Re-Working Disability

A Foucauldian Discourse Analysis of Vocational Rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand

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List of Abbreviations

ASENZ	The Association for Supported Employment in New Zealand
DSRL	Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League (originally Disabled Soldiers' Re-establishment League)
IYDP	International Year of Disabled Persons
NZRSA	New Zealand Returned Solders' Association
WWI	World War One

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning

Signature:

Co-authored Works

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Envisaging Vocational Rehabilitation (Booklet and video) Münster, Germany: Westfälischer Kunstverein. Joint artistic work by Simon Denny and Joanna Fadyl.

This booklet and video is an artistic work JF undertook with Simon Denny, a Berlin-based artist, on the theme of the PhD. The aim was to create an artistic work that would combine our professional interests, and make the thesis topic accessible to a non-academic audience. The content related to the PhD was authored by JF, the artistic concept was SD's, and both worked together with a designer and other contributors to arrive at the finished products.

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Abstract

Vocational rehabilitation is a social practice that is focused on enabling people to overcome disability so that they can work. It involves many, sometimes diverse, strategies and programmes to achieve this aim, which have changed over time. The current importance of vocational rehabilitation as a practice within governmental agendas in Aotearoa New Zealand, and in many other countries around the world, has been demonstrated in recent policies and reports emphasising an imperative that disabled people are enabled to obtain work in order to achieve equality and maintain social systems. Ability to work has been associated with health and wellbeing, and scientific studies showing that unemployment is associated with poor health, and that disabled individuals want a 'normal' life, are often cited to underline the importance of vocational rehabilitation. However, while these ideas are widely accepted, they are not without challenges. There is a growing body of literature indicating that there continue to be difficulties in achieving the aims that vocational rehabilitation exists to deliver, and highlighting that rehabilitation practices have (often unintended) effects in addition to their specific aims—such as reproducing dominant notions of disability and normality. The aim of this inquiry was to open up the practice of vocational rehabilitation to examination. The study considers the social and political conditions of possibility for the emergence and continuation of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand, and the effects of the systems of thought and action that come within its scope.

The study I outline in this thesis is a discourse analysis of the practice of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand, applying the philosophical and theoretical work of Michel Foucault. To do this, I gathered and analysed a wide range of texts associated with vocational rehabilitation practices: including policy documents, images, letters, reports, meeting minutes, position statements, brochures, training materials, advertising (to give some examples). The gathered texts focused on three identified series of events, associated with specified historical shifts in vocational rehabilitation practices, as well as current vocational rehabilitation practices. The analysis involved applying Foucauldian methodological principles and theoretical concepts to these texts. The application of theory drew on concepts within Foucauldian scholarship that were particularly pertinent to the topic area, focusing on notions of 'governmentality' and 'bio-politics'.

The contribution of this study lies in highlighting and questioning ideas that have become self-evident in vocational rehabilitation practices, and making more visible aspects that may affect future directions. It shows historical conditions of possibility for the emergence and continuation of vocational rehabilitation as a social practice in Aotearoa New Zealand, and points to emerging trends in this field that present opportunities and dangers. Vocational rehabilitation is analysed as a governmental practice, with processes con-

structed within historically and culturally specific notions of economic systems, 'normal life' and 'disabilty'. These processes both utilise and (re)produce dominant ideas about what constitutes work and disability. Furthermore, I identify a move in some recent practices towards a normalisation of disability itself, which has the potential to considerably shift the focus of vocational rehabilitation.

1

Introducing the thesis

The pohutukawa tree, as it grows and extends further from the earth where it took seed, sends roots from its trunk(s) and branches back down to the ground. The more points of contact with the earth from which it germinated and grew, the more directions of further growth are available to the tree, and this allows it to establish itself on more unstable ground. I use this image of the pohutukawa to remind me of what my inquiry seeks to do. By reconnecting with the notions and practices that make our ways of thinking and doing possible, we become aware of who and what we are today, and open up possibilities for growth in new directions, even in an unstable and uncertain environment.

Pohutukawa, Halls Beach, Auckland.
Photo: Joanna Fadyl

1.1 Vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand

In many societies in recent years, individuals' participation in work has been linked to health and wellbeing (for example see Australasian Faculty of Occupational & Environmental Medicine, 2010). I have described vocational rehabilitation as "a process of compelling and enabling people to overcome disability so they can work" (Denny & Fadyl, 2012, p. 1), which involves many and sometimes diverse strategies and programmes to

achieve this aim. Vocational rehabilitation as a specific practice has been established in Aotearoa New Zealand for most of a century, and is considered an important component of governmental agendas for maintaining a healthy and well-functioning society, as demonstrated in recent policies and reports (for example see Australasian Faculty of Occupational & Environmental Medicine, 2010; Welfare Working Group (New Zealand), 2011). However its aims and purposes, while widely accepted, are not uncontested and are not without their challenges. Practices and disciplines that fall within the field of vocational rehabilitation are diverse, and there is a growing body of literature that indicates there are many difficulties in achieving the outcomes it exists to deliver (for various aspects of these issues in New Zealand see Armstrong, 2008; Athanasou, 2003; Duncan, 2004; Gorman, 2011; Levack, McPherson, & McNaughton, 2004).

While it is important to look at the specifics of these practices, and continue to further refine them and develop and test new ways of working, it is equally important to consider the aims and effects of the wider concept and practice of vocational rehabilitation itself. What the latter approach offers is a view from which to weigh up the various opportunities and constraints that vocational rehabilitation (in its various forms) produces within current society. However, it is rare to see this kind of analysis applied to rehabilitation; and although such analyses have been applied to some extent in practices linked to vocational rehabilitation such as worker compensation systems in Aotearoa New Zealand (Duncan, 2003), our overall practice of vocational rehabilitation has so far seen a dearth of this type of inquiry.

The purpose of the present study was to interrogate the practice of vocational rehabilitation itself; to open space to examine the effects it has socially and politically on the issues of work disability and working capacity that are its central concerns, with the aim of presenting opportunities to think otherwise about what vocational rehabilitation is, what it does, and why we need it. The aim was to make visible current constructions of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand, what has made possible its production and maintenance, and what it makes possible to think about, speak about and do.

This chapter is an introduction to the study and the structure of the thesis. First, I provide an overview of my own background and perspective on the topic, and why I chose to undertake this study. Second, I give brief introduction to the topic and rationale for the study carried out and provide an overview of why it was timely and relevant. Third, I situate the study by presenting the perspectives that it uses as its starting point, and discussing how it differs from other research on this topic. The final section provides the reader with an overview of the thesis structure, the approach I have taken, and what can be expected from each section.

1.2   My background and interest in vocational rehabilitation

I began working in the field of vocational rehabilitation in 2003 within a vocational rehabilitation service in London, United Kingdom (UK) for people who had sustained a brain

injury. My role as a 'job coach' included coaching and supporting people on work trials in the use of strategies to compensate for disabilities, and supporting those people to look for work in the open job market. Having recently arrived in the UK, I was still learning about aspects of that society and culture. One of the things that I noticed as I spent time with people who were adjusting to a wide variety of work settings, was how much the rules and culture of the society I was in affected what people were able to do, and how they were able to do those things. For many of the people I worked with, it was the first time they had had to think about the way they did things at work, and for many of those, it was a lesson in which solutions were acceptable, and which were not, within their organisation and wider social context.

After returning to New Zealand in 2006, I took a job in supported employment. This involved working with people from a range of backgrounds who had been unable to get employment due to disability, finding them suitable employment and training and supporting them in the job. Having expected this to be similar to my job coach role in the UK, I was intrigued to find out that the funding structures were quite different in this field. These structures resulted in a situation where it was more profitable for the organisation I worked in to get people into highly supported jobs that lasted less than a year, than it was to work to get people into sustainable employment in which they became independent—the latter being something that I had come to see as important for a person's self-esteem and wellbeing. Feeling that these structures conflicted with my values, I left the job after only six months. However, the experience left me wondering how it is that the social and political environment at the time made it possible for things to be the way they were, how these structures were justified, and whether they were really working in the way people had intended.

In my next role as a research assistant, I was encouraged to undertake a Masters degree. I chose my focus for this to be vocational rehabilitation, as I felt that during the time I had been working in this area I had developed many questions, with little to draw on to answer them. Through postgraduate study, I was introduced to ideas of social constructionism and qualitative research methods, which fitted well with my experiences. My Masters degree itself was a study that sought to develop a new measure of work ability for the purposes of rehabilitation planning, and through doing this I encountered further questions. I began to wonder about what it means to be able to work, why we think about work and vocation in the way we do, and how the ways in which society views people who are unable to perform work as they did before affects what is possible to do.

Included in the theory and philosophy I began to read during this time were introductions to Foucault and English translations of two of his books—*The History of Sexuality Volume I* (Foucault, 2008f) and *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault, 1977). In Foucault's work, I saw a powerful analysis of practices that we have come to take for granted are part of society. Furthermore, unlike many other forms of analysis I had encountered, I felt his work embraced complexity, enabling critique without requiring judgements about 'good'

and 'bad' or 'right' and 'wrong' practices and effects. It was from this that I began to develop ideas about how I wanted to approach further study in vocational rehabilitation. My approach to this thesis is grounded in a curiosity concerning the many and varying consequences of structures and practices within a complex society, along with a desire to see my own experiences in new ways and to prompt other people to consider different views also.

1.3 Positioning vocational rehabilitation

In societies where work outside the home has become a significant means of earning a living, those considered disabled and therefore unable to work for a living have, for centuries, been considered dependents of a household, community or society, and been subjects of charity or social welfare schemes in various forms (Dean, 1991; Obermann, 1980). This concept still exists today in many societies including Aotearoa New Zealand. What has emerged more recently, though, is the problematisation of inability to work to the point where vocational rehabilitation has become a major area of governmental concern (Obermann, 1980). During the twentieth century, vocational rehabilitation has been conceptualised as a way to intervene to transform those who are unable to work into people who are able to work, and therefore able to participate in industry and earn a living. While there are a number of critiques and modifications of this conception (for example see Ahlgren and Hammarstörm (2000) for a feminist critique), a focus on practices that result in subjects who are able to participate in paid work tends to dominate. Alongside this change, in Western societies, work has increasingly become not just a means of earning money to buy the things we need and want, but also something that forms a considerable part of a person's identity, social engagement, and social standing (Grint, 2005; Rose, 1999a). Because of this, the question of inability to work not only concerns the ability of a person to earn a living, but it also affects aspects of who a person is, and their connections to others.

It is arguments around the negative effects of not working on wellbeing that we can see forming a greater weight in the argument for provision of vocational rehabilitation in the last few years (for example see Australasian Faculty of Occupational & Environmental Medicine, 2010; Welfare Working Group (New Zealand), 2011). Now that the ability to work is seen as trainable or recoverable (including by environmental modifications) for most people, and also since work is seen as good for people, the question of vocational rehabilitation for groups that are defined as having significantly impaired capacity for work has become an area that has attracted a considerable amount of development and research. Furthermore, while an ideal conveyed in current discourses is that people who are unable to work are rehabilitated and trained so that they become able to work, in practice this area is fraught with challenges, and there are growing concerns about a variety of unintended effects of current vocational rehabilitation systems and processes (for example see Armstrong, 2008; Athanasou, 2003; Duncan, 2004; Gorman, 2011; Levack et al., 2004).

1.4   Situating the study

As suggested in the chapter so far, vocational rehabilitation is a well-established concept and practice, but it is also contingent on a vast range of historical and cultural conditions. In this section I offer a brief summary of scholarship examining the social construction of work disability and work itself, followed by a broad overview of research in the area of vocational rehabilitation, in order to situate the present study in the wider context of inquiry in this area.

1.4.1   Work disability and vocational rehabilitation as social constructs

Ability to work has been broadly defined as constituting the "match between the physical, mental, social, environmental and organisational demands of a person's work and his or her capacity to meet these demands" (Fadyl, McPherson, Schlüter, & Turner-Stokes, 2010, p. 1173). By definition, ability to work is linked to the interaction between the job and the worker—where the job and the worker are each products of the society to which they both belong. Consequently, work *dis*ability can also be understood in these terms. Although difficulties with finding appropriate work can be experienced by people in various situations, work disability as it is referred to in the research literature is very often experienced as a result of illness or injury, and this can be viewed in terms of the change in the interaction between the demands of their work and their capacity to meet these demands. These difficulties often include fatigue, pain, and significant changes in physical and mental capacity (Bootes & Chapparo, 2002; Golden, 1995; Ottomanelli & Lind, 2009). The problem of work disability is reflected in the low return to work rates for people who have had an injury which significantly affects their functioning (Hess, Ripley, McKinley, & Tewksbury, 2000; Murphy, Young, Brown, & King, 2003; van Velzen, van Bennekom, Edelaar, Sluiter, & Frings-Dresen, 2009; Yasuda, Wehman, Targett, Cifu, & West, 2002).

Work disability has implications beyond simple financial concerns. Even in societies that have systems which organise access to a living income for people who are unable to work due to disability, quality of life and wellbeing are often found to be better for those people who are in paid work (for example see Hammell, 2007; O'Neill et al., 1998; Steadman-Pare, Colantonio, Ratcliff, Chase, & Vernich, 2001). This has been linked to the social and psychological roles that work plays in modern societies in addition to providing a wage (Grint, 2005; Rose, 1999a), as well as the positive social identity and higher status attributed to those who work (Borsay, 1986; Illich, 1978).

A social constructionist perspective would reason that these experiences of disability and disadvantage are a product of the ways we think and act as a society, and that there is no external reality that predetermines this situation. Rather, the reality we experience is constructed and maintained through social processes (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). There are many researchers and theorists who have explored the social construction of disability.

This is a huge area in itself and I do not attempt here to give an overview of the field of disability studies. Instead, because of the relevance to my topic, I seek to provide examples that are particularly appropriate for demonstrating how work disability specifically can be viewed as a social construct.

In an article published in 1986, Anne Borsay examined the social construction of disability in Britain, arguing that the primacy of economic occupation and economic goals resulted in lower status experienced by members of society who were unable to participate in the current economic system (largely working for money), and contribute to achieving economic goals (such as acquisition of wealth). Furthermore, social services designed to help disabled people were situated within the context of this economic imperative, constructing work-disabled people as dependent on those who were work-able, rather than contributors in their own right (Borsay, 1986). Indeed, since Borsay's article, the state social service and welfare system in Britain has been as much tied into this economic imperative as ever, with New Labour purporting 'equal opportunity for work' as the key to reducing inequality in society (Page, 2007). This trend parallels (even draws on) much of the political policy in New Zealand over the same period. Proponents of the idea that disability is a social construct (for fundamentals of this perspective see Oliver, 1986) have argued that the economic imperative described by Borsay and others has produced significant disadvantage for people with physical or mental impairment(s) ever since the separation of home and workplace associated with early industrialisation, and that these issues have been reinforced in recent times by neo-liberal capitalist ideals which emphasise achievement and independence (Galvin, 2006; Robertson, 1999).

In relation to the social construction of work, Rose (1999a) argued that views about the role of work in the life of an individual have changed significantly in the last century. In the 19th century the majority of people worked primarily because they needed to earn wages to satisfy their needs and desires. The goals of productivity for the employer and the wants and needs of the worker were separate, and often in tension. Today in many societies the nature of work, and the role of work for individuals, has expanded. Now, it is not only a way to earn wages to pay for the needs and desires of the worker, but is itself a part of those needs and desires. Work has become a means of fulfilment, identity and self-actualisation, and the goals of productivity in the workplace and the wellbeing of the worker are seen to be aligned in many respects (Rose, 1999a). In Rose's book *Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self* (1999a), he examines the history of the psychology of the worker and shifts in thinking that have accompanied recent changes in the organisation of work and ways of viewing the role of work in an individual's life. This modern construction of work has significant implications for those who are *unable* to work, as it constructs those who are unable to fulfil a worker role as disadvantaged when it comes to leading a fulfilling, healthy life.

From these studies, one could conclude that the evidence showing that people who are in paid work are healthier and have better quality of life is unsurprising, given the im-

portance of work in our society and the existence of systems that operate to maintain the links between economic productivity and identity and status. In other words, our present systems of thought regarding work, and the structures and activities which reflect those systems of thought, serve to maintain a reality that (in general) people are healthier and happier if they are in paid work. Following on from this, it also seems unsurprising that the practice of vocational rehabilitation has endured, as the purpose of vocational rehabilitation is to compel and enable people to overcome disability so they can work.

1.4.2 Research in vocational rehabilitation

I will touch briefly on how the present study differs from other types of inquiry in the field of vocational rehabilitation, to give some context for introducing how the thesis should be read. Employing a very broad categorisation, there are two types of research which are commonly seen in vocational rehabilitation currently. Firstly, scientific research to extend knowledge about why people are unable to work, and what can help make them more able, which takes as a starting point the research mentioned in the previous section demonstrating that if people are not working then it is more likely they will have poor health and wellbeing. Secondly, qualitative research exploring the experiences of people who are work disabled and in some cases undergoing vocational rehabilitation. It should also be noted that there are some historiographical accounts of disability and vocational rehabilitation illustrating the influences that led to the development of vocational rehabilitation, and changing attitudes and approaches to disability, which I do not include in my discussion here, as I will deal with the differences between my approach and historiography in the next section.

The research I have described is important, and it functions to constantly develop and refine what we do: to ensure the things we do are in keeping with our current knowledges and experiences. These types of research are powerful because they are grounded in the reality that we currently occupy, and the experiences that matter to our lives. It will already be clear from the language I am using here, and the introduction I have provided above, that my position is that our reality and experiences are not essential or fixed. Each of the approaches to research I have categorised seek to better understand, refine or redefine current vocational rehabilitation practice, and in this they are situated in current knowledges. A key difference between these approaches and the approach I have taken for this thesis is that I seek to interrogate vocational rehabilitation itself, rather than the specifics of the practice.

Starting from the position that vocational rehabilitation is a social practice, that all social practices are historically and culturally situated, and that all social practices have effects (producing some things and constraining others), my inquiry is about what makes and keeps vocational rehabilitation intelligible and important in our society, and what the effects of it are. To achieve this, I employ the philosophical and theoretical work of Michel Foucault, in particular his work on governmentality (defined and discussed in detail in the

following chapter).

1.5   Structure of the thesis

Because of the methodology employed, the structure of this thesis differs to the exemplar structure given in the *AUT Postgraduate Handbook*. Therefore to orientate the reader, I introduce here a few general points that I think it is important to note concerning the way in which this thesis is written, then give an outline of the chapters within the thesis.

1.5.1   Tools, not truth

As mentioned above, I employ Foucault's philosophical and theoretical work to guide my analysis, and the two chapters following this introduction will be dedicated to providing an overview of the parts of his work relevant to the thesis, and a description of how I applied it. The approach I have taken is not based on a belief that Foucault's work can reveal some kind of 'truth', as a belief such as this would be inconsistent with the position that knowledge is historically and culturally situated. The thesis I present here is an analysis, grounded in the work of Foucault and others who have extended his work, which aims to provide insights and new ways of thinking about vocational rehabilitation, but in no way claims to reveal a 'truth' about vocational rehabilitation. What this type of analysis can provide is useful tools for thinking differently about this topic. The use of these tools could be many and varying, and as Rose suggests, are to "help us to calculate the costs of being what we have become" (Rose, 1999b, pp. 95-97), offering a perspective that asks not how we can do something better, but how it is that it makes sense to do it at all, and what the effects of its very existence are in this time and context. For me, questions that make us consider the existence and effects of a practice are at least as important as those that focus on refining that practice, and much less often asked. In accordance with this approach, and in light of scholarly discussion about coherence between analytic approach and research reporting (see Cheek (2004)), I have opted not to talk about 'data' and 'findings', but about 'texts' and 'analysis'.

1.5.2   Genealogical analysis, not narrative history

The second general point I want to emphasise is that in the chapters that deal with analysis of vocational rehabilitation in specific time periods, I avoid giving detailed or structured accounts of 'what happened', since the aim of this thesis is not to present a narrative history, but a genealogical analysis (for further discussion of genealogy see Chapter Three on methodology). The structure and intent of these chapters is given below.

1.5.3 Chapter structure

Philosophy, methodology and study design (Chapters 2–4)

The next three chapters of this thesis are dedicated to laying out the philosophical perspective that I took as the starting point for the thesis, the way in which I interpreted this to formulate a methodological approach, and how that was then made operational.

Analysis of specified shifts in vocational rehabilitation practice in Aotearoa New Zealand (Chapters 5–8)

Following on from description of how the study was conducted, there are four chapters focused on discourse analysis of historical and present texts. These chapters each present an analysis of texts relating to a series of events that can be associated with a particular shift in vocational rehabilitation practices (see Chapter Four on study design). These analysis chapters are structured so that each chapter aims to expose the reader to a snapshot of a matrix of discourses and how they interact in a particular time and place, offering a period-specific discourse analysis of vocational rehabilitation. While in places these refer to other chapters, they are largely self-contained. Analysis of texts is integrated with discussion of aspects of Foucault's theory that are relevant and help make sense of the discourses and effects visible in these texts. The purpose of these chapters is to present the discourse analysis of the texts, and also to provide a basis from which to develop arguments that bring the thesis together in the discussion chapter, Chapter Nine.

Discussion (Chapter 9)

The final chapter in the thesis brings together the analysis already described and develops these arguments. It is in this chapter that the thesis comes together, integrating the theoretical work of Foucault and other theorists and researchers with the analysis of vocational rehabilitation I have undertaken, to propose some different ways of seeing vocational rehabilitation that might be useful going forward. The aim in this chapter is to help to open up new ways of viewing our current understandings of vocational rehabilitation, offering the potential to explore new approaches to current problems.

References

APA referencing style has been used throughout, with in-text citations and a reference list at the end of the thesis. However, for the sections of texts that I summarise or quote as examples of discourse within the analysis chapters, full references are inserted as footnotes instead. This variation was employed because it is important that where examples of discourse are given in the context of analysis, it is easy for the reader to quickly see what text(s) these examples are from.

Having described the background and purpose of the inquiry, and the structure of the thesis, the next chapters provide the philosophical and methodological grounding of the study, beginning with the philosophical perspective in which the inquiry is located.

2

What the doing does: The Foucauldian philosophical position and key theoretical concepts

> Philosophy's question [...] is the question as to what we ourselves are. That is why contemporary philosophy is entirely political and entirely historical. It is the politics immanent in history and the history indispensible for politics (Foucault, cited in Fontana & Bertani, 2003, p. 288).

> People know what they do, they frequently know why they do what they do, but what they don't know is what what they do does (Foucault, cited in Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 187).

As neatly summed up in the second quote above, the approach I've chosen to take in my inquiry of vocational rehabilitation is not to question *what* we are doing, or *why* we do it, but what that doing *does*. What that doing produces and makes possible, and also what it constrains, or renders outside of possibility. As suggested in the previous chapter, Foucault's analysis of society and approach to inquiry offers important challenges to many commonly held notions. His thought puts knowledge at the fore, but sees it as contingent, and turns away from the idea of a static and 'discoverable' reality; views power as pervasive while critiquing the view that it is essentially repressive; and sees the person-subject as integral, while rejecting the idea that the origin of meaning is in 'lived experience'. Thus, a Foucauldian approach acknowledges vocational rehabilitation's purposes and effects, but looks for their historical and cultural contingency; assuming the forces at play are multiple and complex, and that it is unhelpful to assign them static values (such as right or wrong, good or bad). This offers an opportunity to open space to examine the effects of vocational rehabilitation as a social practice.

This chapter gives an overview to the philosophical positioning that informs this study. First, I provide a discussion of the social constructionist perspectives of reality and experience, which is integral to many recent approaches to social research including Foucault's, and a brief summary of the postmodern approach to knowledge and reality. Following this, I outline key aspects of Foucault's thought for the study through summary and critique of several central ideas in a Foucauldian philosophical position. I then offer an introduction to some specific theoretical areas that will be built on in later chapters.

2.1   Social constructionist perspectives on reality and experience

As I briefly discussed in Chapter One, there are many different ways to approach a topic, and different approaches yield different insights. It is therefore important to stipulate the particular approach that I have taken to vocational rehabilitation and the theoretical work it draws from. One of the premises and key ideas that this thesis seeks to demonstrate is how ideas of work capacity and associated experiences of work disability are not an inevitable 'reality', but are intertwined with the ways we as a society think and act. This premise is grounded in a social constructionist theoretical perspective. Theorists associated with social constructionism argue that we should take a critical stance toward phenomena and explanations that we experience as real or true, and that social processes should be examined to interrogate their role in the production of our experienced reality (Burr, 2003). A book which popularised the term 'social construction' in the English-speaking world, *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge*, proposed that socially constructed 'bodies of knowledge' and 'sub-universes of meaning' shape how we think and act, and are constantly legitimated and maintained through means such as socialisation; incorporation of existing or emerging ideas; and elimination of deviance through therapy or eradication (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Foucault and his European contemporaries were writing at a similar time along similar themes. By the end of the twentieth century, published social constructionist analyses were many and varied, from the social construction of technological systems (Bijker, Hughes, & Pinch, 1987) to diseases such as dementia (Harding & Palfrey, 1997). Hacking, in his 1999 book *The social construction of what?*, reviewed a number of studies that aimed to analyse the social construction of a particular phenomenon. He concluded that social constructionist analyses generally employ a basic argument that the phenomenon of interest, while it appears to be self-evident and real, is not inevitable or natural but produced in social processes (Hacking, 1999).

The significance of this idea is that it suggests that the phenomena of interest cannot be explained by 'nature' or in 'lived experience' but that the social and political conditions within which they occur are key to their production and continuation. A social constructionist perspective is fundamental to Foucault's works, which centred on history of thought. He analysed how the truths and knowledges of the present have not always been such, and looked at the social conditions and problematisations that may have given rise to particular concepts and ways of thinking (Rabinow & Rose, 2003). Within this body of work, Foucault examined the conditions and mechanisms by which realities are socially constructed and maintained, looking in particular at discourses (systems of thought), subjectivity, and the techniques of power that produce and maintain them; ideas I will discuss in more detail later in this chapter.

2.2 Postmodern critique of knowledge and truth

Although Foucault never characterised his own work in terms of belonging to any particular philosophical movement, his work is often associated with postmodernism (Ayleswroth, 2010). There are many (and sometimes vast) differences in thought between philosophers who are grouped together as postmodernist (Schrift, 2006). However, a commonly cited cornerstone of postmodern thinking, often associated with the work of Jean-François Lyotard, is a skepticism of unifying theories and meta-narratives—that is, narratives and theories that have become disconnected from the epistemological and philosophical underpinnings they are situated in, and have come to be thought of as a peak of knowledge or understanding, an underlying explanation of all things, or 'truth' (Ayleswroth, 2010; Butler, 2002). Meta-narratives, and more generally anything that we take for granted, are seen as dangerous. The more self-evident 'the way things are' seems, the less likely we are to be critical of the effects that it has and to keep our minds open to how things could be otherwise.

In the tradition of French thinkers, Schrift (2006) situates Foucault as a key player in a movement which critiqued the detachment from historical and philosophical situatedness and the so-called 'death of the subject' associated with structuralism. Sometimes referred to as post-structuralism (Schrift terms it alternatively 'after structuralism'), this movement was characterised by a move back towards thinking about the "historical unfolding of the phenomena they choose to examine" (Schrift, 2006, p. 56); a return to a philosophical interest in ethics and religion; and a return to a concern with 'the subject', but as a construct and function of discourse rather than a creator of meaning (Schrift, 2006). Drawing on this discussion of postmodernism and post-structuralism, I view Foucault's methodological orientation as post-structural, and the sensibility with which he approached his work postmodern, and this is also how I position the present study. Having introduced these wider notions within which Foucault's work can be seen to fit, the remainder of the chapter is dedicated to discussion of Foucault's specific ideas.

2.3 Foucauldian philosophical position: discourse, subjects and power-knowledge

Foucault's thought covered a wide range of ideas and has many aspects. As such it would be inappropriate to try and summarise his work. The approach I have taken here is to offer a brief discussion of key ideas that run through Foucault's oeuvre, focusing in particular on those that are central to the present study. In this section I provide an overview of four broad concepts in Foucault's work—discourse, subjects, power-knowledge and the role of historical analysis.

2.3.1 Foucault's discourse

Defining discourse

A good starting point for discussing Foucault's ideas is the way he conceived of discourse. Discourse in a different sense had been (and still is) a term used by linguists, so it is important to make a distinction between these different definitions. In the linguistic sense, definitions of discourse have tended to focus on systems of *representing* the world and conveying meaning through signification and language (for example see van Dijk, 2009). By contrast, Foucault's summary definition of discourse is often given as "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Using Foucault's definition, discourse's role concerning representation cannot be separated from the material reality being represented, and a key emphasis in this conception of discourse is its function in the *production* of reality (Mills, 2004). As Deleuze (1988) described it, discourse in this sense *produces* both the 'visible' and the 'articulatible' in the human world—the things that we experience as real (some examples Foucault focused on were hospitals, prisons, sexuality), and the ways in which we can think, talk and act concerning them. In this conception, discourse is both productive and limiting. Discourse makes possible our current reality, but conversely to think, say or do anything outside of our current realm of discourse would be considered unreasonable, incomprehensible, insane, or more likely simply impossible (Foucault, 1981; Hook, 2001).

Implications of a discursive view of reality

One of the major implications of Foucault's discursive view of reality is that the things we experience as real are constructed in discourse, and thus are historically and culturally situated—being just the current iteration rather than something static and essential. A frequently presented critique of Foucault is that his theory of discourse deconstructs other theories of reality but always avoids presenting a normative theory that offers an alternative view, meaning discourse cannot be held up as a useful explanation of anything (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). However, to present an alternative normative theory of reality would, for Foucault, be simply another discourse that would be as historically and culturally contingent as any other. Ransom (1997) proposes that in this respect Foucault's critics are working from a basis "whose validity Foucault does not acknowledge" (Ransom, 1997, p. 39). He goes on to say that these critics fail to recognise that Foucault is speaking from a different position to theirs, and "instead of seeking in Foucault's writings a different approach to the phenomena he describes, they assume he has adopted a strangely uncritical perspective" (Ransom, 1997, p. 39).

Foucault's ideas about discourse would have to denote that the notion of discourse he describes is a discourse too—a historically and culturally situated way of analysing reality and experience. This leads to a question of whether a discursive view of the world implies that nothing can be seen to be real. My interpretation is that it implies that nothing

can be said to exist independent of the systems of articulation and meaning that surround it. However, I do not consider Foucault's concept of discourse to suggest that our experiences of the world are completely arbitrary or manipulatable—quite the contrary. The matrix of discourses that structure reality in any particular time or place can be shown to construct whole systems of constraints (see Foucault, 1981). In Chapter Three where the methodology for this research is introduced, I will discuss some of these systems in more detail.

The position I take in my approach to this study is that Foucault's ideas do not imply that discourse analysis can reveal truth (discourse contests the very idea of truth), but that discourse is a useful way of seeing things, one that can make available a type of critique that is focused on questioning the effects of the knowledges that make up our everyday. One difficulty with discourse when it comes to analysis is that by definition we speak, think, and do within current discourse even as discourse analysts. The aim in examining discourse, therefore, is not to go outside of it but to make it more visible. In the words of Maria Tamboukou, to call "into question self-evidences of the present [...] shatter certain stabilities and help us detach ourselves from our 'truths' and seek alternative ways of existence" (Tamboukou, 1999, p. 210).

Foucault argued that the understandings that are most self-evident to us are the ones which should be examined to interrogate what makes them thinkable and legitimate; that these are the phenomena which will provide the keys to making visible the discourses that are currently enabling and constraining the ways we think and what we do, and ultimately how we experience the world (Tamboukou, 1999). As such, 'problematisation' is a key idea, referring to the process of some particular aspect of life coming into question, entering into a space where it is analysed and challenged, setting the scene for a field of solutions that may be presented. Examination of the way in which something has been problematised at a particular time and in a particular context can make more visible the contingencies of that time and context that shaped responses and material effects (Foucault, 2003e). It is important to note that problematisation is an inquiry that leads to an array of solutions. Therefore, problematisation can be both a starting-point and an end-point for a discourse analysis. This is something I discuss in more depth in Chapter Nine.

> This development of a given into a question, this transformation of a group of obstacles and difficulties into problems to which the diverse solutions will attempt to produce a response, this is what constitutes the point of problematization and the specific work of thought (Foucault, 2003e, p. 24).

An important facet of Foucault's position is that the discourses of the present are not a culmination of knowledge with a linear history, but the current iteration (Foucault, 1972). This iteration has come about through a complex interplay of power-knowledge (see later in this chapter for further discussion), and it is this contingency that becomes more visible when a discourse analysis is conducted. In Foucault's words:

> [The critique] will not deduce from the form of what we are what is impossible for us to do and to know; but it will separate out from the contingency that has made us what we are, the possibility of no longer being, doing or thinking what we are, do or think (Foucault, 2003h, p. 54).

2.3.2 Subjects

Foucault's notion of discourse has significant implications when it comes to how we view people. From this perspective, the subject positions we identify with—employee, disabled person, artist, author, and so on, are all constituted by discourse. The understanding of ourselves as a type of person (for example a disabled person or artist) or even as a person, is made possible in discourse. Furthermore, the thoughts, words and actions that can be articulated or played out with respect to any given subject position are limited by discourse. One of the significant features of this is that Foucault's notion of the subject is contrary to the phenomenological perspective of the individual, taking the position that the individual person is not a unified or essential entity, and this has important implications for how experience and meaning is viewed. Where the subject is constituted through discourse and discourse provides the means of articulation and action, the subject cannot be the source of meaning, but rather a function through which discourse proliferates (Foucault, 2003f).

> [Viewing this subject in this way] means overturning the traditional problem, no longer raising the questions: How can a free subject penetrate the density of things and give it meaning? How can it articulate the rules of a language from within and thus give rise to the designs that are properly its own? Instead, these questions will be raised: How, under what conditions, and in what forms can something like a subject appear in the order of discourse? What place can it occupy in each type of discourse, what functions can it assume, and by obeying what rules? In short, it is a matter of depriving the subject (or its substitute) of its role as originator, and of analyzing the subject as a variable and complex function of discourse (Foucault, 2003f, p. 390).

Subjectification refers to the ways in which human individuals are constituted through discourse and made thinkable in various forms (Foucault, 1983; Rabinow & Rose, 2003). Stuart Hall argues that discourse produces the subject through both overtly forming subject positions as part of the discourse, and by producing or reproducing subject position(s) from which the discourse has most meaning and is most easily understood (Hall, 2003). For example, the discourse of disability rights (re)produces the subject position of disabled, and articulates arguments that have meaning and relevance from the perspective of someone who identifies as disabled, such as removing 'barriers' to accessing spaces and activities (Tremain, 2001). Subjectification in this sense is intertwined with power (see section below on power-knowledge). Foucault notes "two meanings of the word subject: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and

makes subject to." (Foucault, 1983, p. 212). Hence, the ways we come to know ourselves and others are constituted through discourse, and bound up in power relations.

To give an example related to the present study to illustrate these ideas, someone who speaks with an accent that people find difficult to understand cannot identify themselves as disabled, even though their experiences when it comes to attempts to participate in society may be very similar to someone who has been given a diagnosis of a speech disorder. The person with the difficult accent cannot claim services that are reserved for those who are disabled, and it is only because we have the subject position 'disabled', which is defined and limited, that these services can exist in the form that they do. To take this further, we can ask about the effects of having a subject position 'disabled'. For example, it might make possible the articulation of rights and provision of services; and at the same time constrain the possibility for someone with a physical impairment to be considered 'normal' or 'able' (Tremain, 2001).

Implications of the non-essential subject

One of the ideas Foucault's perspective on the subject contests is the idea of the essential individual. Foucault's view infers that our experiences of ourselves and others as individual people who think and act should be viewed as discursively produced, and this is often seen to destabilise two key ideas in modern psychology—selves and agency. Foucault's perspective on 'the subject' leads us to a position of viewing these two key psychological notions as effects of discourse rather than facts of existence. This has been a major point of critique, particularly among feminist scholars, who usually focus on the idea that Foucault is denying the reality of oppression, or denying the opportunity to effect change, because if people are entirely constituted by discourse they cannot have agency in their own futures (Alcoff, 1988; McNay, 1991). Also, it is often argued that Foucault's earlier work rejected the existence of agency but that he revised this later, as evidenced by his turn to the topics of self and ethics in the second and third volumes of his *History of Sexuality* (see Dews, 1989).

