courts in 1970; protests held outside the Miss Teenage Quest and the Anti-Anzac Day demonstrations organised by ‘Women Against Rape’ in the

1980s. These events strengthened movement participants through their collective stand and united them around their visions.

The protest event for the Women's Liberation Movement to be discussed has been commonly referred to as the 'Tram Ride of 1969' (D'Aprano, 1977; Mitchell, 1998; Office of the Status of Women, 2004). 'The Tram Ride of 1969' was organised by the Women's Action Committee as a protest against women receiving lower salaries while paying full price for all commodities and services (D'Aprano, 1977; Mitchell, 1998; Pritchard-Hughes, 1998; Probert, 1997). Prior to this event women had been denied equal pay. Women formed consciousness raising groups and feminist organisations around the disparity in pay between themselves and men (D'Aprano, 1977; Pritchard-Hughes, 1998; Probert, 1997). The 'Tram Ride' was a well organised protest event, where the media had been informed and was present to cover the protest (D'Aprano, 1977). This event raised awareness of this issue among women and the wider community, strengthening the sense of solidarity felt by movement participants (Burgmann, 2003; Probert, 1997). For women, the 'Tram Ride' paved the way for the 1972 and 1974 decisions, which saw the equal pay decision extended and the family wage abolished, respectively (Burgmann, 2003; D'Aprano, 1977). A summary of this event is contained in Table 4.3.

The Women's Liberation Movement established a number of perpetual events, such as the 'Reclaim the Night' march, begun in 1978, and International Women's Day celebrated in Australia since 1928 (Grahame, 1998). These events established the movement within public remembrance.

Table 4.3 Protest Event for the Women’s Liberation Movement: The Tram Ride

Event Parameters	Description
Preconditions	<p>Women ‘othered’ within the ‘medical’ and ‘professional’ spheres Women’s Liberation Movement formed ‘Personal is Political’ promoted within consciousness raising forums</p> <p>1907: Justice Higgins made the Harvester decision, setting a ‘family wage’ giving men a higher wage than women on the basis of their need to support a family</p> <p>1969: Equal Pay Case hearings, where four judges decided that equal pay would only extend to women within male-dominated professions</p> <p>1969: D’Aprano chained herself to the Commonwealth building in protest of continuing adverse decisions on equal pay</p> <p>1969: Other women repeated D’Aprano’s action at the Arbitration Court</p> <p>1969: Women’s Action Committee (WAC) established in Melbourne, with a commitment to Women’s Liberation</p>
Event itself	<p>Who: Organised by WAC Where: Melbourne When: 1969 What happened: Women from the WAC notified the media of a mass tram ride protest, then collectively insisted on paying only 75% of the fare The issue: Protesting women’s receiving lower salaries, while paying full price for all commodities and services</p>
Consequences	<p>For women: 1972: Arbitration Court extended previous decision to ‘equal pay for work of equal value’ , which benefited women in female industries 1974: ‘Family wage’ abolished</p> <p>For the Women’s Liberation Movement</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">consciousness raisingconsolidation of vision
References:	<p>Burgmann, 2003; D’Aprano, 1977; Mitchell, 1998; Office of the Status of Women, 2004; Pritchard-Hughes, 1998; Probert, 1997.</p>

The ‘Reclaim the Night’ march was established in response to the incidence of gendered violence perpetrated by men. When the ‘Reclaim the Night’ march was established it represented a large scale mobilisation of women, which began as a candlelit twilight march through the streets symbolic of the right of women to be safe anywhere and at anytime (Kaplan, 1996). The event was described by Mason (1998):

... Reclaim the Night marches (an idea adapted from the US) were initiated in the late 1970s as a collective rejection of the limitations imposed on women's access to public space: a radical 'taking back' of the night, which was eventually generalised to a reclamation of women's right to live free from the fear of violence (in the street *and* in the home). Before the escalating popularity (and the inevitable mainstreaming that this produced) of these marches, they exuded a deficit attitude well exemplified by the burning of a male effigy, named 'Pat Riarchy', in the heart of the Melbourne City Centre in the mid 1980s.

An event summary of the 'Reclaim the Night' march is presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.4 Perpetual Event for the Women's Liberation Movement: Reclaim the Night March

Event Parameters	Description
Preconditions	Women considered objects of violence Light penalties for gendered violence 'Personal is Political' banner adopted, which encompassed the right to feel safe
Event Itself	Who: There is no central organisation Where: Held throughout capital cities and regional areas When: First held in 1978, continues as an annual event on the last Friday in October What happened: March of women and children, often a candlelit twilight march The issue: Demanding universal safety of women and children from sexual violence, assault and intimidation.
Consequences	Public awareness of the issue of gendered violence Assertion by women of their solidarity around this issue
References:	Kaplan, 1996; Mason, 1998

The Women's Liberation Movement sought to be democratic, and as such did not encourage a hierarchy of leadership or a promotion of 'stars', and was reluctant to identify specific women as leaders (Grahame, 1998; Sawyer and Simms, 1993). Grassroots activism and organisation was valued, rather than one person representing feminism. Therefore, a multiplicity of individuals, and groups, have strengthened the movement historically and to the present (Baugardener and Richards, 2003; Wills, 1984).

There were, however, a number of women who gave voice to the Women's Liberation Movement's visions. There were voices that left documents, such as Zelda D'Aprano (1977, 1997) who recorded her autobiography, "Zelda", in 1977 and then again with

added reflections in 1997. D'Aprano documented her communist beginnings, her part in the consciousness raising groups of the 1960s, and her role in the establishment of the Women's Liberation Movement, whose published experiences motivated and informed both her contemporaries and her successors (D'Aprano, 1977). Germaine Greer published *The Female Eunuch* in the 1970s, which described the modern nuclear family as oppressive. Greer's book has had a lasting impact on the advancement of women's rights in Australia and this book acted as a consciousness raising effort for the Women's Liberation Movement (Burgmann, 2003). Anne Summers wrote *Damned Whores and God's Police* in 1975. This was a critique of sexism and the structure of housework and the family in Australia (Burgmann, 2003; Summers, 1975). Beatrice Faust was another female writer and was described as prolific by Grahame (1998). Her works include *Women, Sex and Pornography* (1981), *Natural Childbirth* (1982), *Apprenticeship in Liberty* (1991), *Benzo Junkie* (1993), and *Backlash? Balderdash! Where Feminism is Going Right* (1994). Newspapers were also published to express the collective visions of the Women's Liberation Movement, for example during the 1970s 'Mejane' was published in Sydney, 'Vashti's Voice' in Melbourne and 'Liberation' in Adelaide (Burgmann, 2003). Other prominent authors within the Women's Liberation Movement included Eva Cox (1998), Marilyn Lake (1999), Curthoys (various), and Janine Haines (1992).

There were voices within the Women's Liberation Movement who led protests and demonstrations. Zelda D'Aprano, for example, was an active member of the Women's Liberation Movement from its inception in Australia. She is best known for staging an individual demonstration for the 'equal pay' case, when she chained herself to the Commonwealth Treasury building in Melbourne in 1969 (Burgmann, 2003; D'Aprano, 1977; Lake, 1999). Merle Thornton and Ro Bogner are known for their public protest at the Regatta Hotel (Burgmann, 2003; Curthoys, 1979; D'Aprano, 1977; Lake, 1999). Eva Cox, an activist since the 1970s was a founding member of the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL). In 1995 she presented a Boyer Lecture detailing her vision for a civil society which would embody the principles of feminist and democratic thinking (Cox, 1995; Grahame, 1998). Beatrice Faust was the co-founder of WEL, and worked for the

establishment of equal opportunity for women. Other prominent activist voices included Wendy Bacon (a journalist and academic) and Meridyth Burgmann (an activist and politician) (Grahame, 1998).

There were also voices who worked to influence structures within society. For example, Senator Annabelle Rankin became the first woman to administer a Commonwealth Department in 1966, when she was appointed Minister for Housing; Elizabeth Reid is known as the first 'femocrat' produced by the Women's Liberation Movement (Bulbeck, 1997) and was appointed the Prime Minister's Chief Advisor on Women's Rights for Gough Whitlam in 1973 (Grahame, 1998); and Elizabeth Evatt was a lawyer, judge and human rights advocate:

In 1973 Elizabeth Evatt was appointed deputy president of the Australian Conciliation and Arbitration Commission by the Whitlam government... Appointed to the Family Court as chief judge (1976 – 88), Evatt was for some time Australia's most senior woman judge, pioneering a no-fault divorce and family law system that attempted to be gender-neutral... member...then chair... UN Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women... president of the Australian Law Reform Commission... outspoken on human rights, Aboriginal affairs and women's rights and a quiet but constant supporter of feminist campaigns in a number of areas (Grahame, 1998, p. 416).

Jeannie George was a trade union activist, who was elected president of the Australian Council of Trade Unions in 1995 (Grahame, 1998); Janine Haines, a politician, was the first Australian woman to lead a political party, when she was elected leader of the Australian Democrats in federal parliament in 1986. Haines served in parliament between 1977 and 1990. Joan Kirner's activism began in the 1970s when she was an active member of WEL. Grahame (1998) recorded Kirner as "one of the few public figures to identify as a feminist, [she] worked for greater opportunities for women in general and for women within the ALP..." (p 443). Kirner held a number of positions within parliament, including Premier of Victoria (1990–92). Other voices within government include Carmen Lawrence and Wendy McCarthy.

There were organisational members—collective voices—which formed committees, and organisations. For instance, the Women’s Liberation Group and the Women’s Action Committee (WAC) were both established in 1970 (Burgmann, 2003) by predominantly radical feminist activists. WEL, also established in the 1970s by liberal feminists, is another example. Other groups include: the International Women’s Day Committee; the Women’s Abortion Action Campaigns (Grahame, 1998); and the Working Women’s Charter Conference first held in 1977 (1976 to 1981), which produced a Charter with the aim to improve women’s rights and conditions at work (Watson, 1998).

Details of the Indigenous Rights Movement: Visions, Events, Voices

Indigenous Australians united within their movement through a vision of sovereignty, which was expressed through two visions: land rights and self-determination (Castejon, 2002; Lippman, 1981). The Indigenous Rights Movement united Indigenous Australians from differing backgrounds and visions under the declaration of sovereignty, which promoted the difference between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians and claimed sovereign ownership of Australia—a sovereignty which was never ceded through a treaty and therefore continues to stand (Janson and MacIntyre, 1988; Jonas, 2003; Reynolds, 1996). The platforms of land rights and self-determination enabled Indigenous Australians to frame their vision of sovereignty in practical terms (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5 Indigenous Rights Movement: Vision and Desired Outcomes

Visions	Desired Outcomes
Land Rights	Formal recognition as traditional owners Land Rights and Native Title - legislation Compensation for dispossession
Self-determination	Recognition of distinct culture and separate identity Transferring responsibility and power for decision-making to Indigenous communities Equal opportunities and affirmative action sought
References: Attwood, 2003; Blackburn, 2001; Castejon, 2002; Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, 1997a; FAIRA, 2004; Jonas, 2004b; Lippman, 1981; O’Donoghue, 2004	

The first vision, Land Rights (Table 4.5), was so significant and prominent that it has often been identified as a separate movement (see for example, Bullimore, 2001a;

Council, 2003; Charlesworth, 1984; Dow, 2004). The issue of Land Rights has represented different things for different groups of Indigenous Australians (Charlesworth, 1984), however, it has become “central to the politics of the ... movement: land rights is a *united* and a *uniting* demand of the movement” (Burgmann, 2003, p.67). Land Rights embody the concept of sovereignty and are based on the recognition of Indigenous Australians as the traditional owners of the land that is now known as Australia (Castejon, 2002; Lippman, 1981), and on acceptance of the difference between the European understanding of land ownership and the view of land ownership held by Indigenous Australians (Charlesworth, 1984). Indigenous Australians claim a different sense of attachment to land which cannot be bought or sold:

As Indigenous Peoples, we respectfully enjoy physical and spiritual connections to our lands, waters and environment which can not be substituted, extinguished or altered without threatening our essence as Indigenous Peoples (FAIRA, 2004, p. 1).

The increased demand for Land Rights in the 1960s signalled the beginning of a growth phase within the contemporary Indigenous Rights Movement (Attwood, 2003; Burgmann, 2003).

The vision of sovereignty, articulated through land rights, emphasized the difference between Indigenous and non-indigenous Australians, which was framed by a number of issues (Table 4.5). The Indigenous Rights Movement initiated a call for the formal recognition of the “distinctive position [of Indigenous Australians] as the original owners and custodians of the continent” (Burgman, 2003, p.67). This issue included calls for dismissing the former doctrine of terra nullius, fulfilled in part through what is now known as the Mabo judgment. Reynolds (1996) described this judgment as a major landmark in de-colonizing Australian law and society in its rejection of terra nullius in relation to property; however, it was also inadequate in its failure to resolve the question of overall sovereignty.

Another vision was for legislation to enshrine Indigenous land rights and native title (Table 4.5). The Indigenous Rights Movement initiated protests around this issue,

including the establishment of the original ‘Tent Embassy’ in 1972 which highlighted the then Federal Government’s refusal of land rights (Dow, 2000), demanding the following:

We demand:

1. Full State rights to the Northern Territory under Aboriginal ownership and control with all titles to minerals, etc.
2. Ownership of all other reserves and settlements throughout Australia, with all titles to minerals and mining rights.
3. The preservation of all sacred lands not included in points 1 and 2.
4. Ownership of certain areas of certain cities, with all titles to minerals and mining rights.
5. As compensation, an initial payment of six billion dollars for all other land throughout Australia, plus a percentage of the gross national income per annum.

(*Aboriginal Embassy Land Rights Policy*, ‘5 Point Policy’, reproduced by Attwood and Markus, 1999).

When the Labour Party came to power, under Gough Whitlam, the Aboriginal ‘Tent Embassy’ had been established and he froze all mining applications in Aboriginal reserves, initiating what is now known as the ‘Woodward Inquiry’, resulting in the *Land Rights Bill* of 1975 (Attwood and Markus, 1999; Lippman, 1981). This bill was then weakened through the *Northern Territory (Land Rights) Act* of 1976, which extended more protection to mining interests. The Indigenous Rights Movement reorganized around the vision of land rights in the 1980s through court challenges, re-framing the struggle to native title rights, with limited success achieved when the *Native Title Act 1993* was passed (Burgmann, 2003; Reynolds, 1996).

The Indigenous Rights Movement also called for compensation for dispossession and increased economic power to fulfil their vision for sovereignty (Table 4.3). The desire for land rights within the movement represented, in part, a “desire to secure economic independence from white structures in order that Indigenous Australians might have a better chance of attaining equality” (Burgmann, 2003, p.67). Adequate compensation is an ongoing issue for the Indigenous Rights Movement (see Indigenous Law Resources, 2004), with a continuing economic disparity between Indigenous Australians and their non-indigenous counterparts (Jonas, 2003).

The second vision expressed by the Indigenous Rights Movement was for sovereignty through self-determination (see Table 4.5), which represents a desire for sovereignty through a political lens (rather than an economic lens, as per calls for land rights) (Blackburn, 2001; Castejon, 2002). The Indigenous Rights Movement demanded recognition of Indigenous Australians as having a distinct culture and a separate identity, which should be respected and enabled within Australia (O'Donaghue, 1992). Indigenous communities should have the right to meet their own social, cultural and economic needs under the banner of self-determination, in recognition that needs were historically sacrificed through colonization and dispossession (O'Donaghue, 1992).

The Indigenous Rights Movement has also been involved in calls for transferring responsibility and power for decision-making to Indigenous communities, and for equal opportunities and affirmative action (Jonas, 2004).

There were a number of precursor events for the contemporary Indigenous Rights Movement which included the establishment of the 'Day of Mourning' in 1938; the Wave Hill 'walk off', protesting intolerable living conditions on stations in 1966; and the 'Freedom Rides' of 1969 (Dawkins, 2004a). This latter event will be considered in some depth, and is summarised in Table 4.6.

Prior to the 'Freedom Rides', Indigenous Australians had been dispossessed of traditional lands and were segregated within communities (Attwood, 2003; Lippmann, 1981). In 1965 Indigenous Australians were not considered citizens. They were forced to live on reserves and missions on the edge of towns in substandard housing often without plumbing, electricity or amenities; had no access to cafes, cinemas, theatres, hotels and swimming pools; and were frequently subjected to verbal and physical abuse within towns (Dawkins, 2004a). The 'Freedom Rides' were also inspired by international influences televised within Australia, such as the USA bus and freedom rides in 1961, and the passing of *The American Civil Rights Act* in 1964, which prohibited discrimination in voting, education and the use of public facilities (Dawkins, 2000a).

The 'Freedom Rides', led by Charles Perkins, openly opposed entrenched racism and segregation of Indigenous Australians. On 15 February 1972 the Freedom Riders picketed the Walgett R.S.L, where Indigenous ex-servicemen were not allowed to use the facilities. At Moree they protested against the segregation within the local swimming pool by protesting outside the council chambers, taking Aboriginal children to the pool and holding a public meeting that same night (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, 1999; Dawkins, 2000a; VIBE, 2004). The Freedom Riders were punched, pushed, spat on and verbally abused as recorded by journalists who were following the 'Freedom Ride' (Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, 1999; Dawkins, 2000a; VIBE, 2004).

As a consequence, the 'Freedom Ride' marked the beginning of substantial European consciousness of the racism faced by Indigenous Australians. It stirred up debate within Australia, which led to the 1967 'Referendum of Citizenship', and has been credited with the end of the 'White Australia' policy (Dawkins, 2000a). This event was described as a precursor because it brought the visions of the Indigenous Rights Movement into the public arena, and marked the beginning of alliance building with non-indigenous supporters, an important feature of the Indigenous Rights Movement (Bullimore, 2001; Watson, 2004).

A number of protest events occurred within the Indigenous Rights Movement, which represented Indigenous people's vision of sovereignty. This included the setting up of the original 'Tent Embassy' in Canberra in 1972; the staging of protests to coincide with (and oppose) bicentennial celebrations in 1988; Eddie Mabo's commencement of proceedings within the High Court in 1982; and the 'People's Walk for Reconciliation' over the Sydney Harbour Bridge in 2000 (Dawkins, 2000a). These events introduced land rights and self-determination into the public arena and strengthened the movement through its collectivisation and mobilisation. The setting up of the original Aboriginal 'Tent Embassy' in 1972 was a significant protest event, mentioned throughout literature, representing the Indigenous Rights Movement. This event is summarised in Table 4.7.

Table 4.6 Precursor Event for the Indigenous Rights Movement: The Freedom Rides

Event Parameters	Description
Preconditions	Indigenous Australians are dispossessed and segregated through the 'medical' and 'professional' domains International influences, particularly from the US Indigenous Australians were not considered to be citizens in Australia
Event Itself	Who: Led by Charles Perkins, 29 students Where: Through rural towns in NSW When: Began 12 February 1972 What happened: Perkins and student supporters embarked on a tour of small towns in New South Wales to protest against racism and segregation The issue: Entrenched racism and segregation of Indigenous Australians within country areas
Consequences	The beginning of substantial European awareness Debate within Australia International pressure for reform 1967 Referendum Ending of the 'White Australia' policy
References:	Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation, 1999; Dawkins, 2000a; VIBE, 2004

The Aboriginal 'Tent Embassy' was set up on 26 January, on Australia Day 1972. It was originally described by Mansell (2003) as the "greatest symbol of Aboriginal resistance, and a reminder to Australian governments of the ugly side to its years of neglect." It was a symbolic statement of the alienation of Indigenous Australians within their own county, which "from its inception... combined a mixture of politics, symbolism and theatre which governments and administrators found difficult to counter" (Dow, 2000). A number of significant actions occurred within this protest event. For example, the Aboriginal flag, flown on 2 February, became a symbol of the Indigenous Rights Movement. Early in February, 1972, a petition was drawn up that included the issues of self-determination and sovereignty, expanding on the former land rights demands. The 'Embassy' grew in size, increasing from its original lone beach tent to six tents by 26 April. On 20 July, the police were sent in to remove the 'Embassy' in one of the most violent confrontations experienced in Canberra (Dow, 2000).

As a consequence, public attention was drawn to the treatment of Indigenous Australians. Gough Whitlam, elected as Australian Prime Minister in 1972, visited the 'Tent

Embassy’ whilst he was in opposition to the current government. After the dismantling of the (original) ‘Embassy’, Whitlam came into power and froze all applications for mining and exploration in the Northern Territory. On 26 January 1977 the *Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act* came into effect as a result of the work carried out by the Whitlam Government. The ‘Tent Embassy’ has since been re-established, intermittently since 30 October 1974, and permanently since 26 January 1992. It has become National Heritage listed, preventing its removal.

Table 4.7 Protest Event for the Indigenous Rights Movement: The Aboriginal ‘Tent Embassy’

Event Parameters	Description
Preconditions	25 January 1972 - PM McMahon outlined Federal Government’s statement on ‘land rights’, rejected Freehold land rights Black power movement
Event Itself	Who: Began with Michael Anderson, Billy Craigies, Bertie Williams and Tony Coorey setting up protest under a beach umbrella on the lawns of Parliament House, Canberra, and calling themselves ‘Aboriginal Embassy’ Where: Canberra When: Set up on the 26 January 1972, Australia Day What happened: A Tent embassy was set up, originally under a beach umbrella and expanded to tents, by Indigenous activists. As time went by, more activists were inspired to join the protest. The issue: Symbolic statement that Indigenous Australians were ‘aliens’ within their own country; it stood for land rights, sovereignty, and later, for self-determination
Consequences	Drew public attention to Indigenous Australians treatment as foreigners in own country. Whitlam froze all applications for mining and exploration in the Northern Territory Aboriginal ‘Tent Embassy’ was re-established. Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act, 1977
References:	Abberton, 2002; Bullimore, n.d.; Castejon, 2002; Dow, 2000; Lippman, 1981; Mansell, 2003; Pullin, 1997.

The Indigenous Rights Movement established a number of perpetual events, such as National Sorry Day (see Table 4.8), which commenced in 1998 (Johnstone, 1991). These events established the movement within the public remembrance. National Sorry Day was established in direct response to one of the recommendations of the *Bringing Them Home Report* (1997), its aim being to formally acknowledge the forcible removal of Indigenous children from their parents during 1910-1970s. At the first commemoration

‘sorry books’ were signed by many Australians, offering personal apologies for the dispossession and removal of children from Indigenous Australians. The books were then presented to Indigenous Elders. ‘Sorry Day’ has continued as an event that acknowledges, annually, the impact of the ‘Stolen Generations’ on Indigenous Australians. As a consequence, National Sorry Day has increased the awareness of the impact of previous government policy on the lives of Indigenous Australians. It has enabled the visions of the Indigenous Rights Movement to remain within the wider societal conscience. In 2005, this event was renamed the ‘National Day of Healing for All Australians’.

Figure 4.8 Perpetual Event for the Indigenous Rights Movement: National Sorry Day

Event Parameters	Description
Preconditions	1910 – 1970s: Forcible removal of children 1995: National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families established – response to work of Indigenous agencies and communities concern re: the ignorance of history of forcible removal. 1997: Bringing Them Home Report tabled in Parliament, which recommended that a National ‘Sorry Day’ be declared
Event Itself	Who: National Sorry Day Committee appointed by the National Stolen Generation working group Where: Throughout Australia, various locations When: First 26 May, 1998 What happened: At the first ‘Sorry Day’, ‘sorry books’ were signed by many Australians offering personal apologies, then presented to Indigenous elders The issue: Acknowledge the impact of ‘Stolen Generations’ on Indigenous Australians
Consequences	Increased public awareness of the Stolen Generations Renamed ‘National Day of Healing for All Australians’ in 2005
References:	Johnston, 1991; National Sorry Day (2004)

A study of the Indigenous Rights Movement revealed a number of significant voices recorded within literature. There were those who left documents and a number of different voices have been identified as Aboriginal historians, such as Lippman (1981), James Wilson-Miller (1985), and Charles Perkins (1975, 1990). Contemporary activists, Mick Dodson, Michael Mansell, and Noel Pearson have also written a number of documents, recording and promoting the ideologies underlying the Indigenous Rights

Movement. There have also been collective documents, such as *Abo Call* and a variety of websites, such as FAIRA (2004) and Aboriginal Reconciliation (2004).

