Unacknowledged Traces

Exploring through photographic records the self-organisation of disabled people in England from the 1920s to the 1970s

Tony Baldwinson

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This research is dedicated to:

Kevin Hyett (1958 – 2004)

disabled activist and photographer;

and

Ken Lumb (1941 – 2009)

disabled activist, painter and writer.

Acknowledgements

As a non-disabled ally of the movement; and I guess my roots draw strength first from being with disabled people in my extended family as I grew up. Then there was the late 1970s with student *Community Action* at UMIST in Manchester (Paul Baker, Gill Margoram, Martin Pagel), the 1980s with *Manchester Mind* (Alistair Cox), the *Greater Manchester Housing and Disability Group* (Vivienne Stone, Neville Strowger, Dorothy Whittaker) and from then to the present day with the *Greater Manchester Coalition of Disabled People* (Cathy Avison, Liz Avison, Lorraine Gradwell, Brenda Hilditch, Brian Hilton, Kevin Hyett, Brian Kokoruwe, Ken Lumb, Anne Plumb, Audrey Stanton, Ian Stanton, Pam Thomas and others). I have also had an interest in photography from an early age, and someone kindly said that it was as if I was the Coalition's 'unofficial photographer'.

In the early 2000s I was looking at ways in which I might help in placing the old photographs of disabled people's organisations into the public domain in a way which gave them the weight and respect they deserved – the unacknowledged traces of resistance, emancipation and self-organisation that was being lost in official and academic studies, I felt. I am very grateful to my supervisors, past and present, who have been with me on this journey (Carol McKay, Arabella Plouviez, Alan Roulstone, Mitzi Waltz), and the many people who have been generous to me with their time and thoughts (Colin Barnes, Barry Croft, Liz Crow, Jim Rawlings, Mark Sealy, Vanessa Toulmin) and others who have helped me with advice and encouragement. Of course, any mistakes are mine.

Most of all, my love and gratitude is to Lorraine Gradwell, my wife, partner and friend for her support to me and her endurance of my piles of books and papers.

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Introduction

The aim of this research is to examine the photographic archives of three Disabled People's Organisations in England from the 1920s to the 1970s, and informed by interviews with three knowledgeable people in this research topic area, to find again some voices of disabled people, which pre-date the emergence of the Social Model of Disability from 1975 onwards yet still indicate noticeable levels of political activity, self-awareness and effective social action prior to this period.

First I shall set out the various contexts for this research, including the terminologies and political debates within the British disabled people's movement; disability studies and social policy, cultural studies and photography scholarship which all inform this research, borrowing also when necessary from visual sociology and from ethnographic practices. The location of this research is at the intersect of these disciplines, and thus uses a methodology which is grounded in this interdisciplinary approach.

The three selected organisations have photographic records from three different periods: where the National League for the Blind and Disabled (NLBD) has key images from 1920 to 1936; the Disabled Drivers Association (DDA) has images from the 1940s onwards; and where the Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club (MDDSC) has images which are towards the end of the research period in the mid-1970s.

My research follows a distinction made in the disabled people's movement that separates discussions around disabled people away from discussions around disability. The central point is that issues concerning disabled people follow the policy statement: 'nothing about us without us'; whereas disability discussions can focus sometimes entirely on the views of non-disabled people such as carers, professionals, family members or even politicians. Specifically for this research there is a crucial distinction made between Disability Organisations (DOs) and Disabled People's Organisations (DPOs). DOs are typically better resourced than DPOs, and are often run as charities with staffing and governance consisting mostly of non-disabled people, and especially higher in the organisation where resources and policy are mostly controlled. DPOs on the other hand tend to be less well resourced, with a stronger radicalism to their policies and campaigns, and are governed by and, if resources allow, mostly staffed by disabled people. Some DOs will claim that they have an objective to become a DPO, and that they seek to adopt the values of a DPO, but this type of claim is not always convincing, especially to the groupings of DPOs which form the collection of more radical organisations of disabled people.

On terminology, for reasons of historical accuracy and rigour the original language and phrases are quoted when necessary in this research, and this may disconcert some readers not familiar with such sources, especially when years of campaigning have been dedicated to eradicating offensive language such as 'cripple' from modern use.

Barnes and Mercer (2010) and Stiker (1999) caution against plotting any history of disabled people as a steady trajectory from cruel and violent early beginnings on to a modern enlightenment, adding the need for a strong theoretical analysis and for being based on empirical evidence (Barnes and Mercer 2010: 14-5). This research thus seeks to take a nuanced and authentic approach in uncovering a little-studied aspect of the history of disabled people in England by being empirically grounded in contemporaneous photographic material, instances of which have been selected for their potential to demonstrate a social awareness and a political context. Perhaps this research may also be seen as within the tradition of emancipatory research, to the extent that its findings may provide some usefulness to the disabled peoples' movement. Finally, this research seeks to argue that disabled people's political awareness and actions prior to the mid 1970s in England had more knowledge and power than is sometimes allowed for in other historical accounts.

The organisational archives and the interviews have all been located within England, although some of the organisations have, at times, had a coverage of Britain (that is, England, Scotland and Wales) and in one case also the island of Ireland prior to partition. Nevertheless this research is not rooted in wider national and cultural traditions beyond England and therefore makes no claim to a wider application, though at times it is informed by the historical works of others who have taken a wider remit such as by disabled people in Britain or overseas including internationally in the majority world.

Figure 1: Baldwinson, Tony. (1994). Disabled People "Rights Now" demonstration in Whitehall campaigning for Anti-Discrimination Law in the UK, London, 9 July 1994. (author's collection)

Chapter 1 – Literature Review and Methodology

Introduction

Some of the organisations still run by disabled people in England have their origins in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and to date their photographic records has not been widely researched. Later, in the mid twentieth century we see the rise of new social movements including radical campaigns by disabled people for civil rights, and with this the development of the social model of disability to counteract the prevailing medical model which placed the deficit on the disabled person. The presumption has been that before the new social movements existed, the prevailing images of disabled people were mainly as Others such as freaks or medical objects. The development of the social model of disability is widely seen a landmark moment in the disabled people's movement in England and further afield.

This chapter therefore starts with a discussion on the social model of disability, its origins and contexts, followed by some current criticisms and responses. The stereotyped representations of disabled people within narratives and imagery are described and discussed, showing a development in the production and analysis of images which mirrors the political debates around the social model. The production of photographs of disabled people *by* disabled people is considered with references to other forms of vernacular photography by non-disabled people, and with references to understanding and analysing photographs as authentic historical documents.

1.1 The social model of disability

A central strand throughout this research is the Radical Social Model of Disability. It is introduced in this chapter along with its developments since 1975 in scholarly and in disability movement publications. It is discussed in further detail is the later chapter on social context, and is developed there to consider historical images, stereotypes and counter-examples to these stereotypes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This research starts from the grounding of the Radical Social Model analysis within Disability Studies as an empowering instrument for the UK Disabled Peoples Movement. The groundbreaking work of Hunt (1972), Finkelstein (1980), Morris (1992), Oliver (1990), Barnes (1992) was started in the 1970s and 1980s and was then sustained by them and others including Thomas, Shakespeare, Roulstone, Reiser. In particular for this research, Hevey's (1992) work on imagery of disabled people, complimented by scholars internationally particularly in the USA with disabled people's organisations informed by and adding to the Civil Rights tradition, has fed back into the UK through organisations such as the Campaign for Accessible Transport (CAT) and later the Disabled People's Direct Action Network (DAN).

The disabled writer Paul Hunt had written in 1966 about the oppressive approaches used to describe disabled people:

> "Disabled people and their organisations have been drawing attention to the connection between disablist imagery, the media and discrimination since at least the 1960s. In 1966 the disabled writer Paul Hunt expressed the views of many when he wrote 'We are tired of being statistics, cases, wonderfully courageous examples to the world, pitiable objects to stimulate funding'." (Barnes 1992: 6)

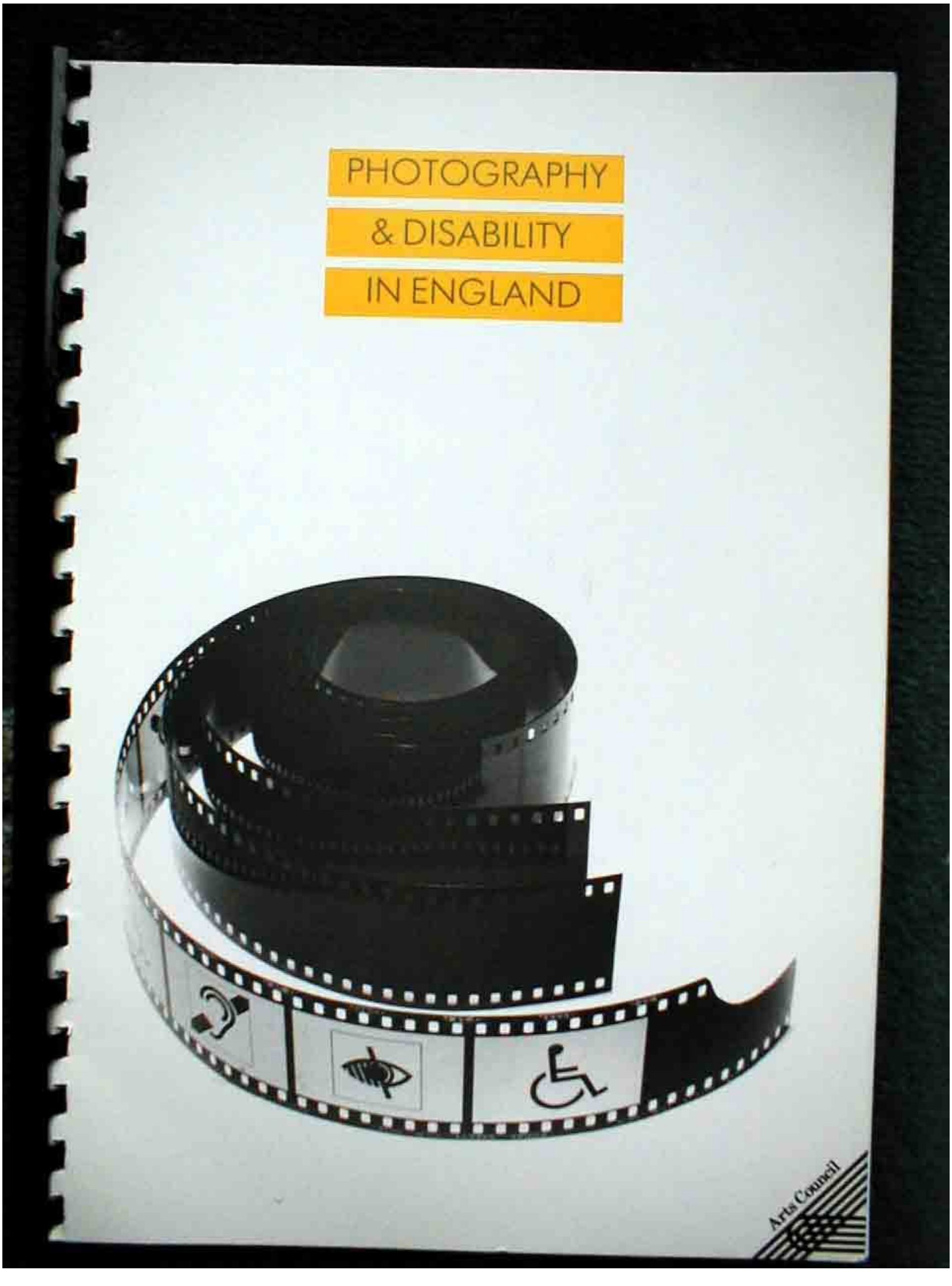
On 20 September 1972 Paul Hunt had a letter published in *The Guardian* newspaper saying, "I am proposing the formation of a consumer group to put forward nationally the views of actual and potential residents of these successors to the workhouse." (Hunt, Letter to The Guardian 1972) Ten years later the Social Model of Disability was in wide circulation, both within academic debates and within the practices of Disabled People's Organisations. The creation of the Social Model of Disability is a key moment in the history of the Disabled People's Movement in England, and marks the chronological end-point of this research's case studies.

This letter was followed up by a similar letter in 1973 published in *Magic Carpet*, the journal of the Disabled Drivers Association (Hunt 1973). These letters led to the formation of the Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation, UPIAS. In 1975 UPIAS issued its Fundamental Principles of Disability (UPIAS 1975) which set out what they called a Social Theory of Disability, such that

> "it is society which disables physically impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group in society." (UPIAS 1975)

This new approach was developed further by Michael Oliver in the early 1980s within academic debates as the Social Model of Disability (Oliver 1981) (Oliver 1983).

Although there has been some consideration of imagery and disabled people (Barnes 1992) (Crow, Crow and Ormston 1990) (Hevey 1992) (Sontag 1973) (Garland Thomson 1997), from interviews for this research it is apparent that the study of the photographic records of disabled people's organisations has been relatively absent from the literature (Lumb 2004) (Crow 2010). The argument here is that exploring these partial and perhaps fragile archives in a systematic and rigorous manner will lead to a better understanding of the development of the disability movement in Britain in the period prior to the emergence of the Social Model of Disability and its associated further politicisation of disability politics.



PHOTOGRAPHY
& DISABILITY
IN ENGLAND

Arts Council

Figure 2: Arts Council England. (1990). *Front cover of report: Photography and Disability in England.*

As already suggested, the letter by Paul Hunt printed in The Guardian UK newspaper in 1972 calling on disabled people to contact him if interested in resisting segregation is a turning point in the UK history of disabled people's campaigns. The responses to his letter led to the founding of UPIAS, the Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS), which by the time it had disbanded itself in 1990 had been instrumental with Finkelstein and others in the establishment of the British Council of Organisations of Disabled People (BCODP) and in co-founding Disabled Peoples' International (DPI). What was different here was that disabled people had created a series of political rather than welfare organisations. The founders of UPIAS had a very clear analysis of disability as a creation of modern capitalism and its industrialisation, where people might have an impaired body but it is the way that society is organised around profit and labour that leads to the need for rules and structures which control and limit disabled people.

The early 1980s saw the ideas around the social model enter into academic study, where disability is identified as a social and political set of restrictions placed by society on people with physical, mental and sensory impairments. The contrast was with the prevailing 'medical model' where the deficit was located within the impaired person, a model which continues to have power in the twenty first century. Nearly thirty years ago, Michael Oliver (n.d.: 23) noted a "new paradigm [which] involves nothing more or less fundamental than a switch away from focusing on the physical limitations of particular individuals to the way the physical and social environments impose limitations". He developed this analysis further by highlighting the work of UPIAS (the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation) which "argue[d] that such disabilities will only be removed by disabled people themselves engaged in active 'struggles'." (Oliver n.d.: 24). This approach was contrasted with that of Shearer (1981) which is based on "asking society (i.e. abled-bodied society) to remove the disabilities imposed upon impaired individuals" cited in (Oliver n.d.: 24).

This new and radical debate was rare within sociology and social work practice at the time: as Oliver noted, there were no books then "solely devoted to the topic of social work and physical disability" (Oliver n.d.: 27). An extension to the description of the social model of disability within the educational realm, if not the activist realm, has been proposed by Priestly (2003) as shown in Table 1 below. In producing this typology of models, Priestly notes that, "there is room for considerable amount of overlap between the basic types outlined" (Priestly 2003: 16).

The social model of disability is currently taught in English secondary school sixth forms and further education colleges within the Sociology A2 curriculum, and in universities at an undergraduate level. However, an introductory text for students at the A2 level includes a curious statement claiming that "mobilising such a movement has been particularly problematic, not only because of the wide variety of disabilities, but also because such a movement could serve to confirm, rather than weaken, the view that disabled people's identities are defined through their disability." (Bilton 2002: 92) without further discussion or reference.

Table 1 “Four approaches to disability” (Priestly, 2003: 16)

	Materialist explanations	Idealist explanations
Individual models	biology	psychology
Social models	structure	culture

Further, the social model of disability is not strongly evident in a general undergraduate textbook (Giddens 2001) where neither *disabled people* nor *social model* are in the index, neither are disabled people included under *discrimination*, and the limited discussion of disability is within a section on “Illness as ‘lived experience’” (Giddens 2001: 160-1).

Where the social model of disability is covered in academic discourse such as within disability studies, it is as a strongly contested area. There is a view that the medical model and the social model of disability are ‘archetypes’ which form extreme ends of a spectrum where various interpretations can be usefully made (Shakespeare 2006). This is at odds with the experience of many disabled people, who still find that their introduction to the social model is a profoundly liberating and re-framing experience. This adherence to the social model as an emancipatory tool does not negate the realities of bodily impairment, for example it does not provide relief from impairment effects such as pain, but it does provide an explanation for many limitations by placing their design within social and political structures and choices, and thereby provides an indication of how to challenge and change such limitations as discrimination and not leave these limitations as some form of expressed natural order or essentialist condition.

So, for example, when the Disabled People’s Movement is criticised for being too adherent to the social model of disability (Smith 2009) it is as if the movement were one organisation with a corporate policy whereas it is a range of organisations and individuals with a flux and flow of ideas; without recognising that the movement includes a steady stream of new ‘adherents’ for whom the social model is a powerful explanation of their life experiences of discrimination; and without making any distinction between *disability* organisations and *disabled people’s* organisations as though they had identical interests and were mutually benevolent.

The social model is also contested by being re-interpreted, where Smith (2009) argues for a ‘social construction of disablement’ even though accepting this interpretation would “concede some limited ground to the medical model ... and therefore admit that having certain medical impairments at least in certain respects is deficient (in a non-social sense), albeit that these are deficiencies reinforced and compounded by discriminatory social practices.” (Smith 2009: 25). Table 2 by Smith summarises this interpretation.

Table 2: Extract from – "Interpretations of the medical and social models" (Smith 2009: 22).

Medical models	1. full-essentialist individual deficiency interpretation (FEID)
	2. part-essentialist individual deficiency interpretation (PEID)
Social models	3. politics of disablement interpretation (POD)
	4. social construction of disablement interpretation (SCOD)

Others take a slightly more nuanced approach, for example (Vehmas and Makela 2009) state their agreement with "the basic idea of disability as a social category and social construction" but also suggest that

> "the social model has been accused of falling into a modernistic trap where disability is seen as social and political, and impairment as biological and personal. Many postmodernist scholars have compellingly argued that things are not that simple. Entities considered as purely physical or biological, such as impairments, are also cultural and social entities (Hughes 1999, Morris 1991; Shakespeare 2006; Shakespeare and Watson 2001; Thomas 1999; Wendell 1996)." (Vehmas and Makela 2009: 43)

Thus there is an attempt to use a post-modernist emphasis of different voices and identities to apply something more nuanced than a "Cartesian world-view ... [with its] dichotomies where, for example, human beings are seen to be constituted of two separate entities, namely mind and body" (Vehmas and Makela 2009: 43) to try and arrive at "a reconciling view between the extreme medical and the extreme social positions" (Vehmas and Makela 2009: 44).

For this research, the approach taken is to recognise disability as a social power production, whereby people with impairments are constructed as 'Other' and are thereby disabled *by* society which uses its instruments of laws, policies, dominant cultures and institutions to control, regulate and produce a discourse of the thus *disabled* person as an object of tragedy and of being subject to pity, care, sometimes blame and sometimes a redemptive cure, but always barriered-off from being included in any sense of a mainstream society. Disabled people have produced, at times organically and at times academically, counter discourses which privilege rights, empowerment, pride, self-organisation and autonomy, mostly within a long-standing campaign for – justice and rights, not charity.

This research follows such a rights-based emancipator discourse whereby the embodiment of a functional difference (physical, sensory or intellectual), visible or not, is *impairment*; and the social process of using this difference to cast impaired people as ‘Other’ is how people are *disabled* within a society.

A key individualised approach to people with impairments is the *medical model*, whereby people with impairments are ideally to be cured, and if that is not possible then rehabilitation and care are to be provided from within a professional infrastructure which centres on diagnosis and conditions, on privileged medical and paramedical knowledge and its dominant authority along with ancillary charitable works. Alternatively the *social model* contests that people with impairments are disabled by a society which excludes ‘the Other’ from community life and its ‘normal’ or mainstream housing, education, employment, transport, healthcare, leisure and culture.

Although the social model is sometimes posed as the only alternative to the medical model, some disabled people in England and elsewhere continue to discuss the relevance of the social model of disability (Crow 1992) (Shakespeare 2006) as an over-arching explanation and this continuing discussion on the relevance of the social model is considered in this research from a position that the social model, or the barriers approach, has a continuing usefulness.

Critics of the social model as a claimed total view, as above, nevertheless allow that there remains a form of socially constructed disablement. This social construction varies in place and time, as do the forms of resistance by disabled people, and this research seeks to discover and amplify some less-acknowledged historical moments and movements where people with impairments have come together to resist being cast as ‘the Other’ and re-asserted their civil and human rights.

In his recent book revised as a second edition during retirement, Michael Oliver (2009) identifies five main criticisms of the social model of disability, as summarised in Table 3 before concluding that:

> “[T]he social model of disability is a practical tool like a hammer or a screwdriver, not a theory, an idea or a concept. ... If we imagine that throughout history the carpenters and builders of the world had spent their time talking about whether the hammer or screwdriver were adequate tools for the purposes of building houses, we would still be living in caves or roaming the plains.” (Oliver 2009: 57)

Table 3: The five main criticisms of the social model,
extracted verbatim from Michael Oliver (2009: 48-9)

Criticisms of the social model	**Responses**
[T]he social model ignores or is unable to deal adequately with the realities of impairment.	[A]s I have indicated elsewhere (Oliver, 1990), the limitations that our functional impairments impose upon us are an inadequate basis for building a political movement.
[T]hat our subjective experiences of the 'pain' of both impairment and disability are ignored by the social model.	Quite the reverse, it [the social model] emerged out of the experiences of disabled activists in the 1970s.
[The social model] is unable to incorporate other social divisions, for example, 'race', gender, ageing, sexuality and so on.	In my view it is not that the social model cannot cope with these issues but that analysts who wish to study these issues have not used it.
[That] it is not the physical and environmental barriers that we face but the way our cultural values position disabled people as 'other'.	[T]he two main causes of impairment internationally are war and poverty. As a consequence of this, any attempt to try to move disability politics exclusively into the realm of representation is fundamentally misguided and inappropriate when so many disabled people continue to experience life-threatening material deprivation.
[T]he social model … is inadequate as a social theory of disablement.	It seems ridiculous to criticize the social model for not being something that it never claimed to be.

1.2 Disabled people, imagery, photography and culture

In his work *Disabling Imagery and the Media* (1992) Barnes examines the media for stereotyped representations of disabled people and identifies some counter-strategies. His research is wider than photography, arguing that all 'cultural forms' must be examined first in order to understand how impairment-specific charity advertisers derive their representations of disabled people, and especially their images. His study is of "the media as a whole: notably books, films, television, radio and the press." (Barnes 1992: 5). Barnes (1992) sets out eleven general stereotyped representations of disabled people, as set out in Table 4.

Table 4: Eleven stereotypes of disabled people
as portrayed in the media, Barnes (1992).

1. pitiable and pathetic
2. an object of violence
3. sinister and evil
4. atmosphere or curio
5. super cripple
6. object of ridicule
7. their own worst and only enemy
8. burden
9. sexually abnormal
10. incapable of participating fully in community life
11. normal

Because of the wider scope taken by Barnes, some of these stereotypes relate to how disabled people's presence is used as a plot device, as an object, to illustrate a theme within the narrative of a film or text, for example. In my research area within photographic imagery the key stereotypes looked at are of freakery and of medical stereotypes, relating to Barnes' themes 4 and 1 respectively. Thus, at a broader level, the stereotypes identified by Barnes are essentially of disabled people within cultural narratives, and it is through the work of Hevey and Crow in particular that we start to explore the various registers and genres within photographic imagery that are used to portray disabled people, and especially adversely as freaks and as medical objects.

In considering the role of photographic images of disabled people in England and wider, the work of Liz Crow (Crow, Crow and Ormston 1990), and David Hevey (1990a) (1990b) (1992) in the early 1990s remain as seminal statements and in Hevey's case, as a key text within taught courses and often the key reference work for disability and imagery within current introductory texts.

Hevey is subtle when considering the issue of disabled people and positive images. In his discussion concerning the drawbacks to what he terms the 'administrative model', Hevey argues the futility of:

> "the production of 'positive' images within the UK local authorities ... [with] their portrayal of the administration of service provision to (grinning) disabled people." (Hevey 1992: 147).

While Hevey notes a post-modernist assertion that there is “no such thing as a positive or a negative image as such.” (Hevey 1992: 95), he ultimately finds this position unsatisfactory:

> “In breaking up the ‘grand narratives’ of self-referential, self-meaningfulness of photography, ... [post-modernism] creates a grand narrative, a singular universe of purposelessness for the image itself.” (Hevey 1992: 96)

For Hevey the issue is to create “political photography ... [by reworking] photographic theory within mobilised political action.” (Hevey 1992: 97) This is also the view of this researcher, that uncritical ‘positive images’ of disabled people, especially when produced by organisations which are not run by disabled people, create images which are often at odds with the lived experiences of many disabled people (Baldwinson 2004) .

Figure 3: Hevey, D. (1992). Front cover of: The Creatures Time Forgot: Photography and Disability Imagery. Image from Poster 6 of *Liberty, Equality, Disability – Images from a Movement* poster series, by David Hevey, funded by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

On the front cover of his book, *The Creatures Time Forgot*, (see Figure 3) Hevey uses an energetic image of his making of disabled people protesting in front of an inaccessible bus, taken in the researcher’s presence outside Owens Park in south Manchester during a protest training session being run by visiting speakers from the ADAPT organisation for civil rights for disabled people in the USA. One of the disabled people featured in the cover photograph, Brenda Hilditch (d. 2005), a disabled activist within the Greater

Manchester Coalition of Disabled People (GMCDP) later took exception with Hevey to his choice of the title for the book when it was issued, which she felt served as a caption to the photograph and therefore to herself as ‘a creature’. (GMCDP, n.d., private interview)

Hevey developed a strong critique of demeaning images of disabled people as used in charity advertising (for example, Figure 4: Hevey, D. (1992). Plates 3 and 4 showing Multiple Sclerosis and Spastics Society advertisements.), and by using images of his own and by other disabled people he argued and illustrated that other voices and experiences could be powerfully conveyed. The clear contrasts are between the charity images in dark, grainy monochrome with the figures looking away, compared with the ‘political rights photography’ of bright, high definition colourful images of strong and defiant figures, aware of themselves, of their imaging, and showing a consent to the viewer. For Hevey essentially “the issue of disability representation has to be tied to the general movement for rights.” (Hevey 1992: 103)

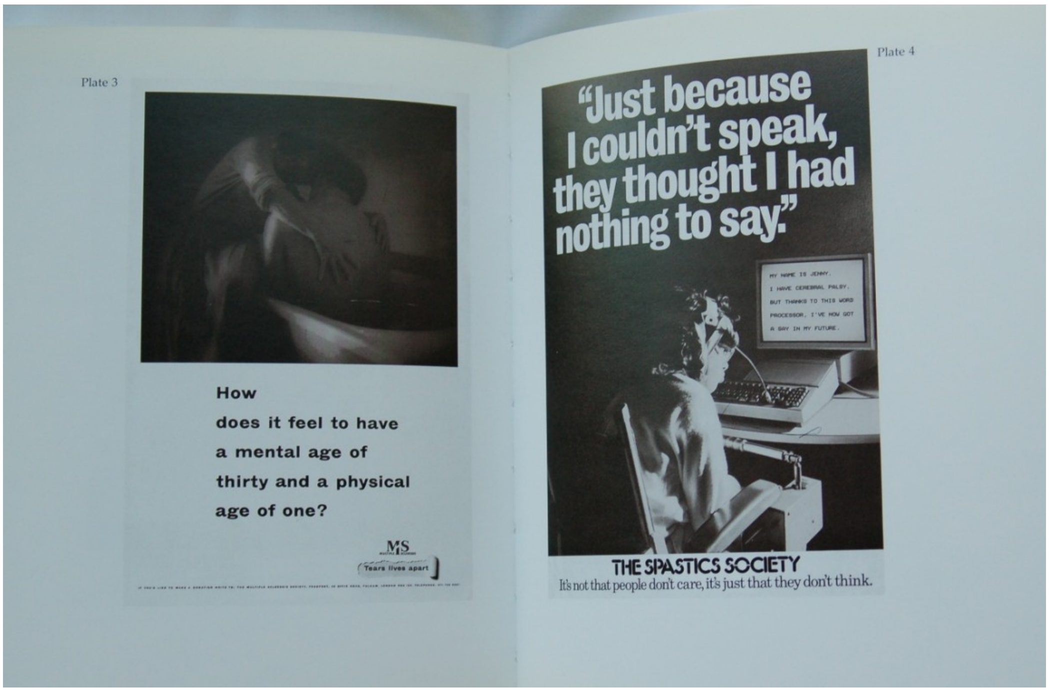


Plate 3

How
does it feel to have
a mental age of
thirty and a physical
age of one?

MS
Tears lives apart

Plate 4

“Just because
I couldn’t speak,
they thought I had
nothing to say.”

MY NAME IS JENNY.
I HAVE CEREBRAL PALSY.
BUT THANKS TO THIS WORD
PROCESSOR, I'VE NOW GOT
A SAY IN MY FUTURE.

THE SPASTICS SOCIETY
It's not that people don't care, it's just that they don't think.

Figure 4: Hevey, D. (1992). Plates 3 and 4 showing Multiple Sclerosis and Spastics Society advertisements.

The analysis Crow put forward in the Arts Council and Shape report on Photography and Disability in England (Crow, Crow and Ormston 1990), where the report cover is shown in Figure 2, set out a way of theorizing photography which included disabled people using images as a political force.

The opening paragraph in the main body of the report essentially summarises the main strands within the history of photography and disabled people, being the three main themes of medical, freak and charity images:

> “The role of disabled people in photography has primarily been that of photographic subjects from able-bodied perspectives. A brief history shows a frightening range of discriminatory images, from medical photography, where a person is a specimen for study, to the work of photographers such as Diane Arbus, who has been accused of portraying disabled people as freaks. Charities foster an image of helplessness to tug at heart and purse strings, while human interest stories at the end of the news focus on those who have ‘made it’ on able-bodied terms. Popular and amateur photography often exclude disability entirely, with disabled people absent from family histories, or, if present, with disability concealed and disguised.” (Crow, Crow and Ormston 1990: 13)

But here, from the case studies there can be seen an alternative approach, both in the formal register of press and publicity images to promote the organisation’s aims and objectives; and also in the informal vernacular register where images were for ‘internal consumption’ and thus produced in very similar ways to popular, amateur and family photographs.