I consider these sorts of arguments to be based on an interpretation that Foucault's earlier work was proposing that the individual is illusory and therefore invalid. Contrary to this, my interpretation is that Foucault never suggested that a person does not exist or does not have the capacity for agency. What he was suggesting was that the existence of these phenomena is not absolute truth, but rather the reality that we *currently* occupy; and that any particular constitution of an individual can be shown to be historically and culturally situated, calling into question the idea that there is any form of the subject which can be seen to be 'essential'. For example, Foucault's deployment of Nietzsche in stating that "nothing in man—not even his body—is sufficiently stable to serve as the basis for self-recognition or for understanding other men" (Foucault, 2003c, p. 360) does not deny the existence of man, or of the body, but makes the point that there is nothing stable enough in these phenomena to declare fixed understandings based on any facts of their existence.

The argument I give here is similar to that made by Loncarevic (2009) in her exploration of the ability of feminist epistemologies to incorporate Foucault's philosophical work. Loncarevic concluded one of the major issues preventing feminists recognising what Foucault can offer to feminist projects is their own resistance to rethinking the idea of a real, essential 'female' subject that they identify so strongly with, and this leads to misinterpretations of Foucault's position. McHoul and Grace (1998) also argue that Foucault's work never denied the importance of the subject, but that the aspect of the subject he focused on changed during the course of his life. They also conclude that in the main part these misinterpretations result from critics reading Foucault without sufficiently bracketing their existing philosophical positions (McHoul & Grace, 1998). It may be noticeable to readers familiar with feminist perspectives that in the analysis chapters of this thesis I do not critique vocational rehabilitation practices from a gender perspective, but rather discuss the discourses that construct the worker (who in the early twentieth century was male). While some poststructural feminists likewise see 'male' and 'female' as one construction of the subject, they argue that because of ongoing gender inequalities, gender constructs must be given primary focus in the analysis of social issues (Jagose, 2009). Foucault did not advocate this kind of privilege for any particular constructions of the subject, and as such his work highlights different issues than that arising from feminist scholarship.

Deleuze's 1992 essay *Postscript on the societies of control* (Deleuze, 1992) illustrates the idea that even the individual is not essential, arguing that we have already become 'dividuals' as the ways in which we are known and controlled is increasingly based on data that describe organisable aspects selves, rather than a whole person. When it comes to methods of inquiry, the Foucauldian view of the subject suggests that it is problematic to assign a privileged position to the individual when conducting a Foucauldian discourse analysis, an idea that influenced my study design (see Section 4.2.3 in Chapter Four). As indicated already in my summary, discourse and subject are intertwined with Foucauldian notions of power and knowledge, which I discuss in more detail in the next section.

2.3.3   Power-knowledge

Foucault's position on power is an important departure from the notion of power developed by critical theorists such as Marx and the thinkers of the Frankfurt School, in that he did not see freedom as the antithesis of power (Ransom, 1997). For Foucault, power is not an entity but a relation that exists everywhere and in every interaction; we cannot be 'freed' from power, rather we can only make more visible how it is currently operating in each particular context (Foucault, 1977). Nor should freedom from power be the goal, since power in the Foucauldian sense is productive—power and resistance are the creative forces; in Foucault's words "power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth" (Foucault, 1977, p. 194). Foucault defined power as distinct from overt violence, in that it is not those actions directly on people's physical bodies,

but relations that involve action upon existing or potential *actions* (Foucault, 1972). For Foucault, there is no substantial relation in which action upon existing or potential actions is not present in some form (Foucault, 1983, 2003d). Leading on from this, resistance to this 'action upon action' also forms a part of these relations (Foucault, 1983). In Foucault's words:

> We must make allowances for the complex and unstable process whereby discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it (Foucault, 2008f, pp. 100-101).

> Power exists only as exercised by some on others, only when it is put into action, even though, of course, it is inscribed in a field of sparse available possibilities underpinned by permanent structures (Foucault, 2001, p. 340).

Therefore in Foucault's conception, power is not controlled by individuals or inherent in structures, but is ultimately intertwined with knowledge and created and reproduced in discourse (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983; Foucault, 2008f).

Foucault's position was that knowledge and power are never separate, that there is always interplay between the two and one cannot exist without the other (Foucault, 2003g; Ransom, 1997). He argued that knowledge is never considered as such unless legitimated through techniques of power, while attempts to act upon actions have no influence unless played out through legitimate means — that is, using techniques, procedures and ideas that fit within currently acceptable knowledge (Foucault, 2003g). In the case of vocational rehabilitation services, the method of delivering services must conform to what is currently considered legitimate knowledge regarding how to assist people to return to work, and any new methods are not considered reasonable until legitimated via current relations of power that control what is valid knowledge (for example scientific testing, expert endorsement). This notion is what Foucault (2008f) has referred to as 'knowledge-power', or in the language of Hook (2001), the 'power-knowledge complex'.

Power is central to a Foucauldian analysis since it is everywhere and is a productive force. However, the aim is not to expose power and urge emancipation, but to make power relations visible, to shed light on how things have come to be the way they are, and how they could be otherwise. An important point to link back to concerning a discursive view of reality is that from a Foucauldian perspective, the purpose of defining power-knowledge is methodological, rather than an attempt to offer an alternative description of the 'actuality' of power. In one of his lectures, *What is Critique* (Foucault, 2003g), Foucault made a distinction between a search for truth and the application of a tool. He stressed when talking about power-knowledge that "these two terms only have a methodological function. It is not a matter of identifying general principles of reality through them, but of somehow pinpointing the analytical front, the type of element that must be pertinent for analysis."

(Foucault, 2003g, p. 274). He also makes the point that he does not believe we should hold a view that "there exists *one* knowledge or *one* power, or worse, *knowledge* or *power* which would operate in and of themselves. Knowledge and power are only an analytical grid." (p. 274, emphasis in original).

2.3.4 The role of historical analysis

From Foucault's notions of discourse, subject, and power-knowledge, it follows that historical analysis forms an important part of his approach. Discourses, subjects, and knowledge are all historically situated, and to understand the current iteration of these it is important to examine the historical matrices that have allowed for their emergence and continuation. Because the present is what we are living, and it is our reality, the matrices of power-knowledge that make our present possible are obscured in everyday life. Hence returning to the idea that in order to make discourse visible we need to call into question those things that appear most self-evident, history becomes an important tool in 'seeing' current discourse, and in the words of Nikolas Rose, making connections with the "historical moments it connects up and deploys" (Rose, 1999b, p. 20). Its function in this sense is quite different to traditional historiography. For Foucault, the aim of consulting history was not to construct a logical narrative, which culminates in the conditions of the present day, but to turn to history to locate the conditions that allow us to think, speak and act as we do now. This has been termed 'history of the present' (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). Furthermore, Foucault was not trying to imply a causative relationship between present-day circumstances and their historical predecessors. Rather, in the words of Alan Nichols:

> Foucault was not, in any of his guises, attempting to establish a framework for explaining events, either philosophically or historically. If anything, he was attempting to show the paucity of historical explanation; the differences and the "strangenesses", to use a neologism, of times past; the possibilities of alternate histories that differ in their descriptions (Nichols, 2007, pp. 5-6).

Foucault's historical work was analytical, but not seeking to establish causation. His focus was on making visible the changes in systems of thought through examination of historical texts: asking how this can this help us call into question what we see as self-evident, and how it might change how we think about the things that make up our everyday lives.

2.4 Foucauldian theoretical discussion central to this inquiry

In addition to giving an outline of the philosophical position I have taken, it is also important to introduce Foucauldian theoretical discussion that is key to the analysis I will describe in subsequent chapters. Foucault's discussion of 'governmentality' and its link

to notions of citizenship became central to the study because of its applicability in the context of the texts that formed the focus of the analysis. As such, in this section I offer an overview of these ideas. The discussion here is a summary of the various ideas and how they relate to each other, which I then draw on and refer back to in the analysis chapters.

2.4.1 Governmentality

Governmentality is a term introduced by Foucault, in relation to his work examining the intersection between the ways in which power over others is exercised, and the ethical relationship we have with ourselves which leads us to self-govern our own behaviour (Foucault, 1988). The notion of governmentality and its link with citizenship became central to my analysis, and hence is introduced here.

The notion of 'government' as discussed by Foucault is much broader than its current common use, which usually refers to actions of the state. For Foucault, government meant any 'conduct of conduct' or the use of techniques applied with the purpose of directing the conduct of individuals who are in some way free to act (Foucault, 1983). Rather than requiring people to act in a certain way (for example by force), government is about structuring the "possible field of action" (Foucault, 1983, p. 221). These techniques could be used at any level, from state actions concerning the population, to the care of a patient in hospital, to the management of children within a family, to a person's relations with themselves (Dean, 1999). Moreover when Foucault discussed government and governmentality he pointed to the fact that the modern state, although often thought of as an entity, is not separate from its population, and there are relations between the particular 'art of governing' used by the state and techniques of government used throughout society in a particular period (Foucault, 2003b).

Governmentality is based on the notion that power in its modern form, exercised in terms of government (encouraging certain conduct and structuring possible action), is reliant on a conception of people both as individuals and as part of a population (Foucault, 2003d). Thus, because the individual is a part of 'society', and an individual's health and conduct affects the health and viability of the population they are part of, self-conduct becomes vitally important to the functioning of society (Foucault, 2008f). In this way, the intersection of the ways in which we exercise power over others with the ways in which we conduct ourselves as individuals becomes fundamental to the way in which power is exercised (Foucault, 2003b). Mitchell Dean explains governmentality as concerning the techniques and strategies for structuring the ways individuals conduct themselves within the fields and spaces where they exercise freedom, which draws on the idea that people will govern their own conduct according to an ethical relation they have with themselves (Dean, 1997, 1999). Nikolas Rose similarly discusses his application of governmentality as tracking the "forces that traverse the multitudes of encounters where conduct is subject to government […] in all the practices, arenas and spaces where programmes for the administration of others intersect with techniques for the administration of ourselves" (Rose,

1999b, p. 5). Once again, an important aspect which these definitions of governmentality highlight is that it relies on the idea that the subjects of power can exercise some level of freedom—that government is about structuring the field of free choice. It should be clarified here in line with my earlier discussion of the subject and power, that the 'free choice' here refers to the choices about individual actions that discourse makes available.

Bio-power

Bio-power refers to a modern form of knowledge-power relations focused on government of people through the fostering and maximisation of human life—that of individuals within a population and of the population itself conceived as a living entity (Foucault, 2008f). Foucault (2008f) introduces bio-power by describing its two forms, anatomo-politics and bio-politics. Anatomo-politics is the form of bio-power that is centred on the idea of the human body as a machine that can become known and made docile, capable and useful through disciplinary practices. He saw this form of bio-power as the domain of the disciplines, for example medicine, education, psychology (Foucault, 2008f). Bio-politics refers to power relations concerned with how life processes such as birth, death, reproduction, illness, disability and so on, are interconnected with the interests of population wellbeing (Foucault, 2008f). Bio-politics is the aspect of governmentality that I mainly employ in this study, so I will go into this in more depth.

Bio-politics   Foucault argued that around the second half of the eighteenth century, strategies of rule in European countries showed a shift associated with a concern with the idea of a 'population' as an entity—a real, organic being having characteristics (such as growth, morbidity, mortality, and geographic distribution) that needed to be thought of and measured separately to the individuals that made it up. Hacking's analysis of the history of statistics demonstrates an indication of this shift in what he has described as an 'avalanche' of numbers appearing: demographic statistics describing various population characteristics (Hacking, 1990). The effect of this shift was that the wellbeing of the population (as distinct from individual subjects) came to be thought of as definable, measurable, and governable. As such, population wellbeing could become a measure of the strength of the nation that a population constitutes, and thus too a measure of the effectiveness of the government of that nation—the state could take its own pulse, measure its strength in terms of its population, and devise strategies for improvement (Foucault, 2008f). Consequently, the existence and continuation of the state could be justified in terms of the strength and wellbeing of the population (Foucault, 2003a).

Foucault argued that this shift had significant implications because it can be seen to mark a move away from governing focused on ensuring the power of the sovereign, towards governing focused on ensuring the wellbeing of the population—changing much about how rule operated. Foucault argued that under 'sovereign' power, the right to inflict death was the ultimate demonstration of strength as a ruler; but when population wellbeing

became measurable, authority could be demonstrated in terms of intervention to improve life—both the everyday lives of individuals and the overall health of the population (Foucault, 2003a). In other words, rule shifted from that which derived its authority based on its power to kill or let live, to one that derived its authority based on its ability to foster life (for example through public health strategies) or neglect life (for example denial or lack of provision of healthcare services). Foucault has described this transition as the "governmentalization of the State" (2003b, p. 244).

Government in Aotearoa New Zealand has been, and continues to be, heavily influenced by the British origins of many immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and an ongoing tie with Britain. As such, dominant philosophies of social structure during the time in our history in which vocational rehabilitation has existed have been very much in keeping with the European values and ideas brought by this group of people (Bassett, 1998). Given this historical context, Foucault's analysis of bio-politics is very relevant and helps to illuminate the systems of understanding that made the arguments and concerns in Aotearoa New Zealand regarding work and disability intelligible and pertinent.

Central to the current bio-political way of governing is the notion of the *individual* as the basic entity to which government is applied. One of the important debates in Aotearoa New Zealand society currently concerns key differences between European and Māori ways of living and regarding people. From the perspectives of Māori (indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand), the individual can never be separate from family and community relations, lineage, and the land in which they exist and to which they belong (Elder, 2012). This is in contrast to European ways of thinking which have been dominant in Aotearoa New Zealand since British colonisation, which show more of a tendency to make a distinction between an individual person and their relations and surroundings. While Māori ways of living and knowing have influenced, and continue to influence this society, practices like vocational rehabilitation emerged in a time greatly dominated by European influences. Thus, while these practices have been modified to an extent, they are still situated very much in the context of a European-style bio-political mode of governing. Within this mode of governing, the techniques for knowing people so they can be governed tend to apply to individuals (for example, employment status, health status) and populations (for example morbidity, rates of unemployment), thus there is an individual-population dichotomy which is produced. One of the hallmarks of this type of modern democratic state government is a concern for governing the conduct of individuals in order to manage and strengthen the population (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 2003d; Rose, 1996a). Foucault described this as a type of 'pastor' model, in which a leader must acquire knowledge of each individual in order to provide effective leadership and guidance that will ensure the continued wellbeing of all (Foucault, 2003d).

For the purposes of this thesis, I recognise that Māori ways of thinking, speaking and acting may be inconsistent with bio-politics. My position concerning this is that the notion

of vocational rehabilitation itself is reliant on European philosophies and ways of living, and has arisen in the context of European systems of rule. Indeed, a recent study by Hinemoa Elder (2012) identified that the concept of 'rehabilitation', as experienced by her participants, was considered a poor fit with Māori approaches to healing. Using Foucault's work has served to highlight the European notions key to the emergence and maintenance of vocational rehabilitation, but the *effects* of vocational rehabilitation in terms of what it makes possible and what it constrains importantly includes implications for Māori ways of thinking and living. As I have limited experience of Māori culture, this is an aspect that is important to take forward collaboratively with Māori and Māori researchers, and I have begun discussion about the analysis presented in this thesis with Elder, as a starting point.

2.4.2 The governmentality–citizenship complex

One of the important implications of the Foucauldian analysis of government is that government operates on all levels throughout society, and the ways in which we (as a society) structure our lives and how we come to know ourselves are intertwined. Therefore when looked at from a Foucauldian perspective, discourses and practices of government are interconnected with discourses and practices of citizenship. As the techniques and strategies for structuring the ways individuals conduct themselves within the fields and spaces they exercise freedom change, so too do ideas about rights and responsibilities within a political community. As such, the final section of this chapter is dedicated to an introduction to the study of citizenship from a Foucauldian perspective, which I will draw on and refer back to in subsequent chapters.

Citizen subjects

The entry for 'Citizenship' in the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* defines a citizen as "a member of a political community who enjoys the rights and assumes the duties of membership" (Leydet, 2011). Similarly, Janoski (1998) depicts citizenship as always being about the balance of rights and obligations among people within a political community, and Kivisto and Faist (2007) add that citizenship always involves a dimension concerning who is and is not eligible for citizenship. Under different models of citizenship, rights and obligations can apply to individuals or groups to a greater or lesser extent, and the balance of rights versus obligations and the level of direct association between the two can vary. Thus particular issues are encountered in a society where rights and obligations are more directly related and associated with individuals, such as what level of fulfillment of obligations is needed in order for an individual to be considered a citizen and thus have the corresponding rights.

The obligation–rights dichotomy comes to the fore concerning individuals who are considered impaired in their ability to fulfil duties of citizenship (Janoski, 1998). There are two aspects to this: firstly, what the duties of citizenship are considered to be; and

secondly, what is required to be capable of fulfilling these duties. When rights are fore-grounded, a question arises concerning how much intervention should occur in order to ensure that as much as possible, the *duties* of citizenship are met by those who are enjoying the *rights*, and what this means for the functioning of society as a whole (Janoski, 1998). With this as a brief introduction to citizenship, I will draw on the work of Foucauldian scholars to introduce a Foucauldian analysis of the link between governmentality and cit-izens, particularly relating to the periods of time that are relevant to this study.

Society under liberalism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

Dean (1999) explicates and extends discussion of liberalism given by Foucault in his gov-ernmentality lectures, arguing that in liberal governmentality, bio-politics and liberal eco-nomic theory intersect, requiring government to address a problematic of population se-curity. Liberal economic theory such as that promoted by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations* stressed the importance of allowing the 'natural' market processes to operate with a minimum of intervention, as interference could upset the natural systems and cause economic problems. However, a crucial concern for the wellbeing of the population that justifies the existence of state governments in bio-political societies meant that even in liberal regimes, which were characterised by a minimisation of state power, government action or inaction could never be based solely on economic theory (Dean, 1999).

Dean (1999) argues that analyses of the effects of market economics on the popula-tion led to the identification of problems of poverty and pauperism—arguably necessary by-products of liberal economics—and there was an emergence of our modern notion of 'society', where economy, population and government come together. As such, the liberal citizen of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a citizen of a 'society'. One of the effects of this was an acknowledgement that if the conditions of the working class are too harsh, certain problems that afflict them such as disease and demoralisation would have an effect not just on the poor, but on the rest of society and the security of the state as well. Thus, late nineteenth century and early twentieth century liberal government under-took to manage 'security' in the sense of looking after the wellbeing of the population by ensuring that there was enough intervention so that the problems of the 'unfortunate' and the 'immoral' could not threaten society as a whole (Dean, 1999). This, however, had to be carried out in accordance with economic liberalism, somehow restoring these people to citizens who exercise economic freedom in a responsible way (Dean, 1999). Government of the things that were seen to affect the security of the society was a feature of this type of governmentality.

Social citizenship following the Second World War

The advent of 'welfare state' governments is often linked to the end of the Second World War. The height of New Zealand's welfare state is often seen to occupy the years from the

end of the Second World War to the end of the 1970s (Bassett, 1998). As Dean explains the 'welfare state' idea:

> In most advanced liberal democracies after World War II the idea of the welfare state, if not the operation of welfarist government, succeeded in representing the function and objectives of government in terms of a specific relation between state and society. Government was understood as an activity undertaken by the national welfare state acting as a unified body upon and in defense of a unitary domain society. The purposes of this government were conceived as enframing society within mechanisms of security by which the state would care for the welfare of the population 'from the cradle to the grave' (Dean, 1999).

In the welfare state, the notion of the 'social' is one of the central ideas directing citizenship and government. Dean (1999), following Foucault, argues that this is a deployment of the idea of 'society' that emerged under liberalism as a phenomenon where economy, population and government come together. In a welfare state, society is the object of government and economics is an aspect of society. Thus, the economy is governed in the name of social good. Rose (1999b) also supports this notion, noting that it is in the context of welfare states that we see a proliferation of ways and types of governing 'the social', with the introduction of social services, social workers and social insurance, to name a few. Rose (1999b) observed that in these countries "in the middle decades of the twentieth century, one sees the invention of the social individual, whose character was shaped by social influences, who found his or her satisfaction within the social relations of the group" (p. 133). This relates closely to a certain view of citizenship articulated and popularised by T.H. Marshall, who proposed that a situation in which each individual regardless of social class was guaranteed the minimum needed for a decent life, would lead to a better-off population overall (Marshall, 1950).

Neo-liberal Citizenship

Foucault (2008b) described neo-liberal governmental activities as being about a multiplication of the pursuit of enterprise—diffuse and non-state level enterprises in particular. He described the principles of neo-liberalism as competition; intervention only at the level of the framework of the economic system, not the economic system itself (for example, rather than providing jobs, educating people to find or create them); and individualisation of social policy—creating an economic space in which individuals can manage risk rather than practising social insurance in the form of income redistribution (Foucault, 2008b). As Colin Gordon (1991) described it, this way of thinking gives rise to particular ways of experiencing individual lives and selves: lives being lived in pursuit of a range of enterprises that provide ethos and structure for our relation with our selves. Rose (1999b) extended this argument, terming the way that Western Anglophone government has come

into take shape since the 1980s, informed by neo-liberal rationality, as 'advanced liberalism'. Under advanced liberal government, the state's function comes to be seen as enablement. Enabling the empowerment of its subjects towards their enterprises in creating themselves and their lives, so they are directed to do so in such as way as to enhance health and wellbeing. Agendas of government are judged according to how likely they are to enable rather than hinder people in these enterprises.

Rose observed that in these societies, neo-liberal rationality arguing for market-based economic strategies is coupled with a neo-social argument that it is unhealthy and counterproductive for people to think they can rely on being looked after by handout-type benefit schemes, so looking after people's welfare should take the form of creating the conditions under which they will be able and motivated to help themselves (Rose, 1999b). An example of this might be an incentive scheme that motivates childcare businesses to provide affordable childcare for single parents, with the desired effect being that stay-at-home parents who formerly subsisted on benefits would seek work because it would increase their income and thus improve their situation. So according to advanced liberalism, it appears that each individual in society pursuing betterment of their own situation is synonymous with cultivating the wellbeing and security of the population, and the role of the state is of monitoring and addressing, by government, the aspects that impede this process. Under advanced liberalism, there is seen to be a break from the notion of 'society', viewing citizens instead as diverse groups or a series of communities (Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999b). Citizenship according to advanced liberal governmentality thus has become very complex, as rights and responsibilities are contestable and difficult to define in the context of diverse and diffuse populations. Many publications on the issue of citizenship and its current issues have appeared in recent years, showing a variety of re-conceptualisations of what citizenship means in today's societies (Kivisto & Faist, 2007).

The notion of governmentality demonstrates how much wider concepts, such as bio-politics and citizenship, are integral to social practices like vocational rehabilitation. The latter chapters in this thesis will draw on the introductions I have given here to discuss vocational rehabilitation's conditions of possibility and its social and political effects. Having now introduced the philosophical position from which I conducted the research, and the theoretical concepts that are key to my arguments, in the following chapter I will present the focus of inquiry, and my interpretation and application of Foucault's methodological discussion for this study.

3

Methodology: Applying Foucault to the research question

The methodology used for this study is most appropriately described as a Foucauldian discourse analysis. Michel Foucault (1926–1984) developed and tested his ideas through analytic research, writing 'histories of the present', 'archaeologies' and 'genealogies' of our present knowledges. However, he never stipulated a set of guidelines that could be defined as his final and complete methodology, and like many thinkers was committed to ongoing reconsideration and adaptation of his methodology to achieve the aims of his various projects.

> I do not have a methodology that I apply in the same way to different domains. On the contrary, I would say that I try to isolate a single field of objects, a domain of objects, by using the instruments I can find or that I forge as I am actually doing my research, but without privileging the problem of methodology in any way (Foucault, cited in Fontana & Bertani, 2003, pp. 287–288).

It has been argued, therefore, that the key to robust research utilising Foucault is to apply his work as appropriate for the particular focus of inquiry, ensuring that the way it is used is demonstrated to have a coherent connection with his theoretical and philosophical aims and approaches (Hook, 2001; Nicholls, 2009).

Foucault's ideas and research approaches have been taken up by a number of researchers in various applications, and correspondingly, contributions to methodological discussion in this field take on different (sometimes divergent) forms. Two methodological disciplines that have drawn heavily on Foucault's work, and published discourse analysis guides that employ a Foucauldian position, are discursive psychology (see discussion of applications in Arribas-Ayllon & Walkerdine, 2008; Parker, 2002) and Critical Discourse Analysis (see for example Jäger & Maier, 2009). The tendency to produce 'guides' for a particular discipline, however, has been critiqued following the argument that the more instructive the discourse analysis guide, the greater their tendency to encourage too much of a focus on the specific texts being analysed, missing important elements of the ways in which discourse operates beyond the apparent confines of these specific examples and therefore losing much of what makes Foucault's analyses so significant and widely applicable (Hook, 2001). In the process of producing a guide that can be applied to a range of projects, methodology necessarily needs to be defined and limited, and much of the idiosyncrasy, complexity and depth that characterised Foucault's projects can be

lost. Furthermore, Hook (2001) points out that one of the key aspects of Foucault's position is that discourse is productive, and so any discourse analysis that claims to take a Foucauldian perspective should acknowledge not just what the discourse articulates, but what the effects of that discourse are—what discourse produces—be it actions, structures, social conditions, etc. These products of discourse are often referred to in texts, and can be seen as outcomes of discourse, functioning as part of it and reproducing it. Therefore, embracing Foucault's philosophical and methodological approach, these aspects (often referred to as extra-discursive) should be a focus of analysis rather than an afterthought or something merely referred to in the text. Yet this is something that is increasingly difficult to capture, the more prescriptive an analysis guideline becomes.

Another approach to Foucauldian discourse analysis which avoids some of these difficulties involves designing the study and adapting the methodology according to the particular research question, utilising philosophical and methodological writing and lectures by Foucault and others who have followed his work, in order to employ a methodological approach and draw up a study design that is specific to addressing the topic and problem of interest. The rigour of these types of designs relies on their congruence with Foucault's philosophical and methodological aims and appropriateness in terms of addressing the research question, and they can be evaluated and critiqued based on these criteria. The difficulties that tend to be encountered in taking this approach relate to decisions about how to design and carry out a study in the context of having plenty of theoretical information but little practical advice. In this spirit, recently researchers who have chosen to use this approach have published the ways in which they have interpreted and applied Foucault's methodological principles to their own projects as a contribution to methodological discussion in this area (Graham, 2011; Nicholls, 2009; Tamboukou, 1999). I have chosen to follow this latter approach, utilising both the works of Foucault and discussions from other researchers to construct an approach to Foucauldian discourse analysis that fulfills the aims of my study. In this chapter I will show how I have interpreted and applied Foucault's work to articulate a methodological approach that fits my topic of inquiry, and discuss how this approach is congruent with Foucault's philosophical and methodological works.

There are a great many of Foucault's books, lectures and interviews now available in English. These include archaeologies and genealogies (see section below for more on this), methodological discussion, and articulation of his philosophical position and the implications for analysis of contemporary problems. While two key methodological works—his 1969 book, published in English in 1972 as *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and his inaugural lecture given in 1970 at the Collège de France, published in English as *The Order of Discourse* in 1981—have provided the basic outline and principles for my approach, my methodological approach has also been informed by Foucault's books, lectures and essays. These provided both examples and more detailed discussion of particular points, which were used to make decisions about theoretical focus and practical

application. Also crucial were publications from other researchers, in particular Tamboukou (1999), Nicholls (2009), and Graham (2011), who have written about their own experiences of applying his methods; Hook's (2001) close reading of *The Order of Discourse*; and Rose (1999b) and Dean (1999) in their work about governmentality. First, I will specify my focus of inquiry and the research questions that were articulated based on this. Following this, I provide a discussion of the methodological principles that I have drawn on to construct the methodology for this study, finishing with a discussion of how my project differs from Foucault's own histories and why this is the case.

3.1 Focus of inquiry and research questions

The specific focus of inquiry for this study was to apply 'governmentality' to analyse the conditions of possibility for recently emerging approaches to vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand. This was further broken down into two more specific research questions (given below) to assist my analysis.

- What are the key social, historical, political and cultural discourses that construct current knowledges, perspectives and experiences of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand?

- How can 'governmentality' be applied to analyse how this construction produces, shapes and limits what is thought, said and done concerning vocational rehabilitation, and what is currently possible?

It was with this focus that I drew on Foucault's various works to articulate my methodology. The elements of this methodology are described in the remainder of the chapter.

3.2 Archaeology, genealogy and ethics

My first task towards defining methodology was to look at how the research questions could be addressed using the methodological techniques described by Foucault, whose work is often described as having several periods. Foucault's works prior to *Discipline and Punish* (1977) focused on a concern with what he called in *The Order of Discourse* the 'critical section' of discourse analysis (1981, p. 70). During this period, his main focus was to examine the history of a discourse in a way that sought to question the self-evidence of those things that appear to be inevitable 'truths'; reveal the ways in which discourse imposes restrictions on what can be thought, said and done; and show how the subject who 'speaks' discourse is constructed by it, rather than being its originator (1981, p. 66). Foucault's works during this period are often described as archaeologies (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). His works from *Discipline and Punish* (1977) until his death, often referred to as genealogies, are characterised by greater focus given to analysing the

relations of power and knowledge involved in producing and maintaining the discourses that comprise our reality (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983).

In the years just prior to his death, Foucault shifted the emphasis of his work to an exploration of the subject's relation to themselves, particularly focusing on texts which explored ethical conduct and techniques of self knowledge and self government. This work is sometimes interpreted as an attempt by Foucault to address issues such as agency and an empowered subject that many critics believed his earlier work denied, and as a major change in his views concerning the role of the subject in discourse. In contrast to this, I agree with the views of authors like McHoul and Grace (1998) and Allen (2000), who argue that Foucault's earlier work sought to show the historical and cultural situatedness of the subject, rather than implying that the subject was unnecessary or illusory (as some critics argued). As such, this later work can be seen more as an extension of this project, shifting to concentrate on those discourses that focus on self. I would also add that I see this later work on the ethical subject as important to Foucault's exploration of governmentality, which emerged with his genealogical work and which he asserts is linked to self-conduct (Foucault, 1988).

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and *The Order of Discourse*, Foucault discussed approaches to analysing texts that he described as archaeology and genealogy. Although these approaches are sometimes separated out as I have characterised them above, it has often been argued that genealogy does not leave behind the techniques of archaeology but rather refines and adds to them (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983; Tamboukou, 1999). In his introduction to *The Use of Pleasure* (Foucault, 1992, p. 12), Foucault described archaeology and genealogy as 'dimensions of analysis', with archaeology working to allow identification and examination of discursive formations, and genealogy providing analysis of how these formations come about and operate through knowledge-power relations. In general terms, Foucault's genealogies investigated history to provide clues as to why our present discourses are as they are (and not otherwise); how we come to know ourselves and others as subjects of our present discourses (for example the roles and identities that we take on); and the relations of power that produce and maintain our present discourses (Foucault, 1983). Drawing on these examples and also Rose's (1999b) description of genealogy, I chose to describe my own study as a genealogy of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Within a Foucauldian position, a topic can be pursued from a number of different angles and theoretical orientations, and my focus on historical and cultural conditions of possibility, and techniques and relations of power, led me to choose a genealogical approach for the study. As such, employing the idea of archaeology and genealogy as dimensions of analysis, I used archaeology as part of genealogy in my study. Methodological principles relating to archaeology were used to make visible the elements of discourse and discursive formations (objects, subjects, concepts and strategies), and the ways in which they are formed and limited—roughly corresponding to the first research question given

above. These discourses were then analysed in relation to Foucault's notions of power-knowledge relations (disciplinary techniques, subjectivity, and governmentality), utilising methodological principles associated with genealogy and theory developed by Foucault and extended by other authors—roughly corresponding to the second research question. Although I also drew on Foucault's later work on techniques of self and ethical conduct, I used this mainly in relation to its link to governmentality and it served as a theoretical resource for the analysis more than it did methodological guide. As such, I do not discuss the application of this later work in this chapter, but focus on how I applied archaeology and genealogy.

In his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France, *The Order of Discourse*, Foucault encouraged his audience to increase the visibility of discourse by examining the systems by which we enable and constrain what can be spoken of, who can speak of them, and what counts as truth (Foucault, 1981). Tamboukou writes that the analyst should start with an interrogation of what has been accepted as the 'truth' (Tamboukou, 1999). To this end, Hook suggests replacing "rationales, explanations and statements that would validate themselves on the grounds of their proximity to a supposed truthfulness" with a different way of telling them which doesn't rely on this proximity to truthfulness, but makes more visible what 'truths' they are conditional on. He suggests this practice will "sensitize the analyst to the pervasiveness of the power-knowledge complex." (Hook, 2001, pp. 524–525). As well as what can be said and what counts as truth, we must also consider the opposite—what cannot be said, and in what ways the author and location of the statement can alter its relation to truth and knowledge. These limitations give us insight into what is considered impossible or unreasonable within a discourse (Foucault, 1981; Hook, 2001).

It is with these things in mind that I approached my reading of Foucault's methodological writing. First, I will outline how I drew on Foucault's discussion of discursive formations in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* to guide the analysis of discourses in my texts. Following this, I will describe how I applied the principles discussed by Foucault in his lecture *The Order of Discourse* (1981) aided by other researchers' accounts of 'doing genealogy', Foucault's 1978 and 1979 lectures (Senellarat, 2007, 2008), and work on 'governmentality' by Dean (1999) and Rose (1999b) in order to construct a methodological framework for this study.

3.2.1 Archaeology: examining discourse for its elements, processes and functions

Re-viewing the topic area: The 'statement' and the 'text'

In order to open up the topic to be studied in a way that made it amenable to analysis, I employed Foucault's (1972) concepts of the 'statement' and the 'text'. According to Foucault's description, the statement can be seen as the most basic element in discourse, and a text is comprised of statements. Statements are present everywhere, but cannot be described in and of themselves because they always rely on a field of relations which define how they function (Foucault, 1972). I found it helpful to consider that one can only 'state'

something with implicit reference to a field of truth and knowledge which provides context and determines function; without this it is meaningless (Foucault, 1972). For example, to say 'I am disabled' is a different statement when trying to access services for disabled people, compared with applying for a job, despite the fact that it consists of the same words in the same order. The utterance 'I am disabled' is meaningless and functionless in itself without a field of relations.

While statements are easiest to illustrate in the form of written or spoken language, this is not the only form they take, and the texts, which contain statements, may come in many forms, and refer to any means by which a statements are made. A few examples are images (for example the image of a person in a wheelchair), other material objects (for example the wheelchair itself in its physical characteristics), and the arrangement of spaces (for example a modern, multiple-story corporate building with narrow doorways and no lift). These all communicate statements within a field of relations and therefore are regarded as texts (Foucault, 1972). Because texts contain statements and statements are the basic unit of discourse, texts make a logical starting point for a discourse analysis. In addition to helping me re-view the topic in a way that made it more amenable to analysis, considering what constitutes a text also helped me consider what texts would be most useful when it came to do my analysis.

'Seeing' discourse: looking at discursive formations

In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972), Foucault described four basic elements which are formed by discourse, or 'discursive formations' which, once we start to identify these and examine their rules of formation, begin to make more visible the way in which discourses "systematically form the objects of which they speak" (1972, p. 49). These four elements are described as objects, enunciative modalities, concepts and strategies. Reading my texts with a focus on identifying the discursive formations and their relations served as the starting point for analysis.

Beginning with objects, we can say that through discourse, various objects are formed and rendered manifest such that we can think of, speak of, and act upon them. An example of an object from this study is 'disability'. Foucault suggested that objects should be examined to uncover their surfaces of emergence, authorities of delimitation and grids of specification. Surfaces of emergence refers to the spaces and situations where an object emerges as "manifest, nameable and describable", as visible, differentiated and describable in terms of what it is and isn't (1972, p. 41). For the object 'disability', surfaces of emergence included the workplace and the doctor's examination. Authorities of delimitation are the institutions, professions and similar within a society that establish and give importance to the objects of interest. From my analysis of texts from the early 20th century in New Zealand society, two of the major authorities of delimitation for disability were the medical authorities and the labour market. However, other authorities such as the Returned Soldiers' Association played an important part in the naming and describing

of disability as well. Finally, grids of specification are the systems by which the object is broken down further into types or kinds, then compared with one another, classified, grouped or otherwise organised. Within physical disability, grids of specification might articulate how the different types of disability are classified and grouped by which body parts are affected, the number of body parts that are affected, or the extent to which a person's overall functioning in life is affected compared to a non-disabled counterpart.

Foucault goes on to say that it is not enough just to define surfaces of emergence, authorities of delimitation and grids of specification. It is not these things themselves, but the relations between them that provide the most important information that will help the analyst to see how objects come to be formed. Thus, it is these relations that should be mapped and examined (1981). For this study, the relation between the surfaces of emergence of doctor's examination and workplace, and between the authority of medicine and specification of extent of disability according to the number of limbs affected, were two examples that I examined.