There were Indigenous voices who led protests and demonstrations. Charles Perkins, (1989) who led the 'Freedom Rides' for example, famously stated:

We are our own salvation ... Our destiny is in our hands ... We cannot leave it to churches, government, international pressures, dreams or the goodwill of others (cited in Burgmann, 2003, p. 52).

Gert Froves reasserted the cultural distinctiveness and values of Aboriginal societies in 1958. Michael Mansell set up the Aboriginal Provisional Government in 1990 and has been an active lawyer, defending individual Indigenous Australian's rights to the courts, as well as defending collective rights by advocating for legislation change. Activists such as Billie Craigie, Kevin Gilbert and Michael Anderson participated in the setting up of the original Aboriginal Tent Embassy (Dow, 2000; Abberton, 2002). Eddie (Koiki) Mabo initiated the challenge to the High Court over land rights. The High Court ruling, now commonly referred to as the 'Mabo' ruling, eventually came in 1992 after his death. Michael Long initiated the reopening of dialogue with Prime Minister John Howard after completing 'The Long Walk' to Canberra in 2004 (Reuters, 2004; Dodson, 2004). Other voices include: Gary Foley, Paul Coe, Marcia Langton, Geoff Clark, Lowitja O'Donoghue, Patrick Dodson, Mick Dodson, David Ross, Getano Lui Jnr, Robbie Thorpe, and Fred Maynard (Burgmann, 2003; Castejon, 2002; Mansell, 2003; Tickner, 1991).

There were Indigenous voices that influenced government and hierarchal structures. Many Indigenous Australians have worked outside of dominant structures, rather than adopting a 'change from within' approach, while others *have* worked within structures (Castejon, 2002). Only a few Indigenous Australians have worked within government. Neville Bonner was the first Aboriginal person to sit in the Commonwealth Parliament, when chosen to fill a senate vacancy and was re-elected four times. Warren Mundine is another Indigenous parliamentarian, and is the current National President of the ALP.

Organisations and committees were collectively formed by Indigenous voices. The Aboriginal Treaty Committee (Burgmann, 2003) and the National Sorry Day Committee (2004) are two such committees. There were also many Indigenous voices involved in collectively re-establishing the Aboriginal Tent Embassy (Blackburn, 1999). Councils, such as the Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders (FCAATSI), have been set up to advance the vision of the Indigenous Rights Movement (Burgmann, 2003). The Aboriginal Legal Service and Aboriginal Health Service are examples of community initiatives set up by Aborigines (Burgmann, 2003).

Australian Policy and the Sampled Movements

Three periods of Australian history, aligned with phases of Federal Government administration, were found to be most significant in their influence on the sampled movements: conservative governing, prosperity and economic rationalism. This context provided the local background for the development of the sampled movements, and is considered here in terms of government administration, local conditions, policy focus, and the impact on the sampled movements (see summary in Table 4.9).

Within the Conservative polity era, preconditions for struggle were reinforced (Table 4.9). Melluish (1998) described this period in Australian history, up until the 1960s, as a time that emphasised uniformity, conformity and homogeneity. The restrictive framework set up by the 'White Australia' immigration policy, state paternalism, new measures of (professionally) segregating Indigenous Australians on reserves, and women within the nuclear family, became more than economic policy. It became a way of life within Australia (Melluish, 1998). The Menzie's government came into power in 1949 and remained there for 16 years. His government promoted home ownership in the suburbs, during a time of economic growth (Stevens, 2004), which reinforced the position of women as the 'other' within the private domestic sphere, whilst ignoring the economic and political rights of Indigenous Australians, who were refused land rights during this period.

Table 4.9 Australian Polity

	Conservative Polity	Prosperity	Economic Rationalism
Federal Government Administration	Menzie's Liberal Party (1949 – 1965) McMahon's Liberal Party (1965 – 1972)	Whitlam's Labour Party (1972 – 1975)	Fraser's Liberal Party (1975 – 1983) Hawke's Labour Party (1983 – 1991) Keating's Labour Party (1991 – 1996) Howard's Labour Party (1996 – present)
Australian Conditions	Move to the suburbs Segregation	Full employment Labour shortages Rapid technological advances Social consciousness challenged	Recession Rising unemployment Focus on terrorism
Government Policy Focus	Assimilation or segregation	Social / liberal agendas promoted Whitlam's administration: turning point in social policy	Mutual obligation International obligations Market dominated
Women's Liberation Movement	Less pay for the same work Preconditions for the movement	Impact of labour shortage Funding available for refuges, health centres, and rape crisis centres Supportive legislation passed	Equal Employment Opportunity for Women legislation weakened
Indigenous Rights Movement	Ignored position within society Stolen generation Preconditions for the movement	Land Rights Legislation passed Initial recognition of visions	Weakening of Land Rights legislation Reports, such as Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1991) and Bringing them Home (1997) commissioned, with recommendations implemented to a limited degree

A period of prosperity dominated between 1972 and 1983 (Table 4.9). Melluish (1998) described this period as the beginning of a post-modern or contemporary Australia, which was:

...characterized by the breakdown of those old certainties about race, empire and the Australian way of life... Quite simply the old Australian ideal of a just society founded on a homogenous people sharing a single culture lost most of its plausibility (p. 13).

Whitlam's election marked a turning point in Australian social policy, which created an atmosphere that encouraged women and Indigenous Australians in their pursuit of legislative change (Probert, 1997, Summers, 1994). Women received funding for rape crisis centres; Indigenous Australians' land rights claims were heard. It was a time of optimism, where government responded to the needs of oppressed groups, and where the 'other' was enabled to have a voice within the polity (Cox, 1998).

Unfortunately, this period of optimism was brief. The Whitlam government was overthrown, and Fraser's Liberal government came into power in 1975. During Fraser's eight years in power funding to many civil society organisations was cut. Cox (1998) described the decade of the 1980s as one where a policy shift occurred from social to economic concerns. Hawke's Labour Government was elected in 1983 and continued until 1991. During this time, policies were shaped by tensions between government's economic and social justice agendas. The 1990s saw the heightened development of a market dominated by public policy agenda (Cox, 1998). Keating's Labour Party dominated the beginning of this period (1991 to 1996); Howard's Coalition Party has continued this tradition of market dominated policies, to the detriment of many 'othered' groups. Healy (2001), for example, noted that the continued denial of an apology or treaty for Indigenous Australians ignored the recommendations of reports such as *Aboriginal Deaths in Custody* (1991) and *Bringing them Home* (1997). Thornton (1998) described the 1990s as being dominated by an economic rationalist mood, which dampened equal employment opportunities for women. Cox (1998) described the Howard Government's Family Support as a code for anti-feminist strategy. Indigenous leaders, such as Dodson (2004), have felt forced to compromise with this government, claiming:

In Australia, the direction and emphasis of the reconciliation process and the position of Aboriginal people's unresolved issues with the nation are known points of difference between the Howard Government and Aboriginal people. We have agreed to work on what we have in common rather than what we may still disagree about, in search of a common good.

It is within this period that the market domain rose to prominence, and the sampled movements faced renewed sites of oppression.

International Influences and the Sampled Movements

The Women's Liberation Movement was influenced by women's movements within the UK and the US. Curthoys (1998), for example, referred to the Women's Liberation Movement as adopting a language of oppression and liberation, like its US counterparts. D'Aprano (1977, 1997) contributed to the formation of consciousness raising groups within Australia, as an idea borrowed from their American sisters. Kaplan (1996) outlined the similarities between women's movements in the UK, the US, and the developing movement within Australia. This was, perhaps, represented best when Australian women became involved in International Women's Day, which presented a world view of women's oppression, expressing solidarity with women throughout the world (Caine, 1998). Caine (1998) noted that much of the theoretical framework for the Women's Liberation Movement came from the UK, while organisational forms (such as collectives) were adapted from the US. Caine (1998) explored this international context and noted that individual Australian women travelled and participated in feminist activities in the UK, and the US, even in the late nineteenth century.

The Indigenous Rights Movement was also influenced by international movements. Perkins, for example, was inspired by the social changes he observed personally when he travelled overseas, as well as by the televised actions of the Civil Rights Movement in the United States (Dawkins, 2000a). Dodson (2004) stated that he had been influenced by international figures, such as Nelson Mandela in his struggle of rights for African people. Previous calls for a treaty, which arose from the Indigenous Rights Movement, were inspired by similar agreements that existed internationally, such as the agreement made with the American Indians a century previous (International Law Resources, 2004). The vision of Sovereignty was identified as being in line with what was already established within North American and Scandinavian countries (Reynolds, in Blackburn). The Black Power Movement was also recognized as influential (Castejon, 2002; Dow, 2000).

The Women's Liberation Movement made reference to human rights development internationally. The *Declaration on the Rights of Women* for example, has given weight to claims made by the Women's Liberation Movement. Burgmann (2003) described:

In response to feminist pressures, in 1983 the Hawke Labour Government ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (p.139).

The Indigenous Rights Movement also made reference to international human rights development, including the declarations within the United Nations. Blackburn (1999) recorded the international pressure exerted by the United Nations' declarations for self-determination for Indigenous peoples. The Federal Government responded (within the era of Economic Rationalism) with lip-service, only to the achievement of self-determination. Reconciliation Australia (1999) noted that Australia has signed the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). The Spinney Press (2004), however, discussed the censure of Australia by the United Nations:

In 1999-2000 three prominent United Nations monitoring committees produced a series of damning reports about Australia's recent Indigenous affairs policies, including policies on native title, the stolen generations and mandatory sentencing.

Calma (2004) and HREOC (2004) recorded the development of a draft *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, which is still under discussion. When this declaration is adopted by the United Nations, it is anticipated that while it will not be able to exert legal pressure on governments, it will carry "considerable moral force" (HREOC, 2004).

Dimensions

Dimensions unite the two previous considerations—domains and details—providing depth and direction for further exploration. This section raises further questions that move beyond why, who, where and what—to how. *How* did the sampled movements leave significant footprints in Australian history? *How* can they be defined as movements of significance? An investigation into these dimensions demonstrated that they were developed in a complex and non-sequential way (Lauren, 2000). The development of individual, group and public consciousness became a way to conceptualise the dimensions of the sampled movements.

The development of an individual consciousness, representing the emergent visibility of the movement, involves the dimensions of individual identity formation, and self-awareness of oppression and citizenship. Self-awareness of oppression was faced within the domains—an awareness of the roots of their individual struggle. The multi-faceted notion of citizenship was considered within individual consciousness. Citizenship involves political enfranchisement, the right to vote and to participate within the polity; social enfranchisement, which focuses on equality of participation and an enjoyment of the benefits and rights accorded to citizens; and economic enfranchisement, the right to compete equitably within the economy (Wikipedia, 2006).

The consolidation of a group consciousness, where the movement gained momentum and visibility, involves the dimensions of consciousness raising and solidarity, strategies, and ideology. New social movements need to develop a collective identity, a sense of solidarity and belonging, which includes both informal and formal networks (Duyvendak, Guigni, Koopman and Kriesi, 1995). Within the sampled movements, the raising of individual consciousness led to the sharing of experiences, and collectivisation—groups formed, particularly through consciousness raising efforts. Within these groups, counter-hegemonic strategies developed and ideology was adopted or formed.

As the sampled movements began to develop group consciousness, visions and events were held in increasingly public forums. This led to prolonged visibility, evidenced

within the public consciousness where dimensions of public prominence, such as: remembrance practices, physical memorials and/or symbols; public proclamation, including media coverage and legislation; public recognition and recording; rewriting history and the introduction of education curriculum, were evidenced.

A lessening of public and political consciousness, where movement agendas faded through co-option by government and divisions within movements caused tensions, made up the last two dimensions. These dimensions became evident with the rise of economic rationalism: economic agendas replaced social ones, and movements re-framed their visions accordingly. Tensions became evident within the sampled movements at this point, with divisions and fragmentations leading to a lessening of public and political consciousness.

Key questions were developed for application to the Disability Rights Movement in Australia.

Key Questions for the Dimensions of New Social Movements

What footprints have been left by new social movements in Australia?

Individual Consciousness: How have individual identity formation and the self-awareness of oppression been expressed for the oppressed 'other' in Australia? How has the oppressed 'other' gained citizenship within Australia? What evidence is there of political, social and/or economic enfranchisement for people with disability in Australia?

Group Consciousness: How have groups been formed within new social movements? Is there evidence of solidarity and consciousness raising efforts? Have counter-hegemonic strategies been employed? What different ideologies have formed the basis of the new social movement?

Public Consciousness: How has the new social movement achieved public prominence? How has the new social movement been publicly proclaimed? And how has the

movement influenced the public perceptions of disability through historical recordings and/or education?

Individual Consciousness within the Women's Liberation Movement

The Women's Liberation Movement began through individual efforts. Individual women became self-aware of their own oppression and decided to create an alternative identity for themselves. These individual efforts led women to invent an alternative future for themselves, one which existed outside of the hierarchical domination by men (Kaplan, 1996). Founding members of the Women's Liberation Movement recognised the contribution made by individuals becoming aware of their own oppression. Bell Hooks (quoted by Rowland, 1989) stated:

...to see and describe one's own reality is a significant step in a long process of self-recovery, but it is only the beginning.

Many women who came to this epiphany were from different backgrounds. D'Aprano (1977), for example, described her individual awakening as being coupled with disillusionment—of the trade unions and community movement's exclusion of women, as well as personal experiences, such as unsafe abortions from unskilled practitioners. Precursor events were led by individuals who had become self-aware of their own oppression, and who subsequently took action. These actions initiated a group consciousness.

The Women's Liberation Movement was also prompted by an individual awareness of the need for citizenship rights. Irving (1998) described a modern multi-dimensional notion of citizenship where:

Long-standing feminist questions about the relationship between the public and the private, difference and equality, the political and the personal, are deeply implicated (p.31).

The Women's Liberation Movement enabled women to develop an awareness of their own experiences of oppression, as well allowing them a vision for expanding citizenship for women.

Political citizenship had been assured for women in all states of Australia through the efforts of the 'first wave', who were often referred to as 'suffragettes' (Irving, 1998; Kallen, 2004). However, widespread social practices within Australia continued to restrict women from asserting their right to social citizenship (Kaplan, 1996). As individual consciousness began to be raised, women felt alienated from the nation of Australia, and oppressed by the myths and histories that 'insulted and trivialised' them (Lake, 1997).

Women were denied social citizenship prior to the changes brought about by the Women's Liberation Movement. Women were, for example, unable to access welfare benefits in their own right due to their presumed dependence on a male counterpart (Yeatman, 1994). Cox (1994) articulated this notion of citizenship:

The early 'liberation' debates of the 1960s were based on an assumption that when the rights of women matched the rights of men, both would assume the obligations of full citizenship ... changing the way the world runs... (p.304).

Economic citizenship was a platform for the Women's Liberation Movement:

Feminists took the promise and potential of the status of citizen seriously. As citizens, they demanded recognition of all women's right to economic independence (hence the demand for equal pay, as well as motherhood endowment and the right of married women to ownership of household savings), the right to their individuality (hence the preoccupation with married women's nationality rights) and the right to their bodily inviolability (hence the emphasis on the 'equal moral standard')... (Lake, 1998, p.137).

Irving (1998) supported this, detailing:

The campaign for equal wages throughout the 1950s and 1960s was very importantly a campaign for citizenship rights, both in aiming to equalise men's and women's economic status and in asserting the right to equality of treatment, regardless of gender (p.29).

Women within the Women's Liberation Movement sought "a form of citizenship for women in which the right to individual self-realisation was given priority" (Irving, 1998, p.29).

Individual Consciousness within the Indigenous Rights Movement

Indigenous Australians have had a different experience of individual identity. When colonists first invaded Australia, Indigenous Australians already had an identity—they were a distinct peoples with their own societies, systems and beliefs (Lippman, 1981). Indigenous Australians do not share a single culture. Traditionally, they represented separate tribes or peoples (Lippman, 1981). Oppression for Indigenous Australians was not gradually or traditionally enforced, but was violently and suddenly imposed by the invaders (Lippman, 1981). Suddenly, Indigenous Australians were stripped of their land, their livelihood, and often times their lives. This sudden introduction of oppression—this interruption of life—then became institutionalised as Australian society was settled and established, setting a precedent for the future socialisation of Indigenous Australians (Jonas, 2003).

Indigenous Australians have long been aware of their oppression, and an individual awareness of oppression has always been present for Indigenous Australians. It is the *reclaiming* of their individual identity, and the awareness that something can be done, which has formed the basis of this individual consciousness within the Indigenous Rights Movement, as described by Attwood and Markus (1999):

A change in Aboriginal consciousness was occurring, in as much as they were beginning to protest in the name of blacks or Aborigines of a colonial formation ... rather than that of a pre-colonial formation such as a tribe. Likewise, their demands were highly particular: calling for land for themselves or retention of land previously reserved for their use; help to develop that land; better living conditions; and self-government or at least governance sympathetic to their interests... (p.9).

Indigenous Australians rejected ‘privileged’ definitions of *who was* and *who was not* indigenous, as based on skin colour or percentage of Aboriginal blood (Attwood, 2003; Jonas, 2003). Indigenous Australians included all people with Aboriginal blood within Indigenous identity, and resisted assimilationist pressure to become ‘white’ (Attwood, 2003).

Individual consciousness is linked to the experience of citizenship. Political, economic and social citizenship has been a major issue for the Indigenous Rights Movement: “Our

citizenship rights and our Indigenous rights cannot be separated. We cannot have one without the other” (O’Donoghue, 2004, p.92). Indigenous Australians have long fought for basic civil rights as highlighted in the ‘Freedom Rides’ of 1969, and have resisted citizenship on assimilationist terms (Attwood, 2003; Chesterman and Galligan, 1997). As O’Donoghue (1997) recorded:

There have been two great themes to our struggle: citizenship rights, the right to be treated the same as other Australians, to receive the same benefits, to be provided with the same level of services; and indigenous rights, the collective rights that are owed to us as distinct peoples and as the original occupiers of this land (p.193).

While some Indigenous Australians had the right to vote, all Indigenous Australians secured Federal enfranchisement, a basic right of an Australian citizen, in 1967, following a nationwide referendum (Chesterman and Galligan, 1997). Other aspects of citizenship remain elusive, and therefore continue to be on the Indigenous Rights Movement’s agenda (Attwood, 2003; Cameron, 2004; Chesterman and Galligan, 1997; Jonas, 2003):

Indigenous people are now fully included within the nation, and with the right to vote, but are in a sense still disenfranchised: many are economically bereft, lacking the full benefits and rights of other Australian citizens and remain, to a greater or lesser degree, dependant on the prevailing political system ... (Maynard, 2002, p. 190).

Group Consciousness within the Women’s Liberation Movement

Women came together based on a recognition of their oppression, developed initially on an individual level, and were then held together due to their solidarity, which Kaplan (1996) described in terms of optimism, celebration, cohesion and energy. Women became connected through consciousness raising groups that fostered this collective identity and played a vital role in the development of the Women’s Liberation Movement (Lotz, 2003; Whittier, 1995). Consciousness raising groups, an idea adopted from the United States, provided a validation of constructs for women that were not reinforced elsewhere in Australian society and became forums for social action, which began to address the systemic oppression of women within the level of group consciousness (Coloquhoun et al, 2001; D’Aprano, 1977, 1997; Eisenstein, 1985). The category of

'woman' was redefined through consciousness raising (Whittier, 1995; Kaplan, 1996). Eisenstein (1985) described consciousness raising as a:

...way of learning to see and to feel the previously made effects of patriarchy ... heightening one's awareness, becoming attuned to the evidence of male domination to which previously one paid little attention or ignored altogether (p.35).

D'Aprano (1997) reflected on consciousness raising groups, stating "we politicised the process" (p.312).

For the developing Women's Liberation Movement, problems were not just personal, but socially created and therefore in need of being raised, recognised and promoted within the political and social spheres (D'Aprano, 1977, 1997; Eisenstein, 1985). The Women's Liberation Movement voiced issues not openly discussed within society. For example, child abuse, domestic violence and rape in marriage were discussed within these forums (Summers, 1994). Within consciousness raising forums, women were the experts and the authority on their own experiences, each with a valid experience of oppression to share (Eisenstein, 1985). Emotional and practical support, such as counselling, was also offered through these gatherings (Whittier, 1995).

The process of consciousness 'raising' bridged the gap for women between the public and private spheres, opening up opportunities for external targeting (Colloquhoun et al, 2001; Eisenstein, 1985). As knowledge was shared, understandings of political and social natures of oppression were discovered, leading to political organisation within consciousness raising (Eisenstein, 1985). D'Aprano (1977) wrote:

The women immediately began doing things. Letters were being sent to firms which discriminated against women in advertising for staff, letters were sent to sponsors of TV programs who were using sexist advertising, and a petition was circulated on the abortion issue (p.112).

It was consciousness raising groups that enabled the Women's Liberation Movement to emerge as a new social movement—it was transformed from the more traditional 'first wave' movement to one with an agenda that emphasised revolution rather than

citizenship (Lake, 1998). The Women's Liberation Movement developed and articulated many of its visions and desired outcomes within consciousness raising forums.

As part of group consciousness, the Women's Liberation Movement developed counter-hegemonic strategies under the visionary banner 'the personal is political' (Grahame, 1998; Lake, 1998; Pritchard-Hughes, 1998; Rowland, 1989), expressing liberation from oppression, not just equality with the 'privileged' (men):

Equality is a necessary, but limited goal. The problem with the pursuit of equality is that while admitting women to the world of men, it reinforces the idea that men's way of organising the world is natural... Significantly, in the long history of the women's [liberation] movement in Australia, feminists were more likely to name 'independence' and 'freedom', rather than 'equality' as their goals. (Lake, 1999, pp.4-5).

The Women's Liberation Movement adopted a number of strategies to address the material and socio-political needs of women, including: protests around the issue of wage inequality (D'Aprano, 1977, 1997; Probert, 1997; Summers, 1994; Sawyer and Simms, 1993); self-education, regarding submission writing and effective government lobbying (Kaplan, 1996; Pritchard-Hughes, 1998); and the formation of pressure groups, such as the Women's Action Committee (or WAC), which focussed on economic and social inequality, equal education and abortion law reform (D'Aprano, 1977, 1997; Kaplan, 1996; Lake, 1999). WAC was formed to directly address the issue of wage inequality (Sawer and Simms, 1993; Whittier, 1995).

Strategies adopted by the Women's Liberation Movement that addressed the socio-political needs of women included: the promotion of feminist infrastructure and culture building, where organisations were established to provide direct support to women, such as rape crisis centres and refuges (Kaplan, 1996; Sawyer and Simms, 1993; Summers, 1994; Whittier, 1995); and the introduction of women's studies into academic curriculum (Ryan, 1998). Another socio-political strategy was the invention of the 'femocrat' (Bulbeck, 1997; Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989; Summers, 1994; Sawyer, 1998; Yates, 1998). 'Femocrats' is an invented term in Australia and New Zealand that is used to describe women appointed to work in women's affairs and women's units in state

apparatus and bureaucracies—women who brought feminist debates into direct engagement with the state (Franzway, Court and Connell, 1989):

Working alongside community activists, they made an impact in almost every area of women's lives: equal employment opportunity legislation, women's health funding, refuges, rape law reform, government-subsidised and regulated child care, gender-inclusive curricula in schools, support for women in the arts and sports, the portrayal of women in the media, and analysing of women's unpaid labour (Bulbeck, 1998, p. 33).