The report on Photography and Disability in England had nineteen recommendations across a range of concerns, which have been adapted here to seven thematic recommendations, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Seven thematic recommendations, adapted from
Photography and Disability in England (Crow, Crow and Ormston 1990)

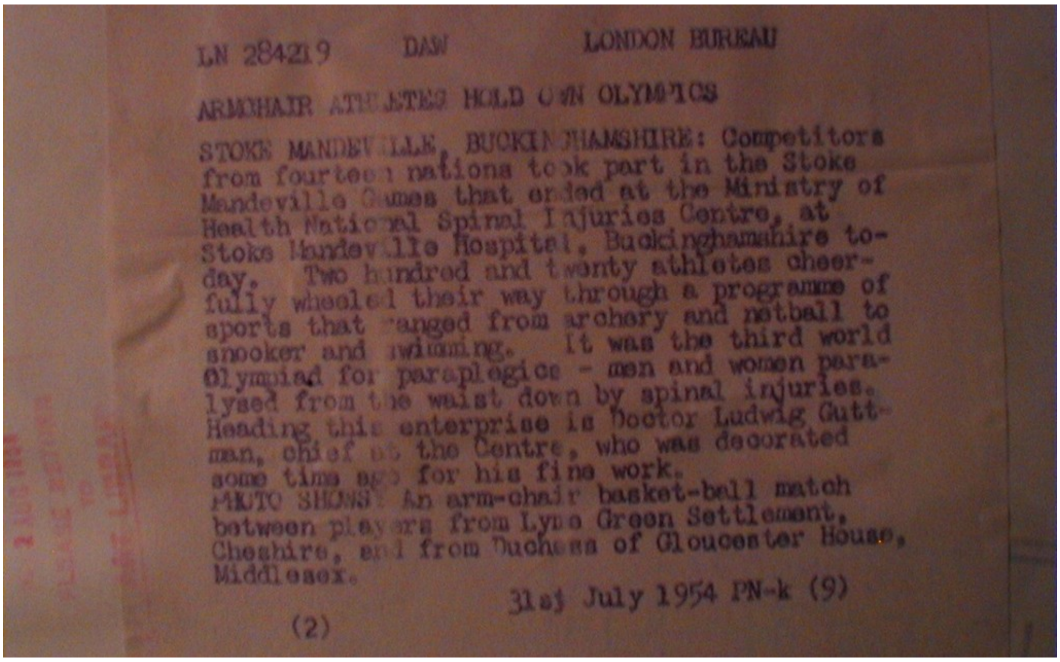
1. to inform the administrative and grant-making functions within the Arts Council on the need to consult with and involve disabled people when disability projects were being considered,
2. for a policy book on disability imagery,
3. for a handbook on technical adaptations needed by disabled photographers,
4. to engage with the major charities, advertising agencies, newspapers, magazines and photojournalists to discuss and improve the range of images of disabled people being portrayed,
5. to fund a university network and database of provision,
6. to fund training bursaries for disabled photographers, followed by employment, and
7. to encourage local authorities and colleges to link mainstream photography courses as a ladder out of those existing segregated photography courses which are for disabled people only.

Disability issues within the photography curriculum unfortunately still remain peripheral.

For example, within *Photography: A Critical Introduction* (Wells 2009) disability is a paragraph within family photography, with one exemplary image (Saunders 2003). To be fair, it is commented that "[t]here are, inevitably, some important issues not discussed here, such as the representation of disability" (Henning 2009: 172) in (Wells 2009), however the extensive discussion on the carnivalesque and the 'grotesque' body in terms of popular licence where social rules on bodily decorum were allowed to be disrupted has no reference to freakery, impairment or disability (Henning 2009: 187).

Figure 5: *Armchair Athletes hold own Olympics.* (1954). Bradford: National Media Museum [Accessed 16 February 2003].

However, more discussion of disability issues within the photography curriculum is shown in *Visual Culture: The Reader* (Evans and Hall 1999) where chapter 17, *Feeble Monsters: Making Up Disabled People,* gives a treatment of the issues exemplified by an analysis of disability charity advertising images (Evans 1999).



LN 284219 DAW LONDON BUREAU

ARMCHAIR ATHLETES HOLD OWN OLYMPICS

STOKE MANDEVILLE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE: Competitors from fourteen nations took part in the Stoke Mandeville Games that ended at the Ministry of Health National Spinal Injuries Centre, at Stoke Mandeville Hospital, Buckinghamshire today. Two hundred and twenty athletes cheerfully wheeled their way through a programme of sports that ranged from archery and netball to snooker and swimming. It was the third world Olympiad for paraplegics - men and women paralysed from the waist down by spinal injuries. Heading this enterprise is Doctor Ludwig Guttman, chief at the Centre, who was decorated some time ago for his fine work.
PHOTO SHOWS: An arm-chair basket-ball match between players from Lyne Green Settlement, Cheshire, and from Duchess of Gloucester House, Middlesex.

31st July 1954 PN-k (9)

(2)

Figure 6: Text on reverse of Figure 5 (1954).

> ARMCHAIR ATHLETES HOLD OWN OLYMPICS
>
> STOKE MANDEVILLE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE: Competitors from fourteen nations took part in the Stoke Mandeville Games that ended at the Ministry of Health National Spinal Injuries Centre, at Stoke Mandeville Hospital, Buckinghamshire today. Two hundred and twenty athletes cheerfully wheeled their way through a programme of sports that ranged from archery to netball to snooker and swimming. It was the third world Olympiad for paraplegics – men and women paralysed from the waist down by spinal injuries. Heading this enterprise is Doctor Ludwig Guttman, chief at the Centre, who was decorated some time ago for his fine work.
> PHOTO SHOWS An arm-chair basket-ball match between players from Lyne Green Settlement, Cheshire, and from Duchess of Gloucester House, Middlesex.
>
> 31st July 1954

1.2.1 Vernacular photography, power and disabled people

Vernacular photography has now become the predominant register for circulated images with the recent rise in new media technologies and social networking practices. (Burgess 2006) noted that this was a growing trend from around 2003 onwards, and by 2006 was stating that “there has genuinely been a participatory turn, not only across web business models, but also in some sectors of government, public sector broadcasting and civil society” (Burgess 2006: 1). The origin of family or vernacular photography was the Kodak camera, launched in 1888 and much cheaper and more popular from 1900 onwards, whereas now it would be defined by Flickr (Burgess 2006: 3), Twitter and Facebook.

The case studies here indicate a similar early and enduring vernacular tradition of disabled people's organisational imagery, identity and memory which held a strong position alongside the formal press and publicity images of the organisations concerned.

However, the vernacular register can also have silences and gaps. The problematic nature of family albums has been identified and explored from within feminist critiques in the last thirty years (Spence 1979) (Hirsch 1981) (Spence and Solomon 1995) (Martin and Spence 2003) with an understanding that "[f]amily snaps hardly give any indication of the contradictions, power struggles or desires inherent at all levels of family life". (Martin and Spence in Wells 2003: 405). Jo Spence (1934-1992) challenged the self-edited and conforming highlights of family albums with images such as one of herself looking downcast, seated facing the camera and with the phrase: *QUIET DESPAIR 8/7/89* also facing the camera, written in a ring-file she is holding (Spence and Solomon 1995: 89).

A key aspect of the work of Jo Spence was the acknowledgement that power resided in any relationship between the photographer and the subject, and her choice therefore to photograph herself was a political act to move social photo-documentary forward and away from portraying subjects within a victimhood, infantilised or depersonalised frame. (Ribalta and Dennett 2005: 8).

Activism by disabled people through their own organisations was also a political act of taking control, of self-definition and of empowerment. This was different to being the subjects of charity and pity, of being done to not only as subjects but also as deserving Others. If in a theoretical sense disabled people were being socially constructed as Others, then together disabled people could produce an organised counter-construction of Us.

As Spence (1979) set out in the text within a book section (Spence, Ribalta, et al. 2005) which related to Spence's posthumous exhibition, *Beyond the Perfect Image*:

> "This visual history is not about the 'real' me. It is a set of 'visual constructions,' using photographic techniques, codes, methods of working, which were brought to bear on me as subject matter, and can now be said to represent me," (Spence, Ribalta, et al. 2005: 175).

While it is essential to differentiate between illness and impairment (Oliver and Barnes 1998: 17), nevertheless Spence projected a new visual discourse, mostly critically unrecognised at the time, in terms of the body (hers) founded within feminist explanations of power, in the use of images of the body, in the ownership and representation of illness, and in her refusal to be disempowered as a victim or as a sufferer.

Jo Spence also had a clear understanding of the powerful role of conventional medical practices, and of the limitations in challenging this photographically even as a skilled practitioner, which she analysed using her own and her family experiences during her childhood, such as asthma, as well as her later experiences with breast cancer. As Spence noted in a speech in 1987 in Salford to the National Conference of Photography:

> "[Q]uestions of cultural identity will always be imposed from outside, ... when I was ill in hospital and taking pictures of the ward rounds of the consultant, ... it was impossible to show how I was situated within that as a powerless patient, ... or how the medical profession came to have the power of life and death. ... When I came out of hospital I needed to do research and to turn to theory to understand the essence of the political power of the medical profession." (Spence, Ribalta, et al. 2005: 381)

However, even current critical appreciations of her work tend to only consider "the dominant models of gender, race and class" (Ribalta and Dennett 2005: 14) and miss the rich possibilities of its relevance to disability studies, notwithstanding the work of (Hevey 1992) which included an interview with Jo Spence (Hevey 1992: 120-33), where she was clear that her work was not liked by the "photographic intelligentsia" (Hevey 1992: 123) as "[t]hey don't know what to do [with my work] because they're so used to the female nude; that's The body! ... [and my work has] the marks of struggle against the medical or cultural discourses." (Hevey 1992: 123).

Spence also acknowledged this wider political frame to include disabled people in her other works, noting that:

> "If however, you are not acquiescent with the positions assigned to you, if you are constructed or labelled as one of the various 'Others' vis à vis your sexuality, disability, age, gender, race and class in this society, then you might wish to engage in work on identity to redefine yourself. You then become the active subject of your own dissonant history." (Martin and Spence 2003: 404-5)

One of Spence's collaborators in the Photography Workshop Ltd, London, notes that after its split with the Half Moon Gallery, their work included a "variety of community-based projects ... [including] work with disabled and visually impaired students". (Spence, Ribalta, et al. 2005: 20)

By extension, the positioning of disabled people within the albums of their families has not been widely explored beyond Hevey (1992), and although it is beyond the remit of this research it would provide a fruitful avenue to be explored, building on the work of Kuhn (1995) and others.

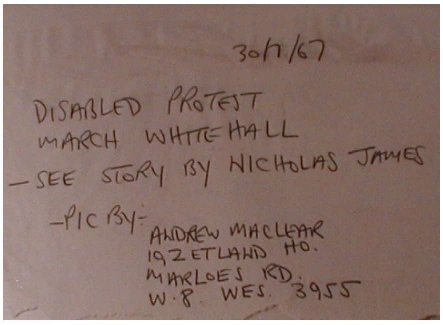
1.2.2 Photographic archives and historical documents

Discussions to date on disabled people and imagery have largely excluded photographic images that disabled people have taken and kept for themselves, especially before the 1980s. Where photographs have had a sustained use within research on people and groups is in ethnography, and in recent years there has been a critical re-evaluation of some earlier scholarly photographic practices which, produced within a statement of impartial documentary evidence, are now seen to be insufficiently reflexive or self-aware of the boundaries, assumptions and discourses within which they are produced.

There is a wider epistemological factor within scholarship which privileges the text, the word above the image, and this thesis works within and yet also against that orientation. The role of the photograph as a valid type of document with which to conduct historical analysis and research is still somewhat tentative and inchoate: photographs are often used in scholarship to *illustrate* whereas words can *explain*. For example:

> “Discussion of these underpinning issues [in how we conduct research] rarely encompass the use of images, unsurprisingly, since so little has been written regarding the role photographs can play in the research process. In addition, widespread assumptions that photographic images offer a transparent ‘window on the world’ has discouraged critical analysis of the medium.” (Prosser and Schwartz 1998: 115)

Figure 7: Disabled Hand In Petition At No 10. (1967) 30 July 1967. Bradford: National Media Museum [Accessed 16 February 2003].



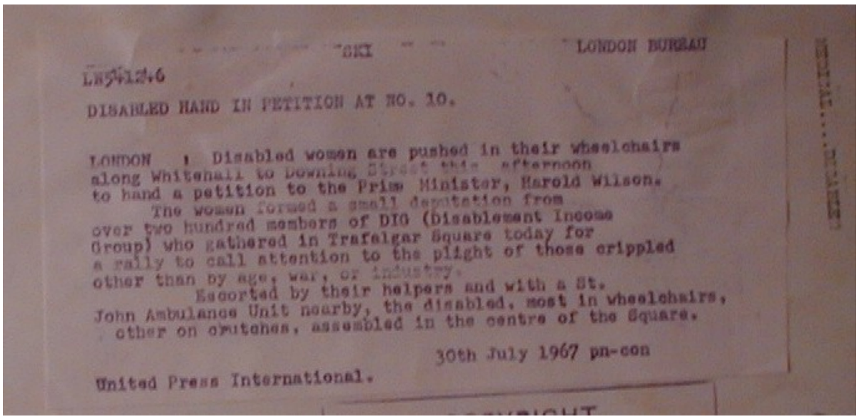
30/7/67

DISABLED PROTEST
MARCH WHITEHALL
– SEE STORY BY NICHOLAS JAMES

–PIC BY:– ANDREW MACLEAR
19 ZETLAND HO.
MARLOES RD.
W.8. WES. 3955

Figure 8: Note stored with Figure 7. Bradford: National Media Museum [Accessed 16 February 2003].

Figure 9: The Sun / United Press International. (1967) 30 July 1967. “Disabled Hand in Petition at No.10, London.” Filing Text in Figure 10. Available at National Media Museum [Accessed 16 February 2003].



"SKI LONDON BUREAU

LN5412.6

DISABLED HAND IN PETITION AT NO. 10.

LONDON : Disabled women are pushed in their wheelchairs along Whitehall to Downing Street this afternoon to hand a petition to the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson.

The women formed a small deputation from over two hundred members of DIG (Disablement Income Group) who gathered in Trafalgar Square today for a rally to call attention to the plight of those crippled other than by age, war, or industry.

Escorted by their helpers and with a St. John Ambulance Unit nearby, the disabled, most in wheelchairs, other on crutches, assembled in the centre of the Square.

30th July 1967 pn-con

United Press International.

Figure 10: United Press International. (1967) 30 July 1967. Filing Text on reverse of Figure 9- "Disabled Hand in petition at No.10, London." Available at National Media Museum [Accessed 16 February 2003]. (Transcript follows).

> Transcript: "DISABLED HAND IN PETITION AT NO. 10. LONDON: Disabled women are pushed in their wheelchairs along Whitehall to Downing Street this afternoon to hand a petition to the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson. The women formed a small deputation from over two hundred members of DIG (Disablement Income Group) who gathered in Trafalgar Square today for a rally to call attention to the plight of those cripples other than by age, war or industry. Escorted by their helpers and with a St. John Ambulance Unit nearby, the disabled, most in wheelchairs, others on crutches, assembled in the centre of the Square. 30th July 1967." United Press International.

***

This research follows the work of Sekula (1989) and others who take a critical look at the social purposes of the archive, being clear about what purposes and interests it serves and who it is useful for, who is privileged and who is excluded - looking for silences as well as any acknowledged gaps. This research seeks to expand this study in terms of uncovering what might not have been regarded as an archive in scholarship to date.

Within this research is an understanding borrowed from artistic and cultural workers such as Crow and others, where there is a sense that images and other cultural objects can be very carefully designed, created and processed, yet once those objects enter the public domain - are put 'out there' - their meanings and uses cannot be fully controlled any longer and these characteristics continue to change with social, political and economic forces as well as changing cultural norms. The images of starving farm workers or shell-shocked soldiers can become an *object*, a desirable commodity and ornament. Equally, a 'shooting back' discourse is possible where, for example, homeless or street children produce their own images as a statement of personal power and worth, though sometimes misdirected as a therapy for containment or rehabilitation (the deficit model) instead of social change.

The critical analysis in the study of images can usefully be grounded by the following guidelines, taking a more reflexive approach and being wary that knowing the context and understanding the power relationships at the time of taking and of disseminating the images must all be open to scrutiny:

> "[There are] several recommendations for the study of photographs:
>
> 1. The 'information' which photographs seem to yield must be treated with caution: the interpersonal, social and cultural contexts in which they were taken and are used must be given some consideration.
>
> 2. Photographs shouldn't be treated as 'mirrors' held up to reality: reality itself is a product of social processes, and photographs can be part of the process, as well as a product, of reality construction.
>
> 3. When examining the story which is woven around photographs, the question '*whose* story is being told?' must always be borne in mind.
>
> 4. The purposes for which photographs are both taken and used will have an effect on their meaning." (Cronin 1998: 80)

These grounding recommendations have informed the methodology, as discussed later. In terms of historical accounts and the social model, Borsay working from a materialist perspective, identifies three "main approaches to the history of impairment", (Borsay 2005: 10) namely the *biographical* but in terms of 'Great Men' rather than the autobiographies or histories from below of ordinary disabled people, the *empirical* which seeks to weigh the merits and weaknesses of different policies and institutions; and the *material* which is stated as being the only form to "engage with the social model and locate past experiences of disability within the economic and political, social and cultural organisation of society." (Borsay 2005: 10)

Commenting on aspects of critical theory and history, Macey (2000) notes that 'history from below' is "an important strand in contemporary historiography" (p186). It seeks to give a voice to previously hidden experiences and views, using a range of amateur as well as professional methods to gather oral accounts and to preserve grey literature such as leaflets. Within photography this historical approach fits with the recording and analysis of vernacular images. History from below in recent times has its origins in seeking to preserve and recognise working class histories as exemplified by the works of Thompson and Hobsbawm, to give a voice to lives which were often left out of historical accounts which focussed on rulers, dates and wars. In more recent times, history from below has been extended to also make "a major contribution to feminist history" (Macey 2000)

To a lesser extent history from below as a method has also brought to the fore the experiences and voices of disabled people, especially so within the twentieth century where it was still possible to interview disabled people whose lives cover this period and record their oral knowledge and experiences of workhouses, hospitals, and other aspects of segregated living, where:

> "The growth of what has become known as 'history from below' has encouraged careful historical study of disadvantaged, marginalised and segregated sections of society, including people with learning disabilities." (Atkinson, Jackson and Walmsley 1997: 4)

This research seeks to work within a middle range, drawing from history from below to give a voice to the experiences and knowledge that can be found in the under-documented records and archives of disabled people's organisations from the 1920s to the 1970s, but working at the organisational or collective level where possible rather than exploring individual biographies. At the collectivist or social movement level it is also possible to explore some wider social forces and constraints, especially where are signs of resistance and reconfiguration.

This research finds a useful starting point in the existing work around vernacular photography and especially those aspects which look at family albums and family photographic practices from a feminist perspective. This gendered analysis by Spence and others of informal yet enduring forms of vernacular photography with an understanding and critique of social power relations within and around images provides a tested approach which can be applied to the photographs and photographic practices of groups of disabled people.

One of the written histories which is presented in book form alongside strong photographic images was published to accompany a broadcast television programme on Channel 4: *Out of Sight: The Experience of Disability 1900-1950* (Humphries and Gordon 1992). This combined work presents the re-told experiences of 'ordinary' older disabled people which were received by letter and phone call following a letter sent to various UK local newspapers seeking such recollections, and where a selection of contributors were subsequently interviewed on film for broadcasting.

1.2.3 Photography, social enquiry and authenticity

> "We should be aware that photography in the twentieth century was as obsessed with happiness as Victorian photography was concerned with dignity" (Pols 2002: 70).

Studies of how women in the nineteenth century sought to use and read photographs (Thomas 1978: 64) cited in (Di-Bello 2003) suggest that women didn't just consume photography as a sentimental celebration of domesticity, but that women constructed albums consistent with values found in women's magazines which were instead socially aspirational. As Di Bello states (2003: 257)"Review magazines and advice manuals of the time suggest that women's relationship with portraiture is dominated by sentimental values. Yet these values are rarely represented in references to photography found in women's magazines."

In her critical research of the history of Kodak's advertisements, Nancy Martha West notes that the Kodak No.1 Camera, launched in 1888 as the first mass-market camera, held a film length of 100 exposures, which was 'probably over ten times as many photographs as the average middle-class American family owned at the time' (West 2000: 2). In classifying Kodak's advertisements as concerning the five themes of leisure, childhood, fashion, antiques and narrative, West asserts that 'the easy availability of snapshots allowed people for the first time in history to arrange their lives in such a way that painful or unpleasant aspects were systematically erased' (West 2000: 1). However, while West claims that the early stages of Kodak's advertising was based on playfulness, she seeks to build on the work of Holland, Spence and Hirsch and their analysis of photography and its uses on and by women in the contested discourse on family, by arguing that snapshots, at least in America, took a trajectory away from Kodak's intended emphasis on play in the late nineteenth century, moving by the 1920s to have become 'an obligatory act of preserving memories as defense against the future and as assurance of the past' (West 2000: 13). West identifies the Great War as a key reason for this shift, though perhaps it was inevitable anyway given the aging profile of its earliest users and their accumulating life experiences of loss. Recalling that one of the earliest uses of photography was as a *momento mori*, even if Kodak's marketing had sought to widen its consumption into leisure as deduced from their advertisements, nevertheless the need for memory must surely have remained a strong source of company revenue. As a coda to the research (West 2000: 200-7), West records some previously unresearched draft advertisements found which Kodak had had prepared by their advertising company J. Walter Thompson in 1932 called the 'Death Campaign' with advertisement captions such as 'She died the year after Sally was born, you know' (West 2000: 203), which were never published.

Victorian women also took photographs though this has been neglected in some records (Warner 1992: 29) cited in (Di-Bello 2003).

Photography also played a more male-centred or traditional social and political role, where photography became not just a means of record and memory, but also a means with the emerging professional / scientific discourse of enquiry. As Price (2004: 75) states:

> "One reason why the veracity of the camera was readily accepted in the nineteenth century was that the photographs appeared to confirm ideas about the world that had been the subject of other artistic and cultural forms ... experienced by middle-class people ... [and it] established itself as part of a tradition of enquiry into the health, housing, education, economic condition and moral state of the poor".

1.3 Theoretical models

For this research it is possible to consider theoretical models by using the 'start' of photography around 1839 as an example application: where the accounts differ for this ‘start’ as being an invention, a discovery, or a social production; being accounts within constructionist, objectivist and subjectivist frames respectively (Crotty 1998).

The constructionist framework, which asserts that meaning is constructed by people using a common underlying system of perception, and through groups as well as by individuals; contrasts with objectivism which asserts that meaning already exists and is to be discovered rather than invented, which leads to the scientific and positivist approaches; and with subjectivism which asserts that meaning is given to an object by the observing subject, shaped by a background of preconceptions., which leads to post-modernism and structuralism (Crotty 1998).

The *discovery* of photography implies a view that it was already ‘there’ waiting to be found. This positivist approach is within the field of objectivism, and suggests a world-view or epistemological position which is often summarised as scientific or perhaps more exactly, as engineering. This theory of knowledge is aligned with teleology – that all actions and states are linked in a network with a prior cause and for a subsequent purposeful outcome – that the machine of existence itself exists in order to achieve an endpoint. Such a theoretical perspective would sit well with fieldwork which emphasises data sets and their statistical analysis, on the basis that underlying trends or truths will be revealed from within the mass of data by the subtlety of the analysis.

Figure 11. The London Stereoscopic & Photographic Company. (c.1862). *Conjoined twins* [carte-de-visite]. Bradford: National Media Museum. [Original photography accessed 12 January 2003].

The *invention* of photography follows a less linear path, as it implies that it is our minds that construct the meaning that we look for, and therefore that we can make choices about what we wish to build around us. We might make these choices in a utility-maximising way as is suggested by some economic theories, or we might take an subjugated approach where our choices are subordinated to other desires and needs as is suggested by some psychological theories. Such a theoretical perspective would suggest that meaning lies in specific moments, places and instances and are not capable of being generalised. In terms of fieldwork the methods most suited to this theoretical perspective, examples would include case studies, personal narratives and social interaction analysis.

The *social production* of photography takes a subjectivist approach, where the meaning is imposed. The essence of meaning as imposed immediately creates a frame of duality and imbalance: of a subject and an object, where sufficient power exists for the object to impose meaning on the subject. In the example of the start of photography, a subjectivist account might suggest that, at a certain point and place in human history such as Western Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century, the power elite needed a means to convey its preferred images at an industrial scale to bolster and promote its privileged position supported by already controlling the multipliers of text (printing) and of mechanical power (factories, transport). By this account, photography started because it was *needed by power.* There are records of an aeolipile, a basic steam engine of spinning nozzles powered by boiling water, being described in a scroll held in the Alexandria Library up to 48BCE, based on the writings of Vitruvius (c80BCE – c15CE), where one can theorise that the later refinement of this ancient device to become the archetype steam engine in Western Europe did not cause the industrial revolution, rather it was required at that particular time.

This subjectivism does not lead to a single steady state of knowledge and enquiry: it has within it a dynamic quality which allows for change, for shifts of power and resistance, and for set-backs or multiple outcomes rather than for inevitability. This research is based within this subjectivism, this contest for meaning and power, informed by social construction theory. It finds use in the ideas of Nietzsche that identity is created by power as a means of control, of Foucault around discourse, surveillance and internalised repression, but allows for Gramsci's organic resistance by people maybe as objects, as 'Others' but who are not powerless and who do self-organise and at times gain the upper hand. This research values post-modernism for its understanding of multiple identities, of silences and gaps, and its suspicion of modernism as a meta-narrative, but finds problems when sometimes post-modernism seeks to be a meta-narrative itself and importantly when it loses sight of power and thus too often becomes its unknowing instrument. This research appreciates Marxian analyses within an understanding of social production and emancipation, but observes that new power elites also subvert community to their agenda, such that political states do not take power to themselves as a transitional phase only to dissolve themselves and give it away, but instead create new imbalances and dynamics which contain the seeds of further change. However, this is not to be cynical that any change is ultimately unproductive, rather to understand that the dynamics of power do not predetermine an end-point or final state – life is not automatic.

It would be tempting to apply theoretical perspectives to the study of images, for example within Lévi-Straus' structuralist analysis of essence (that is, deep meaning) and appearance (that is, what shows on the surface) to try and connect this to photographic images where the image itself might be said to be the surface, and the social meanings of these images to be comparable to essence. However this is to stretch the metaphor of appearance too far, and especially to be aware that a photograph in itself is not sufficient to explain a theoretical perspective, though nonetheless it is argued here that it can provide some evidential traces of people's social relationships, of power and of agency as a tool alongside other analytical techniques based on textual records.

The research here is based largely on subjectivism as a theoretical perspective, and consequently the research strategy seeks to find and explore instances of social power and imbalance as traced within photographs which have been self-produced by and within disabled people's organisations. It especially seeks to find traces of self-organisation and resistance sometimes in organic forms within a context that may be regarded as a counter-culture or sub-culture, even though sometimes subsequently portrayed as a narrative of curiosity within a medically-dominated discourse.

My research follows the view that "the distinction between theory-testing and theory-constructing research ... [is] not always clear-cut." (Glaser and Straus 1967: 45) To some extent this research could be seen to be based in grounded theory to the extent that the physical form of the 'data' (images) allows for few, if any, useful quantitative approaches to its analysis, and so therefore could be portrayed instead as an instance of qualitative methods by necessity determining forms of theory such as constructionist or subjectivist rather than positivist-objectivist. However, this research also starts from a theoretical perspective that subjectivism's attention to social power and agency, to objectification and imposed identities, to counter-cultures and discourses, can provide the most effective set of tools with which to understand what these images might mean for us.

The implications for research practice here in particular are that although found imagery will be historically authentic, but nevertheless it is also necessary for it to be considered within an explicit and reflective moral and ethical framework, so for example the further production of images of naked disabled children, commonplace in some books previously, is here problematic and needs to be examined and limited in order to avoid personal and social harm. Thus social constructions are explored within an explicitly ideological frame which evaluates for harmful and worthwhile measures.

However, most of the found images here are not harmful. This research in particular explores the evidence and arguments for the existence of rich and enduring constructed social relations within disabled people's organisations in the fifty years leading up to the articulation of a key aspect of such relations in the social model of disability in 1975 by a key group of politically organised disabled people (Union of Physically Impaired Against

Segregation (UPIAS)).

1.3.1 Surveillance, institutions, the gaze and control

Foucault (1975/1995) identifies the panopticon as a key design feature in the institutions that emerge to exert forces of social control post-Reformation, and especially in the design of incarceration institutions such as prisons and asylums as a new regime of control, and by extension a new social control mechanism to be internalised as a replacement for the fear of execution.

The panopticon design is based on a central tower where an official of the institution can look out over the whole building complex of radiating wings each with cells. The specifics of the design allow for the guards etc to see the inmates in their cells, but not for the inmates to see their guards. This creates a culture of control and self-restraint without the perennial physical force and torture used in previous eras to maintain social control. However, although this is a powerful social metaphor, in the writer's view the explanation usually given for how this mechanism works *as optics* is somewhat inaccurate[1].

This form of surveillance has been continued within institutions to current times, not only with the increased prevalence of CCTV systems but also pre-dated by the common usage of one-way mirrors in walls between rooms for concealed assessments and for inmate surveillance.

The regulation of physicians, as well as medical knowledge, was undeveloped prior to the Enlightenment, where "[a] Master of Arts at the Universities of Oxford or Cambridge could still acquire an MD degree by expounding a book of Galen in three written or six

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[1] The usual explanation is that a system of louvered blinds on the tower windows and on the cell windows ensures that vision is one-way because of their respective angles. However, this account needs qualifying in two respects, because although it explains how the guard has a clear view of the cell window, and how the inmate does not have a clear view of the tower but only towards the ground outside the cell window; it does not account for the guard's view *through* the cell window if that view cannot be returned by the inmate. Therefore two further factors need to be considered. Firstly it is possible that the louvered blinds on the cell window only partially obstruct the view to and from the tower, while giving a full view to the inmate of the ground – the guard's best view is into the cell, and the inmate's best view is of the ground. Secondly there is the possibility that the window height is set below an inmate's eye-line so that they cannot see the tower while standing, but that a guard can still see the inmate's lower body. It is noteworthy that the louvered blinds on the tower have no added value except perhaps to shade the sky. Finally, perhaps the point that remains is that, although it doesn't work optically as sometimes described, the *suggestion* that it does was enough for inmates to conform, itself a powerful vindication of the power of an institution.

spoken lectures" (Caplin n.d.: 18-9) cited in (Jones 1972: 6)

As the medical professions grow in number, knowledge and influence, it is possible to sketch out a Foucault-based analysis of an emerging powerful state extending its control more subtly through a range of professional instrumental organisations and at the same time more overtly through institutions of confinement and control. However, as Scull notes (1999) there are limits to even their power and abilities to organise societies, and nor are all such professional groups always malevolent.

But also 'the clinic' as bricks, mortar and staff was more expensive and vulnerable than is sometimes allowed for, and a war that created many more disabled people as injured veterans also took resources away from disabled people:

> "By the First World War the segregative tendencies of the lunacy legislation had led the psychiatric services into a cul-de-sac. The main disadvantages of the system came severely to light under the stressful circumstances of war, under which, according to the Board of Control figures (1915), nearly half of the medical staff joined the armed forces ... and war-time privations brought the buildings into disrepair and affected the living conditions of patients." (Hoenig and Hamilton 1969: 3).