'Enunciative modalities' refer to the rights and qualifications that allow the author of a statement or text to speak, and those that allow what they say to be regarded as reasonable and true. Also, the positions and spaces that give a statement's author their legitimacy, and the various subject positions that are possible in relation to domains or groups of objects (1981). I found Foucault's later discussion of the 'author function' in his essay *What is an Author* (Foucault, 2003f) particularly useful in helping to consider enunciative modalities, providing further discussion of how the notion of the author is often a key relation in the discursive function of the text. This prompted me in particular to consider how people come to recognise themselves as being a 'worker' or 'disabled', or someone who needs vocational rehabilitation; and how discourse produces the expertise and qualifications attributed to those who deliver vocational rehabilitation.

In Foucault's conception, 'concepts' are formed through discourse by the organisation of statements in a particular way. For example, sometimes statements will refer to other statements, either implicitly or explicitly, and they rely on these others for their meaning. Sometimes statements will occur together and perhaps even be ordered in a particular way in relation to each other. Concepts can also be re-formed or modified by various interventions, for example the transference of a type of statement that has been used in a particular way to application in a different field or setting (1981). A concept that can serve as an example from this study is the concept of work ability. Medical statements about bodily functions and abilities, and economic statements about the 'nature' of work and viable industrial systems can be shown to be organised in ways that produce concepts of individual ability or inability to participate in work. Thus work ability is a concept that is formed by the organisation of statements in a particular way.

Finally, 'strategies' refer to the organisation of concepts, groups of objects and types of subjects in particular relation to each other, serving to form themes or theoretical structures. The consideration of strategies might prompt the analyst to look at places where

objects, subject positions or concepts are incompatible with each other yet appear in the same discourse, perhaps forming discursive sub-groups which may not be entirely consistent with each other. One application is to look at relations between discourses and the roles that these relations play in the formation and modification of discursive elements. It also prompted me to consider the functions that a particular discourse has in the wider field of human practices, the rules and processes by which discourses are taken up, and the groups and institutions in society that serve as authorities on the appropriation of discourse (Foucault, 1981).

'Reversing' the usual relationship with discourse: Applying the 'critical' principle of reversal

Once discursive formations and the relations between them began to be more visible to me in the texts, I drew on several methodological principles outlined by Foucault in *The Order of Discourse* (1981). The first methodological principle that Foucault sets out is the 'principle of reversal'. The focus of this principle is about helping an analyst to disrupt the usual relationship that we have with discourse. Discourse produces what we can think, speak and do, so applying the principle of reversal is about explicitly seeking to reveal ways in which discourse shapes our knowledges and truths by procedures which control, limit, select and organise discourse in a particular society. The procedures Foucault (1981) articulates are those of exclusion (external to the particular discourse), limitation (internal to the discourse), and rules and restrictions of the speaking subject. Below, I outline the inquiries I derived from the description of each in *The Order of Discourse* (1981), to apply to my analysis, followed by a discussion of specific methodological considerations prompted by the principles of archaeology.

'Call into question our will to truth' (1981: 66): Procedures of exclusion   Procedures of exclusion refer to the techniques by which discourse infers what we cannot say. With these procedures of exclusion, it is not that things are literally unable to be thought or said, but to say them would be interpreted as inappropriate, insane or false. Foucault divided the procedures of exclusion into three categories: prohibition, opposition between reason and madness, and opposition between true and false. Under prohibition, Foucault asked what we do not have the right to say, even though we might be able to form the thoughts and the words; then even within what we can say, what are the limits of circumstances within which something can be said and who has the right to speak on a topic and who does not? He suggested that an analyst should look at what is considered mad or unreasonable. He called us to ask what knowledges and truths each statement and each discourse relies on; what it renders false or invalid; and what institutions and practices maintain these knowledges and truths.

'Restore to discourse its character as an event' (1981: 66): Procedures of limitation
Procedures of limitation are the techniques by which limits are placed on what is likely to be said. Foucault discussed three procedures of limitation, each of which work to inhibit the scope of statements that are actually uttered—commentary, the author, and disciplines. Commentary refers to an imperative to reproduce certain key texts in society, both in terms of re-telling and reproducing as part of other texts (often to secure their legitimacy).

Foucault called us to ask what these texts are and examine how they are reproduced, and in particular look at the conditions which maintain the importance of these texts. The 'author' is the person or group of people attributed to being the origin of the meaning of the text. Foucault argued in his essay *What is an Author* that when viewed in terms of discourse, the function of the author is in fact to limit what is said; that through association of a text with a named person or group, the institutions that serve to constrain individual behavior (such as truth, intellectual property laws, and so on) also work to constrain what can be said (Foucault, 2003f). This could prompt an analyst to examine the role of the author, asking what effects the attribution of that author has on what can be said within the text. Finally, whether the text or statement is associated with or belongs to a discipline, and what discipline it can be said to fall within or outside, can help us examine what criteria the statement or text must fulfill to be considered as belonging within that discipline, in turn helping to make visible how that discipline serves to limit what can be said.

'Throw off the sovereignty of the signifier' (1981: 66): Setting roles and restrictions of the speaking subject   Foucault described the roles and restrictions of the speaking subject as referring to the things that give the speaking subject his or her legitimacy to speak on this topic or in this way. This could include asking what qualifies the speaker to speak on this topic and how these qualifications are awarded (in the broadest sense, not necessarily formal qualifications). This also leads us to examine whether there are limits concerning who can speak about the topic, and if limited, whether and in what ways the discourse has been appropriated by others who are not qualified, or are qualified in other ways to speak on the topic.

Related methodological considerations

Considering the principles of archaeology led to some key realisations that had important implications for the design of this study. Firstly, as with archaeology in its more commonly known sense (relating to the study of material artifacts), there are limitations inherent in the analysis of historical texts because we are dependent on what is preserved and therefore available for analysis once the time in which it was created has passed. To give some examples, texts communicated through the arrangement of spaces or unrecorded speech are only available in the moment, while those communicated through writing, images or other material objects leave a more enduring record. This led me to question whether the more enduring forms differed with regard to the statements they contained, and therefore

whether the historical texts available to me might differ importantly from those available in the present. This relates particularly to subjugated discourse—for example those things that may be articulated, but are subject to procedures of exclusion or limitation. These things, although they were present in the discourse of a particular time, may not survive to the present day.

These considerations led me to design a study with two parts. One part was a historical analysis which, acknowledging this limitation, was focused on exploring the archival material with a view to how the discursive formations in the historical texts show the conditions of possibility for discourses of vocational rehabilitation in the present. This also acknowledges that one can never obtain a 'complete set' of discourses with all their variable articulations, and this is not the aim of a genealogy. The second part was an analysis of discourses of vocational rehabilitation in the present, with a view to exploring some of those areas likely to be subject to procedures of exclusion, limitation and rules and restrictions of the speaking subject, to make more visible both the contingencies of our present, and the potential scope within which discourse might allow us to be otherwise from what we are now.

3.2.2 Principles of genealogy: Analysing relations of power-knowledge and its effects

The remaining methodological principles outlined by Foucault in *The Order of Discourse* (1981) he describes as principles of genealogy. As Hook (2001) suggests, this refers to the role of these principles in sensitising "the analyst to the pervasiveness of the power-knowledge complex." (Hook, 2001, pp. 524–525). Below, I outline how I interpreted each of these principles to apply to my project.

Principle of discontinuity

Foucault (1981) reminds us that in his conception of discourse there is no grand discourse that is currently silent, hidden from discovery by the procedures described above, that lies underneath and is intertwined with everything. "Discourses must be treated as discontinuous practices, which cross each other, are sometimes juxtaposed with one another, but can just as well exclude or be unaware of each other." (1981, p. 67). In other words, the field of discourse is not a coherent whole, which is consistent with itself. This applies when looking at discourses that co-exist during a particular period, and also the way in which discourses shift and change over time.

I used specific techniques during analysis to address this 'principle of discontinuity'. First, the inclusion of historical texts, and texts from multiple sources (see also below discussion of the 'principle of exteriority'), to investigate manifestations of discursive formations and practices of vocational rehabilitation from various periods and spaces (Hook, 2001; Nicholls, 2009; Tamboukou, 1999). In addition to this, a conscious effort was made to resist constructing linear narratives, but instead map discursive formations and

discourses across the data sources and historical points, focusing on the places at which discourse is made visible by shifts, or vulnerable by gaps or weaknesses (Hook, 2001).

A central part of genealogy is the analysis of the topic at various points in history, which work to illuminate the discourses and practices of the present time by examining their past forms. Foucault's view was that our present reality is not a peak of knowledge, but merely the current iteration, and that history can give us clues as to how this particular iteration has come about (Foucault, 2003c). His approach to historical material was to use it as a resource for calling into question the self-evidence of current truths and understandings through the exploration of past truths and understandings (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). Consideration of this alongside the principle of discontinuity led me to make a decision to restrict my historical analysis and to focus on three historical points, which were ascertained during a preliminary reading and analysis of texts from texts spanning more than a century. Each of the three historical periods were chosen because they were associated with a considerable shift in vocational rehabilitation thought and practice in Aotearoa New Zealand, and therefore were points at which ways of thinking about and doing vocational rehabilitation became more visible for analysis. This strategy is similar to that employed by Nicholls (2009).

Principle of specificity

Foucault suggests that discourse must be viewed as a human practice, rather than a result of perceiving 'reality'. From this perspective everything is produced by discourse, so it is discourse that must be made visible—in order to examine how it is operating.

> We must not resolve discourse into a play of pre-existing significations; we must not imagine that the world turns towards us a legible face which we would have only to decipher; the world is not the accomplice of our knowledge; there is no prediscursive providence which disposes the world in our favour (1981, p. 67).

Hook (2001) proposes that this principle should compel the analyst to focus on gathering texts from the locations where the material effects of discourse on the area of investigation can be seen, and where thought and practices and their effects appear as taken-for-granted truths. This principle led me to primarily focus on texts that related to actual practices in vocational rehabilitation—both those which documented debates about what to do and descriptions or occurrences of actual initiatives, programmes and schemes. This included a special consideration for those texts that discussed practices in terms of the 'truths' that showed those practices to be the most appropriate or 'right' thing to do.

Principle of exteriority

The principle of exteriority states that when analysing discourse, we must not go looking for the meaning that discourse hides within itself, but rather we should work on the basis of

the discourse itself and look to its exterior, to ask what it opens up and makes possible and what it excludes or renders impossible or unreasonable (Foucault, 1981). Hook (2001) points out that this principle is essential to move the analysis beyond the text which is being analysed, into the discursive space that the particular text plays a part in; to move away from a focus on what the discourse *says* towards an analysis of what it *does*. Because the possible scope for analysing 'what discourse does' is considerable, I would suggest that for this principle, it is especially important to adapt the way in which it is applied according the particular research question, in order to focus analysis appropriately.

The main way in which I applied this principle for my study was through focusing on the notion of 'governmentality' to provide me with a lens with which to examine how discourse operates and its effects in the area of vocational rehabilitation. Here, I drew on the theoretical work of Foucault on governmentality and other authors who have extended his work in this area (in particular Dean, 1999; Rose, 1999b). Dean (1999) stipulates that to analyse governmentality is to study notions of governing at the points they are made practical and technical. He goes on to provide an analysis of a body of research that has been done applying the concept of governmentality, and to identify common approaches in terms of questioning and analysis. I used this analysis as a guideline, by using it to develop a set of broad questions that provided a framework for the application of governmentality to my own study. This framework is given in Table 3.1.

The principle of exteriority and the role of the 'text'

One of the most fundamental elements of a discourse analysis as I have described above is the use of 'texts' as the starting point for analysis. One of the considerations I encountered is that texts are both crucial and limited with regard to their role in the discourse analysis. While texts are an easily obtainable source of data, which can be gathered and analysed, the text is a manifestation of discourse, and texts refer to other manifestations—effects of discourse—that do not appear in the texts being analysed but are nevertheless criti-cally important to the analysis. Therefore, it is not about analysing what a text says so much as what the discourses present in the text make possible. Texts are a vehicle for discourse analysis because they are amenable to being collected and analysed. One of the implications of this is that in choosing texts to gather and analyse, it is important to seek those which will provide the analyst with enough scope to explore with some depth the discourses and their effects. Discourses can, and many argue should, be examined over multiple different texts, drawn from different types of sources (Hook, 2001). Foucault emphasised that discourses are tied into complex systems of knowledge-power interplay which are difficult to recognise in a single text, and it has been suggested that including a breadth of sources helps the analyst conduct a more perceptive analysis (Hook, 2001).

Critical for the present study, one of the key ideas in governmentality is that govern-mental thought and practice occurs at multiple sites within society. At a state government level, there are the analyses and actions taken regarding issues that are considered to be

Table 3.1: Points of inquiry relating to governmentality adapted from Dean (1999)

Identifying problematisations	This refers to examination of specific situations and contexts in which government comes into question. These problematisations are often found in particular localities at particular times, and call into question how the field of possible action is structured relating to a particular issue. For example, in this study one problematisation examined was the question of governing ability to work — the conceptualisation of working capacity as a governable domain during a particular period of time in a particular context.
The 'hows' of governing	Questioning what conditions allow government of a particular domain; what happens when we govern or are governed; how particular authorities are constituted; and how knowledge-power relations operate in this domain.
Regimes of practices	Examining how the various practices that are used in the government of this domain are historically constituted; what elements make up this domain of government and their relations; and what sorts of problems are sought to be addressed through this domain of government. Within this are several specific lines of inquiry, which I outline below.
Fields of visibility	Asking what the particular regime of government highlights and makes more visible, and what it defines; what it obscures or make harder to think about; what it puts 'on the map' and what it leaves off or even hides in the exercise of mapping.
Technical aspects of government	Asking what "means, mechanisms, procedures, instruments, tactics, techniques, technologies and vocabularies" are employed to accomplish the act of government (1999, p. 31), and what the effect of these are.
Relations of government to thoughtful activities and forms of rationalities	Asking what forms of rationality, knowledge, and so on, inform and enable these practices of government.
Formations of identities	Asking what forms of identities (of those governing and those being governed) the regime of government presumes and/or fosters; what elements constitute these identities (capacities, characteristics, modes and orientations of action, and so on); and what transformations of self and identity are sought by this regime of government.
The goals of government	Questioning what ends or goals are presupposed in the act of government in this domain. In what ways are people, communities, societies sought to be re-shaped for the better by these rationalities of government?
How values are made technical	Avoiding viewing governmental practices as driven by values, but instead asking how these values function in relation to techniques, procedures and arguments for particular practices.
Power and freedom as relations and practices	This point calls the analyst to reject analyses of government that are focused on liberation from power structures, as this goes against the Foucauldian view of power (see Chapter 2), and assumes that power is a fixed and enduring entity which stands opposite to freedom. There will be instances of power relations that are very hierarchical and durable, and others that are more mobile and open, and the field of possible action in each of these will differ. The goal here is to enhance understanding of how governmentality operates in a domain, and therefore capacity for critique and consideration of how it is possible to think and act differently. To "make clear what is at stake and what are the consequences of thinking and acting in such a way" (1999, p. 37).

within the remit of government. This may include investigation, debate, regulation and legislation. At the level of provision of services, various philosophies and practices will be associated with services and the way those services interact with the community. At a community level there will be formal and informal local groups and organisations that employ practices aiming to govern the conduct of individuals and groups that fall within their interests. These all intersect and interact with the ways in which individuals govern their own conduct in their ethical relationship to themselves (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1988). For the present study, I considered it was important to acknowledge these multiple sites and their roles and interactions when gathering texts to contribute to the discourse analysis, so I put a focus on collecting a range of texts, associated with these different sites.

3.3   Foucault's analyses as 'toolbox' and foundation

I will now draw the discussion to a close, looking at one final consideration. In applying Foucault's principles to a specific research question, there are significant ways in which a Foucault-informed project will differ from those that Foucault himself published. The Foucault quote below is often cited, stating that his work should be used as a 'toolbox':

> I would like my books to be a kind of tool-box which others can rummage through to find a tool which they can use however they wish in their own area […] I would like the little volume that I want to write on disciplinary systems to be useful to an educator, a warden, a magistrate, a conscientious objector. I don't write for an audience, I write for users, not readers (Foucault, 1994, pp. 523–524, passage translated by Clare O'Farrell)).

My interpretation of this is that it does not mean that Foucault wanted his work to be used without consideration of the philosophical objectives he pursued, but that it should be used by the people for whom the explorations he undertook could be useful. Furthermore, during his lifetime Foucault made numerous comments about the changing nature of his long-term project, pointing to the ways in which each individual project opened up the area of study in ways that he had perhaps not expected, and how his approach needed to change along with it (for one of his later discussions of this see the introduction to *The Use of Pleasure* (Foucault, 1992)). I would see this as implying that if, in exploration of the ideas he opened up for his readers/users, his work can be applied in a way that he did not himself foresee or set out, he would still see this as in keeping with the intent of that work. In line with this interpretation, I will now discuss the ways in which my project (and quite possibly others like it) are enabled by Foucault's work, and how, while keeping with a Foucauldian approach, it will necessarily differ in scope and application from Foucault's projects.

3.3.1 Enabling topic specificity

Foucault's studies were significant in that they dealt with areas that most people could instantly recognise as established parts of human society—the clinic, the prison system, madness, sexuality. Foucault's in-depth 'histories of the present' resulted in works that discursively explored not only how some of the key structures in societies had been made possible, but also the conditions of possibility for some of the most fundamental notions we currently hold about people and society (such as the notion of the thinking, acting individual as a basic unit of society), which have much wider-ranging effects. Foucault's work was widely applicable and has, to date, made possible many insightful further studies, both those which have extended the work that he started in particular areas, and those that have taken Foucault's approach as a guide for exploring different areas (for just a few examples see Armstrong's (1995) work on surveillance medicine, Rose's (1996b) work on psychology, and Cruikshank's (1999) work on empowerment).

It is because of the wide-ranging applicability of his analyses that Foucault's work has enabled other studies of aspects of societies that are much more specific—studies that arguably would not be possible without the considerable groundwork that Foucault has provided. It is in this space that I position my study. Vocational rehabilitation is a recent notion, but it is largely contingent on ways of thinking, doing and being that are much more longstanding and widely applied. Therefore, in order to conduct a specific analysis of vocational rehabilitation I have had to utilise genealogical historical analyses of these more longstanding notions undertaken by other authors, most notably Foucault. So one aspect that clearly differs from Foucault's projects is that I used his analyses as a foundation, which enabled me to conduct a genealogy of a much more specific and recently emerging aspect of society than those he chose to examine.

3.3.2 Explicitly examining 'the present'

In their introduction to a collection of Foucault's works *The Essential Foucault* (2003) Rabinow and Rose point out that although Foucault wrote 'histories of the present', he never wrote an archaeology or genealogy that included analysis of the present-day. His analyses quite clearly sought to problematise the present by showing the contingencies that have made possible our ways of thinking and acting with regard to particular present-day structures and experiences, but his books stopped well short of the present. It can be argued that even without articulating it, Foucault's histories made it very clear which aspects of his present he was critiquing (Rabinow & Rose, 2003); and this becomes even clearer when looked at in conjunction with some of his lectures. However, this is another aspect of Foucault's methodological approach which differs noticeably from what I have chosen to do. For vocational rehabilitation, I have chosen to explicitly link a historical analysis and present-day discourses and their current effects. This is an approach often seen in sociological and health research that draws on Foucault.

I would propose that this is appropriate for two reasons. Firstly, in relation to Foucault's focus, vocational rehabilitation may be seen to be quite a specialised area. Foucault's histories, in part because of the recognisability of their topic (and perhaps in part because of the timeliness in relation to current events (Rabinow & Rose, 2003)) would have prompted many readers to examine the present-day situation without him having to provide a present-day analysis. For vocational rehabilitation I felt it was important to explicitly examine the current discourses in this area in order to give context to the genealogy. Secondly, as vocational rehabilitation is a relatively new field, a key focus of my analysis was in showing how it has been made thinkable and doable in the first place, and then how this is maintained to the present day rather than allowing vocational rehabilitation to disappear again. This type of focus requires an analysis of the present as part of the genealogy.

Rabinow and Rose (2003) argue that, in the same way that Foucault adapted Nietzsche's genealogy for his context and aims, Foucault would expect that genealogy as he developed it would continue to be adapted as appropriate for future purposes:

> In his relation to Nietzsche, Foucault demonstrates that genealogy has to be invented anew as situations change. So perhaps the detailed and meticulous labor that needs to be done to unsettle our conventions must find other forms, other points of action on our present. These might be comparative, conjunctural, or ethnographic, or they may take a form that has yet to be invented or named. Thus, the practice of criticism which we might learn from Foucault would not be a methodology. It would be a movement of thought that invents, makes use of, and modifies conceptual tools as they are set into a relation with specific practices and problems that they themselves help to form in new ways. (Rabinow & Rose, 2003, pp. xiv-xv).

I propose to take this one step further: I would suggest that for a specific area such as vocational rehabilitation, Foucault's work has enabled a form of analysis which can include an explicit link to the present-day, combining a history of the present with an analysis of the present itself, with a focus on what discourse enables. This can encompass two types of effects concerning discourse in the present. Firstly, what is produced and reproduced by discourse to the extent that it appears self-evident. Secondly, the 'grey' areas—articulations, actions and material effects that do not fall outside of possibility within current discourse, but are still not squarely within what seems self-evident. In this way, examination of historical material can show us how the ways of thinking, doing and being as they are today have been made possible, while examination of the present can make visible what these discourses enable and what is potentially possible in terms of what discourse allows. Thus, while there is a plethora of texts dealing with mainstream practices, those practices on the boundaries, which occupy the areas of 'possible but outside the mainstream,' allow an exploration of what could be. Exploring the boundaries between what is allowed and not allowed, between what makes sense and what seems absurd, highlights those things are thinkable and doable but not self-evident, and thus helps to make

current discourse and its material effects more visible.

    In this chapter I have given an overview of how I used Foucault's work to construct a methodology for the study. In the following chapter I will lay out in more detail the study design that has come out of this methodological approach, and my particular research questions.

4

Study design

In this chapter I will outline the details of the design of my study that followed on from explication of the methodological approach. As with any study involving the application of theoretical and philosophical principles, many of the decisions that have informed the design of the study were made as a result of my experiences during the process of carrying out the inquiry. As such, the study was not designed once and then carried out without alteration but has undergone many iterations. What I present here is not so much a linear or chronological account of what was done, but a laying out of the processes I undertook in order to reach the analytical conclusions described in subsequent chapters. This chapter describes the procedures I used to define appropriate texts for analysis, how those texts were gathered and treated, and the way in which analysis was conducted.

4.1 Defining appropriate texts for analysis

One of the key tasks in the design of the study was to make explicit the criteria by which I would define which types of texts would be included in the analysis and which would not. Foucault, in his discussion of method, only very occasionally described his approach to choosing some texts over others to focus on. When he did (for example in Foucault, 1992, pp. 12–13), he talked about two considerations relating to the selection of appropriate texts. One consideration concerned the topic-related emphasis of analysis (for example how people come to know themselves as subjects of vocational rehabilitation). The other was his particular approach to discourse analysis—articulated by the principles outlined in *The Order Of Discourse* (Foucault, 1981). Therefore, as outlined below, I defined the criteria by which I sought texts for analysis by applying these two considerations.

4.1.1 Criteria according to topic-related analytic emphasis

Texts that dealt directly with vocational rehabilitation practice in each of the selected periods (outlined later in this chapter) were considered suitable to include. For the purposes of my study I chose to define vocational rehabilitation broadly as any practice designed with the purpose of moving a person or group of people from a state of being unable to work for reasons of disability, to one in which they are able to work.

4.1.2 Criteria according to methodology-related analytic emphasis

Principles of specificity and exteriority

As outlined in my discussion of the 'principle of specificity' and 'principle of exteriority' in the previous chapter, the main sorts of texts I sought were those that related to actual practices in vocational rehabilitation. These texts included debates about what to do and why, and descriptions of ideas and actual initiatives, programmes and schemes. Furthermore, in keeping with the analytic orientation to the conditions of possibility for vocational rehabilitation practices, I gave special consideration to those texts that discussed practices in terms of the 'truths' that justified those practices as the most appropriate or 'right' thing to do. The inclusion of texts that are related to actual material practices, highlighting the techniques by which vocational rehabilitation is made technical and therefore governmental, was also motivated by the principle of exteriority.

Principle of discontinuity

The principle of discontinuity directed me to a decision to focus my analysis on times that showed major shifts in the way vocational rehabilitation was viewed and conducted—periods of rupture, or discontinuity, during which discourse relating to this topic became more visible for analysis. The strategy I chose to do this was to define specific historical periods to gather texts from based on identified shifts in vocational rehabilitation practices, a method used by Nicholls (2009). The periods chosen and the reasons for this choice are discussed below in the section 'initial scoping'.

Principle of reversal

At the end of the section on 'archaeology' in the previous chapter, I outlined how consideration of the principle of reversal motivated a decision to explore present discourses, with a view to investigating those areas subject to procedures of exclusion, limitation and rules and restrictions of the speaking subject. The purpose of this was to make more visible both the contingencies of our present and the potential scope within which discourse might allow us to be otherwise from what we are now. In keeping with this decision, a criterion employed for choosing present-day texts for analysis was to specifically examine texts related to practices that stretched the boundaries of what is acceptable, legitimate or reasonable, while still being recognised as fitting within the definition of vocational rehabilitation. This approach aligns with what Foucault described as examining discourses by taking their forms of resistance as a starting point (Foucault, 1983), and was another strategy discussed by Nicholls (2009). This is a technique by which discourses are made more visible through the process of interrogating their limits.

4.2 Gathering of texts

4.2.1 Initial scoping

I began the research by reading a wide range of texts with the aim of defining more clearly what approach to gathering texts for analysis would be most appropriate for answering my research questions. For this phase, all texts that made reference to vocational rehabilitation or work for disabled individuals or groups came within the scope of relevancy. Hundreds of texts were accessed from New Zealand libraries, archives, websites and vocational rehabilitation services (described in more detail below). These were then read in order to try and identify discontinuities and ruptures, or in other words, times and situations that showed a break or departure from what had become established ways of thinking about or doing vocational rehabilitation. This exercise helped me to identify themes or patterns concerning the types of texts that were available and the ways in which discourses used in vocational rehabilitation appeared in these texts in different times.

In summary, the majority of material from the end of the First World War until the late 1940s discussed initiatives for returned servicemen from the world wars. During the late 1940s and 1950s, vocational rehabilitation for civilians was seriously debated and civilian services were introduced. For the period of the 1960s and 1970s, much of the texts were from these initiatives set up to cater for civilians and the authorities that governed them. In the late 1970s and 1980s there was a proliferation of material produced by disabled unions and interest groups, and in the 1990s a surge in texts regarding policies for employment of disabled people, advice for disabled employees and their employers, and suchlike. During the last decade or so, there has been a shift towards more texts aiming to empower disabled people to find their niche (rather than 'claim rights' as in the 1980s and 1990s), with the implication that no-one is too disabled to work, and that the process of rehabilitation is as much about re-thinking what is possible as about recovering previous function.

From this initial scoping of texts, I identified three historical periods of rupture, where there was a lot of debate and notable shifts in the way vocational rehabilitation was thought about and practised in Aotearoa New Zealand. These periods were following the First World War, when vocational rehabilitation emerged for the first time; the period during which civilian rehabilitation was considered and then introduced after the Second World War; and the time during the 1980s when vocational rehabilitation underwent a period of restructure and redefinition along the lines that it should be primarily about ensuring 'rights' rather than providing 'services'. The historical periods were defined by events rather than dates, which are given in the introduction to each analysis chapter, although date ranges were used to aid my search for texts.

I also viewed the current time as one of shift and redefinition due to an emergence of vocational rehabilitation services seeking to help people refashion their lives though vocation, rather than just access suitable work. Thus, I also conducted an analysis of current discourses of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand. The initial scoping

for this involved talking with people who experience disability about work, talking with people involved with provision of vocational rehabilitation services, and gathering current texts that talked about vocational rehabilitation philosophy or services. Ethical approval was sought to carry out some scoping interviews, and I completed the planned interviews at this stage. However, I decided not to use these interviews in the discourse analysis for reasons described later in this chapter. Nevertheless, the conversations and reading I undertook at this stage helped me define the focus I wanted to take with the 'current' material and the types of texts I would gather for this part of the study.

4.2.2 Historical texts

For historical material, the sources of texts were libraries and archives. Searching was done by a variety of methods, depending on the system in place at each library or archive. The key methods were keyword, subject and department searches in catalogues and databases; scanning the index of the Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives and the volumes of parliamentary debates; and a 'snowball' approach where the analysis of one text would lead to a search for others to which it referred. While I often started searching with a keyword and subject list, the librarians or archivists frequently offered assistance, and the searches often led to places that were not even considered at the start of the search, which would alter my search terms for the next search. As discussed by Kearins and Hooper (2002) in their commentary on the difficulties encountered in doing genealogy, the cataloguing of file contexts in the archives tended to be very broad, and very often large files would have to be accessed and searched through on the off-chance that they contained relevant texts. Through this process I also became more experienced in knowing how to search and what types of files were likely to contain the documents I was seeking. For this reason, and because the various archives and indexes differed considerably in their format, I have not been able to write up a comprehensive structure for the searches. However, I provide below a list of libraries and archives that I accessed for historical texts relating to vocational rehabilitation. The listed libraries constitute the main repositories that I found of archival material related to vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand—some specifically focused on health and disability (for example Enable library) and others more general sources (for example the Alexander Turnbull Library and Archives New Zealand).

Alexander Turnbull library (NZ publications and extensive unpublished material)

Archives New Zealand (specifically archives from government departments)

Returned and Services Association Wellington

Auckland Public Libraries

AUT University library and Borrow Direct service (included the catalogues of Victoria University, University of Otago, and University of Waikato)

Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand (http://www.teara.govt.nz/)

Enable library (http://www.enable.co.nz/services/information-services)

Burwood Academy of Independent Living library

Auckland Museum library

4.2.3 Current texts

For the current texts I employed two main strategies for gathering texts. One strategy was gathering a range of texts that referred or related to vocational rehabilitation as I became aware of them through various means such as reading news media and academic papers, looking at conferences, and searching for existing and emerging vocational rehabilitation practices and services via the internet and my professional connections. This was done over the course of about two and a half years, the time during which I was carrying out this study. Some of the texts were already available at the beginning of the study, while some became available to me during the study. In addition to these more general texts, I also specifically sought texts from practices that, while still recognisable as fitting within the definition of vocational rehabilitation, stretched the boundaries of what is acceptable, legitimate or reasonable in this field. To achieve this, during my scoping period I sought to identify places and spaces where practices that fit these criteria were occurring. Because with current texts, I had the opportunity of access to more transient forms than I had for the historical texts, such as spoken words or temporary arrangement of spaces, there were a number of decisions to be made with regard to what would be the best fit both in terms of the focus of the material and the means by which it was obtained. I will cover these as two separate points.

Focus of texts

When it came to considering current texts, I found that there were a great number of discourses that I was aware of because of my own involvement in vocational rehabilitation, and in everyday life. The sheer number of avenues to explore seemed very daunting. To help me with this I looked again to the writing of other authors on method, and to other people's descriptions of their own projects, to try and determine the strategies that others had used when encountering this challenge. Tamboukou (1999) reminds the analyst to seek to question the things that are closest to them, those things that are right in front of us reinforcing what we experience to be true. Similarly, Nicholls (2009) talks about how examining practices that challenge orthodox physiotherapy helped him to 'see' discourses of physiotherapy in taken-for-granted aspects of everyday practice, such as the treatment bed. Therefore, using these others as a guide, I decided to include a range of widely disseminated current texts in vocational rehabilitation—those texts that were right in front of me—to form a basis for my analysis of current vocational rehabilitation discourses, but

to make the main focus of my analysis a small number of specific practices. The significance of these specific practices, which I describe in greater detail in Chapter Eight, is that they each differ with regard to the way in which they describe their services and the people they work with, but each in some way challenge the current boundaries of what constitutes 'vocational rehabilitation'.

Means of obtaining texts

The texts I gathered for the analysis included reports, websites, brochures, blogs, training material, funding proposals, marketing proposals, photos and images, spaces and patterns of work, discussions, books and presentations. A common approach in qualitative research is to use research interviews, which involves talking to individuals who have experience relevant to the topic of interest about their experiences in order to generate original texts for analysis. Although it was initially my plan to do research interviews and I conducted these sorts of conversations with people when doing my scoping work, this design increasingly came into question as I developed my methodology. Philosophical and methodological reading of Foucault, and discussion of the various options with my supervisors, highlighted a number of issues that suggested interviews would not be the most appropriate means of gathering texts for this discourse analysis given my application of Foucault's methodological approach. As I began to read and debate Foucault's work in greater depth, I embarked on a more detailed philosophical inquiry into the use of interviews for 'history of the present' studies with one of my supervisors (Nicholls), which we wrote up as a paper for publication. This paper was accepted by the journal *Nursing Inquiry* and is available on their website (Fadyl & Nicholls, 2013).

4.3   Cataloguing and referencing

In reading other authors' accounts of doing this type of discourse analysis, the practicalities of the ways in which texts were organised was rarely mentioned, and I was unable to find any models of how this might be done. Feeling it was necessary to have a system by which I could keep track of the texts I had accessed, the ways in which I felt they related to other texts, and a referencing system, I experimented with a range of different available tools—from specialised computer software to handwritten diagrams. After trying a number of different options, I decided that Evernote software (see http://evernote.com) would be most suitable, and created a catalogue of texts containing image files alongside my analysis notes in an Evernote notebook set up for each analysis period. I also kept a comprehensive Endnote reference library for referencing purposes.

Decisions about what to include in the catalogue were based on the criteria described in the section 'defining appropriate texts for analysis' earlier in this chapter. Texts from the defined analysis periods that included significant discussion around the content, justification or rationale for vocational rehabilitation practices, or reviews of services which

reflected on current needs and expectations were treated as key texts and referred to more often during analysis. Where key texts were available on a particular topic, other texts with aspects of content, justification or rationale for practices but less detailed or less comprehensive information than key texts were included, but less time was given to their analysis. Texts that did not directly give any information on content, justification or rationale for vocational rehabilitation practices, but discussed the context of the service provision or context that may have influenced decisions about vocational rehabilitation practices were included as supporting information and provided useful context in many cases. Texts which only repeated the same information expressed in the same way to a text that was already catalogued were excluded from being catalogued. In each of these cases, either the more detailed or (in cases where detail was very similar) the earliest dated text was catalogued.

There were some texts where further cataloguing decisions were required. For shorter texts such as newspaper clippings, particular focus for inclusion in the catalogue was put on calls for change, reports of new initiatives, and reports on things that noted them as exceptional or notable. Articles that repeated information I already had from other sources (if it reported on it in a similar way), and annual reports and similar standard reporting documents for programmes that were currently up and running generally did not include statements that met the criteria for inclusion. In most cases these were excluded from the catalogue. In the case of meeting minutes discussing matters for which a report was eventually produced, the report was read first and then the meeting minutes read to determine whether there were differences or changes in the way that matters were discussed in the report and in the minutes. Only where there were differences or changes were the minutes themselves also catalogued.

The catalogue was used as a point of reference during analysis from which to cross-check and identify texts according to time period, topic, source (in terms of who produced it), and reference information. The Endnote database was used to track references for quotes that illustrated analytic points.

4.4 Procedures for analysis

Analysis followed the format outlined in the 'Archaeology and Genealogy' section in the previous chapter, incorporating both archaeological and genealogical principles. Analysis was a process that involved many cycles, moving from identification of discursive formations, to constructing questions, to the application of Foucauldian theory, back to identification of elements in the texts again. Similarly, applying the methodological principles involved moving back and forth considering these various principles to articulate and then address each question which arose during analysis, which led to the need to articulate a new question, and so on.

The way analysis worked practically was that initially texts were analysed in time-period blocks. First, texts were read for an overview to get a feel for the analysis period;

then on a second read, particular attention was paid to archaeological analysis, to identify the discursive formations that played particularly central roles in the way statements were made and arguments were put together. These objects were then noted and the texts were re-read from an analytical point of view in order to further articulate how these objects appeared and the formations that supported them. Questions were formulated that sought to interrogate the 'truths' that the statements that formed these objects relied on to make them thinkable and understandable. At this stage, genealogical principles could be brought in as well to help explore these questions and construct further questions. After each analysis period had been analysed in this way, genealogical principles were applied to look at how the various shifts over time had provided the conditions of possibility for current discourses. The various texts within each analysis period were not treated as individual entities, but as a collection. After an initial period of archeological analysis focused on identifying discursive formations, analysis often moved from text to text, following a particular thread, rather than focusing on one text and then moving to the next. During genealogical analysis, the analysis would often move between the different defined periods as well, following themes and identifying problematisations and changes.