As the Women's Liberation Movement developed a group consciousness, the movement adopted feminist ideologies, which underpinned group strategy. Feminism has been defined as "a social philosophy aimed at eradicating the pervasive sexism of our culture" (Dicker and Piepmeier, 2003); as well as "a sense of and concern of women's oppression, an interest and engagement in addressing, altering or refining it" (Caine et al, 1998, p. 23). Within the Women's Liberation Movement three divisions in ideology were identified: liberal feminism, radical feminism and socialist/Marxist feminism (Burgmann, 2003; Henderson, 2002b; Rowland, 1989; Tong, 1989). Despite these divisions in ideology, which use different explanations for the sources of oppression and which promote different strategies for 'righting' these injustices, all feminists are united under common visions (Rowland, 1989). Each of these ideologies are described in Table 4.10, along with an outline of key definitions and the emphasis within each ideology.

Table 4.10 Ideologies within the Women’s Liberation Movement

Feminist Ideology	Definition	Emphasis
Liberal Feminism	Seeks equality with men in the public sphere Constraints on women originate from a lack of equal civil rights Remedy within legal and social reforms	Equal opportunity and equal rewards in public Reforms agenda Individual solutions Legal equality within the public sphere
Radical Feminism	Women’s oppression is located in an analysis of male power and patriarchy Sex/class system is the basis of society, which reinforces women’s inferior position	Revolutionary and militant tactics Sexism as the root of all forms of discrimination Argue for ‘special treatment’ of women State as the enemy Focus on issues of male power over women, evidenced through rape, violence, pornography and control of reproduction
Socialist/Marxist Feminism	Capitalist structures primarily determine women’s subordinate status Women’s rights will be achieved through socialist revolution	Focus on class based factors Socialist agenda adopted Eradication of capitalist structures Focus on developing working women’s centres and groups

References: Henderson, 2002b; Heywood and Drake, 1997; Kaplan, 1996; Kallen, 2004; Lotz, 2003; Macdonald, 1997b; McVey, 2004; Newman, 1999; Watson, 1998.

Group Consciousness within the Indigenous Rights Movement

Consciousness raising and solidarity have also been a feature of group consciousness within the Indigenous Rights Movement. Lippman (1981) described Indigenous Australians as traditionally having strong group cohesion, where their societies were clan-based, lacking a formal political organisation, but with their own system of ‘checks and balances’ (Charlesworth, 1984; Lippmann, 1981). Much of this cohesion was interrupted when Indigenous Australians were segregated from their land, and from each other (Attwood, 2003). Also, Indigenous Australians, as described by Charlesworth (1984):

... have never formed a unified ‘nation’... The basic unit of traditional Aboriginal life is the clan ... which is centred upon a particular territory, and which may have its own distinct language and religious system ... deep differences ... It is this pluralism which makes it difficult to speak of [a unified] movement, as though it meant the same for all the various Aboriginal groups.

Solidarity for Indigenous Australians has therefore been an ongoing issue for the Indigenous Rights Movement (Begg, 2000). Common visions have enabled groups of Indigenous Australians, from different tribes and from increasingly diverse backgrounds, (eg 'settled' and 'traditional') to unite their efforts and develop this level of group consciousness (Lipmann, 1981).

The Indigenous Rights Movement adopted a number of counter-hegemonic strategies to address the material and socio-political needs of Indigenous Australians, including protests around equal wages (Attwood, 2003; Chesterman and Galligan, 1997), protests against segregation (Attwood and Markus, 2003; Indigenous Law Resources, 2004; Tickner, 2001), and the citizenship referendum (Chesterman and Galligan, 1997). Another material strategy addressing the needs of Indigenous Australians was the 'Mabo' case where land rights were taken to the High Court (Dodson, 2004; Dow, 2000; Jonas, 2003). It was through this case, that:

... the High Court of Australia rejected the long-standing doctrine of terra nullius and found that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people who have maintained a continuing connection with their land, according to their traditions and customs may hold native title (Jonas, 2003).

This strategy addressed the material needs of Indigenous Australians by setting a legal precedent for claiming native title, and for recognition as the original inhabitants of Australia (Crough, 2001; Dow, 2000). Strategies addressing the socio-political needs of Indigenous Australians included the establishment of the Aboriginal Tent Embassy (Castejon, 2002; Dow, 2000), the raising of issues on the international stage (Galloway, 2002; Lippmann, 1981), and the establishment of the Aboriginal Provisional Government in 1990 (Blackburn, 1999).

Another socio-political strategy addressing the needs of Indigenous Australians was the building of alliances with other oppressed groups (Attwood, 2003; Austlii, 2004; Bullimore, 2000; Lippman, 1981). The 'Freedom Rides', for example, were carried out with the support of white university students, under the leadership of Charles Perkins, an Indigenous activist (Dawkins, 2000b). Bullimore (2001a) stated:

To win real liberation we need to change the way the world works. That means we need to work out who is with us and who is against us, who is willing to stand and fight with us and will try to stop us... (p. 1)

As the Indigenous Rights Movement developed a group consciousness, the movement adopted ideologies based on principles of anti-racism and anti-colonialism, which underpinned group strategy. Anti-racism focuses on civil rights of people who are discriminated against on the basis of race (Galloway, 2002). Anti-colonialism focuses on the indigenous rights of the original inhabitants of, in this case, Australia. Colonialism involved the domination of invaders over the culture, society and nation of indigenous peoples. These principles express two different (but complementary) ideological themes: civil rights and indigenous rights. These ideologies, and thus the development of the Indigenous Rights Movement, were influenced by Christianity, liberalism and socialism (Attwood, 2003). They were also influenced by international movements such as the Black Power and Civil Rights Movements (Rowley, 1986). Table 4.11 summaries these views, providing a definition and identifying the emphasis of the ideology within the Indigenous Rights Movement.

Table 4.11 Ideologies within the Indigenous Rights Movement

Anti racist Ideology	Definition	Emphasis
Civil Rights Anti-racism	Civil rights Discrimination occurs on the basis of race	Equality Equal wages and living conditions Enfranchisement Exercise of social and political rights
Indigenous Rights Anti-colonialism	Radical rights-based view Sovereignty of indigenous rights	Land rights Native title Focus on rights: protest, challenge, take to international forums
References: Atwood, 2003; Chesterman and Galligan, 1997; Dodson, 2004; Editor, 2004; Galloway, 2002; O'Donogue, 1996; Rowley, 1986		

Public Consciousness for the Women's Liberation Movement

The Women's Liberation Movement began to have a wide influence across many spheres of society, indicating its movement into the level of public consciousness. Segal (1998) described this public consciousness: "Feminism is part of the air we breathe..." (p.119). Some of the dimensions mentioned within the group consciousness level overlap into this section. For example, as groups began to develop and act on strategies, the public was increasingly made aware of these issues. As the vision for political recognition of private issues was being realised, women's issues became more visible (and accepted) within public spaces (Summers, 1994). D'Aprano (1995) framed this as the initiation of a cultural change:

A change whereby women, instead of being on the periphery of society, are beginning gradually to move into decision-making structures in almost all areas of endeavour (p.308).

The Women's Liberation Movement became prominent within the level of public consciousness through the establishment of remembrance, memorials and symbols. The movement promoted a number of their platforms through remembrance events such as 'International Women's Day' and 'Reclaim the Night' marches (Watson, 1998). These are annual events and therefore remain within the public consciousness. Public prominence of the Women's Liberation Movement also came with the establishment of organisations within the community that reached out to women (Emanuel and Snoeck, 1999).

The Women's Liberation Movement developed and adopted symbols that became publicly acknowledged and recognised. Summers (1994) reflected on the adoption of symbols such as the clenched fist, from America, within the biological symbol for women; and the adoption of colours (purple and white from the suffragettes) (WEL, 2006).

Contributing to the public perception of the Women's Liberation Movement, was the development of women's studies within universities. Women's studies, which were first established in Queensland, have had an impact on social change agendas within the

public consciousness (Ryan, 1998; Thornton, 2002; Yates, 1998). There is now some form of women's studies in most Australian universities (Ryan, 1998; Yates, 1998). Lake (1999) saw the emergence of women's studies as the beginning of institutionalisation for the Women's Liberation Movement.

The Women's Liberation Movement was also publicly proclaimed. Political activities of Australian women were historically hidden and not recorded, however, during the height of the Women's Liberation Movement, women received publicity for their issues as evidenced by the media attention given to spectacular events (Lake, 1999; Sawyer and Simms, 1993). The Women's Liberation Movement used disruptive, even militant, practices, such as demonstrations and street theatre, to gain public proclamation and recognition (Lake, 1998; Sawyer and Simms, 1993). The media covered events such as the 'Tram Ride', Bogner and Curthoy's 'chaining' at the Regatta Hotel, and D'Aprano's chaining to Treasury Place (D'Aprano, 1977, 1997). Campaigns and protests, such as annual events, have also received media attention.

The Women's Liberation Movement has also been publicly proclaimed and validated through the introduction of legislation, which evidenced reforms they won. For example, the *Sex Discrimination Act* 1984 (Commonwealth) promoted equality and the elimination of sex-based discrimination and sexual harassment (HREOC, 2005). The *Affirmative Action (Equal Employment Opportunity for Women) Act* 1986 was introduced by the Federal Government in response to calls for reform from the Women's Liberation Movement (Thornton, 2002). (Note: This Act was renamed, and some would say weakened, as the *Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act* 1999, Thornton, 2002). Various State Acts have also been introduced.

A major role was played by the Women's Liberation Movement in the documentation and the rewriting of Australian history, by producing an unprecedented volume of literature describing the oppressive aspects of women's lives, taboo subjects such as sexuality and lesbianism—theoretical work that redefined the whole arena of politics (Brook, 1997; Lake, 1999; Sawyer and Simms, 1993; Stevens, 2004; Webby, 1998).

Historical rewritings have been referred to as ‘Herstory’ within the Women’s Liberation Movement (Probyn, 1998), in which feminist historiographies have played an important role in the redefinition of ‘herstory’ (McCann, 2002). Henderson (2002a) described feminist autobiography:

[an] important feminist strategy for expanding and realigning the historical and literary record, and for allowing women to bear witness to their experience of oppression. Autobiography has therefore been fundamental to the formation of a politicised feminist identity (p.178).

Public Consciousness for the Indigenous Rights Movement

The Indigenous Rights Movement became visible within the public consciousness through public prominence, including remembrance practices, physical memorials and the public recognition of symbols. Remembrance practices include the ‘Day of Mourning’, NAIDOC week, the re-established (and now permanent) Aboriginal Tent Embassy, and ‘National Sorry Day’ (Dawkins, 2004b; Dow, 2000; National Sorry Day Committee, 2004). Former Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser described ‘National Sorry Day’ as:

... a day to pause, a day to grieve together for the harm done, and to commit ourselves afresh to make things different (The National Sorry Day Committee, 2004).

There are also physical places of memorial that serve as reminders of the struggle for rights engaged in by the Indigenous ‘other’, such as the memorial for the stolen generations at Reconciliation Place near the National Library in Canberra. This memorial was described by The National Sorry Day Committee (2004) as a step forward in the ‘journey of healing’. The unveiling of this memorial in late May 2006 was used as a way to focus on ‘unfinished business’, and was the fulfilment of a recommendation of the Bringing Them Home Report (Johnstone, 1997). Dow (2000) described the legendary status that the Tent Embassy has achieved as a contributor to public consciousness raising. The police expulsion of activists from the site in 1972 generated much publicity for the Indigenous cause (Castejon, 2002).

The Indigenous Rights Movement has adopted a number of symbols that have become easily recognisable within the public arena. The colours red, yellow and black; and their incorporation into the Aboriginal flag is one prominent set of symbols. The flag, which symbolises the struggles of Indigenous Australians, was created by Harold Thomas and was first flown in Adelaide on NAIDOC day in 1971, then later became closely associated with the Tent Embassy (Dow, 2000). It gained national and international prominence in the 2000 Commonwealth Games when Indigenous runner Cathy Freeman famously did her victory lap, draped in the Aboriginal flag, after winning gold. There are also symbolic protocols that have emerged as a result of the Indigenous Rights Movement. For example, it is not common practice to acknowledge or welcome within conferences and public addresses, the traditional owners of the land (Burgmann, 2003).

The Indigenous Rights Movement has been publicly proclaimed through media coverage, including the publication of well publicised reports. This level of public awareness of Indigenous Rights led Reconciliation Australia (2004) to record:

Once a minority view, and often not heard for years at a time, over the last 30 years or so the need to address those issues [of colonisation, marginalisation, etc] has become a mainstream view, growing hand in hand with the emergence of movements of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples working for their own rights (p. 1).

Rintoul (2004) gave the example of football legend Michael Long, who met with the Prime Minister in 2004 after a long walk, symbolising a new era of engagement with the government, after years of bitter alienation, this event was covered extensively within the media. Camp Sovereignty, established in 2006 during the Commonwealth Games in Melbourne, is another example where prolonged publicity of the issues of Indigenous Rights dominated the media. The movement has also been proclaimed through a number of reports such as: the stolen generations in *Bringing Them Home* (1997), which revealed the story of the stolen generations; *Aboriginal Deaths in Custody* (1991) reports; and the *National Inquiry into Racist Violence* (1992). Each of these reports have publicly exposed painful episodes of Australian history (Jonas, 2003).

The passing of legislation has brought the rights of Indigenous Australians into the public space. For example, the *Race Discrimination Act 1975* was introduced to fulfil international obligations under the *International Convention on the Elimination of the Forms of Racial Discrimination* (HREOC, 2006). The *Northern Territory Land Rights Act 1976* was introduced during the period of prosperity by Whitlam, and later the *Native Title Act 1993* was passed. Various State Acts have also been introduced.

The Indigenous Rights Movement has contributed to the development of public perceptions through the rewriting of history. Previous to the establishment of the movement, the voice of Indigenous Australians was not represented in most Australian history texts (Chronological History of Australia, 2004). Australian ‘discovery’ has not been re-framed as settlement and/or invasion. Aboriginal ‘Dreamtime’ stories have become more prominent within the public consciousness, even becoming a regular feature on the popular *Playschool* television program. Movies depicting the history of Indigenous Australians have also become part of the public consciousness, such as *The Rabbit Proof Fence* (2002) which depicted a story of the stolen generations.

Fading Visibility for the Women’s Liberation Movement

The Women’s Liberation Movement has faded within the levels of both group and public consciousness under economic rationalism and through the subsequent institutionalisation of the movement leading to the co-option of agendas by government (Lake, 1999). Some writers name this co-option as the ‘Third Wave’ (Kaplan, 1996), ‘State Feminism’ (Lake, 1999) or ‘Do It Yourself’ feminism (Jennings, 2004). A breakdown of solidarity and awareness of oppression has occurred within this phase (Jennings, 2004; Pozner, 2003). Loboto (1999), with some authors, accusing the movement of settling for equality rather than continuing to fight for liberation (Loboto, 1999; Ryan, 1998).

The movement became increasingly divided and fragmented within this phase, which has been dominated by economic rationalism. In this context, women faced different challenges from those of the 1960s, such as what is commonly referred to as the ‘glass ceiling’ effect (Trioli, 1996). This phase overshadowed the original visions of the

Women's Liberation Movement, and different perceptions of feminism have emerged where previous rights debates are recast as 'victim strategies'. As competition within the economy and the polity increased, a decrease in social citizenship and entitlements was experienced (Cox, 1998). Generational tensions became a major issue within the movement, with younger women leaving the radical beginnings of feminism (Bail, 1996). The *Equal Opportunity for Women in the Workplace Act 1999* weakened the original Act both ideologically and practically (Thornton, 1998). The Women's Liberation Movement has become noticeably weakened with this erosion of rights, and the erosion of services, demobilised, fragmented and conservative (Macdonald, 1997b).

Fading Visibility for the Indigenous Rights Movement

The Indigenous Rights Movement has also faded within the levels of both group and public consciousness, with movement agendas co-opted into government agendas. Instead of a treaty enshrining the sovereignty of Indigenous Australians for example, the Indigenous Rights Movement was co-opted into a process of reconciliation, where the agenda has been set by Governments instead of Indigenous Australians (Bullimore, 2001). Indigenous Australians have advanced socially with better education, better housing, equal wages, and a reduction in the number of deaths in custody, however, economic and political gains are still lacking (Mansell, 2003). Mansell (2003) described the institutionalisation of Indigenous Rights:

The more Aborigines enter the parliaments, the stronger is Australia's claim to legitimacy. And with legitimacy flows Aboriginal subservience... The universities tend to spit out "programmed" Aborigines.

Aboriginal organisations are now run by technicians, not activists... Popularity has replaced political direction. No longer is strategy based on Aboriginal rights but on how to impress middle Australia. This has allowed the Aboriginal protest movement to be captured, harnessed and driven wherever public opinion takes it. Having lost all sense of political independence, we resort to blaming community people for getting the dole for free as the source of our woes...

If Charles Perkins were alive to repeat his 1960s Freedom Rides, he would mostly likely be condemned by his own people for upsetting the apple cart.

Where once the Australian flag was seen by the Aboriginal protest movement as representing white domination, now ATSIC proudly displays it beside the Indigenous flag. The Aboriginal flag that symbolised the black struggle lost much of its meaning when it was officially recognised under white law.

Suddenly, the Aboriginal movement had become acceptable. (p. 1)

The Indigenous Rights Movement has become increasingly divided and fragmented. In 2004, the Federal Government abolished ATSIC, which took away the nationally elected voice for Indigenous Australians (Human Rights, Community Development and the Grassroots Conference, 2004). There have also been increased calls for the adoption of a responsibility-based agenda within the Indigenous Rights Movement, where Indigenous Australians have opened a dialogue of compromise with the present Federal Government (Editor, 2004). Dodson (2004) commented on this process:

In Australia, the direction and emphasis of the reconciliation process and the position of Aboriginal people's unresolved issues with the nation are known points of difference between the Howard Government and Aboriginal people. We have agreed to work on what we have in common rather than what we may still disagree about, in search of a common good.

The Aboriginal people must come to terms with the Howard Government's social reform agenda in Aboriginal affairs. These are policies that stress mutual obligation and personal responsibility. I would have thought that most Australians want to see less emphasis on the latest social indicator report and more on the outcomes and solutions.

The resolution of the problems facing Aboriginal people in this country will require strong working partnerships between governments, industry and the Aboriginal people at every level.

This will require an engagement by Aboriginal people at the regional and local level. To engage with governments at every level and with their servants who are charged with delivery of services to communities and the individual people who live on these communities (p. 1).

Application

These three areas of learning—domains, details and dimensions—culminated in a tool for analysis (articulated through three sets of questions), which will now be applied to the Disability Rights Movement in Australia.

CHAPTER FIVE

Results II: Application of the Tool for Analysis (Deepening Understandings of the positioning of people with disability and the Disability Rights Movement in Australia)

A recent visitor to Australia, who came from the UK, commented to me on their return “I looked in vain for the disability rights movement. Can you tell me where they are?”
(Newell, 1996, p.1)

The second and third aims of this research were to establish the positioning of people with disability in Australia and to provide an initial critical analysis of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia, respectively. These aims were achieved through the application of the analytic tool, presented in the previous chapter, to a collection of documents representing people with disability and the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. This chapter comprises of three parts: firstly, it articulates the questions of the analysis tool, framed as disability and Disability Rights Movement-specific which were applied to literature; secondly, it explores the positioning of the disabled ‘other’ in Australia. This section arose from the application of the first part of the analysis tool—the domains. It re-frames the three domains into the four themes that most clearly present the experiences of oppression specific to people with disability in Australia. Thirdly, this chapter presents the details and dimensions of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. This third section provides an initial critical analysis of the movement, which integrates the presentation of its details and dimensions.

Questions from the Analysis Tool

This section expresses the specific questions applied to disability literature—re-framing the generic questions presented in chapter four to disability specific questions for specific application.

Domains Questions for People with Disability in Australia

The key questions from the domains, when applied to people with disability in Australia asked: Why were people with disability ‘othered’ in Australia? Why did the Disability Rights Movement develop in Australia? What were the roots of the struggle for

liberation engaged in by people with disability? (Keyword searches were conducted based on the faces of oppression, as outlined by Young (1990): exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence).

This was complimented with key questions from three key areas: medical, professional and market. Each of these domains, loosely tied to Australian historical moments, represented sites of oppression for the sampled movements. These questions are now applied to the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. What *biological* (medical) elements can be identified for people with disability, where they have been defined paternally, biologically and in terms of deficit through models of Social Darwinism? (Keyword searches used words such as: paternal, medical, biological, deficit and social Darwinism). What *professional* elements can be identified for people with disability, where they have been defined as unable to exert expert control over their own lives? (Key word searches used words such as: professional, expert, and control). What *economic* (market) elements can be identified within the struggle engaged in by people with disability, where the rise of economic rationalism has objectified, commodified, and separated their rights from mainstream concern? (Key word searches used words such as: economic rationalism, object, and commodity).

This led to a search of documents which were historically reflective, thus overlapping with documents used for the development of Table 3.1 (History of Disability in Australia).

Details Questions for the Disability Rights Movement in Australia

The key questions from details, when applied to the Disability Rights Movement in Australia were framed as: What are the details of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia?

Regarding visions: What visions were represented within the Disability Rights Movement? What unified, provided a plan of action, and what visions and desired outcomes were represented for this movement?

Regarding events: What events were significant within the Disability Rights Movement? What occurred at the movement level?

Regarding voices: Who influenced, or was influential, within the Disability Rights Movement? Who left documents, led protests, and worked within hierarchical structures to affect change? What organisations, or groups of people with disability, gave a collective voice to visions?

What was the background for the Disability Rights Movement? What was the influence of the Conservative Polity, Economic Prosperity and Economic Rationalist periods within Australian polity? What international social movements and/or human rights covenants provided inspiration to the Disability Rights Movement?

These questions led to a search of documents that described the Disability Rights Movement within Australia.

Dimensions Questions for the Disability Rights Movement in Australia

The key questions for the dimensions, when applied to the Disability Rights Movement, were: What footprints has the Disability Rights Movement left in Australian history?

Individual Consciousness: How have individual identity formation and the self-awareness of oppression been expressed for the disabled 'other' in Australia? How has the disabled 'other' gained citizenship within Australia? What evidence is there of political, social and/or economic enfranchisement for people with disability in Australia?

Group Consciousness: How have groups been formed within the Disability Rights Movement? Is there evidence of solidarity and consciousness raising efforts? Have counter-hegemonic strategies been employed? What different ideologies have formed the basis of the Disability Rights Movement?

Public Consciousness: How has the Disability Rights Movement achieved public prominence? Been publicly proclaimed? Influenced the public perceptions of disability through historical recordings and/or education?

This led to a search of documents that analysed the Disability Rights Movement in Australia.