The logic of this pressure within the service was taken to its evil conclusion in the 1930s in Nazi-run Germany, where eugenic mass killing started with the *Aktion T4* programme to free beds and resources by killing disabled children within hospitals and next disabled people within mental health institutions, then taken further to kill sick people in concentration camps and then to millions of Jewish people, Roma people, gay men, lesbians and others.

There are visual tests in psychology which can be used with a group of people to show that the same image can be perceived differently by different people. And some of these tests can be used to show that people, when given a contextual introduction to an ambiguous image, can be influenced in one direction or the other. However, it is also possible to understand that sometimes what we perceive is also influenced by our education, our socialisation, our politicisation, as being socially constructed. Thus Foucault talks about a "hearing gaze and a speaking gaze" (Foucault 1963/1989: 142) as well as the more familiar "observing gaze [which] refrains from intervening: it is silent and gestureless." (Foucault 1963/1989: 132), where the understanding of the gaze is more than observation, it is making explicit the lens through which our various perceptions are modified - it is an analysis to help us realise and then be able talk about our pre-conceptions and their consequences. Thus the gaze here is much more about understanding than about observing in a detached manner. Foucault (1963/1989: 246) considers the profound changes in European culture arising from developments in medical discourse from the last years of the mid-eighteenth century to be such that "we are only just beginning to disentangle a few of the threads" (Foucault 1963/1989: 246). He notes that scientific advances might tempt us to think, moving into an objectivist frame, that:

> "for the first times in thousands of years, doctors ... [could finally work] with the purity of an unprejudiced gaze... [but in fact] it is nothing more than a syntactical reorganization of disease in which the limits of the visible and the invisible follow a new pattern" (Foucault 1963/1989: 241-2).

1.3.2 Hegemony, social movements and organic intellectuals

With the growth of new social movements through the 1970s and 1980s, and for some a move away from a class-based analysis, the writings of Gramsci from his prison cell notebooks in 1930s Italy became of greater interest, as he was a Marxist but he saw a greater complexity in the Italian working class, trade unions and Communist Party than had usually been acknowledged at the time. He saw resistance as not always coming top-down from the party's command structure, but often bottom-up by local organisers and small communities, sparked by people responding to local specifics such as a strike or a shortage. He called these local actors 'organic intellectuals', as they knew what was wrong and what had to be done, even if they did not have all the party ideology and knowledge to explain their statements and actions. This allowed for NSM organisers to become organic supporters of a wider class-based conflict, albeit that the pace of political change might slow down as a result.

Gramsci also developed the idea of hegemony – that social domination by one class over another class is a complex mix of ideology to win consent as well as political force to coerce through police actions and civil laws. Consent is particularly obtained by the institutions of civil society such as churches, trade unions, extended families and social groups. Following this approach, the NSMs were said to be able to create an alternative to this 'old style' civil society with the new socially complex and plural messages which would lead to a new ideology:

> "[I]n the 1980s, Gramsci's concept of hegemony was again reconstructed, this time by Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe in ... Hegemony and Social Strategy (1985). ... [where] Laclau and Mouffe synthesized aspects of the post-structuralist philosophies of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derida and the psycho-analytical work of Jacques Lacan alongside Gramsci to produce what they called a 'post-Marxist' political analysis" (Martin 1998: 158-9)

However, there are suggestions that Gramsci's theory of hegemony has been stretched too thin in trying to encompass the rich diversity of the NSMs:

> "[I]n certain important respects they have inverted his analysis by stressing plurality over unity, political contingency over economic necessity. In doing so they have made his economism look out of place in his theory. This certainly leads effectively to the post-structuralism they promote, but as Morera (1990: 168-74) suggests, it somewhat overstates the anti-determinist aspect of his work." (Martin

> 1998: 164)

Within the period of emergence of new social movements (NSMs) from the 1960s to the 1980s it is possible to locate the start of the Disabled People's Movement in the UK from the publication of Paul Hunt's letter in *The Guardian* newspaper in 1972 which directly led to the formation of the UPIAS organisation.

However, this research argues that there were traces of this radicalism, autonomy and political action by disabled people directly in the UK for many years beforehand, building on the analysis of Pagel in *On Our Own Behalf* (1988) which used written documents, and here extended into a new analytical frame by uncovering photographic records from previously unacknowledged and fragile organisational archives.

A similar view on the origins of NSMs is taken by Tilley and Wood (2009), which is at odds with that of Touraine (1968) that previous social movements were 'old' and no longer effective, to be replaced by identity politics including feminism, environmentalism and gay rights through what were claimed to be the new social movements. Tilley and Wood cite with approval the work of Calhoun (1995) whose work, *'New Social Movements' of the Early Nineteenth Century* is said to show "how regularly nineteenth-century mobilizations on behalf of ethnic minorities, women, religious revival, and workers' rights also stressed demands for autonomy and identity" (Tilly and Wood 2009: 71).

Contrary to this connected view between OSMs and NSMs is the more usual approach which sees NSMs as a departure from 'old politics' with social radicalism centred on previously disempowered identities and causes, for example:

> "Most authors would probably agree that this family [of new social movement organisations] includes the ecology movement ... the peace movement, the solidarity movement (solidarity with the Third World), the women's movement, the squatters' movement, as well as various other movements for the rights of discriminated-against minorities (such as the gay movement)." (Kriesi, et al. 1995: xviii)

Some supporters of the NSMs follow this approach, but then seek to tie NSMs back into an understanding of conflict within society which includes class as a higher determinant, where NSMs become a current expression of how conflict will transform society, albeit at a reduced pace. For example:

> "We agree with Raschke (1985: 413) that the basic characteristic of a social movement is constituted by the position of its main constituency in the social structure. ... We believe, indeed, that the rise in the new social movements was intimately linked to the slow, but profound, transformation of the society's conflict structure in the course of the macrohistorical process of modernization." (Kriesi, et al. 1995: xviii)

The fact that disabled people's organisations were few in number and small in scale does not of itself determine the level of social impact that such organisations can achieve. For example, the marches by the National League for the Blind and Disabled in 1920 and 1936, no doubt with other lobbying and support, both led to changes in legislation. Further, the protests in 1997 at the gates of Downing Street by a few dozen disabled people in DAN (Direct Action Network) using red paint and the slogan 'Blair's Blood' led to the reversal of changes to benefits payments to disabled people through the Benefits Integrity Programme.

> "[There is] a clear distinction between the outcomes or impacts of social movements and their level of mobilization. ... [W]e cannot mistake the former for the latter, unless we take for granted what Kitschelt (1986) has pointed out to be a mistake – namely, using the level of mobilization of a social movement as an indicator of its success." (Kriesi, et al. 1995: 209)

Therefore it is valid to look through this research at small instances of social resistance and of self-organisation by disabled people and nevertheless to allow for the possibility that larger impacts flowed from such particular and even fragile circumstances.

1.3.3 The deficit model and a discourse of lack

The work of Foucault is not without its detractors, and even those who might be classified as its supporters have identified a need to remedy some oversights or extend some discussions, for example to address the concern that some of the work was misogynistic as discussed by Sawicki (1991). This research is based on a theory of knowledge as created rather than as discovered, and in particular on the Foucault's understanding of discourse as the means by which our knowledge base is sustained in certain directions and with certain unspoken assumptions, and can be analysed to identify the sites of social and economic power.

There is much in Foucault's body of work which can be applied to this research, in particular the creation of the medical gaze and therapeutics as described through *Madness and Civilisation* (1961/2001) and *The Birth of the Clinic: an archaeology of medical perception* (1963/1989), and then in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969/2002). However, the treatment by Foucault of the medical, of the archive, and of the gaze is not appropriate to this research at the level of method but instead at the level of theory. For example, in discussing the archive, Foucault's approach is highly abstracted: "The archive is first the law of what can be said" (Foucault 1969/2002: 145).

From anthropological studies there is an understanding of the 'discourse of lack' for example in Davis (2007) writing on the Euro-centric anthropological writings on the heritages of Aboriginal peoples, he analyses the assumptions implicit in many earlier writings. Commenting on the writings in 1894 of a Royal Navy surgeon previously on an Australian survey ship, Davis notes:

> "The impression this text conveys is that although these Aborigines possessed a strong weapons tradition, their society was otherwise self-sufficient, without the need for much in the way of material culture. As with much writing of this period, this text promotes a discourse of lack; as well as lacking in many aspects of material culture, the Aborigines were also thought to lack in need ... [where] they 'have no money or trading instincts'. This hints at the European ideal of the 'noble savage', who was thought to have lived in harmony with the environment and maintain a sustainable society within existing resources." (Davis 2007: 9)

It is not too far-fetched to relate this 'discourse of lack' further to the artificial 'villages' of disabled people established in Britain, where people with learning difficulties could be housed, contained and 'cared for' within a harmonious society where the unpleasantaries and complications of life could be kept outside and thus minimised. Their needs too are said to be few, and such that they are well provided for, with the associated necessity for expert interventions from outside to maintain the calm and balanced ecology of the 'village'.

Methodology

This research is inter-disciplinary within the humanities, borrowing from art and design for the photographic, as well as from sociology and social policy for disability studies, which is itself an inter-disciplinary area. The theoretical position for this research is at an intersection: favouring 'weak social construction' (Cole 1992, Dickens 1996) which, for example, values the post-modernist emphasis on identity and minority, but while also maintaining an analysis of core knowledge, of power, of material benefits and of equity.

This theoretical position leads to research practice which uses qualitative case studies to draw out suggested social relations from a previous time using photographs as historical artefacts or documents. An alternative methodology, not chosen here, could come from a positivist theoretical position to undertake a numeric content analysis of the found images (number of people in wheelchairs, for example), though the utility of such a data set would not be high.

1.4 Rationale for selected images

The rationale which informed the selection of images is governed first by the overall methodology of the research as discussed, and then by the nature of the organisations being controlled by disabled people, and then finally specifically by the extent (quantity) and the content (qualities) of the images.

In terms of the chosen case studies, all three of the organisations selected were (and where still existing, still are) controlled by disabled people, which makes them distinct from disability organisations as discussed in the Introduction before Chapter 1. This criteria follows from the research question, that the images produced by disabled people's own organisations might contain traces of emancipatory effort not seen in many other images of disabled people. The fragile and under-resourced nature of these organisations means that their image archives are similarly fragile and relatively scarce to find within the UK, for which the researcher relied on previous personal knowledge to initially identify a handful of possible archives to be approached for this research, leading to agreement to access the three Case Studies selected.

In terms of extent and content of the images, with over 100 images to examine at the Disabled Drivers Association, the selection process starts with a broad assessment of the scope of the images, followed by using a handheld (digital) camera to take a copy image of selected prints and their reverses if not blank, to produce a long list of images from which a shorter list or subset appear as figures in the research to exemplify a particular point or a general trend.

The first stage of a broad assessment consisted of opening all four filing boxes in turn to establish the range of contents, and in particular to assess whether there were images on negatives which were not also present as prints, which did not appear to be the case here. Indeed, the opposite became apparent in that there seemed to be a range of similarly-processed prints probably made at around the same time but from negatives which strongly appear to come from a range of decades from the 1920s to the 1960s.

This general impression of the time span of images is then used to look for key moments and gaps, as here there was not a uniform retention of images across the life of the organisation – the timeline represented by the images can be said to be episodic with certain events such as a rally figuring strongly but then no images retained from many years before or after the featured event.

From this general impression, sometimes formed over half a day of orientation with the images as found, the next stage is to identify images which are worth recording within the long list. The criteria at this stage are that an image is typical of a particular type of event such as a rally, social occasion or business meeting; or that a set of contemporaneous images contrast with each other in a way which is open to a strong interpretation; or especially if the image conveys a strong message to the viewer in terms of equality and dignity through involvement within the organisation as a social message.

The final selection of images from the long list for inclusion within the report depends mainly on their utility in providing a basis on which to construct an interpretation of their significance to this research which will add a richness to the existing knowledge base around the self-organisation of disabled people within a society which frequently discriminated against people with impairments in terms of producing a lower quality of civic, family and economic life. Clearly such a selection, at all stages, will be informed by the views and affiliations of the researcher, where the only effective remedy to this interaction with the data or evidence is for the process to be transparent and reflexive as possible, open to being repeated by others with the ability to find the same, or richer, results.

The National Media Museum in Bradford was visited by the researcher for contextual research, both for the public area presentations and as a pre-arranged visit to the larger collection of stored works. The *carte-de-visite* of conjoined twins produced around 1862 shown in Figure 11 is an example of an image that was on display, and the collection of images from Figure 5 to Figure 10 were copied from a stored collection of press photographs from the donated archive of the now-closed newspaper, *The Sun,* from the 1950s and 1960s.

Although the collection of images of disabled people was somewhat limited in scope, the presence of original press photographs did have the advantage that the detailed captions and copy text on the reverse of the prints was still intact and available. With just a few notable exceptions, the images of the three case study organisations did not contain or have attached any explanatory captions or text, which did make their historical interpretation more difficult and less precise.

1.5 Towards a better understanding of unacknowledged images

The development of the Social Model of Disability has established an empowering strand within Disability Studies that has transformed many people's understanding of the position of disabled people within society. Disability Studies as a discipline is based within Sociology with a strong borrowing from other disciplines including Cultural Studies, Anthropology, Politics and Economics.

> "[P]olitical science is today abandoning the enterprise of defending discipline boundaries and is entering the less chartered waters of inter- and multi-disciplinary study. It is now the norm for scholars to have to understand the languages of many, if not all, of the disciplines ... [such that] political historians ... must respond to the language and agenda of sociologists who study movements, professionalization and postmodernization; to media and cultural theorists studying construction and representation; to gender theorists studying feminism and masculinities; and to poststructuralist philosophers such as Foucault and Leotard." (Gibbins and Reimer 1999: 169)

Therefore this research sits within this approach of borrowing and working across boundaries and at the intersections of disciplines, themes and methods.

This research uses photographic images found within the fragile and informal archives of selected Disabled People's Organisations to look for evidence of traces of radical social relationships within what may be conjectured as a shared understanding within a community of people prior to the formal statements by disabled people from the 1970s onwards as a new social movement. In seeking to do this uncovering, reliance is placed on these unpublicised photographic images where many were produced from the 1920s onwards as part of an emerging vernacular tradition of recording social events using amateur photography, many such photographs being everyday cultural and now historical objects. This approach is appropriate for scholarship in helping to understand the underlying conditions from which they were produced, as described here:

> "[E]veryday popular culture is too important a social phenomenon to be dealt with speculatively, as the spectacular, and always as a representation of something else. Instead, we want to show how (..., using a *historical* or genealogical approach) everyday cultural objects arise out of local conditions – conditions which are highly specific and far from spectacular." (Miller and McHoul 1998: x-xi) (emphasis in original)

Clearly, care needs to be taken when drawing out or reconstructing more general social findings from a small number of particular historical documents such as the photographic images within this research. The ability to replicate the indications across different organisations and across different periods in time provides a level of evidential support to the traces claimed as being non-random, as existing within the prevailing social arrangements.

Further, it is possible to borrow from accepted ethnographic research methods in the use of photographic historical documents where, "[m]uch vivid anthropology has been based on limited data. Much important anthropological thought is conjecture, compounded of vividly gathered impressions, often from a single informant." (Collier Jr 1995: 247-8)

Three interviews were conducted as part of this research. These took place across the research timescale: towards the start, midway, and towards the end. The individuals selected were chosen for their particular knowledge and experience in the use of still images within the disabled people's movement and similar social justice campaigns; for their radical (though by no means identical) approaches to emancipatory politics; and for their different types or levels of involvement in the production and dissemination of images. The researcher had hoped to include a fourth interview, which would have been with David Hevey, but although discussed in principle this proved not to be possible. A textual summary of each interview is available within the appendices of the full thesis (online archive: Centre for Disability Studies, University of Leeds, UK), and aspects are referenced where appropriate. Sadly, Ken Lumb has since died, as also has Kevin Hyett who gave invaluable early advice here. Liz Crow has been involved in disabled people's issues with an emphasis on using photography and film for over twenty years, but as discussed in the interview the scope for sustaining this as a career has increasingly become unviable.

The approach taken here is to seek out and examine a number of these informal archives, to explicitly select a dataset of images, to discuss options and suggest an analytical framework of the found images, to conduct a number of interviews with key practitioners and theorists, adding insights from literature in the field (theory building), to present early findings to practitioners and to academics in order to gain, consider and acknowledge their contributions, and to conclude with testing the theoretical findings and suggesting points of interest which others might wish to follow. The unit of analysis is therefore the selected images within this framework, each considered within the social context in which they were taken.

Conclusions

The social model of disability remains a landmark in the political movement by disabled people for full civil rights and is closely associated with the emergence of new social movements in the middle of the twentieth century. The cultural stereotypes of disabled people have often been highly hateful and insulting. To date the imagery of disabled people prior to the development of the social model has been dominated by representations of disabled people as freaks or medical objects, which is discussed further in the next chapter. The self-production of photographs of disabled people *by* disabled people, many in a vernacular register, has not been widely researched to date. It is possible for such images to be rigorously analysed as authentic historical documents which provide information about their social production, and by using a coherent theoretical framework it is possible to establish a reliable methodology to take this analysis forward.

Chapter 2 – Freakery and Medical Stereotypes

Introduction

In examining the photographic archives of certain disabled people's organisations it has been possible to find images which challenge the then-contemporary visual stereotypes of disabled people as *freaks* and as *medical objects*. This chapter discusses these prevailing stereotypes, starting in the nineteenth century, along with two less prevalent stereotypical uses: *charity* fundraising images; and early *documentary* images of dead soldiers and surviving disabled veterans.

This research shows that within seven years following the announcements of photography patents in 1839 there are from 1846 onwards surviving examples of portrayals of disabled people and of the paraphernalia of impairment. For example, from a museum collection (Museé D'Orsay, 25 July 2003) it has been possible to identify three such early images of disabled people, detailed here in Table 6.

Table 6: Three examples of photographic images which include disabled people, from the collection held at the Museé D'Orsay, Paris (2003).

1846, Adolphe Humbert de Molard produced the daguerreotype: *Homme Assis (mendiant?)* [translated: Seated Man, (beggar?)] which is a full figure portrait of a seated man in rough outdoors clothes with two large walking sticks.

1850, an anonymous daguerreotype: *Vétéran des Guerres Napoléoniennes* [translated: Veteran of the Napoleonic Wars] showing an elderly man seated with a walking stick. 14 September 1850.

Around the 1850s, an anonymous daguerreotype: *Prothèse de Jambe Articulèe* [translated: Prosthetic Jointed Leg] showing the device in profile, without a person using it, against a plain light background.

These images of disabled people and a fascination with impaired bodies from an early point in the new practices of photography, and almost following the approach of collecting found objects, tended later in the nineteenth century as described above to be constrained towards one of the prevailing stereotypes of disabled people such as being freaks or medical subjects. This combination of early photographic practices and disabled people could well be an interesting and strong area for further research and new knowledge, building on the valuable work of Garland Thomson (1996a, 1996b, 1997, 2009).

Within seven years following the announcements in 1839 of photography patents in Britain and France there are images of disabled people that were in circulation and are now held in at least one museum as discussed below, yet this early feature of photography has not been analysed and explored in depth within the written works on the history of photography. There are however some later acknowledgments of disabled people in photographic works covering the later years of the nineteenth century, generally of two general types: medical images and those images associated with the freak show. Within these two general types, certain stereotypes and conventions became established in the mid-nineteenth century.

2.1 Freakery, side shows, spectacle and the carnivalesque

The first stereotyped image is of disabled people as freaks, including images of conjoined twins, people of restricted growth, tall people and hirsute women who all become objects of curiosity and attention, including being photographed in ordinary settings to juxtapose their extraordinary bodies with everyday living.

For example, in Figure 11 is a *carte-de-visite* produced around 1862, which would have been printed in large numbers as a collectable item, with an image of conjoined twins, both male, fully dressed in ordinary clothing of suits with waistcoats. The newsprint media at the time was unable to reproduce such photographic images, but print illustrations such as shown in Figure 15 and Figure 16 show a similar approach of juxtaposition within the stereotype.

The second stereotype, the medical image, in contrast would include people with mental health difficulties and people with amputations or deformed limbs are shown, sometimes in a state of undress, in a cold and detached manner often against a bare background.

For example, Figure 12 and Figure 13 show images of young disabled women, undressed, the latter with her head covered to obscure her identity, both posed against an empty background to give a sense of clinical objectivity.

The National Fairgrounds Archive's images and other records are of interest to this research for contextual reasons because of the historical context where many disabled people were employed by freak shows within fairgrounds up to the early twentieth century.

This archive, based in the University of Sheffield, was visited by the researcher on 28 February 2003. The archive contained a range of artefacts as well as rare journals, books and historic ephemera gathered from the fairground community. The range of materials included general theoretical works such as *The Politics of the Carnival* (Humphrey 2001) and some more specifically such as on images of 'freaks' in Baroque art (Wind 1998), through to publications of a more popular and sensational nature such as *The World's Most Fantastic Freaks* (Palmer 1983). Some works were from the nineteenth century, for example *The Book of Wonderful Characters* (Wilson and Caulfield 1869) and *Giants and Dwarfs* (Wood 1868). A minority of older books were probably representative of a wider range of books available at the time, being uncritically based on disabled people as freaks, for example, *The Mystery and Love of Monsters, With Accounts of Some Giants, Dwarfs and Prodigies* (Thompson 1930).

Figure 12: Catatonic Schizophrenic, (1894). Dr. H. Cruschmann, Leipzig, Germany. Plate 75. Burns, S.B.,. A Morning's Work: Medical Photographs from the Burns Archive 1843-1939. Twin Palms Publishers, 1998.

Some of the 'freakery' books in the collection, intended at the time for a general audience though now held within a restricted and carefully regulated archive, include a few prints of monochrome photographs of disabled children standing alone and undressed against a wall, which are not referenced here for ethical and moral reasons, and for the same reasons no copy images of these prints were recorded for this research.

The rationale for selecting images for discussion from this archive's holdings was to access and analyse a reasonable sample of the range of images of disabled people, including illustrations which were sometimes used within nineteenth century publications and especially for posters and handbills, as well as a sample of photographs from more recent works. The nineteenth century images tend to be engravings rather than photographs due to the limitations of newspaper and journal printing, where half-tone reproductions of photographs were not technically possible, and engravings such as in Figure 15 and Figure 16 are examples of engravings which sought to give an impression of photographic accuracy rather than being more stylised.

The existence of shows in medieval times of disabled people within carnivals and festivals forms the basis for the rise of the freak show in the nineteenth century. As Durbach (2010) notes, fairs had started during the medieval period for trading and for seasonal and annual hiring of servants and farm hands, but "by the nineteenth century they had largely become

[just] sites of popular amusement.” (Durbach 2010: 6)

[38]
Young Woman with Elephantiasis as a Result of Scarlet Fever, 1878
O. G. Mason, New York City

Figure 13: Young Woman with Elephantitus as a Result of Scarlet Fever, (1878), O. G. Mason, New York City. Plate 38. Burns, S.B.,. A Morning’s Work: Medical Photographs from the Burns Archive 1843-1939. Twin Palms Publishers, 1998.

It is perhaps the Barnum shows which exemplify best the Victorian and Edwardian freak show. Barnum visited the UK in 1844 with General Tom Thumb as his key publicity point, where Tom Thumb met Queen Victoria three times and received presents from her (Fitzsimons, Barnum in London 1969). Barnum later wrote (1855) that some of his show attractions were faked and that he had more than doubled the alleged age of Tom Thumb (Fitzsimons 1969: 160) and described how he exploited the British royal audiences to publicise his show to a wider audience, earning £150,000 from a paying audience of three million people in three years in Europe in the 1840s, with the profits shared 50-50 between Barnum and Tom Thumb (Fitzsimons 1969: 152).

As an indication of the low general esteem that freak shows were generally held at the time, is the remark that on being told that people would only pay a penny to see Tom Thumb, Barnum noted “there was a sadness settling down upon me in the thought that dwarfs were at rather a low figure in the fancy-stocks of England.” (Fitzsimons 1969: 70). Nevertheless the entrepreneur noted later, in presumably a happier tone, that “I took above a hundred pounds a day in shillings for the General [Tom Thumb] at Birmingham and Manchester,” (Fitzsimons 1969: 31).

In considering the impact of freak shows on British culture, Durbach (2010) concludes that “[t]his pervasive and reproving discourse that separates Us from Them, however, is really just an extension of the cultural work of the Victorian and Edwardian freak show” and that it had a wider social role in that “[t]he freak show illuminates one of the ways in which British citizens and subjects came to understand themselves in relation to a wide range of Others” (Durbach 2010: 183).

Recent studies in the history of freakery in the UK have been led by the works of US writers working from a tradition of cultural studies such as (Garland Thomson 2009), (Smit 2008) and (Tromp 2008). While these writers follow a reclaiming tradition of cultural pride for a group of disabled people who have been objectified and overlooked, the cultural emphasis contains very little material analysis of the lives of disabled people at the time. The disabled performers appear to have had no collective voice or a collective grievance, instead the emphasis is on the individual getting the best deal for themselves, which a few freakery star performers did manage to do, but against the trend. Perhaps the weakest aspect of these accounts within a cultural studies tradition is their inability to explain the decline of the freak show in the twentieth century both in the UK and in the USA, nor to explore its historical form, if any, outside of Anglo-Saxon cultures such as in continental Europe. It could be theorised that such a decline had a social basis with the high levels of warfare in the twentieth century, in an era where medical advances meant that more people, and especially men, survived substantial injuries with impairments and returned to civilian society as changed people in such numbers that it changed society. Perhaps the freak show was then seen more often as tawdry by people whose uncle, father, brother, son, nephew was now disabled and struggling to return to employment and family life.

In chapter 12 of an edited works, *Victorian Freakery* (Tromp 2008), Smit looks at the work of the Victorian photographer Charles Eisenmann and the freak show subjects with whom he worked in the late 1800s in producing a range of images all in the *carte-de-visite* format. Smit notes that apart from “a few rogue studies that attempt to reread the freak-performer as an economic and artistic hero, the majority of the work being written on freaks ... [are of a] powerless victim of a cultural and economic system of objectification.” (Smit 2008: 285-6) This assumption of powerlessness is not shared by Smit, who sees the disabled people being pictured as working with the photographer as equals, rather than for him as objects. He particularly looks at the photographs taken between 1879 and 1890 of Rosie Wolf, a woman of restricted growth, which are said to show a continuing and mutually-respective relationship with the Eisenmann (Smit 2008).

2.2 The medical image, impairment and eugenics

Dr Hugh Welch Diamond (1809-1886) was a founder member of the Photographic Society and edited its journal as well as practicing medicine. He is particularly noted for his images of mentally ill women between 1848 and 1858 while he was a psychiatrist at the Surrey County Asylum in England, where in 1858 he published *Physiognomy of Insanity of J. Connolly*. Diamond's belief was that the physiognomy of patients could be used to determine their mental state, as a parallel to the belief amongst criminologists that physiognomy could be used to determine criminality. This is similar to but milder than the work *Mécanisme de la Physionomie Humaine* around 1856 and *Album de Photographies Pathologiques* in 1862 by Dr G.B. Duchenne du Boulogne, who drew up a barbaric photographic record (by ethical standards) of electric shocks applied to the faces of patients to show the names and pathways of facial muscles and nerves, and the emotions they allegedly expressed, being called electro-therapy. In plain fact they are photographs of torture, as shown in disturbing images such as Figure 14.

An instance of the intersection of some disabled people with ethnographic practices is Darwin's use of photographs in 1872 of asylum inmates taken a decade earlier by Duchenne and then Charcot, based on electric shocks applied to the inmate's face, allegedly to stimulate in the subject's mind the emotions associated with the expressions 'created' by the electric shocks. (Poignant 1992: 56). Darwin used these images in plates within *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*. However, Darwin's work found a stronger popular audience than a scientific one:

> "The sale of 6,200 copies of Expressions in the first week (Nature 7:35), however, indicates that the public acclaim derived less from the quality of the scientific exposition than from popular notions about the human face. ... [These sales were compared] with Lavater's Essays in Physiognomy, which by then had reached its seventeenth edition in English. That the body became legible in the nineteenth century has been attributed (Shortland 1985) largely to the way in which Lavater developed a 'science' of physiognomy ... [and the] notion of a comparative physiognomy that embraced class and race gained currency partly through Schadow's National-Physiognomieen, 1835" (Poignant 1992: 57).

A further comparison during the early twentieth century was the ethnocentric response to mass immigration and an aversion to disabled people which lead to the growth in the eugenics movement in order to preserve and promote only the wanted traits within society. For disabled people this particularly focused on people with learning disabilities and for some other disabled people a focus on fears of disease and contagion.[2]

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[2] Although today eugenics would be rightly seen as entirely amoral and unethical in terms of ethnicity, its role in screening for genetic impairment markers remains frequently unproblematic within some popular reporting and some professional discourse.

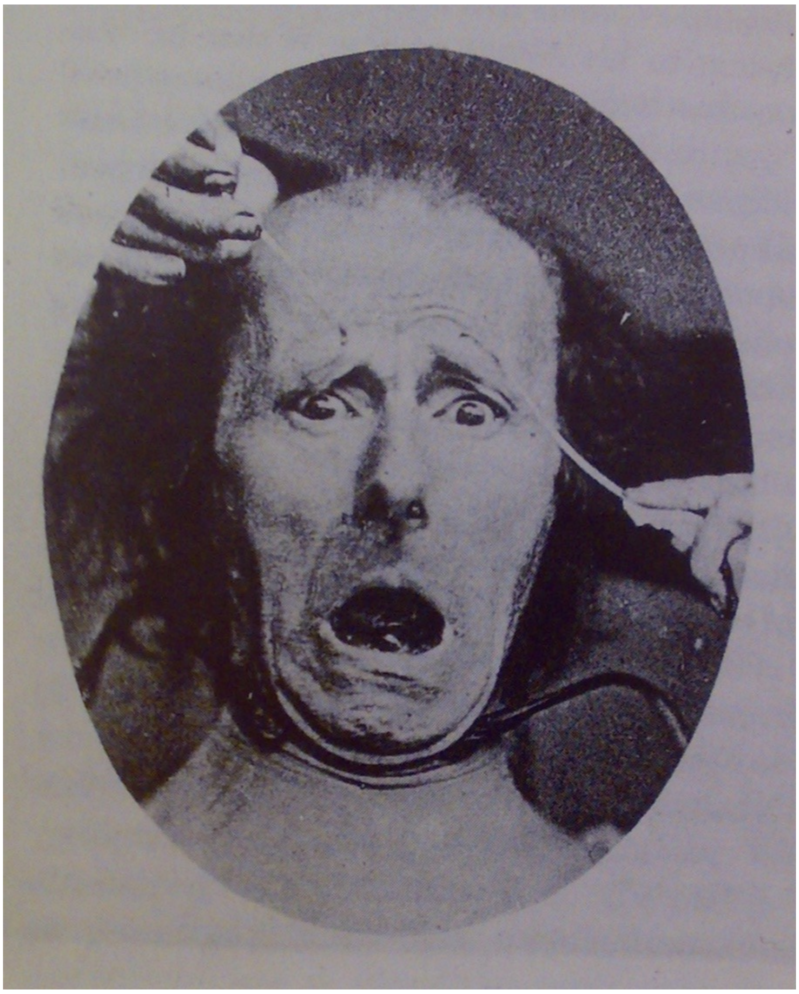

Figure 14: Unknown patient, (n.d.),'galvanised' facial muscles with electric shocks and claimed to display associated emotions, Duchenne [in (Poignant 1992, p56)**]**

Photographs of disabled people living in asylums in the nineteenth century thus became one part of a toxic mixture of eugenics, selection, colonialism and 'race', made firstly scientifically respectable, then popular, and finally ruthlessly efficient by the growth of fascism in the early twentieth century. This was no accidental combination – the human psyche has always had a fascination with reading the body – and shows the dangers and terrible consequences of the instrumentality of technology to satiate such a fascination when devoid of ethics and morality.