One of the biggest challenges I experienced with analysis was conducting a discourse analysis of current vocational rehabilitation discourses. Because of both my own participation in vocational rehabilitation, and that fact that it was current, I felt overwhelmed by the enormity of the field and the number of possible lines to follow, even once I had limited my scope by focusing on specific practices and choosing the theoretical lens of governmentality. Going back to look for other authors' advice, I noted that Graham (2011) mentioned that it is important to maintain an awareness of which identified 'statements' are central to addressing the research question. Therefore, a strategy I employed was that of always coming back to whether the statements, and the discursive formations that they produced, were central to my research question. Where they were not, I noted this for reference in case it became important to refer to later on, and refocused my inquiry.

In keeping with the postmodern approach to inquiry, there was no point at which the analysis could be considered finished, as any analysis is acknowledged to be always partial and incomplete (Ayleswroth, 2010). For the purposes of this study, and in the interests of writing the thesis, the analysis ended when I had enough material to provide an in-depth discussion and make an argument that would address the research questions and provide a detailed explanation of my position.

The following four 'analysis chapters' are divided up according to the four identified periods of shift in vocational rehabilitation practices presented in this chapter. The intent of these analysis chapters is to show the matrix of discourses in the texts and how they interact, providing specific analyses of the four periods in terms of the discursive landscape for vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand. The chapters each largely focus on a particular shift in vocational rehabilitation thought and practices, but refer to other chapters where appropriate, and make links with relevant theory and critique, particularly

aspects of Foucault's work and other Foucauldian scholarship.

The format for the analysis chapters is primarily a discussion of the matrix of discourses, and often quotations are given as examples to highlight a particular point. Because this methodology is relatively uncommon in health and rehabilitation research, it is important to emphasise that here the analysis is a tool (for making discursive constructions visible) rather than a revelation (revealing a 'truth'), and these quotations are intended as illustrations as opposed to 'evidence'.

5

A problem of population security: The returned 'citizen army' and the 'economic and industrial machinery' of post-WWI New Zealand

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will present an analysis of New Zealand texts spanning the period from the end of the First World War in 1918 to the enactment of legislation providing special vocational training for disabled ex-soldiers in 1930. The chapter consists of an analytical discussion of a range of texts, including those detailing early schemes for reintegration immediately following the war and subsequent government reports and evaluations of vocational reintegration; the concerns publicised by the New Zealand Returned Soldiers' Association from 1918 to 1930 about the economic and vocational difficulties of returned soldiers; and the proceedings recorded in a detailed discussion from the many concerned parties who contributed to a commission of inquiry in 1929. The focus is on examining the discourses that can be seen to have produced the conditions of possibility for events associated with the emergence of vocational rehabilitation, and the implications of these particular discursive constructs in terms of the effects. First, I introduce the context within which the texts are situated—post World War One (WWI) New Zealand—to set the scene for the remainder of the chapter. Following this, I present an analysis of the expectations for returning soldiers; the interaction between the discourses of industry and people disabled by war; and the involvement of and interactions between the Returned Soldiers' Association and the state in this problem. Finally, I show how various discourses can be seen to have shaped the response to these problems and the emergence of vocational rehabilitation.

In this and following chapters, I use the phrase 'the state' to describe the entity concerned with the government of civil society in New Zealand. In the texts themselves, the state is variously referred to as 'the state', 'the dominion', 'the government', 'government', 'the nation' or 'New Zealand'.

5.2   From war to work-a-day world: New Zealand's citizen soldiers

> To resume your modest place in a work-a-day world; to fight against the dull damnation of Reaction, which must come when the first glow of 'welcome home' has faded: this is the task that will call for bright courage and solid determination [...] For great as was the debt we owed and forgot to pay—to the professional soldier of the past, infinitely greater is the debt we owe to-day to the amateur soldier, members of a citizen army.[1]

The citizen army returning to the work-a-day world and resuming their modest place, as articulated in the above quote from the first issue of the first publication of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers' Association, provides an apt introduction to the problematisation associated with vocational rehabilitation at this time in New Zealand. Although wars had been fought before in and by New Zealand, the numbers of soldiers involved, and the recruitment of what is referred to here as a "citizen army" to fight, was unprecedented (Melling, 1952). The men who went to fight in the First World War were not primarily professional soldiers, but citizens enacting their duty—they were the men who made up the population of New Zealand, who expected to return to normal 'civil life'. According to the *New Zealand Official Yearbook 1919*, of the 124,211 men who enlisted (over ten percent of the total population at the time), 107,523 survived the war, and 41,315 (approximately forty percent of the surviving soldiers) returned wounded (Government of New Zealand, 1919). In the remainder of the chapter, I will argue that it is in this milieu we can see an intersection of discourses relating to citizenship, economics and population security, which produce conditions for the emergence of the practice of vocational rehabilitation in New Zealand.

5.3   Encountering disability and appraising duty: state, society and the returned 'citizen army'

Disability on a substantial scale and the ways in which this affected industry and population was an issue that was encountered in a largely new way in New Zealand in the aftermath of World War One (WWI). Thus, what I describe in this section is the emergence of a particular conceptualisation of disability and the possible responses to it. Starting with state responses at the close of the war, I will discuss the associations made between war recovery and employment, the issues revealed in attempts to actualise this process of recovery, and the discourses deployed in confronting these issues.

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[1]Alpers, O. T. J. (1918). Looking forward. How will soldiers fare? What will be the attitude of the public? *Quick March: Official paper of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association*(April), 9.

TRAINING IN SCHOOL-TEACHING AT NORMAL SCHOOL, CHRISTCHURCH.
(Right arm and hand disabled. Previously a carpenter.)
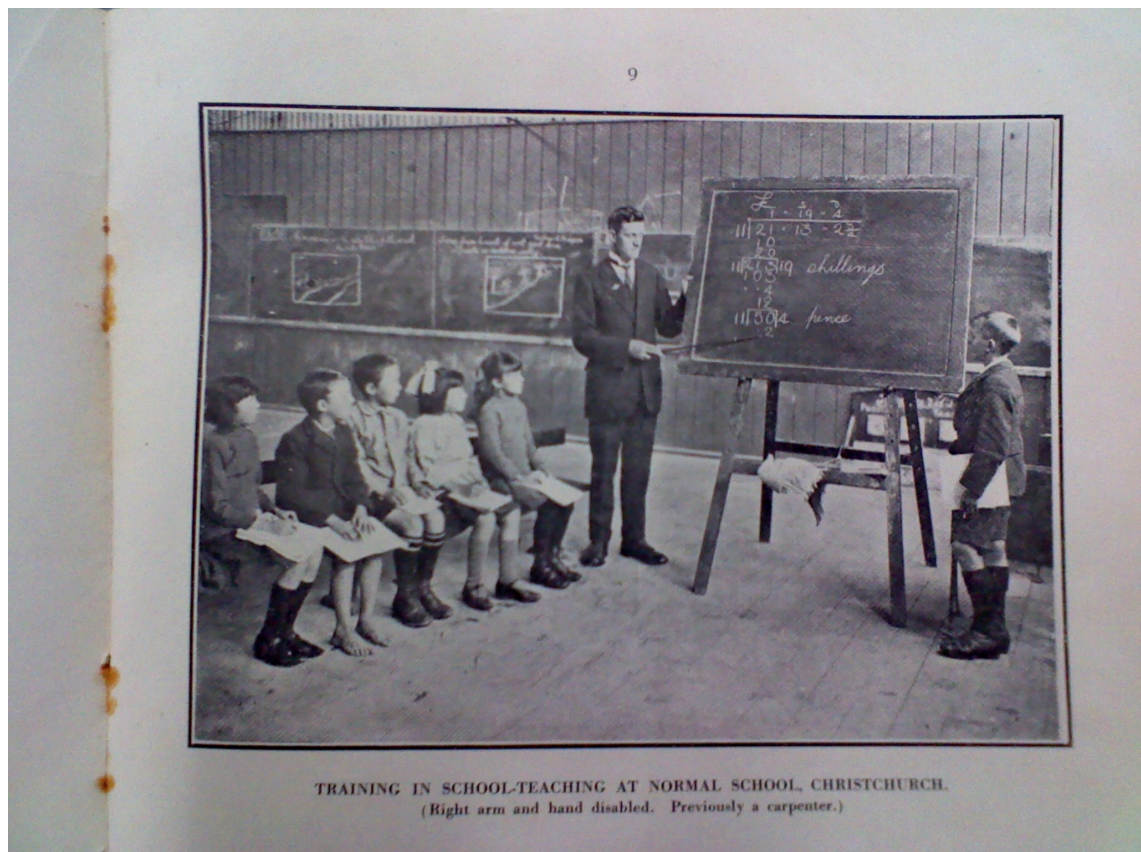
Figure 5.1: Page 12 of the Discharged Soldiers Information Department booklet, 1918

5.3.1 Governing discharged soldiers: recovery from war through restoration of men

> Second only to winning the war, the problem of the Returned Soldier in its various features is the most important question which the Dominion has to face. Upon its successful solution hinges in a great measure the rapid recovery of the country from the effects of war. It should be a matter of absorbing interest to every right-minded citizen.[2]

The text quoted above is an example of state texts from the early days following the end of the war that depict the restoration of soldiers as vital to the recovery of the country from war. The texts boast the latest technology in orthopaedic hospitals, described as "human-repairing" places.[3] and convalescent homes of excellent location and comfort.[4] Images show diligent men in workshops, factories and classrooms, learning new occupations[5] Figure 5.1 is a photograph of one of these images. Although the land of New Zealand had not been host to warfare, the "recovery of the country from the effects of war" was relevant

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[2]Discharged Soldiers Information Department. (1918). *1. Employment of returned men. 2. Training and re-education of the patially disabled. 3. Provision of employment on the termination of the war*. (Vol. D660 New) [Information brochure]. Wellington: Marcus F. Marks, Government printer, p. inside cover.

[3]Fanning, L. S., & N. Z. Government. (1919). *Winning through: From war to peace* Wellington: Marcus F. Marks, Government printer.

[4]Fanning, 1919

[5]Discharged Soldiers Information Department. 1918

and of great significance. There were strong messages that the repair of the country was tied to the repair of its men; and the repair of these men was considered accomplished once they had permanent, 'useful' employment. For example, early commentary told that "the great majority, however severe their injuries, will be capable of occupation, and no national scheme can be complete until all such men are trained and fitted into industry."[6]

From the first initiatives at the end of the war, state-produced texts dealing with the re-establishment of returned men to civil life emphasised the centrality of employment to the recovery of the country and called on the duty of employers and fellow citizens in achieving this. The Discharged Soldiers Information Department, whose function was the re-establishment of discharged soldiers in civil life on their return to New Zealand, stated in their 1918 information brochure that registration of returned soldiers with the department was linked to their employment status. Men were registered with the department in the category "under action" until employment was confirmed, at which time they no longer came under the department's authority.[7] The brochure issued by the department was dedicated to emphasising the importance of ex-soldiers' return to working life, and the part that the returned soldiers, training establishments and employers had to play in getting the men re-established in work. However, a prominent theme of this text and others of this time was that returning to work didn't mean getting just any job that they could find or that seemed attractive. A great emphasis was put on encouraging men to find a *permanent* position, and that the extra time or training required for this was an important investment.

> Temporary jobs that lead to nowhere. Although the Department endeavours to dissuade men capable of more skilled work from taking up billets such as messengers, liftmen, and other temporary jobs, with the risk of constantly recurring unemployment, very many disabled soldiers decline to avail themselves of the facilities offered for training them in new trades, either because of wrong ideas on the subject or through ignorance of the thorough tuition that can be afforded them. Some no doubt are tempted by the immediate offer of good wages; others, although assured to the contrary, appear afraid that their pensions will be reduced in consequence of their training. *This fear is baseless*.[8]

Thus, there are two key discourses I highlight here relating to the re-establishment of returned men in civil life. Firstly, the reinstatement of returned men in employment is linked explicitly to the recovery of the country from war. This is especially significant in that there was no reconstruction to be done to the physical environment, as the war had been fought outside of New Zealand—in a sense, making the men the main visible effect. Secondly, there is an emphasis on the importance of permanent, skilled employment, and

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[6]Evans, H. (1919). New nation reconstruction. The state and the soldier (British Empire and reconstruction). *Quick March: Official paper of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association*(April), 15–17.

[7]Discharged Soldiers Information Department, 1918

[8]Discharged Soldiers Information Department, 1918, p. 14, emphasis in original.

warnings about the risks of engaging in temporary and casual labour. I will return to these discourses later in the chapter. Next, I will look at some of the events and discussion around attempts to reinstate large numbers of ex-soldiers in employment.

5.3.2 Industry and the complication of post-war workers

> Just as each man was carefully trained and equipped to take his place in the military machine, so must each man, who needs it on account of impairment, be trained and equipped to resume his place in the civil machine.[9]

> They [the youngest soldiers] had never found a place in the economic or industrial machine, and the mentality engendered in them, firstly by their experiences at the front, and secondly by the extravagant expectations with which, unfortunately, many of them were encouraged to rejoin our community, made them difficult material for molding into the scheme of things.[10]

The quotes above are typical of the characterisation of the economic and production systems of the time following WWI in New Zealand. The depiction of 'machine' or 'machinery' was not used exclusively for industry, and was a way of describing a number of different systems (another example being the 'machinery' of rehabilitation). However, the notion of machinery in this context can be connected with a number of other particularities of industry at this time. First, there was the notion that each man had his 'place', a specific and definable part in the system. Second, there was a real concern that particular industries would become oversubscribed as a result of disabled men needing work. Third, it was expected that the creation of new industries or new types of work within existing industries, even temporarily, was difficult, and would have to be very carefully managed and monitored. Fourth, there were concerns about the possibility of society amassing a large number of casual labourers—men who did not occupy a defined place in industry. Each of these issues, discussed in detail below, suggests a system with rigid parts and procedures, one that did not easily adapt when there were disruptions to the established processes—disruptions such as war, which reduced or modified the abilities of a large portion of workers.

A place in the machinery

Discourses producing a situation in which each man needed to have a specific and stable place in the economic or industrial machinery were communicated in a wide range of post-WWI texts, from the post-war state reintegration schemes, to the demands by the Returned Soldiers' Association for more realistic repatriation arrangements discussed later in this chapter. One particularly pertinent set of examples highlighting these discourses can be

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[9]Evans, 1919

[10]Barton, J. S., Luke, J. P., & Harrison, S. J. (1930). Ex-soldiers Rehabilitation Commission: Report of commission appointed to inquire into and report upon the position of physically and economically incapacitated soldiers. *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1930*(H), 39., p. 4

seen in the report from a 1929 *Commission of Inquiry into the Position of Physically and Economically Incapacitated Soldiers*.[11] This report describes a number of different classes of men whose employment had been adversely affected by war service. The first class described is those ranging in age from thirty-eight to forty-five years, the average age of men affected by the war by that time, whose break from normal life combined with the difficulties they experienced on return resulted in them having to seek new jobs. The problem was that they were "past the period of maximum adaptability and they are liable by reason of this fact, and of the family responsibilities usually associated with that age" to find it very difficult to find and settle in employment.[12] The second class were the young men, who;

> […] up to the time of enlistment, had found no place in our economic and industrial life; not only had they had no training, but they had never faced the conditions or assumed the mentality of those who take on employment to earn their own living.[13]

These young men had not found a place before they went to war, and after they came back and spent a few years doing temporary labour jobs that were available at the time, were no longer of the age that most people entered skilled professions. These men found that they were in a difficult position, as their responsibilities by that age demanded a permanent, skilled job, but they had never trained and worked their way up as other men would have by that age.[14] A third class is described by way of a case example of a man who "at fifty-seven years of age, in a good position, enlisted in a spirit of patriotic fervor, stated his age was forty-five, was accepted" but on his return found "his old occupation was gone, and it has proved a hopeless task for him to try and get back into the ranks of those who are maintaining themselves."[15] The fourth class given is those whose ongoing health conditions or disabilities actually prevent them from being physically able to maintain a normal, 40-hour work week. The only option for these men, from the descriptions given, was to work casual jobs a few weeks at a time, sometimes ending up back in hospital, or at least having to take a rest from these bouts of work. The result of this was that these men had unpredictable employment and unreliable income.[16]

> In such cases [of impaired health and physical disability] men break down under the stress of work and are continually requiring the provision of a lighter class of work; others become intermittent workers only; in fact many are physically incapable of doing more than intermittent work, the intervening periods being those of idleness due to nervous, mental or physical breakdown. The

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[11]Barton et al, 1930
[12]Barton, et al 1930
[13]Barton et al, 1930
[14]Barton et al., 1930
[15]Barton et al., 1930, p. 4
[16]Barton et al., 1930

difficulties of working these men into our existing economic and industrial machinery is apparent and should need no stressing.[17]

In addition to these classifications, there was a strong argument from medical experts, particularly those who gave evidence at the Commission of Inquiry, that in general the men who remained unemployed were worse off physically and mentally than those who had work.

> Medical witnesses said with great unanimity that the class of men we are considering would be better off physically and mentally if they had work.[18]

> Idleness affects the mental state of a man and that reflects on his physical condition. The longer a man is out of employment, the more he is apt to deteriorate.[19]

The descriptions of the problems experienced by each class, and unemployed men overall, indicate an economic and industrial system in which normally each man found his place, developed the mentality of a regular, forty-hour week worker, and got his wage to maintain himself and his family. When this process was seriously disrupted, neither the men nor the 'machinery' (as discussed further in the following sections) fared well.

Oversubscription and the question of new industries or new types of work

Discussions about solutions to the problems of disability often took for granted that the economic and industrial system should stay as it was, and that the way to deal with disabled men was to slot them in where it was possible to do so. One of the dangers predicted was that the 'light industries' of the time would become oversubscribed as a result of retraining disabled men to do lighter work, potentially displacing men who had worked in these trades all their lives.

> One danger which may confront us here is the possibility of the cure [for disability] bringing another disease in its train, in that if a large number of the men in question were to take up some particular trade, it may result in the displacement of capable tradesmen, who have followed the one line all their lives. In many cases, these men might be unable to take up other occupations.[20]

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[17]Barton et al., 1930, p. 20

[18]Barton et al., 1930, p. 10

[19]Marshall MacDonald, medical examiner for the Pensions Department, Commission of Inquiry into the Position of Physically and Economically Incapacitated Soldiers, (1929a, October – November). *Notes of evidence* [Proceedings of sittings for Commission of Inquiry]. Commission into the circumstances of disabled soldiers (Book 1, T/65/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington. p. 108

[20]Read, J. (1918, 25 April). Employment. What does the future hold? A Labour view. *Quick March: Official paper of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association*, 21

In the article quoted above, Read goes on to suggest that the answer may be to bring more 'light industries' to the Dominion (New Zealand) by looking at what imports could potentially be manufactured at home. He states that even if the cost to start them up would have to be borne by government that this was preferable to other possibilities such as displacing other men or the men being unable to find 'useful employment'.[21] It seems this kind of intervention into the industrial and economic system of the time was not unprecedented in New Zealand, where state involvement to ensure the existence of industries that were considered essential had happened on a number of occasions in the years leading up to the war (Bassett, 1998). However, minutes from the early years of the Disabled Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment League (the vocational rehabilitation body set up as a result of the 1929 inquiry) indicate that even with state backing, it was difficult to introduce new industries at this time.[22] Furthermore, the introduction of new or adapted positions in existing industries, such as would be considered a very reasonable response today, was not proposed during this period.

In the rare cases where adaptation of existing employment conditions was considered feasible, there was the suggestion of the need for explicit processes to be put in place so that it would be clear that these were exceptional measures and there was no threat to the existing system. One example was special licensing of workers who would be employed for less than the award (union agreed) wage.

> Where a large number of men are employed, it would be detrimental to the efficiency of the work generally if special consideration had to be shown to individual members because of their physical unfitness or inability to keep pace with their fellow workers. There are, however, positions in most works where men could be employed as messengers or other light work, if such men are licensed as under-rate workers and permitted to accept a wage in keeping with the value of work performed.[23]

Given the seemingly onerous task of finding appropriate employment for disabled men, it is of little surprise that there were a large number of returned soldiers unable to find a place in the world of permanent work. However, temporary and casual work was considered problematic from both an individual and a societal perspective.

The danger of the casual labourer

According to various texts from this period, the 'economic or industrial machine' was something that each individual played their part in by way of gaining (preferably skilled

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[21]Read, 1918

[22]Disabled Soldiers Civil Re-establishment League. (1930–34, 1930–34). *Disabled Soldiers Re-establishment Act and historical notes* [Articles and letters]. Rehabilitation League of New Zealand Incorporated (91-005-2/23). Alexander Turnbull Library Wellington.

[23]George Finn, president of the Auckland Manufacturers Association, in Commission of Inquiry into the Position of Physically and Economically Incapacitated Soldiers, (1929b, November). *Notes of evidence* [Proceedings of sittings for Commission of Inquiry]. Commission into the circumstances of disabled soldiers (Book 2, T/65/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington., p. 262

and permanent) work, then becoming accustomed to the conditions of work and acquiring a worker's mentality. There is a good deal of discussion particularly in the 1929 Commission of Inquiry report that deals with the importance of permanent work in engendering the worker's mentality, and in particular about a problematic difference between a "normally-minded man" and a "discouraged man, a man with, at least, the temporary self-pity of the convalescent," the latter for whom the "increased self-respect due to work can find no place."[24] It was a serious concern that society as a whole would be adversely affected if too many individuals came to exist outside of the system in which men were 'settled' in permanent work.

> The drift for very many has been from casual work to casual work [...] the deepest anxiety and despair are being felt at the prospects for the future, not only for themselves but for their wives and children.[25]

This concern is most clearly seen in the proceedings from the 1929 Commission of Inquiry in discussion about the problem of 'drifting' men who had not acquired the mentality of a permanent worker, and moved around the country doing casual labour. Every so often, these men ended up in one of the main centres, penniless and in need of assistance, and strain on charitable organisations grew greater the longer the time since the war. Thus, these men contributed to a social problem.[26] These discourses showed that for his own good and that of society a man must settle in a permanent job. There was a good chance he may settle if just offered the right environment, or he may need further encouragement from organisations. However, good workers could become 'drifters' if they encountered circumstances that caused them to become unsettled. Circumstances (such as the upset produced by war) which resulted in a disruption and consequent failure to produce the right conditions for men to find their permanent place and acquire the worker mentality, resulted in men who became "derelicts on life's journey"[27], a burden on society who must be provided for in order to prevent further problems. The following is an extract from the NZRSA members' magazine report on the 1929 Commission hearings.

> The majority of men so employed [in relief work] were of a class not competent to ensure continuity of employment by reason of constitutional weakness or by reason of being unskilled labour. [...] The first witness was a case for whom no liability would be accepted by the pensions department with respect to his state of health. He bore the reputation of being a good worker. He was typical of a class who, if something was not done for them, would eventually become drifters.[28]

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[24]Barton et al., 1930, p. 9

[25]Barton et al., 1930, p. 4

[26]Commission of Inquiry into the Position of Physically and Economically Incapacitated Soldiers, (1929a, October – November). *Notes of evidence* [Proceedings of sittings for Commission of Inquiry]. Commission into the circumstances of disabled soldiers (Book 1, T/65/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington. p. 108

[27]New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association. (1929a, November). Ex-service men's commission. *The N.Z.R.S.A. Review*, 10–23. p. 17

[28]New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association, 1929a, p. 17

Within these discourses, in order to maintain the stability of society, it was considered that each man should be permanently employed, with a fixed place in the 'economic or industrial machine', meaning he felt secure rather than anxious about his position.[29] Thus, it was the subjectivity of the permanent, skilled worker that was associated with a healthy and productive citizen. To produce this subjectivity was a goal in the government of work disability—the disabled men should be "encouraged and helped out of the mentality of the convalescent into that of the permanent and sound worker."[30] This 'permanent' and therefore 'sound' worker was one of the key things that characterised industry in New Zealand at this time. Therefore the aims of schemes to recover the country from war (as seen in the previous section) were not just to return people to employment, but to produce the right kind of worker.

These concerns about the prevalence of casual and temporary workers seem to echo an analysis by Nikolas Rose of texts from late nineteenth century England on urban demoralisation (Rose, 1985). According to Rose, these texts on urban demoralisation depict employment status of the working classes as a manifestation of their social character. In these texts, the casual labourer was seen as dangerously close to unemployed, and vastly different in character to those with regular, permanent work. Demoralisation was seen as a problem of the unemployed classes that led to social distress and was passed through generations, negatively affecting the whole population (Rose, 1985).

Theories relating to the mentality of the worker and adjustment to the conditions of work are also discussed in other analyses that focus on workers during the period following the First World War. In another of Rose's books *Governing the soul: The shaping of the private self* (1999a), he presents an analysis of 'the contented worker', looking at discourses of worker mentality that existed in Britain during the inter-war years. Although this analysis is focused on the changing discourses around the welfare of the labourer, the commonality with my analysis here is the picture it paints of the tensions of fitting the individual into the structures of industry. Rose's analysis draws attention to a contrast between the needs of industry, which similarly in his analysis seem relatively fixed; and worker subjectivities, which he argues becomes increasingly individualised and psychologised during this time (Rose, 1999a). These problems of place, fit and perspectives on worker mentalities are issues that were taken up by a returned soldiers' group, the New Zealand Returned Soldiers' Association, as I discuss in the next section.

5.3.3   The Returned Soldiers' Association and the emerging problem of disability

> Already [in April 1918] the number of returned soldiers in New Zealand is
> about 20,000. The word 'problem' is used in regard to the present total; what
> will it be when the number is 100,000, unless the best minds in the country
> are used for the making of a sound national policy? [...] The executive of the

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[29]Commission of Inquiry into the Position of Physically and Economically Incapacitated Soldiers, 1929a
[30]Barton et al., 1930, p. 11

N.Z.R.S.A. modestly reminds the community that returned soldiers do have some thought about their future; they do have opinions on repatriation; they do wish to be consulted fairly; they do desire to comment on the schemes proposed for their welfare.[31]

In this section, I look at how the case concerning the need to make vocational provisions to assist those who had been disabled in the war was, to a large extent, brought together and organised around the political lobby efforts and in the publications of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers' Association (NZRSA). The NZRSA was an organisation formed in 1916 to be a collective voice for the tens of thousands of men returning home from the war. The associations were localised and democratic, and emphasis was put on the idea that the organisation was for ordinary ex-soldiers who had fought in the ranks (often referred to as 'diggers'), making the criteria for membership simply soldiers and sailors honourably discharged (Melling, 1952). The association, therefore, was seen to be a voice of ordinary men and had a focus on public advocacy, forming an important player in voicing the interests of returned soldiers, and quickly becoming a powerful lobby group.

Disability and unemployment of returned soldiers was the topic of much concern and discussion within the NZRSA, to the extent that a sub-committee was set up in 1919, known as the 'Permanently Disabled Soldiers Subcommittee'.[32] Arguments that pointed to the new rehabilitation schemes that were being implemented in other countries, along with literature and expert opinion regarding the health benefits of employment to individuals and the economic costs of unemployment to the country were often published in the organisation's monthly magazine. The following quote, from an article provokingly titled *Case of the maimed: citizen or incubus?* is typical of a number of similar sentiments published in the magazine between 1918 and 1930. Sentiments like this one clearly positioned disabled ex-soldiers as importantly different to other cases of hardship.

The pension ensures that he [the maimed man] shall not starve. But then the most drunken waster who ever lived, who has done no good either for himself or his country, is rescued from absolute starvation. And the margin between actual starvation and the life the maimed soldier might have lived had he remained whole, is a wide one.[33]

In these sorts of statements, it appears that the view of the authors is that life on a pension was not a satisfactory return to civil life. The NZRSA also regularly made submissions to state government asking for better assistance to be made available for disabled ex-soldiers. According to the association's own publication, the NZRSA was instrumental

[31]New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association. (1918b, 25 April). "Quick March." *Quick March: Official paper of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association*, 1.

[32]Andrews, E. F. (1919). Disabed men. Helping themselves, they also need friends. *Quick March: Official paper of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association*(May), 38.

[33]Begbie. (1919). Case of the maimed. Citizen or incubus? *Quick March: Official paper of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association*(June), 40–41.

in initiating the 1929 Commission of Inquiry into the position of physically and economically incapacitated soldiers.[34] It certainly appears from the proceedings of this inquiry that the various local associations were active in organising a range of witnesses for the inquiry.[35]

Although injury and illness experienced by soldiers had been acknowledged and addressed through medical care and retraining schemes since before the end of the war, it was mainly through the activities of the NZRSA that longstanding *disability* as a result of the war became a subject of discussion in New Zealand.[36] The NZRSA was the body that kept watch on returned soldiers after their discharge from defence forces, and the place to which other organisations and the men themselves would come for advice and assistance.[37] It was also the body that observed those illnesses and complaints that arose after discharge, sometimes several years after return. It was largely through the NZRSA that it became accepted that it was because of *disability*, rather than idleness, or poor moral conduct, that there was still a large number of unemployed ex-soldiers by the end of the 1920s.[38] In the remainder of the chapter, I will examine this idea more closely, looking at how particular discourses and events coalesced around the NZRSA to make disability visible, and an issue of political importance.

Discourses of duty: soldier, society and state

One of the ways in which soldiers' plights were highlighted in the texts from the NZRSA and others was an appeal to the discourse of the citizen. As seen in the earlier section on governing discharged soldiers, discourses concerning duties of citizenship had been deployed by the state in calling on the people of New Zealand to play their part in helping to re-establish returned men in civilian life. These same discourses were also deployed in a different way by the NZRSA, as illustrated in the following quote:

> As soon as an employer learns that his applicant is incapacitated, the chances of obtaining a light, suitable job vanish like the mist over the Tinakori Hills. […] Did New Zealand, when she sent her best on an errand of duty, expect that her maimed and lamed would have to fight again for an honest living?[39]

This appears as a criticism of the state and other citizens for failing to fulfill a reciprocal duty owed to the 'citizen army' by ensuring a decent living for those who had

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[34]New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association. (1929b, August). Rehabilitation of the disabled: Commission requested. *The N.Z.R.S.A. Review*, 9–10.

[35]Commission of Inquiry into the Position of Physically and Economically Incapacitated Soldiers, 1929a; 1929b

[36]Andrews, 1919; New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association. (1919, 10 September). Permanently disabled men. *Quick March: Official paper of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association*, 71.

[37]Commission of Inquiry into the Position of Physically and Economically Incapacitated Soldiers, 1929a; 1929b

[38]Commission of Inquiry into the Position of Physically and Economically Incapacitated Soldiers, 1929a; 1929b

[39]New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association. (1923, 10 March). The employment of disabled soldiers. *Quick March: Official paper of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association*.

fought for their country. Below I will look at three interrelated discussions of the idea of 'duty' in the texts from this time. The duty that had been fulfilled by the citizen soldier in fighting for the Dominion (New Zealand as a dominion of Britain); the duty of society in showing compassion and consideration for the returned soldiers; and the duty of the state in ensuring that those who returned from war service were able to live a decent civilian existence.

From the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 until the introduction of New Zealand citizenship on 1 January 1949, New Zealanders including Māori were counted as British Citizens (Archives New Zealand, 2012). The model of citizenship in this context can be described as 'liberal', where citizenship is understood primarily as a legal status entailing rights and responsibilities within the community of citizenship, but not an obligation to be actively involved in governing that community (Leydet, 2011). In the various New Zealand texts from this time discussing war disability and return to civilian working life, it is relatively uncontested that one of the responsibilities of citizenship (in the case of fit men) was to fight in the New Zealand army. An idea that gathered an increasing amount of weight in the years following the war was that there was seen to be a corresponding *right* to a decent living if the effects of that war service left a person unable to maintain a living through usual means; and the enactment of this right in particular was considered by many to be a duty of the state, the authority responsible for sending the men to war.

> The soldier does not ask for any gift or reward for fighting, but he does ask recompense for loss or disablement, and an opportunity to secure, through his own efforts, a competent living, so that he may enjoy the years of peace that he has fought for.[40]

The duty of citizen to country, and state to ex-soldier was also often connected with reference to the army recruitment drive, an earlier appeal to reciprocal duties of citizenship which had seen "promises [assurances of good future civilian life] which rang out from every recruiting platform during those early dark and anxious days."[41] Very many of the demands made by the NZRSA in the post-war period made reference to the fulfillment of these promises. Mention of state reciprocal duty to the returned men were also made by many of the witnesses during the 1929 inquiry, and the wording of the report strongly reinforces this discourse, calling on the state to "link up the State's duty in the matter of pension with the State's duty in the matter of rehabilitation"[42] by providing for adequately resourced vocational rehabilitation.

To an extent, these arguments about the duty of the state implied that the state was considered the representative of the political community that the 'citizen army' had served.

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[40]Batten, C. W. (1918). Repatriation. Wanted – commonsense. Need of a department. *Quick March: Official paper of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association*(May), 23.

[41]Evans, H. (1919). New nation reconstruction. The state and the soldier (British Empire and reconstruction). *Quick March: Official paper of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association*(April), 15–17.

[42]Barton et al., 1930, p. 10

However, calls to the duty of other members of the community regarding employment were also prominent.

> In the overcrowded labour market of the pre-war years 'get on or go under,' 'the weaker go to the wall,' 'the survival of the fittest' were the mottoes which governed the working world. It is up to all whom fortune has allowed to remain in safe civil life to see that the men who fought for them are not, on their return, subjected to such a test. Especially we must protect those who have suffered impairment.[43]

The discussion of citizenship and society in the post-WWI period was not, however, restricted to duty, and discourses of duty were not the only discourses producing the conditions to which provision of vocational rehabilitation for disabled ex-soldiers was a key response. As mentioned above, a feeling that pensions were not a satisfactory solution to the fulfillment of the state's duty to ex-soldiers was an important component. In addition, perceptions of a potential threat to population wellbeing and security developing as a result of the high proportion of unemployable men also emerged. I will present a discussion of this in the next section.

5.4   The risk of 'unemployable': work-ability and population security

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the emergence of the post-WWI disabled worker highlighted particular economic discourses, which held that the structure of the 'industrial and economic machinery' of the time was contingent on a workforce of people who could maintain permanent jobs in established industries. Furthermore, the concept that employment was a primary means by which the country would recover from the effects of war emphasised the significance of economic systems to the perceived wellbeing of the country and its population. In addition, discourses showing an inherent connection between the viability of economic systems and the wellbeing and security of the population were employed, sometimes in alarmist ways, in texts from the time discussing the problems of war injuries. The following example comes from the editorial from the first issue of the NZRSA members' magazine, which discusses the problems of government after the war. This is a long account, which I have shortened in order to highlight the relevant points:

> It is a truism that the better a country is 'governed and regulated', the better it will be able to treat the men who suffered in helping to save the State [...] one has only to think of a single family, self-reliant on a lonely island. [...] Suddenly, two of the sons are so crippled by accident that they have to be regarded as non-producers. The family has to be 'regulated and governed' now in a manner to carry the two cripples. [...] Unless the sound members of the

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[43]Evans, 1919

family arrange their work to meet the new position all may suffer—especially the cripples. This figure gives a picture of New Zealand as one big family, with many members maimed by the war. The others must work with increasing efficiency in order to assure a decent standard of comfort for the others.[44]

What can be seen in this extract is an explicit association between work and production and the wellbeing of the collective, alongside a message that the role of the state in governing the country is to ensure that the wellbeing of the collective is maintained. Thus, we can see articulated here a link between the wellbeing of the population (the domain of the state) and the functioning of industry. As such, the effectiveness of the state in its role safeguarding the population's wellbeing can be seen to be directly associated with the proper functioning of its industrial systems, to which competent workers are vital. This way of formulating population wellbeing makes conceivable certain types of arguments. For example, within this framework it appears as evident that the inability of large numbers of individuals within a population to participate in work (as a result of war injuries) will affect the wellbeing of the whole nation. Hence, as argued by a representative of the Labour party in 1918;

> It has to be borne constantly in mind that it is better for both the men and the general community that they should be given useful employment rather than become a burden both to themselves *and the public*.[45]

Of course, it must not be overlooked that 'the public' and the state were interlinked. As the state provided pensions for war disabled, the population from which the state derived its income was part of this system and was therefore exposed to the associated 'burden'. Indeed, a recently published book by historian Beth Linker (2011) argues that the economic burden produced as a result of the duty to provide war pensions was a main driver for the introduction of rehabilitation in post-WWI United States of America. However, in the texts from New Zealand, the security risk associated with having a high number of unemployed and disenfranchised men was a very prominent issue. Particularly in the texts published by the NZRSA and the testimony of witnesses for the 1929 Commission of Inquiry, there are explicit statements tying issues of *employment* (as opposed to income) for disabled individuals to grave problems that affect society as a whole.