Positioning the Disabled ‘Other’ in Australia

People with disability have been positioned as ‘other’ throughout Australian history. Theories of disability have been proposed that have either supported this ‘othering’ or provided alternatives to it. The tool for analysis, developed from the sampled movements, revealed three domains or roots of struggle for people who have been ‘othered’. When this part of the tool was applied to the literature representing people with disability in Australia, each domain was revealed, however, they were not bounded by historical moments as was the tool. Thus, the ‘medical’ domain closely supported and co-existed with the ‘professional’ and ‘market’ domains. De-institutionalisation for example, occurred based on professional discourse, supported by the economic concerns of government. There is also strong evidence that the dominance of the medical profession still exists today, where the medical professional still holds the ‘gate-keeping’ powers to resource access. Therefore another way was sought to present the domains, which would reflect the positioning of people with disability as ‘other’ in Australia. The literature, when sorted into the three domains, revealed a picture of four themes overlapping within these sites of oppression: denial of citizenship, segregation within institutions, living on the margins and the ‘disabled body’. These four themes are explicated below in response to the first part of the analytic tool.

Denial of Citizenship

Within Australia, the disabled ‘other’ has historically, and to date, been denied full citizenship rights (Egan, 1998; Meekosha, 2000; Newell, 2005). This positioning reveals a disparity between the experience of the (non-disabled) ‘privileged’ and the disabled ‘other’, where the privileged receive political enfranchisement and the right to access

Australian citizenship rights without question. The disabled 'other', in comparison, often is not valued or embraced as a member of our community, with questions of humanity overshadowing assertions of rights (Cocks, 1996; Newell, 2005); political disenfranchisement emerging in different forms (Dempsey, 2006a; Goggin and Newell, 2005; Ozdowski, 2002); and routine exclusions from immigration widely practiced (Jakubowki and Meekosha, 2000; Jolley, 1999; MDAA, 2005).

The disabled 'other' has often been treated and viewed as less than human, leading to segregation from full citizenship within Australia (Healy, 1993; Cocks, 1996). This has led to congregation in institutions, which has forced many people with disability to develop an identity separate from that of citizenship (Cocks, 1996). As Jenny Morris (in Johnstone, 1993) stated:

Our disability frightens people. They don't want to think that this is something which could happen to them. So we become separated from common humanity, treated as fundamentally different and alien. Having put up clear barriers between us and them, non-disabled people further hide their fear and discomfort by turning us into objects of pity, comforting themselves by their own kindness and generosity (p.10).

Historically, the widespread practice of social Darwinism within Australia separated people with disability from the hegemonic portrayal of humanity (Vickery, 2001). This belief justified the medical, and later other professionals', ability to restrict citizenship through the imposition of criteria and judgments regarding capacity (Meekosha, 2000). The role of expert benefactor emerged, further reinforcing the disparity between 'us' and 'them' (Gillman, Swain and Heyman, 1997). Humanity disappeared as the disabled 'other' was objectified and controlled by tyrannical medical and professional discourses that restricted socialization and the imposed regimes, which do not accommodate citizenship rights as a matter of course (Gillman, Swain and Heyman, 1997). Current debates surrounding abortion, euthanasia and the rights of people with disability to live, continue to question the very humanity of the disabled 'other' living in Australia (Leipolt, 2005; McBryde Johnson, 2003).

The disabled 'other' in Australia remains engaged in a struggle for political enfranchisement, as exemplified through the continued denial of the right to vote, which is commonly faced by people with intellectual disability and people with mental illness, (Cocks, 1996; Dempsey, 2006; Goggin and Newell, 2005). People with disability in Australia are often found in a position of being governed, rather than governing (Newell, 2005). Historically, people with disability were institutionalised, representing physical separation from citizenship rights. This was reinforced by the *Commonwealth Franchise Act 1902*, which denied voting rights to people deemed as having an 'unsound mind' (Goggin and Newell, 2005). In contemporary Australia, Goggin and Newell (2005) describe:

In the present day, for instance, people with psychiatric and intellectual disabilities in Australia still very much are assumed not to be capable of political participation. Politicians with a history of mental illness need to go out of their way to display how they have regained wholeness and capacity (p.147).

Australians with disability (intellectual disability in particular) continue to live within an acknowledgement of their talents or contributions in a society that denies them a valued role (Cocks, 1996).

People with physical and sensory disabilities in Australia are often disenfranchised through inaccessible voting processes and procedures. The Physical Disability Council of Australia (2000) for example, advocated that voters with physical disability should have the right to take part in the same voting process in the same manner as other Australians. This has led to two solutions being recommended by the 'privileged'. By way of solution, the disabled 'other' has been encouraged to vote via the postal vote system (Physical Disability Council of Australia, 2000), which denies them the same level of political enfranchisement as the 'privileged'. For example, the disabled 'other' has alternately been 'invited' to vote outside in venue car parks, which negates the privacy of the 'secret ballot' system (Goggin and Newell, 2005; Ozdowski, 2003). The disabled 'other' with sensory disabilities has also been excluded from the provisions made for the 'privileged'. Their votes are unable to be recorded in secret, which raises the question of the assurance of verification (Crane, Clark and Simpson, 2005). These

experiences have created a climate where the disabled 'other' is physically distanced and subsequently disadvantaged within voting processes and procedures.

To be an Australian citizen one must first be allowed to reside within Australia; a privilege denied many potential migrants with disability. Provision is made for this discrimination within migration laws (*Disability Discrimination Act*, 1992; Jolley, 1999), where "[i]mmigration policy [in Australia] has a long eugenicist prologue, with close connections made between physical appearance, cultural capital and moral hygiene" (Jakubowski and Meekosha, 2000, p.6). The disabled 'other' is assumed to be a financial burden to the community, and thus Australia refuses entry to many people with disability (MDAA, 2005a). In 2000, Shahraz Kiane, a man granted refugee status, died as a consequence of setting himself on fire on the steps of parliament, after his attempts to have his family immigrate to Australia were rejected on the basis of one of his children having a disability (Goggin and Newell, 2005; MDAA, 2005; Newell, 2005). Kiane had, reportedly, worked for six years to have his family join him in Australia, but the government refused his application on the basis that his daughter's disability would be too much of a drain on the health system (MDAA, 2005; Newell, 2005). This denial of citizenship for the disabled 'other' is echoed in the words of Newell (2005) as "fear of the 'other' within and without" (p. 25).

Segregation within Institutions

Institutions in Australia have represented sites of total segregation from society, where the 'privileged' have gained control of public spaces and perpetuated practices of protective custody, abuse, economic exploitation and exclusion, and political invisibility for the disabled 'other' (Banks and Kayess, 1998; Diamond, 2005; Malhotra, 2001). Industrialization within western society marginalized and excluded people with disability from the workforce (Malhotra, 2001). Concomitant with industrialization, the rise of the medical profession framed the disabled 'other', through a paternal lens, as biologically sick, dependent and deviant (Charlton, 2004; Clapton and Fitzgerald, 2004; Wilde, 1997), which led to the mass institutionalization within hospitals and asylums of those who were

unable to operate within an industrial society (Malhotra, 2001). This history of segregation of the disabled 'other' was inherited in Australia from European invasion in 1788. Institutions were established soon after the arrival of the First Fleet, where 'lunatics' were confined to hulks until the first institutions and prison structures were built (State Records NSW, 2006).

Institutions imposed a custodial, protective model of care upon the disabled 'other' (Charlton, 2004; Clapton and Fitzgerald, 2004). The belief underlying this model promoted society as needing to be 'protected' from the disabled 'other', while at the same time the disabled 'other' needed protection from society (Cocks, 1996). Institutions were designed for the long-term segregation of people labelled with intellectual, psychiatric and physical disabilities within a medical framework (Banks and Kayess, 1998). Australian institutions have been described as large over crowded de-humanizing, prison-like structures; powerful expressions of rejection; and as a process of social death; and as suppressing manifestations of disability through medication and seclusion (Clapton and Fitzgerald, 2004; Cocks, 1996; Jakubowski and Meekosha, 2001).

Australian institutions set up to 'protect' and 'care for' people with disability often, in reality, represented sites of brutal, abusive, neglectful and exploitative treatments, where staff lacked accountability for their own actions (Hastings, 1998). As LaFontaine (1999) described:

...when I enter the institutional zone. Suddenly, one becomes public property, a legal entity, a number in the system, an outcome of effective administrative time tabling all for allegedly plausible reasons – for one's own protection (p.1).

Numerous instances of institutional abuse have been recorded, including neglect, mistreatment, discrimination, and abuse within state-run and private institutions (Clear, 2000; Richardson, 1993). Rape and sexual assault were widespread within institutions (Clear, 2000; Gillespie, 2004; Goggin and Newell, 2005; Meekosha, 2000) and people with disability were often sterilized as a matter of course (Dyke, 2004). Shelley (1991) described the types of abuse suffered as: "...verbal abuse, deprivation of freedom and

rights and the abuse of behaviour controlling drugs to outright rape and assault” (p.32). Evidence of maggots in feeding tubes and children locked in cages have been exposed (Grace, 2005).

In 1996 nine young men were killed at Kew Cottages, a state-run institution, after a fire broke out. A coronial inquest found no proper fire safety had been installed, and thus the State of Victoria had failed in its ‘duty of care’. More covert forms of abuse and neglect include the lack of medical attention offered to the disabled ‘other’ within institutions, such as the high incidence of women within institutions who do not receive regular pap smears or mammograms, and men who receive no prostate checks (Hastings, 1998). Klutz (2004) described photographs of her institutionalised siblings with intellectual disabilities as: portrayals of lonely, naked, medical anomalies; objects to be examined, observed and analysed. Records also indicate that some people in institutions had their front teeth removed to prevent them biting (Johnson, 2000). This represents a lack of respect for the very humanity of people with disability, separated from basic rights such as privacy, which are accorded without question to the ‘privileged’.

Institutionalisation led to invisibility, and hence segregation from the Australian economy and polity. When enclosed in institutions, the disabled ‘other’ was out of sight and out of the minds of the ‘privileged’, who could act without impediment to create political change (Clapton and Fitzgerald, 2004). The voice of the disabled ‘other’ was lacking within political discourse whilst confined to institutions (Jabowski and Meekosha, 2001). Whilst institutionalised the disabled ‘other’ was placed outside of the receipt of welfare benefits and denied many opportunities to attain skills, from basic life skills to more complex employment orientated tasks (Clarke, 2004; Fyffe, 2006; LaFontaine, 1999). This was described by Clarke (2004) as a “significant loss of functional capacity for people to act independently” (p.2) and constrained the income earning capacity of people with disability (Johnson, 2000; Pane, 1995). These skills or tools have been more readily assumed and provided to the ‘privileged’ within society (Fyffe, 2006).

Living on the Margins

The process of de-institutionalisation, rather than heralding a new era of community inclusion and participation for people with disability in Australia, introduced fresh challenges for the disabled 'other', many of whom were moved from one form of segregation in institutions to another form on the margins of society (Baume and Kayess, 1995; Burdekin, 1993). As institutions closed, many people with intellectual, psychiatric and physical disabilities, who had long term experiences of segregation, were returned to a community that was ill equipped, inaccessible, and under resourced. As a result, these communities failed to adequately support them (Baume and Kayess, 1995; Dempsey, 2006). People with disability found themselves faced with inaccessible economic structures (Pane, 1995). The Australian process of de-institutionalisation is a fairly recent phenomenon, beginning in the 1980s and continuing in 2006 (Way, 2002), and has been described as a fraud, a failure and as grossly mishandled; leaving many people with disability in an 'othered' position (Burdekin, 1993). In Australia, the decision to initiate de-institutionalization was based not only on the demand for social inclusion, raised through the International Year of Disabled People (IYDP), but also "reflected the greater use of pharmaceutical control agents... and the fiscal crises of the states unable to maintain high standards of large scale institutions" (Hallahan, 2001; Jakubowski and Meekosha, 2001, p.3). It displaced people into the community without a sole commitment to enhancing the lives of the disabled 'other', placing them on the margins of society (Hallahan, 2001) and exposing them to further abuse, exploitation and homelessness (Burdekin, 1993).

Many people with disability have faced the reality of living in, but not being a part of, the Australian community (Forbes, 2000; Hallahan, 2001). Post de-institutionalisation, a lack of suitable accommodation options leave many people with disability in inappropriate living arrangements (Fyffe, 2006; HREOC, 2006). Many are forced to return to their family for care, often resulting in family stress, which is compounded by the lack of emotional and financial resources (Burdekin, 1993). If this option was unavailable, smaller, private group homes were provided through public funding, either by not-for-profit (usually religious or charity-based) organisations, or through business

enterprises. These group homes are often run as private ventures and often reflect a 'one size fits all' mentality (McVilly and Parmenter, 2006). Group homes were often framed as a step on the continuum towards independent living (Van Dam and Cameron-McGill, 1995), however, many have continued to maintain institutional arrangements, care regimes and management practices (Newell, 2004), that have become the only option for people requiring ongoing support (Van Dam and Cameron-McGill, 1995):

A service system offering only group homes still congregates people rather than paying attention to them as individuals and an effect of this congregation is that people are still segregated because service practices such as rigid routines inhibit individual involvement in the community. People may be accessing some community services, but this behaviour is rigidly organized around staffing availability and rosters, staff control of facilities, routines and the service's preconception of desirable activities for the residents (Van Dam and Cameron- McGill, 1995, p. 8).

Supervisors and staff within the homes were accorded expert roles to make value judgments on behalf of the disabled 'other':

It is my contention that this focus upon 'valued' social roles [within Social Role Valorisation], and the concomitant judgment, usually negative, that is made by service providers, is the foundation stone for institutionalised services. Institutions do not require large buildings or bureaucracies – a management and staff who are in a position to make 'value' judgments on consumers, and to organize service delivery according to what it, the organisation, knows to be 'right', will suffice (Bleasdale, 1994, p. 16).

When group homes were not available, however, and the market failed to supply alternatives to meet demand, the only option was for the disabled 'other' to be left in hospitals, nursing homes and places without adequate care such as hostels, which provide 'ad hoc' personal care arrangements, often ensuring isolation and financial dependence (Bleasdale and Tomlinson, 1997; Newell, 2004; Queensland Advocacy Incorporated, 2004). Rather than integrating people with disability many were abandoned on the margins, as further exemplified in the numbers of mentally ill who were 'cast adrift' amongst the homeless (Burdekin, 1993).

With the rise of the 'professional' the disabled 'other' was increasingly framed as a client or needy recipient, who had little autonomy or responsibility within the service system (Peter, 1999; Robinson and Adam, 2003). Being framed as 'clients' emphasized

disability as a problem residing in the individual, rather than a problem within society or the support system itself (Peter, 1999). As clients, people with disability were unable to control or tailor their own service provision, were denied any right to autonomy or access to decision making responsibilities, and were forced to comply with routines set by service providers (Bleasdale, 1994; Egan, 1998). Economic agendas take precedence within this service-driven model, where funding is often limited to covering the barest, meanest, minimum of care (Hastings, 1998). Many people with disability have been forced to adopt medical definitions of themselves in order to receive welfare payments and funding for other essential services within a crisis driven system where:

... families and service providers are competing for funding for individuals. This has created a situation where a person's lifestyle is 'awful-ised'. The person needs to be portrayed as a 'catalogue of frailties' to 'top' other competitors. The result is that people with disabilities are stigmatized further in effect and more 'welfare-ised' than ever (Parker and Parker, 2000 in Forbes, 2000, p. 11).

The effect of this type of funding is that many miss out, in what Forbes (2000) describes as "a type of economic Darwinism that will lead to the survival of the most resourced" (p. 9). Further to this, de-institutionalisation condemned many people with disability, and their families, to impoverished lives dependent on welfare, where they are characterized as passive, dependent and helpless (Egan, 1998; Sherry, 2000). Many people with disability are forced to depend on the Disability Support Pension (DSP), with almost thirty per cent of this population living well below the poverty line in 2000 (Skyles, 2005; Queensland Advocacy Incorporated, 2006). This is an excellent example demonstrating the link between poverty and disability (Trealor, 1997).

People with disability have been criminalized due to their marginal positioning within the Australian community. As the process of de-institutionalisation occurred, increasing numbers of people with intellectual and psychiatric disabilities have been over-represented in court and subsequently placed within the prison system, described by Jakubowski and Meekosha (2001) as "a de facto public housing environment" (p.2, see also Leipolt, 2005; Queensland Advocacy Incorporated, 2004). People with intellectual disabilities are four times more likely to end up in jail; more likely to be arrested, denied

bail and convicted; serve longer and greater percentages of their prison sentences; and are more likely to re-offend (French, 2007). People with disability are frequently discriminated against and excluded within a legal system which has become increasingly financially inaccessible (Queensland Advocacy Incorporated, 2004).

In the wake of de-institutionalisation, ‘professionals’ have benefited from their accrued status, in that they are enabled to control the lives of their clients through categorization and normalization (Creedon, 1994; Leipolt, 2005). The service system controls the lives of many people with disability, limiting them to ‘special’ schooling and ‘sheltered’ employment settings that retain the institutional characteristics of congregation and segregation (Cocks, 1996; Jakubowski and Meekosha, 2000), where the ability to gain and retain genuine employment is often denied (Meekosha, 2001; Queensland Advocacy Incorporated, 2004; Quick, 2006). Today, people with disability remain under-educated and under-employed as a result (Leipolt, 2005) of this move. Nankervis and Stancliffe (2006) reported on the effect this has had on people with intellectual disabilities who “often find themselves in positions of powerlessness, their lives controlled by others... [with] choice-making limitations being imposed on them, resulting in the denial of decision-making opportunities on the basis of an untested assumption of their incapacity to understand and make decisions” (p. 83). The dominance of non-disabled provider interests reinforces values of compliance and capitulation (Gillman, Swain and Heyman, 1997; Newell, 1996), where many people with disability, who “are very capable of managing their service/program... are being forced into regulated, inflexible lifestyles with little or no choice of how their daily needs are to be met” (Reid, 2005, p. 3).

The disabled ‘other’ has been separated from each other through de-institutionalisation, leading to the dispossession of any sense of community as the disabled ‘other’ (Clapton and Fitzgerald, 2004). The disabled ‘other’ has been forced to adopt essentialist descriptors in order to access and compete for services (Creedon, 1994; Leipolt, 2005). These diagnostic boundaries separate people with disability from each other, as Quick (2006) described:

The current form of de-institutionalisation of all disability service provision has dispossessed disabled people of a sense of community and culture from shared experiences. For many of today's disabled adults this is their second dispossession—the first was when their treatment and care was provided through institutions which broke ties with family, community and cultures. Scattering disabled people into the general community has rarely resulted in the regaining possession of a sense of belonging in the general community—they are socially isolated. (pp. 3-4).

This isolation of people with disability has resulted in a denial of their identity. The case of deaf children being forced to sit on their hands and lip-read is a prime example of this denial (Crickmore, 2000).

The 'Disabled Body'

Within Australia, the body of people with disability has become a site of oppression, placed under the control of the 'privileged', whom are: empowered to sterilize, abort, euthanize and withhold treatment from the 'disabled body' (Goggin and Newell, 2004; Mowbray, 2005); are 'enabled' to govern, impose regimes, turn homes into workplaces, withhold essential services and rape the 'disabled body' (Leipolt, 2005; Nankervis and Stancliffe, 2006; Reid, 2005); and are 'facilitated' to marginalize, exploit the labour of, deny rights, isolate, categorise and re-institutionalize the 'disabled body' (Cocks, 1996; Hastings, 1998; Way, 2002; YPINH, 2006). Within this categorisation of the "disabled body" is a paradoxical positioning developed by the 'privileged'. This positioning places people with disability within mutually exclusive places, where they are oversexed or asexual, innocent or predatory criminals, inspirations or tragedies, and burdens or participants in curing processes. The "disabled body" is a symbol of difference, of a life lived outside the paradigm of humanity, as Clapton and Fitzgerald (2004) wrote:

Bodily difference has for centuries determined social structures by defining certain bodies as the norm, and defining those which fall outside the normal as "other"; with the degree of otherness being defined by the degree of variation from the norm. In doing this, we have created an artificial paradigm of humanity into which some of us fit neatly and others fit very badly. Life outside of the paradigm of humanity is likely to be characterized by isolation and abuse (p.1).

Life outside this paradigm of humanity has been defined in many ways in Australia; the 'privileged' have maintained their status as the 'norm', and people with disability have been continually defined detrimentally in comparison (Johnstone, 1993).

In Australia, the 'disabled body' has been defined as a harmless child or a dangerous criminal. As a harmless child, the 'disabled body' has required protection and care, and should be grateful for what they are given (Kilham, 2001). The 'disabled body' is segregated from society for their own protection, and considered by the 'privileged' with an attitude of charity (Healy, 1993; Johnson, 2000; LaFontaine, 1999). As a harmless child, the 'disabled body' is not a parent, a carer, a lover or a friend (Trotman, n.d.; Wilde, 1997), but rather is considered asexual, innocent and free from adult desires or needs (DSQ, 2004; Perry and Whiteside, 2000). This continues to be symbolised on toilet doors where the disabled 'other' is separated from the biological world of men and women to an asexual, gender neutral status represented by a wheelchair. As a dangerous criminal, the 'disabled body' was segregated from society for society's protection, is deviant, morally reprehensible and feared (Charlton, 2004; Wilde, 1997). As Gillespie, (2004) shared:

No amount of achievement on my part will erase her assessment of me as inherently bad based on my behaviour when mad (p.1).

The criminalized 'disabled body' is a sexual predator who is 'oversexed' (Perry and Whiteside, 2000). Myths surround the 'disabled body' that assume constant fantasizing about abuse, where 'they' bring abuse upon themselves (Horsler, 1993). The 'disabled body' has historically been sterilized as a measure of control, arising from this child/deviant stereotype (Brady and Grover, 1997; Dowse, 2004; Perry and Whiteside, 2000). In 1992, the High Court ruled sterilizations to be illegal for girls under 18, unless court directed, however, there is much evidence to support this as a continuing process (Dyke, 2005; Frohmader, 2002; Hastings, 1998; Meekosha, 2000).

The 'disabled body' is also portrayed as being inspirational, or as a tragic burden dependent on welfare and therefore receiving special treatment. Strahan (2005) wrote about this oppositional view:

We are isolated, tragic and then sometimes, despite all of this, we can become heroic, in spite of all our otherness...

The assumptions separate people, into us and the other. The common human experience is suffocated as these portrayals rarely explore the true personal experience. Tragic or heroic. Either upon a pedestal or below it. Heaven or hell. (pp.1-2).

As an inspirational ‘supercrip’—a term used to describe people with disability who achieve ‘superhuman’ feats—the ‘disabled body’ inspires the ‘privileged’ to overcome challenges which are the responsibility of the individual (Shapiro, 1994). The ‘supercrip’ is a ‘brave hero’ who has triumphed over ‘tragedy’ (Egan, 1998). This is often portrayed in media headlines such as “Short in Stature but Miles High in Ability” (Townsville Bulletin, 5 June, 2002, p.41). Evans (quoted in Johnstone, 1993) commented on this label:

Do we really want the doubtful honorific of being an ‘inspiration’ to others? Stuck up there on the bloody pedestal, is that any more integrated than the rubbish bin at the other end of the equation. It’s certainly not the liberty some of us seem to think it.

Clearly we need to be able to function in a sociable and balanced manner to pursue a career, earn a living or simply get on with whatever circumstance we find ourselves in. What we don’t have to share, or tolerate, is the belief, however grudgingly, that the standards of the able-bodied are superior and the only ones available. (p.28)

The perceived burden of the ‘disabled body’ is such that the ‘privileged’ promote it as shameful (Way, 2002). As a body perceived as a burden, the ‘privileged’ questioned the provision of specialized housing, taxis, transport, education and accommodations (Newell, 2004). The ‘privileged’ question how the disabled ‘other’ can complain whilst remaining ignorant of everyday issues faced by people with disability, such as isolation, discrimination and under-representation (Newell, 2004). The ‘burden’ of the disabled ‘other’ leads to increased vulnerability, including increasing susceptibility to, and acceptance of, infanticide and euthanasia (Cocks, 1996; Leipolt, 2005; Mowbray, 2005).