2.2.1 Disability and medical photography

Writing as recently as 2002, Creighton et al noted that clinical photographs are sometimes still used just to illustrate and enliven long journal articles and textbooks, yet

> "[T]o date, clinical photography has been entirely a 'one-way' process. ... The patient in a medical photograph is often seen as an interesting case or unusual finding rather than a living, feeling person." (Creighton, et al. 2002: 67)

While medical photography moved from mostly a portraitness in the nineteenth century to a more distinct and systematic medical gaze in the twentieth century, nevertheless there remains an underlying continuity of the person as an object, and apparently an indifference to the subsequent uses of such images. An example of this blurring is where:

> "Significantly, Duchenne bequeathed the complete series of his original large-format photographs that served to illustrate his book on human physiognomy not to the *Faculté de médecine* but to the *École Nationale Supériere des Beaux-Arts* of Paris." (Parent 2005: 376).

There is a parallel here starting in the nineteenth century with the register of conquest in photographs of non-Western people as an exotic Other. For example, James Faris considers Western images of the Navajo, a First Nation people or Native Americans, where the working classifications or registers within the photographs taken were:

> "[G]uided by and bear upon established discourses of conquest and racism. I am not talking here about intention or motivation – which are not relevant in any case. These categories, these registers, then, are not based on consciousness or announced desire". (Faris 2003: 87)

If freakery was a principal visual register of disabled people produced for public consumption, then the equivalent for private, professional and powerful use was the medical register exemplified in the gaze. The medical gaze was codified in terms of photography by having backgrounds were plain such as curtains, screens or a wall, people stood or sat naked with no extraneous objects or furniture, being posed in a still and formal manner, and sometimes people had a cloth over their face to remove their identity or their face partially masked (usually the eyes covered by a black oblong) during printing.

Even if someone's face is not obscured in medical photographs, it was frequent practice that the subject did not look at the camera, making them a passive. For example, "photographs of the disabled body have also shown the importance of eye contact, clearly illustrated in photographs taken by the physician Hugh W. Diamond in 1848 of asylum inmates." (Smit 2008: 225)

A typical example of this type is shown in Figure 13: Young Woman with Elephantitus as a Result of Scarlet Fever, (1878), O. G. Mason, New York City. Plate 38. Burns, S.B.,. A Morning's Work: Medical Photographs from the Burns Archive 1843-1939. Twin Palms Publishers, 1998.

In later years the custom changed to blanking out the eyes with a single black or white rectangle, added after the photograph had been taken. An example of white squares being used to obscure the faces of women living within a mental health hospital in a press photograph from the early 1960s is shown in Figure 17: *Occupational Therapy Class at Crichton Royal Hospital, Dumfries,* (1961). [aka Dumfries Lunatic Asylum] Bradford:

National Media Museum [Accessed 16 February 2003].

There is, of course, a technical need for medical practitioners to be able to compile and share informative images in order to promote public health and well-being. However the ethical considerations of these practices until recent times were minimally considered, and especially for patients in mental health institutions there is not even an implicit indication of consent in the taking and use of their images.[3]

This compulsion can be contrasted with current medical practices which, for example, require children as well as adults to give their consent for images to be made (Addenbrooke's NHS Trust 2004), which can be withdrawn at any time, and where the scope of 'clinical photographs' is highly inclusive to cover radiography such as X-rays as well as visible light photography

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[3] This view that non-consenting photographs taken of people in mental distress can be 'useful' is still current. In the early 1880s images of people in mental distress were published in three volumes, *Iconographie photographique de la Salpêtrière* by Jean-Martin Charcot. He was "Freud's mentor and a leading neurologist at the time ... [and all of his] photographs depict women and concentrate on an affliction then labelled hysteria" (Baer 2002: 26). In his analysis the images taken by Charcot, Baer argues that there is a trauma in the images, but that the trauma exists within the person being photographed and not within, or added to, by the process of being photographed while distressed (2002: 14). He acknowledges the work of feminist critics such as Elaine Showalter but see such works as:

"an attempt to rescue Charcot's female patients from the doctor's darkroom misogyny ... [but because] Charcot's patients suffered from experiences they themselves did not fully own, a corrective, and posthumous, reading that restores these experiences to them 'on their behalf' risks not recognizing, and indeed glossing over, the source of their suffering. It presupposes that these women can simply be reunited with their experience as long as it is analyzed from the right perspective" (Baer 2002: 15).

The central thesis advanced by Baer is that major trauma causes people to be unable to internalise the traumatic event, unable to remember or process its meaning, and that photography provides a means of making sense subsequently of traumatic events: that at the time the events happen to people but the trauma is unexperienced. Thus, the "possibility that photographs capture unexperienced events creates a striking parallel between the workings of the camera and the structure of traumatic memory." (Baer 2002: 8)

The ethical difficulty with continuing to advocate this approach in professional practice in my view is that people who are subjected to trauma or to additional distress are at the same time declared to be dopes, unable to understand their circumstances unlike the onlooking professionals, who instead have power to inscribe a meaning 'on their behalf'.

2.2.2 Reading the impaired body photographically

The mid-nineteenth century saw photography take hold in popular culture with the introduction of the *carte-de-visite*. Its design was patented in 1854 by André Disdéri (1819-1889), being a small photograph printed on paper and card measuring 6cm by 9cm.

For up to twenty years following its introduction, the *carte-de-visite* was a popular success with millions of images being created (Warner Marien 2002: 85), some mass produced for collectable sets of contemporary famous people but also with local studios where people could pay for a few images of themselves to be produced. One account for the success of this new hobby of collecting sets of images of famous people in decorative albums was the new pressure on middle-class women to stay at home and to define themselves within a limited range of socially acceptable activities. (Wells 2004: 128)

There is evidence of *carte-de-visite* photographers in the USA following armies and charging for pictures of soldiers (Warner Marien 2002: 93), and surely these were intended to be posted to families with a note as a reassurance, and unspokenly as a possible *momento mori*. It can also be speculated that, in the context of the rapid urbanisation and growth of the industrial cities in the nineteenth century with their concentrated and extreme poverty, that young people displaced from villages and towns might wish to post to family a *carte-de-visite* with borrowed clothes from the photographer's rack and with an idyllic backdrop in the studio, as a token to reassure family members on their prosperity and wellbeing (Lenman 2005, p106).

Figure 15: Illustrated London News. (n.d). [Sketch caption:] The Pigmies in Piccadilly: Lucia Karate and General Mite, with the Example. General Tom Thumb Introduced ... to Show their Relative Sizes. [Monochrome newspaper print]. Available at Sheffield: National Fairground Archive [Accessed 28 February 2003].

Figure 16: Van Assen, A. (c.1880). *Mr Patrick [Cotter] O'Brien, the Celebrated Irish Giant.* The Illustrated London News. Available at Sheffield: National Fairground Archive [Accessed 28 February 2003].

The basis for the success of the *carte-de-visite* format is partly to be found in two innovations – in a new process of printing eight images on one larger sheet with economies of scale and in new, faster lenses with simpler focusing and exposure requirements (Warner Marien 2002: 84) leading the patent to be readily franchised. However, perhaps the two key social factors were that the faster (more efficient) lenses also allowed full length portraits to be easily taken, rather than the previous head and shoulders studio restrictions, and secondly that the process became affordable to working-class people (Lenman 2005: 106).

> "Marking a shift from the scrutiny of the face to the reading of the entire body, cartes gave sitters the freedom to reveal multiple identities before the lens, and anticipated the snapshot in expanding the repertoire of poses in which people were displayed." (Lenman 2005: 106).

This new means of reading the body readily includes images of disabled people, and as a socially acceptable practice as shown in the inclusion of images of disabled people in the collectable sets, as for example shown in Figure 11.

These images of disabled people were popular but exploitative, as “in the nineteenth century there was a brisk trade in such photographs of ‘the other’; the circus freak, the bearded lady, Siamese twins, and so forth” (Ewing 1994, p239). Disabled people seldom benefited well from this trade in their images, as many disabled people “were forced to earn their income by selling their own photographic portraits” (Koetzle 2002: 172) although occasionally an individual such as Tom Thumb did make a good living from the proceeds (Toulmin 2003).

Scarcity was itself a factor in making images, and other cultural forms, an indicator of power, wealth and authority. The use for example of religious icons and sculpture was central to defining power in key public places and social spaces.

The photograph offered a claimed authenticity and reality which illustrators, painters and engravers could not match. The Daguerreotype method produced a single high-quality recorded image but this one-off was not reproducible. However, the progression of photographic technologies was extended with the Calotype method of a negative from which many positives could be made, and this reproduction became a key instrument in support of the mass markets that were being created, and shortly thereafter as a consumer commodity item itself.

But the progression of photographic techniques linked to the growth of capitalism and urbanised manufacturing is perhaps too linear an explanation. It is perhaps too convenient to note that alongside the development of photography the industrial revolution was also underway in Europe and transforming countries, economies, societies and cultures, and that this revolution needed to develop new instruments to extend its reach and power.

From 1855 photography essentially changed from being a craft activity to take its hold as a mass activity (Warner Marien 2002: 7). A further and perhaps even more powerful instrument in the mass circulation of images was the invention of the halftone printing process around 1873 (Goldberg 1991: 167). Using the system of small dots of ink of variable sizes to achieve shades of grey in the printing of photographic images in newspapers and books, “[t]he importance of the halftone [printing] process cannot be overestimated.” (Goldberg 1991: 167).

2.2.3 Photographic practices within families: death and loss

As already noted, photography became a widely available commodity during the second half of the 1800s, at least initially for upper and middle-class households, with local studios opening in towns and cities. In particular, with consumer cameras already loaded with film being introduced in 1888, photography quickly became a key mechanism for keeping family records. Pictures were taken of parents or other elderly relatives, to help remember their features after their death. Pictures were taken of children, to be kept and looked at again as they grew up or of children after they had died, so-called ‘sleeping babies’. As well as life expectancy being only around 40 years once early childhood had been survived, death was also very likely in childhood and early adult life – so the photograph quickly became an essential way to capture the image of a person, to help recall the memory of them – a *momento mori*. Although now a taboo item except in a few circumstances, the practice of photographing the body after a person’s death was commonplace in the nineteenth century. The power and the personal meaning of the intersect between photographic images and death/loss is hard to overstate, and similarly the proximity of medical interventions to death gave medical authority and conventions a normative and formative role in early photography.

However, photography was used not just to remember others who had died, but also for people to reflect on their own mortality. Violent death had long been a popular and powerful topic in mythology and in exerting social control and reinforcing behaviour norms, as transmitted by high-art painting as well as in state punishments. Now war photography gave depictions of violent death a new lease. The Crimean War was the first war to be photographed, and ostensibly the images of death were circulated as photojournalism to inform the public on the realities of war. But this practice can also be explored as being an acceptable surface justification for a much deeper and more powerful force. Just at the time when executions of convicts were being taken inside behind the prison walls because the crowds were becoming too large and dangerous to maintain public order, so a new form of viewing death was becoming widely available and socially acceptable and to some extent politically controllable.

While this fascination with images of death and its fundamentally charged nature continues to the present day, the uses of images of impairment and of disabled people have not endured in a similar manner and in the current period have become more complex and problematic. For example, it is problematic to reproduce images of physical trauma yet there are fewer concerns about portraying psychological trauma. Indeed, it is an acceptable convention to portray the reaction to a death as a proxy for the event itself. Fictional yet graphic representations of dead bodies remain popular, though the dramatic focus is on the less likely deaths of young adults rather than those of children or more commonly of elderly people.

To some extent this is due to the slow and drawn out decoupling of illness, impairment and disability which started in the twentieth century and has yet to be completed. The treatment of illness, for example with antibiotics from the mid-twentieth century, over time has led less often to a consequent impairment or death; and impairments less frequently have consequent further illnesses due to various condition management regimes. This leads to people with impairments living longer, and especially those with complex support needs, which leads to general social contact with disabled people with high levels of impairment becoming, to some extent at least, more ‘everyday’.

2.3 Alternative traditions: charity and photo-documentary images

Added to these two stereotypes of freakery and medical images, it is worth considering two other stereotypes: charity fundraising and early photo-documentary images of disabled people in the nineteenth century. There is an inchoate early style of charity fundraising images, which will become a strong third strand by the close of the Nineteenth century, few of which survive with the best researched being the ‘before and after’ photographs issued by the Bernardos charity, which were controversial at the time when it was revealed that the pictures purporting to be true stories of children saved from destitution were in fact posed by children dressed to the part.

The fourth stereotype is the then-new photo-documentary style including street reportage and especially where it featured disabled people begging and showing disabled war veterans. This stereotype’s emergence can be traced to the first images of contemporary warfare which reached England from the Crimea War, initially by Roger Fenton (1819-1869). The details of this photo-documentary theme are beyond the scope of this research, but it may be useful research for others to develop the intersections between the works of Robert Fenton and Florence Nightingale, where the latter campaigned in her later years for the growth of hospitals and the removal of ill and impaired people from workhouses, all of which featured disabled people centrally.

2.3.1 Authentic charity and documentary images

The concern discussed above with authenticity were paralleled with Victorian concerns about people begging and faking impairment or faking veterans’ uniforms, leading to a formal association of beggars (Lumb 2004). This concern also reflected on organisations considered to be misleading the public, with perhaps the most notorious at the time being the ‘before’ and ‘after’ photographs of ‘rescued’ children by the Barnardo’s charity. These photo cards were sold as sets to raise funds, however parents of some of the children used as models were angry and objected that their children were in Care often because of family poverty and that the staged ‘before’ pictures did not reflect their actual circumstances and furthered the stigmatisation of the children and their parents. The case of a child called Florence Holder caused public concern when her mother complained that her daughter had never begged, been barefoot, with unkempt hair and ragged clothing. A photograph of her sister, Eliza Holder, was also taken and used with a box to collect donated coins, with the phrase: “A little waif six years old, taken from the streets.” (Mavor 1996: 39).

In the 1860s there was a popular outcry against photographs being manipulated and retouched, which lead to some pictures being excluded from the International Exhibition in 1862 (Linkman 1993: 77-8). However, it is also known that some images of disabled people were staged (or later manipulated) to remove signs of impairment – the frequently cited later example being FD Roosevelt not being pictured in his wheelchair, such that “[o]nly two portraits of him in a wheelchair exist, both taken by a family member and neither released publicly until after his death”. (Unknown 2006)

This lack of images of disabled people outside of freakery and medical discourses was itself a socially constructed norm, and strong enough to apply even in such a non-typical setting; the norm being that the image of the public person (The President) was not to be undermined by an image of the private person as impaired.

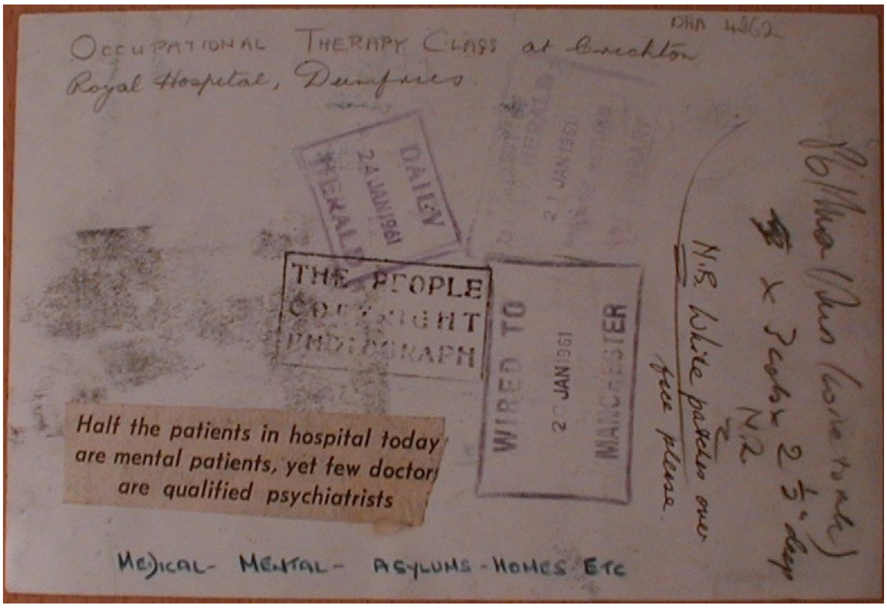
> "Doris Kearns Goodwin in *No Ordinary Time* (1995 p586-7) describes the 'unspoken code of honor' adhered to by White House and press photographers as well as newsreel film makers: 'In twelve years, not a single picture was ever printed of the President in his wheelchair. No newsreel had ever captured him being lifted into or out of his car. ... [if] one of the members of the press corps sought to violate the code ... one of the older photographers would "accidentally" block the shot or gently knock the camera to the ground. But such incidents were rare; by and large the "veil of silence" about the extent of Roosevelt's handicap was accepted by everyone - Roosevelt, the press, and the American people.'" (Zames Fleischer and Zames 2001: 4)

2.4 Photography and Othering

British society in the nineteenth century was in the context of a Kingdom or State of four home nations (England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales) being at the head of the world's largest Empire of other nations, peoples and cultures. The power differences at 'home' and overseas were truly extensive: the Other was socially constructed by gender, by 'race', by nationality, by class and by impairment. However, there were not water-tight separate processes for each group, and in particular there are parallels between the Othering practices operated on to disabled people and those practices associated with ethnography and colonialism.

There is a good understanding amongst photography researchers and practitioners concerning the exploitative and Othering nature of the colonial photographic practices and images captured (Sontag 1979) of people in non-Western countries and cultures, from Edwards (1992) to Maxwell (1999) to Pinney and Peterson (2003). However, less considered are the linkages between imagery of indigenous people and that of disabled people, neither in the nineteenth century nor in more recent years.

Figure 17: *Occupational Therapy Class at Crichton Royal Hospital, Dumfries,* (1961). [aka Dumfries Lunatic Asylum] Bradford: National Media Museum [Accessed 16 February 2003].



OCCUPATIONAL THERAPY CLASS at Crichton Royal Hospital, Dumfries

DHA 4262

DAILY HERALD 24 JAN 1961

21 JAN 1961

THE PEOPLE COPYRIGHT PHOTOGRAPH

WIRED TO 2 JAN 1961 MANCHESTER

N.B. White patches over face please

Half the patients in hospital today are mental patients, yet few doctors are qualified psychiatrists

MEDICAL- MENTAL- ASYLUMS - HOMES ETC

Figure 18: Various texts on reverse of Figure 17. (1961)

Texts include: Half the patients in hospital today are mental patients, yet few doctors are qualified psychiatrists. N.B. White patches over faces please. Medical – Mental – Asylums – Homes Etc.

Figure 19: *Going Solo* (1967). 11 December 1967. Bradford: National Media Museum [Accessed 16 February 2003].

For disabled people there was a similar scientific fascination with the extraordinary body. First, there is the scientific method which gave a framework of permission and credibility to the collection of images of indigenous Black people in other countries and cultures, images which were of people posed out of context and often naked, based on and reinforcing assumptions of inferiority and passive subjectivity. These images included some people who had been abducted, and also included images of people involved in sacred and private traditional practices (Pinney and Peterson 2003: 134).

Second, many of the indigenous people abducted were used for display in travelling shows and fairs, and this commercial exploitation also has a parallel experience in the mistreatment of disabled people within the same fairgrounds and shows, and in pamphlets such as R. A. Cunningham's *Australian Aborigines* (1884), cited in Pinner and Peterson (2003: 59). While disabled people were not similarly abducted, there are parallels with the removal of disabled children from families by charities and authorities into institutions as a condition of being provided for, in circumstances where family poverty may have left no choice. Thomas Barnardo admitted that children were sent to Canada and Australia as a "philanthropic abduction" (Kershaw and Sacks 2008: 9) and such children were screened beforehand for conditions such as flat feet and colour blindness (Kershaw and Sacks 2008). It is possible to speculate on the few or no choices and therefore the pressures on poor disabled people to exhibit their extraordinary body for income.

In terms of examining the intersections between anthropology and disability studies and photography, the material is perhaps understandably not extensive. In the foreword to *Anthropology and Photography*, Edwards notes:

> "The touring exhibition *Observers of Man*, organised by Roslyn Poignant in 1980 ... [was designed] primarily to open up the collection [of the Royal Anthropological Institute] to public access, displaying its richness and variety. Observers of Man was designed as a pleasing exhibition with ... 'no pictures ... of diseased or miserable people'. To balance this impression, two disturbing images from the collection not selected for Observers of Man were published in the April 1980 issue of our newsletter RAIN: one of a shackled prisoner ... and the other a portrait (by W.L. Hildburgh) of a limbless man photographed in Madras about 1902. In retrospect, some pages of Observers of Man evince a comfortable exoticism ... which in the 1980s would be questioned with more edge." (E. Edwards 1992: vii)

For disabled people, it is hard to see what progress was made between 1955 and 1980 with the exhibition and accompanying book *The Family of Man* by Edward Steichen in 1955, where disabled people were similarly missing from humanity. In *The Family of Man* there was just one out of 503 images printed in the accompanying book that included a visibly disabled person by showing a one-legged person with a crutch playing football on a beach, taken in Morocco by Charles Trieschmann.

It is possible to content that we arrived at the end of the twentieth century with more progressive social circumstances than in previous eras, and thus it is possible to also contend that exploitative images of disabled people belong only to a prior era, for example as found in older books such as The World of Midgets (Bodin and Hershey 1935) which include images of naked disabled children which today would create strong child safety concerns.

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Figure 20: Easynet. (2004). *Victory. It’s a matter of dedication.* [Billboard Advertisement]. Available at a London Underground station [Accessed 26 February 2004].

Figure 21: Changing Faces (2004), Outdoor Poster Advertisement: *Don't let the way I look affect the way you see me.* [Accessed: Manchester, May 2004]

However, the sense of uniform enlightened progress is problematic – for example when on 11 August 1998 *The Sun* newspaper printed an image copyright held by "Ian Hodges / Popperfoto" above the caption: "*England Cricket Team celebrate after winning the Test Match series against South Africa, Headingley, 10 August 1998*", staff at *The Sun* had edited out a young woman using a wheelchair from the supporters in the left side of the image. The newspaper was reported later to have apologised privately to the young disabled woman. (National-Media-Museum 2004)

Also recent publications such as Freak Show: Presenting Human Oddities for Amusement and Profit (Bogdan, 1988), The Grotesque in Photography (Coleman, 1977) and The Two-Headed Boy and Other Medical Marvels (Bondeson, 2000) perpetuate an exploitative manner of trading in and viewing images of disabled people but with a pretence to historical authority and to irony.

The use of disability imagery in recent years is increasingly complex and problematic. Figure 20 indicates the use of an athlete using a wheelchair as a metaphor for dedication and winning, seeking to identify the company (an internet service provider) with British athletics through its sponsorship of 'Team GB' in the Olympic Games for 2004. Yet this image is presented without any shown understanding of its social context: that the poster is displayed within a deep station in the London Underground system where the majority of deep stations are inaccessible to wheelchair users and are set to remain so for many years to come. This is a purportedly positive image of a disabled person in a setting where many disabled people remain excluded. This can be compared with Figure 21 also from 2004 where the image is available where disabled people can circulate, where the image is directly related to the message being portrayed and the social context is powerfully evident. Of course, Figure 21 would be even stronger if it was used commercially for 'beauty' product such as cosmetics.

Conclusions

The nineteenth century saw the new photographic practices follow an existing fascination with viewing disabled people as Other, where the images in circulation were produced to the major stereotypes of disabled people either as freaks or as medical objects. Two minor stereotypes also emerged to some extent during the nineteenth century, of people as objects of pity for charitable fundraising and of photo-documentary images of disabled people, especially as impaired war veterans. These stereotypes of disabled people had their place within a wider programme of photographic traditions of Othering. The continued existence of images of disabled people from the first decade of photography points to the continuing fascination with impaired or extraordinary bodies.

To some extent these stereotypes have been challenged and overturned by more recent photographic approaches, where ethical factors are given an over-riding priority in clinical photographic practices within medicine, and socially where there are more nuanced portrayals of disabled people as equal, as aware and controlling, and as consenting.

However, even in recent years we have seen photo books still produced for entertainment which use older, exploitative images of disabled people shown as freaks, with a guise of popular history, and there are still sometimes confused images of disabled people in circulation which muddle between illness and impairment.

As the case studies will show later, as well as these late, lingering stereotypes above there were also earlier counter-examples to these stereotypes which can be found from the 1920s through to the 1970s, pre-figuring the more well-known examples from the 1980s and onwards.

Chapter 3 – Social Context of Disabled People's Organisations

This chapter discusses the social historical context of disability in modern times leading up to the initial development of the social model of disability in the mid 1970s to the early 1980s.

The growth of urban areas through the Industrial Revolution in England has a related growth in workhouses for those who did not fit the new system of production, and the impact of this development on disabled people is analysed. Just as trade unions were created as a response, so there are similar trends in responses by disabled people, such as with the National League for the Blind and Disabled in 1899.

The twentieth century impacted on disabled people through the violence of world wars but also the sinister growth of eugenics in the lead up to the second world war. The aftermath in terms of employment and in the development of the welfare state is generally a positive development, but some of the excluding categories remain and mainstreaming is not yet a policy objective.

The chapter concludes with a more theoretical section on the social model today, on various critiques of it and especially from a postmodernist perspective, and some reflections on the debate around impairment effects arising from the interviews and writings, with a suggested view.

3.1 Economic conditions for disabled people

We know a little about how disabled people have lived in England in the lead up to the industrial revolution. Some disabled people lived in appalling conditions within institutions including being held in irons or lived within the community but some at least were held in coal holes (Jones 1972); whereas some others lived ordinary lives within families and with occupations as shown in Census records (Borsay 2005) and some analysts claim that asylums were, at times, places with dignity and tolerance (Bartlett 1999) (Scull 1999). But in all of this, except now within their living memories, we don't hear the voices of disabled people directly talking to us.

Associated with these pre-industrial economic changes were equally profound, social, cultural and political changes associated with the Reformation in England, and as part of this dynamic were the fraught beginnings of the separation of powers between church and state. Though not always a direct cause and effect, it is possible to understand an intrinsic change for disabled people who were being governed prior to this period under a religious imperative. This shift was from the cloistered refuge and *outdoor relief* being provided to poor people including some disabled people in part by a network of local religious communities such as parish churches and monasteries; shifting to poor disabled people and other poor people being governed by a new legal imperative by the end of the Sixteenth century as set out in the Poor Law 1601, undertaken by the *reinvention of parishes* to become a unit of local government administered by the state rather than being predominantly a unit of church territory.

3.1.1 Poor Law, Industrialisation and Institutionalisation

Around the same time as the creation of the Poor Law in 1601 is the associated establishment of an England-wide pension entitlement for ex-servicemen in 1593 (Hudson 2000: 117), which was firstly administered at county level and later changed to a national scheme in 1679. Documents at the time indicate a view that "England's soldiers needed to be treated decently so that others would be willing to serve" (Hudson 2000: 119) as the forces moved from conscription to volunteer subscription. This is significant for the historical position of disabled people as many veterans would be disabled from their injuries, and would expect to lose income in later life as a result of impairment.

With the Enlightenment comes another change to the use of imagery, where the scientific gaze enters into practice, coupled with explanatory texts, and within this new experimental era there is especially the medical gaze at bodies in what Michel Foucault describes as the beginnings of modern medical practices of power, control and classification of the population in *The Birth of the Clinic* (Foucault 1963/1989).

With the Enlightenment and the early stages of the industrial revolution in the 1700s there were significant social changes associated with land enclosures and with a further growth in mercantile trading, such that "[b]y 1774, pauperism – genuine poverty, as opposed to habitual vagrancy – had assumed alarming proportions. There is probably no other period in English history in which the social classes were so clearly divided." (Jones 1972: 17). Previously the provision of "[o]utdoor relief was common in most parishes before 1723, the year of the Workhouse Test." (Jones 1972: 18) and from this point outdoor relief became increasingly restricted with the growing number of workhouses, culminating in the abolition of outdoor relief and the compulsory use of workhouses brought about in 1834 by the Poor Law Reform Act.

Thus, this period of 111 years from 1723 to 1834 can be seen as a transition with an emphatic switch from outdoor to indoor relief in a period which, at the end, "whilst not successful in abolishing outdoor relief, did manage to push through a major ideological shift towards seeing welfare and support as not simply distinct from paid work, but as inherently *less eligible* than such work." (Roulstone, forthcoming).

A case has been made that links the rise of social movements to emerging democratisation, war-making, capitalization and proletarianization in the Eighteenth century, so that by around 1812 the general features of social movements had been established (Tilly and Wood 2009: 29), having first taken shape in England around 1768 with the turbulent campaigning associated with John Wilkes (Tilly and Wood 2009).

In their study of social movements, Tilley and Wood (2009: 46) assert that the Parliamentary elections Reform Act of 1832 and the New Poor Law [sic] of 1834 were both initially resisted by different social movements, one to campaign for a wider voting franchise and the other for reinstating outdoor relief for unemployed poor people as opposed to the workhouse, and that these movements merged to become Chartism with the People's Charter issued in May 1838 through to the movement's decline ten years' later in 1848. However, it has to be noted that the Chartist demands focused on parliamentary and elections reform and excluded other radical demands such as for women's voting rights or the ten hour working day which were also being campaigned for by others at the time (Tilly and Wood 2009).

Under the 1834 Poor Law Reform Act workhouses were established in law for 'paupers, children, the sick, insane, defective and the aged/infirm', and their creation can be argued as having created a new stigma that has then been associated with welfare provision even to this day, unlike the previously un-stigmatised outdoor relief. (Roulstone, forthcoming).

> "The larger workhouses had their own infirmaries for the care not only of those inmates who fell sick, but the poor in the normal population outside. ... There were five patients in workhouse infirmaries for every one in regular fee-paying hospitals." (McDonald 2010, p.142) citing a study of records of 1861 (Abel-Smith 1964: 46).

From May 1865 a team of Nightingale School nurses plus a matron started work at the Liverpool Workhouse Infirmary, funded by William Rathbone (McDonald 2010: 143), although the death of the first matron in 1868 provided a lull in these workhouse reforms until the 1880s (McDonald 2010: 150). Thus started the separation of workhouse infirmaries into separate still-charitable hospitals. Writing in a letter dated 9 July 1866, Florence Nightingale said,

> "The care and government of sick poor and, indeed of all persons labouring under physical or mental disability to win their bread, is a thing totally different from the government of paupers." reproduced in Figure 5.2 by Lynn McDonald (2010: 145).