> It is a poor economy which makes a saving with one hand and causes the worst kind of waste with the other—the waste of men-power. […] The [out of work] individual feels resentful, and may lend an ear to the doctrine of persons who advocate 'the social revolution'. […] New Zealand is a country where anarchy should never be able to rear its ugly head.[46]

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[44] New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association. (1918a, 25 April). Editorial. *Quick March: Official paper of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association*, 13.

[45] Read, 1918, my emphasis

[46] New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association. (1922, 10 May). The National Need. *Quick March: Official paper of the New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association*, 28, my emphasis.

The discourses I have described above that linked the productive industry of the country and individual ability to work to the wellbeing of the population made it possible for arguments like these to be made—arguments that would help make schemes of assistance for these men in the form of vocational rehabilitation thinkable and doable, and a reasonable response. These sorts of statements demonstrate that the issue of having large numbers of men who were unable to work could be considered a serious risk for the nation. This analysis is reinforced in connection with Foucauldian discussions of governmentality, introduced in Chapter Two, which I develop further in the next section.

5.4.1 Disability as risk

New Zealand in this period could be broadly characterised as having a liberal economic political system, although the way in which this was enacted was slightly different compared with Britain at the time, as a result of the particular colonial context. For example, in New Zealand there was a lot more state involvement in industry because of a need for the establishment of 'essential' industries such as infrastructure and agriculture (Bassett, 1998). As introduced in Chapter Two, liberal economic thought promoted the idea that market processes associated with industry operate best with a minimum of intervention, as interference could upset the natural systems and cause economic problems. Thus, the view was that interference with industry was not desirable, and indeed could even be dangerous. This discourse can be seen in the difficulties with fitting returned men into the industrial system as discussed earlier in this chapter. Alongside and in tension with this, state governments, because they were responsible for acting for the wellbeing of the population, had an imperative to act to ensure that these 'natural' market operations were not at risk from 'unnatural' disruptions, such as those caused by war. Furthermore, an association between the strength of industry and the wellbeing of the population, and thus the potential risk from large-scale disability, is also seen in the texts from this period.

What was emphasised in the publications of the NZRSA and then the 1929 Commission of Inquiry was a situation in which the decisions by the state (to go to war) had caused a disruption to industrial processes (male citizens serving as soldiers and experiencing disability on their return), causing a situation in which industrial systems were not operating as they should. Thus, the problem of disability was affecting the health of industry, which had in turn been associated with both the repair of the country after the war and the wellbeing of the general population. In addition, disability was also threatening the population in a different sense—the "waste of manpower" and a risk of disenfranchised unemployed men becoming inclined towards "social revolution."[47] In this way, disability had become a problem relating to the security of the population and the state. I will now turn to the literature on 'governmentality' specifically, to further discuss the issue of security in liberal government.

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[47]New Zealand Returned Soldiers Association, 1922

Hindess (1997) characterises the problematic of security in liberal government as being about how to ensure that the free activities of the population do not disrupt or undermine the necessary activities of government: that the population chooses to behave according to the systems that ensure society functions well (Hindess, 1997). One example of an analysis that is particularly relevant here is Mitchell Dean's (1991) analysis of pauperism in Britain. Dean (1991) proposed that the advent of 'pauperism' in liberal market societies can be seen as an effect of discourses that transformed the constitution of poverty into something that needed to be acted on. According to theories of pauperism, one of the possible effects of poverty was that the poor became demoralised and therefore preferred to subsist on charity rather than work, and irresponsibly reproduced, creating the conditions for disease (which affected the whole society) (Dean, 1999). The indigent poor, therefore, needed to be subject to governmental measures that would deal with demoralisation and ensure that the poor would act as they should in a liberal market society—preferring labour over charity (Dean, 1999). It is with the notion of pauperism that there was the introduction of a range of policies and laws for governing the economic activities of the poor in Britain in a time when governmental intervention in the market was generally seen to be injurious to the economy (Dean, 1991).

There are some similarities between Dean's analysis of pauperism and the portrayals of war disability I have described—demoralisation certainly comes through in many of the descriptions, such as the 'drifter', and the resentful, out of work individual. However, there is an element in my analysis that separates the disabled ex-soldier from the indigent poor. In the conceptions of disability seen in the texts I analysed, the disabled ex-soldiers are not only existing outside the defined economic and industrial system, but they are doing so because they *cannot* chose to live within it. The situation that is emphasised by the NZRSA and the 1929 Commission of Inquiry is that the war disabled are not choosing a life of idleness, they are forced unwillingly into this sort of existence by nature and circumstance. Thus there is seen to be another type of poor—not indigent, but disabled. Furthermore, the duty of the state to those disabled by the war is not fulfilled in the granting of a pension because, as medical reports, the NZRSA and other charitable organisations, and even the state post-war propaganda demonstrated, both the men and the nation itself were crippled if these men were not participating in the 'economic and industrial machine'. As such, it seems the only conceivably appropriate response was to somehow enable these men to work again—to re-enter the machinery and find another place in the work-a-day world.

5.5   A response: trade training tailored to individuals

The response proposed by many, and officially recorded in the 1930 report from the Ex-Soldiers Commission[48] was a dedicated re-training programme for disabled ex-soldiers,

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[48]Barton et al., 1930

dealing simultaneously with retraining the skills and the mentality of the men—refashioning both their physical abilities to fit a place in the 'economic or industrial machine' and their subjectivities as permanent, skilled workers. The Disabled Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment Act set up the Disabled Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment League, which became a state funded and affiliated vocational rehabilitation scheme dedicated to "link up the State's duty in the matter of pension with the State's duty in the matter of rehabilitation."[49] The features of this scheme were to be first, that it would treat the men as individuals and acknowledge that each had specific training needs, both mentally and physically; and second, that the scheme would also administer the pension, to improve on the existing practice where a workplace visit from the police was the method used for clarifying pension eligibility in cases where a man on an economic pension (the pension for ex-soldiers who were unemployed because of disability) had found work. In many ways, this new scheme was an acknowledgement that war disability was different to unemployment and required a different response; that the need to get the disabled ex-soldier back to employment was important to the nation; and that the state would accept the task of rehabilitating rather than just pensioning those disabled in the war.

5.6   Concluding summary

The analysis described in this chapter shows that in the context of the economic and industrial system of the time following WWI in New Zealand, the vast numbers of men whose skills and abilities had been affected by their war experiences posed a significant problem for both the individual men and society as a whole. Economic and industrial discourses in which both unemployed men and casual and temporary workers were seen as a risk to wider society positioned those unable to get skilled, permanent work in undesirable circumstances. Even those who had sufficient income through pensions were shown, according to medical experts, to have worse health and wellbeing than those who had work. As such, promises by the state that men would return home to normal civil life were not, in actuality, being fulfilled; and the view, especially of the NZRSA and other sympathetic factions, was that the reciprocal duty of the state to the men who had fought in the war was not being upheld if disabled men were not given vocational rehabilitation. The key discourses deployed by those aiding disabled ex-soldiers revealed that disability was different to just unemployment and warranted a different response; that this disability posed a serious risk to individuals and society; and that the state had a significant responsibility in the matter. Vocational rehabilitation in this milieu was conceived of as trade training specifically targeted at the needs of disabled ex-soldiers, and solely available to that section of the population. The next chapter offers a contrast with this, with analysis of texts focusing on a time following the end of the Second World War in which the idea that vocational rehabilitation should only be offered to ex-soldiers was problematised; and an

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[49]Barton et al., 1930, p. 10

examination of the status of people who were unable to be rehabilitated to the extent that they could sustain normal employment was highlighted.

6

Social security and citizenship: work in the New Zealand welfare state of the 1950s

6.1 Introduction

The analysis in this chapter focuses on a time during which there was a reduction in the need for vocational training for ex-servicemen from both world wars, but a return to the question of vocational rehabilitation. During this time, the participation of disabled *civilians* (as opposed to ex-servicemen) in work began to be discussed, debated, and acted upon. I present an analysis of New Zealand texts spanning from the minutes of a conference in 1947 of government departments interested in the matter of vocational training, to the Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act 1961, which legalised sheltered workshops, special workplaces specifically for disabled people who were unable to gain normal employment.

As with the previous chapter, the analysis is anchored on particular sets of events that made the discourses around work-disability visible. In this period, these were debates around future use of the Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League (DSRL); the efforts of the Department of Labour to get the public hospitals to coordinate rehabilitation aimed towards placement in work; and the activities of various community organisations in setting up and campaigning for special workplaces for disabled people. The analysed texts include policies, reports, advertising, photographs and minutes from the DSRL; meeting minutes of a government inter-departmental committee on civilian rehabilitation and reports and surveys on civilian rehabilitation; correspondence between the Department of Labour and public hospitals including the proceedings from a large seminar in 1958; letters, proposals, articles, brochures and petitions from organisations advocating for sheltered workshops and other types of special workplaces for disabled people; and various memos and policy statements from government departments around civilian rehabilitation, including drafts of the Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act.

This chapter centres on a problematisation of the status of disabled civilians (as opposed to ex-servicemen) concerning access to vocational training and employment. I have structured the discussion of the analysis with reference to a particular shift seen in the texts. This is that despite very firm decisions by government authorities *against* the provision of vocational rehabilitation and special employment provisions for disabled civilians in the early 1950s, part of this decision had been reversed to allow civilians into the DSRL by

1954, and various government authorities had begun an active programme of intervention promoting vocational rehabilitation and investigating various options for sheltered employment by 1958. On first encounter, this seems a surprising turn of events, but there are a number of discourses in the texts from this time that intersect, highlighting how it was possible for a significant shift to occur in such a short period of time. In the following sections, I take this shift as a starting point from which to discuss my analysis, focusing on discourses relating to social welfare and citizenship, discourses of worker subjectivities, and the place of work in a society focused on governing 'social' aspects of life. The imperatives that these discourses produced in the context of New Zealand society and government at this time will be brought into the discussion at the end of the chapter.

6.2 The welfare state and social security

In order to set the scene to examine the discourses of this time concerning employment and vocational rehabilitation, I will briefly discuss more generally the differences in mode of government that are evident compared with the texts discussed in the previous chapter, and link these to some of the broader governmentality theory relating to this time. In my introduction to governmentality and citizenship in Chapter Two, I discussed the relationship between bio-politics and the discourse of 'social' life. In the texts discussed in this chapter, discourses concerning 'social' existence had become central to the way in which the life of the population was talked about, and references to various 'social' concerns are frequent in texts relating to work disability and vocational rehabilitation. In terms of government, this idea of the 'social' had taken a foreground; and while the capitalist system of economy and industry were relatively similar compared with the period discussed in the previous chapter, the aims of government were noticeably different. In the post-WWI period, governmental concerns had primarily focused on ensuring the operation of industry and the economy, with social issues being seen as a part of the management of the economy. During the time covered in this chapter, governmental focus was much more about *acting on* the social effects produced by a capitalist industrial system.

Systems designed to improve social conditions were often at the level of direct intervention into the health and wellbeing of the people, and aimed at ensuring, as far as possible, equal access for all citizens to things that were considered the basics for a healthy existence. These included 'social services' such as public healthcare, and a comprehensive system of 'social security' benefits in which the state provided an income to people who were unable to earn it themselves through employment. This mode of governing is often referred to as a 'welfare state' (Boston, 1993). This move toward a social approach to government was not unique to New Zealand, and has been discussed extensively by Foucauldian scholars in regard to how it manifested in various countries. Here, I will briefly extend the introduction to the welfare state given in Chapter Two to provide some context for the remainder of this chapter.

Rose (1999b) describes welfare states as being about governing from a social point

of view. He examines a socialisation of life that occurred in welfare societies, with the emergence of a wide array of programmes and institutions concerned with knowing and governing 'social' aspects of life. People were seen to have social responsibilities, there were social needs such as social security and social welfare, and there was a proliferation of new occupations that acted on the social—such as social workers, social psychologists, health visitors and their equivalents. Dean (1999) similarly extends the discussion by Foucault of welfare state mentality, positioning the welfare state as more of an ethical ideal than an art of government. He characterises the welfare state ethic as an attempt to bring together firstly the notion of citizenship as belonging to a political community and exercising associated freedoms and rights (a traditionally exclusionary practice, with many people falling outside the definition of citizen); and secondly the bio-political concern for action to improve the welfare of individuals in order to ensure the wellbeing of the population (as discussed in my introduction to bio-politics in Chapter Two). The concern with the 'social' and the link between this and citizenship can be seen often in the texts from New Zealand at this time. In the next section, I will discuss this link, drawing on an influential theoretical text from the early 1950s.

6.2.1   Citizenship in the welfare state

> Citizenship is a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed. There is no universal principle that determines what those rights and duties shall be, but societies in which citizenship is a developing institution create an image of an ideal citizenship against which achievement can be measured and towards which aspirations can be directed. The urge forward along the path thus plotted is an urge towards a fuller measure of equality, an enrichment of the stuff of which the status is made and an increase in the number of those on whom the status is bestowed.[1]

This extract is taken from a well-known essay *Citizenship and Social Class* by the British sociologist T. H. Marshall, published in 1950. Although the essay can be seen as a social commentary on Britain at the time, the arguments put forward parallel those from a similar time in New Zealand, particularly concerning a desire to strive towards achieving equality of all citizens in those parts of life seen as basic to a decent human existence. Marshall argued that a society in which each individual regardless of social class was guaranteed the minimum needed for a decent life, led to a better-off population overall. He also pointed out that the complexities of realising this ideal were many and varied, and initiatives needed to be carefully thought through and monitored.

Discourses of a healthier, happier, and more secure population through universal citizenship, as achieved by planned government intervention, can be observed in the welfare

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[1]Marshall, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class and other essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 29

state policies of New Zealand during the 1950s. As stated by the Minister of Social Security in a 1949 publication, "New Zealand's Social Security Scheme is based on a broad and human conception of citizenship. The principle behind the [Social Security] Act is the desire to provide for all who, through misfortune beyond their control, need help."[2] The same publication also links social security policies to a concept that "every citizen had a right to a reasonable standard of living,"[3] and reports that "the general health of the people of New Zealand has benefited considerably" from the universal provision of healthcare.[4] The introductory section concludes that "the aim has been, and still is, to enable the people to share and enjoy the fruits of their labours for the nation,"[5] indicating that social security was seen as a provision accorded within a society in which the people worked "for the nation."

One of Marshall's concluding arguments is of a changing balance between rights and duties, and he used work as an example. In a society that considers the basics of life (food, shelter and so on) to be a *right*, work had become a corresponding *duty*. Marshall argued that before the existence of a right to the basics of life, whether one chose to work or not was his or her own business, as was the degree of poverty in which he or she lived. He reasoned that in earlier times, "no continuous scale of rising standards of consumption existed to entice the labourers to earn more in order to spend more on desirable things hitherto just beyond their reach."[6] The available luxuries were limited by large gaps in means. For the working classes, one of the only luxuries within their means was idleness, hence to earn more than one needed to survive, if it meant to work harder or longer, was at the expense of this luxury. Marshall argued that in this context, personal obligation to work was not something that was strong, except in the simple terms of needing to have enough to live. Therefore, in the context of a society where each person has a right to a basic level of subsistence (or better, some argue), the enticement to work must operate differently—it must become a reciprocal duty—for instance as conveyed in the idea of working for the nation, highlighted in the previous paragraph. Another aspect was the changing structure of social inequality. In contrast to earlier times, inequality, now comparatively reduced, had become an *incentive* to work because, with the basics guaranteed, it was possible to see how paid work could be used to attain a better life.[7] As highlighted in the following paragraphs, both the conception of work as the normal duty of a citizen, and the idea that work provided the opportunity to achieve a better life can be seen in the New Zealand texts from this time.

As introduced already, in New Zealand in the 1950s, maintaining oneself and one's dependents was still a crucial responsibility, but concerns regarding what would become

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[2] New Zealand Social Security Department. (1949). *Ten years of social security in New Zealand.* Wellington: New Zealand Social Security Department., p. inside cover

[3] New Zealand Social Security Department, 1949, p. 1

[4] New Zealand Social Security Department, 1949. p. 2

[5] New Zealand Social Security Department, 1949, p. 2

[6] Marshall, 1950, p. 79

[7] Marshall, 1950

of people who were unable to work was to a large extent alleviated by a comprehensive system of social welfare benefits.[8] As I shall discuss in detail later in this chapter, the role of work had become much more linked to civic participation and achieving a better life, and alongside this, participation in work was linked closely with the status of citizenship. Marshall's call toward "an enrichment of the stuff of which the status is made and an increase in the number of those on whom the status is bestowed"[9] suggests that in a society, there are certain things that convey the status of citizenship. Discussions about work for disabled civilians in New Zealand at this time suggest that in New Zealand society, 'useful employment' was considered one of the things that conveyed citizenship status:

> They are, however, units of our community, their main requirement being the opportunity to relieve their monotonous shut-in existence on an invalidity pension and the financial strain attached to this, by useful employment. [...] The keenness and interest displayed by those so employed, proves that all they needed was the company of others, relief from financial strain, and the knowledge that instead of being useless, they can pull their weight, to make them self-reliant citizens.[10]

This sort of image of a section of the community cut off from the social and societal participation in work, implied that one was not a full member of society without some sort of 'useful employment'.

What I have sought to provide in this discussion of citizenship in the context of a welfare state, is a background as to the governmental milieu within which the discourses relating to employment and vocational rehabilitation during this time were situated. In the next section, I will discuss some of the early discourses about training and employment of disabled civilians in the context of government decisions following the Second World War, which will be contrasted later in the chapter with divergent discourses that appeared in texts very soon afterwards—producing actions that were quite different to what might have been expected based on these early decisions.

6.3 Potential workers: subjectivities and state responsibility

The texts from the first few years following the Second World War highlight a question in government circles concerning the future of the training and rehabilitation infrastructure that had been in place for two decades to cater for the vocational needs of returned servicemen. A review of these facilities, their current use and capacity, the things that had been learned during their operation and what this all meant in terms of their future

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[8] New Zealand Social Security Department. (1957). *Social security cash benefits in New Zealand*. Wellington: Social Security Department.

[9] Marshall, 1950, p. 29

[10] Disabled Citizens Society. (1958, 6 September). *Letter to Prime Minister regarding provision of sheltered workshops* [Letter]. Employment - vocational training of disabled: rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1/Part 8, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

use or otherwise, were topics for discussion and debate. In the original report from 1930 which had led to the establishment of the Disabled Soldiers' Re-establishment League, there had been mention made of the possible future use of these facilities for those who became disabled as a result of industrial accidents, so it is not surprising that the question of disabled civilians entered the discussion.[11] However, in the discussion a number of difficulties were encountered with this proposal, which I outline below.

6.3.1 The concern with creating a potential worker from an 'invalid'

Minutes from a conference of government departments interested in the matter of vocational training in 1947 document a discussion on the issue of 'vocational training of civilians': whether it should be offered, and how it should be governed.[12] The meeting in one sense dealt with questions of who might be considered potential workers, and the important question of what to do about those who go through training and are still unable to undertake a job in competitive industry — in other words, people who had been encouraged to consider themselves workers or potential workers and then did not fulfill the necessary criteria.[13] One of the reasons this particular issue was so prominent related to the existing policies about trainees in the ex-servicemen schemes.

> COL. BARRINGTON: The policy still is as you originally laid down but we have to remember that over a period of 25 years or so now you have that gradual accumulation of 2–3 men each year who are not fit or suited to be placed in outside or private employment. A lot of these men have come back to the [Disabled Servicemens' Re-establishment] League. They have had breakdowns etc. and they are not suitable to be employed out in the world and they come back to the League where they can be profitably employed. MR. MCQUEEN: Is Mr Waters afraid that if you introduce civilians there will be a similar group of permanent civilians. MR. WATERS: Yes.[14]

This quote relates to a policy that is stipulated in the 'rules and policy of the league' pamphlet, 1953;

> It is the League's policy to train them [disabled ex-servicemen] to be efficient tradesmen in the shortest possible time, thus enabling them to take their place as useful members of the community. Where, through disabilities suffered, trainees are incapable of achieving this standard, they will be carried on as

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[11] Barton, J. S., Luke, J. P., & Harrison, S. J. (1930). Ex-soldiers Rehabilitation Commission: Report of commission appointed to inquire into and report upon the position of physically and economically incapacitated soldiers. *Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1930*(H), 39.

[12] Baker, F. K. (1947, 20 November). *Memorandum: Vocational training of civilians both disabled and fit*. Vocational training of disabled persons: trade training (30/2/0 Part 1, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[13] Baker, 1947

[14] Baker, 1947, p. 5

trainees or employees of the League, with such financial assistance from the Rehabilitation Board as may be required.[15]

As can be seen in the first quote above, the concern expressed is that if vocational training was offered, employment in some capacity would become an expectation of the trainees, and the responsibility for providing this in instances where employment in outside industry was not possible would fall on the training provider or the state. The experience with the war disabled had been that some of the trainees were never able to return to industry, being unable to gain competitive employment. Logic would say that this would be at least as big a problem among the civilian disabled, and crucially too it would be an ongoing issue, unlike the temporary nature of war disability. This posed a substantial problem concerning the provisions for those trainees who never made it into outside employment.[16]

As discussed in the section above on citizenship, in the context of the welfare state, the emphasis of government was direct intervention into social security, and the wellbeing of citizens was key to this. In these early government texts, there is a sense of concern that if disabled civilians come to be seen as potential workers through the offer of training, their social role will shift. In other words, if the training was unsuccessful they may come to be seen as disabled workers rather than invalids. While the invalid's benefit was already a part of the social welfare system, provision for employing disabled civilians was not, and as such the state may be taking on a potential liability by introducing training for disabled civilians.

6.3.2 The operations and capacity of the Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League (DSRL)

A further concern with extending the service for ex-servicemen to civilians was apprehension about whether the operations of the DSRL—the current government-approved scheme—were capable of handling this extended responsibility. A report presented to Cabinet in 1950 after an investigation of the matter and the current facilities reported that there were "major grounds for the view that the League is not the most suitable channel into which a new training scheme should be directed."[17] This conclusion was linked to a number of problems highlighted by an investigation into the current operations of the DSRL, and an extrapolation as to the effects these would have when applied to a disabled civilian population. Conclusions that this proposed route would be expensive and ineffective were based partly on existing qualms about the limited range of trades that

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[15]Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League (Inc). (1953). *Rules and policy of the Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League (Incorp)* [Pamphlet]. Wellington: Disabled Servicemen's Training Centre.

[16]Baker, 1947

[17]Director of Employment, & Director of Rehabilitation. (1950, 20 March). *Use of Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League's centres for the training of civilians* [Report]. Rehabilitation Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League (CAB234/3/1 Part 1, C375016). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

were taught, cumbersome operational systems, difficulties in placing ex-trainees in employment, and the calibre of staff employed as trainers.[18] This was further supported by a view that disabled civilians would be more suitably provided for though subsidised placement in private employment, and that there would be less sympathy in the community for a publicly-funded training scheme and eventual post-training placement in industry when it came to civilians.[19]

It is worth noting here that the wording of the report suggests that the scope of 'disabled civilians' in this report is limited to people who had previously been employed, stating that the current plan for the "complete rehabilitation of disabled civilians" aims in the first instance at "returning disabled persons to their normal work wherever possible."[20]

6.3.3   Special provisions as unsuitable

At this time, there was some considerable discussion around the options for implementing schemes that provided special employment for disabled people like those in other countries such as Britain.[21] However, it was felt that industries in New Zealand were unsuitable for introducing regulation similar to what existed in larger countries without serious consequences in terms of their viability.[22] Furthermore, it was seen that because of New Zealand's small size, vocational training had to be coordinated nationally rather than being the concern of big industrial organisations;

> The big industrial organisations overseas have their own vocational training centres […] That is alright in big countries, but in places like N.Z. where there are no big industrial undertakings it has to be looked at from a national viewpoint.[23]

As such, the main option considered was in extending the current provisions that were available for disabled ex-servicemen to disabled civilians. However, with little information about the numbers of people this might encompass, the potential costs for the state was a large unknown factor.[24] The early discussions and decisions such as the minutes from the 1947 meeting[25] and the memos about decisions regarding the future of the DSRL and other training provisions from the post-war infrastructure,[26] convey a confidence that the

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[18]Director of Employment, & Director of Rehabilitation, 1950

[19]Director of Employment, & Director of Rehabilitation, 1950

[20]Director of Employment, & Director of Rehabilitation, 1950

[21]Baker, 1947; Remploy Ltd. (1951). [Letter to New Zealand Migration Office outlining their work]. Social Security Department Head Office — Remploy Ltd. Sheltered employment for disabled ex-servicemen & civilians in U.K. (8/4/66, C590424). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[22]Department of Labour. (1959a). Employment – vocational training of disabled: rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 Part 9, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[23]Baker, 1947, p. 10

[24]Baker, 1947

[25]Baker, 1947

[26]Director of Employment, & Director of Rehabilitation, 1950; Minister of Labour and Employment, Minister of Rehabilitation, & Minister of Health. (1950, 3 July). *Use of rehabilitation trade training centred for the training of civilian adults* [Memorandum]. Rehabilitation Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League (CAB234/3/1 Part 1, C375016). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

decision about provision of vocational training and employment provisions for disabled civilians rested with government officials, and as such was in the control of the state. With these concerns and considerations, the provision of vocational rehabilitation services to disabled civilians was seen to be unnecessary (as benefits were provided), cumbersome and potentially expensive. However, it was not very long before discussion of this issue moved out into the community and began to be examined by the media, becoming a social issue, and this decision was to be revisited several times. In the next sections I will introduce some of 'social' aspects of this problem, moving on to look at the discourses that began to emerge relating to the role of work in a person's life over and above the issue of income.

6.4 'Social' citizenship and participation in employment

> While it is socially and economically desirable that all persons should be able to support themselves fully, it is accepted in our society that the State gives support to those who are mentally or physically unable to provide the necessities of life. *In many cases, more important than provision of physical needs is the need for giving such persons a feeling that they have a place in life in society and are giving services in return.*[27]

At this point, I would like to examine the discourses that connected welfare state government with issues around employment for disabled civilians. Exploring employment for disabled civilians came to be seen as such an important issue, as illustrated in the above quote. The welfare state policies in New Zealand at this time provided 'social security' benefits for those who were unable to support themselves otherwise, and provided funds for infrastructure and public services that were considered to be essential to afford the population a reasonable life. As I show below, although income was not such a dominant concern as it had been in the post-WWI period discussed in the previous chapter, work in itself had come to be seen as a central part of everyday life. In this milieu, questions about work being an area of life considered to contribute significantly to a person's wellbeing began to arise again, with a new focus. Concerns about the effects of some people not participating in an activity that was a normal part of daily life came to the fore in the context of debates around equality, the hallmarks of life as a citizen, and what opportunities should be afforded to a person so they can enact their citizenship duties and rights.

6.4.1 The want for a 'useful life'

One notable point about the way in which work is discussed in the texts from this time, is that it is often referred to in terms such as giving service, or being useful. In this,

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[27]Inspector of schools. (1959, 10 April). *Petition to Hon. Minister of Education. Employment of handicapped adolescents in government and State assisted department*s [Letter]. Staff – Miscellaneous – Employment of Disabled Persons (25/0/33 Part 1, C324195). Archives New Zealand, Wellington., my emphasis

there is a tone of both reciprocity and belonging. These sentiments appear equally from official authorities, advocacy organisations and disabled people themselves. There are many examples, some of which have already appeared in the quotations above, but I will give a few more here in illustration. In the minutes from the 1947 meeting of authorities with an interest in vocational rehabilitation on the subject of training disabled people for employment introduced in the previous section, it is commended that one arm of the DSRL is offering sheltered conditions and thus "providing useful employment for men who could not get it elsewhere."[28] A circular letter to employers from the New Zealand branch of the British Epilepsy Association notes that it is "difficult to find persons with sufficient understanding to employ epileptics and so enable them to lead useful lives."[29] A 1958 Auckland Star article quotes a "Dunedin paraplegic" as knowing that "dozens of disabled persons capable of doing various types of work" were leading "senseless, useless lives at home," and that "given the opportunity, they could lead useful lives."[30] This is often accompanied with references to the 'community,' invoking a discourse that the people in question belong to a collective, and with that comes a feeling of wanting to be a contributor to that collective. It is clear too that work is seen as the primary means of achieving this contribution. Thus, in the social welfare society of the 1950s, work-disability was not so much a financial as a social problem, as income was guaranteed, but work was a central part of social life in the community.

6.4.2 Social welfare and work

Discourses that engagement in 'useful employment' was important over and above the income it provided appeared as a problem in a system of 'social welfare' that provided an income (in the form of benefits) to disabled people, but not the opportunity for employment—at least not for people who were classed as civilians rather than ex-servicemen. Furthermore, this was problematic in the context of discourses of universal citizenship associated with the welfare state ideology and described by Marshall,[31] in which a well-functioning society was one where all citizens were entitled to the things that were basic to a decent life in that particular society. The wellbeing of disabled people (who, as can be see in the discussion so far, were citizens with rights), and as a flow-on effect the wellbeing of the communities to which they belonged, was at stake if some ways of addressing this problem were not taken up. In a sense, work had come to occupy simultaneously the classifications of duty and right.

Dean (1999) argues that this sort of problem can be seen to be a difficulty inherent to

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[28]Baker, F. K. (1947, 20 November). *Memorandum: Vocational training of civilians both disabled and fit*. Vocational training of disabled persons: trade training (30/2/0 Part 1, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington., p. 5

[29]Skelton, D. H. (1957). *New Zealand Branch of the British Epilepsy Association: Circular letter to all employers*. Auckland.

[30]Auckland Star Staff Reporter. (1958). People 'just talk' about civilian rehabilitation. *Auckland Star*.

[31]Marshall, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class and other essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

the art of government associated with welfare states. He explains that the social subject who has needs, the prudential subject who has responsibilities, the economic subject who has interests and the juridical subject who has rights are all brought together in the ideal of the welfare state in a "'hybrid' assemblage of unstable elements" (Dean, 1999, p. 177). It is in the bringing together of these often contradictory views of the subject that it becomes possible that something that was a *duty* of citizens to the state can come to simultaneously occupy the role of a *right* of those same citizens, which the state bears responsibility to provide for.

6.4.3   The problem of productive capacity

While work may have been identified as a right, as with the post-WWI period opportunities for gaining employment were constrained by the systems of industry and employment. Consistent with the structures of industry at the time, the possible options for addressing opportunity for work for disabled civilians focused on the models of specific trades (as taught by the DSRL) or factory-type production work. In this context, 'productive capacity', expressed in terms of a percentage of normal production and applied in the assessment of earning ability, was a concept around which many of the discussions about the vocational rehabilitation and employment of disabled people in this time were centred.

> It must be recognised that as work from outside industry must be undertaken at competitive rates, the margin as between production costs and proceeds is so slender as to be eliminated once overheads are included. Experience to date with this form of [sheltered] workshop both overseas and in New Zealand confirms that because of restricted productive capacity of workers, production cannot be economic or self supporting and assistance by such means as continuation of pension and subsidies to meet overhead costs is essential.[32]

> Ex-trainees [of the DSRL] suitable for sheltered employment only: These are disabled civilians who have undergone training but found to have a limited productive capacity [in the trades taught] of not less than 50%.[33]

Productive capacity was largely assessed in the context of trade training, and although this process had been in place for ex-servicemen, little had been done before to assess the productive capacity of civilians who were on an invalid benefit. Although it was assumed based on the fact they were on a benefit that their productive capacity was low, it was stated that little more was known about their capacity other than information that could be collected from workshop schemes, advocacy organisations and the authorities who administered benefits.[34] Additionally, many initial judgements about capacity appear to have

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[32]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation. (1960a). *Provision of sheltered employment for disabled persons*. Vocational training of disabled: Rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 part 9, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[33]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation. (1960b, 2 June). *Report of the "working party" of the inter-departmental committee on civilian rehabilitation*. Vocational training of disabled: Rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 part 9, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[34]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation, 1960b

been made based on medical condition, which also informed opinions about suitability for training, with physically disabling conditions being considered most suitable.[35]

It is pertinent to discuss here the system of work and wages at this time in New Zealand because of the differences compared with the present-day. The system of capitalist industry and employment under the welfare state operated much like a highly regulated variety of the liberalist industry of earlier years. As highlighted by Foucault (2008c) and discussed by Rose (1996a), welfarist policies and social government were considered by many theorists to be a reaction to a range of poor social conditions that were seen to be created by 'laissez-faire' practices of classic liberalism (see discussion of liberal economics in New Zealand in Chapters Two and Five), but welfare-focused mode of government did not seek to change the systems of industry so much as put additional systems in place to compensate for its ills. The form of capitalism that was in operation did not change much from earlier years, but was subject to a much greater degree of state intervention. In this context, the liberal capitalist concept of 'exchange' still very much structured notions of employment. Employment in New Zealand was talked about as being an arrangement in which a person would fulfill the duties of an employee in exchange for a wage, which they could be expected to live on. The key point here is that being an employee was a formal status in which each party had particular obligations, many of which were set out in legislation. For example, the industrial legislation at the time provided for both minimum wages (different for men and women) and protection against non-standard working hours (New Zealand Legislation Institute). Award wages were determined for each trade or occupation in terms of the normal wage for a full-time worker, and differences in minimum wage between rates for men and women reflected the differences in cultural norms as to what their financial obligations were expected to be (New Zealand Legislation Institute).

In the years even before minimum wages were legislated in New Zealand, remuneration and provisions for men in work and training often took into consideration the obligations of the employees (mostly marital status and number of children).[36] The forty-hour working week as an exchange for a living wage was the way in which work was talked about at this time in New Zealand, and this was strongly defended by labour unions.[37] Hence, when it came to considering the possibility that there may be a permanent section of the population who have a *right* to work, but may not be able to sustain the standard hours, or work to the level of productivity that employers required to run their businesses competitively, the whole area seemed legally dubious and socially problematic. While under-rate provisions existed, these were considered cumbersome, and in a typical workplace the normal state of play was that these were not used to employ disabled people

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[35]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation, 1960b

[36]Commission of Inquiry into the Position of Physically and Economically Incapacitated Soldiers. (1929, October – November). *Notes of evidence* [Proceedings of sittings for Commission of Inquiry]. Commission into the circumstances of disabled soldiers (Book 1, T/65/1). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[37]New Zealand Parliament. (1961). *Parliamentary debates (Hansard): Forth session, thirty-second parliament 1960*. Wellington: R.E. Owen, Government printer.

except in special circumstances.[38] Furthermore, for the first time the discussions began to include the notion that disability for work was not a temporary problem, but one that would continue to arise for the foreseeable future.

> The majority of disabled civilians who are coming forward for training are those who have never been employed and are in receipt of Social Security benefits. These people are suffering from congenital or childhood disabilities, some of whom have made valiant attempts to obtain employment without success.[39]

6.5 Vocational rehabilitation as a co-requisite of sheltered employment

By the late 1950s, an increasingly widespread discourse that opportunity for employment was a right, combined with the problem of the limited 'productive capacity' of disabled people, was fueling a movement within the community towards the introduction of segregated workplaces and sheltered employment. As discussed in detail below, although the result that had the biggest impact was the initiation of sheltered workshops for disabled civilians by various community organisations, there were a number of schemes during this time that attempted to address the need for disabled civilians to have employment, each highlighting slightly different discourses. By 1958, government authorities had begun investigating these initiatives, assessing the current and future impact of them and the need for government involvement and regulation. At the same time that these investigations were being conducted, there was a sudden push to deploy various parts of the welfare state machinery—in particular public hospitals and the DSRL—in assisting disabled civilians to be rehabilitated and trained for employment. Also at this time, sheltered employment began to be discussed by the Department of Labour as a part of the vocational rehabilitation framework.