The ‘disabled body’ is portrayed as a catastrophe, the lowest point of human existence, which the disabled ‘other’ should suffer silently or seek a cure for. As a silent sufferer, the ‘disabled body’ is depicted as a ‘saintly martyr’ who selflessly endures ‘decades of

unspeakable sufferings' (DSQ, 2004, p.7) and who should be "seen and not heard" (Healy, 1993, p.10). They are tragic victims who are either struggling to survive, or in need of specialist services to 'help' rehabilitate and cure (Robinson and Adam, 2003). As seekers of a cure, the 'disabled body' should turn to science and medical innovation to alleviate their catastrophic life situation (Goggin and Newell, 2005; Leipolt, 2005).

The 'disabled body' is portrayed in the Australian media as an incompetent, incomplete and undesirable state of being (Strahan, 2005). Strahan (2005) quotes Janice Florence, a dancer with a disability:

Not long after my accident, a teacher told me that I must accept that I would repulse some people who saw me perform. It is hard to move unselfconsciously with this thought in my mind. Under these circumstances I intensified my search for a new aesthetic (p. 1).

When a person with a disability marries, they are often perceived as 'lucky', whilst their partner is a 'saint' and a wonderful person (Qian and Clear, 2000). People with disability are often denied their gender, as discussed by Swift (1998):

All people with disabilities are at risk of being denied their gender. This is because many people with disabilities are not given the opportunity to fill important roles such as mother, father, lover, activist, feminist. This can have an especially detrimental effect on women with disabilities as they often have to put their disability first and their womanhood second (p. 1).

The 'disabled body' is used as a derogatory descriptor within Australian society, where terms such as 'crippled' and 'deranged' continue to be an accepted part of colloquial language (Mowbray, 2005), as well as being employed within parliamentary discourse (Goggin and Newell, 2005).

The 'privileged' have assumed the role of custodians of curing processes, leading to a denial of treatments for the burdensome 'disabled body' (Clapton and Fitzgerald, 2004; Cocks, 1996; Frohmader, 2002). Mowbray (2006) recorded her experience, as a mother of children with disability, where she had to justify surgery for one of her children:

Babies born with disability are often starved of nourishment and medical procedures are often denied. In our son's case we had to fight for the right for him to undergo open heart surgery. People with disability are denied access to organ transplants because they do not live productive lives... Our son needs a cornea transplant, but he has been refused this procedure because he has a disability. To add insult to injury, people with disability are often given priority in the assisted suicide movement..." (p. 3).

The 'disabled body' is increasingly vulnerable to abuse (Howe, 2000; Meekosha, 2000). This vulnerability stems from external control over the 'disabled body' as exerted by the 'privileged' (Queensland Advocacy Incorporated, 2004). The 'disabled body' is vilified on a daily basis (Queensland Advocacy Incorporated, 2004), is forcibly and unlawfully sterilized (Dowse, 2004; Dyke, 2005; Frohmader, 2002) and is required to live in situations where they are more vulnerable to abuse (Frohmader, 2002). The bodies of women with disability are particularly at risk to sexual assault, domestic violence and harassment (Howe, 2000; Pane, 1995). Vulnerability for women with intellectual disability is further reinforced where, despite having the highest incidence of sexual assault, very few of their complaints go beyond the police station or the Director of Public Prosecutions (Chenoweth, 1993; Queensland Advocacy Incorporated, 2004).

The 'disabled body' in Australia is currently facing re-institutionalisation, where increasing numbers of people with disability are being institutionalised or hospitalized due to economic governance (Way, 2002). Re-institutionalisation has occurred with the establishment of smaller group homes, which emulate the routines, regimes and control of former, larger institutions to reflect quality standards rather than quality of life (Van Dam and Cameron-McGill, 1995). Re-institutionalisation has also occurred with the increasing admittance of people with high-support needs in aged care nursing homes, including people with physical and intellectual disabilities (YPINH, 2006). Those with the highest support needs are more likely to be re-institutionalised within the current political and economic climate (Fyffe, 2006; YPINH, 2006).

Details and Dimensions of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia

Many tensions are evident within literature where the Disability Rights Movement in Australia has been perceived. Newell (1996) recorded the invisibility of the movement from the perspective of an international activist. Cooper (1999) described the movement as conservative; and Uniacke (2005) as still emerging. Ellis (2006) accused the movement of reinforcing the individual pathology of disability, while Clear (2000) described the movement as a former force of reform which is now more diffuse. A number of authors have written about the limited success the Disability Rights Movement has in effecting social change within Australia (Bleasdale, 2004; Newell, 1996). This section reveals one explanation for these tensions through the application of the second and third part of the analysis tool (see key questions earlier)—the details and dimensions of new social movements.

The details of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia provided a picture that was at first confusing, with mixed messages seemingly imbedded within the literature. A vision, as a unified plan of action, was difficult to identify within the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. Disability Rights, as a new social movement, did not display the level of cohesiveness generally attributed to new social movements (Melucci, 1989; Oliver, 1996) and to the sampled movements in particular (see Chapter 4). Thus voices within the movement at times appeared contradictory. Unravelling these messages, however, revealed a picture of a movement torn between two visionary platforms: one focusing on ‘Ability not Disability’, and the other on ‘Disability Pride’. Parsons (1999) framed two dilemmas within the Australian Disability Rights Movement, one concentrating on fighting for service improvement, and the other on social change:

[There is] an enormous dilemma for disability rights activists. Should their efforts be geared towards fighting for more and better services, and for funding arrangements to ensure their long-term security? Or should they instead be focussing their attentions on the sort of social change which will ultimately remove the need for ‘services’ at all? (p. 42).

These are central tenets to the two visionary platforms. The two visions can be understood as two streams of the Australian Disability Rights Movement, which have run concurrently through the movement's history, often creating a confused confluence where they merged together to share the same socio-political space whilst simultaneously presenting competing, or even opposing, views regarding the rights of people with disability in Australia. These streams shared the same local context of economic rationalism and were launched as a new social movement for disability rights around the IYDP 1981 (Clear, 2000; Cooper, 1999). They diverge to present different visions and converge to share events and voices.

The analysis tool provided three levels of consciousness for understanding the dimensions of new social movements: individual, group and public. Individual consciousness focused on: individual identity formation and self-awareness of oppression for people with disability; the gaining of citizenship; and evidence of political, social and/or economic enfranchisement for people with disability. Some of the aspects of individual consciousness have been answered through the domains, where a bleak portrayal of the positioning of people with disability depicts their continual disenfranchisement from many political, social and economic spheres. Individual consciousness for the Disability Rights Movement, upon further study, was found to be fragmented as a result of the two visionary streams. Dimensions of group consciousness focussed on: how groups are formed; evidence of solidarity and consciousness raising efforts; counter-hegemonic strategies; and differing ideologies supporting the Disability Rights Movement. As already alluded to, the literature surrounding the Disability Rights Movement presented many tensions, and through the two streams group consciousness could be considered to be divided between them. Public consciousness focussed on public prominence, proclamation and the influence of the Disability Rights Movement on public perceptions. The literature revealed the Disability Rights Movement as coming into public prominence within the IYDP 1981. Thus individual, group and public consciousness occurred concurrently within the movement due to its sudden emergence in an UN-declared year. While public perceptions have been altered as a result of the

Disability Rights Movement, the literature also revealed public consciousness as inhibited, limited and confused within the confluence created by the streams.

This section introduces the shared context, within which, the two streams emerged. It presents the two streams as separate identities, with reference to events and voices, and will then summarise the confluence of context, especially focussing on the *impact* of this confluence within the public consciousness. This integrates the details and dimensions of the Disability Rights Movement in an effort to present a fuller picture of the movement.

Background to the Disability Rights Movement

Throughout Australian history, people with disability have been defined as ‘other’, minimising their human rights. Periods of history, which saw the acceleration of the sampled movements, continued to be marked by invisibility, denial of citizenship and segregation for people with disability (Cooper, 1999; Newell, 2006). Many people with disability sat outside the economy and society, often within congregate facilities such as institutions or residential buildings; were framed as invalid when applying for income support, and were denied access to the ‘great Australian dream’ of home ownership during the era of conservative polity (Cooper, 1999; Kallen, 1996). Medical and professional bases for service provision continued with a strong, charitable, ‘protective’ ethos (Cooper, 1999). A study of literature revealed little direct confrontation between people with disability and the ‘privileged’ at this time. Stakeholders, such as parents, were identified as challenging institutionalisation as early as the 1940s (Annison, 2006). However, this resulted in the influencing of service provision, rather than liberation from disabling social structures. The period of prosperity brought social and liberal agendas, as well as rapid technological advances, and was heralded as a time of growth within sampled movements, however, little growth is recorded for people with disability at this time in Australia. Technological advances contributed to an increased independence for people with disability and a move towards independent living.

The contemporary Disability Rights Movement arose within Australia during the prelude to a period of economic rationalism, which was identified as an inhibiting force for the

sampled movements. During this time (1975 – 1980), the scene was set for the development of the movement, including an initial awareness raising of issues faced by people with disability (Clear, 2006), an establishment of the first formal links between disability and poverty (Trealor, 1997), and the circulation of the first UN Declaration regarding people with disability (O'Brien et al., 2006). Disability rights activities at this time were often focussed on a singular diagnostic group and/or issue (Department of Premier and Cabinet, Tasmania, 2006). In 1979, for example, the Australian Quadriplegic Association protested the inaccessibility of a new suburban railway system in NSW (Clear, 2000).

Internationally, the theories of social role valorisation (SRV) and the social model of disability were being promoted. SRV (see Table 3.2) led to an international reassessment of disability service provision and de-institutionalisation (Egan, 1998). It valued the development of new social roles for people with disability, while maintaining the role of the 'professional' in helping to determine these roles (Barnes, Mercer and Shakespeare, 1999; Walmsley, 2001). The principles of SRV, which focus on individual ability, were widely adopted in Australia during the 1980s, as reflected in legislation and practice (Bleasdale, 2004). The social model challenged the international context as the first rights-based model for disability. This model was first proclaimed in the UK and is widely accepted as catalytic to and underpinning the international Disability Rights Movement (Oliver, 1996). The social model re-cast disability as a social construct and, therefore, as a human rights issue rather than an individual problem (Barnes, Mercer and Shakespeare, 1999; Thomas, 1999). This model began to impact Australia within this period, influencing the work of activists and the development of advocacy organisations (Cocks, 1998).

Globally, an increasing awareness of the rights of people with disability led to the UN General Assembly's proclamation of the International Year of Disabled Persons 1981 (IYDP), and the UN Decade of Disabled Persons, 1983 – 1992, which featured a World Program of Action Concerning Disabled Persons (UN Enable, 2003). Prior to this, the General Assembly proclaimed the *Declaration on the Rights of Mentally Retarded*

Persons, 1971 and the *Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons, 1975*. Australia is a signatory to a number of UN and International Labour Organisation conventions and declarations that have been catalytic to the adoption of legislation in Australia, such as the *Disability Discrimination Act 1992* (Commonwealth Government, 2004). These declarations indicated a shift in international understanding on the human rights of people with disability, and led to the proclamation of 1981 as an 'International Year' focussed on the needs of people with disability:

The theme of IYDP was 'full participation and equality', defined as the right of persons with disabilities to take part fully in the life and development of their societies, enjoy living conditions equal to those of other citizens, and have an equal share in improved conditions resulting from socio-economic development.

Other objectives of the Year included: increasing public awareness; understanding and acceptance of persons who are disabled; and encouraging persons with disabilities to form organisations through which they can express their views and promote action to improve their situation.

A major lesson of the Year was that the image of persons with disabilities depends to an important extent on social attitudes; these were a major barrier to the realisation of the goal of full participation and equality in society by persons with disabilities (UN Enable, 2003, p. 1).

In stark contrast to the sampled movements which began through grassroots activism, the Disability Rights Movement in Australia was established through processes of international influences (such as the UN) and Federal Government policy and funding. The IYDP 1981, was initiated by the United Nations, implemented by the Australian Federal Government and supported by many people with disability in Australia (Cooper, 1999; Quibell, 2004). This year has been described as a watershed for disability rights in Australia by Goggin and Newell (2005); as a turning point for the disabled 'other' by O'Brien et al (2006) and Ozdowski (2002); as a powerful period by Clear (2000); and as generating impetus for action by People With Disability (WA) (2006). It has been acknowledged as either a precursor to, or significant turning point within, the contemporary Disability Rights Movement in Australia, as it rapidly increased the visibility of disability rights, catalysed collective action and the mobilisation of people

with disability and sparked new political actions on a nationwide scale (Clear, 2000; Cooper, 1999; O'Brien et al, 2006; Uniacke, 2005). The IYDP has also been criticised as not having a lasting impact (Clear, 2000). 'Break down the barriers' was a theme adopted in Australia to represent the year (Correll, 1998; People with Disabilities (WA), 2006). The Federal Government engaged a public relations company to promote this theme; a song was adopted for it; television, radio and print media promoted it; and posters, bumper stickers were printed (Correll, 1998; People With Disabilities (WA), 2006). The Disability Rights Movement in Australia, hence emerged as a result of an official human rights event, endorsed at international and national levels, and therefore lacking the radical rebellion and confrontational circumstances faced by other new social movements which grew from a "keen sense of identity" (Parsons, 1999, p.29). This provides one explanation for the aforementioned lack of cohesiveness within the Disability Rights Movement.

A number of events occurred surrounding the IYDP, including protest marches held across the nation. One of these marches occurred in Melbourne and was described by Uniack (2005):

The spectacle, this wave if you like, was of a couple of thousand people with disabilities, and their supporters, taking over Swanston Street on a very bright Saturday morning. Judging by the banners and placards, it was obvious many people had gone to a lot of trouble for the event. My favourite placard was by a man who didn't look especially different or even disabled. His placard read, 'I'm Mad' (p.2).

This march was also described by an unnamed participant with a disability, who was actively involved in the IYDP, as cited in Quibell (2004):

One of the things that came out of our work on IYDP... was the march. There was a march of 10 000 people in Melbourne, and there were equally large numbers in Sydney and smaller ones in other states... the march was unbelievable... It was really well organised... they organised face painting for kids and barbeques and that sort of thing, and everything was free because people with disabilities back in '81 didn't have money.

Again, this is different from the sampled movements. The marches initiated during the IYDP were often structured responses to the year's objectives. Whilst a sense of identity

was being developed at this time amongst people with disability, the much needed sense of community appeared to be lacking. These protest marches enabled consciousness-raising and culture building for people with disability and awareness for the public. The IYDP catapulted disability rights agendas into sudden prominence within the public space (Cooper, 1999). A number of issues came onto the Federal Government's agenda, including the acceleration of de-institutionalisation, raising awareness of the negative consequences of medicalizing disability, and calls for a focus on participation and inclusion, rather than paternal, custodial models of care (Quibell, 2004). The Federal Government was challenged to build a more accessible society (Clear, 2000) and initiated the first National Survey of handicapped persons, the *Handicapped Person's Review*, during the IYDP (Cooper, 1999; New Directions, 1985). This survey was an Australia-wide consultation with people with disability and resulted in the New Directions Report (1983), which "acknowledged the need for significant changes and funding to underpin the shift into community based accommodation and employment options" (Way, 2002, p.9). O'Brien et al (2006) described the IYDP 1981 as a turning point with the passage of anti-discrimination and protective legislation; and cited three significant consequences which emerged in 1983: funding of the Disabled Persons International (Australia) (DPI(A)); the setting up of the Disability Advisory Council of Australia; and the review of services leading ultimately to the enacting of the *Disability Services Act 1986*.

Individuals with disability benefited from the IYDP's emphasis on the rights of the disabled 'other', where understandings of disability moved beyond personal tragedy, and disability became politicised (Cooper, 1999b; Ozdowski, 2002; Quibell, 2004). One writer recalled a IYDP sticker which read: 'Your attitude is our biggest handicap' (Moxon, 1998). A new consciousness was formed regarding disability as a social construct, which enabled support groups to be set up across Australia (Quibell, 2004), and is described further by Clear (2000):

It was a powerful period in giving impetus to the self-determination and organisation of disabled people themselves. For the first time many disabled people started to understand that their disadvantaged circumstances were not simply a function of having an impairment, but much more to do with how society built and maintained a privileged position for people without impairment. This was a powerful basis for

change and hope and became a foundation for a movement that could take considerable responsibility for mitigating and repealing these disadvantages (p.55).

An outline of this year is displayed in Table 5.1, framed as a precursor event for the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. It was during this time that the two streams emerged.

Table 5.1 Precursor Event: IYDP 1981

Event phase	Description
Preconditions	Oppressed as the 'other' Segregated in institutions Efforts to assert rights were often focussed on medical diagnostic groups or issues Stereotypes associated with the 'disabled body' International developments recognising the rights of people with disability
Event Itself	Who: UN initiated, Australian government implemented, people with disability supported Where: Australia wide focus When: 1981 The issue: Full participation and equality What happened: A number of initiatives occurred, such as protest marches, advertising campaigns, National Survey initiated
Consequences	Funding availability increased Groups continued to form Handicapped Program Review initiated De-institutionalisation gained momentum Public awareness of the plight of people with disability Community attitudes shifted Government policy changed
References:	Clear, 2000; Cooper, 1999; O'Brien et al, 2006; People With Disabilities (WA), 2006

Ability Stream

The ability stream's vision is encapsulated in the phrase 'Ability Not Disability', a sentiment which gained prominence in IYDP. Since this time, similar catch phrases have been used that espouse the same vision, such as "Disability Means Possibility" (Scope, 2005) and 'Don't Dis My Ability' (International Day for People with DisAbility, 2006). The ability stream is supported by, and based on, the principles of social role valorisation (SRV), where the establishment of valued social roles, the enhancement of social and personal abilities, and values of unrestrained choice and competence are promoted

(Bleasdale, 1996; Wolfensberger, 1983). SRV, a major force internationally in initiating the process of de-institutionalisation and in addressing the long-term, systemic abuse and oppression of people with disability (Egan, 1998), was described by Parsons (1999) as:

... very explicitly reinforce[ing] the established values of society. It argues that much of the hardship and disadvantage experienced by some sectors of the community, such as people with disabilities, occurs because of a process of ‘devaluing’—that is, because those people are devalued by the society at large (p. 94).

Under the banner of “Ability Not Disability”, the ability stream in Australia has called for a recognition that people with disability have abilities that should be valued above their disability; and for improved services for people with disability (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Ability Stream: Visions and Desired Outcomes

Visions	Desired Outcomes
Ability First	Community inclusion and de-institutionalisation Open employment Integrated schooling
Improved Services for People with disability	Increase and expand services Challenge abuses prevalent within institutions De-institutionalisation Services respectful of rights and potential (ability) Specialist services for separate needs Rejection of ‘whole of life’ charity models Service quality – standards sought

The first vision for the ability stream explicated that people with disability should be viewed for their abilities first, with disability as a secondary consideration (Table 5.2). This has led supporters of the ability stream to tackle issues such as de-institutionalisation, promoting the rights of people with disability to live alongside the ‘privileged’ without segregation (Bleasdale and Thomlinson, 1997), and to access mainstream education and employment without exclusion, as described by Hallahan (2001):

Since the late 1970s in Australia people with disability, some of their families and progressive human service workers, have formed into an outspoken disability movement insisting that: ‘*we desire a place within (the) community!*’ ...the issue of de-institutionalisation was one which

focused on consumer-rights the opportunity for all people to participate in the community, to live independent and dignified lives... (p. 2).

The second vision involved reforming services for people with disability (Table 5.2). This led to raising issues around both the quantity and quality of services offered to people with disability in Australia, described by Parsons (1999) as “fighting for more and better services, and for funding arrangements to ensure their long-term security” (p.42). Previous services were often paternal, ‘cradle to grave’, ‘whole of life’ services (Gibilisco, 2005; Russell, 1998). Supporters of the ability stream promoted specialist services, such as specialist employment assistance services, and also called for quality standards to protect people with disability from the abuse and exploitation suffered within previous service models, which was realised at least in part, through the *Disability Services Act 1986* (Bleasdale and Tomlinson, 1997). Services were expected to *enable* their clients to become part of the community, to be included (Egan, 1998; Hallahan, 2001). Bleasdale and Tomlinson (1997) described the ability stream when they stated:

The major effort of the disability movement centres around disability services, either lobbying for the closure of institutions, lobbying for more funds for community based services, or challenging service transition plans which do not, in the opinion of those advocates meet the standards intended by the Disability Services Act.

The focus for this agenda then seems to have shifted away from de-institutionalisation (a rights issue) towards the ‘problems of institutions’ (a service quantity and quality of life issue). This places the issue of de-institutionalisation back in the realm of the service sector, handing over the responsibility for people’s human rights to disability services (p. 4).

The ability stream’s vision represented people with disability as a powerful consumer voice. Medical definitions of disability were rejected with advocators of this vision focussing on promoting the ability (or abilities) of people with disability, rather than their disabilities.. This is described by Ellis (2006), who discussed the Disability Rights Movement in Australia thus:

[It] attempted to take the focus *away* from the traditional medical aspects of disability and concentrated instead on the contribution people with disability could make to society. As a result, an environment emerged where we were encouraged to ‘see the ability, not the disability’. While this framework removed the focus from medicine, it remained under the

same ideological umbrella as disability remained an individual's problem and people with disability were encouraged to deny their impairments in order to fit into an ablest society (p.2).

The visions of the ability stream led the Disability Rights Movement to *react* to the conditions of oppression, with particular emphasis on segregation and marginalisation. It did not, however, enable people with disability to forge a strong identity of their own, dominated as it was by a focus on service needs (Ellis, 2006; Parsons, 1999). Human services can be seen as an integral part of both the problem *and* the solution for the ability stream. SRV claims that human services play a critical role in the devaluing process, and that they can therefore reverse this devaluation by providing more valuable roles (Parsons, 1999). This has led to the development of service models which encourage 'privileged' assumptions of what is normal and natural through, for example, allowing people with disability to participate only in 'age appropriate' activities (Bleasdale, 1996). The ability stream has focussed on achievements:

We see people with disabilities asserting their worth by pointing to their achievements, to their capacities to compete, to their abilities to be independent. "I want to be known for my abilities, not for my disabilities"; "Look at what I can do, rather than what I can't do" are all the sorts of phrases that are commonly heard throughout the disability movement (Parsons, 1999, p.82).

Within individual consciousness, the ability stream focused on ableness, professional awareness, an accommodation of ability, and a reaction to segregation. The ability stream raised awareness of the need for inclusion amongst its members. In doing this, it perhaps focused on assimilation and individual responsibility to be included, working within the hierarchy of dominance by accepting and adopting the norms, dress codes, definitions of value work and accepted social activities of the 'privileged'. One dimension of individual consciousness is the denial of citizenship. This has been a focus for the continued 'othering' of people with disability in Australia (as identified in Chapter 3). Within the ability stream, the denial of citizenship has been challenged on the basis of the ability to vote, through the voice of a consumer.

At other times, self-awareness has come from segregation within institutions and has been expressed within the ability stream's vision of inclusion into the community. Vicki, represented on the YPINH (2006) website expressed this awareness:

Hi! I'm Vicki.

I've lived half my life in an aged care facility after being injured in a car accident when I was 16...I want to live in the community, have lunch and see a film with my friends and go to the footy on Saturdays. I can't do any of this in a nursing home.