In contrast to the workhouse and the newer hospitals was the older asylum, an institution with a long pedigree. Hall claims that the "first local madhouse" (1991 50) was private and built twenty years earlier that Wynn's Act, being opened in 1791 as Droitwich Asylum. As seen above, earlier in 1377 Bethlam Hospital in London was established as an institution for people with acute forms of mental disorder, which, pace Hall, was probably the first city madhouse.

The Droitwich Asylum "housed 104 patients; it was quite large in size and its first-class apartments, including a servant and 'every proper indulgence suitable to the patient's disorder', cost four guineas [£4.20p] a week, a considerable sum in those days (Parry-Jones 1972)" cited in (P. Hall 1991: 50) but some 50 years later "[b]y 1849, the Commissioners in Lunacy were expressing great dissatisfaction with the Droitwich Asylum ... [whereon] [m]any of its patients were transferred to Powick" (p43). Powick, later designated an NHS hospital, admitted its last patient in 1978 and finally closed in 1989 (P. Hall 1991: 50). The longevity of these institutions, in this case for 198 years and well into the Welfare State era, however dated, is discussed below.

Such private madhouses were initially not intended to provide for the needs of the population of an area; rather to take fee-paying residents sometimes far removed from their families with anonymity assured. The background to the need for asylum from the community, if it could be afforded, was because of "[s]uperstition, moral condemnation, ignorance and apathy: these were the mental attitudes which dominated the treatment of mental disorder in the eighteenth century" (Jones 1972: 10).

In considering the new local or county asylums from 1808 to 1845, Smith notes that;

> "[t]he rising perception of a problem of pauper lunacy, with its associated threats of public nuisance and violence to others, brought a willingness to contemplate a degree of state intervention and social engineering which only the containment of criminals had hitherto aroused." (Smith 1999: 35)

In seeking to explain the historic rise in the number and importance of asylums in Nineteenth century England, Scull used the phase *Museums of Madness* in 1977 as the title for his book on the social organisation of insanity in that century (Scull 1977), and others have also commented that the Nineteenth century was the 'great confinement of the mad' (Melling and Forsythe 1999) in line with Foucault's general claim for a Great Confinement across Europe taking place during the Nineteenth century (Foucault 1961/2001).

However, around 20 years after this work, Scull is reflecting on his sociological research work in *Rethinking the History of Asylumdom* (1999) and summarises a research journey from first attempting a total view of changing in psychiatry, government, the Poor Law Reform and industrialisation, inspired by but also "ambivalent" about the works of Foucault (Scull 1999, 298) and being keen to support "the new social history" with techniques such as history from below (Scull 1999: 298).

As part of this reflection on histories of disabled people, and noting that the new county asylums were in competition with private for-profit existing asylums (Scull 1999: 299), he later argues that there is a more nuanced case to make that the evidence supports the county (or 'local') asylum provision being driven by enthusiasts with a reform agenda to care for people in mental distress, but that in this zeal they overlooked the intrinsic failings of institutional care (Scull 1999: 299-300).

Given that recent estimates are that workhouses held up to a quarter of all people officially classed as lunatic (Scull 1999: 300) a case can be made to challenge the previous orthodoxy that asylums were somehow always distinct from workhouses, supported by research by Peter Bartlett in Leicestershire (cited in Scull 1999: 300).

Similarly, research by John Walton (cited in Scull 1999: 302) suggests “the complexity of the linkages between family, community and asylum, and an insistence that the boundary between the asylum and the larger society was always somewhat more porous than an earlier generation of studies had allowed or implied.” (Walton 1980)

Scull also cautions against over-stating the power of doctors including psychiatrists and that the prime movers lie elsewhere in wider social, economic and cultural forces. (Scull 1999: 307-8).

Thus, we can recognise that in England from the 1300s onwards there was what might be called a mixed market of outdoor relief and some private and religious asylums, leading to a growth from the 1720s to the mid-1800s in public asylums and in workhouses, and then an ending to outdoor relief until the late-nineteenth century with the first welfare benefits.

Within the nineteenth century in England there can be seen to be an increasing concern to identify some disabled people living within workhouses, and to press for their transfer to a hospital for medical care. This concern is rooted in the senses that workhouses were meant to be a deterrent to undeserving ‘able-bodied’ unemployed people, and that poor disabled people were deserving of a different treatment. It is also rooted in the growing confidence within the medical professions that hospitals, correctly run, could become a source of cure.

3.1.2 Disabled people and the work ethic

Major social changes were occurring within England before the industrial revolution and the growth of manufacturing towns and cities, and that these forces impacted on poor people and on disabled people to the extent that new laws, authorities and institutions had to be established.

With the Reformation, especially within northern continental Europe, there is an associated growth in the Protestant (work) ethic (Weber 1930), closely associated with the new religious teachings of Calvinism and its discourse in human inadequacy despite all of a person’s efforts to do better. This work ethic creates a culture which supports the growth in industrialisation and its revolutionary impact on societies, communities and places. The existing forms of social capital such as the craft guilds are sidelined with new working practices, often in new places away from the old county or market towns.

However, it is also worth bearing in mind the related but different growth of the Lutheran rather than the Calvanistic root of the Protestant work ethic which occurred especially in Nordic countries. In looking for a relationship between gradual democratisation and the emergence of social movements, Tilley and Wood note that:

> "The Baltic region had long stood out from the rest of Europe for its exceptional combination of powerful (Lutheran) state churches with extensive citizenship rights. Denmark's early creation of a relatively democratic constitution (1849) ... [doesn't negate the fact that] peasants, workers, and religious activitists had been creating special-purpose associations and deploying them in public politics for a century before then (Wåhlin 1986)." (Tilly and Wood 2009: 58)

Consequently it is possible to conjecture that the distinctive form of the welfare state *and* the internationally relatively privileged position of disabled people in Nordic countries in material terms may in some degree be traceable to a different cultural heritage and national ethic from the mid 1750s. This possibility could be an interesting further research area for the debates within disability studies, and in particular whether the social model of disability is an analysis that is particularly rooted in such studies within Britain or whether it might have a wider genealogy.

In England the widespread *creative destruction* [(Somberg 1913) cited in (Reinert and Reinert 2006)] caused by industrialisation led to substantial migrations from rural areas to the new and rapidly growing cities with urban squalor, to new types of work, in new hierarchies within work, and to rapidly growing inequalities of poverty and wealth.

> "Changes in the organisation of work from a rural-based, cooperative system where individuals contributed what they could to the production process, to an urban, factory-based one organised around the individual waged labourer, had profound consequences ... As a result of this, disabled people came to be regarded as a social and educational problem and more and more were segregated in institutions of all kinds including workhouses, asylums, colonies and special schools, and out of the mainstream of social life." (Oliver 1990: 28)

However, Bartlett and Wright (1999) are right to be cautious that institutions provide a ready archive and location for finding histories of some disabled people as their inmates, whereas the records of disabled people who continued to live within the community are harder to uncover. Nor are there records prior to 1899 of the establishment of organisations for disabled people being run by disabled people, though these may have existed within the self-help tradition of co-operative and friendly societies. A less benign view of disabled people's conditions at the time states:

> "England in the early eighteenth century was a country of some five and a half million people who lived for the most part in small towns and villages ... [and] it was a society undergoing a slow process of disintegration, in the final stages of the decay of feudalism; ... The community recognized little corporate responsibility for the well-being of its citizens, and inevitably its weakest members - the very poor, the very old, the sick, and the insane - suffered."   (Jones 1972: 3)

Apparently this suffering continued well into the following century, where there is an account of the appalling living conditions for people with mental health issues at the time:

> "A writer in the Westminster Review as late as March 1845 ...[states that] 'The portion of the domestic accommodation usually assigned to these unfortunates [so-called 'single lunatics'] is that commonly devoted to the reception of coals ... [where people were kept] under worse conditions than the lower domestic animals.'" (Jones 1972: 11-2)

Nor did the non-disabled poorest people fare well within the community. Up to the end of the Victorian period adults were expected to work all their life, and elderly adults (and others) who could no longer support themselves financially "were often forced to enter the workhouse, where no distinction was made between them and other paupers" (Means, Richards and Smith 2008: 21) which cites Cole and Edwards' findings that by 1901 the proportion of men and women aged over 75 who were living in workhouses was 10% and 6% respectively. (Cole and Edwards 2005)

For disabled people these industrial and social changes were very probably destabilising and impoverishing. The newly industrialised towns and cities had no need to be inclusive, where work and income were physically separated from the new living areas of overcrowded and insanitary rooms. Such rooms, each accommodating a large number of families, were on different floors within houses and often only accessible thorough narrow alleys and steep steps. There was an unashamed exploitative approach to doing the absolute minimum in order to obtain the most value from people. Non-disabled people could be pressed to work harder, to live only at the level of sustaining existence, and even then only being needed for such time until replacement labour was to hand so that the high mortality rate through injury and disease was the collateral damage of the time. Disabled people had no valued place within this scheme.

However Borsay (2005) cites research by Walton (1980) on Lancashire asylums to show that the admission rates were higher in the new industrial cities of Liverpool and Manchester, but lower in the smaller mill towns nearby such as Bury and Rochdale. As Borsay claims:

> "Far from destroying family-based employment, the factory system preserved working patterns that were capable of absorbing employees whose productivity was poor. With wage levels above the working-class average, there were more financial resources to retain disabled relatives at home. And the textile towns – compact enough to sustain family ties – also generated new social networks – around work and leisure as well as the neighbourhood – that protected against incarceration." (Borsay 2005: 177)

The purpose and functions of asylums were contested at the time, broadly between those who saw them as places of detention versus those who advocated them as a beneficial place of refuge and resulting cure. (Bartlett 1999) (Scull 1999)

3.1.3 Factory system and calculative logic: machines and perfect markets

Although Borsay (2005) make a claim for the positive impact of factories on the lives of disabled people, at least in the smaller towns rather than in the cities in what was then Lancashire, it is evident from the provisions in the various Factories Acts in the nineteenth century that factories generally were significant sites on death, and of severe injury leading to impairment and, especially in the early years, of child labour.

Even before the Taylorist approaches for ever-greater productivity in the twentieth century, the sudden growth in the number of factories in the early to mid nineteenth century was predicated on productivity gains and added value from harnessing mechanical power within machines, and to place people – workers – as instruments of the machines.

This approach enabled the factory owners to minimise their costs by disregarding as far as possible any economic externalities, not just in pollution but also in human injury and impairment, where no compensation or benefits were required, and where no adjustment or accommodation was to be made for people with impairments, whether acquired within the factory or elsewhere.

3.2 Categorical approaches and disabled people

By the late nineteenth century there is a move to further codify social attitudes with a more detailed legal and medical framework than previously, such that:

> “The Idiots Act of 1886 ... made a distinction between lunatics and mental defectives [and] ... [b]y the time of the Royal Commission on the Deaf and Dumb had been set up in 1889, it was recognised that in addition to ‘educable imbeciles’ there was another category, the ‘feeble-minded’, who needed to be separated from ordinary children ... [leading later to] the Report of the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble-Minded in 1908” (P. Morris 1969: 12)

which a range of categories which became encoded in the Mental Deficiency Act 1913, lasting until the Mental Health Act 1959 in law and longer in institutional responses.

Possibly a low point in the segregation of disabled people within Britain was the Mental Deficiency Act 1913 which established a Board of Control with powers given to local authorities to compulsory detain in hospitals so-called ‘chronic mental defectives’ at any age from seven years onwards. The Act classified four levels of defect: idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded and moral defectives (Potts and Fido 1991). Eugenics was a strong element in shaping public policy, gaining respectability with views such as:

> “Mary Dendy, an active campaigner writing in the 1890s, believed that children classified as mentally handicapped should be ‘detained for the whole of their lives’ as the only way to ‘stem the great evil of feeble-mindedness in our country’. Views

> such as these fuelled the demand for new public institutions with such effect that the number of asylums created for idiots increased from four hundred in the mid-nineteenth century to almost two thousand by 1914." (Potts and Fido 1991) citing (Dendy 1920)

The endurance of these institutions through to the twentieth century is shown by Peter Townsend arguing in the late 1960s that there is no wellbeing case for segregation, that there is no evidence of the benefits of hospitals, and that changes in policy in favour of family and community care should be enacted. (Townsend 1969).

However, many such institutions were still operational in the 1960s, and a major survey of conditions found that:

> "a high proportion of patients [sic] live in buildings which are dilapidated and decrepit, two-thirds of which were put up before 1900, originally to house the sick, the destitute and the aged." (P. Morris 1969)

The classifications of disabled people in the Mental Deficiency Act 1913 which "permitted the certification and detention of people on the grounds of their level of handicap, defined as idiocy (severe), imbecility (moderate), feeble-mindedness (mild) or on the grounds of moral defectiveness" (Potts and Fido 1991, 10) was itself based on the Idiots Act 1886, were carried forward for educational purposes well into the 1950s and are strongly evident in the 'Bulter' Education Act 1944 and its segregation of disabled children from mainstream education. In the late nineteenth century there is a growing administration, control and surveillance of certain groups of disabled people, such that:

> "The 1871 Census of England and Wales ... was the first census to ask householders, or superintendents of institutions, to list all people who were 'lunatics', or 'idiots or imbeciles'. The total number of said persons was 69,019, of which only 39,734 were residing in institutions licenced by statute. (Twenty-eighth Report of the Commissioners in Lunacy 1874) Moreover, the Census Commissioners believed that there was widespread ... [undercounting of such people] by as many as a half." (Higgs 1989: 74-6) cited in (Bartlett and Wright 1999: 6).

While it can be said that such categorical approaches started to fall away in legal terms with the enactment of the Mental Health Act 1959, it still took many years of campaigning before lasting changes could be relied on. For example, from an analysis of changing labels in use, it was only around 1990 when the UK Department of Health officially accepting the term 'people with learning disabilities' (Atkinson, Jackson and Walmsley 1997: 15-20).

3.3 Social policy context: the medical model and rehabilitation

In contrast to the political and campaigning actions of NLBD, there are also records which show a different discourse from charitable and welfare organisations which centres on narratives of personal tragedy, struggle and individual triumph against adversity. An example from 1927 in the West of England is in the work of Dame Agnes Hunt based at the Shropshire Orthopaedic Hospital in Oswestry (now called The Robert Jones and Agnes Hunt Orthopaedic and District Hospital) with her production of *The Cripples' Journal,* as shown in Figure 22. In some ways this was seen itself as radical at the time as shown below, and from within a medical discourse it is still regarded as pioneering, as recent website text illustrates:

> "[The hospital] was founded by a visionary nurse and an eminent orthopaedic surgeon early in the last century. Dame Agnes and Sir Robert pioneered concepts commonplace today, but unheard of in the first half of the 20th century. They established traditions of innovative treatment, care, dedication and professionalism which still guide the Trust today. Their legacy has been a hospital which continually raises standards, one which pushes boundaries in areas like community-based care, holistic approaches to treatment and multi-disciplinary working between clinicians, physiotherapists and other professionals" (NHS n.d.).

This contemporary appraisal can be compared with a text from the 1920s, where in the Forward to *Fag-Ends* (Hunt and Watson 1927), Robert Jones notes the following:

> "The European war [1914-1918] which had so great an impetus to the treatment of the crippled child has shown us how much can be done to rescue and humanise the crippled soldier. War-weary and wounded, despondent and derelict, thousands of our soldiers were rescued from the abyss by curative workshops in our orthopaedic centres and later by intensive training. A man, however injured, if he has found an outlet for his productive energies, is no longer a cripple. ... The experiences gained by a study of the psychology of the crippled soldier has a direct bearing upon the problem as it affects our civilian crippled. ... In dealing with our crippled children our slogan should be 'From hospital to industry.' Otherwise a miserable failure is in store for them. For every boy and girl who has undergone treatment in an orthopaedic centre immediate provision should be made to ensure education and training. It is the natural and logical outcome to their physical reconstruction. It is the only way in which the State can be recompensated for its outlay. ... Dame Agnes Hunt has formulated a scheme for the training of cripples which deserves the support of all thoughtful philanthropists. She has chosen Shropshire for her experiment". (Hunt and Watson 1927)

The extract from the Foreword to *Fag Ends* is worthy of study, as it sets out in brief form a wide range of concepts which are connected as a trajectory from personal pity, to applying new medical techniques learnt from warfare on adults to also benefit children, to establishing an expectation of employment for disabled children within themselves but moreover within the institutions that control them, to economies to the public purse, all from a social policy experiment.

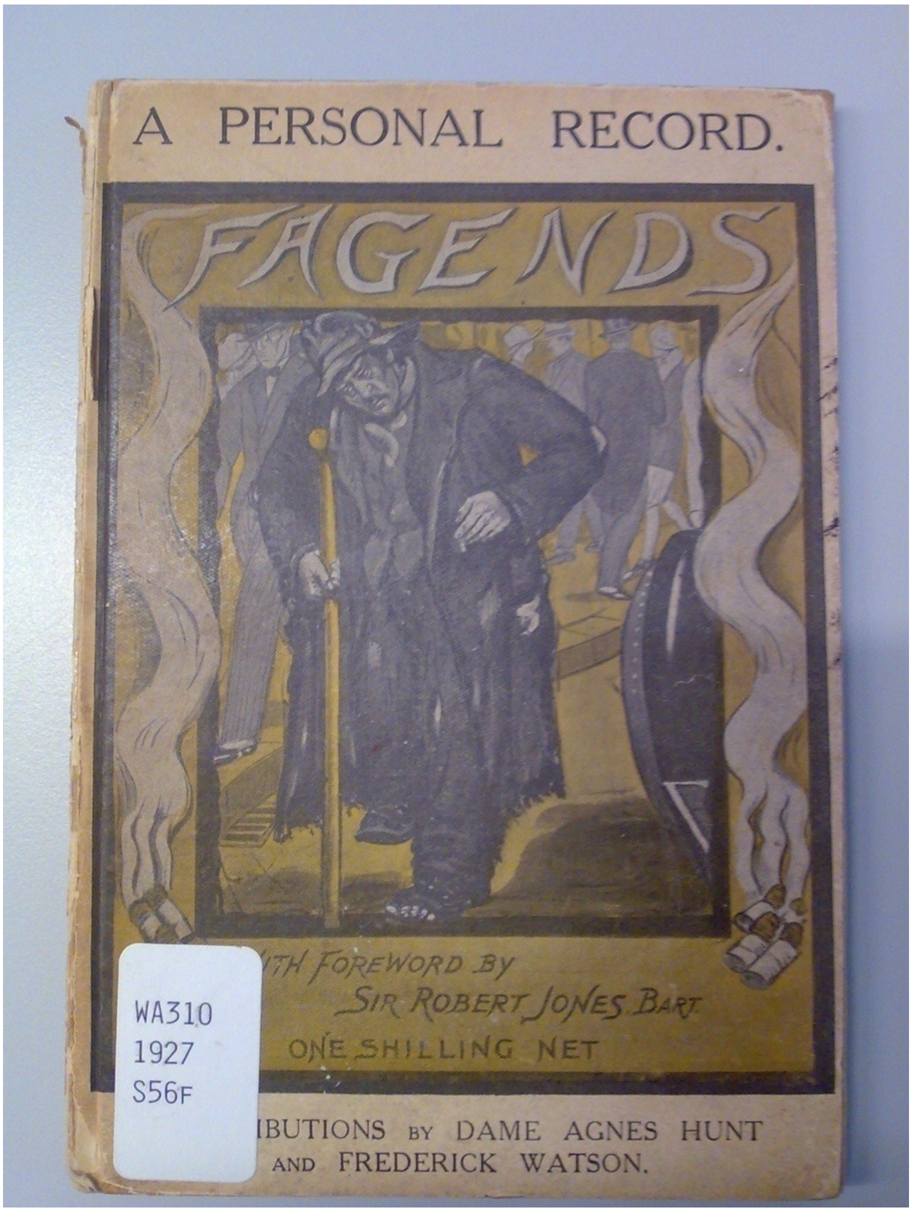

Figure 22: Hunt, A., Watson, F. (1927). [Front cover of book: Fag Ends, or “The Making of a Cripple”], Available at Wellcome Library, London. [Accessed 23 June 2009].

This can be read as progressive and reformist, albeit in the language of the time which would be offensive if used now, and it would not take much interpretation to fit the text to more recent UK Governments’ policies from the 1960s onwards such as *Care in the Community* and *Welfare to Work*.

Equally it can be read as reactionary, following a line from the Poor Law (1601 onwards) which set out to classify the deserving and undeserving poor and which organisations were to be responsible for treating but also deterring such groups of poor people. This development can be linked with the rise in mercantile capitalism, its phase before The Enlightenment and the modern era with the growth of science and empiricism which was used to develop further profits through standardisation and industrialisation. In this reading, disabled people had to be fitted into the machine of work in order to reduce costs to a minimum – 'from hospital to industry'. (Hunt and Watson 1927)

Further, some from a revolutionary perspective would put the reformist and the reactionary readings above in the same group, for example Judy Hunt's talk, *A Revolutionary Group With A Revolutionary Message*, (Hunt 2001) she said,

> "The term disability is a capitalist creation. Historically one can say that disability was used to define a category of people unable to work. Disability is about not having control over your life. The disabled people's movement has been about reclaiming that control, about people having choice, about making your own decisions and realising your aspirations." (Hunt, 2001)

The ability to make multiple interpretations of statements made by non-disabled people at the time concerning the lives of disabled people can be applied to other texts, for example the following challenge to the sense of normality: "On the basis of physical standard, it is virtually impossible to find a completely normal individual." (Physical Impairments Among Males of Different Occupational Classes 1930) could be quite progressive, or equally could be read in the context of justifying changes to military recruitment criteria in order to enrol more people. Similarly, the following text looks to rehabilitate disabled people into employment but without an understanding of the social barriers:

> "Anderson's study [(Anderson 1932: 103)] shows the fallacy of thinking that because a man is physically handicapped he is vocationally handicapped. ... A new concept of guidance and placement for the handicapped is indicated – a conception that places the emphasis on the positive rather than the negative abilities of the individual". (Kessler 1935)

Are statements such as these progressive? Certainly there are some recent UK media campaigns by disability organisations (note, not disabled people's organisations), with slogans such as "see the person, not the disability" by Scope in 2007, and resonates with the campaign to "see the ability, not the disability" (Ability 1997), which would not have been out of place in Kessler's study in the USA in 1935. But perhaps there is also a more radical tradition within these texts, that no-one is 'normal' and that by implication disability is a social production which uses physical traits as a convenience to decide who goes where and gets what, and that such outcomes can be challenged and overcome generally but not by heroic people as individuals.

3.3.1 Distortions of Darwin and the eugenicists

Proctor cautions us that "[s]cientific racism is older than one might imagine. As early as 1727 the earl of Boulainvilliers tried to argue that the noblemen of France represented descendents of an original and superior race of long-headed Nordic Francs" (Proctor 1988: 10). In essence we have views such as Locke's – people are born as "empty cabinets" –

and nurture and education are all, contrasted with views such as the theory of phrenology proposed by Joseph Gall, that people's innate characteristics and potential can be determined by studying the features of the skull.

Darwin's Origin of Species (1859) "represented a watershed in the history of biological determinism" (Proctor 1988: 13) as it was claimed to falsify the Biblical account of all people as descendants from Adam and Eve and the implied common human bond, allowing for a new relativism within the human family. A new strand of social Darwinism grew, which in an extreme form argued that new forms of 'counterselection' such as "welfare for the sick and inferior" (Proctor 1988: 15) which although practiced at its most extreme in Germany was also influential across the rest of Europe and in North America. As Proctor states:

> "People generally found in Darwin what they wanted to find. Where Carnegie saw competition, Kropotkin saw cooperation. Where Morgan and Alexander found the glory of God, the American pragmatists found the liberation from teleology."
> (Proctor 1988: 16)

The early support for 'racial hygiene' did not follow left- or right-wing political views: many socialists were drawn to the state planning and rationalisation of demographics within the state. (Proctor 1988: 22).

However its use by the fascist Nazi regime in Germany (1933-1945) led inexorably to disabled people initially and then other groups, predominantly Jewish people, being killed in the Holocaust, where 70,000 disabled people in hospitals were killed between October 1939 and August 1941 "in an operation that provided the stage rehearsal for the subsequent destruction of Jews, homosexuals, communists, Gypsies, Slavs, and prisoners of war." (Proctor 1988: 177). Further, "[a]ccording to the postwar testimony of Hitler's personal physician Karl Brandt, Hitler decided even before 1933 that he would one day try to eliminate the mentally ill." (Proctor 1988: 181)

This killing of disabled people was expressed in the idea of 'lives not worth living', a phrase which can be traced to 1912 and a meeting of the Hungarian Psychiatric Association (Proctor 1988: 177), and similarly encouraged in England in 1932 where the president of the Society of Medical Officers calls for a law to allow 'voluntary euthanasia' and that "[a] not uncommon view ... was that euthanasia should be considered an option for the (otherwise healthy) mentally retarded." (Proctor 1988: 179).

3.3.2 World wars, their aftermath and disabled people

The two World Wars in the twentieth century are key events in the social history of disabled people, not least because of the number of wounded fighters who returned with their impairments to a different civilian life from that before the conflict. The responses by the State were mixed. On one hand the State sought to have distinct provision such as service pensions, for example where, "[m]ost Western societies historically have had at least two parallel tracks for providing assistance to those construed to be in need, one for veterans and another for the general civilian population." (Gerber 2000: 11). On the other hand, there were efforts such as the employment laws after the Second World War which sought to encourage and force by a quota system the employment of disabled veterans as part of a mainstream law for employing more disabled people generally. The medical advances, and especially with the discovery of antibiotics, also increased the number of wounded fighters who would survive their injuries, as described here:

> "Awareness of the presence of disabled veterans in Western societies runs continuously, if mostly in muted forms, from ancient texts to the present. But that awareness has greatly grown ... [in part due to] breakthroughs in such areas of general and military medicine ... One dramatic consequence of these developments may be seen in the stunning reversal of mortality rates for those men sustaining spinal cord injuries, and hence prone to deadly urinary tract infections, in twentieth-century conflicts. In World War I, only 20 percent of the Canadians and Americans with spinal cord injuries survived to be repatriated to North America; in World War II, largely because of the use of antibiotics ... so that approximately 90 percent survived to return." (Gerber 2000: 2)

Even before these medical advances, there were signs that a twentieth-century State would find it hard to sustain as non-productive a large returning cohort of disabled veterans for whom charitable or State services would be increasingly needed, when they could also be rehabilitated as productive adult workers.

> "During World War I the idea of aggressive normalization through physical restoration and vocational training spread among all the major belligerents. By the war's final year, it came to constitute a counterdiscourse to traditional ways of conceiving of disabled veteran's postwar prospects, for it insisted that every effort be made to return disabled veterans to the community and to the workforce. All that stood between the disabled veteran and self-sufficiency, it was said, was the pitying attitude that led his loved one and well-meaning civilians to infantilize him and the self-pity that allowed him to accept a life as a recipient of charity." (Gerber 2000: 8)

3.3.3 Educational 'subnormality' and the Education Act 1944

The social re-alignment within the UK during and immediately after the Second World War led to two major changes in social provision which are seen as marking the birth of the welfare state, namely the Education Act 1944 and the NHS Act 1946. However, for disabled people it can be argued that both acts created forms of social provision which did much harm and which took years before they could be recast into more progressive and supportive forms of provision.

The Education Act 1944, known as the Butler Act, is perhaps more generally remembered for the institution of a system of separate grammar and secondary modern schools for post-

11 education, with selection and then segregation by using the ‘11 Plus’ test based on IQ theories about mental and verbal reasoning which itself were derived by schemes of classification which came from eugenics. However, these theories were applied even more exactingly to disabled children, and at a younger age, where:

> “1944 saw an Education Act in which, according to Sheena Rolph, ‘many of the worst aspects of the [eugenic] ideology were enshrined in legislation: segregation, “ascertainment” and the concept of “ineducability” ‘ (2005a-f: 14).” (Welshman 2006: 17) addition in source.

It was not until a generation later, in the 1970s, that it was possible to see moves away from this approach towards SEN – special educational needs – and later in the 1990s with the wider promotion of mainstream and integrated education with additional support as needed.

So while the 1940s saw the growth of the NHS and of almost-universal child education, taking over local authority and voluntary provision, it took until the 1970s to see a slow return starts to community care and integrated SEN provision within mainstream settings.

3.3.4 Disability and charity

Charity-produced images of disabled people were in circulation from the mid 1800s, for example the contested Bernardo photo cards. The style used by charities, if not the technical detail, was and to some extent still is that of photo-documentary with a concern to highlight social needs and inequalities, but tempered by ‘deserving cases’ and by a need to record the philanthropy of the donors, as shown by Hevey in Figure 4 for the Multiple Sclerosis and Spastics Society (as was, now called Scope) charities.

The objectification of the person, the focus on what doesn’t work, and the invocation of pity and dread that it might happen to the observer or their family, as common themes that run across the examples and timelines.

These typologies are sometimes also found in commercial as well as charity images of disabled people, such as the image of a young boy in 1967 using a powered wheelchair, shown in Figure 19. The text includes: “Unable to walk and with little strength to move his arms ... has suddenly had a world of independent mobility opened up to him. ... The chair, which costs £135, was bought for the hospital by members of the Croydon and District Auctioneers and Surveyors Association and presented by their President”.

3.3.5 Prejudice and culture

In the struggle as identified by UPIAS by disabled people themselves to assert the social model of disability, Jenny Morris identifies the power of disability culture to liberate disabled people from the isolation of prejudice against individuals. "Such a culture enables us to recognise the pressure to pretend to be normal for the oppressive and impossible-to-achieve hurdle which it is." (Morris 1993: 106).

There is a need to be wary about disabled people being expected to be independent in a individualised narrative, as this can readily lead to isolation as Morris (1993) notes. Further as French (1993) comments: "Narrowly defined, independence can give rise to inefficiency, stress and isolation, as well as wasting precious time. ... An over-emphasis on physical independence can rob disabled people of true independence by restricting their freedom of thought and action." (French 1993: 47). The self-organisation of disabled people through organisations such as those explored in this research is an indication of the drive to come together around shared live experiences which countered isolation even when full independence was not yet an option.

3.3.6 Disabled people and the welfare state

The position of disabled people in England within the welfare state is explored by Walsh, Stephens and Moore (2000) in *Social Policy and Welfare* where they summarise the findings of disability scholars Michael Oliver and Colin Barnes, such that "The classic welfare state ... both included and excluded disabled people." (Walsh, Stephens and Moore 2000: 238).

The welfare state in Britain can be said to have started from 1880 with the moves towards a national introduction of social insurance, where industrial accident insurance was introduced in 1897, or can be said to have started up to the Family Allowance in 1944 (Pierson 1991: 108). Also to be considered as a starting point for the Welfare State are the National Assistance Act 1911, and earlier the creation of the Fabian Society in 1886 with its central role in pragmatic British state-administered reforms (Sullivan 1996). A tentative case could be made for regarding outdoor relief as being a re-introduced feature of the new welfare state in 1911, having been abolished in 1832, albeit reformed as a legal entitlement rather than as a charitable obligation.