In this section, I will argue that this renewed interest by the government in vocational rehabilitation, and the inclusion of sheltered employment in its fold, was in response to what was seen by government authorities (and others as well) as an inevitable move towards the provision of sheltered employment for disabled civilians. In this context vocational rehabilitation was a way of managing costs while still maintaining social needs, by ensuring that segregated employment was also accompanied by the normalising arm of rehabilitation. I will discuss the existing models of sheltered employment that guided discussions about employment for disabled people in this direction; other initiatives that emerged during this period; and the investigations of government authorities into this area

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[38]Department of Labour. (1959b, 25 June). *Sheltered Employment — exemption of employees from requirements of Minimum Wage Act, I. C. & A. Act and Factories Act*. Vocational training of disabled: rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 part 9, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[39]Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League (Inc). (1959). *Jubilee Number: Twenty-fifth annual report and balance sheet 1958/59 incorporating twenty-five years of league history*. Wellington.

and subsequent actions taken. I will then bring this together to support the argument that in the context of making employment available to disabled civilians, the re-emergence of vocational rehabilitation discourses was related to the move towards sheltered employment, which was driven by discourses of citizenship rights and industrial needs. As stated in a memo to the interdepartmental committee on civilian rehabilitation and quoted by Sir Charles Burns in the opening address of a seminar for medical staff in 1958, "[rehabilitation's] aim is to enable him [sic] to resume his place as a responsible citizen, and to contribute in the fullest possible manner to the physical, mental and social welfare of the community."[40]

6.5.1 Existing and emerging employment initiatives

Existing models of sheltered employment

Segregated workplaces that were sheltered from 'outside industry' were not a new concept, and existing schemes and discussion both overseas and within New Zealand provided a model that guided the debate about how to afford disabled people access to employment. The most prominent of these was run by the DSRL. 'Economic pensioners' (a pension to compensate for economic disadvantage due to war disability) from the First World War were still being employed by the DSRL under sheltered conditions to provide them with an occupation and a small income to supplement their pension. Additionally, more recent ex-servicemen trainees of the DSRL from the Second World War were kept on as employees of the DSRL if they did not reach full 'productive capacity' by the end of their training.[41] Other organisations, such as the The Christchurch Aged People's Welfare Council Incorporated, were involved in the running of sheltered workshops for the aged to provide for people who were not participating in the general workforce.[42] Schemes outside of New Zealand often entered the discussion as well. The example of Remploy in the UK, a company that employed thousands of disabled people in factories, was an oft-cited success story in providing special, sheltered workplaces for disabled people.[43] At this time sheltered workshops for disabled people were envisaged as a dedicated facility where people with low productive capacity could be 'usefully' employed, thus providing a solution to the problem of access to employment for disabled people.[44]

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[40]Department of Health. (1958). *Rehabilitation: A report on a seminar held at Queen Elizabeth Hosptial, Rotorua 5th 6th and 7th August 1958* [Seminar proceedings]. Employment – vocational training of disabled: rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 Part 8, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[41]Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League (Inc), 1959

[42]Advisory Committee on the Care of the Aged. (1959). *Minutes of a meeting of the Advisory Committee on the Care of the Aged, 10th April 1959*. Care of the Aged – Advisory Committee – Minutes (104/25/1/3, C307615). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[43]Auckland Star. (1964, 7 July). How Britain is rehabilitating her handicapped. *Auckland Star*, p. 11.; Remploy Ltd. (1951). [Letter to New Zealand Migration Office outlining their work]. Social Security Department Head Office — Remploy Ltd. Sheltered employment for disabled ex-servicemen & civilians in U.K. (8/4/66, C590424). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[44]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation, 1960b

Employment initiatives for disabled people

Although sheltered employment was a proposal that gained a lot of attention, there were also a number of other schemes initiated in New Zealand during these years that were focused on getting people who had been identified as disabled to train for and try employment. For school-leavers who had been educated in special classes for disabled people, an initiative referred to as 'after-care committees' worked to get these school-leavers work experience and placement in employment. In reports relating to their set-up and activities, it was indicated that employment was seen as an important route to becoming normal citizens who led lives in the community rather than becoming institutionalised.

> In practice the Vocational Guidance Service and the Child Welfare Division were not able to give the measure of specialised help in the vocational and personal fields that many of these [special class] children need. In 1953 the special class teachers in Christchurch won the support of their colleagues for setting up a community after-care committee …The need for after-care has been emphasised by local investigations undertaken with the co-operation with the universities. […] Too many who were intellectually capable of earning a living ended up in a mental deficiency institution.[45]

Another key initiative during this time was the 'special placement officers' in the Department of Labour. These officers were primarily Department of Labour initiative, and they were charged with liaison with public hospitals and appropriate directing of people disabled by accident or illness into new work opportunities or training with the DSRL.[46] These officers were key to the initiative to introduce vocational rehabilitation in public hospitals, as discussed in the following section about government investigations.

By 1959, there was also the enterprise of Abilities North Shore, whose objective was to show the community that disabled people could *run* their own factory—taking it one step further than just being employees and running a business themselves, done in their own way.

> The aim of the factory was to prove to the community that there was no disability—rather degrees of ability. It hoped to break down the prejudice that existed against disabled people being given jobs.[47]

An article in the *North Shore Times* stated that from its inception, Abilities North Shore took on labour jobs, and for each job decided how the combined abilities of the employees would be utilised to achieve the task.[48] This was quite different to the prevailing thinking

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[45]Department of Education. (1958). *After care of handicapped children* [Report on current situation]. Employment – Vocational training of disabled persons: trade training (30/2/0 Part 1, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[46]Auckland District Special Placement Officer. (1960). *Annual report 1959/60 – Auckland District Special Placement Officer*. Vocational training of disabled: Rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 part 9, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[47]New Zealand Herald Staff Reporter. (1960, 7 March). Disabled people run factory: Unusual experiment pays off. *New Zealand Herald*, p. 12.

[48]North Shore Times Staff Reporter. (1966, 16 February). "Give us a chance." *North Shore Times*.

(discussed earlier in this chapter) in which there was a set trade or job entailing certain tasks that a person must have the capacity to do before they are considered employable. Thus, in a sense this scheme highlighted some key problems for disabled people trying to secure employment. The model for Abilities North Shore was based on a company called Abilities in the United States of America, which had publicised this new idea by sending an LP record of their annual report for the year 1958 around the world. This had reached a member of the Takapuna Rotary Club and the club provided the initial startup funds for Abilities North Shore.[49] Abilities North Shore offered segregated employment, but it was not sheltered employment as they employed people under conditions set out in industrial law and paid award wages.[50] All these initiatives and the discussion around the need for them highlights a feeling that there was an urgent need for employment opportunities for disabled people, and in response various community groups were beginning to take up this task.

6.5.2 Government investigations into special employment

The attitude of state government in the discussions about provision of vocational rehabilitation and employment opportunities for disabled people on social security benefits by the late 1950s was quite different from what it had been a few years earlier. As briefly discussed earlier in this chapter, a proposal to introduce legislation to compel employers to take on disabled workers was considered several times during the early 1950s but each time rejected. Britain had a disabled register, which people entered voluntarily; those on the register being required to prove by medical evidence that they were disabled (Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation, 1958). This register was coupled with a quota system for employers, which designated that companies over a certain size had to have a small percentage of registered disabled people in their employ, and also a 'designated employment scheme' that reserved certain occupations for disabled people.[51] Each time the possibility of having a system like this was proposed, it was concluded that these measures were inappropriate in New Zealand. This was partly attributed to the differences in employment patterns in New Zealand, with so few companies being large employers, and partly because it was seen as insensitive to suggest that employers hadn't already voluntarily taken on disabled employees, jeopardising their good-will by suggesting that they should be compelled to do something they would have already done if it were possible.[52] The other aspect to this was that it was seen to be largely unnecessary in a population the size of New Zealand at a time of very low unemployment to introduce special provisions for the employment of disabled people. This reflected the view that those who could be

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[49]North Shore Times Staff Reporter, 1966

[50]New Zealand Herald Staff Reporter, 1960

[51]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation. (1958). *Rehabilitation of the disabled* [Discussion on requests for adopting UK provisions in NZ]. Employment – vocational training of disabled: Rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1/Part 8, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[52]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation, 1958

employed would have taken up retraining or subsidised employment options that were introduced in the mid-1950s and for which there was very low uptake; "As at 31 July 1958, 28 persons were being trained in the League's Training Centres and 16 persons were in private employment on a subsidised basis."[53] Further contributing to the view that special employment provisions for disabled civilians were unnecessary was a perspective that the people who were receiving social security benefits were incapable of working.

> The great majority of disabled Social Security beneficiaries were receiving Invalid's Benefit, the statutory qualification for which is that they must be totally and permanently incapacitated for work of any kind. Whilst some Invalid's beneficiaries have been admitted to the Training Centres for trial periods, it can be said in general that these beneficiaries are incapable of being trained or employed.[54]

In contrast to these earlier actions and decisions, a government inter-departmental committee on civilian rehabilitation began investigations into the provision of vocational rehabilitation and supported employment for civilians in 1958 under the new Labour government. By this time a movement in favour of the introduction of segregated and sheltered employment was becoming widespread, and the Labour Department government archives files from this time document that several government departments were receiving letters, proposals and reports looking for legal or financial support for the introduction of sheltered employment.[55] The investigations, aided by various other organisations, highlighted several existing community initiatives which were either operating sheltered workshops with the support of unions and the Department of Labour or looking to start up a sheltered employment scheme in the near future.[56] Following these investigations, by 1960 the committee had concluded that sheltered workshops seemed to be a necessary move due to the large number of disabled civilians who were unsuitable for vocational training through the DSRL.

> Without them [sheltered employment and occupational workshops] there is no positive alternative to offer handicapped civilians who are unsuitable for

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[53]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation, 1958

[54]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation, 1958

[55]Department of Labour. (1958a, 9 April). [Reply to inquiry from New Zealand branch of the British Epilepsy Association]. Employment – vocational training of disabled: rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 Part 8, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.; Department of Labour. (1958b). Employment – vocational training of disabled: rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 Part 8, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[56]Department of Labour. (1960). *Provision of sheltered employment for disabled persons* [Background to Act]. Employment – Disabled persons employment promotion: bill and general correspondence (30/2/10 Part 1, C373079). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.; The Committee on Further Training and After Care of Handicapped Children. (1959, August). *Summary of sub-committee's finding on the need for sheltered workshops*. Vocational training of disabled: Rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 part 9, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

vocational training but who are obviously better off being occupied.[57]

Notes on the background to the Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act, which legalised the exemption of registered sheltered workshops from certain employment and industrial legislation, observed that the organisations already offering sheltered employment were providing a "social service."[58]

6.5.3 Vocational rehabilitation as limitation of liability

> Commendable as disability benefits no doubt are, they should not be regarded as a substitute for endeavours to habilitate disabled persons to the fullest possible extent and to achieve in them a sense of usefulness. In the Committee's view, there is an obligation on the part of the Government to give a lead in providing these opportunities. If it does not, outside voluntary organisations and splinter groups will, but as experience already shows, Government will be asked to support them financially. By means of a Government sponsored scheme through the Disabled Servicemen's Re-Establishment League, the Committee would point out that the operation will be in the hands of an organisation experienced in this field and can therefore offer greater value than if Government provided financial assistance to outside groups for the same purpose. By operating through the D.S.R. League, Government will also have a greater measure of liaison and control than would be the case with other organisations.[59]

The quotation above could serve as a summary of the position of government authorities by 1960. A sharp contrast can be seen compared with earlier government texts on decisions about special employment provisions and training for disabled civilians, in that this time the conclusion is that these provisions *should* be made as a matter of some urgency, and that the state should be the main provider.

In many texts from throughout the 1950s it is made explicit that sheltered employment was an unappealing option to government authorities, and considered a last resort. The expressed concerns are that without other measures in place there was serious potential for exploitation, in particular a risk of having people in sheltered employment who might very well be capable of normal employment. There was a concern that the sheltered workshop environment, if not carefully managed, would be disruptive to the capability of some individuals. In this reasoning, the presence of those who are severely disabled may be "detrimental to those who are at least in part capable of performing some of the tasks

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[57]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation. (1960c, 19 July). *Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation – Sheltered employment and occupational workshops for disabled civilians*. Vocational training of disabled: Rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 part 9, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington., pp. 5–6

[58]Department of Labour, 1960

[59]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation, 1960c

involved in production."[60] Another related concern was that once in a sheltered environment, people who may have been capable of rehabilitation to normal productive capacity would become "difficult to shift."[61]

In the late 1950s, once it became clear that there was a strong community movement for the introduction of sheltered employment (and indeed some existing schemes), sheltered employment suddenly began to be discussed as something that the state needed to take control of.

> [It is recommended that] except where the Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation recommends otherwise, applications from outside organisations for Government financial assistance towards sheltered employment purposes be declined.[62]

Sheltered employment also began to be talked about in government discussion as something that needed to be seen in the context of vocational rehabilitation. One model that was reproduced in various reports and correspondence showed sheltered employment as part of a plan for vocational rehabilitation, coming last in a hierarchical list of four vocational rehabilitation options for disabled people:

> The establishment of sheltered workshops was intended to be considered by the Government as part of a long range programme and only as the final stage in the introduction of a comprehensive scheme for the rehabilitation of disabled persons. The Comprehensive Scheme comprises four stages. i) The hospital stage, which begins at the time the disability is sustained and the period during which the patient receives treatment. ii) Reconditioning stage. This involves the admittance of the disabled person to a medical reconditioning centre (commonly referred to as a rehabilitation centre). iii) Retraining stage. If at the end of stage (ii), placement in gainful employment is not possible vocational training may be carried out either with private employers or in training centres established for the purpose.[…] iv) Sheltered employment stage. This is the final stage of the comprehensive scheme envisaged for the eventual adoption in New Zealand. This entails the establishment of workshops in which various tasks would be undertaken by those persons whose disabilities are such that they are never likely to be able to take up normal employment.[63]

The alignment of sheltered employment with rehabilitation was also communicated by an insistence that sheltered employment should not be allowed to be provided in association with private industry, but should be an enterprise in itself, run by organisations that

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[60]Department of Labour. (1958c). *Proposed establishment of a "sheltered workshop" in Christchurch* [Report on proposal]. Employment – vocational training of disabled: rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 Part 8, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[61]Department of Labour, 1958c

[62]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation, 1960c

[63]Department of Labour, 1958c

were dedicated to this cause. This is emphasised in a letter by the Department of Labour to an interested party during the drafting of the Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act included in the background files for this Act at Archives New Zealand.[64] This had the effect of positioning sheltered employment as a public service, aligning it with rehabilitation rather than industry.

In addition to this, a campaign by the Department of Labour for implementation of vocational rehabilitation for civilians featured a series of liaisons with the public health services, an active promotion of rehabilitation ideals and advocating for co-operation with the Labour Department to achieve placement in work.[65] The deployment of medical infrastructure for the purpose of vocational rehabilitation is notable because of its contrast with the community initiatives, which were not associated with medical services. One example from a report on vocational training and employment states that "because job placement must be determined by an individual's medical condition, it is important that all phases of his [sic] rehabilitation should be closely linked with the public hospital."[66] In the government texts, the view that disability is the domain of medicine is very prominent. The public hospitals are suggested as the obvious coordinating authorities to the extent that everything including those enterprises that had been the domain of charitable organisations should be directed through them.[67] As well as being a method of actively bringing together all initiatives associated with the employment of disabled civilians, it is possible that (as implied in the opening quotation for this section) the Departments of Labour and Health, among others, could see it as a viable means of achieving a measure of governmental control, as the public hospital system was a key part of the machinery of the welfare state.

In order to achieve this shift in the responsibility for vocational rehabilitation towards medical authorities, active promotion in the medical community of a discourse that convalescence was an inferior means of recovery compared to rehabilitation was evident from the speakers and presentations that populated a large seminar organised and sponsored by the Department of Labour for senior medics in 1958.[68] This extract from the opening address provides an example of the tone of the presentations.

> What a regrettable sight it is to wander around the wards of any of our hospitals and there to see so many persons capable of doing a very great deal with their hands, to say nothing of their minds, idling away the hours, with fruitless conversation, and the only forms of diversion the wireless, cheap magazines,

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[64]Department of Labour, 1960

[65]Department of Health, 1958; Department of Labour. (1958d, 3 December). *Rehabilitation of the disabled – liaison with public hospitals*. *Volume II, circular number 26* [Memorandum]. Employment – vocational training of disabled: rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 Part 8, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[66]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation subcommittee. (1959, 10 April). *Vocational training and sheltered workshops*. Report. Employment – vocational training of disabled: Rehabilitation of disabled civilians (30/2/1 Part 9, C373078). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[67]Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation subcommittee, 1959

[68]Department of Health, 1958

and the race-book […] Rehabilitation is not an activity where employment officials take over at the stage at which the Medical Staff leave off. The medical services and the employment agencies must work concurrently hand in hand.[69]

However, although disability and rehabilitation was considered firmly the domain of medicine, placement in and maintenance of employment was still considered to be resolutely outside it, and as such, vocational rehabilitation occupied a point of intersection between medicine and industry. Indeed, vocational rehabilitation was seen to sit on the boundaries of a number of different authorities. The Inter Departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation, which was the main governmental organisation that investigated vocational rehabilitation and sheltered employment at this time, had representatives from the Health Department, Labour Department, Social Security, Treasury and Education, signaling that vocational rehabilitation was a matter of concern across a number of government departments.

6.6 Vocational rehabilitation and supported employment as mechanisms of normalisation

The work envisaged by the League in the future is of a more permanent nature than that which has been accomplished in the past, and it is by no means of less importance to the nation. The conversion of 'national liabilities' into 'national assets' is an idea which will always have the support and good wishes of the community.[70]

The above quotation comes from the "Jubilee" report of the DSRL, published in 1959. It highlights a key point about government in a welfare state and how this relates to vocational rehabilitation for disabled civilians. Although the focus of government during this time was on social welfare, the image of an ideal citizen—the citizen whose welfare is secure—is still tied to economic imperatives. The capitalist economic system requires workers, and as Marshall points out, in a society in which work is not a necessity for an individual to earn an income to survive, it must become a duty of citizenship.[71] From an economic point of view, citizens who draw on the state's resources without contributing to them are 'liabilities', and those who contribute to the state's resources are 'assets'. The citizen who leads a 'useful life' thus becomes the ideal for a strong state, and as government in a welfare state is about governing the social, the image of an ideal citizen becomes a government objective. In this way, normalisation towards that ideal is an important mechanism of social government. Vocational rehabilitation was a mechanism of normalisation,

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[69]Sir Charles Burns, in Department of Health, 1958

[70]Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League (Inc). (1959). *Jubilee Number: Twenty-fifth annual report and balance sheet 1958/59 incorporating twenty-five years of league history*. Wellington.

[71]Marshall, T. H. (1950). *Citizenship and social class and other essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 29

and this is highlighted by the circumstances under which it was deployed—a reaction to the emergence of sheltered employment.

Stiker (1997) argues that rehabilitation is the enactment of a 'will to normalise'. This image of rehabilitation as normalisation is echoed in descriptions of the vocational rehabilitation and supported employment initiatives in the DSRL. The most in-depth text on the matter of creating workers from civilians who had never worked was associated with the DSRL around their proposals to incorporate civilians into their activities.

> Under the 'Economic' scheme [the scheme for disabled servicemen receiving an economic pension] only one type of person is met, the disabled servicemen; in this case previous experience in employment makes it unnecessary for training in the rudiments of discipline and normal employment procedures. They will also, in the majority of cases, fit into the environment of the job; the difference in respect to the other type is that the environment for the disabled civilian has to be created.[72]

A lot of emphasis is put on suggested methods of molding the disabled civilian into the subject of 'worker'—the sort of person that is capable of doing a job and fitting into a work environment. Suggestions for how to discipline these individuals in order to shape them into workers are given, including lectures and education sessions on various topics such as "authority and the necessity for discipline," "co-operation and team work," "if in doubt on any question, go to the supervisor," "why they are there, and the purpose of the scheme."[73] Thus, even with this scheme, which was expected to operate outside of normal industry (specifically set up for disabled individuals), the emphasis was much more on transforming the non-worker subject into a quite specifically defined 'worker' subject, than expanding the category of 'worker' to include people it had not included before. For example, the point is made that "if we are to achieve any success at all in educating these people for employment, they should at least work the hours of the factory."[74]

The case in New Zealand is interesting in that systems for the vocational rehabilitation of disabled civilians did not immediately and automatically follow those for disabled soldiers. In many ways, this has served to highlight the discourses that produced the conditions in which vocational rehabilitation became necessary. The welfare state ideal of the working citizen, emerging discourses that in an equal society disabled people should have the right to lead a 'useful life', and the problems of 'productive capacity' under the existing systems of industry and employment, led to a problematic situation. In a context where systems of special provisions for the employment of disabled people adopted in other countries had been rejected in New Zealand, the movement towards sheltered

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[72]Collins, J. H. (1961). *Disabled civilians occupational workshops: A place for the employment of disabled civilians with an earning capacity of less than 50 per cent* [Report]. General lending New Zealand Pacific Collection (PAM 331.590993 COL 1961). National library of New Zealand, Wellington., p. 1

[73]Collins, 1961, p. 5

[74]Collins, 1961, p. 2

employment posed a serious risk of a section of society moving into a system of employment that would cost the state more than the existing benefits.[75] The coupling of sheltered employment provisions with vocational rehabilitation, and its repositioning as a part of the vocational rehabilitation structure, brought it back into the fold of a programme of normalisation towards the ideal of the working citizen.

> As these disabled civilians are all a charge of the State and in the majority of cases have been so for years, the moral victory both to the individual and the League when final placement is achieved, is encouragement indeed.[76]

6.7   Concluding summary

In this chapter, I have outlined my discourse analysis of a period during which New Zealand saw a shift from providing vocational rehabilitation only to ex-servicemen to extension of these provisions for civilians as well. In particular, I have explored how notions of citizenship in this time intersect with discourses of industry and disability, illustrating the constraints faced by disabled civilians with regard to participation in industry and the effects of these constraints given the significant place that work occupied in the life of citizens. Contrasting with the post-WWI period covered in the previous chapter, both periods show a governmental concern with ability and access to work, these being linked with the wellbeing of citizens; and both highlight discourses of rights and duty. However, in the period covered in the present chapter, the issues of access to work were extended to include people who had never worked and had never before been expected to work, accompanying a concern for a right of all citizens to have equal access to the fundamentals of civilised life—work having come to be understood as one of those fundamentals. In the next chapter I will present a discourse analysis of a series of events that occurred a few decades later, during which a discourse of rights was also prominent but the enactment of rights had come to be understood in a different way and associated with quite different effects for practices of vocational rehabilitation.

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[75]Cost estimates given in Inter-departmental Committee on Civilian Rehabilitation, 1960c

[76]Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League (Inc), 1959

7

Rights rather than services: 'full participation' in employment for 'the disabled'

7.1 Introduction

The analysis in this chapter focuses on another major shift in vocational rehabilitation practices and provisions, during which there was an emphasis on the rights of disabled people to have a say regarding the structure of services that affected them and to have access to 'normal' (rather than segregated) employment. The chapter discusses my analysis of New Zealand texts spanning from a decision by the National Civilian Rehabilitation Committee to order a review of rehabilitation in New Zealand in 1979 (which manifested as the Bolt-Heggie report of 1982[1]); to the disestablishment of the Rehabilitation League (formerly the Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League) and its restructure as Workbridge in 1990. The texts analysed include documentation around the purpose and activities of the Rehabilitation League including reviews and restructuring plans; correspondence, proposals and publicity from Manawatu Enterprises (a sheltered workshop set up in the early 1980s); publicity and events associated with the International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP) in 1981; information and position statements from Rehabilitation International and the Disabled Persons Assembly; correspondence and activities from the Department of Social Welfare and their various advisory committees about employment for disabled people; and proposals coming out of universities, hospital boards, employer groups and community groups for improving vocational rehabilitation and employment for disabled people.

The discussion in this chapter focuses on the problematisation of participation and rights concerning what 'real' participation constitutes, as opposed to segregation, marginalisation and discrimination. The analysis draws extensively on discourses about the rights of disabled people concerning their involvement in the community, which were prominent in the texts from this period. This includes the activities of groups representing disabled people; shifts in the goals for assistance and support; and actions taken by government authorities. The activities, reviews and restructuring of two organisations—Manawatu Enterprises and the Rehabilitation League—are discussed as examples showing the shifts in dominant discourses of vocational rehabilitation at this time.

[1]Bolt, R., & Heggie, E. G. (1982). *Report of the rehabilitation review committee*. Report. Department of Social Welfare. Wellington.

7.2 A focus on 'normal' vocational options for disabled people

A major theme in the texts discussed in this chapter is the right of disabled people to participate in 'normal' society and 'real' work, as opposed to limited training options and sheltered workshops. At the end of the 1970s and 1980s, the main options described in the texts for disabled people who were unable to access work were the assessment and training offered through the Rehabilitation League and participation in a range of sheltered workshops that were situated in various areas of the country. However, each of these were described in such a way as to emphasise that they were supposed to be transitional — offering 'training' or 'experience' or both. The Rehabilitation League was the latest iteration of the Disabled Servicemen's Re-establishment League, offering assessment, training in a limited range of skills and some limited-term sheltered work. In contrast to the iterations of the League discussed in previous chapters, the training offered was not so much 'trades', but skills such as factory-style manufacturing, clerical skills, creative skills and food service skills that may or may not constitute qualification for a particular job.[2] Sheltered workshops such as Manawatu Enterprises, which was set up at the beginning of the 1980s, were argued to offer work experience — a step towards finding 'normal' employment.[3] This sort of scheme was structured around doing assembly, basic clerical and other light labour work on contracts from various organisations.[4] In addition to these options for 'training' and 'experience', there were various campaigns to give disabled people direct access to jobs in the 'normal' workforce, such as promoting awareness among employers of the abilities of disabled people, and schemes to encourage the creation of positions for disabled people, both of which I will discuss in more detail later in this chapter.

In general, the language in the whole range of texts from this period displays a focus on the problem that there was a distinct section of society, often referred to as 'the disabled', who disproportionately experienced unemployment and limited work options compared with the rest of society. While the acknowledgement that disabled people experience difficulties with employment is fairly similar to what I have described in previous chapters, the unification and politicisation of this group 'the disabled' is much more distinct. I argue in this chapter that this is one of the conditions of possibility for the drive towards integration of disabled people with the 'normal' workforce, as well as an increasing focus on rights and representation in vocational rehabilitation provision.

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[2]Rehabilitation League NZ (Inc). (1989). *General information on branch programmes* [Report]. Restructuring papers: Rehabilitation League New Zealand Inc: Records (91-005-2/18). Alexander Turnbull Library Tapuhi, Wellington.; Riddell, M. (1987). Counting crayons. *New Zealand Outlook*, 36–43.

[3]Manawatu Enterprises. (1989). *Vocational opportunities support, training and education of people with disabilities – agreement for participation* [Letter of agreement for funding of services]. Vocational Opportunity Support Programme – Palmerston North – Manawatu Enterprises (VOSP 19-2 Part 2, C502937). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[4]Manawatu Enterprises. (circa 1985). *We …can offer. See Manawatu Enterprises* [Brochure]. Palmerston North: Manawatu Enterprises.

7.3 'The disabled' as a unified and politicised group

> From the discussions emerged the need, expressed in fighting terms by a representative of the blind community, for the disabled to get better organised amongst themselves and to present a united, fighting front.[5]

The importance of the identification of a group of people called 'the disabled', both by those who were members of that group and those who were not, is evident in the texts from this time. Membership of 'the disabled' was ascribed to people with identifiable and describable physical or mental impairments, and in this sense it was an exclusive group. This exclusivity is apparent in statements such as in the following discussion of a report from the minutes of a meeting of a government advisory committee, the Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons (ACCWDP), in 1980. The concern was that "severely disabled persons" were put in the same category as "disadvantaged people".

> The council felt that the title's use of the term 'disabled' was misleading because the [report] chapter discussed disadvantaged people as well […] It was agreed that the chairman should release a press statement expressing disappointment that the report did not take a more positive approach to the employment needs of severely disabled persons.[6]

To a much greater extent than in the texts analysed in previous chapters, 'disabled' was positioned as an identity as opposed to a description of circumstances—a subjectivity by which people recognise themselves and others. This also shifted the positioning of disability to being something that was more about a group of people than individual circumstances, which is highlighted in references to a disabled 'community' and an increase in the number and strength of disabled advocacy groups such as Disabled Persons Assembly, formed in the early 1980s.[7]

Although the word 'disabled' derives its meaning from its contrast with 'able', the subjectification of disability around this time also involved somewhat of a dissociation of disability from its contrast with ability. One example of this is the byline of the Disabled Persons Assembly, which appeared on all their publications and letterhead: "Disabled Persons Assembly—we can."[8] Another example is frequent mentions —particularly in

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[5]Beatson, P. R. (1981). *The disabled and work : A report on a seminar on the employment of the disabled, held in Palmerson North in October 1981*. Palmerston North: Faculty of Business, Massey University., p. 15

[6]Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons. (1980a). *Minutes of the 24th meeting of the Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons* [Meeting minutes] (MS-Papers-5526-2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington., p. 4

[7]Department of Social Welfare. (1986a). *Draft proposal for a consultative committee on disability and rehabiltiation* [Proposal]. Advisory Council for Community Welfare of Disabled Persons – Administration and Establishment (ACCWDP-CD-3-1, C503034). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[8]Disabled Persons Assembly (New Zealand) Inc. (1991a). *Policy: We Can* [Policy booklet]. Wellington: Disabled Persons Assembly.

relation to employment—of the lack of recognition of how able 'the disabled' are. For example, during discussion of a document promoting employment of disabled people, one member of the advisory council mentioned above "said he felt the paper did not stress sufficiently the value to employers in having disabled people on their staff,"[9] emphasising that the document should discuss the *capabilities* of disabled people. Furthermore, during a seminar organised at Massey University about disabled people in employment there were many assertions about how able 'the disabled' were, for example one disabled person talked about how having a 'disability' did not mean that a person was not able, stating that it was "important to realise that so called 'disabled' people can also be the sole bread-winners for a family."[10]

The promotion of the abilities of disabled people, the idea of a disabled community, and the dissociation of the identification of a disabled person from any particular measure of ability also implied that identifying or being identified as 'disabled' was seen to be something relatively unchanging—that a disabled person was unlikely to become a non-disabled person. One of the key ideas was that the actual disadvantage experienced by 'the disabled' did not arise from the condition of the physical body that qualified them to be called 'disabled', but the negative discrimination they encountered in society from having that label. For example, the statement from Douglas MacLean from Massey University during a seminar about the role of the disabled in the International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP), that "disability occurs whenever we put a label on a person which prevents him [sic] from realising his full potential."[11]

In addition to being emphasised as a subjectivity, this focus also objectified 'the disabled', with texts indicating that 'the disabled' was seen as a specific area of knowledge, and a possible subject of study.

> She emphasised that voluntary workers had no real expertise about the disabled; there was a great need for a basic scheme of training about the disabled for social workers.[12]

Similarly, pamphlets on employing disabled people from this time treat 'disabled' and 'needs of the disabled' as a specialist area,[13] and there is reference to the 'field of disability' as an area of teaching and research.

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[9] Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons. (1979, 14 June). *Minutes of the 16th meeting of the Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons* [Meeting minutes] (MS-Papers-5526-2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington., p. 3

[10] Alan Fryer (Amputee, wire worker) in Beatson, 1981, p. 9

[11] Schnackenberg, M. A. (Ed.). (1981). *The role of the disabled in I.Y.D.P.: Proceedings of a seminar held during the national conference of the New Zealand Association of the Blind and Partially Blind Incorporated*. Auckland: Percival Publishing., p. 5

[12] Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons, 1979, p. 1

[13] IYDP Secretariat, & Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons. (1981). *Employment of the disabled*. Wellington.

> The Department of Social Policy and Social Work recently established at Massey University. The council is concerned to ensure that the department gives due attention to the field of disability in its work.[14]

From a Foucauldian perspective, definition, description and further study of 'the disabled' or a 'field of disability' is a process that contributes to the reification of 'the disabled' as a subjectivity and 'disability' as a concrete object. Everything that seeks to better understand or further describe these phenomena contributes to their formulation, or in the words of Shelley Tremain, "truth-discourses that purport to describe phenomena contribute to the construction of their objects" (Tremain, 2002, p. 34). Furthermore, these 'truth-discourses' structure possible action, affecting what it is possible to think and do. Corker and Shakespere argue in their volume on the contribution of postmodern thought to disability studies that although there were discourses and practices associated with disability, a subject category 'disabled people' was not a dominant discourse before a specific period, during which a particular organisation of knowledge-power gave rise to the identification and classification of people in this way (Corker & Shakespere, 2002). Therefore the conception of 'disabled' as subjectivity, concrete phenomenon and area of knowledge and study is a crucially important aspect in the analysis of this period.

7.3.1 Unemployment and underemployment

One of the effects associated with the emphasis on 'the disabled' as a distinct, unified group in society was in highlighting a section of society who were not participating in employment in parity with the general population. In this context, the drive for rehabilitation and employment of disabled people took on the character of a movement against discrimination and a push for civil rights.

> The middlemen may pride themselves on their placement figures, without asking themselves whether the jobs they are finding are really worthy of the capacity of the handicapped. In other words, 'unemployment' is one problem that faces the disabled, but another equally important issue is '*under*employment.'[15]

The problems of unemployment and 'underemployment' were pursued from a number of different positions—both from within and outside of the disabled 'community'—with an interesting mixture of effects. I introduce two key arguments and their implications below, and return to these ideas when discussing some of the effects later in the chapter.

Unemployment and underemployment as under-utilisation or discrimination

In texts advocating for 'the disabled', unemployment and 'underemployment' were largely argued to be effects of a lack of recognition of the abilities of the disabled and therefore

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[14]Reid, J. G. S. (1987, 21 December). [Letter to Minister of Social Welfare]. Advisory Council for Community Welfare of Disabled Persons – Administration and establishment (ACCWDP-CD-3-1, C503034). Archives New Zealand, Wellington., p. 3

[15]Beatson, 1981, p. 8, emphasis in original

an under-use of their skills, resulting in inability to realise their potential contribution in society. In the main, the desire articulated by the disabled community was to be able to participate in 'normal' society as it was, not for the structure of society to change in any significant way. For example, a letter reprinted in the AiD magazine (a magazine focused on issues of interest to disabled people) 'Guide to IYDP' stated that "Having a 'normal' job' is a tremendous boost to any disabled person's morale, making him [sic] feel that he is making a real contribution to society."[16] Similarly, talks by disabled workers during a Massey University seminar titled "The disabled and work" often focused on how their lives compared to their able-bodied counterparts. For example, a clerical worker reflected that "my life is as full (sometimes over-full) as any person who does not have a handicap."[17] 'The disabled and work' seminar also included a section of talks from employers in small organisations, which reads like a catalogue of people who have a disability but can do normal jobs because the tasks fit within their abilities, sometimes cheerfully pointing out that the employee was prepared to suffer some indignities in order to do the job, such as being carried up the stairs, or urinating into a pickle jar.[18]

The strategy promoted by organisations of disabled people and advocates for greater participation of disabled people in work was focused on participation in 'normal employment' and 'the open market'.

> It was suggested that a strategy of integrating the handicapped into the open work force had two phases: the first phase, in which we are still involved, comprises removing the disabled from the categories of 'unemployed' or in 'sheltered work' and getting them into the normal work force, regardless of what jobs they actually do in that latter; the second phase, not yet achieved, is to ensure that the disabled, as far as possible, have a 'normal' employment profile, and are not left down the bottom of the social heap.[19]

> It is the right of all persons with disabilities to have the opportunity to be engaged in productive and meaningful employment which provides flexibility, equal opportunity and career path development. [...] Competitive employment in the open market is the preferred option which is to be actively encouraged.[20]

This focus on open employment aligned with policies of international organisations, for example the Rehabilitation International charter for the 80s section on vocational opportunities and vocational rehabilitation stated that opportunities in open employment were the priority, and that wherever possible, barriers to this being achieved should be

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[16]Allison Franklin of Petone, in AiD Magazine. (1980, December). Guide to IYDP. *AiD Magazine*, 9–16., p. 16

[17]Lorraine Nillson (deaf, clerical worker) in Beatson, 1981, p. 11

[18]Beatson, 1981

[19]Beatson, 1981, p. 35

[20]Disabled Persons Assembly (New Zealand) Inc. (1991b). *Vocational opportunities for people with disabilities: 'A blueprint for change'* [Submission to government]. Wellington., p. 10

removed.[21] In advertising efforts, employment of the disabled in 'real' work was posed as a responsibility of the whole community—in line with the idea that it was a right, and therefore a social duty. One example is a pamphlet targeted to employers about the employment of disabled people stating that they had a 'social obligation' to employ disabled people.