Vicki's experience of isolation, shared by many young people in her situation, places limits on her ability to exert personal choices and access an appropriate socio-economic space afforded to the 'privileged' (Jones, 2006). The ability stream strengthens Vicki's calls for community inclusion and de-institutionalisation.

The ability stream can also be interpreted as inhibiting the individual consciousness of oppression through its focus on change of individual circumstances and service provision, reflected also in the model of SRV. This stream can tend to minimise disability and difference, reinforcing stereotypes, and representing the desire of people with disability as 'to be like everyone else' and was criticised by Parsons (1999):

... when we play down the issue of difference through failing to understand it properly, we ultimately play down and fail to understand it properly, we ultimately play down and fail to understand the importance and nature of diversity. Inevitably, this reinforces existing social values and standards about what is and what isn't of worth (p. 77).

The ability stream centred group strategy on promoting 'Ability not Disability', most significantly through reforming disability services, advocating for the acceleration of de-institutionalisation, and addressing the material and social needs of people with disability (whilst leaving the structure of the hierarchy of dominance) through increased accessibility:

Positive changes for people with disability included those that facilitated greater choice, increased their privacy and independence, made society more accessible, and provided opportunities for companionship. They included improved technologies, better access, more accessible trains, understanding and supportive staff, and opportunities for mainstream

work and study. On a personal level, individual personal achievements in sport, relationships and study were also important (Quibell, 2004).

This consumer voice has dominated individual and group consciousness in Australia, focusing on the unmet needs for specialist services and consumer protection as reflected in *People With Disabilities* (2003). This consumer voice has contributed to political insignificance:

In Australia, the last ten years has featured organisations of people with disabilities defining themselves as ‘consumers’, attaching themselves to the politically stronger discourse of consumerism. Via this discourse political ends have been achieved, including representation in government and non-government arenas, where other opportunities for people with disabilities have not manifested themselves. Hence, predominantly in Australia many do not identify as ‘the disability rights movement’ but as ‘consumers with disability’ (Newell, 1995).

Collective voices appeared to best represent the ability stream (Cooper, 1999). For example, ACROD (now ‘National Disability Services’), a national industry association for disability services established in 1996, represented provider interests; the ACE National Network, a national body representing organisations, provided open employment assistance; and The National Caucus of Disability Consumer Organisation, a network of ten consumer-orientated organisations, each of which gave a collective voice to the need for more and improved services within the rhetoric of consumerism. The DPI(A) also became a collective voice for the ability stream when it changed its organisation’s focus to consumer rights to accommodate the changed funding arrangements of the Federal Government (Cooper, 1999; Newell, 1996).

Voices of stakeholders have also dominated the ability stream. This voice represents people without disability who had a vested interest in their roles as enablers and enhancers of socially valued roles (Way, 2002), and includes both professionals and parent groups (Annison, 2006). As Parsons (1999) described:

The Disability Rights Movement, more than almost any other human rights movement, has been one in which people, who are not themselves members of the community affected by the issues, have played a significant and driving part. Usually these have been professionals who work with people with disabilities but who do not have disabilities themselves. This is not to say, of course, that people with disabilities

have not themselves been extremely active within the movement, nor, for that matter that there are not many people with disabilities who are themselves working professionally in the field. But it is simply worth noting that the presence and contribution of others has been more marked here than elsewhere (p.16).

Stakeholders within the ability stream were not generally portrayed as being within the hierarchy of dominance, but as promoting ability, inclusion and the rights of people with disability to live within the community (Annison, 2006; Parsons, 1999).

Voices within the ability stream have also led protests. One example is the ‘We Will Ride’ campaign, which was organised by the Accessible Public Transport lobby group in 1998 to protest accessibility of public transport (The Advocate, 1998). This campaign included a protest event held outside the meeting of the Australian Transport Council, where the agenda involved deciding if people with disabilities had the right to travel on public transport (The Advocate, 1998).

Another event clearly grounded within the ability stream, promoted by stakeholders, was held in 2004 and was named ‘Walk a Mile in My Shoes’. The details of this event are in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 Protest Event: Walk a Mile in My Shoes

Event Phase	Description
Precondition	Families assuming primary care role of people with a disability ABC’s <i>Four Corners</i> program aired ‘The Hidden Army’ in March 2005
Event Itself	Who: Convoy of carers Where: Canberra, lawns of Parliament House When: Tuesday 13 th September 2005 What happened: Carers declared a National Day of Action where they placed old shoes on the lawns and invited politicians to ‘walk a mile in my shoes’ The issue: Unmet needs in the Disability Support Sector and Mental Health Care
Consequences	Largely unknown to date. Economic rationalist agenda continues to dominate Australian polity
References:	COAG, 2005

This event was initiated by carers (referred to by Way, 2002 as stakeholders) in response to unmet needs within the Disability Support Sector and mental health care (COAG, 2005). The ability stream is evidenced in the emphasis on the role of the carer, as an enhancer in the lives of people with high-support needs or people with mental illness (COAG, 2005).

A perpetual event representing the ability stream is the International Day of People with a DisAbility, which is held annually (see Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Perpetual Event: International Day of People with a Disability

Event Phase	Description
Precondition	Prior to IYDP 1981 there was very little awareness of the oppression suffered by people with disability in Australia
Event Itself	Who: Many people get involved, including people with disability, stakeholders, service providers and governments. Where: Activities are staged throughout Australia. When: 3 rd December each year, held since 1981 What happened: Coordinated celebration and positive portrayal of people with disability The issues: Focus on celebration of Ability
Consequences	Some mainstream media coverage
References:	International Day for People with a DisAbility, 2005

The International Day of People with a DisAbility focuses on the celebration of ability through a positive portrayal of people with disability, and is indicative of the ability stream’s influence. It has been celebrated for 25 years, with the first event occurring in the IYDP (International Day for People with a DisAbility, 2005). International Day for People with a DisAbility (2005) described events and public awareness initiatives as aiming to challenge stereotypes and attitudes towards people with disability. Recently in NSW, the banner ‘Don’t Dis My Ability’ was adopted as a variation on the ‘Ability Not Disability’ banner (International Day for People with a DisAbility, 2005).

The ability stream has contributed to the portrayal of the positive image of people with disability in Australia. It has had a major influence on the language of the Australian Disability Rights Movement—‘people first’ language (Dempsey and Nankervis, 2006).

It has enabled services to move away from previous medical discourses. The ability stream challenges the sites of oppression previously identified for people with disability in Australia. The denial of citizenship is addressed through this stream's focus on 'ability' first, arguing the citizenship is a right 'normally' afforded and people with disability should be included and integrated as citizens within Australia. Segregation within institutions has been a focus of the ability stream, as evidenced through its role in promoting de-institutionalisation. Similarly, living on the margins has been addressed by advocates of the ability stream, whom have advocated for community inclusion through open employment for example. The 'disabled body' has not been tackled through the visions of the ability stream, which has focussed more on denying disability, rather than embracing it.

Disability Pride Stream

The disability pride stream is supported by, and based on, the social model of disability (see Table 3.2) and was also evidenced within the IYDP 1981. The social model distinguishes between impairment (functional) and disability (social construction), viewing disability as a human and civil rights issue (Egan, 1998). The disability pride stream celebrates disability as a unique identity, valuing difference rather than minimising disability, as explained by Parsons (1999):

What this means, then, is a need to understand and proclaim the value of difference or, more precisely, the values of the things that have made ... people with disabilities different from people without disabilities ... it means proclaiming the value of disability as an alternative to the achievement-orientated, independence-obsessed culture of people without disabilities (p.77).

The disability pride stream is focussed on rights and emancipation, which it promotes through three visions: society disables; control of decisions and services in the hands of people with disability; and celebrating disability (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Disability Pride Stream: Visions and Desired Outcomes

Visions	Desired Outcomes
Society Disables	Injustices and inequalities are inherent in society Remove barriers De-institutionalisation, institutional abuse prevalence
Control in the Hands of People with Disability	Voice of people with disability represented best by people with disability Organisations should be made up <i>of</i> not just <i>for</i> people with disability People with disability in control of decisions effecting their own lives, and therefore of services
Disability is to be Celebrated	Bioethics – euthanasia, abortion Body Beautiful Challenge the hegemonic picture of ‘normal’ and ‘natural’

The first vision proclaims that society disables people (Table 5.5). This stream developed due to what O’Brien et al. (2006) described as a recognition that society constructs disability and imposes barriers (a hierarchy of dominance) to perpetuate it. One of the priorities of the stream has been to take the focus away from individual medical problems, and to refocus on structural and attitudinal barriers (Robinson and Adam, 2003). Disability pride, has at times adopted the language of the UK activists, in claiming their identity as “disabled people” rather than “people with disability” (see Australian authors such as Meekosha, various; Sherry, 2006). This stream can also be found in calls for the structural and ideological addressing of ‘otherness’ within Australia (see for example, Newell, 2006).

The second vision advocates for organisations for people with disability to be made up of people with disability, which O’Brien et al. (2006) described as:

... premised on the belief that organisations should be *of* people with disabilities rather than *for* people with disabilities. An aim of the movement is to give political impact to the voice of citizens with a disability (p.39).

The disability pride stream promotes the voice of the disabled ‘other’ as being represented best by people with disability. This has had particular relevance to human services which continue to be dominated by non-disabled professionals (Reid, 2005). This stream represents people with disability as a minority voice of oppressed citizens, as opposed to a consumer or ‘special interest’ group (Meekosha, 2000).

The third vision states that disability is to be celebrated, not cured or eliminated (Table 5.6), leading the disability pride stream to challenge bio-ethical issues such as euthanasia and abortion (Goggin and Newell, 2005; Leipolt, 2005; Queensland Advocacy Incorporated, 2006). It has also led to involvement in exposing the ‘body beautiful’ or ‘beauty myth’, and to challenging the notions of what the ‘privileged’ define as ‘normal’ and ‘natural’ (see for example, Egan, 1998). Writing from this perspective, Newell (2006b) urged:

... the disability sector needs to be to the forefront of not just discussing but indeed challenging governments to explore the lived values found in legislation to do with biotechnology (p.70).

Within the disability pride stream, individual consciousness was raised regarding the need for a separate identity, characterized by pride and the desire for emancipation from oppressive social structures existing within the hierarchy of dominance. The disability pride stream approached the need for citizenship, on the basis of society’s role in disabling and controlling citizenship (Egan, 1998). This vision focussed on the potential contribution of people with disability to the Australian polity, as advocated by Newell (2003) for example, who said:

I dream of the day when our experience of disability is seen as an asset and that understanding of realities of disability is seen as of assistance in plumbing the depths of humanity and in seeking to shape an all embracing social system and community (p. 5).

The disability pride stream enabled self-awareness of oppression, providing a basis for the acceptance of diversity. McBryde Johnson (2003), who described herself as a disability pariah, argued about quality of life with Peter Singer, and provided insight into the identity formed within the disability pride stream:

Are we “worse off”? I don’t think so. For those of us with congenital conditions, disability shapes who we are. Those disabled later in life adapt. We take constraints no-one would choose and build rich and satisfying lives within them. We enjoy pleasures other people enjoy, and pleasures particularly our own. We have something the world needs (p.21).

Sometimes self-awareness of oppression, as inherent within society for people with disability, has been motivated by outside influences. Newell (2005b) expressed this when he said:

I still remember the profound sense of revelation, excitement and relief that I had in reading early work on disability studies, where I encountered disability in terms of oppression and also began imagining the way in which the situation for those of us with disability need not necessarily be so. All of a sudden my life made so much more sense (see for example, Abberley, 1987; Finkelstein, 1981). I started to understand the structural nature of the disadvantage that so many of us with disability face everyday.

Newell clearly articulated that it was the reading of early disability studies which enabled him to articulate and explore his own sense of oppression accompanied by the awareness of challenge. The works of Abberley (1987) and Finkelstein (1981), theorists based in the United Kingdom, promoted the social model of disability.

Individual identity has also been expressed through a celebration of difference. Strong (2003) wrote:

I am different. But sometimes it crosses my mind that I am fortunate to have had, in one lifetime, two different ways of being me (p. 12).

This formation of an individual identity provides a challenge to stereotypes of the onset of disability as a tragedy (Egan, 1998; Newell, 2003; Quibell, 2004).

The disability pride stream has developed a culture, as described by Jakubowski and Meekosha (2001):

This disability culture has been 'grown' by the movement, as a means of self-affirmation, solidarity and personal autonomy. Film festivals which feature films by and about disabled people, also provide a milieu to critique the 'mainstream', both for its parody and stereotyping of disability, and for its dual messages (to disabled and non-disabled people). Media awards are given by disability bodies to applaud good practice and indicate how disability need not be a negative social relationship. Furthermore disability culture affirms different embodiments through literature, drama, sport and music—to name but a few dimensions of cultural expression which can often bridge ethnic and national boundaries.

Such a cultural change strategy continues to be necessary to change ‘other’ to ‘us’ (Newell, 2006).

The disability pride stream has been voiced through collectives within Australia. The Disabled Persons International (Australia) (DPI(A)), first formed during the IYDP, was funded by the Federal Government in 1983, then de-registered after it ran into financial difficulty in 1996 (Cooper, 1999; Newell, 1996). The DPI(A) was once regarded as *the* national peak body for representing people with disability in Australia (Creedon, 1994), and at its inception illustrated the disability pride stream. This voice was significant as it was an organisation *of* people with disability *for* people with disability which initially purported a political agenda (Cooper, 1999). Creedon (1994) described the DPI(A) as:

... run by people with a disability with a very clear charter to ensure that we, ie. all people with a disability, have access to the same rights and power enjoyed by other members of the community (p.62).

Other collectives appeared to predominantly reflect the disability pride stream. Women with Disability Australia (WWDA), a feminist disability organisation which is currently the only national multi-diagnostic organisation controlled by members from a variety of disability experiences, is one such collective (Cooper, 1999). This group found its origins in a women’s group, known as the Women’s Network within DPI(A), and later separated to form its own identity (WWDA, 1993). Many of the publications from WWDA represent disability pride (see for example, Meekosha, various). Queensland Advocacy Incorporated (QAI) is a systemic advocacy organisation, which has initiated, for example, a bioethics project, and also maintains a strong disability pride focus within its work (Queensland Advocacy Incorporated, 2006).

Within the disability pride stream there is an emphasis on the leadership and voice of people with disability, as being “vital for countering disability as ‘other’” (Newell, 2006, p. 74). The disabled pride vision acknowledged the alliances built between people with and people without disability, while stating that tokenistic involvement of people with disability was not acceptable (Reid, 2005). Perhaps, because of this emphasis, more individual voices of people with disability were aligned with the disability pride stream.

For example, there were many voices within the disability pride stream in Australia who left documents, as reflected in this thesis' reference list. Three of the authors most frequently referenced within this work are: Associate Professor Newell, an author and academic who clearly aligns himself with the disability pride stream most significantly through his expressed desire to see disability as celebrated, and through his activist work in the area of bioethics; Dr Helen Meekosha, an academic and member of WWDA who also is aligned with the disability pride stream, as evidenced through her writings surrounding the oppression of women with disability; and Margaret Cooper, who researched the Disability Rights Movement in Australia in 1999, and has also been actively involved within the WWDA.

Voices within the disability pride stream have also led protests. Leipolt, Newell and Corcoran (2003) openly challenged stem cell research, most notably in reaction to Christopher Reeve's visit to Australia in 2002 (see Table 5.6). Other voices have also challenged bio-ethical issues, such as McBryde Johnson (2003), who travelled to the US to openly debate Peter Singer's view on stem cell research. Other voices have protested the 'body beautiful' myth, evidenced in a protest held outside the Miss Australia Quest (Cooper, 1999).

Table 5.6 Protest Event: Stem Cell Debates

Event Phase	Description
Precondition	Reeve visited Australia to promote stem cell research Conscience voted held within Federal parliament
Event Itself	Who: Disability activists, notably Newell, Leipolt and Corcoran What: Voiced a challenge to the stem cell debates, focussing on the misconceptions inherent in the way it was being portrayed within the media and the misconceptions surrounding people with disability as needing a medical saviour When: 2002 What happened: 5 April 2002, PM John Howard signed agreement with State Premiers on guidelines for research into human embryo stem cells The issue: Exposed
Consequences	Disability Pride agenda largely ignored within the public consciousness Stem cell research approved through parliament Negative reaction within the media
References:	Goggin and Newell, 2005; Leipolt, Newell and Corcoran, 2003.

On 5 April 2002, Prime Minister John Howard signed an agreement with State Premiers on guidelines for research into human embryo stem cells, and announced it would be “widely applauded in the Australian community” (Goggin and Newell, 2005). However, this was not the case. Many disability activists opposed this research, with particular opposition voiced regarding the framing of disability as a tragedy, a catastrophe, and as being in need of a medical cure, within these debates (Goggin and Newell, 2005; Leipolt, Newell and Corcoran, 2002). Leipolt, Newell and Corcoran (2002) asked: “...what lengths should we as individuals and as a society go through on a quest for the Holy Grail of normality?” (p.1). These debates were supported in Australia by a visit by Christopher Reeve:

In 2002, Reeve held himself up to be, and was regarded by others as, the ultimate argument for the use of embryonic stem cells for therapeutic and research purposes. He embodies how the tragedy of disability became the focal point for a policy debate (Goggin and Newell, 2005, p. 109).

Reeve publicly denounced people opposed to embryonic stem cell research as “the lunatic fringe” (Sixty Minutes transcript, 2002, in Goggin and Newell, 2005, p.110). The media largely ignored people with disability within these debates:

In our examination of more than three hundred news and feature items from major Australian newspapers covering the stem cell debate from March to June 2002, we found very few alternative narratives and accounts of disability. As is often the case, people with disability were almost never quoted as authorities allowed to author opinion or commentary pieces on the debate... (Goggin and Newell, 2005, p.112).

Disability activists claimed Reeve did not represent a universal disability stance, and advocated for the voice of people with disability to be heard (Leipolt, Newell and Corcoran, 2003).

The High Beam Festival, held bi-annually in Adelaide, is an example of a disability pride event (see Table 5.7). The High Beam Festival is a disability cultural festival, held every two years, which aligns with the disability pride stream through its motivation to alter the perceptions of the public regarding disability (Strahan, 2005). It has had positive consequences on both the movement level, such as positive media portrayal, as well as

the artistic level, where artists with disability have gained exposure of their talents (Strahan, 2005).

Table 5.7 Perpetual Event: High Beam Festival

Event Phase	Description
Precondition	Limited cultural expressions for people with disability Dispossession of culture within the domains
Event Itself	Who: High Beam Festival committee Where: Adelaide When: Held every two years since 1998 What happened: In 2002, the motto “dare to have your perception altered” was adopted The issue: Celebration of disability culture
Consequences	Positive media coverage Voice given to the language of disability culture Artistic stepping stone for artists with disability
References:	Strahan, 2005

The disability pride stream has advocated for the celebration and embracing of disability as a valued and unique identity in Australia. It has had a major influence on prominent disability activists. It has sustained debates surrounding bioethics and challenged dominant perceptions, urging society to change. The disability pride stream challenges the ‘disabled body’ as a site of oppression, offering alternatives to celebrate disability as a unique identity. It also addresses the denial of citizenship, arguing this as evidence for society’s role in disabling people and segregation within institutions, through the promotion of control in the hands of people with disability. Oppression as expressed through the theme of living on the margins is challenged within this stream through the challenge of hegemonic assumptions which dictate what is ‘normal’ and ‘natural’, exploring the way margins are formed.

Confluence

These two streams exist together to create a confused confluence within the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. There are overlaps within events and voices, making it difficult to distinguish between the streams and their motivations. The impact of this is a

veiled, cryptic picture of the Disability Rights Movement, which has inhibited its visibility within the public consciousness. Individual consciousness has been fragmented by differing visions and the establishment of the movement through a human rights event (Parsons, 1999). The Disability Rights Movement lacks the cohesiveness and solidarity shared by other oppressed groups (Leipolt, 2005; Parsons, 1999; Robinson and Adam, 2003). While consciousness raising was a major point within the IYDP, this was often led by the efforts of government and professionals (Parsons, 1999). As Leipolt (2005), stated: “Currently [within disability] we lack a unifying guiding story to help us out” (p. 1). This lack of a single guiding story, lost within the confluence of the streams, was described by Robinson and Adam (2003) as a lack of coherence and construction of disability within the movement. This lack of singularity and the existence of competing priorities are features of new social movements (Melucci, 1989; Oliver, 2003). This has undermined the Disability Rights Movement, despite its attempts to share common ground during its inception through 1981, described by Cooper (1999) thus:

[The Disability Rights Movement’s] most significant development was ... a coming together of groups with a disability focus, seeking a kind of unity and ... a need to ... be political to gain any ... achievements ... and the goals were ... about acceptance, independence, dignity, the changing of funding arrangements, the way disability organisations were funded, moving away from a charitable role to a ... rights based perspective on disability issues (p. 102).

This evidenced the intertwining of the two streams.

One event representing the confluence evident in the literature was the case of *Scott & DPI(A) v. Telstra* (see for example, Goggin and Newell, 2005; Jolley, 1999). It demonstrated the complimentary way the two streams can work together. This event is outlined in Table 5.8.

Geoffery Scott lodged a complaint regarding the inaccessibility of phones with HREOC, using the discrimination provisions under the *Disability Discrimination Act 1992*, regarding Telstra who was at the time the only telephone carrier within Australia, with the exception of mobile communications (Jolley, 1999). The complaint failed in conciliation and so was taken to the HREOC Commissioner, who found in favour of

Scott, rejecting Telstra’s claims of unjustifiable hardship (Goggin and Newel, 2005; Jolley, 1999). As a result, people who are deaf or have a speech impairment are now entitled to an accessible telephone. This event can clearly be seen within the confluence of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia, as it represents both the ability stream, in its fight for specialist services to enhance mainstream participation, and the disability pride stream, in the way Scott openly defended his rights as a person with a disability.

Table 5.8 Protest Event: *Scott & DPI(A) v. Telstra*

Event Phase	Description
Precondition	Telstra was Australia’s only national telephone carrier (excepting mobile phones) Accessible telephones were not readily available for people with disability
Event Itself	Who: Geoffery Scott with the support of DPI(A) When: 1994 What happened: Scott took his complaint to the HREOC Commissioner and won in a landmark case The issue: Discrimination against deaf people and those with speech impairments, who were unable to access the telephone network due to inaccessible phones
Consequences	Telstra was obligated to provide accessible telephones for deaf people and those with speech impairments
References:	Goggin and Newell, 2005; Jolley, 1999

One collective voice recording both streams is evidenced within People with Disability Australia (2003), an organisation representing people with disability at state and national levels. People With Disability Australia (2003) wrote its strategic directions as ‘Our Voice, Our Future’ to emphasize “our identity as an organisation of, and for, people with disability” (Forrest, 2003). The ability stream is evident in the organisation’s focus on the unmet needs for specialist services and in its key result area of consumer protection (People with Disability Australia, 2003). Simultaneously, the disability pride stream is illustrated within its vision:

We have a vision of a socially just, accessible, and inclusive community, in which the human rights, citizenship, contribution, potential and diversity of all people with disability are respected and celebrated (p.3).

The voice of people with disability has been often lacking within government decision-making structures and within the polity. Particular note has been made within literature to the voices of people with disability who have been silenced:

... voices of people with intellectual disability in relation to their own needs have been strangely silenced. At the political level the 'voices' of people with a disability are drowned out by vocal advocates who do not have intellectual disability (Bleasdale and Tomlinson, 1997, p.3).