Pierson also suggests a symbiotic development takes place between liberal capitalism and welfare states with features that include industrialisation and "the emergence of publicly sanctioned non-participation in the labour force (through retirement in old age, sickness, disability, child-rearing, involvement in full-time education)" (Pierson and Castles 2000: 13).

The articulation of welfare state principles can be seen in Thomas Paine's Rights of Man, (Pierson and Castles 2000) where he was campaigning against "age going to the workhouse and youth to the gallows". (Paine 1792/1985)

Noting that community care is not new, Hall observes favourably that "[i]n 1830, John

Connolly ... recommended that all persons in insane lists should be visited at home by an asylum medical officer at least once in 15 days" and that the "wheel seems to have turned full circle from community care in the 17th century, through private asylums in the 18th, public asylums in the 19th, and community care again in the 20th century." (Hall 1991: 43)

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Theoretical Reflections

From the 1870s onwards photography (and film in the twentieth century) became a central cultural tool associated with and instrumental in social change, not least in terms of capitalism's use of advertising to expand consumer demand and hence markets. The modern era and especially the post-modern era are defined by their reliance on a large-scale replication and social saturation of images as part of the cultural super-structure.

As shown in the discussions above, there is a strong theoretical difference between what might be termed the post-structuralists such as Thomas and Shakespeare, and the materialists such as Barnes and Oliver, in their analyses of the social position of disabled people in developed Western countries. This research seeks to explore this difference further, starting from a premise that the personal is political, and building out from this position to consider how do disabled people coalesce, combine and self-organise. In considering this social aspect, the importance is not to consider disabled people as isolates, as atomised individuals without agency nor insight. The personal experiences of disabled people explain why resistance is important, but not how it has been nor how it could again be achieved.

It can be argued that a key weakness within post-modern and post-structural representations is the privileged position given to the use of irony. It can be promoted as playful, and empowering, as revealing truths and especially in undermining power. However, especially in the lives of disabled people, it is perhaps scorn or disgust which is really present when irony is being discussed. It has been said that of the seven human emotions, disgust is the most dangerous. The Nazis didn't turn people against people using hatred; instead they used propaganda to create a disgust of the Other, to deny any level of universality in humanity.

In this regard, it is perhaps a pointer to some further useful research that might take forward the psychological aspects of imagery in terms of Jungian analysis rather than relying only on the works of Freud, with the former's additional work on the psychological experience as being in part a collective rather than solely an individual undertaking.

The material conditions for disabled people are also crucial. England in the early twenty-first century, and much of the developed Western world, is experiencing its worst economic recession since the Great Depression of the 1930s, precipitated by a 'global' (but where China, India and other Asian developing countries have not experienced the same economic decline as in the West) banking crisis underpinned by a crash in property values associated with financially unsustainable sub-prime mortgages. UK housebuilding activity in 2010 was at its lowest peacetime level since 1924, and unemployment for architects had risen by 500%. Behind this was a capitalist behaviour based on a practice known as 'value at risk' which sought to extract added value (profit) from a mechanism claimed to reduce risk. By 2007 the textbook *Value at Risk: the new benchmark for managing financial risk* was in its third edition (Jorion 2007).

Within this economic context we find claims for post-Fordism claiming a decline in factory-based production lines and a growth in service sectors, creativity and autonomous working. However, the factories continued but were relocated to developing and emerging economies where productions costs, especially labour costs and pollution controls, were lower, and sometimes where raw materials were closer to hand. This was accompanied by the growth of investment by sovereign wealth funds, where states act similarly to private corporations but on a much larger scale. From these economic realities it could be tempting to draw a conclusion that Marxian analysis, in the long term, remains as a useful predictive theory for economic realities. However, associated political changes in the late twentieth century show that the classic Leninist implementation of Marxism ignores the tendency for power elites to sustain themselves, with inequality, discrimination and the abuse of power continuing unchecked; and where power elites equally operate a self-sustaining discourse within liberal-democratic states. The entrepreneurial attraction of at least the *petit bourgeoisie* if not of unchecked capitalism with its tendencies to create monopolies and crises, is that of creative destruction: the idea that human creativity and energy is unleashed in a market economy where price signals create the greatest good for the greatest number. In and against this practice is the understanding of hegemony, and in particular a sense that populations ultimately are made 'willing' to acquiesce in a system which does them harm. However, it is perhaps too harsh to place this sense of false consciousness on people: they have seen how resistance such as co-operatives, unions, social enterprises and other alternative forms of economic organising have been overwhelmed by much bigger corporations, for whom the extraction of maximum added value (profit) remains the driving force. What is evident is that some Post-Fordist economic nirvana has not been achieved. Nevertheless, disabled people retain their agency, their awareness and skills in organising, critiquing and resisting oppression and discrimination.

Before considering what theoretical lessons these observations might produce for disabled people and their organisations, it is worth introducing two further matters: the under-recognised role of disability sports, and the discussion on the social model and its claimed neglect of 'impairment effects' such as pain.

There is a big gap in the history of disabled people, in England at least, in terms of the high levels of self-organisation and collective activity that took place around sports clubs and competitions. This history would need to cover the changes in the late twentieth century from disability sports as a broadly amateur endeavour, with its recent changes into a resourced, professionalised and sponsored (if not salaried) complex interplay of structures, practices and organisations.

It can be argued that within organisations of disabled people there are likely to have been ‘organic intellectuals’ at various points in time, who took it upon themselves to organise, explain, cajole, interpret and engage with power. In recent times we can record their names, but before hand we can trace them from the records that do remain - how the NLBD came into existence, for example.

Much of the analysis of imagery of disabled people to date is based on advertising images. However, such analyses do not refer to the known practices within the advertising industry, such as market segmentation, demographics and brand promotion. This would lead to a more nuanced analysis which allows that messages are targeted and modified, rather than taking such images as universal.

The self-organisation by disabled people can also be analysed as social capital, following the predominant forms of social organisation of national executives, membership and local branches; through federations of autonomous local bodies, to online fora based on social networking tools and sites. (Putnam 2001). And that increasingly “[g]overnance is about autonomous self-governing networks of actors.” (Stoker 1998: p18)

In terms of personal experience, it is claimed that the biopsychosocial model is an improvement on the social model of disability. However, the problem of the biopsychosocial model of disability is that it still focuses on the individual. Vic Finkelstein has been clear in his example that the social model is just a model, and as in the example of a model airplane it can be used to *show* flight but it doesn’t *explain* that flight is caused by a pressure difference created above and below the wings by their shape and by forward movement through the air.

As well as a social model of disability, there is a social model of health, which is used extensively in public health for increasing the life chances of disadvantaged people affected by ill health. The fact that some, or even many, disabled people will disproportionately use medical services compared with the general population is not a reason in itself to medicalise disability. For example, poorer people will disproportionately use public transport, but this does not equate poverty per se with public transport – nor do we see the poorest cities around the world with the most demand for nor investment in public transport.

If we allow that the social model of disability is about quality of life and life chances and not constrained to the nevertheless essential task of removing barriers, then we allow for the social model of disability to include the social equalisation of opportunities and outcomes.

3.4 The social model and impairment effects

Much of the recent debate around the social model of disability has been around what are called ‘impairment effects’ and especially around the experience of chronic pain. Through developing this research and the interview with Liz Crow, the question has arisen, whether pain is an impairment effect or whether it is an impairment in its own right?

Consider, someone with a spinal-cord injury may also have incontinence. Biologically we can say that the impaired function of the urinary tract is a consequence of the injury in the spinal cord if at a certain level. But the response to each impairment is different - for example using a wheelchair is a response for the impaired mobility and having personal assistance (or whatever) is a response for the incontinence. We don’t have to establish any causal connection between the two in order to respond to each impaired function. So, why do we do this with chronic pain? Yes, the pain may be caused by a trapped nerve for example, and one uses this knowledge to make a response to this impaired function, whether it might be surgical or medicinal or mechanical (massage, heat, etc) or electrical (TENs) or whatever. But this is only a medical response to pain. What is the social response? Do we organise work reasonably around episodes of chronic pain? Do we provide personal assistance services in a way which reflects fluctuating conditions? Not often enough, and sometimes not at all. We allow for sensory impairment in terms of hearing or vision, but we could also theorise pain as a sensory impairment, and not ‘just’ as the impairment effect of *something else*. We need to be careful here - the basis for Coalitions of disabled people was that disabled people experienced a common social oppression that was independent of impairment type, and that therefore disabled people had greater strength when self-organised as a Coalition rather than when separately self-organised around a shared impairment type. Yet, the debate on pain and the introduction of the biopsychosocial model allows for this categorisation by type: saying in effect, “you don’t know what it is like to be me”. But for example being mobility impaired is not just about society’s responses to people who use wheelchairs, such as requiring ramps and turning circles, it is also about how the social responses can close down or open up possibilities within individual lives: such as whether a wheelchair-using parent can to take a child to school or not.

The social model is not only about removing barriers, it is also about disabled people’s quality of life, and equalising opportunities and outcomes as far as possible, therefore a more political project than just removing barriers approach. Therefore the social model of disability is necessary but not sufficient for empowerment. Such empowerment cannot come through the biopsychosocial model because it takes an individualised approach. The need here is to retain the focus on the social, and to understand that this includes the social responses (and the lack of these) to the varied nature of disabled people’s impairments. Examples of such social responses should include independent / inclusive living centres and services, as well as user control of services collectively and individually for personal assistance.

Complexity is accepted when we consider discrimination and disadvantage: the experience is changed by age, class, culture, ethnicity, gender, faith and sexuality; so we should not expect disability to be experienced uniformly. We understand that there is no ‘average’ person, so equally there is no ‘average disabled’ person. Nor are there simple hierarchies, where for example the distribution of experiences of mental distress prevents a crude typology of privileged elite groups, though of course some groups do still get a privileged or preferential response.

Carol Thomas (2007) argues for a social relational approach, where disability is not only the experience of barriers but also the consequences of impairment effects. Perhaps this reflects back at the social model of disability the question whether the model fails to provide for the minimisation or equalisation of the consequences of impairment effects itself being a social barrier? This would content that pain, for example, was itself a sensory impairment, not (just) the effect of another impairment. Similarly fatigue is an intellectual impairment in its own right, though sometimes associated with pain.

This perhaps leads us to ask, what new social arrangements could we imagine as possible to respond to these impairments? It is possible to remove them completely, or to mitigate them to some degree, for example through: massage, physiotherapy, hydrotherapy, pharmacology, electronic stimuli, surgery, postural support, acupuncture, compression, heat, coldness, altitude or humidity. The degree to which these mitigations are provided or denied socially creates disability.

This leads to asking, what would a social barriers removal response to pain or fatigue look like? We need to start with a consideration of the ‘cure’ approach - does every mobility-impaired person want to walk again? No, it’s not a tragedy to use crutches or a wheelchair or whatever. However, with pain there is a tension between wanting to minimise the impact of the impairment as a moral and ethical imperative, and allowing that for some disabled people a balance of pain rather than an outright ‘cure’ might be preferred to, say, the unwanted effects of strong pharmaceuticals. So, perhaps here, the better social response is to allow for a social contract where it is allowable without penalty to lose concentration, to stay in bed, to have a fluctuating involvement.

The social responses to the impairment that is pain are very poor and limited. Such responses are highly medicalised and controlled, and it is possible to speculate that the reliance on strong pharmaceuticals (such as morphine) and their proximity to controlled substances within the criminal justice system (such as heroin) means that pain responses are minimised, and especially restricted to end-of-life interventions where the criminal justice implications are thought to have become minimalised.

The journalist Melanie Reid broke her back and neck in April 2010 and as a recently-disabled person, continued to write a weekly column from hospital.

> "So don't any able-bodied person ever dare assume that paralysed people feel no pain; ... From the lifelong doses of painkillers for nerve pain to endless grotty complications from bowel and bladder paralysis, nothing could be further from the truth." (Reid 2011).

Conclusions

The growing number of workhouses for those who did not fit the new system of production, and the impact of this development on disabled people, took away the main benefit of the Poor Law, of Outdoor Relief, namely Care in the Community. The formation of the National League for the Blind and Disabled in 1899 can be seen as one example of a response to this loss, and their details follow as a case study in the next chapter.

The violence of world wars and of eugenics defined the first half of the twentieth century for many disabled people, in England and internationally. The settlement afterwards in terms of employment and in the development of the welfare state was generally seen as positive, but it still contained assumptions about disabled people as Other, as deserving, and as objects for special treatment rather than as full members of the community.

But disabled people were self-organising, were protesting, and were not waiting for permission, as the following case studies seek to illustrate.

Chapter 4 – Case Studies: Photographic Archives of Three Disabled People's Organisations

Introduction

The three case studies in this chapter explore a selection of photographic images from the small and informal archives of the three case study organisations. This chapter in particular explores the extent to which it could reliably be claimed that such images offer an unrecognised, albeit partial, insight into disabled people's political and social consciousness prior to the developments in the 1970s onwards.

Before looking at the images from the three case study organisations, there are some contextual historic images of disabled people from other national archives and published works which inform the discussion by providing examples of images of disabled people produced with an 'outside-in' perspective.

In Britain, perhaps politics and visual imagery never coalesced as strongly as they did in the 1960s. The anti-war demos, the civil rights marches, the rising awareness of feminism using strong images of women, the rebellion and independence of young people: all define the decade, and to some extent the end of the 1950s, in ways that readily evoke strong and unmistakable images.

Of course, it was not that the politics of protest didn't exist before 1963, to paraphrase Philip Larkin. In looking at photographs of photojournalism of street protests by disabled people, it is worth comparing and contrasting a triangulation of images, all taken in London: firstly of disabled people protesting in the 1960s (Figure 7 and Figure 9); secondly of disabled people protesting in the 1990s (Figure 75, Figure 76 and Figure 77), and finally of disabled people again on the streets in the 1920s and 1930s (Figure 23, Figure 24 and Figure 25).

4.1 The 1960s protest images

Perhaps one of the most striking contrasts is between Figure 9 where we see a group of demonstrating disabled women (being pushed by evidently non-disabled men), and with Figure 75 and Figure 77 where the images are both of a disabled person alone and set against an empty background.

Yet a disconcerting aspect is that, in the 1960s we are shown a sense of group whereas for the 1990s we find only the individual, albeit independent and active. Indeed, this visual contrast, it could be argued, is a striking illustration of the rise of individual rights above collective rights. From this writer being present at the event it is known that the chalk writing in Figure 75 refers to DAN (the Disabled People's Direct Action Network for non-violent protest) with a symbol of a wheelchair user and of a standing person with a crutch. However the cropping and framing of the image causes the meaning of the chalked writing and images to be lost – the attention is on the individual, and through blurring an abstracted idea of a disabled person, with no evident gender, ethnicity nor age other than being adult.

We can also see a shift in the style of press and publicity imaging from these sets of images from the 1960s and the 1990s as shown for example in Figure 7 (1967) and in Figure 75 (1996), where the latter is highly stylised and more in keeping with the images expected on the arts pages rather than what might be termed the classic type of news images.

In Figure 9 we can usefully speculate at its reception with the paper's readers at the time: surely one of the reasons for its choice by the photographer and by the picture editor must have been the portrayal of non-disabled men 'caring for' disabled women, and the dissonance in the viewer this would be expected to create in terms of the dominant gender politics at the time. Within this context it is then clear why the people in the centre of the frame are just such a pair of non-disabled man and disabled woman, but here she also carries a child. The gender politics of the protest here is left unspoken – that disabled women at the time received lower or no disability benefits whereas disabled men were more likely to have a war pension or an industrial injury pension. Mostly benefits were based on previous contributions paid while working, which placed women at a disadvantage (as they still do) because unpaid caring work was not recognised for many benefit entitlements and because benefits to couples are calculated around the main earner and not as individuals.

4.2 Contextual discussion of organisational forms

Before looking at the detailed fieldwork findings from a range of evidential sources, there are some commonalities across the range of organisations which hold these source informal archives which are worth exploration and discussion. They are all NGOs – Non-Governmental Organisations, also known as voluntary organisations. These case studies are also all DPOs – Disabled People's Organisations – rather than being Disability Organisations (DOs). This is an important distinction which, it could be argued, is one of the key indicators of the likelihood of finding what may be termed emancipatory pictures within their organisational records. The key distinction is that DPOs are run *by* disabled people, whereas DOs are run *for* disabled people as well as often for non-disabled family members and sometimes allied professionals as well.

The constitution of many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) from the mid nineteenth to late twentieth century in Britain generally followed the pattern of a two-level structure: the national level and the local branch level. The national level would have a governing committee or council, a head office, a collection of assets, a series of policy statements, often a national newsletter or journal, and affiliations to other, like-minded national organisations. The local branch would also have a committee, a local membership base which paid subscriptions, usually no staff nor an office, and honorary positions on the branch committee where various tasks were undertaken on a voluntary basis. The main dynamics of the organisation were expressed in the written minutes of meetings, which passed up and down the levels to be agreed or contested.

Local branches could also have a strong role in terms of organising events for functional requirements such as fundraising as well as for celebrations and get-togethers such as picnics and rallies. It is key to understanding the role of local branches in engaging the membership to know that the two roles were combined within organised events: that the formal was also 'social' or recreational, and that the informal took place within a formal frame. This duality could be a very inclusive way to develop new members into the structures of the organisation, such as through youth groups or event organising sub-committees where members had a fair amount of autonomy and authority within a defined and understood role.

The national level would take precedence over branches in deciding the policies and strategies of the organisation, and branches would be more activist and tactical. The national committee was subject to annual elections, but usually indirectly through branch nominations and votes rather than directly from the subscribing membership, whose votes were mostly restricted to choosing the branch committee members. For the whole organisation, the key periodic event was the Annual General Meeting, which as well as electing the national committee members would be the flagship presentation of the organisation's objectives to a wider audience, aiming to get national press coverage in order to recruit further members as well as to promote policies and campaigns.

Some organisations with many local branches added a third tier of regional committees and associated structures. Depending on the political alliances, it was also possible to combine within this third tier the regional structures for England as well as the national structures for Scotland and Wales for *British* organisations. The inclusion of branches across the island of Ireland, and in Northern Ireland after partition in 1922, was more variable in practice.

This organisational template proved to be durable, replicable and scalable. There is a view that this tested format was rooted in the early structures of the Methodist Church in Britain from around 1784, with a format which shaped a range of following organisations from trade unions to the Labour Party (1900) to the Women's Institute (1915). In looking at the history of the Labour Party, Tony Judt (2010) states that "it is not by chance that the British Labour Party was born ... from a coalition of organizations and movements which drew heavily on non-conformist congregations." (Judt 2010, p158)

Some scholars such as Putnam (2001) have seen the recent decline of such mass-membership organisations as indicative of a loss of social capital, whereas others suggest that the new forms of social organisations (eg online social networking) provide a changed form which mirrors the communication technologies of the era; possibly where the previous technology underpinning the national and branch tiers was the then-newly established railways.

4.3 CASE STUDY - National League for the Blind and Disabled, London

4.3.1 Description of organisation and arrangements

This organisation's office in London was visited by the researcher on 26 February 2004. The office was a small room hosted within a larger organisation, and at the time of visiting there were extensive internal refurbishment building works with a significant amount of fine masonry dust generally on surfaces. Care was taken when examining the prints and negatives to prevent any further damage, and where possible to provide a storage method for future use which was more securely sealed from contamination.

The photographic records of the organisation were kept in an old briefcase, plus 12 prints in frames suitable for wall-hanging. Most of the photographs were evidently from the 1980s onwards, kept as 6x4 inch prints and 35mm colour negative strips in the original paper wallets that were provided by shop-based developers. Some paper wallets included descriptive text handwritten at the time, and some individual prints were attached to slips of paper with the names of the people within the accompanying image. It was explained to the researcher that the previous administrative worker for the organisation, now retired, was the person who would know most of the names of people and of the events and dates relating to each set of images.

One monochrome cut negative, which may be a copy negative from a press outlet provided as a courtesy to the organisation, being 6x9 cm in 120 format, was found within the case which did not have a corresponding print. On close examination the image was of a group of blind men walking in formation on a rural road with hedges and fields behind, with a banner at the head of the march worded 'Justice Not Charity'. There was a framed monochrome print with a different image of the same or a similar march entitled 'Blind Marchers in the Midlands. April 1920'. With the agreement of the organisation staff member, the cut negative described above was sent by the researcher for specialised printing, and returned with a large print to the organisation shortly after the visit.

Figure 23. National League of the Blind and Disabled. (1920). *Blind Marchers in the Midlands, April 1920*. Leading to the Blind Persons Act 1920 [Framed Photographic Print]. Available at NLBD, London [Accessed 26 February 2004].

Figure 24: National League for the Blind and Disabled. (1920). [Campaign march of disabled people with a banner worded: Justice Not Charity, leading to the Blind Persons Act 1920]. [Loose monochrome negative 120 format]. Available at NLBD, London [Accessed 26 February 2004].

BLIND MARCHERS ON THE ROAD,
OCTOBER, 1936.

Figure 25. National League of the Blind and Disabled. (1936). *Blind Marchers on the Road, October, 1936*. [Framed photograph]. Available at NLBD, London [Accessed 26 February 2004]

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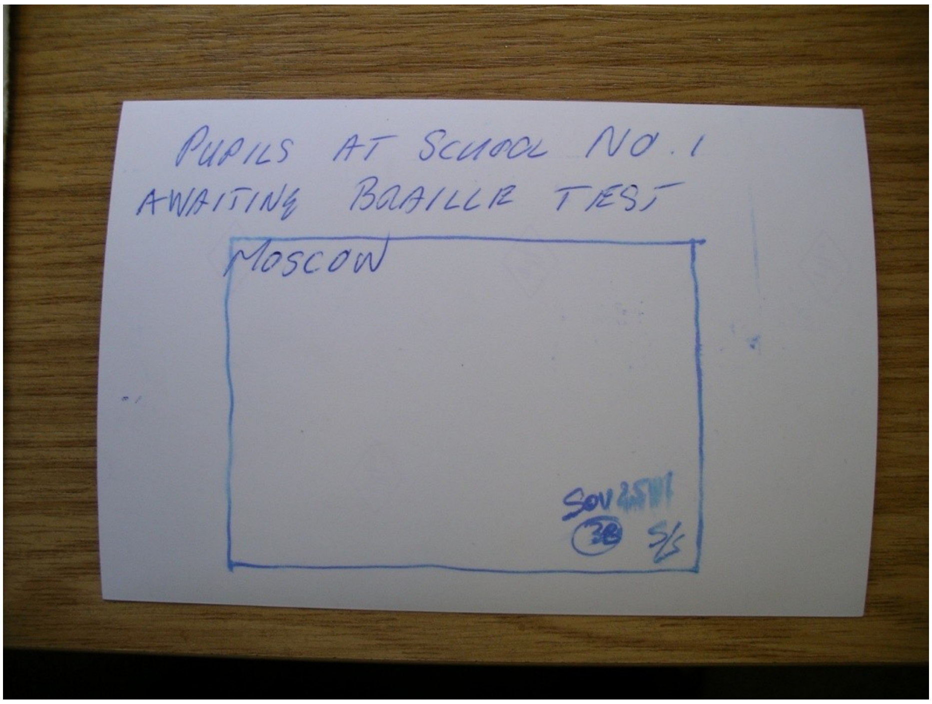
Figure 26. National League of the Blind and Disabled. (n.d.) *Pupils at School number 1, awaiting Braille test, Moscow* [monochrome loose print]. Available from NLBD, London [Accessed 26 February 2004].



PUPILS AT SCHOOL NO. 1
AWAITING BRAILLE TEST

MOSCOW

SOV 2511
㊳ S/S

Figure 27: Reverse writing on print shown in Figure 26. (n.d.)

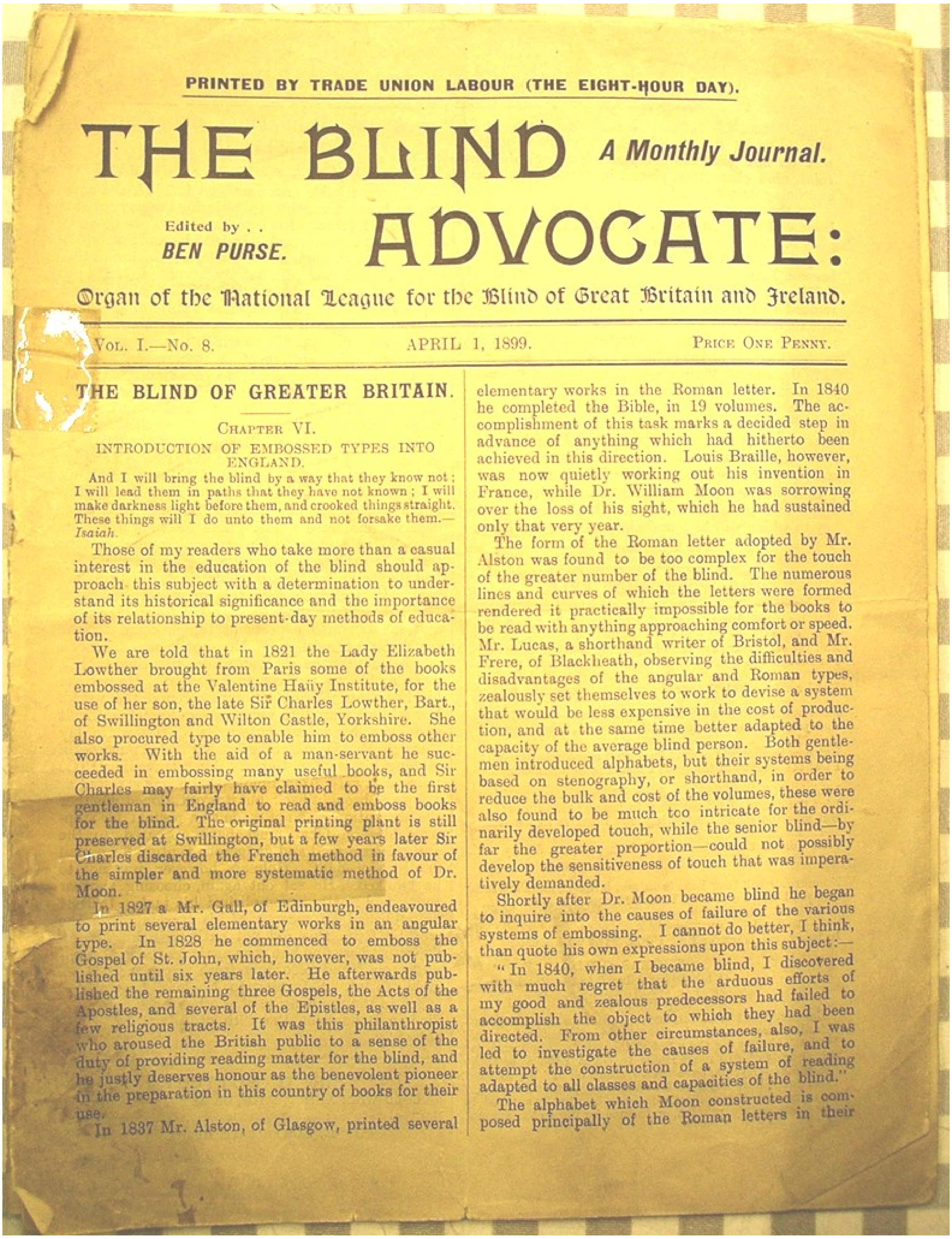
Figure 28: National League of the Blind and Disabled. (n.d.) [Workers line-up: 23 adults in work clothes in an outdoor works yard or similar, some apparently Blind people]. [monochrome photograph print]. Available at NLBD, London [Accessed 26 February 2004].

Figure 29: National League of the Blind and Disabled. (n.d.) [Monochrome print, adult men seated at tables, informal with refreshments, working papers and strong magnifying glass] [Monochrome photographic print]. Available from NLBD, London [Accessed 26 February 2004].

Figure 30: National League for the Blind and Disabled. (n.d.) [Visually Impaired man speaking from notes in a meeting with colleagues seated nearby]. [Colour photographic print]. Available from NLBD, London [Accessed 26 February 2004].

Figure 31: National League of the Blind and Disabled. (c.1978). *Dan West - President, National League of the Blind & Disabled, 1967 - 1978. Twice Mayor of the London Borough of Hackney.*[Framed monochrome photograph]. Available at NLBD, London [Accessed 26 February 2004].

Figure 32. National League of the Blind and Disabled. (1949). *NLDB. Golden Jubilee - Blackpool 1949 (Delegates and Friends).* [Framed photograph]. Available at NLBD, London [Accessed 26 February 2004].



PRINTED BY TRADE UNION LABOUR (THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY).

THE BLIND ADVOCATE: A Monthly Journal.

Edited by . .
BEN PURSE.

Organ of the National League for the Blind of Great Britain and Ireland.

VOL. I.—NO. 8. APRIL 1, 1899. PRICE ONE PENNY.

THE BLIND OF GREATER BRITAIN.

CHAPTER VI.

INTRODUCTION OF EMBOSSED TYPES INTO ENGLAND.

> And I will bring the blind by a way that they know not; I will lead them in paths that they have not known; I will make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight. These things will I do unto them and not forsake them.—*Isaiah*.

Those of my readers who take more than a casual interest in the education of the blind should approach this subject with a determination to understand its historical significance and the importance of its relationship to present-day methods of education.

We are told that in 1821 the Lady Elizabeth Lowther brought from Paris some of the books embossed at the Valentine Haüy Institute, for the use of her son, the late Sir Charles Lowther, Bart., of Swillington and Wilton Castle, Yorkshire. She also procured type to enable him to emboss other works. With the aid of a man-servant he succeeded in embossing many useful books, and Sir Charles may fairly have claimed to be the first gentleman in England to read and emboss books for the blind. The original printing plant is still preserved at Swillington, but a few years later Sir Charles discarded the French method in favour of the simpler and more systematic method of Dr. Moon.

In 1827 a Mr. Gall, of Edinburgh, endeavoured to print several elementary works in an angular type. In 1828 he commenced to emboss the Gospel of St. John, which, however, was not published until six years later. He afterwards published the remaining three Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and several of the Epistles, as well as a few religious tracts. It was this philanthropist who aroused the British public to a sense of the duty of providing reading matter for the blind, and he justly deserves honour as the benevolent pioneer in the preparation in this country of books for their use.

In 1837 Mr. Alston, of Glasgow, printed several elementary works in the Roman letter. In 1840 he completed the Bible, in 19 volumes. The accomplishment of this task marks a decided step in advance of anything which had hitherto been achieved in this direction. Louis Braille, however, was now quietly working out his invention in France, while Dr. William Moon was sorrowing over the loss of his sight, which he had sustained only that very year.