> More incentive and encouragement from Government is necessary, but the point has also to be stressed that employers need to accept a social obligation to employ disabled persons at least in proportion to their potential in the workforce. Employers not meeting this challenge are not meeting their responsibilities to the wider community.[22]

One of the earliest large schemes designed to address this problem of access to opportunity in open employment for disabled people started in 1976 and was run by the State Services Commission. The format was that a specified number of extra positions were approved above normal 'staff ceilings' across state service organisations, specifically for the employment of severely disabled people.[23] In 1988 the initial system of specifying numbers was abolished and departments could apply on a case-by-case basis to have an employee on the scheme.[24]

The movement for greater participation in 'normal' society for disabled people during this time is often linked to similar movements promoting equality for people of other marginalised 'identity' categories such as those associated with gender, race and sexuality (Diedrich, 2005). Thus the drive for 'real' inclusion, based on a standpoint that 'disabled' identity was a site of discrimination, was reinforced by other 'identity politics' movements during this time. I will discuss identity politics in greater detail later in the chapter.

Role models of 'real' participation: the motivated and inspiring 'disabled'

> He is motivated to '[…] make more of my life—achieve more—now that I'm disabled than I would have done if I hadn't had my accident.'[25]

Contrasting with the discourses of under-utilisation and discrimination, the motivated disabled person, or the disabled person with extra endearing qualities is also a prominent subjectivity that arises in texts promoting the drive towards 'real' participation. Discourses

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[21]Rehabilitation International. (1980). *Rehabilitation International Charter for the 80s*. New York, NY: Rehabilitation International., pp. 24–26

[22]IYDP Secretariat, 1981, p. back panel

[23]State Services Commission. (1985). *Scheme for the employment of the disabled* [Memorandum]. Employment – scheme for the employment of differently abled people – general /policy and individual appointments (STF 5-4-1, C570789). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[24]State Services Commission. (1988). *Scheme for the employment of people with disabilities in the public service* [Memorandum]. Employment – scheme for the employment of differently abled people – general /policy and individual appointments (STF 5-4-1, C570789). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[25]Accident Compensation Commission. (1981). *Purpose-progress: Accident compensation in New Zealand*. Wellington: Accident Compensation Commission., p. 7

constructing inspiring and motivated disabled subjects appear in different contexts in different ways. In discussion of 'the disabled' or of specific people who are disabled, this discourse often manifests as examples or descriptions of how disabled people in general are an inspiration, or certain disabled people are inspiring examples. For example, in texts like that quoted at the start of the paragraph promoting the work and services of the Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC), the disabled people appear as role models who overcome adversity (in this case with the assistance of ACC) to live normal life. In other texts, 'the disabled' are depicted as especially endearing people who, once they are involved in something (for example as employees) have a transformative effect on the environment and people around them.

> From personal experience, I can assure you that the bonus benefit of employing a disabled person is that it is an enriching experience. The spirit of contentment that can be generated in a work group is really quite remarkable.[26]

This echoes a section of Barnes' (1992) report on common media representations of disabled people in Britain. Barnes identifies what he calls the representation of some disabled people as 'super cripple'—heroic individuals who overcome their circumstances to achieve extraordinary things. Barnes attributes these types of representations to a view that "a disabled individual must over compensate and become super human to be accepted by society" (Barnes, 1992, part 2). Indeed, in the texts analysed here, there is an implied emphasis on stimulating a desire to either be like or be with (and thus accept) the disabled people described.

When it comes to discussion *among* disabled people, these discourses manifest slightly differently. Here they appear more as a stimulus to a notion that everyone should want to succeed in living 'normal' life: for each disabled person to be an example of how able the disabled are, if the project to achieve real participation is to be taken seriously. For example, an employed participant in a seminar about work for the disabled commenting that "I realise that with my disability I must keep improving myself always."[27] Similarly, speeches by disabled 'successes' such as those with prestigious careers often emphasise the importance of not allowing oneself to be 'disabled', of always choosing to do the things that showed them as able rather than "shelter[ing] behind their handicap", and always being vigilant in treasuring and defending the right to equal employment opportunities;

> For a variety of reasons, many of the handicapped seem to have less drive to get up and get out and find a job than do able-bodied people. [...] I know it is tempting for the disabled to try and shelter behind their handicap when the going gets tough—a temptation that must be strongly resisted![28]

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[26]Ezra Dury (State Services Commission), in Beatson, 1981, p. 25
[27]Lorraine Nillson (deaf, clerical worker), in Beatson, 1981, p. 10
[28]Beatson, 1981, p. 6

> Despite the numerous disappointing job interviews we have no doubt experienced, individuals with disabilities may be responsible for trashing their own rights to an equal employment opportunity. This occurs if we refuse to apply ourselves in school and fail to get the necessary qualifications to perform a job. The only way for us to protect our right to an equal employment opportunity is to treasure that right. A defense of this right when it is trampled is a lifelong commitment and may, or may not, meet with success.[29]

These discourses in some senses work with discourses that unemployment and under-employment are a result of underutilisation of disabled people, depicting disabled people as having positive qualities that may have been overlooked. However, discourses that construct motivated, inspiring and 'successful example' disabled people significantly modify discourses of underutilisation, implying that disabled people need to provide these examples of people who have been 'successful', motivated and inspiring in 'normal' workplaces so as to demonstrate their worth on the job market and stimulate the rest of society towards utilising them as employees. Gray (2009), in an article on narratives of disability, labels this kind of discourse 'narratives of hyphenation', drawing on literature from race relations scholarship. According to Gray, in 'narratives of hyphenation' disability is accepted as an enduring part of life, but disabled people are "expected to make concerted attempts to become more like the 'insider' groups of a particular society" (p.325), in this case, the non-disabled.

7.4 Prevention *and* acceptance, rights *and* rehabilitation: the proposed resolutions

The different versions of discourses about reasons for underemployment were not the only tensions present in the vocational rehabilitation texts from this time. While there was notable discontent regarding the opportunities and participation for disabled people, there was also discord between the various parts of the proposed remedies. Below I describe and discuss some of these issues, followed by an examination of the moves that were taken to address the problems in this milieu.

7.4.1 Preventing and mitigating disability *and* acceptance of 'the disabled'

The promotional and discussion materials connected with International Year of Disabled Persons (IYDP) 1981 were in the main concerned with promoting two programmes of action. First, a programme for the acceptance of disabled people in society; and second, a programme for the prevention and mitigation of disability through education and access to rehabilitation services.[30] In one sense this could be seen to be a two-pronged approach to helping disabled people, but there appears to be a fundamental conflict between the two

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[29]Muir Van Etten, A. (1992). RIGHTS: Trampled, trashed or treasured. *NZ Disabled, 12*(4), 28–31.

[30]Clarkson, P. F., &. (1981). *Rehabilitation restores confidence, prevention safeguards*. Wellington: IYDP Secretariat.; IYDP Secretariat, 1981; Rehabilitation International, 1980

programmes, which was never addressed. There is an inconsistency in these materials and other similar texts from the time, in that they state that the need is to simultaneously work towards greater acceptance (in society) of disability, and reduction (by prevention and mitigation) of disability.

> In this new decade it must be the goal of all nations to reduce the incidence of disability and to evolve societies which will respect the rights of persons with disabilities and welcome their full participation.[31]

Some of this seemingly unproblematised conflict can be contextualised with regard to the shift towards the increased use of 'disabled' as a subjectivity that I have already mentioned. Looking at it from this perspective, the two statements look a little less contradictory. At once, there is a desire for a particular group of people called 'the disabled' to be accepted in society, but at the same time a desire to prevent the circumstance of 'disability' from occurring. However, even taking this into account there was still the unspoken tension that if the programme to prevent disability was entirely successful, there would eventually be no disabled people to be accepted into society. Therefore there remains the problem that one programme subverts the other in important ways—essentially implying that disability is unwanted while advocating for greater acceptance of the people who embody it.

Postmodern authors, particularly Tremain (2001, 2002) and Corker (Thomas & Corker, 2002) among others, discuss similar issues and conflicts in the move towards disability rights, particularly the move in the late 1980s and 1990s towards a model of disability that distinguishes the structures and functions of the body from the disabling effects of social arrangements—posing the body and its functions as a biological given and opposed to the socially constructed barriers to participation. These authors argue that while the movement for the 'real' inclusion in society of disabled people sought to resist the portrayal of disability as a biological condition, it cemented rather than subverted the discourse of disability by setting disabled people apart from others (Thomas & Corker, 2002; Tremain, 2001, 2002). Furthermore, while the argument underpinning these models of disability is that disability is created in society, separate from the structures and functions of the body (more recently referred to as 'impairment'), 'disability' is a term reserved for those with impairments, exclusive of many other types of people who are marginalised and disadvantaged in society. Therefore disability and impairment are not separate at all, but maintain a pivotal bond (Tremain, 2001). This bond is reflected in the quotation given in section 7.3 from a member of an advisory committee, expressing disappointment that a report used the term 'disabled' as inclusive of people who were more broadly disadvantaged.[32] Moreover, arguments discussed above about underutilisation and discrimination being primary

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[31]Rehabilitation International, 1980, p. 4

[32]Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons. (1980a). *Minutes of the 24th meeting of the Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons* [Meeting minutes] (MS-Papers-5526-2). Archives New Zealand, Wellington., p. 4

causes of unemployment for disabled people rely on a clear definition of disability, which allows disabled people to be identified, and thus recognised as being unemployed for reasons that are distinct from other unemployed groups. The need to have clear criteria of how to recognise a disabled person is particularly pertinent in these texts because of the distancing of the term 'disability' from its meaning as a modifier of 'ability'. While it is argued that disabled people are disproportionately unemployed and underemployed, it is also argued that this is not because they are not able to work—thus, the claiming of disabled as an identity plays a key role.

Other authors, summarised by Tremain and Galvin in their discussions respectively of government of disability and disability culture, note that these sorts of social movements that are based on what is termed 'identity politics' are inherently paradoxical, in that they reproduce and reinforce the identities they intend to destabilise (Galvin, 2003; Tremain, 2001). By accepting disabled identities, and even further creating them through discussion and investigation, the movement to promote the acceptance of 'the disabled' in society simultaneously participates in the 'othering' of disabled people. Furthermore, the promotion of participation in normal society legitimates the project of normalisation, in which disabled people strive to be accepted into society as it is, rather than advocating for a transformation of society in which disability is no longer problematic (Galvin, 2003; Tremain, 2001). The link between disability politics and normalisation is a discussion that I will pick up again in Chapter Nine.

7.4.2   Consumer representation

One of the themes that comes through in texts throughout the period is a view that rehabilitation in its various forms is needed in order for disabled people to have maximum access to opportunity and participation, but at the same time something that is undesirable because of its production of 'middlemen' and the treatment of disabled people as dependent or subordinate.

> Every person with a disability, and every family which includes a member with a disability, should receive whatever rehabilitation services and other support or assistance which may be needed to reduce the disabling effects of impairment and the handicapping effects of disability. Rehabilitation services should be designed to make possible for each person a full, meaningful and constructive life of their own choosing.[33]

> It is almost inevitable that a kind of 'middleman' structure will emerge to mediate between the handicapped and the world of work. […] but such a system is not without its dangers, dangers that we must be conscious of and try to guard against. For a start, it puts the handicapped in a dependent or subordinate situation, in which one must constantly be grateful, and in which

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[33]Disabled Persons Assembly (New Zealand) Inc, 1991b, p. 19

the disabled person runs the risk of being patronised by those who are helping him or her. This in turn may lead to the disabled losing their own initiative.[34]

One of the emerging solutions for this was the strategy of having disabled people in advisory, consultancy and decision-making capacities, so that rehabilitation would be designed and managed in a way that was consistent with the rights of 'the disabled'. This echoes the 'nothing about us without us' slogan used in disability rights movements in many countries throughout the world from the 1990s ("Nothing about us without us," n.d.).

> The right of people with disabilities to participate in those decisions which concern their own lives is of primary importance.[35]

> All personnel [working in rehabilitation] should be taught to understand why the participation of disabled people themselves is a necessary element of all rehabilitation actions and how this can be accomplished.[36]

The programme for the acceptance in society of 'the disabled' was in part played out in a drive for the inclusion of 'the disabled' in decision-making and governance roles, and a move toward this can be seen in government correspondence at this time. For example, in 1986 there was a proposal to replace the Advisory Council on the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons (comprised of advocates) that had been in place for the Department of Social Welfare with a consultative committee comprised of disabled people.[37] Despite other specified political advantages for the change (such as desire for a smaller and more responsive advisory group to speed up processes), the move is portrayed as a response to the need for an advisory group that more legitimately represented disabled people, noting that "there was a strong call for consumer representation on the advisory body."[38] The view of the Department of Social Welfare was that an advisory committee should be made up of people who are disabled 'consumers'—seen to be experts on 'the disabled'. The name of the new body was 'Committee on Rehabilitation and Disability.'[39] By the late 1980s, agreements for funding of rehabilitation services were also beginning to include clauses about the requirement for consumer representation and participation in planning and decision making.[40] In spite of the "strong call for consumer representation,"[41] this

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[34]Beatson, 1981, p. 7

[35]Rehabilitation International, 1980, p. 19, point 34

[36]Rehabilitation International, 1980, p. 16, point 25

[37]Department of Social Welfare, 1986a

[38]Department of Social Welfare. (1986b). *Summary of submissions on rehabilitation advisory structure* [Report]. Advisory Council for Community Welfare of Disabled Persons – Administration and establishment (ACCWDP-CD-3-1, C503034). Archives New Zealand, Wellington., p. 2

[39]Department of Social Welfare, 1986a

[40]Manawatu Enterprises. (1989). *Vocational opportunities support, training and education of people with disabilities – agreement for participation* [Letter of agreement for funding of services]. Vocational Opportunity Support Programme – Palmerston North – Manawatu Enterprises (VOSP 19-2 Part 2, C502937). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[41]Department of Social Welfare, 1986b, p. 2

representation had some quite clear limits. For example, the Disability and Rehabilitation Advisory Committee proposal stated that the inclusion of certain types of disabled people on the committee may be inappropriate—for example people experiencing intellectual disability or psychiatric disability may have advocates to act on their behalf.[42] Aside from these exceptions, it was considered that all members of the committee should be disabled, as they were the ones considered able to speak with legitimacy for people who are disabled.

The endorsement of consumer representation, on one hand a promotion of the participation of people who previously were a marginalised 'voice', also had other effects. To extend my earlier discussion about some of the unintended effects of the promotion of disability rights, consumer representation also contributed to the reification of 'the disabled'. In addition to requiring a description of this category of people, which had to be defined and limited in order to aid appropriate selection onto boards and advisory committees, consumer representation also fostered the idea that there was a 'truth' of disability that could only be represented by 'the disabled'—a distinct lived experience that could be accessed through these people. This positioned the experiences of disabled people as constituting knowledge about a phenomenon of 'disability' that needed to be documented and applied, further reinforcing 'disability' as something concrete and knowable. The use of consultation as a technology of representation also stipulated that disabled people adopt a position of authority on this 'truth' of disability. Furthermore, the move to encourage and allow some disabled people (those with physical disabilities) and not others (those with mental or psychiatric disabilities) to represent 'the disabled' implied that some disabled people were capable of representing 'the disabled' as a unified identity group, while other members of the same identity group were not.

Discourses constructing 'experience' or personal testimony as an authority from which a person can speak for others is an idea explored by Joan Scott in an essay about multiculturalism and identity (Scott, 1992). Counter to discourses about consumer representation being a vehicle for acceptance and inclusion, Scott argues that in effect this practice is not inclusive at all, but exclusionary and separatist. The reason for this is not only does it deny non-members of the group a legitimate intellectual understanding of the needs of that group, it also generates stringent boundaries around group membership due to the need for a common voice (Scott, 1992). The effects, according to Scott, are a policing of group membership to ensure conformity with an accepted discourse concerning the 'experience' of that identity (in this case being disabled). I would suggest that some of the policing effects discussed by Scott can be seen in the discourses of the 'motivated' and 'inspiring' disabled discussed earlier in this chapter. In this discourse, a fervent appeal is expressed by some disabled people who have achieved conventional 'success' for each disabled person to set an example by having a capacity and desire for 'full participation'. Consumer representation might act as an extension of this policing, since in the context it appears here, those who occupy advisory roles are recommended by consortiums such

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[42]Department of Social Welfare, 1986a

as the Disabled Persons Assembly,[43] and as such are more likely to be those who most closely represent the 'norm' views of this group. This is further moderated by the criteria specifying who is considered to be appropriate to occupy advisory roles (what Barnes and Mercer refer to as "attractive" disabled (Barnes & Mercer, 2010)).

7.4.3 Re-viewing rehabilitation

Another trend seen in these texts relating to the reformulation of rehabilitation in the service of disability rights was a widening of the definition of rehabilitation to shift the emphasis onto rights, choice, and opportunity. The following quote is an example from the Department of Social Welfare discussing the introduction of a new advisory body comprised of disabled representatives:

> It was seen as important that the advisory body consider rehabilitation as pertaining to prevention, health, education, training, accommodation, mobility, vocational and recreational opportunities, choice and individual rights among other areas.[44]

By comparison with the texts in the previous two chapters, the conception of rehabilitation that is advocated for in this period is quite different, emphasising 'opportunities, choice and individual rights' as important, even overriding, components. However, these priorities in many ways did not fit with discourses of rehabilitation at this time—rehabilitation as the business of 'making able' had many tensions, in particular with the idea of rights, as discussed above. Furthermore, the expectation that these opportunities and choices to be accessed were those that existed in current 'able' society produced further questions about how rehabilitation fitted in. It seemed that rehabilitation was both necessary and unwanted in this context. Vocational rehabilitation specifically was no exception. Looking at it this way, it was still normalisation that was desired, and as such the difficulty was in working out how the right to become normal could be fulfilled.

7.5 The effects of a push for representation, rights and real work on vocational rehabilitation

> Our responsibility is to attempt to restore freedom of choice rather than to make choices for handicapped persons, because it is upon freedom of choice and the ability to choose one's own destiny that the dignity of life depends.[45]

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[43]Department of Social Welfare, 1986a

[44]Department of Social Welfare, 1986b, p. 3

[45]Department of Social Welfare. (1976). *Speech notes for address by the Minister of Social Welfare to the inaugural meeting of the Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons, 10 December 1976*. Advisory Council for Community Welfare of Disabled Persons – Administration and establishment (ACCWDP-CD-3-1, C503034). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

The above quote, from speech notes for the inaugural meeting of the Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons in 1976, signals a shift at the end of the 1970s towards a focus on choice and freedom for disabled people rather than simply opportunities for involvement. By the end of the 1980s there had been another shift, towards the exercising of rights and representation. A large part of this chapter so far has been devoted to discussion of the trend towards 'disabled' as subjectivity and identity, and the effects on conceptions of employment and rehabilitation from the movement for disability rights. I will now discuss how these discourses—of real work, rights, and representation—played out for the field of vocational rehabilitation. For this I focus on two interrelated but quite different sets of effects. First, I look at the ways in which these discourses served to marginalise discourses that had been prominent since the emergence of vocational rehabilitation in New Zealand—discourses in which rehabilitation of disabled people is necessary in order for them to achieve participation. Following this, I will discuss the effects in terms of a re-visioning of sheltered employment services, which at this time were not widely considered to be vocational rehabilitation.

7.5.1 A marginalisation of discourses in which rehabilitation is necessary for participation

> There are emerging and new expectations by disabled people in terms of their needs and their place in the marketplace. Rights rather than services are the order of the day for many.[46]

One of the effects of the increasing dominance of discourses that unemployment and underemployment were a violation of the rights of disabled people and a result of discrimination in society, was a problematisation of rehabilitation services. A tension between a desire for access to the means to increase participation in 'normal' society, and a desire for disabled people to become accepted in society and be valued as citizens and employees in their own right (as discussed in the previous section), initiated a shift in what was seen to constitute legitimate forms of rehabilitation services. Vocational rehabilitation services in particular—and most notably the state-sanctioned Rehabilitation League—began to be seen as authoritarian, and as emphasising disability rather than employing effective measures to integrate disabled people into society.[47] Discourses that required the focus to be on "rights rather than services" became much more dominant, affecting the way rehabilitation was conceptualised and planned.

The restructuring of the Rehabilitation League and its eventual disestablishment and reinvention as Workbridge in 1990 is an example of the effects of the increasing marginalisation of discourses that rehabilitation is necessary for the participation of disabled people

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[46]Minister of Social Welfare. (1988, 13 July). *Address by Minister of Social Welfare* [AGM address for Annual General Meeting of the Rehabilitation League]. Rehabilitation League – Administration review of the Rehabiltiation League (RL 1-7, part 1, C502843). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[47]Minister of Social Welfare, 1988; Riddell, M. (1987). Counting crayons. *New Zealand Outlook*, 36–43.

in society. In a newspaper article in 1990 about the League's restructure, the reporter declared that "disabled people whose condition is severe enough to make them unemployable in today's market are not the [rehabilitation] league's business any more."[48] After more than half a decade of reviews and recommendations, the assessment and training model that had, in its various forms, been the business of the League since 1931, was abandoned in favour of a work brokerage model. The new entity, named Workbridge, was to act as an intermediary to help disabled people access training and employment opportunities in the open market.[49] Although some people viewed this change as a neglect of disabled people's needs, and this is reflected in the quote above, the use of the phrase "in today's market" hints at discourses that would establish such a change as timely, perhaps even necessary. At the time of the Bolt-Heggie report of rehabilitation services,[50] the Rehabilitation League's purpose was described as follows:

> (a) To act as an agent of Government to carry out the policy of the Government in relation to the assessment, rehabilitation, training, sheltered employment and placement of disabled persons; (b) to establish centres and to maintain such assessment units, workshops and other facilities as may be necessary to enable the League to carry out its functions.[51]

Despite the fact that throughout several review and re-envisaging processes over the next few years, assessment and training services were favoured by staff, trainees and advocacy groups,[52] discourses of rights and real employment participation modified this significantly in the legislative arena. As discussed earlier in this chapter, there was drive for access to 'real' work in the open job market, coupled with a discourse that discrimination

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[48]Swain, P. (1990, 19 July). Winners and losers in rehab league sweep. *The Dominion*.

[49]Workbridge. (1990). *Letter advising of Rehabilitation League restructure, now Workbridge* [Letter]. Employment – scheme for the employment of differently abled people – general /policy and individual appointments (STF 5-4-1, C570789). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[50]Bolt, R., & Heggie, E. G. (1982). *Report of the rehabilitation review committee*. Report. Department of Social Welfare. Wellington.

[51]Rehabilitation League. (1984). *Newsletter Rehabilitation League NZ Inc – Rehabilitation Review Committee*. Rehabilitation League – Administration review of the Rehabilitation League (RL 1–7 part 1, C502843). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[52]Benseman, J., & Sutton, A. (1988). *The Auckland Rehabilitation League: Some feedback from recent clients* [Report]. Rehabilitation League – Administration – Board of Management – Agendas and minutes (RL 1-0-1 Part 17, C502842). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.; Department of Social Welfare. (1985). *Proposals for restructuring the Rehabilitation League* [Discussion paper]. Restructuring papers: Rehabilitation League New Zealand Inc: Records (91-005-2/17, TAPUHI IRN 803847). Alexander Turnbull Library Tapuhi, Wellington.; Department of Social Welfare. (1989, 1 November). *Third discussion draft, Rehabilitation NZ* [Discussion paper]. Restructuring papers Rehabilitation League New Zealand Inc records (91-005-2/18, TAPUHI IRN 803851). Alexander Turnbull Library Tapuhi, Wellington.; New Zealand Association of the Deaf (Inc). (1989). *Letter regarding the restructuring of the Rehabiltiation League*. Rehabilitation League – Administration – Board of Management – Agendas and Minutes (RL 1-0-1 Part 17, C502842). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.; New Zealand Society of Occupational Therapists. (1985). *Occupational therapists respond to the official report on the Rehabilitation League* [Submission]. Rehabilitation League – Administration review of the Rehabilitation League (RL 1-7 Part 2, C502844). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.; Rehabilitation League, 1984; Rehabilitation League. (1990). *Branch responses to restructuring proposal*. Rehabilitation League – Administration – Board of Management – Agendas and minutes (RL 1-0-1 Part 17, C502842). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

was the main disadvantage for 'the disabled'. Therefore if discrimination was addressed and the right opportunity was identified, the 'job market' was a place where a great many disabled people could find employment. This was reinforced by opinion among some disabled people and their advocates that the Rehabilitation League was outdated, overly hierarchical, and out of touch with the needs of their clients.[53] These discourses together allowed for the emergence of a situation in which it was more appropriate to put state-funded efforts into finding opportunities for participation in the open market, than into assessment and training. It could also be implied that for the state to continue to support rehabilitation services to primarily offer assessment and training might have been seen as complicit in the discrimination of 'the disabled'. This signaled a significant shift. No longer was it the state's role to train disabled people to fill a specified place in industry that they could previously not have filled. The role now was to seek out within industry the niche in which each disabled person could find a use for their strengths and skills, and exercise their right to 'real' participation. In the words of an article in the *Wellington Dominion*, "disabled people in the workforce are at a particular disadvantage and efforts to help them should be directed at finding the best possible niches tailored to individuals."[54]

7.5.2 Sheltered employment re-viewed as rehabilitation

Although in the late 1950s, sheltered employment had been brought into the fold of rehabilitation in the way that it was discussed and conceptualised in the lead up to its legalisation (see previous chapter), records indicate that in the main this was not reinforced as a priority.[55] In the texts discussed in this chapter, most sheltered workshops had mainly long-term employees.[56] Texts from government advisory authorities at this time present a want to re-envisage sheltered employment enterprises as rehabilitation enterprises, in an environment of critique over the segregation effected by long-term sheltered work. One of the proposed schemes was to offer training to the supervisory staff in sheltered workshops, repositioning their role as training and education.

> A course for workshop supervisors will be launched by the Department of Education in 1981 to provide them with a Certificate of Social Education and Training of the Handicapped.[57]

[53]Riddell, 1987

[54]Swain, 1990

[55]Department of Labour. (1959–1974). [Correspondence]. Employment – Disabled Persons Employment Promotion: Bill and general correspondence (30/2/10 part 1, C373079). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[56]Department of Labour. (1989). *Review of the Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act 1960* [Discussion paper]. Wellington: Department of Labour.

[57]Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons. (1980b). *Legislative provision for vocational rehabilitation in New Zealand* [Report]. Advisory Council for the Community Welfare of Disabled Persons – Projects – Rehabilitation services in New Zealand (ACCWDP 4-23, C503042). Archives New Zealand, Wellington., p. 4

Other changes saw the move for what were sheltered workshops to become understood as quite different enterprises. One such workshop was Manawatu Enterprises, which was notable by the fact that it was a sheltered workshop started up in the early 1980s, rather than having been established during the previous decades.

In a Rotary magazine article in 1981, Manawatu Enterprises was described as "offering job opportunities for the disabled to be trained or retrained in a workshop situation", providing the "opportunity for acquiring trade skills which could lead to later acceptance into the workforce under normal working conditions."[58] By 1983 Manawatu Enterprises had ceased paying a wage to their disabled trainees (who had been assisted to apply for increased benefits and given a travel allowance instead), and applied for a grant from a government-administered contingency fund, due to the difficulties obtaining work contracts for the outsource production work that they engaged in.[59] The report to the Minister of Social Welfare stated that although the original purpose had been primarily as a training facility for "work skills and habits", given the current economic environment, the unit had been "required to provide longer term employment for disabled people."[60] However, the discourse was maintained that Manawatu Enterprises (that referred to itself as an "industrial work unit"[61] rather than a sheltered workshop) was a site of rehabilitation rather than a segregated workplace. For example, a letter of support from the New Zealand Crippled Children's Society stated that "Manawatu Enterprises represents an essential stage in a progression of opportunity for disabled people seeking employment in their home community" and that "the concept of a protected work opportunity with the [future] objective of appropriate financial remuneration for workers is sound."[62]

While Manawatu Enterprises' status as a vocational rehabilitation service was entertained, it remained problematic, as illustrated in correspondence about the eligibility of their trainees for a rehabilitation allowance (an allowance payable to trainees on a recognised vocational rehabilitation programme), which showed that the authorities had difficulty determining whether the requirements for the allowance were met.[63] Following this, by 1988 Manawatu Enterprises was presenting its services in terms of more traditional training enterprises, offering training courses such as a "20 week course for production line sewing to Apparel Industry Training Board standard for machinists" and an "indus-

[58]Pilalis, S. (1981, May/June). Job Opportunity for disabled. *Rotary Down Under*, 20.

[59]Director General Department of Social Welfare. (1983). *Manawatu Enterprises Incorporated: Application for financial assistance* [Report]. Vocational Opportunity Support Programme – Palmerston North – Manawatu Enterprises (VOSP 19-2 part 1, C502937). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[60]Director General Department of Social Welfare, 1983

[61]Manawatu Enterprises. (circa 1985). *We …can offer. See Manawatu Enterprises* [Brochure]. Palmerston North: Manawatu Enterprises.

[62]National Services Director New Zealand Crippled Children's Society. (1983, 29 July). *Letter endorsing the servicing concept embodied in the operation of Manawatu Enterprises* [Letter]. Vocational Opportunity Support Programme – Palmerston North – Manawatu Enterprises (VOSP 19-2 Part 1, C502937). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

[63]Department of Social Welfare. (1983). *Series of letters about the eligibility of Manawatu Enterprises trainees for rehabilitation allowance*. Vocational Opportunity Support Programme – Palmerston North – Manawatu Enterprises (VOSP 19-2 Part 1, C502937). Archives New Zealand, Wellington.

trial catering course."[64] By 1989, requirements to actively involve placement services for trainees and to have consumer representation in decision making was written into the conditions for funding.[65] In order to maintain the support it needed to operate from state funding, Manawatu Enterprises had to constantly reinvent itself ever more explicitly as an enterprise for rehabilitation and training, as opposed to sheltered employment.

It is useful to compare the two examples I have given—one looking at the effects of a marginalisation of discourses that rehabilitation is necessary to enable participation of disabled people in normal society, and the other looking at the effects of re-viewing sheltered employment as rehabilitation. From these examples, it can be seen that a service that was occupying the space of 'rehabilitation' though the provision of assessment and training moved away from being positioned as rehabilitation, and towards a position of facilitating rights. At the same time, a sheltered employment service, which was not considered to be rehabilitation, moved to occupy that space—having to offer more and more assessment and training in order to secure resources to operate. Taking this subset of texts as examples, we can see a situation in which *both* the call for the right to real work, and the call for a need for rehabilitation were pursued through shifts in the way vocational rehabilitation practice was structured.

7.6 Concluding Summary

In this chapter I have presented my discourse analysis of a period of time that saw a major change in the emphasis of vocational rehabilitation aims in Aotearoa New Zealand. The change was from a situation in which the primary focus was on assessment and training and the provision of sheltered work, to one which focused more on the right of disabled people to have access to 'real' employment, and their integration into the 'normal' workforce. In particular, I have explored how a problematisation of participation in 'normal' society played out, drawing on discourses from the texts concerning a rights-based argument that disabled people should have better access to and participation in 'normal' work. 'The disabled' in this context were an identity group facing under-utilisation in the workforce as a result of discrimination, and this discourse of a right to 'normal' work showed significant effects in the structure of vocational rehabilitation services.

A contrast can be seen with previous chapters, which presented discourses of bringing disabled people into the workforce through special provisions for vocational rehabilitation. The discourses discussed in this chapter position vocational rehabilitation as problematic—being seen as both necessary for full participation, and part of the societal structures keeping disabled people separate from the 'normal' workforce. Furthermore, in the texts analysed in this chapter, although there is reference to community, society and citizenship in rights-based arguments for 'normal' employment opportunities, one of

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[64]Tribune staff reporter (1988, 14 February). Manawatu Enterprises has new broader-based role. *Tribune*.
[65]Manawatu Enterprises, 1989

the effects of this discourse is a division of disabled people from the rest of society, positioning them as a unified, politicised and distinct group. The discourses of citizenship, society and 'other' analysed in Chapters Five to Seven, introduce a discussion I will return to and develop further in Chapter Nine. In the next chapter, Chapter Eight, I will present an analysis of current vocational rehabilitation texts, linking again with these discourses, again in slightly different ways, showing their different effects.

8

Entrepreneurs of themselves: (re)fashioning human capital

8.1 Introduction

This is the final analysis chapter, examining current discourses of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand. By current, I refer to practices and policies that are in operation as I analyse and write, during 2012. While I will draw on texts that are up to a decade old that give background and context, the focus of the analysis is on current practices in the field of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

As introduced in Chapter Four on study design, I have drawn on a range of texts that relate to current practice in vocational rehabilitation, but directed the focus of analysis to articulations, actions and material effects that, while thinkable and doable within current discourses, are not necessarily self-evident—exploring discourses by examining their boundaries. My method for directing the focus in this way was to choose three examples of practices that in some way resist dominant notions of what vocational rehabilitation constitutes, but are still viable practices. The first of these is supported employment, an established practice that is offered by a range of different providers in various parts of the country (connected by a professional association) for a variety of disabled populations, which consists of assisting disabled people to acquire an employment situation and then training and supporting them to manage the job, most often at the worksite. The second is 'Kaleidoscope', a specialist programme offering empowerment-focused vocational rehabilitation for people who have an acquired spinal cord injury, which is run over several sites nationally and has had funding contracts from both the New Zealand Accident Compensation Corporation and the Ministry of Social Development. The third is a very small startup service in Auckland called 'Curveballs', offering integrated life coaching and career counselling from a practitioner experienced in career counselling within a serious injury rehabilitation context. Curveballs positions itself as being for people experiencing unexpected change—including but not limited to disablement. Each of these practices, for slightly different reasons, resists dominant notions of what constitutes 'vocational rehabilitation'. Supported employment does so in its philosophy of incorporating long-term employment support as normal practice instead of being focused on people becoming independent workers. The Kaleidoscope programme focuses primarily on self-development and empowerment as opposed to assessment and practical support, and begins when peo-

ple are still in inpatient care—before the stage where it is clear what their abilities will be. Curveballs positions its service as not only for disabled people, and focuses mainly on career guidance, implying that disability is just one category in a larger class of significant, career defining life circumstances.

The chapter begins with a broad discussion of the discourses in current vocational rehabilitation texts and their effects in terms of the need for vocational rehabilitation and the practices that are produced. Following this I bring the focus in to a more detailed analysis of the three practices that I have specifically identified, offering a discussion of what they illustrate in current discourses. In the concluding section I summarise the analysis, providing key points that lead into the discussion in Chapter Nine.

8.2 Inability to work as largely a fallacy

In Aotearoa New Zealand society of 2012, discourses relating to vocational rehabilitation construct a notion that few people are in a situation where they are *too disabled* to work. Within this notion, disabled people being in or out of work is much less about whether those people absolutely can or cannot work than it is about various barriers and facilitators, the most significant of those barriers being seen to be constructed in society. For example, the view of Auckland Disability Law stated below is that attitudes and discrimination are the key barriers.

> The most significant barriers to work for disabled people are employer attitudes and discrimination. In a competitive job market, disabled people can be at a disadvantage seeking employment, because of attitudes regarding the perceived costs of employing a disabled person.[1]

A key focus in current vocational rehabilitation, therefore, is on dealing with what may be preventing engagement in work and employment, and intervening to facilitate participation in work and employment. A commonly stated premise for this sort of intervention is that engagement in paid work is a normal state for most people, and that there is no good reason why this should not include those who have 'impairments'—for example, the below statement from the handbook *Back On Track* for people learning to live with a spinal cord injury.

> It's normal for everyone to be in some sort of paid work and that includes you since you are the same person you always were, who just happens to have a spinal impairment.[2]

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[1] Auckland Disability Law, cited in Welfare Working Group (New Zealand). (2011). *Reducing long-term benefit dependency: Recommendations*. Wellington: Ministry of Social Development., p. 51

[2] Verkaaik, J. (Ed.). (2009). *Back on Track: A basic introduction for those learning to live with a spinal cord injury* (2nd ed.). Christchurch: New Zealand Spinal Trust.

This notion of everyone being able to work echoes some of what was seen in other chapters, particularly Chapter Seven, but in current texts this is modified in some important respects. One key difference is that in current texts there is a much less prominent role given to sheltered work for people who experience difficulties getting work in open employment ('open employment' referring to jobs that are for all people, not specifically disabled people). The Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Act, allowing exemption for registered sheltered workshops from a range of normal employment laws, was repealed in 2007[3] and the problem of people being unable to find work due to disability is largely approached in other ways. Many vocational rehabilitation practices aim to get people to the point where they can access work which they are able to do independently, but this is not the only model used, even in open employment situations.