Group consciousness that was accelerated through the IYDP, when groups were encouraged to formalise, apply for funding and participate in joint awareness campaigns surrounding the themes of participation and equality, has been divided (Parsons, 1999). De-institutionalisation was also accelerated through the IYDP in Australia and this can be found as an example of the two streams working together, effecting change within the public consciousness (Parmenter, 2006). Unfortunately, de-institutionalisation has also been identified as occurring as a result of economic rationalist agendas. This was exposed in the Burdekin Report (1993), which called for increasing efforts towards further de-institutionalisation, as well as a review of the current processes that had left many people with disability on the margins of society (McVilly and Parmenter, 2006).

During the years following the IYDP, a number of advances were made. A 'review of disability services' was carried out known as the Handicapped Programs Review 1983, which led to the introduction of the *Commonwealth Disability Services Act 1986*, which set out the minimum standards for service provision (Dempsey, 2006b). For the first time, disability services adopted a goal of enhancing inclusion, in stark contrast to the former "lack of preparedness to extend to people with a disability rights regarded as standard by the community at large" (Dempsey, 2006b, p.222). It was during these years, that collectives such as the DPI(A) began to emerge within the public consciousness.

Within the public consciousness, the government's maintenance of economic rationalist agendas can be "perceived as adversely affecting its commitment to disability rights" (Cooper, 1999, p.141). The market has become increasingly regulated, forcing service providers and 'consumers with disability' to compete amongst themselves; and

organisations representing disability rights, such as advocacy organisations, have experienced a declining model of funding (Cooper, 1999; McVilly and Parmenter, 2006; Way, 2002). Disability organisations have been forced not only to be competitive, but also to become internally cost effective to justify their funding through measurable outcomes, and to frame people with disability as ‘consumers’ (Dempsey and Nankervis, 2006). Tensions arise within services where person-centred values, advocated by both streams of the Disability Rights Movement, conflict with inadequate financial resourcing (Dempsey and Nankervis, 2006). Business-orientated models are increasingly favoured over intangible outcomes such as ‘emancipation’ (Shaddock, 2006). This has affected the visibility of the disability pride stream in particular.

Within the public eye, the enduring symbol of disability remains the wheelchair, representing ‘handicapped parking’ or ‘disabled toilets’. This symbol is not representative of the divergent and complex needs of people with disability, nor is it complementary—it serves to promote segregation, asexuality, medical definitions and impairment (Carling-Burzacott and Galloway, 2004). From the literature, no symbol, colour scheme or flag was represented as being employed for the Disability Rights Movement in Australia.

Proclamation within the media of the issues being faced by the Disability Rights Movements has been inconsistent, with limited representations made (Strahan, 2005). The media continues to provide stories of the ‘supercrip’ or the ‘struggling Aussie battler with disability’, over systemic disability rights issues (Strahan, 2005). There are also limited recordings of people with disability in Australia in general history (Cooper, 1999; Uniacke, 2005). Kilham (2001) noted that there is “virtually no longitudinal analysis of the depictions of people with disabilities in mainstream Australian journals”. Very few documents recorded events of the movement, for example, and only one document recording a brief chronology of the movement was found (see Cooper, 1999). This indicates the lack of prolonged public recognition and visibility within the confluence of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia.

Recognition has been further inhibited through the location of many disability studies programs within health studies (see for example, Deakin University, who changed the location of disability studies from having its own school to an incorporation into Health and Behavioural Sciences in 2006; see Deakin, 2006). This is disappointing on a movement level. As Jakubowski and Meekosha (2001) noted, disability studies can open “up ways of examining cultural diversity that cannot otherwise be approached” (p.1). In Australia, there are very few (especially when compared to, for example, women’s studies and indigenous studies) books available representing disability studies (Lester, 2004). Furthermore, where disability studies exist within Universities, as Newell (2005) pointed out, “I am not aware of anyone who is part of the Australian disability community occupying a Chair in disability studies in an Australian University” (p. 19).

The application of the analysis developed from the sampled movements has enabled a deeper understanding of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. Tensions and the dilemmas faced have been unravelled and understood in terms of two visionary platforms. Within the confluence of the movement, the level of group consciousness has been identified as problematic. The lack of a unifying story to guide the movement has inhibited its ability to leave the same level of footprints, wheeltracks and stirrings visible for other new social movements in Australia.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusions and Implications

I dream of the day when our experience of disability is seen as an asset and that understanding the realities of disability is seen as of assistance in plumbing the depths of humanity and in seeking to shape an all embracing social system and community
(Newell, 2003, p. 5)

This research revealed that many of the footprints left by the Australian new social movements studied, have been largely overshadowed by the current political and economic climate of economic rationalism, where market concerns have taken precedence at the expense of social agendas. An overwhelmingly individualistic culture has been asserted in Australia, with values placed, for example, on the personal accumulation of wealth and independent, personal achievement. Profitable industries have been created for leisure, weight loss, fashion and health. A complex relationship is evident between individual choices and market forces, where these elements impact on and interact with each other. Choice assumes that people have a measure of control over their environment. Disabled people cannot assume this level of personal control, being as they are, segregated and/or institutionalised away from centres of power, and the object of others' projections towards them, even when this extends to abortion, euthanasia, genetic engineering and scientific 'break through'. People with disability are therefore threatened by the control and power of dominant society over them, in very real and intimate ways. People with disabilities, as a whole, continue to be unaccepted and unacceptable in Australia, and are ostracised through processes of "social apartheid" (see Goggin and Newell, 2004).

This research was designed to deepen the understandings of disability and the Disability Rights Movement in Australia, by learning from the footprints left by other new social movements: the Women's Liberation Movement and the Indigenous Rights Movements. Three aims were put forward. The first aim was to develop a tool of analysis for the Disability Rights Movement, through an examination of the Women's Liberation and Indigenous Rights Movements (see Chapter 4). The second and third aims were to

establish the positioning of people with disability in Australia (see Chapter 5); and to present a critical analysis of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia (see Chapter 5). This chapter presents the philosophical and theoretical conclusions of this study, as well as its implications for future movement development, making recommendations for future movement development and research.

The tool of analysis, developed from the scrutiny of literature representing the Women's Liberation and Indigenous Rights Movements, enabled insight into the development of new social movements in Australia, and how these insights could be applied to the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. The tool of analysis developed in this study, has three parts: domains, details and dimensions, where domains represent sites of oppression; details include components of the movement; and dimensions refer to the levels of consciousness.

This research was influenced by paradigms of critical inquiry, disability studies, emancipatory frameworks and critical pre-action research (see chapter 1). As a form of critical inquiry, this research uncovered the injustices experienced by people with disability (McLaren and Kincheloe, 2001). This study contributes to an exposition of how these injustices have been addressed through the Disability Rights Movement to date. Through its use of the paradigm of emancipatory disability studies, this research contributes to the emancipatory journey of people with disability in Australia, in part by unravelling and exposing the tensions inherent within the Australian Disability Rights Movement. This explanation enables a way forward for the movement. As an example of critical pre-action research, this paper provides a foundation for future work with people with disability and their movement, by proposing an explanation to the tensions which plague the present movement.

The tool of analysis was aligned with international new social movement theory (Diani and McAdam, 2000; Melucci, 1989), but relied upon Australian new social movements for its development. This enabled a unique picture of Australian movements and Australian sites of struggle to emerge. This tool could have been applied in a number of

ways. It could have been used to interview activists and explore Australian history. In this study, however, it was used to investigate and critique emancipatory literature. This tool could be applied to different movements, or used in a more comparative way, to explore, for example, the differences between Australian and international new social movements.

The domains discovered and articulated through this research, as a key component of the analytic tool, provide insight into the struggles of oppressed or subjugated groups with or without a movement to represent them. When applied, this analytic tool provides a starting point from which to explore the unique (and shared) aspects of oppression experienced by members of a group and exposes the binary oppositions inherent within modern societies of the 'privileged/other' divide. From the perspective of pre-action research, this analytic tool allows a tracing of the historic roots of oppression and the institutional structure of oppression, which prefigures resistance to this oppression (Russell, 1998). This technique exposed three domains, or sites of oppression, which were linked to particular historical moments in Australia. The 'medical' domain represents a domain where the medical profession is viewed as an objective hegemonic authority, in regards to what (and who) is "normal" and what behaviours, identities and ways of being are "acceptable" in "our" (that is, not "their") society. This aspect of the analytic model—the medical domain—facilitates a starting point for the deconstruction of medicine as a site of oppression. The 'medical' domain enables the process of 'othering' through the creation of paternal, 'privileged' superiority and then maintains this social construction through processes of control and constraint of disabled 'others'.

Another domain, that of the 'professional', epitomises the "educated", respected and well resourced powerful non-disabled, who assume a professional role within, and in the lives of disabled 'others'. The exposure of the 'professional' domain through the development of the analytic tool developed through this study, facilitates a deconstruction of "expertise". It highlights the processes of 'othering' disabled people, through the creation of outside experts, propped up by powerful societal institutions.

The analytic model exposed the ‘market’ domain, which overshadows social issues and, in the process, minimises the less than positive experiences of disabled ‘others’. This domain facilitates a deconstruction of the economic definition of disabled ‘others’. It exposes processes of ‘othering’ through the objectification and minimisation of those who are not, themselves, profitable entities and reveals the systems and structures which support some, while simultaneously denying access to the economy, and therefore to economic power and influence to ‘others’, including disabled ‘others’.

A key component of the analytic tool developed through this study, is that of details; the collection of liberatory visions, events and voices of the ‘other’, through which liberation is prefigured and articulated. Visions are an important defining point for new social movements, as they provide both direction and unity to the movement. Visions articulate, and broadly proclaim, the values held by movement participants. Each new social movement must be considered in terms of their local and international context. Details of movements at specific historic moments contribute to the development of longitudinal analyses of these movements.

A third vital component of the analytic tool, developed through this study, is that of dimensions. Dimensions of new social movements expose aspects of impact (footprints). This study therefore provides a uniquely Australian perspective of new social movements and their development.

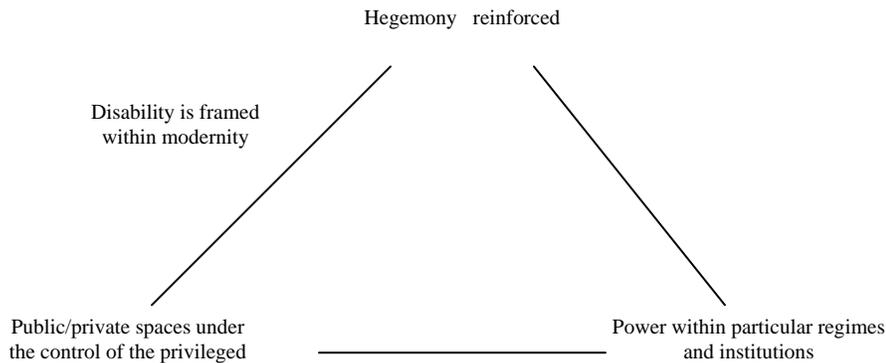
Philosophical Conclusions

This research drew on three philosophical concepts, within an umbrella context of post-modernity, as outlined in chapter 1. The three philosophical concepts which expose processes of ‘othering’ are those of: hegemony articulated by Gramsci; power as explicated by Foucault; and différance and deconstruction as developed by Derrida.

Disability in Australia, was revealed as not being considered within a post-modern framework, but reinforced through processes of modernity (see Figure 6.1). Thus, binary notions of “us” (the ‘non-disabled/privileged’) and “them” (disabled ‘others’) continue to

operate within disability services in government policies, in institutions and in the community (Fyffe, 2006). This philosophic location of disabled ‘others’ within modernity allows “us”, the ‘privileged’ to segregate, abuse, marginalize and control “them”. This research confirms that disability in Australia is framed within the public and political consciousness as a tragedy, a personal flaw, an affliction, a diminished life, and/or in terms of a (medical) diagnostic group (Egan, 1998; Goggin and Newell, 2005). This research further establishes the historic and contemporary existence of hegemony through specific domains of power (see Figure 6.1). An articulation of the oppression faced by people with disability in Australia highlights the existence of power as ‘controlling’ of ‘others’, which is asserted through medical and professional regimes (see Figure 6.1). This research exposed and engaged a deconstruction of these power relations (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1 Philosophical Conceptualisation of Disability in Australia



The Philosophic Location of Disability within Modernity

Carling-Burzacott and Galloway (2004) asserted that:

...people located as ‘other’ remain stuck within modernity, colonised as they are by malevolent, benevolent, caring, knowledgeable, socially, economically and politically esteemed, dominant society. Colonisation flourishes through processes which reify, verify or provide ‘truth’ status to essentialist claims about the ‘other’ (p.24).

Throughout the application of the domains (as presented in Chapter 5), this form of colonisation was exposed. People with disability are contextualised within modern,

binary categories. People located as ‘privileged’ are able to position people with disability as ‘other’, separating them from full citizenship rights; segregating them in institutions; inferiorizing their positions within the community; and relegating them to living on the margins.

The application of the details and dimensions (presented in Chapter 5) revealed a picture of a movement divided between modernist and post-modernist philosophic positions. The ability stream was presented as reacting to the current environment and conditions of being a disabled person and struggling to “fit in” to dominant society. On the other hand, the disability pride stream was presented as seeking an alternative disability identity and culture outside of the impositions and prescriptions placed upon disabled ‘others’ by dominant society.

Hegemony Reinforced for People with Disability

Hegemony, as explained in chapter 1, can be defined as cultural leadership, exercised by the ‘privileged’, and internalised and accepted by the general population. (Barnhart, 1994; see Table 1.1). Hegemony enables the ‘privileged’ to maintain their dominant position and status through its creation of the ‘other’. This research exposed the hegemonic practices that are enacted upon people with disability in Australia, and which result in their social, economic and political dispossession. It also suggests that the strength of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia is impacted by this hegemony in such as way as to inhibit the development of strong counter-hegemonic strategies.

Power within Regimes and Institutions

This research found that power exercised upon disabled ‘others’ permeates regimes and institutions, and lies in the hands of professionals (including medical practitioners) and marketers. People with disability are often subjected to disciplinary forms of power through the imposition of medical and other institutional regimes.

An understanding of the philosophy of power within this research was drawn from the work of Foucault (Table 1.1), who described power as a complex strategic arrangement

within society, operating in different directions, featuring in all social relations and located at all levels of society (Rees, 1991). *Biopower*, as discussed by Foucault, is a technology of power which exerts control over life through institutions of power, such as the family, the army and schools (Foucault, 1991). This research explicated the exercise of power over people with disability in Australia, through specific regimes and institutions. Evidence of ‘power over’ disabled ‘others’—in a more traditional exercise of power—through practices of eugenics, abortion, and infanticide, was also presented. The prevalence of these practices, as discussed, elicits the operationalization of modernist philosophy to prescribe certain power relations between people who are ‘privileged’ and those who are ‘othered’ through their disability.

Deconstruction and Différance: ‘Privileged’ Control of Public and Private Spaces

Derrida expressed a philosophy of deconstruction and différance which was also used in this study to understand power relations between ‘privileged’ and ‘othered’ groups. A major conclusion from this research, in regard to this philosophy, is that people with disability in Australia continue to be controlled through both public and private spaces—thus deconstruction and respect of différance still needs to occur (see Figure 6.1).

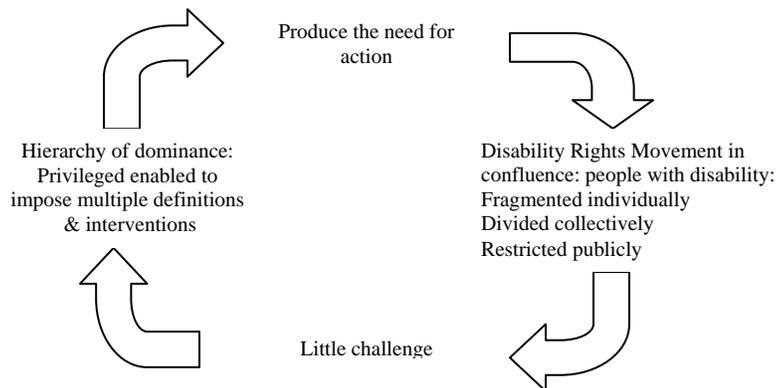
Throughout the research process disabled ‘others’ were located, and defined in terms of their *relationship* with the ‘privileged’. The public and private spaces of disabled ‘others’ remain overwhelmingly within dominant control. The ‘privileged’ retain the right to control private spaces such as homes, family life and the health care of people with disability in Australia. Control is also asserted within public spaces such as work, leisure, voting and the built environment for people with disability. This control extends to the body of people with disability; bodies subject to multiple definitions and multiple interventions.

Theoretical Conclusions

This research was positioned theoretically, through the interaction between oppression within power relations and new social movements (see Figure 1.2). It revealed an interaction between oppression within power relations and the Disability Rights

Movement in Australia (see Figure 6.2). Oppression is exerted on disabled ‘others’ through a hierarchy of dominance, whereby the ‘privileged’ are enabled to impose multiple definitions and interventions (Figure 6.2) upon the bodies and lives of disabled ‘others’. This experience of oppression gave rise to the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. Research revealed a picture of the Disability Rights Movement as divided between two streams existing in confluence. This Australian movement, as perceived through this confused confluence, has led to individual fragmentation—collective divisions and public restrictions (see Figure 6.2)—which currently provides little challenge to ‘privileged’, hegemonic notions held within the hierarchy of dominance.

Figure 6.2 Contemporary Depiction of the Disability Rights Movement in Australia



Oppression within Power Relations

People with disability were found, in this study, to experience oppression in four main ways: the denial of citizenship; segregation within institutions; being forced to live on the margins of social, economic and political society; and through practices exerted on the ‘disabled body’.

This research discussed the denial of citizenship, which in turn leads to an exacerbating political disenfranchisement, more directly through inaccessible voting processes and procedures, and routine exclusion from moving between nation states as an expression of political power. People with disability in Australia continue to be denied equitable citizenship rights, based on issues of their humanity (Cocks, 1996; Newell, 2005);

assumptions are made about them being cost intensive and burdensome (Jakubowski and Meekosha, 2000; Jolley, 1999); and in terms of their capacity to contribute to society (Goggin and Newell, 2005; Meekosha, 2000). The spirit of the 'White Australia' policy, which once excluded and marginalized people who were not Anglo Saxon, is now felt in policy aimed at excluding people with disability from the franchise.

Segregation within institutions, as explored through this research, revealed the experiences of people with disability within a regime of institutional living, where they are defined by and often claim only essentialist descriptors for themselves. Within these institutions, people with disability are denied equitable economic, political and social rights afforded to the 'privileged'.

This paper explored the process of de-institutionalisation, which was accelerated in the IYDP, and which often led to a precarious position of living on the margins. Sometimes, people with disability are returned to institutional settings like group homes and aged care facilities, which adopt oppressive institutional regimes, but are often the only option available to people with complex needs. De-institutionalisation was part of the vision of both streams of the Disability Rights Movement, however, its implementation was carried out through a policy of fiscal restraint rather than social concern, which led to less than liberatory outcomes for disabled people.

Therefore, people with disability continue to live on the margins due to: failed processes of de-institutionalisation (Burdekin, 1993; Jakubowski and Meekosha, 2001); individualised funding processes and "packages" which force people with disability to adopt essentialist descriptors of themselves; (Creedon, 1994; Leipolt, 2005) and the through dispossession of any sense of community (Clapton and Fitzgerald, 2004). Living on the margins, is another site of oppression. A challenge for the Disability Rights Movement has been how to move people with disability from living *in* the community, to being *part of* the community. This needs to be further addressed in light of the recent Federal Government considerations to further limit income support to people with

disability, and the continued climate of competition for resources and funding, which continue to reinforce the marginal positioning of people with disability in Australia.

The 'disabled body' is central to the positioning of people with disability as 'other' within Australia. The 'disabled body' is blamed, abused, incomplete, burdened, feared, and a threat to the integrity of the 'non-disabled body'. The disabled, deficient body is an identity created by the 'privileged'. The 'disabled body' is considered undesirable (Strahan, 2005) and frightening (Charlton, 2004; Newell, 2005). People with disability are therefore isolated and vulnerable to violence and homelessness (Clapton and Fitzgerald, 2004; Queensland Advocacy Incorporated, 2004). Some within our society still promote the dictum 'better dead than disabled' (Singer, 1994).

New Social Movements

This study started from the premise that conceptualising disability and a disability rights agenda, within a new social movement framework has had little publicity in Australia. People with disability are viewed individually or within the context of living with a disadvantage, rather than as a collective group with a range of collective needs. A cohesive movement of influence, power and identity, therefore, is not readily perceived (Newell, 1996; Russell, 1998).

New social movements operate within a post-modern philosophy (see Figure 1.2). They deconstruct and challenge power relations by reclaiming the identity of those 'othered' and promote alternative, empowering, counter-hegemonic agendas. It is through these counter-hegemonic strategies that the sampled movements of Women's Liberation and Indigenous Rights were able to leave significant footprints (see Chapter 4). The Disability Rights Movement has been shown to be divided between two streams. These streams represent different types of emancipatory movements.

The *ability stream* appears to operate more as a resource mobilisation movement, rather than a new social movement. Resource mobilisation is based on the activation of

resources surrounding singular issues and is focused on resource-orientated strategies to achieve prescribed goals (see Table 1.3). The ability stream, as described, is characterized by reactive responses to the contemporary oppressive experiences of people with disability in Australia, which illustrates some elements of a resource mobilisation movement. It focuses on the ability of people with disability to become like the 'privileged', rather than promoting a unique identity. Supporters of the ability stream have contributed significantly to the Disability Rights Movement, by contributing to political reforms and the achievement of better services. Advocates of the ability stream promote a sense of 'working within', as facilitated by SRV (Bleasdale, 1996; Parsons, 1999; Table 3.2). This could be described as a consumer movement, playing the same game as the 'privileged', and is therefore reactive to the conditions of oppression, focussing on service need and other resource related matters (Ellis, 2006; Parsons, 1999). The influence of stakeholders without disability is significant within this stream. Within the ability stream, disability remains stuck within modernity. It focuses on individual, essentialist descriptors which categorise and separate groups without engaging concepts of interrelatedness, connectedness and co-responsibility (Carling-Burzacott and Galloway, 2004). This does not enable supporters of the ability stream to address the oppression of the 'disabled body'. Supporters of the ability stream could be accused of maintaining (even unconsciously) the hierarchy of dominance through the acceptance of assimilation and inclusion on terms set by the 'privileged'. Efforts of the ability stream, and its promoters, are aimed at challenging issues of, for example, discrimination, under-resourcing, and inadequate/inappropriate service provision.

The *disability pride stream*, on the other hand, more closely resembles a new social movement with features of: fragmented identity; a focus on values; strategies of alliance building; and targeting value systems and social constructs as sites of control (see Table 1.3). In contrast to the ability stream, the disability pride stream reflects the social and paradox models of disability (see Table 3.2). Further to this, it proactively challenges society; challenges the 'privileged game' and demands that the rules be changed in a manner more often attributed to new social movements. Supporters of this stream are not popular with the media, who prefer images of tragic or inspirational disabled persons.

Promoters of the disability pride stream are proactive in their approach to oppression, and focus on the celebration of diversity and the value of the disabled identity, emphasising the responsibility of society to change to accommodate diversity. It is through this stream that the ‘disabled body’, as a site of oppression, can best be challenged and addressed. The disability pride stream challenges the hierarchy of dominance through its rejection of ‘privileged’ notions of identity, asserts an alternative culture, and a vision for the celebration of disability. In this sense, the disability pride stream more closely reflects a new social movement in its deconstruction of and reclaiming of identity. The disability pride stream embraces Foucault’s multi-dimensional view of power, where power relations are inherent within the hierarchy of dominance, and where people are both subject to and operators of power (Rees, 1991).