The form of the Roman letter adopted by Mr. Alston was found to be too complex for the touch of the greater number of the blind. The numerous lines and curves of which the letters were formed rendered it practically impossible for the books to be read with anything approaching comfort or speed. Mr. Lucas, a shorthand writer of Bristol, and Mr. Frere, of Blackheath, observing the difficulties and disadvantages of the angular and Roman types, zealously set themselves to work to devise a system that would be less expensive in the cost of production, and at the same time better adapted to the capacity of the average blind person. Both gentlemen introduced alphabets, but their systems being based on stenography, or shorthand, in order to reduce the bulk and cost of the volumes, these were also found to be much too intricate for the ordinarily developed touch, while the senior blind—by far the greater proportion—could not possibly develop the sensitiveness of touch that was imperatively demanded.

Shortly after Dr. Moon became blind he began to inquire into the causes of failure of the various systems of embossing. I cannot do better, I think, than quote his own expressions upon this subject:—

"In 1840, when I became blind, I discovered with much regret that the arduous efforts of my good and zealous predecessors had failed to accomplish the object to which they had been directed. From other circumstances, also, I was led to investigate the causes of failure, and to attempt the construction of a system of reading adapted to all classes and capacities of the blind."

The alphabet which Moon constructed is composed principally of the Roman letters in their

Figure 33: National League for the Blind. (1899). [Front cover of The Blind Advocate, Vol 1 Issue 8, 1 April 1899, 63 Great Clowes Street, Broughton, Manchester]. Available at Working Class Movement Library, Salford [Accessed 27 January 2004].

4.3.2 Historical context of organisation

The NLBD claims to be the oldest still-functioning organisation of disabled people in England. As Pagel (1988) reminds us in *On Our Own Behalf*, disabled people did have political organisations prior to the 1970s, the oldest of which in the UK being the National League for the Blind and Disabled (NLBD) established in 1899 as a trade union to protect the rights of its disabled members, now incorporated as a small unit within the *Community* trade union. NLBD is clear that its early political campaigning has a link to the political campaigns that followed into the twenty-first century, as the following extract from their website shows.

> "From the successful campaign we led in 1920, which provided disabled people with the first legislation specifically for blind people in the introduction of the 1920 Blind Persons Act, to our campaign for full civil rights which recently led to the formation of the Disability Rights Commission, we also played a major part in the campaign for the 2005 Disability Discrimination Act." (NLBD 2009)

A copy of their monthly journal, The Blind Advocate, is shown in Figure 33. Intriguingly, it is dated 1st April 1899 and indexed as volume 1 number 8, which suggests that the journal started in 1898 before the organisation was formally established. This journal shows that the National League for the Blind (as was) covered Great Britain and Ireland.

4.3.3 NLBD and Trade Unions, 1899-1938

While it is possible to apply an interpretation to these texts which finds within them a reforming basis, there is no evident revolutionary intent such as that explicitly suggested by Judy Hunt for UPIAS later that century (J. Hunt 2001). Therefore it is important to go back to other sources produced around the same time by NLBD, and to appraise these materials against those of their social contemporaries such as exemplified here, to see if there are traces of some similar political project which can be reliably discerned.

There are some records of NLBD held in Salford at the Working Class Movement Library, including some early copies of their journal The Blind Advocate, as shown in Figure 33. The cover story to this edition can hardly be termed radical, covering as it does a further instalment headed 'Chapter VI' of an Introduction of Embossed Types into England, now known as the Braille system. A more radical approach is given by the masthead banner: "Printed by Trade Union Labour (The Eight-Hour Day)".

From the establishment of NLBD originally as The National League for the Blind in 1899, it affiliated to the UK Trades Union Congress in 1902 and to the UK Labour Party in 1909. By 1918 a branch had been established in Dublin as well as in Scotland and England, as shown in a question in the House of Commons (Hansard 1918).

> "We were linked with politics really from a very early age ... The first thing that we did was we got infantile blindness recognised as a registrable [sic] disease with the help of the TUC [Trades Union Congress] and the Labour Party, and from that we saw the incidence drop from 36 per cent to 12 per cent ... The second piece of legislation we saw come into operation was the Blind Persons Act 1920. ... [This allowed] local authorities and government ... to make money available to sustain workshops ... So our aim was to campaign to get better conditions, wages and employment into the workshops during those early years ... One of the things we achieved – by about 1938 – was that there used to be a pension which was allowable to people at the age of 50. Well we got it brought down to 40 for blind people if they were out of employment" Joe Mann, General Secretary of NLDB, n.d., quoted in (Campbell and Oliver. 1996: 40).

However, in more recent years NLBD has become associated with what they term 'factory based sheltered employment', which is contested by some disabled people's organisations as failing to be mainstream employment, as shown in their representations to Government on the 'Life Chances' policy consultation. (UK Government Cabinet Office n.d.)

It is also worth noting, from the interview for this research with Ken Lumb (2004), that NLBD reportedly supported the Mental Deficiency Act[4] in 1913, a Bill that was opposed by the Townwomen's Guild, according to Lumb (2004).

4.3.4 Disability Rights in 1920 – Marching for Justice

This research has uncovered a photographic image from that campaign in 1920, found with the agreement of NLBD through researching their informal archive of images, as shown in Figure 24.

In Figure 24 we see a monochrome photograph of around 100 to 150 men marching in formation of ranks of five across, some with canes, on a slightly uphill section of road in the countryside, with some clear space between them and two figures at the front carrying a banner on poles with the words, '*Justice Not Charity'*. In the distance towards the back of the marchers one flanking figure stands out to the left of the image, presumably to keep the body of the march in regular formation behind the leading group. The image uses strong diagonals in the composition to draw the eye along the line of marchers, resting with the banner wording which gives emphasis to the word *Justice* and needs careful reading to perceive the partly obscured word *Charity* within the folds of the fabric banner.

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[4] This Act was proposed by Winston Churchill MP, and a detailed discussion of his support for eugenics and compulsory sterilisation can be found at http://www.winstonchurchill.org/support/the-churchill-centre/publications/finest-hour-online/594-churchill-and-eugenics.

There are few currently available images of disabled people in Britain from the early twentieth century involved in political acts for the rights of disabled people. Figure 24 provides such an image, which was recovered from a monochrome cut negative found within an old briefcase used to store photographic prints and negatives at the London office of the National League for the Blind and Disabled. A framed print from the same office at the same time, shown in Figure 23, provides a historically reliable cross-reference and a typed caption which places the march in the Midlands of England in April 1920.

Considering the composition of Figure 24, there is no attempt to capture recognisable faces. The message is about the group, not the individuals. And the group has certain qualities to be noted: the orderly formation in ranks of five, the heavy coats and boots ready to endure all weathers, the dignified but un-pompous marching rather than anything celebratory or festive.

There is also a hierarchy evident in the image, where the two figures carrying the banner, one obscured but probably both men, have a significant amount of clear space between them and the body of the march. This mirrors the hierarchies found within organisations of committee officers and members, as well as in military hierarchies of officers and troops. It is there to show discipline, organisation, resolve, determination and effectiveness, as well as orderliness and self-control. The marchers are shown walking with linked arms – it can be speculated that each rank had within it a sighted person whose task was to steer and guide the rank within the body of the march.

It is notable that one of the people who is carrying the banner, the man shown to the left, is also carrying a large bag which appears to be a Gladstone style bag, a trademark symbol for doctors at the time. Whether he is a doctor we can only suggest now, but the emphasis within the picture cannot be ignored and it is possible that his prominence was to show to onlookers, and image viewers later, that the organisers were taking their responsibilities seriously. In current times the idea of a march by disabled people having a doctor in prominent view would be deeply contradictory, but in 1920 it was probably important in signalling to others a reformist rather than a revolutionary intent, which was a preoccupying concern of the authorities at the time, with the marchers wanting to get a better deal within the existing order rather than overthrow it.

By contrast we have Figure 23, which was chosen to be framed and no doubt was hung on a wall at some time though, when researched, it was stored with a collection of other framed prints alongside the briefcase of loose prints and negatives. This image excludes the banner and one of the two leading figures, showing the front section of the body of marching men in more detail. It also verifies the date for Figure 24, with the same figures and the same vegetation in the background. But why frame Figure 23 in preference to Figure 24? The negative for Figure 24 was retained alone as an isolated cut negative rather than from a roll of film - probably the 120 film format from its size - so it is possible that the image was used in some way for a publication to promote the campaign of NLBD. By contrast, the framed print of Figure 23 could be seen as something for the office, something internal to the organisation, where the distinctiveness of faces of known individuals would be more regarded, perhaps, than an image of a general group. It is for internal consumption, a less formal, vernacular or family photo, where the context is understood within the group and needs to be explained when seen by or shown to others.

4.3.5 Marching to London in 1936

It was common at the time for protest marches to go from one town or city to another rather than circulating within just one urban area, with the most well-known instance now from that era being the Jarrow March or Jarrow Crusade of unemployed men marching from Jarrow, North East England to London in 1936.

However, perhaps less recognised in the history of marching is that blind people continued to march up to 1936 as well, which is shown by the journal of the UK Parliament's House of Commons (House of Commons, Jarrow and Blind Marchers 1936) of questions to the Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin on 5 November 1936 headed, *Jarrow and Blind Marchers*. According to Walker (2006) there was:

> "A contingent of blind people led by G.A. Co[n]stance (*sic*) from Swansea [which] marched through Uxbridge, Middlesex in November 1936 to a rally in Hyde Park, to meet other contingents of blind marchers from other parts of the country including Leeds and Manchester. Mr G. A. Constance had been an ex (*sic*) elected Councillor for Middlesex County Council between 1928 and 1931". (Walker 2006)

This claim is supported by records held in the UK National Archives of the minute of the Cabinet meeting held on 14 October 1936.

> "The Cabinet had before them a Memorandum by the Home Secretary (C P .-256 (36)) calling attention to the arrangements made — as a protest against the Unemployment Assistance Regulations — for contingents of unemployed persons to march on London, the marchers being due to arrive on the 8th November. Two other demonstration marches had been organised, both of which were timed to reach London on the 31st October, one consisting of 200 unemployed men from Jarrow, and the other comprising about 250 blind persons, accompanied by some 50 attendants." (UK Government 1936)

This claim is also supported by the image in Figure 25, who is very likely to have been part of the Blind March to London held at the same time as the Jarrow Crusade.

It is noteworthy that in Figure 25 showing the 1936 march we only see the backs of the marchers, in contrast to the faces of the marchers which are shown in the 1920 images. Perhaps the change reflects a different political context, where in 1936 there was some media, political and public anxiety about radicalism and desperation amongst unemployed people, especially when marching into other towns and cities. With a background of rising activity by extremist groups such as the British Union of Fascists and street fighting between political groups in the East End of London, it can be expected that photography at political events in the mid to late 1930s took on some additional connotations around surveillance, identification and control in the public realm.

The style of these photographs held by NLBD cannot be seen as vernacular or informal. They have the qualities of professional production, possibly by a press photographer though press photographs were still relatively rare in 1920 and it is unlikely that a press photographer would supply the negative as well as or instead of a print of an image, though it might be a copy negative provided to NLBD by the press outlet. Another likely explanation is that a keen amateur volunteer or a retained professional photographer was on hand to record this event. The 1936 image has a more hurried feel, taken ‘on the go’ with no particular emphasis on framing a composition to surround the marchers with a familiar wider context to convey the intended narrative, and where the caption in the frame is essential to help the viewer in locating its importance.

4.3.6 Were there Blind Women marching in 1936?

The phrasing ‘blind persons’ in the Cabinet minute when compared with that of ‘unemployed men’ gives a suggestion that some blind women were included in the 1936 march, even if there is no visual evidence for women being part of the 1920 march. This suggestion of women marchers is supported by another official reference, when the UK Prime Minister, Clement Atlee said within a speech that it had been suggested that he “should receive these men and women, or that this House should hear them” (House of Commons 1936). The roles of women in NLDB and in these marches are areas which would merit further research. Figure 32 certainly shows women as well as men involved in NLBD by 1949.

4.3.7 Informal images

Although the marching images above are key images in the history of the organisation, in terms of numbers of images held, the majority were more informal and vernacular rather than these press and publicity style images of the marches. For example, in Figure 26 there is an image from a visit to a school for blind children in Moscow where a group of boys are seated outside a door with their books waiting their turn to take a Braille reading test. Similarly in Figure 29 and in Figure 30 we see informal images of members at meetings seated in discussion and standing to give a speech. There is also the contrast in the organisation’s group pictures between the informal group of workers in a yard in Figure 28 and the formal line-up of delegates and friends in 1949 at the organisation’s golden jubilee event, where the image in Figure 32 is framed and with a typed caption.

4.3.8 Discussion

The photographs from 1920 (Figure 24, Figure 23) and from 1936 (Figure 25) probably mark the high points in the campaigning of NLBD, certainly up to the 1990s. The march in 1920, two years after the end of a world war with many disabled war veterans looking for work against a policy background of 'Homes Fit For Heroes', along with adults who had been visually impaired since childhood, would most probably have had a significant impact on public awareness for Parliament to have granted their demands for rights to employment and services for blind people.

Again in 1936, at the height of concerns across the country for industrial communities wrecked by substantial levels of unemployment within a long-running economic Depression across the developed world, the Jarrow Crusade caused concern in the UK Parliament for a possible collapse in public order. The official record of debates in the UK Parliament in Hansard combines references to the marchers from Jarrow with other blind marchers also campaigning for employment rights. Although the proximity of these two marches is now less appreciated, at the time NLBD had a high national profile, and two years later in 1938 again won new legal rights from Parliament as they did in 1920, the latter time for a pension.

These two seminal moments in the campaigning history of NLBD were both linked to politics, to campaigning, to empowerment, and surely to self-organisation and mutual social support through the local branch structures. All of these characteristics are shared with radical organisations of disabled people which flowed from UPIAS after 1972 into subsequent organisations such as the British Council of Organisations of Disabled People (BCODP), and which flowed from UPIAS' analysis of oppression.

From recent responses from NLBD to the Cabinet Office consultation on disabled people and employment it is evident that NLBD is wanting the Government to retain subsidies for sheltered employment, usually in factory-style workshops. However, other organisations of disabled people argue that the subsidies should be redirected towards supporting open employment, and would analyse the debate as segregation versus mainstreaming.

On this analysis NLBD could therefore be seen as no longer being as radical now as it was, where evidently its campaigning strength was strongest between the two World Wars in the twentieth century. In achieving their objectives then, for rights to a pension, to employment and to local authority services they can be seen as going through a transition from campaigning to achieving gains, to a point at which these previous gains had to be defended, which suggests a trajectory from 'nothing to lose' to 'ground to be held'. The recent statement from NLBD on employment indicates a defensiveness that is not evident in accounts and images from its earlier years. This organisational trajectory may have lessons for modern campaigning organisations of disabled people, and research on the organisational lessons from NLBD's journey for the long-term plans of other radical groups might be worth considering.

4.4 CASE STUDY - Disabled Drivers Association (as was), Norwich

4.4.1 Description of organisation and arrangements

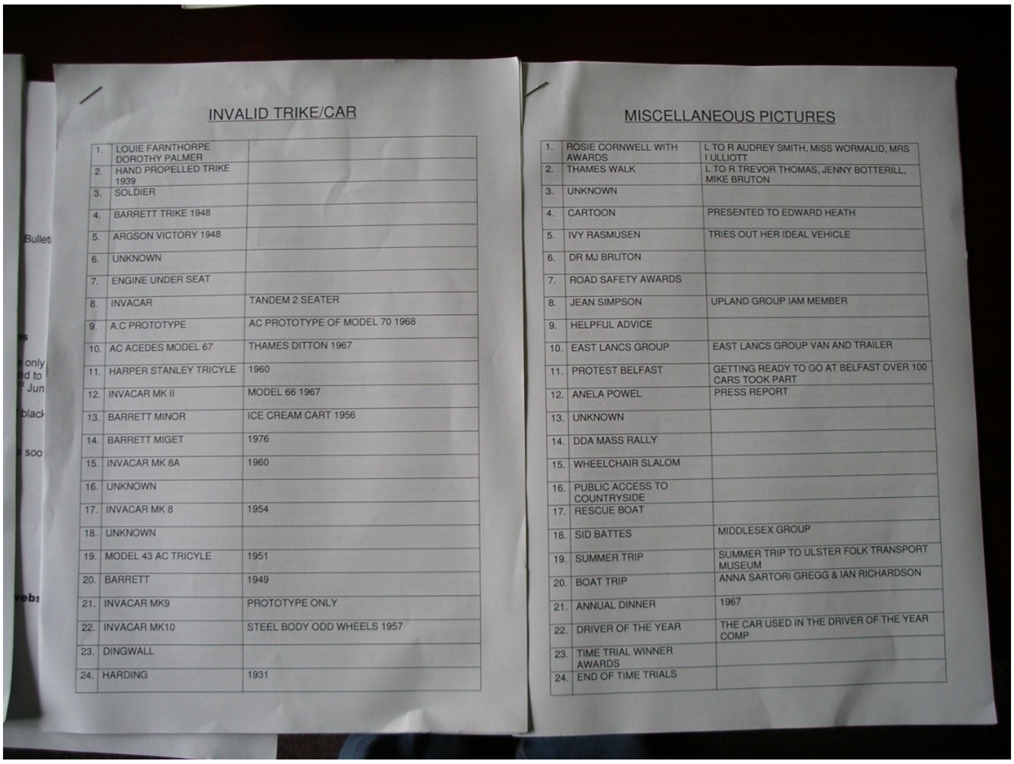
The offices of the Disabled Drivers Association (as was, and now Disabled Motoring UK) were visited by the researcher on 8 August 2005. The national office of Disabled Motoring UK is based in a modern, single-storey building at Ashwellthorpe, Norwich. Within the building a room with shelves and reading tables was used to store a small library which included the photographic records described here. The system of storage was cardboard filing boxes of various sizes as shown in Figure 34. Within the boxes were some index sheets, but these only covered a small proportion of all the images found and did not have a cross-reference to particular images beyond a short description, as shown in Figure 35.

The Disabled Drivers Organisation employed an Information Officer who kindly provided access to the archive and could answer questions concerning images relating to his period of his employment along with knowledge of some key images from earlier periods. It was noted that, because the Disabled Drivers Association (and the later incorporated Disabled Drivers Motor Club) produced a membership newsletter, some of the images were expected to have been used to illustrate articles, though no records remain to show the extent of this use.

A few of the prints, especially the older monochrome prints, contain a small caption typed on a label and stuck to the reverse of the print. In this paper, these captions are shown alongside the prints figured, though mostly they illustrate the general lack of specificity within the informal archive, a common feature.

The Disabled Drivers Association was merged with the Disabled Drivers Motor Club in 2005 to form a new organisation, Mobilise. Continuing the structure of its legacy bodies, Disabled Motoring UK ‘is *run by and for* disabled people’ but where it now ‘is *not* just an organisation for drivers. We also campaign for and support passengers, scooter and wheelchair users, families and carers.’ (emphasis in original) (Mobilise n.d.) In April 2011 the organisation adopted a new name which was thought to be more explanatory, now being called Disabled Motoring UK.

Figure 34: Baldwinson, T. (2005). Disabled Drivers Association, cardboard filing boxes being used for their informal archive of photographic prints and negatives.



INVALID TRIKE/CAR

1.	LOUIE FARNTHORPE DOROTHY PALMER	
2.	HAND PROPELLED TRIKE 1939	
3.	SOLDIER	
4.	BARRETT TRIKE 1948	
5.	ARGSON VICTORY 1948	
6.	UNKNOWN	
7.	ENGINE UNDER SEAT	
8.	INVACAR	TANDEM 2 SEATER
9.	A.C PROTOTYPE	AC PROTOTYPE OF MODEL 70 1968
10.	AC ACEDES MODEL 67	THAMES DITTON 1967
11.	HARPER STANLEY TRICYLE	1960
12.	INVACAR MK II	MODEL 66 1967
13.	BARRETT MINOR	ICE CREAM CART 1956
14.	BARRETT MIGET	1976
15.	INVACAR MK 8A	1960
16.	UNKNOWN	
17.	INVACAR MK 8	1954
18.	UNKNOWN	
19.	MODEL 43 AC TRICYLE	1951
20.	BARRETT	1949
21.	INVACAR MK9	PROTOTYPE ONLY
22.	INVACAR MK10	STEEL BODY ODD WHEELS 1957
23.	DINGWALL	
24.	HARDING	1931

MISCELLANEOUS PICTURES

1.	ROSIE CORNWELL WITH AWARDS	L TO R AUDREY SMITH, MISS WORMALID, MRS I ULLIOTT
2.	THAMES WALK	L TO R TREVOR THOMAS, JENNY BOTTERILL, MIKE BRUTON
3.	UNKNOWN	
4.	CARTOON	PRESENTED TO EDWARD HEATH
5.	IVY RASMUSEN	TRIES OUT HER IDEAL VEHICLE
6.	DR MJ BRUTON	
7.	ROAD SAFETY AWARDS	
8.	JEAN SIMPSON	UPLAND GROUP IAM MEMBER
9.	HELPFUL ADVICE	
10.	EAST LANCS GROUP	EAST LANCS GROUP VAN AND TRAILER
11.	PROTEST BELFAST	GETTING READY TO GO AT BELFAST OVER 100 CARS TOOK PART
12.	ANELA POWEL	PRESS REPORT
13.	UNKNOWN	
14.	DDA MASS RALLY	
15.	WHEELCHAIR SLALOM	
16.	PUBLIC ACCESS TO COUNTRYSIDE	
17.	RESCUE BOAT	
18.	SID BATTES	MIDDLESEX GROUP
19.	SUMMER TRIP	SUMMER TRIP TO ULSTER FOLK TRANSPORT MUSEUM
20.	BOAT TRIP	ANNA SARTORI GREGG & IAN RICHARDSON
21.	ANNUAL DINNER	1967
22.	DRIVER OF THE YEAR	THE CAR USED IN THE DRIVER OF THE YEAR COMP
23.	TIME TRIAL WINNER AWARDS	
24.	END OF TIME TRIALS	

Figure 35: Baldwinson, T. (2005). Disabled Drivers Association, an index sheet being used for their informal archive of photographic prints and negatives.

Figure 36: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d.) [Welcoming handshakes to a formal event, possibly a dinner/dance.] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

Figure 37: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d., c1970s). [Six women in evening dress (two appear to be wheelchair users) gathering around and sitting on one man (also a wheelchair user) in smiling and playful manner] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

Figure 38: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d., c1950s) [seven women, two standing and five seated in motorised tricycles, smiling in a line-up to the viewer. Possibly 1950s?] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

Figure 39: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d.) [A group of six people outdoors (two women being wheelchair users) within in a modern cloisters-style space, suggesting a meeting or a residential conference within a university campus, maybe 1960s or 1970s, people are relaxed and in conversation.] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

Figure 40: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d.) [A meeting held in a tiered lecture theatre, taken looking down to the circa-eight speakers at the front.] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

Figure 41: Disabled Drivers Association. (1928). *Hand propelled in 1928.* [A young woman sitting in a tricycle with a supportive seat (rather than a saddle) and a platform with a cushion for her feet, outdoors on a country road.] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

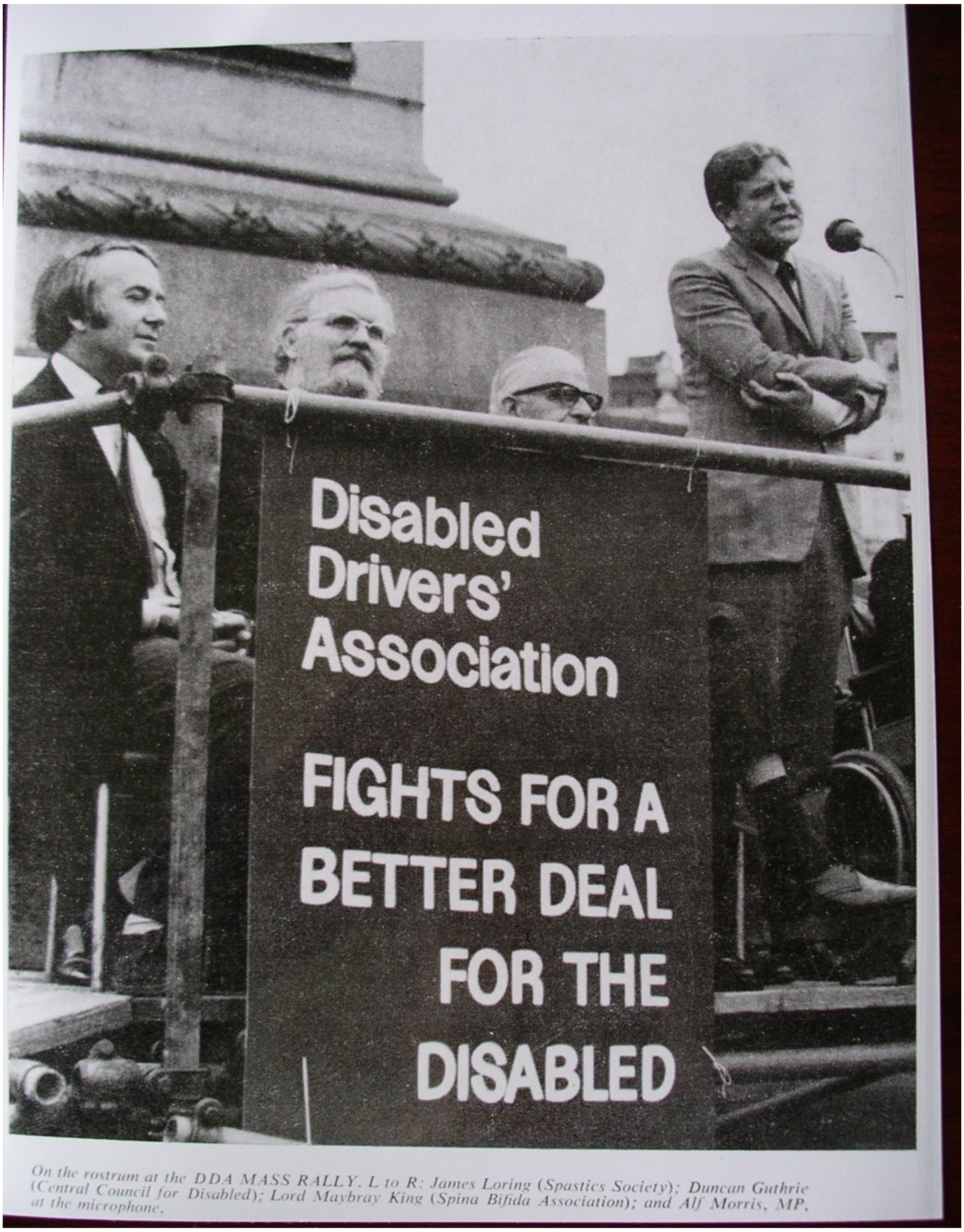
Figure 42: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d.) *1950's Stanley Electric.* [Photograph of a man sitting in a motorised tricycle, with a child sitting on the foot platform between his feet, outdoors near a house]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

Figure 43: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d.) [Seven men, two using wheelchairs, gathered around a motorised tricycle outdoors on grass in an industrial setting, shaking hands as if to make a presentation.] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

Figure 44: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d.) [Two women and one man, standing outdoors near adapted vehicles, all using crutches or sticks] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

Figure 45: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d.) [man, smiling, using a wheelchair and indoors, two upright armchairs behind him, photograph taken from a similarly seated position] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

Figure 46: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d.) [outdoor group of two women and one man, all seated, in hand-propelled tricycles, sunny day] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].



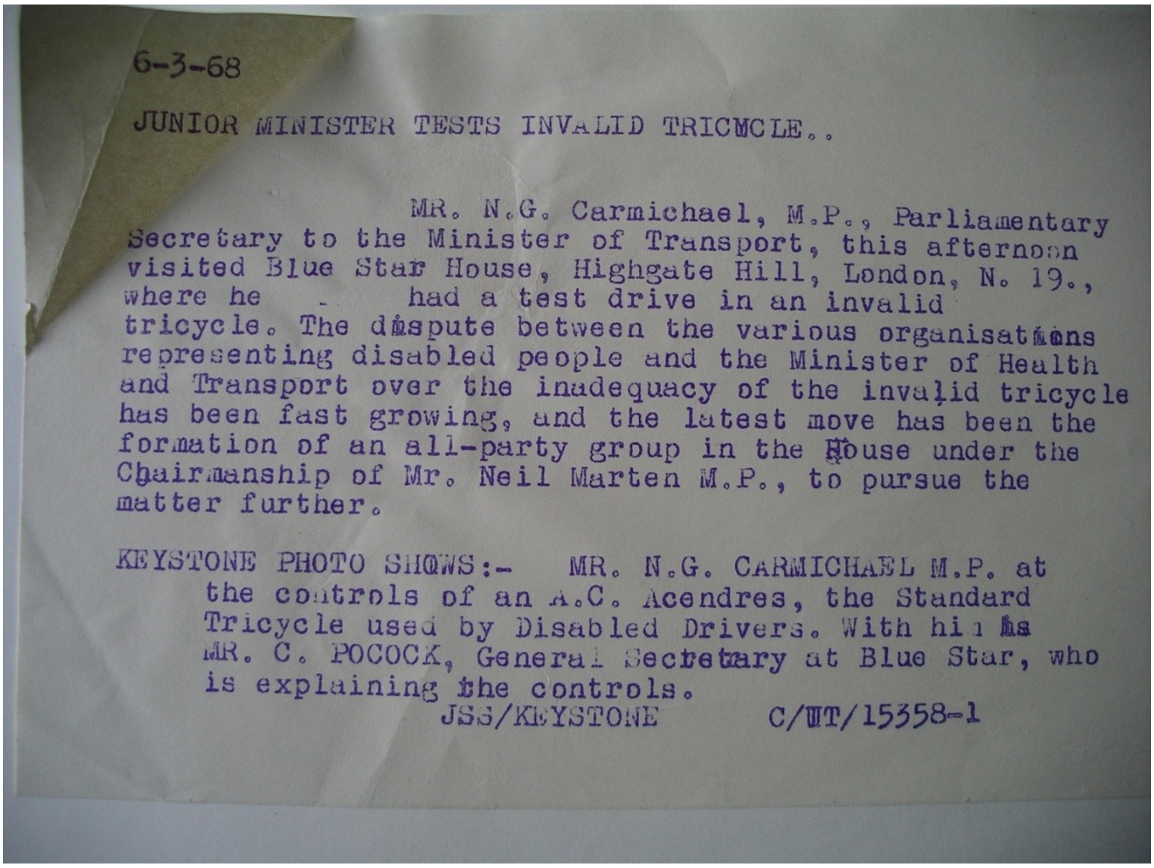
On the rostrum at the DDA MASS RALLY. L to R: James Loring (Spastics Society); Duncan Guthrie (Central Council for Disabled); Lord Maybray King (Spina Bifida Association); and Alf Morris, MP, at the microphone.

Figure 47: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d.) [speakers platform at outdoor DDA Mass Rally] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

Figure 48: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d.) [Road Rally with car and powered tricycles, formal] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

Figure 49: Disabled Drivers Association. (n.d.) [Road Rally with car and powered tricycles, informal] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].