This research explored how public recognition and prominence has been restricted for the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. One reason is that the Disability Rights Movement was fuelled by a government sponsored, UN initiative—the International Year of the Disabled Person in 1981. This placed disability rights in the spotlight for a brief time, prior to the development of a strong sense of identity for the movement itself. Another factor is the differences between the two streams in disability activism, which send mixed messages into the public consciousness.

Implications & Recommendations: A Reflection

The social justice position of this research required an emancipatory approach through the demonstration of the researcher’s political, personal and moral commitment to the emancipation of people with disability from the hierarchy of dominance prevalent within Australian society. The implications and recommendations of this research are centred around this emancipation. Concomitantly, this research was framed as a relationship which would not privilege one position over another. Thus, the implications and recommendations from this research are not instructive, rather they are reflective of the relationship between the ‘privileged’ and oppressed ‘others’ involved in emancipation. This research encourages the different groups identified within this study, including people within the streams of the Disability Rights Movement and the people without

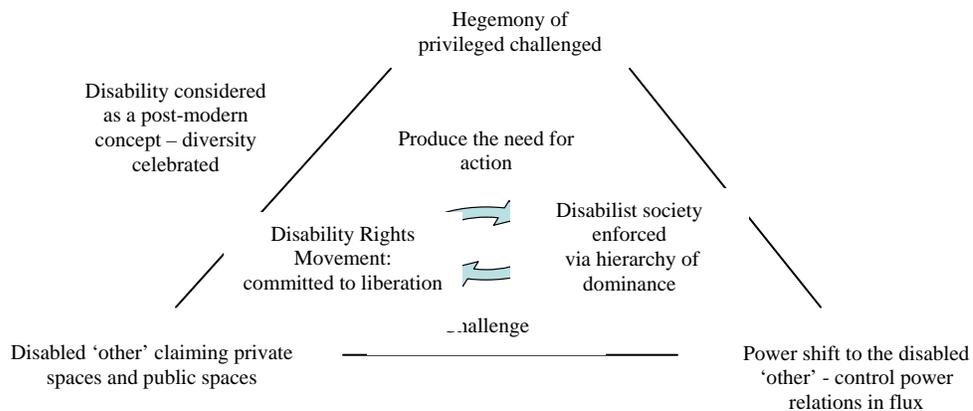
(including the ‘privileged’ and ‘other’ oppressed groups) to develop and operationalise more inclusive ways of working together. Through such a process, this research promotes the liberation of each of us from our superiority complexes and compliance with processes of inferiorization (Carling-Burzacott and Galloway, 2004), allowing us to begin to explore more inclusive ways of being with each other.

This study contributes to the broader field of social policy, through the promotion of a post-modern understanding and agenda for emancipation, which is distanced from the oppressive discourses of professionalism (Morely and Ife, 2002). It contributes an understanding of the oppression of people with disability and provides direction for the future facilitation of these rights through the recognition and naming of platforms for future direction. This research was positioned as having a political commitment to the emancipation of the disabled ‘other’ (Oliver, 1999; Priestly, 1997; Swain and Cameron, 1999). This was evidenced in its contribution to an understanding of both the positioning of people with disability in Australia and of the Disability Rights Movement.

This positioning of the research leads to a reflection on post-modern philosophies of power and oppression, and therefore towards the promotion of a post-modern agenda of emancipation. This research sought to consider disability as a post-modern concept, offering an alternative understanding of society, where macro theories and grand narratives are rejected in favour of creating multiple meanings to demonstrate dynamic, fluid interactions (see Figure 6.2). The confluence of the streams studied makes it difficult to contribute a post-modern understanding of disability in Australia. The main ideologies underlying the streams—SRV and the social model—also contradict post-modern understandings. Both of these theories of disability tend to create “totalising, meta-historical narratives that exclude important dimensions of disabled people’s lives and of their knowledge” (Corker and Shakespeare, 2002, p.15). Recent post-modern theories are having an emergent impact on disability theory in general, and on understanding disability specifically (Dempsey and Nankervis, 2006). The impact of this has been felt within the disability pride stream, where supporters have begun to define disability outside of narrow functional definitions, outside of the economy, and

where diversity has been more openly embraced and celebrated through the development of disability culture. It is within this context that many supporters of the disability pride stream have positioned their struggle against the hierarchy of dominance.

Figure 6.4 An Alternative Agenda for the Disability Rights Movement in Australia



Binary notions hide the relationship of oppression and privilege between people in ‘othered’ groups, and it is only through the recognition of relationships that we reclaim the space between these groups, which enables us to work towards a different relationship.

When disability is considered within this post-modern context diversity is celebrated, the hegemony of the ‘privileged’ is challenged, power relations shift, and people with disability are able to control their own private spaces as well as share more equitably within the public space, which represents heightened social, economic and political participation (see Figure 6.2). The current lack of unity within the Disability Rights Movement has confused the development of counter-hegemonic strategies that can engage in this challenge. A recognition and acknowledgement of the streams within the movement can be used as a basis for moving towards developing clear strategies to challenge and develop relationships with the ‘privileged’.

The Disability Rights Movement is currently fragmented, divided and largely invisible within Australia (see Figure 6.1). A post-modern understanding of disability, could

contribute to a shifting of power relations and a (re)claiming of public and private spaces by disabled ‘others’ (see Figure 6.2). Through a post-modern understanding, people with disability participate in power relations, contributing to their own liberation, emphasising a need for the streams to reconcile an identity unrestricted by the economy or professional and medical regimes, and of current hegemonic perceptions, which presently contribute to their oppression. Through the adoption of *différance*, binary oppositions separating people as more or less privileged are revealed and rejected, and spaces within which differences emerge can be considered in a more relational way.

Complimentary to this, power regimes that reinforce hegemony need to be further deconstructed (see Figure 6.2). For people with disability in Australia this would include a deconstruction of the regime of normalcy, which places ‘disabled bodies’ outside the paradigm of humanity. Other areas to be deconstructed include: institutional practices, which disempower people with disability; citizenship legislation, which privileges non-disabled people; and medical and professional controls, which exclude people with disability from decisions over their own lives.

The Disability Rights Movement clearly has a significant role to play within this deconstruction (see Figure 6.2). This movement can leave footprints through developing a relationship between the streams, where supporters of each stream unite around common goals. Both the ability and disability pride streams have different motivations for challenging modernist boundaries, however, uniting around common goals (which this research evidenced through a recording of events, see Chapter 5) could be a legitimate way forward for the Disability Rights Movement in Australia.

Platforms identified through the research (see Chapter 5) centre around the themes of the domains—identified areas which are important areas of struggle, with the potential to unite currently fragmented struggles. The continued denial of full citizenship rights for people with disability was evidenced as a recurring issue. Recreating alternative arrangements to institutions is another issue which has become an ever increasing concern for people with disability in Australia. The movement can unite to promote

genuine community inclusion through the reconstruction of identity, where people with disability are considered outside existing essentialist descriptors that impose political, social and economic boundaries. Both streams can further explore, and challenge, beauty myths and misconceptions regarding quality of life for people with disability. Genuine inclusion in issues relating to disability is another platform for the movement, involving the reclaiming of decision making powers over their own lives, and the protection of others. For example, people with disability should be major stakeholders on ethics committees concerning abortion and stem cell research.

A major finding of this research is the lack of unity within the Disability Rights Movement, which was revealed as impeding it from moving forward. A deeper analysis of this lack is clearly needed; however, this was beyond the scope of this research. Through research, a tool for a deeper analysis of the movement was provided. The part of the analytic tool representing the domains provides a measure of the ongoing struggles inherent within a society which positions people as 'other', while the segment of the tool devoted to the details and dimensions provides a basis for further research, and for the engagement of movement participants in dialogue and activism. This research could enable a deeper sense of reflection within service provision and activism, where people begin to acknowledge the motivations for their actions and decisions, whilst challenging them to embrace a broader, post-modern understanding of their actions.

Logically, the next step for this research would be its translation into action, focussing on the application of the findings to practical settings. In recognition of this goal, I would recommend the dissemination of the reported results for challenge, authentication and investigation by people with disability, a process which could occur through the facilitation of focus groups including people with disability, or the semi-structured interviewing of people with disability. This research has revealed an overwhelming lack of resources devoted to disability, disability rights, and the Disability Rights Movement in Australia. Detailed histories, autobiographies, published stories and event recordings could all enable greater group and public consciousness surrounding the 'othering' of people with a disability in Australia. Other recommendations include moving deeper

within the Disability Rights Movement; to work comparatively across Australian movements, especially with the aim of accommodating a nexus of oppression experienced by movement participants, and to explore international movements.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A	Coding Register for Documents
APPENDIX B	Extended version of Table 3.1: Chronology of Disability in Australia, 1788 - 2006
APPENDIX C	Bibliography for Women's Liberation Movement
APPENDIX D	Bibliography for Indigenous Rights Movement
APPENDIX E	Proforma for Annotations
APPENDIX F	Notes: Data Reduction Phase

Appendix A

CODING REGISTER FOR DOCUMENTS

Code	Description
LC1	Life cycle: roots of the rights struggle
LC2	Life cycle: phases through which it evolved
LC3	Life cycle: reflections on how it has altered over time
Th1	Theme: <i>identities</i> : collective challenge, common purpose, solidarity; sustained interaction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ What brought this movement together? ➤ What kept this movement together? Issues? ➤ What conditions sustained this movement? Social? Political? etc
Th2	Theme: <i>processes, present</i> : present reconstructions, actions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ What organisations are sustaining this movement? ➤ Who is active in this movement in Australia today? ➤ What is happening in the political sphere? ➤ How is the movement being sustained?
Th3	Theme: <i>processes, past</i> : sustainability, viability , growth, actions, actors, alliances <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ How has it been sustained? ➤ How has it grown? ➤ How has it remained viable? ➤ What forms of activism have been used? ➤ Who are the key actors, and what are their characteristics? ➤ What alliances have been formed?
Th4	Theme: <i>catalysts</i> : epiphany moments, cycles of protest <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ More depth than in “life cycle” section ➤ Describe the mechanics of the epiphany moments ➤ What can the disability movement learn from the catalysts of other movements?
DS1	Can this document be <i>used to inform the disability struggle: nexus of oppression</i> between movements
DS2	Can this document be <i>used to inform the disability struggle: themes that do not fit above, but relate to the human rights struggle of the movement(s)</i>
DS3	Can this document be used to <i>inform the disability struggle: themes that do not fit above, but relate to themes of power and oppression</i>
DS4	Can this document be used to <i>inform the disability struggle: themes that do not fit above, but related to foresight/visioning, social and political change, and similar themes</i>

Appendix B

Extended version of Table 3.1: Chronology of Disability in Australia, 1788 - 2006

1788	First Fleet arrives in Australia
1811	Australia's first asylum opens at Castle Hill
1843	The Lunacy Act
1847	The Convict, Lunatic, and Invalid Establishment opens in Parramatta
1848	Yarra Bend Asylum opens in Victoria
1856	The Institution of Deaf, Dumb and Blind Children established
1859	Charles Darwin's 'Origin of the Species' published – proposing evolution
1861	Benevolent Asylums Wards Act
1862	'Lunatic' persons become the responsibility of the prison system under the new Act
1887	'Kew Cottages Idiot Colony' established for children in Melbourne
1890s	The Colony of New South Wales introduces an old age pension and 'invalid' pension
1890	Victorian Government resolves not to educate "defective children"
1895	Australia's first polio outbreak recorded in South Australia
1901	Federation
1902	Commonwealth Franchise Act. Section 4: denies voting rights to persons of 'unsound mind'
1902	Australian blind persons entitled to vote under federal electoral laws
1907	NSW Invalidity and Accident Pensions Act
1908	Invalid and Old Age Pensions Act – scheme in effect in 1910
1911 – 1932	Influence of the Eugenics Movement in Australia
1913	The Adult Deaf and Dumb Society established in New South Wales
1914 – 1916	Return of World War I disabled veterans
1919	Commonwealth's 'Repatriation Commission' established to target assistance for ex-serviceman
1926	The Race Improvement Society set up with eugenics doctrine
1927	Royal Commission into Child Endowment or Family Allowances
1927	Yooralla (in Victoria) restricts admission to the 'educatable'

1928	The Race Improvement Society becomes the Racial Hygiene Association
1930s	Great Depression Menzie's United Australia Government established Parliamentary Joint Committee on Social Security
1933	First folding, tubular wheelchair invented
1936 – 1938	Australia's second polio epidemic
1939 – 1945	Return of World War II disabled veterans
1941	Curtin Labour Government Vocational Training Scheme for Invalid Pensioners
1941	Australian amendment to the Invalid Pensions Act by which pensions could be considered as a training allowance
1941	Discovery of link between Rubella in pregnant women and blindness in newborn babies
1944	Australian Advisory Council for the Physically Handicapped established
1945 – 1947	Third polio epidemic recorded
1945	Re-establishment and Employment Act for returned forces The New South Wales Society for Crippled Children United Nations formally established
1948	Commonwealth Rehabilitation Service established primarily for ex-serviceman
1950s	'Sheltered Workshops' first appear for children with disabilities
1951 – 1954	Return of disabled veterans from the Korean War
1951	Fourth polio epidemic recorded
1952	First guide dog training centre in Australia – Perth, The Sunnyfield Association
1952	Blind Pension is exempted from assets means test
1954	Aged and Disabled Persons' Homes Act
1954	Fifth and final outbreak of polio
1957	Australian Association for Mental Retardation (later known as National Council for Intellectual Disability) established
1958	Victoria's first 'sheltered workshop' set up by VSCCA
1958	Boyer Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Public Service Recruitment: implications for people with disability
1960s	Text telephones invented
1960	Racial Hygiene Association becomes the Family Planning Association

- 1960 First Australian Paraplegic Games – Albert Park, Vic
First Paralympics Games in Rome
- 1962 National Guide Dog Centre established
- 1963 Australian Council for Rehabilitation On the Disabled (ACROD) formed from the service provider coalition Australian Advisory Council on the Handicapped
- 1963 Disabled Persons' Accommodation Act
- 1965 – 1971 Australians return from the Vietnam War
- 1967 Commonwealth Sheltered Employment Assistance Act
First draft code on building design for physical accessibility published by the Australian standard association
- 1969 Handicapped Children Assistance Act
States Grants (Home Care) Act 1969
- 1972 - 1975 Whitlam Government elected (with a 'reformist' agenda)
- 1972 'National Health Bill, which introduced the domiciliary nursing benefit' World Rehabilitation Congress, Sydney
- 1973 Woodhouse Report – proposing a national rehabilitation and compensation scheme
1974 Handicapped Persons' Assistance Act
- 1974 Mental Health Act (Queensland)
- 1975 Established National Federation of Blind Citizens Australia
United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Disabled Persons: proclaims the right of all person with disability
Henderson Commission of Inquiry into Poverty in Australia links disability and poverty
- 1975 Family Planning Association deletes eugenics clause from their charter
- 1976 First print-to-speech reading machine invented (Kurzeil Reading Machine)
- 1976 UN Declaration of the Rights of Disabled Persons: one of the first documents to articulate the view that people with disability have the right to enjoy a decent life
- 1977 Commonwealth Rehabilitation Service changes its eligibility to include all people with disability of working age, including women
- 1977 Commission of Inquiry into Poverty includes disability for the first time
- 1978 World's first cochlear implant operation was performed at the Royal Victorian Eye and Ear Hospital
- 1980 Formation of local, state and national committees for International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP)
- 1981 International Year of the Disabled Person
- 1981 Delegates sent to first DPI Assembly in Singapore

- 1981 Federal programs of Aid for Disabled Persons
- 1981 Human Rights Commission Act (Commonwealth)
- 1981 Survey of Handicapped Persons: ABS conducts first survey to obtain information re: nature and extent of various disabilities and handicaps in the community.
- 1982 McLeay Committee recommends an Attendant Care allowance
- 1982 Review of the Handicapped Persons Assistance Act 1974
- Dec 1982 World Programme of Action concerning Disabled Persons, adopted by UN General Assembly
- 1983 – 1993 United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons
- 1983 Federal Labour Government elected – funding self help groups; consumer groups
Richmond Report: Recommended moving people out of psychiatric wards to be cared for in the community
Disability Advisory Council of Australia established
DPI(A) given a federal grant of \$50 000 – DPI(A) established in Australia
Disabled People’s International (Australia) Ltd forms with a human rights focus in Melbourne
- 1985 New Directions report released – Federal government’s report of the Handicapped Persons Assistance Act and Programs Review
National Occupational Health and Safety Commission Act
Home and Community Care Act
DPI(A)’s grant increased to \$100 000
Senate Select Committee on Private Hospitals and Nursing Homes: recommending de-institutionalisation
- 1986 Home and Community Care program established
Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Discrimination Act
Schizophrenia Australia established
Affirmative Action Act
“National and state demonstrations led by DPI(A) on the need for attendant care programs”
DPI(A) relocates to Canberra
Disability Services Act (Commonwealth) covering: Commonwealth Rehabilitation Service; Business Services (NOTE: name change from sheltered workshops); Open employment services; Guiding principles and objectives for service provision
Attendant Care Scheme established
- 1987 Hornsby Challenge: one of the first organisations to close their institutions
- 1987 Disability Services Act proclaimed
- 1988 Release of “Towards Enabling Policies: Income Support for People with Disabilities”

Review of the Home and Community Care Program
Survey of Disabled and Aged Persons, ABS: 15.6% of population disabled
Department of Health and Community Services Working group on disability Services Act service provider eligibility issues
National Council on Intellectual Disability, ACROD, and DPI(A), a discussion paper on the rights of people with disabilities

- Commonwealth Program for Schools publish guidelines on quality of education for children with disabilities
 Late 1980s DPI(A)'s focus changes to consumer rights under new funding guidelines
 Introduction of the Disability Support Pension (to replace the Invalid Pension)
 1990 Report of the Senate Standing Committee on Community Affairs: Accommodation for People with Disabilities
 Survey of mental health services consumers on National Mental Health policy
 DPI(A) Strategic Plan funding given by Department Community Services
 Conference on Sterilisation from the point of view of disabled people (held in Victoria)
- 1991 Commonwealth-State Disability Agreement
 Social Security Act
 Disability Reform Package: Disability Support Pension replaces Invalid Pension and two minor payments.
- 1991 – 1993 All governments sign the first Commonwealth/State Disability Agreement (second one in 1997)
- 1992 Marion Case: illegal to sterilize a girl under 18 years unless (Family) Court directed. (see Hastings, 1998)
 Disability Discrimination Act (Federal)
 Government introduction of the Disability Reform Package
 Strategy for consumer rights and responsibilities for people with disabilities (Moyle, 1992) released.
- 1993 United Nations Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities for People with Disabilities
 Commonwealth Disability Strategy
 Burdekin Inquiry: into human rights of People with Disabilities
 Elizabeth Hastings appointed Disability Discrimination Commissioner
- 1994 Women with Disabilities Australia (WWDA) Incorporated
 Scott Vs Telstra – TTY for deaf and won
- 1995 DPI(A) in receivership
- 1996 Coalition Government: individualised funding focus and rhetoric of 'mutual obligation'
 DPI(A) deregistered
 National Disability Advisory Council established
- 1996 – 1997 Federal budget – significant changes to welfare reforms
- 1997 Report Commissioned by HREOC by Brady and Grover regarding sterilizations
- 1998 ABS records 19% of Australians have a disability
- 1998 Sharaz Kiane – sets himself on fire on steps of parliament re: disabled daughters denial of visa
- 1998 Powers of Attorney Act (Queensland)
- 1999 Maguire vs. SOCOG
- 1999 Carer Allowance introduced
- 2000 Paralympics, Sydney

Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (HREOC) inquiry into accessibility of elections to people with disabilities
De-institutionalisation complete in Tasmania – first state to make this claim

- 2001 International Year of Volunteers
Australian representatives on UN Ad Hoc Committee
- 2002 Stem Cell debate in parliament
Christopher Reeve visits Australia
- 2002 ‘Australians Working Together’ introduced: implications for people with disabilities
- 2002 Residential Services Act (re hostels) – Hostels regulated to meet criteria (see QAI)
- 2002 – 2003 Federal Budget
- No assistance re: full potential
- DSP (Goggin and Newell, debates)
- 2004 HREOC Report - “A Last Resort”
- 2004 Australian consultations on UN Disability Rights Convention
- 2005 Cornelia Rau, a woman with a mental illness, imprisoned in Baxter Detention Centre
- 2005 – 2006 Federal Budget introduces the Comprehensive Work Capacity Assessment (CWCA)

References: Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2003; Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, 2001; Banks and Kayess, 1998; Brady and Grover, 1997; Butow, 1994; Clear, 2000; Cooper, 1999; Disability Services Australia, 2004; Disability Services Australia, 2006; Goggin and Newell, 2005; Hastings, 1998; Healy, 2003; Howe and Burdige, 2005; H.R.E.O.C., 1993; Jolley, 1999; Macali, 2005; Malhotra, 2001; Newell, 2005; Ozdowski, 2002; Queensland Advocacy Incorporated, 2004; State Records NSW, 2006; Van Dam and Cameron-McGill, 1995; Way, 2002.

Appendix C

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Appendix D

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APPENDIX E

Proforma for Annotations

Reference	
Contributions: * * * *	
Abstract	
Coding (see Coding Register)	
Lifecycle Codes:	
Theme Codes:	
Informing DRM Codes:	

APPENDIX F

Notes: Data Reduction Phase

(Summary of notes made from annotations during the data reduction phase)

Women In Australia	Indigenous Australians
<p>Collective identity – redefined woman Reclaim the Night – IWD Marches Wider Debates – Vietnam War No single feminist position Collective memory and political consciousness Value of writings which informed feminism WAC – equality, reform, no political affiliation Women’s Refuge Movement Unique Australian Movement Demonstrations – no peak body – autonomy - flexibility - unpredictability Rewrite history – HERstory Strategy – develop infrastructure: infiltrate decision making processes; individual networks; service development focus Strategy – establish identity and need Consciousness Raising – work together to form a political agenda – social problems PERSONAL is POLITICAL Redefine identity Femocrats as a considered strategy Limited agendas – middle class (second wave) Liberation Agenda: action; interaction; demands; debates on local to global level; broad agenda not limited to equality Collective action = solidarity (eg. Tram Ride) Individual Action – side support = solidarity (eg. Zelda) Public/Private divide – citizenship Legal barriers removed – application now needed Broad, democratic, inclusive -> shared vision Continue to need politics of representation Two strategies – 1. held individuals, personal assistance; 2. confront external targets</p>	<p>Fight for basic civil rights Symbolic action -> Tent Embassy Issues unite <- Diverse population Lack leadership and vision Effective protest: independent agendas Identity formation -> Flag Day of Mourning / Memorials – national observances Government cooption Identity problems -> ATSIC abolished Present divisions: compromise vs sustained protest Rewrite history – Individual perspective Simple solutions – complex problems No official treaty – see International Standard Political lack of recognition Land Rights – Unite Government driven policies and dialogue Infrastructure inequalities Controversial, theatrical, symbolic Dominant personalities – debate - unite Citizenship – recognition Explore new opportunities brought by globalisation Consciousness Raising – demonstrations, Freedom Rides Galloway’s 8 key issues for reconciliation -> drive the Indigenous Rights Movement in this area. Part of rhetoric – part of practice Long Walk, 2004 – media coverage. Focus: reconciliation, human rights, documentation of reconciliation and constitutional issues, renewing a nation</p>