Figure 50: Disabled Drivers Association. (1968) [Mr N G Carmichael MP, Minister of Transport with Mr C Pocock, lobbying for better vehicles.] [Loose monochrome photograph]. Available at Disabled Motoring UK, Norwich, UK [Accessed 08 August 2005].



6-3-68

JUNIOR MINISTER TESTS INVALID TRICYCLE..

MR. N.G. Carmichael, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Transport, this afternoon visited Blue Star House, Highgate Hill, London, N. 19., where he had a test drive in an invalid tricycle. The dispute between the various organisations representing disabled people and the Minister of Health and Transport over the inadequacy of the invalid tricycle has been fast growing, and the latest move has been the formation of an all-party group in the House under the Chairmanship of Mr. Neil Marten M.P., to pursue the matter further.

KEYSTONE PHOTO SHOWS:- MR. N.G. CARMICHAEL M.P. at the controls of an A.C. Acendres, the Standard Tricycle used by Disabled Drivers. With him is MR. C. POCOCK, General Secretary at Blue Star, who is explaining the controls.

JSS/KEYSTONE C/UT/15358-1

Figure 51: Reverse text for Figure 50

4.4.2 Historical context of organisation

Both the Disabled Drivers Motor Club and the Disabled Drivers Association were founded by disabled war veterans, after First and Second World Wars respectively. The Disabled Drivers Motor Club's first meeting was in April 1922, reportedly to organise 'hill climbs and reliability trials.' (Mobilise n.d.) Soon some campaigning started by the members and in the 1930s the Disabled Drivers Motor Club 'won the right for disabled people to hold a driving licence' (Mobilise n.d.). However, its main activities, especially following the Second World War, were in providing 'prospective members with information on suitable cars, adaptations, insurance, driving tuition and petrol allowance.' (Mobilise n.d.)

In contrast to the Disabled Drivers Motor Club which by the 1940s was essentially a services-centred organisation, in January 1948 the Invalid Tricycle Association was founded explicitly as a campaigning organisation, which became the Disabled Drivers Association in 1967. From an early stage the Invalid Tricycle Association took a pride in the distinctiveness of the trikes, and later there was some dissent within the organisation between those who favoured the ending of the supply of trikes and their replacement with adapted cars, and those who continued to use their distinctive trikes with pride (Lumb 2004) (Hyett n.d.).

It is perhaps indicative of the different emphases to services and to campaigning respectively between the Disabled Drivers Motor Club and the Disabled Drivers Association respectively, that although the decision to merge the two organisations was taken in 1995 (Mobilise n.d.), it was a full ten years later before the merger was formalised as a new charity and limited company.

The Mobilise (predecessor to Disabled Motoring UK) website stated:

> "The DDMC and the DDA were among the very first organisations of disabled people in the UK. Both were self-help organisations, run *by* disabled people *for* disabled people. By stressing the importance of action and mutual support in this way, the DDMC and the DDA have pioneered, in practice, the social model of disability." (Mobilise n.d.) (emphasis in original)

However, while the Disabled Drivers Motor Club in the 1930s was successful in campaigning for disabled people to hold driving licences, by 1973 it was the Disabled Drivers Association that was meeting with the British Prime Minister, Edward Heath MP and winning an agreement to their campaign for disabled people to be given cash payments instead of trikes. This enabled disabled people to choose and purchase from a wider range of cars, and to add tailored adaptations such as hand controls to operate the foot pedals. (Tasker n.d.)

Therefore, within this apparent uniformity there was a shift in campaigning from the Disabled Drivers Motor Club in the 1920s and 1930s, which became a more services-focussed organisation from the late 1940s onwards, aligned with the start of the Invalid Tricycle Association, later the Disabled Drivers Association, and its subsequent campaigns as recorded in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

4.4.3 Previous selections within the archive

In examining the informal archive of photographs at the Disabled Drivers Association, it was apparent that there had been a key archival event before which there were no surviving original prints or negatives. The indications of this event were that the oldest images were all on modern paper and all of the same size and format, in what might be called an archive stabilising event.

There was around 30 monochrome prints, all on modern, glossy paper and all 5 inch x 7 inch with a white border, two of which had typed captions on labels on the reverse, which is the professional manner of captioning prints without leaving a mark visible on the front image side, such as from pressure from a ballpoint pen or from ink staining through the paper as from a fountain or marker pen.. From examination, the prints appear to be made directly from negatives rather than being copies of other prints, with the exception of Figure 41 where the lack of contrast across the bottom of the print suggests a copy print where the original print was unevenly lit during enlargement, possibly in an amateur darkroom with a small enlarger. If the negative had been available for modern printing this feature would not be seen.

Some possible explanations for this stabilising event in the archive are:

(a) that copies of images which were held in a personal collection were made available to the organisation, perhaps while sorting out the effects following the death of a member of the organisation;

(b) that new copies needed to be made from negatives because the condition of the existing paper prints were deteriorating, and

(c) that new copies needed to be made from negatives because only the negatives had been retained and stored, for example if prints were used and consumed within the production of the monthly magazine *Magic Carpet,* which is reported to have carried images of trikes on every page of its first edition (Mobilise n.d.).

A further feature was that there were few instances where it was clear that a number of prints all related to the same occasion. This indicates that this collection of prints was made selectively rather than there being a print made from every image on one or more rolls of negatives. Thus there was a selection process in deciding which images had a value in being retained for future reference within the organisation, either at the stage of producing the modern-paper prints, or before that by choices of which cut negatives to retain and which ones to dispose of.

While the exact circumstances cannot be determined without additional, non-photographic evidence, it is possible from the state of the archive's contents to be certain that such a selection process was undertaken. This is helpful, as it makes evident in the products of one moment what is normally a more subtle and continuous process of selection, usually to try and collect and then display a range of images which conform to an intended narrative, such as the happy family album (Spence and Holland 1991) or the organisation worthy of funding.

4.4.4 Comparative images

We can see in Figure 36 and in Figure 37 what appear to be two images from the same event. Figure 36 indicates a formal reception line for what will probably be an evening dinner or dinner-dance, with two wheelchair-using men shaking hands formally and a right-angles, with a queue behind one of the men of another wheelchair user and a man standing in formal evening dress to the left of the image, and to the right of the image a women seated also at right angles to the queue, ready to receive guests after the man to her right. Just the handles of a wheelchair leave the frame at the extreme right, suggesting the person who has just been welcomed.

Figure 37 by contrast appears to show the same man and women from the reception line up, presumably later the same evening, the woman half-lying relaxed on the man, along with five other women all in evening dress sitting and standing closely and leaning in, relaxed and smiling to the viewer.

It is highly significant that both images are retained – the formal and the informal, the serious and the playful. Of course, it portrays the duality of the organisation as business-like and as social, but perhaps more importantly it displays and asserts a self-confidence in its own power to be different but equal to any grouping of non-disabled people. There is no apology needed nor offered, no pity, no tragedy, no regret of what might have been.

There is another strong and powerful image of women within the organisation, this time without a man at the centre, where an outdoors line-up of seven women, five of whom are seated on three-wheeled motorbikes, some with waterproof sheets on their legs, all smiling to the viewer, shown in Figure 38. The brick wall background adds to a no-nonsense message of determination, accomplishment and pleasure, of being in control and independent within a like-minded group of friends. Whether this would have been used within a publication is not known but probably unlikely, as even into the 1960s it is evident that newspaper and magazine images of disabled people are mostly limited to a small typology of individualised images, mostly passive, occasionally heroic, but never organised as a group other than as a therapeutic outing.

We can also see in contrast the two images of an outdoor trip or rally of members using mostly motorised tricycles. In Figure 48 we see quite a restrained, distant and formal image of the members assembled beside a road with support cars, being the type of image useful for press and publicity purposes. Then in Figure 49 we see the same group, much closer, and much more relaxed and informal, with one of the drivers pouring beer from a bottle into a glass held by an adjacent driver. Even given the different legal restrictions at the time on drinking and driving, this image was almost surely for internal use as a social and community record, showing a warmth and comradeship between the members, rather than for external publication.

Similarly, we can see in Figure 45 and in Figure 46 a very informal and relaxed pair of images, one of an individual man seated indoors in a wheelchair, looking to the left of the camera and laughing; along with the image of two women and a man outdoors sitting in what seem to be hand-propelled trikes, two eating ice creams, and two aware of the picture being taken. These quite personal and almost-private images contrast with two another images held in the archive. The first is Figure 47, a photograph of a press photograph and its caption, of a rally with a platform of speakers behind a banner saying, ‘Disabled Drivers’ Association Fights For A Better Deal For The Disabled’. The second equally political image is in Figure 50 where the Minister of Transport is being told by a disabled person why the invalid tricycles being provided are inadequate, as explained in the background text in Figure 51, a rare occurrence of accompanying text.

We can also see a contrast between Figure 38 and Figure 39, where the former is a posed image possibly for press and publicity reasons, whereas the latter is highly informal and vernacular as would be found in a personal collection of photographs of friends at an event, without posing or tight framing. It is significant that the people in the organisation chose to keep both types in their one collection, representing a duality of registers and purposes – of identity and memory, and of projected messages for change.

4.4.5 Discussion

We can see from this selection of the range of images held in the DDA archive that the organisation was self-organised, confident, politically aware and campaigning, and making use of existing social structures on equal terms. There are not images of dependency, of being done-to, of being an object of curiosity. It evidently functioned well at different levels, being a social as well as being a political organisation, and no doubt being a source of technical help as well for these non-standard vehicles. From conversations it is known that the DDA also developed self-help practices, for example after a meeting people would return to their vehicles but the convention was that everyone’s engines had to be started before anyone could leave so that no-one would be left stranded.

4.5 CASE STUDY – Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club

This case study is firmly in the vernacular tradition, being an informal local group without staff, offices or big budgets. Yet even so it sits within a context of national and international events, and of a movement in disability sports in England which arguably changed the format of the Olympic Games by adding the Paralympics in stages starting in the 1960s. Disability sports also provide a 'development path' for many disabled activists and has helped solidify a disability movement within England.

4.5.1 Description of organisation and arrangements

The researcher has been entrusted with the storage of a small photographic archive of the Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club relating to the 1970s, which consisted of four plastic wallets which each held 4inch x 6inch photograph prints, organised with home-made cardboard dividers to indicate the events to which each group of photographs related. The folders are shown in Figure 52 and an example of the sectional dividers is shown in Figure 53. The folders contained Polyvinyl Chloride (PVC) sleeves and covers, which can attack and deteriorate the quality of photographic prints, so these prints have been transferred to polyester sleeves for continued storage.

4.5.2 Historical context of organisation

The organisation of the sports club was based around weekly 'meets' at a local sports centre, with various practice sessions such as swimming and table tennis, followed by time spent in the bar which would involve socialising and informal organising of club business and future events. The only formal meeting each year was the Annual General Meeting and the acceptance of the financial accounts and the election of the Chair, Secretary and Treasurer for the coming year. The most formal annual social event was the Christmas Dinner for all club members, and as can seen from Figure 54 this was a large and significant event. The meal would be held in a hall as this would be affordable for the club and accessible for the many disabled people attending.

At the time there was an extensive network of local sports clubs for disabled people, where it was quite commonplace for almost every weekend during the summer months to have an outdoor meeting somewhere in the country and significant social interactions as a result. The most significant of these sports events was the annual National Paraplegic Games held at Stoke Mandeville hospital's grounds. Most local and regional events were single-day events, whereas the National Paraplegic Games included overnight dormitory accommodation in large huts within the grounds. An example of an outdoor basketball game at the National Paraplegic Games in 1954 is shown in Figure 5, where the text on the reverse of the print is shown in Figure 6 and is reproduced in Table 7.

Table 7: Text on the reverse of Figure 6 (1954)

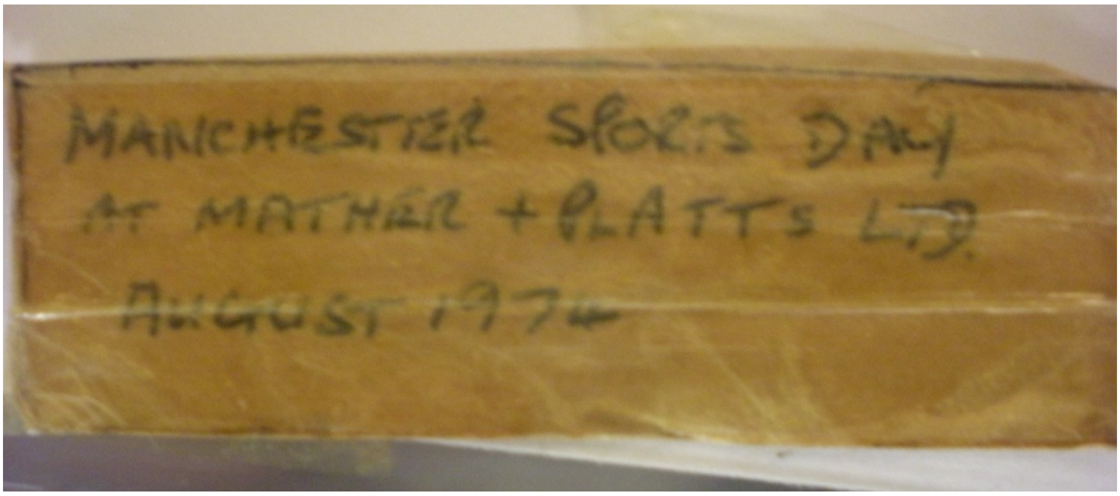
"ARMCHAIR ATHLETES HOLD OWN OLYMPICS

STOKE MANDEVILLE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE: Competitors from fourteen nations took part in the Stoke Mandeville Games that ended at the Ministry of Health National Spinal Injuries Centre, at Stoke Mandeville Hospital, Buckinghamshire today. Two hundred and twenty athletes cheerfully wheeled their way through a programme of sports that ranged from archery to netball to snooker and swimming. It was the third world Olympiad for paraplegics – men and women paralysed from the waist down by spinal injuries. Heading this enterprise is Doctor Ludwig Guttman, chief at the Centre, who was decorated some time ago for his fine work.
PHOTO SHOWS Am arm-chair basket-ball match between players from Lyne Green Settlement, Cheshire, and from Duchess of Gloucester House, Middlesex.

31st July 1954"

These national disability sports events at Stoke Mandeville, which started in 1948, are acknowledged as the pre-cursor to the international Paralympics Games from 1960 and which broadened further to become linked officially to the Olympic Games from 1988 onwards.

Figure 52: Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club. (2011) Four photographic albums with separators for club photographs taken in the early 1970s, 5 x 3.5 inch monochrome and colour prints (was in Polyvinyl Chloride sleeves).



MANCHESTER SPORTS DAY
AT MATHER + PLATTS LTD.
AUGUST 1976

Figure 53: Example of a descriptive sectional divider used within the photographic albums as shown in Figure 52. (2011) Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 54: Christmas Party, (c1970s), Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 55: Javelin Event, (n.d.), Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 56: Discus Event, (1974), Sports Day, August 1974, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 57: Javelin Event, (1974) Sports Day, August 1974, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 58: Table Tennis Event, (1974), Sports Day, August 1974, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 59: Wheelchair Slalom Event, (1974), NALGO [trade union] Club, Liverpool Sports Day, 10 August 1974, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 60: Junior Wheelchair Slalom Event, (1974), NALGO [trade union] Club, Liverpool Sports Day, 10 August 1974, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 61: Basketball Match, (1974), NALGO [trade union] Club, Liverpool Sports Day, 10 August 1974, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 62: Basketball Match, (1974), NALGO [trade union] Club, Liverpool Sports Day, 10 August 1974, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 63: Junior Shot Put Event, (1974), NALGO [trade union] Club, Liverpool Sports Day, 10 August 1974, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

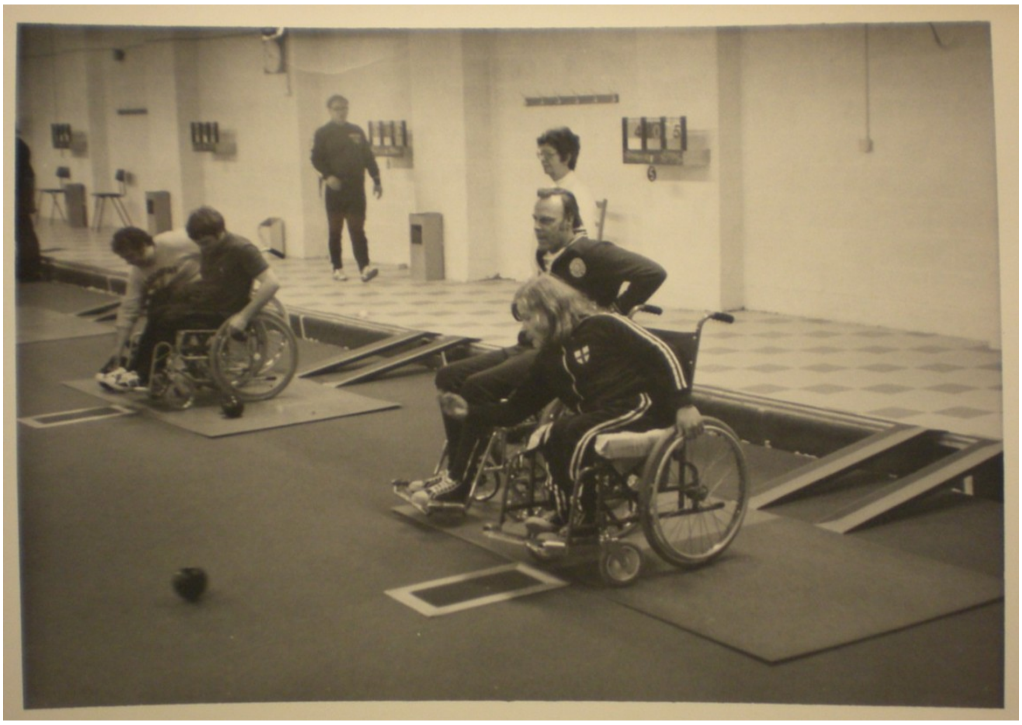


Figure 64: Indoor Bowling Event, (1974), Mather & Platt Ltd, August 1974, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 65: Indoor Basketball Event, (1974), Mather & Platt Ltd, August 1974, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. Graham Bool, Disabled Photographer, right. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 66: Awards Ceremony, (1975), National Paraplegic Games, Stoke Mandeville, Aylesbury, June 1975, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 67: Archery Event, (1975), BSAD [British Sports Association for the Disabled], North West Junior Games, Shadsworth Centre, Blackburn, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 68: Javelin Event, (1975), two main figures stood together, BSAD [British Sports Association for the Disabled], North West Junior Games, Shadsworth Centre, Blackburn, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 69: Javelin Event, (1975), two main figures stood apart, BSAD [British Sports Association for the Disabled], North West Junior Games, Shadsworth Centre, Blackburn, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 70: Socialising in Bar, (1975), Devon Sports Day, Newton Abbott Racecourse, April 1975, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 71: Awards Ceremony with Young Man Recipient, (1975), Devon Sports Day, Newton Abbott Racecourse, April 1975, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 72: Indoor Basketball Match, (1975), Devon Sports Day, Newton Abbott Racecourse, April 1975, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 73: Awards Ceremony with Young Woman Recipient, (1975), Devon Sports Day, Newton Abbott Racecourse, April 1975, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

Figure 74: Games Administration Outdoors with Table, (1975), Devon Sports Day, Newton Abbott Racecourse, April 1975, Manchester and District Disabled Sports Club, Private Collection available to the Researcher. [Accessed 30 March 2011].

4.5.3 Disability sports and local clubs

The photographic archive of a local club such as Manchester and District Disabled Sport Club also shows through the compositions and production standards of the prints that the pictures have a domestic, home-made vernacular feel about them. The pictures have been taken with unsophisticated ordinary cameras by people who are looking to record their friends at an enjoyable event for their own later shared consumption within the club. This style can be contrasted with the national organisations where the archive is more of a mixture of the domestic and professional styles.

However, both national organisations had copies of images which had high production values where it would have been possible for such images to be of interest to a newspaper editor possibly, and certainly for internal use within publications (such as Magic Carpet produced by Disabled Drivers Association), and some images such as Figure 23 and Figure 31 which were printed to a scale larger than a domestic print and framed for hanging and display to visitors as well as members.

Given the age of some of the images and prints within the two national organisations' archives, and the evidence of some copy prints having been made to preserve some older images, it is possible to speculate that over the years there was also a number of informal, vernacular prints which were not a highly valued, whether for composition and lighting or for ordinary production values such as low contrast, and that some of these types of ordinary prints have been discarded from the informal archive at various iterations of its maintenance by different staff or volunteers. Thus there is a collective though unwritten curatorial process, enacted through these iterations of custodianship in a reinforcing manner, which produces an archive that reflects strong group norms and narratives.

A difference between the Manchester and District Disabled Sport Club archive and those of the National League for the Blind and Disabled and Disabled Drivers Association is that the local club archive is portable. With its small albums it is taken out and passed around at the weekly local meets and at the summer-time outdoor regional and national events. The archive has a strong social role in helping to articulate and sustain a collective memory, but without other uses such as for club publicity in publications or through posters or in press coverage.

The photographic archive of Manchester and District Disabled Sport Club, and probably of many similar local clubs, has much in common with the vernacular characteristics of family archives. There is a selection process to exclude some prints, based at least on technical grounds (such as being in focus and well lit) and on composition grounds (such as having people's faces visible). There is also an ordinariness in the repetition of image types: such as Figure 57 being the javelin competition at one event, then Figure 67being again the javelin competition but at another event. In common with many family albums, or traditional series of wedding pictures, this club photography is not to seek new and creative images of the club as a group or of its individual athletes. Instead it is to be a record of shared milestones, of key events, and with a repetition and structure which provides a reassuring narrative of order and continuity.

The organisation of the Manchester and District Disabled Sport Club was highly informal and followed a standard cycle of events every year, in a form very similar to many other social and community organisations. Every year it would have one formal meeting, to receive the accounts and elect the committee. The standard positions were Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer; along with around six other committee general members who may also have specific roles such as organising social events, transport or youth groups. The finances were basic income and expenditure with a bank account which had to be kept in surplus. The annual meeting would probably agree the membership fees for the coming year and there would be additional fundraising during the year such as raffles and sponsored events.

This type of community organisation was generic across many different social concerns such as welfare, sport, hobby and civic groups, as well as in trade unions and religious bodies. Each of these organisations provided its members with experience of a generic type, facilitating members to form new groups, usually by calling a public meeting, and to readily join and function in other organisations.

Thus a group such as the Manchester and District Disabled Sport Club both benefitted from the cluster of similar organisations in the locality which provided experience of this standard structure, and repaid this benefit by developing its disabled members, especially young members, through a range of experiences of standard forms of community self-organisation.

The annual cycle of elections, a Christmas Party, weekly get-togethers, seasonal tournaments and maybe a national event with other like-minded groups provided a shared framework of roles and experiences, and a chance to meet others with a shared interest and outlook.

The role of sports as providing general developmental experiences for young people is generally understood, but perhaps less so for young disabled people. A particular feature of groups such as the Manchester and District Disabled Sport Club is that it provided disabled young people with the experience of seeing disabled adults in the roles of authority and accountability within the organisation, something they could aspire to and gain confidence in, both within disability sports but, at least for some, also in wider organisational settings.

The Manchester and District Disabled Sport Club is an example of self-organisation by disabled people, though clearly it does not organise as a political lobby or campaign. Nevertheless, for example the local membership of the club contained a number of disabled people who were to remain members but also become active as members of the Greater Manchester Coalition of Disabled People, including for example Kevin Hyett who was interviewed for this research. Perhaps it is possible to see disabled people's sports as an organic movement, with its rich network of local clubs and inter-club sports events as an early example of what Disability Arts grew to be later in the twentieth century, as a cultural expression of disabled people's lives, identity, self-expression and self-organisation.

4.5.4 Discussion

Looking at the Manchester and District Disabled Sport Club photographic archive, there are similarities and differences between those images and those from National League for the Blind and Disabled and from Disabled Drivers Association. The social aspects with informal time drinking and with set-piece functions are very similar, as can be seen from both Figure 54 and Figure 37. The two national organisations, the National League for the Blind and Disabled and the Disabled Drivers Association, both have their moments of recorded formality and procedure; whereas at the local level these features are less evidently valued, if much present at all. Examples of this formal aspect to the workings of the two organisations can be seen in Figure 30 and Figure 40.

The fact that Manchester and District Disabled Sport Club kept it photographs in family albums is no coincidence. It very much followed a vernacular tradition, and many of the photographs could just as easily sat within a family album as in a club album. This is partly about the style of image, where their informality would not have suited a strong use for press and publicity purposes. It is also the content of the image, where the range of images is inclusive - we could expect that everyone in the club would feature somewhere in the images - rather than selective images of winners only or repeatedly of club figureheads. The framing of the images is also wide, which for press and publicity purposes would be a distraction from the single intended message, but here the wider frame evokes a richer memory of the events and provides more contextual information to other members and viewers who were not there. Thus it would be commonplace, as with a family album, for the viewing of the club images to be accompanied by a narrative to explain what was considered important and noteworthy, and especially to name and discuss the individuals within the images.

For further research, it would be interesting to explore the national disabled people's sports organisations to examine how they managed eventually to go from the Stoke Mandeville games into creating the Paralympics, and into influencing UK mainstream sports at its various levels. Equally, the full extent of the enabling and empowering effects for disabled people in England of the various disability sports organisations and events would be a beneficial area for further research.

Disabled People's Organisations do not conform to one format, and their photographic records are equally reflective of this diversity of form and function, mirroring other photographic traditions and registers in more ways than is usually acknowledged. The three case studies and the images figured that correspond to the text here reflect different concerns and different needs – from campaigning to change national legislation to informal and very particular records of achievement and local group memory through sports-based events.

Yet these powerful images are not mono-dimensional: they show the power of disabled people together formally in terms of marches, rallies and demonstrations; but they also show power through self-confidence, through self-organisation and through a deliberate refusal to remain as good and quiet subjects.

Conclusions

The core of this research has been to explore the sense of unacknowledged traces of disabled people's self-organisation in England up to the 1970s by using these organisations' highly fragile photographic collections. They are *traces* in that care needs to be taken in building any complex edifice of social and political claims upon images without also considering them contextually and theoretically; and they are *unacknowledged* when we still see many major photographic works conflating disability with the body.

THE INDEPENDENT • TUESDAY 12 MARCH 1996

Wheels of protest: John Owen outside Labour headquarters in south-east London yesterday where he joined other disabled people to lobby for a greater commitment by the party to disabled rights Photograph: Jane Baker

Figure 75: "Wheels of protest: (1996) John Owen outside Labour headquarters in south-east London yesterday where he joined other disabled people to lobby for a greater commitment by the party to disabled rights" Photograph: Jane Baker. The Independent, 12 March 1996. Protest organised by DAN: Disabled People's Direct Action Network.

The social model of disability remains a landmark in disabled people's political movement for full civil rights and is closely associated with the emergence of other new social movements in the middle of the twentieth century. It takes nothing away from this political cornerstone to acknowledge, explore and celebrate the history of disabled people's political struggles from previous decades and centuries, as this research has sought to do. These findings are intended to contribute within a counter-discourse to one of disabled people as Others, and especially as freaks and medical objects.

Disabled demonstrators leave Labour's London headquarters yesterday after a six-hour protest to demand better rights. Page 8

Figure 76: "Disabled demonstrators leave Labour's London headquarters yesterday after a six-hour protest to demand better rights." (1996) Photograph: Peter Trievnor. The Times. 12 March 1996. Protest organised by DAN: Disabled People's Direct Action Network.

This research has confirmed the initial assumption that the archives of images held by disabled people's own organisations are fragile and under-evaluated. There is a paucity of the self-produced and emancipatory images as found in these archives in the collections of the national museums and similar mainstream archives. The under-resourcing of disabled people's own organisations causes their own archives to remain fragile and at risk of being permanently lost, and there is the less noticeable but nevertheless steady loss of knowledge as volunteers and staff members retire taking the undocumented knowledge associated with these archives with them.

The images found and highlighted by this research show the social power of disabled people to self-organise, to protest, to self-define and to resist oppression and discrimination, sometimes in a joyous and irreverent form which is seldom to be found in the comparative conventional press, medical and charity images of the time. Such self-produced images actually have more in common with the vernacular forms found in family albums, but trace a wider social context of self-defined identity, and self-organised protest and resilience.

A protester from a group demanding firmer Labour commitment to civil rights for the disabled outside party headquarters PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARGLES

Figure 77: “A protester from a group demanding firmer Labour commitment to civil rights for the disabled outside party headquarters. (1996) Photograph: Martin Argles. The Guardian. 12 March 1996. Protest organised by DAN: Disabled People’s Direct Action Network.

With these found images a theoretical discussion has been developed to suggest and explore whether any further perspectives can be brought to the debate around the social model of disability. In considering the impairment effects experienced by many disabled people, such as pain and fatigue which limit the social functioning of some disabled people, the question is raised for other researchers to consider further of whether chronic pain and fatigue have their own social dimension.

This research suggests that disabled people’s histories in England are currently a somewhat neglected yet fruitful area for further study. Disabled men and probably some women were marching for their rights in England in the 1920s and 1930s, some at the same time as the Jarrow March in 1936, and both types of marches were discussed in the House of Commons in the same debate, yet only one of these has endured to date in historic accounts. The reasons for this selectivity are complex and problematic, and to the extent that this research provides an opening for this to be acknowledged and discussed further then hopefully it will be useful to others.

This research has also explored some photographic records of disabled people within their sports clubs, which are in contrast to the formality of some recorded key moments within other organisations of disabled people, and where these sports clubs photographs have much in common with the vernacular register of informal and family albums. The unacknowledged images across this range of registers and underlying social, political and economic conditions provide at least a trace of a wide and varied range of shared experiences amongst disabled people which is indicative of a sense of being in community with a shared culture.

There are still too few researched and published histories of disabled people in England, and those enquiries that have taken place are mainly based on two general types: individualised history from below; and analytical studies which explore wider social and historical trends. The synthesis of these two forms provides a means by which the real lives of disabled people are told within a social context of collective empowerment rather than of individual tragedy, pity or bravery. Photographic records are valid historical documents for such social movements and campaigns, and analysed carefully do provide new knowledge for researchers far beyond illustration.

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Figures

Tables

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Some of the organisations run by disabled people in England were started in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and to date their photographic records has not been widely researched. Later in the twentieth century we see the rise of new social movements including radical campaigns by disabled people for civil rights, and with this the development of the social model of disability to counteract the prevailing medical model which placed the deficit on the disabled person. The presumption has been that before the new social movements the prevailing images of disabled people were mainly as Others, usually as freaks or medical objects.

This research questions whether the informal and vernacular photographic records of disabled people held by disabled people's organisations produced in the 1920s to 1970s might suggest a more complex social history to that of the prevailing photographic works of freaks and medical stereotypes; and if so, what are the implications for the disability movement, for archivists and for further research.

Using a case study approach to look at the photographic informal archives of three organisations formed in 1899, 1922 and later, run by disabled people, this research finds traces from these fragile archives to suggest that a more nuanced approach is required to better understand that disabled people's political, social and cultural awareness was more developed prior to the growth of new social movements than is sometimes acknowledged.

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