In spaces that are focused on supporting people experiencing significant disability, there is also an emphasis on the practice of supported employment, which specifically targets those people who may not have had the opportunity to work at all due to long-term or lifelong disability.[4] Like other vocational rehabilitation services, the position supported employment services take is that work is something normal and that even though people may have been denied work opportunities, these people are not too disabled to be employed in open work, but just need the right processes and supports.

> Supported Employment refers to a process in which people traditionally denied career opportunities due to the severity of their disability are hired in jobs and provided long term, ongoing support for as long [as] is needed. It involves individual career planning, employer labour job analyses and the creative matching of a person to a work setting, culture and task. This approach assumes that each person, no matter what disability that he or she has, is employable [and] that each person can bring a return on an investment to an employer when given the proper support for as long as is necessary.[5]

A key characteristic of supported employment, which often sets it apart from other vocational rehabilitation practices, is that its main aim is not to make people independent in their work, but to enable them to do *supported* work in a 'normal' job. One of the principles of supported employment stated on the ASENZ website is that they do not do any screening for work-ability, stating that "no clients will be 'screened out' or denied service based upon a perceived severity of challenge or disadvantage."[6] This reinforces discourses in which the idea that people can be too disabled to work is a fallacy, while challenging notions about what 'able' means in the context of work. Indeed, one of the key points in the supported employment philosophy is that in developing a good workplace

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[3]Disabled Persons Employment Promotion Repeal Act 2007.

[4]The Association for Supported Employment in New Zealand. (2011a). *ASENZ information*. Retrieved 10 January, 2012, from http://www.asenz.org.nz/asenzinformation.html

[5]Dileo and Langton 1993:3, cited in The Association for Supported Employment in New Zealand. (2011b). *Frequently asked questions*. Retrieved 20 March, 2012, from http://www.asenz.org.nz/faq.html

[6]The Association for Supported Employment in New Zealand, 2011a

match, the work tasks and environment can be adapted to accommodate a disabled person in supported work without compromising the employer's needs.[7]

This resistance to the discourse that 'able' to work in a 'normal' job should involve the person being 'independent' in that work also serves to contest the need for sheltered employment. In situations where sheltered employment is offered, it is often constructed as primarily a matter of personal choice rather than abilities. These discourses construct it as more appropriate that if sheltered employment is offered, it is offered as an option along with supported employment rather than assuming sheltered work as most suitable. For example, Elevator supported employment service offers a choice of options, including supported and sheltered work, stating on their website that "we interview you, assess your skills and discuss what type of employment you'd prefer. Then, we may recommend one or more of the following options" which includes sheltered employment.[8] However, their website is largely orientated to marketing the supported employment option.

While it is an important part of current discourses, the argument that few people are too disabled to work does not alone inform practices of vocational rehabilitation. It is coupled with discourses that construct being out of work as potentially harmful for people and often associated with negative consequences.

8.3 Disabling circumstances and unemployment as harmful: the need for vocational rehabilitation

Combined with the notion that to work is normal and possible for disabled people are discourses that invoke a need for vocational rehabilitation by reference to the apparent harms associated with people being out of work. In particular, the notions that work is important to health; that it is a key means by which a person's value is demonstrated; and that it is one of the central modes of actualising and expressing self, are discussed in this section.

8.3.1 Work as important to health

In current discourse, being out of work is often explicitly linked to poor health, and it is regularly stated that unemployment is unhealthy to the extent that it can become dangerous for unemployed individuals.[9] The justification for vocational rehabilitation is very often given in terms of the link between work and health, and frequently this is one of the prominently (and often provocatively) stated principles of vocational rehabilitation services. As an example, a 2011 newspaper article quoted the Clinical Director of the New Zealand

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[7]Elevator. (2012a). *Finding the 'perfect match' for your business*. Retrieved 10 January, 2012, from http://www.elevator.org.nz/staff_finding.html

[8]Elevator. (2012b). *It's all about choice*. Retrieved 5 October, 2012, from http://www.elevator.org.nz/job_career.html

[9]See summary of evidence in Welfare Working Group. (2010). *Long term benefit dependency: the issues*. Wellington: Ministry of Social Development. Retrieved from http://igps.victoria.ac.nz/WelfareWorkingGroup/Issues Paper.html

Accident Compensation Corporation citing a provocative (although debated) statistic that "being out of work for more than six months has an equivalent effect [on mortality] of smoking 10 packets of cigarettes a day."[10]

Both physical and mental health are considered to be greatly enhanced by having employment. For example, the Workwise employment agency who specialise in facilitating employment for people who experience mental distress and who are part of a nationwide network of non-governement organisations fostering evidence-based practice in mental health, state that "most people who experience mental distress want to work and can work. In fact, having a paid job is often a key part of getting well and staying well."[11] Similarly, the Australasian Faculty of Occupational and Environmental Medicine considered the link between health and employment such an important public health issue that they released a position statement in 2010 expressing the importance of realising the health benefits of work.[12] Healthy living is frequently invoked as a reason why people should work, and in this sense even just finding and maintaining work has become part of the personal enterprise of being healthy and happy.

While a link between work and health was also appealed to as a justification for vocational rehabilitation in the texts analysed in previous chapters, it was more explicitly connected to issues such as equality and citizenship, rather than appearing as a more direct link in the way it does in current discourses. However, despite this current emphasis, discourses constructing a work-health link interact substantially with other discourses also deployed to establish a need for vocational rehabilitation, which I discuss in the remainder of this section.

8.3.2 Employment as a demonstration of value

In current texts, work is not depicted as necessarily a particular set of activities, but can be anything that is considered valuable in an employment 'market', which is perceived as a complex and ever-changing system.[13] Because this concept positions the employment market as a key site for determining value, there is an implication that if a person is employed, it is a demonstration that their skills and qualities have been judged as valuable.

Discourses that employment demonstrates or enhances a person's worth appear in various ways in vocational rehabilitation texts. In arguments promoting the employment of disabled people, it is sometimes suggested that through paid work, a person is given the opportunity to enhance their potential, which communicates a statement that an unemployed person is *not* realising their potential. This notion is sometimes enlisted in the promotion

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[10]Dr Kevin Morris, cited in Collins, S. (2011, 19 February). Injured workers kept on the radar. *New Zealand Herald*, p. A10.

[11]Workwise employment agency. (2012). *Employment support*. Retrieved 16 January, 2012, from http://www.workwise.org.nz/employment-support

[12]Australasian Faculty of Occupational & Environmental Medicine. (2010). *Realising the health benefits of work: A position statement* [Position statement]. Sydney: The Royal Australasian College of Physicians.

[13]Labour and Immigration Research Centre. (2012). *Quarterly labour market report: September 2012*. Wellington: Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment: Labour Group.

of vocational rehabilitation practices. For example, Elevator, a supported employment service, appeals to employers to offer paid work to disabled individuals, emphasising that "in doing so, you'll be giving more people with disabilities the opportunity to live up to their true potential."[14] Furthermore, it is the value of disabled people as employees that is commonly the focus in arguing for employers to hire people who experience disability, such as the assertion that it makes "good business sense" for employers to employ disabled people due to high levels of motivation, problem solving experience, and potentially increased market share through better understanding of disabled people's needs;[15] It is also not unusual to see statements expressing a vision of disabled people having equal value to non-disabled people as employees, such as expressed by the national government-funded Workbridge employment support agency on their website as "every person with a disability has the same value as any other person and will contribute positively in the workplace,"[16] again indicating that 'value' in this context is an important component of employment potential.

However, the tone of many texts promoting employment of disabled people also indicate that disability itself is seen as a factor that lowers disabled people's perceived 'value' as workers, with reports that conclude that because of this sort of perception, "at every level of qualification, disabled people are less likely than non-disabled people to be in the workforce."[17] Thus, discourses showing employment as a demonstration of 'value' both reinforce the discourse that *ability* to work is not the main issue (although beliefs about ability may be tied up in the assessment of value), and stipulates an important task of vocational rehabilitation to be addressing the problem of perceived value—lack of value being a significant factor in the unemployment of disabled people. The notion that an individual's particular skills, attributes, qualities and characteristics constitute 'value' that is traded in a job market, and also that this value is what makes a person employable, are important ideas in current vocational rehabilitation discourses.

Notions of value and employability have been discussed by Foucault and Foucauldian scholars in the context of neo-liberalism—an economic discourse exercised in many current societies (including Aotearoa New Zealand), introduced in Chapter Two. I examine these notions of 'human capital' and 'employability' below, and look at how they relate to current vocational rehabilitation texts; then move on to explore the link between work and self in these texts—another key discourse relating to the need for vocational rehabilitation that also incorporates notions of value and employability.

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[14]Elevator. (2012c). *Got a job to advertise?* Retrieved 10 January, 2012, from http://www.elevator.org.nz/

[15]Gor, B. (2007). *Manager's guide: A best practice approach to working with disabled employees.* Wellington: Employers' Forum on Disability and Workbridge.; New Zealand Equal Employment Opportunities (EEO) Trust. (2012). *Why employ disabled people?* Retrieved 8 October, 2012, from http://www.eeotrust.org.nz/toolkits/disability.cfm?section=whyemploy

[16]Workbridge. (2012a). *Workbridge vision, mission and values.* Retrieved 10 January, 2012, from http://www.workbridge.co.nz/?page=1

[17]Human Rights Commission. (2011). *Tracking equality at work for disabled people.* Wellington: New Zealand Human Rights Commission Te Kaahui Tika Tangata. Retrieved from http://www.hrc.co.nz/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/Tracking-Equality-at-Work-for-disabled-people.pdf

Human capital: the neo-liberal worker

Discourses of work ascribing value to the person fit with Foucault's description of 'neo-liberal' discourse, which he discussed in depth during his 1979 public lecture series at the Collège de France (see Senellarat, 2008). Foucault suggests that one of the elements that distinguishes neo-liberal economic thought (see introduction in Chapter Two) from earlier liberal economic thought, is the view of a person's worth or 'human capital' as abstract and complex as opposed to more fixed and represented as specific skills and hours of labour. In neo-liberal thought, the potential worker is not just a partner in a simple exchange of labour for wage as in earlier liberalism. Rather, the worker is engaged in a more involved enterprise—producing in themselves 'human capital' that they can trade on the labour market (Foucault, 2008d). In this conception of economic life, the traditional capitalist 'producer' of goods and services is not the only creator of value. The potential worker is perpetually fashioning 'human capital' in the form of innate and acquired skills and qualities to trade on the employment market.

A person's value in the labour market determines their potential earnings, and as such, they must be engaged in the enterprise of producing and reproducing that value (Foucault, 2008d). This discourse is reinforced in current structures of organisations—with 'human resources' having become both a department in large organisations and an occupation with qualifications and a career pathway.[18] In this, the job of human resources departments and professionals is to facilitate the movement of people from job to job and promote training and development. Deleuze (1992) notes in relation to this that perpetual training has largely replaced trade training now that wages are paid on the basis of 'merit' rather than as an exchange for time and labour.

In the context of disability, the notion of wages being based on human capital has important implications in line with the discussion above. While in one sense, discourses construct people who are considered disabled as more able to obtain a 'real' job than they were previously, these notions of 'value' or 'human capital' mean they are often still in a poor position, in that they may still be denied a living wage because what society values in assessing the 'merit' on which wages are based does not fit with what they are seen to offer (for further discussion of the problem of a 'living wage' for disabled people see Lustig & Strauser, 2004).

Employability

In the same way that 'human capital' has made it possible to think of the employment market as a site where differential human value is demonstrated, 'employability' in the sense of a constant qualification and readiness to take up new employment opportunities has become an important domain that reinforces the idea that having work demonstrates a person's value in an employment market (Leggatt-Cook, 2007; Lunt, 2006; Rose, 1999b).

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[18]For example see Human Resources Institute of New Zealand. (2012a). Retrieved 2 August, 2012, from http://www.hrinz.org.nz/

Employability is constructed as a quality that each worker is constantly establishing and re-establishing through skills, knowledge and other marketable aspects of their worker-selves, and as something that can be seen to provide a more secure economic outlook for individuals in these times of increasingly flexible and increasingly diverse work arrangements (Kamoche, Pang, & Wong, 2011; Leggatt-Cook, 2007).

With this notion of employability being increasingly inscribed into public policy (Lunt, 2006), ensuring individuals are 'employable' has also started to appear as a key task of vocational rehabilitation. An illustration of this is a vast increase in availability and use of work capacity tests in the last twenty years for various situations and conditions; and an increasing acceptance that it can be determined that rehabilitation is completed, not when a person necessarily has a job, but when they are able to work—a job being only one type of evidence that this is the case (Fadyl, McPherson, Schlüter, & Turner-Stokes, 2010). One example which is prominent in the current Aotearoa New Zealand context is a controversial use of assessments for 'vocational independence' as an alternative to actual employment to determine a person's eligibility for wage compensation by the Accident Compensation Corporation.[19] In practices like Kaleidoscope and Curveballs (discussed in more detail later in this chapter), the focus is on empowering the person themselves to identify what they really want to do for work, and therefore what they need to do to make themselves employable, thus giving people skills that are not just for the immediate job, but that they may well use again along their career path.

8.3.3 Production and expression of self in work

As well as being a health risk and affecting a person's sense of being valued, not having work is also seen as a risk to a person's ability to live a full life and develop themselves.

> Career is defined as a significant journey of one's life and a concept that helps people plan and structure their lives […] Work and life are integrated, with work being part of living.[20]

In the current discourses I have described, finding work is about determining how a person's skills, qualities and characteristics can be offered in a way that is considered valuable in the market. However, this combination of elements not only constitutes value in an employment market, it also contributes to how people understand themselves. While the majority of vocational rehabilitation services concentrate on ensuring establishment or retention of specific abilities and skills as qualifications for paid work, recently, vocational rehabilitation practices also give attention to notions of contributing one's *self* through work—in terms of a unique set of qualities, attitudes, values and experiences that make

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[19]Armstrong, H., & Laurs, R. (2007). *Vocational Independence: outcomes for ACC claimants*. Wellington: Department of Labour. Retrieved from http://www.hazelarmstronglaw.co.nz/reports/Vocational_Independence.pdf

[20]Robson, C. (2011). *Curveballs new business foundation notes*. Curveballs. Auckland., p. 1

up a person. In this context, work is often defined more broadly to incorporate various activities that are considered 'valuable' in addition to paid work.

> All of us have talents and skills to contribute — we are put on this earth to make a contribution. […] Work doesn't mean just paid employment, it's anything you do that is of value to your school, clubs and communities.[21]

A key aspect in discourses of production and trade of 'human capital', as discussed earlier, is that the continual development of an employable self is a constant task that a person is engaged in as they live life. In current discourses, the idea of 'career' incorporates who the person is as well as the jobs they do, and a 'career' is as much about fashioning a good narrative telling how the various elements fit together as it is about following a defined pathway. The Careers New Zealand website, which provides information about different careers and developing a career path for people living in Aotearoa New Zealand, describes a career as something which is integrated with life and who a person is:

> Finding a career that is right for you is just part of achieving the life you want to lead. Career plans change along with your life priorities, and you'll move back and forth between the three stages of career planning.[22]

The New Zealand Careers website advice is that "many of the skills employers look for in a candidate are transferable skills" and that "you can pick up skills from many places — not just from jobs you may have had."[23] Seemingly unrelated jobs are linked through transferrable skills; travel and child rearing are experiences that can be valuable in the workplace. A person is expected to be constantly re-fashioning their working self so as to avoid becoming stale — through job changes, education, sabbatical, secondment.[24] It would not be considered strange if the factor that secured a person a competitive job was something different and unique in their career history. Thus we are all, as Foucault (2008d) put it, 'entrepreneurs of ourselves'. Once again, this has implications for the task of vocational rehabilitation — the re-definition and re-fashioning of an 'employable self' becoming a key opportunity.

Commonly, vocational rehabilitation practitioners are expected to be associated with an established career development body,[25] and career development is seen as central to a

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[21]Peter O'Flaherty, quoted in Verkaaik, 2009, p. 132

[22]Careers NZ /Mana Rapuara Aotearoa. (2012a). *Plan your career*. Retrieved 10 January, 2012, from http://www2.careers.govt.nz/plan-your-career/

[23]Careers NZ /Mana Rapuara Aotearoa. (2012b). *Skills employers are looking for*. Retrieved 30 July, 2012, from http://www2.careers.govt.nz/plan-your-career/not-sure-what-to-do/skills-employers-are-looking-for/

[24]Careers NZ /Mana Rapuara Aotearoa, 2012a; Human Resources Institute of New Zealand. (2012b). *Career development framework*. Retrieved 2 August, 2012, from http://www.hrinz.org.nz/Site/My_HR_Career/Development/default.aspx

[25]Accident Compensation Corporation. (2012a). *Vocational rehabilitation operational guidelines*. Retrieved January, 2012, from http://www.acc.co.nz/PRD_EXT_CSMP/groups/external_providers/documents/guide/wpc108003.pdf; Career Development Association of New Zealand. (2012). *About the Career Development Association of New Zealand*. Retrieved 20 August, 2012, from http://www.cdanz.org.nz/index.asp?pageID=2145875648

person's vocational choices, if not always the focus of vocational rehabilitation practices. In terms of career development texts, there is a growing body of 'career development' information that is available, much of this adopting discourses showing work and self as intertwined. For example, the Career Development Association of New Zealand—formed in 1997[26]—has a book club, promoting titles like *Who you are is what you do: Making choices about life after school* advising people on how to get to know themselves to make choices about their career;[27] *H@ppy at Work: for mid-lifers+. A practical and inspirational guide for job-hunters and career-changers* similar to the school leavers' one, but for people unhappy at work in mid-life;[28] *Tell me about yourself: Storytelling to get jobs and propel your career* on how to tell about who you are and why you are here in order to get a job or define your career;[29] and *Refuse to choose!* about people labelled 'scanners' who want to do a range of different things and how they can find their niche in a job market without having to tie themselves down to one career.[30] All of these books show who people are and what they do for work as intimately entangled.

Work and the production and contribution of self

As introduced above, work and careers have come to be about *contributing* one's self, but in addition to this, work also plays a role in the discourse on the *production* of self. Because of this, there is an almost circular relationship between the production of self through work, and contribution of that self, also through work. On one hand, work is an avenue towards the ongoing creation of self—perhaps one of the most influential, since our identities are tied into both our occupations and the ways in which we spend our income—disposable income with which to consume and define our selves being one of the aims of a good job (Grint, 2005; Solomon, 2008). On the other, work is seen as a contribution to society, but in many jobs the contribution is not only one of time or labour, or even a particular skill-set (although these things are important), but also a person's unique set of knowledge and characteristics. A person brings to a job perspective, outlook, experiences, skills, tendencies, and so on. For example, a report of a qualitative study of employers in the Auckland region of New Zealand stated that "some employers regarded these basic skills and attitudes [personal characteristics] as more important for making a decision about whether to hire someone than technical skills and formal training."[31] Workers contribute their selves in addition to their time, labour and job-specific skills.

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[26]Career Development Association of New Zealand, 2012

[27]McAllister, H. (2010). *Who you are is what you do: Making choices about life after school*. Auckland: Beatnick Publishing.

[28]Gaisford, C. (2009). *H@ppy at work: For mid-lifers+*. Retrieved from http://www.cassandragaisford.com/happy-at-work

[29]Hansen, K. (2009). *Tell me about yourself: Storytelling to get jobs and propel your career*. St Paul, MN: Jist Works.

[30]Sher, B. (2006). *Refuse to choose!* Emmaus, PA: Rodale Books.

[31]Leggatt-Cook, C., &. (2007). *Health, wealth and happiness? Employers, employability and the knowledge economy*. Auckland: Albany and Palmerston North Labour Market Dynamics Research Programme., p. 26

Depending on the job, the contribution of self may be primary or secondary, but most jobs contain an aspect of this. Even for jobs that do not seek creative input from the person doing it, there is often an element of 'recruitment of selves' in the sense of seeking people whose personality and approach best fits the environment or the team, or indicates they are able to be molded appropriately. One recruitment company based in Auckland, for example, advertises its services as including administration of a questionnaire called the "Craft Personality Questionnaire" with its candidates, which identifies "eight basic personality traits proven to predict job performance and retention."[32]

In the context of vocational rehabilitation, while disability can be seen as a risk to a person's collection of skills and abilities, the discourses linking work and self can also be interpreted as an opportunity for people whose skills or abilities are affected by disability, as the emphasis can be shifted to focus on personal characteristics and life experiences. Thus, in this sense, while disability carries a risk of unemployment that must be acknowledged, it can also be thought of as possibility for new opportunities for work—and this is where vocational rehabilitation can play a key role. This view of opportunity is the focus in practices like supported employment, Kaleidoscope and Curveballs, which I will discuss in more detail later in the chapter.

The notions that work is important to health; that employment is a demonstration of value; and that a person not only contributes themselves to work but is involved in self development through working, all contribute to constructing a need for vocational rehabilitation in current texts. Neo-liberal discourses of 'human capital' and 'employability' are key to these notions. The manifestation of these same discourses in *practices* of vocational rehabilitation is discussed next.

8.4 The work of vocational rehabilitation: (re)fashioning human capital

The discourses that construct a need for vocational rehabilitation discussed above are also exhibited in the practices of vocational rehabilitation. In this section, I will discuss some key concepts within the practices I looked at in my analysis—in particular those of consumers and person-centredness—and the ways in which human capital is interpreted in vocational rehabilitation practices.

8.4.1 Consumers, clients, and person centred practice

Similar to the period discussed in Chapter Seven, in current texts the people who receive vocational rehabilitation services are considered to be vital participants when it comes to shaping the services that exist. However, the mechanisms by which this is seen to occur

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[32]Frog Recruitment. (2012). *Craft Personality Questionnaire*. Retrieved 2 August, 2012, from http://www.frogrecruitment.co.nz/Employer+Services/ConsultingServices/Online+Assessments/ Assessment+Catalogue/Craft+Personality+Questionnaire.html

are subtly different compared with the previous chapter. Service descriptions and policies emphasise not only that the population who are the recipients of vocational rehabilitation services are consulted in service design and implementation, but also that each instance of engagement with a person in rehabilitation is focused on goals that are important to that person, and ways of doing things that fit with who they are. This is often referred to as 'person centred' or 'client centred' and it is common to see practices described in these ways, and to hear recipients of vocational rehabilitation referred to as 'clients' or 'consumers' of services.

> Keeping the client at the very centre of the vocational rehab experience promotes their ownership, empowerment, responsibility and opportunity to express independence. Facilitate vocational rehab from a strength-based model where the client's strengths are promoted, developed and deployed to affect a future return to work.[33]

> APM Workcare uses a client centred approach, recognising that every person and setting are unique, and strives to find the best solution for each situation.[34]

As the above quotations suggest, one of the key ideas within this orientation to person or client centredness is that there is no *one* way that works for everyone, but that each person is different and the things that will allow them to thrive are different for different individuals (for more in-depth discussion of this particular notion see later section on 'differability' and diversity). Thus, in service descriptions, intervention is often referred to as 'partnering' with the person; or 'clients' are "encouraged to own their recovery"[35] as opposed to a one-way process of offering expertise. In keeping with the idea of 'partnering', the locations and settings of vocational rehabilitation have shifted in recent times away from purpose-built training facilities to occupy existing settings in 'the community'—with vocational professionals working in locations such as offices, and/or in the homes and workplaces of their clients. For example, it is fairly common for vocational rehabilitation to include an assessment that is based at a worksite, and meetings with employers and/or employees in their work environment. In the case of the Kaleidoscope programme, vocational consultants work wherever the client is currently located—in the hospital when people are still inpatients (referred to as 'early intervention' and considered a vital part of their rehabilitation model), then meeting them in the community once they are no longer in hospital. Similarly in supported employment, vocational practitioners do their work primarily at the worksite, first as a broker and consultant, then as on-the-job support.

As discussed already, discourses in current texts construct work as enabling self development and value creation, and vocational rehabilitation practices draw on discourses

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[33]Perriam, A. (2010). *10 C's of effective SCI vocational rehab* [http://workforall.co.nz/blog post email update]. Retrieved 17 May, 2010, from http://wp.me/pxhqg-63

[34]APM Workcare. (2012). *About us*. Retrieved 1 August, 2012, from http://www.apm-nz.co.nz/about-us/

[35]VocHealth New Zealand Limited. (2012). *VocHealth – About us*. Retrieved 12 August, 2012, from http://www.vochealth.co.nz

of human capital. In vocational rehabilitation practices, ideas of client centredness link up with discourses of human capital through the idea that recipients of vocational rehabilitation are 'clients' and 'consumers' of services. In other words, through becoming 'clients' of services that are centred around each person's unique situation and needs, people are making choices as 'consumers' concerning things that will help them enhance their own human capital.

Foucault (2008d, 2008e) discussed the idea that within neo-liberal thought, following the idea of human capital, the whole of human life comes to be conceived of in terms of 'enterprise'. In other words, the idea that in personal and family life, leisure, work, health and many other spheres, individuals and groups make consumer-like choices and contract-like negotiations about how, where and by what means they live, what they believe, the services they see fit to partake of, and the ways and goals for which they contribute their own time and effort. Each person in a way is pursuing the enterprises that make them who they are and enable them to live their lives. As Rose (1999b) articulates, one of the ways that this has played out in society and government is the 'marketisation' of aspects of life that were previously not considered in economic terms—such as healthcare and social services—with the expectation that choices made by human 'consumers' (along with the competitive character of tenders and contracts for 'services') will function to regulate what is provided, how it is delivered and how much it costs.

> Citizenship is no longer primarily realised in a relation with the State, or in a single 'public sphere', but in a variety of private, corporate and quasi-public practices from working to shopping. The citizen as consumer is to become an active agent in the regulation of professional expertise; the citizen as prudent is to become an active agent in the provision of security; the citizen as employee is to become an active agent in the regulation of industry and much more (Rose, 1999b, p. 166).

Rose discusses this marketisation in terms much more broad than work and rehabilitation, but this characteristically neo-liberal mode of operation is distinctly evident in vocational rehabilitation, which is positioned at an intersection of healthcare and social services. Current vocational rehabilitation resourcing is largely governed through competitive tenders and contracts,[36] and subject to perpetual measurement of 'outcomes' such as return-to-work and training statistics, work capacity evaluations, as well as measures of cost effectiveness, which are seen to offer a picture of the value of services in terms of their contribution to the people who they work with (clients) and for (funders), and society at large.

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[36]For example see Accident Compensation Corporation. (2012a). *Vocational rehabilitation operational guidelines*. Retrieved January, 2012, from http://www.acc.co.nz/PRD_EXT_CSMP/groups/external_providers/documents/guide/wpc108003.pdf

8.4.2 Employability and value: retention and re-creation of human capital

> There are many benefits for a business when they employ someone who happens to have a disability and these days an increasing number of businesses understand and value this.[37]

Consistent with the neo-liberal discourses of employability and human capital that I have discussed, current conceptions of vocational rehabilitation tend to be focused on the retention and/or re-creation of human capital. The aim of vocational rehabilitation in a broad sense is to ensure that individuals overcome work disability to the extent that they are at least employable, and ideally have enough value on the labour market to earn a good wage. While this broad aim is fairly consistent across different vocational rehabilitation practices, the ways in which it is translated into methods can be quite diverse. Many practices focus on specific 'barriers' to employment, some on career definition and development.

Retention of human capital: barriers to work

Currently, the majority of vocational rehabilitation funding in Aotearoa New Zealand is directed into services that are provided, at least in part, by health professionals such as physiotherapists and occupational therapists.[38] Thus, biomedical, and (more recently) bio-psychosocial discourses, which are dominant in healthcare settings, play an important role in the construction of these vocational rehabilitation practices. Biomedical and bio-psychosocial discourses typically view human beings and their functioning as a composition and integration of various identifiable elements (Huyse et al., 2001). For example mobility can be seen as made up a number of different aspects such as the physical state of the limbs, the ability of the brain to direct movement and the spinal cord to communicate messages, and the various environmental and social factors that may impact on a person's ability to move within their environment.

Viewing employability and human capital in this way—as a composition of various elements that affect a person's ability to work—the focus in these sorts of services tends to be on identifying and addressing 'barriers' to employment. In other words, the most appropriate way to address work disability is seen to be the identification of factors that are preventing the person being employable or having value on the labour market, and the elimination or management of those barriers. These services typically include things like work site assessment, where a professional assesses the match between a person's current ability and the job they are required to do; functional capacity evaluation, where a person's ability on a range of work tasks is assessed; and physiotherapy and occupational therapy

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[37]Kaleidoscope, & New Zealand Spinal Trust. (2011). *Kaleidoscope: Partnering people into work*. Christchurch: New Zealand Spinal Trust.

[38]Accident Compensation Corporation. (2012b). *Vocational rehabilitation services*. Retrieved 1 August, 2012, from http://www.acc.co.nz/for-providers/contracts-and-performance/all-contracts/WCMZ002151

to improve functioning in specific tasks and implement adaptive equipment and strategies. Services tend to be evaluated according to how efficiently they are able to help the person overcome these barriers, and there is an increasing range of tools for measuring 'outcomes' such as work-ability and return to work (Fadyl et al., 2010; Young et al., 2005). This notion of identification of influencing factors and evaluating the efficiency in which they are addressed is also reflected in statements like the mission statement given on the website for APM Workcare, a 'supplier' of vocational rehabilitation services: "Our priority is to *contain the human and financial cost of a disability, injury or illness* and advance the quality of working life."[39] The implication here is that disability is thought of in terms of the various costs it carries, and that that containing these is a primary focus of vocational rehabilitation.

Refashioning human capital: enabling meaningful re-creation of lives

> The sudden, uninvited and traumatic violation of one's life [brought on by spinal cord injury] arguably requires an equally radical and drastic response if one is to meaningfully recreate their life. [...] we've come to understand from our 500+ clients over the years that really our essential work is NOT just about getting people back to work, but, rather one of being a *social discourse* of hope & possibility which facilitates responsibility & independence.[40]

Another notion in practices of rehabilitation is that the work of vocational rehabilitation is about enabling meaningful re-creation of lives—drawing on the discourses discussed earlier that work and life are integrated, and work is a vehicle for the production and contribution of self. Although there is some overlap, the texts I obtained from three specific practices which are in various ways resisting some of the more dominant practices in vocational rehabilitation described in the above paragraph give much more emphasis to the activities of self and career (re)production and (re)discovery. The above quote from a blog managed by the Kaleidoscope vocational rehabilitation programme suggests that the work of vocational rehabilitation in their view is to help a person "meaningfully recreate" their life, and that one of the primary roles of vocational rehabilitation services is to "facilitate responsibility and independence", not just get people back to work.[41] Similarly, the website for Auckland-based supported employment service Elevator introduces its service as a "recruitment consultancy that specialises in helping disabled people achieve their highest career goals and aspirations;"[42] and Curveballs describes the service they offer as

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[39] APM Workcare. (2012). *About us*. Retrieved 1 August, 2012, from http://www.apm-nz.co.nz/about-us/ , my emphasis

[40] Work for all (Kaleidoscope). (2010a). *A social discourse of hope, possibility, responsibility and independence* [http://workforall.co.nz/blog post email update]. Retrieved 26 April, 2010, from http://wp.me/ pxhqg-5x, emphasis in original

[41] Work for all (Kaleidoscope), 2010a

[42] Elevator. (2012a). *Finding the 'perfect match' for your business*. Retrieved 10 January, 2012, from http://www.elevator.org.nz/staff_finding.html

"carried out in the context of work and explores both the bigger picture/life vision planning for the client's future and then where work fits within it."[43] These practices draw heavily on discourses that construct work as a pivotal part of the personal enterprise of self-definition and development, and their orientation is to facilitating this enterprise.

The remainder of this chapter is given to discussion of these three practices in more depth, in terms of the ways in which the discourses I have introduced are deployed, and the practices these discourses produce.

8.5   Emerging practices: empowering the neo-liberal worker

The following is a list called "Keys to Ability Optimising", published by Kaleidoscope in a blog for vocational rehabilitation professionals and consumers.[44]

- Develop and augment retained abilities

- Take action *right now* to act on your abilities

- Focus on capabilities not incapabilities or losses

- Think in terms of *'differability'* rather than 'disability'

- Tap into your primary motivations, hopes & dreams for the future

- Identify interdependence strategies which promote resourcefulness

- Encourage exploring collective creative solutions—avoid isolationism

- Be clear on *'what's at stake'* if you do or do not take responsibility or action

- Be strategic and affable in enrolling other people or organisations into your plans

I will use the points in this list as a basis from which to explore discourses in current vocational rehabilitation that the three practices I focused on highlight in the analysis. While I have presented this analysis in several headed sections, it should be noted that these discourses intersect and overlap, and the ideas discussed are interrelated.

8.5.1   Human capital: Focusing on abilities and capabilities, and thinking in terms of differability

A focus on abilities, capabilities and 'differability' rather than disability can be seen as examples of the ways in which some vocational rehabilitation practices have taken up discourses of human capital. The idea of promoting people's capabilities, both in engagement

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[43]Robson, 2011, p. 2

[44]Work for all (Kaleidoscope). (2010b). *Ability Optimisation* [http://workforall.co.nz/blog post email update]. Retrieved 19 April, 2010, from http://wp.me/pxhqg-4K, emphasis in original

with the person receiving vocational rehabilitation and in discussions with a potential employer, is coupled with a notion that the circumstances and experiences that have made someone 'disabled' can alternatively be seen as a qualification.

> So many people talk about disability as a hindrance to working. I have found the opposite. Going to hell and back helped me to understand other people's pain and has meant that in my chosen profession of Psychology [sic] I can connect with people in ways I never dreamed.[45]

The idea of 'differability' also can be seen to relate to a broader discourse that is often used to argue that disabled people can be an asset to an employer or workplace—that of 'diversity'. Some examples of the uses of 'diversity' in the context of employment of disabled people are given below.

> The [Employers' Disability] Network believes that disability is simply part of the diversity of our society and that people with disabilities should not be disadvantaged in seeking work but rather be positively encouraged to do so. For this to happen, employers must have a welcoming and inclusive culture.[46]

> Hire them. In general if someone has a disability, you'll get tenacity and a strong work ethic. They've gone through the process of adjusting to their disability and working hard to minimise its impact, and that translates to hard work and loyalty.[47]

> Having been through the life-changing experiences you have just been through [recovering from a serious injury and adapting to disability], gives you a new perspective and attitude that should allow you to get ahead pretty quickly.[48]

Diversity in the workplace is theorised to be a good thing because it gives a company the ability to adapt to different markets and different conditions, and thus be more sustainable in the long-term.

> A disability confident business is a more efficient, more inclusive, forward-thinking organisation. In a tight labour market and a competitive marketplace, disability confidence can give businesses an edge. Involving disabled people in product development, testing and marketing helps create products and services which work for everyone—critical in an ageing market. Businesses which make sure they really understand and welcome disabled people

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[45]Lea Galvin, quoted in Verkaaik, J. (Ed.). (2009). *Back on Track: A basic introduction for those learning to live with a spinal cord injury* (2nd ed.). Christchurch: New Zealand Spinal Trust., p. 130

[46]Employers' Disability Network. (2012a). *Employers' Disability Network*. Retrieved 25 January, 2012, from http://edn.org.nz/

[47]Kendall Akhurst's advice to employers, Employers' Disability Network. (2012b). *Success stories: Kendall Akhurst*. Retrieved 25 January, 2012, from http://edn.org.nz/sharing-experiences/success-stories/kendall-akhurst

[48]Verkaaik, 2009, p. 130

have better reputations with both the public and with the growing number of companies and public sector organisations that use diversity as a criteria for contracting and investment.[49]

Similarly, on a small scale adaptations for individual employees are sometimes argued as likely to benefit other people in the workplace. For example, an emergency alarm that includes a flashing light in addition to a siren will make the workplace safer for a deaf employee, and may also improve reaction time for other employees.

The workplace is not the only place where diversity is sought, and it is one example of what has come to be expected in a range of different social spaces and environments, from cultural events to school rolls. Diversity also applies to a variety of qualities—both things 'traditionally' covered in equal opportunities movements such as disability, ethnicity, gender; and also things like life experiences, interests, lifestyles. This discourse is an example of how bio-politics can be seen currently in vocational rehabilitation. The underlying notion that the qualities of individuals affect the wellbeing of the population common to bio-political regimes is present, but in current texts it takes a slightly different form compared with the texts analysed in previous chapters. Rather than *work* being a duty or a right of citizenship, the duty is slightly more removed in current discourse—being to develop one's potential, to capitalise on one's individual strengths and minimise weaknesses. If asked to describe the ideal citizen, in many current societies few people would be able to pin down the gender, ethnicity, religion, ability-level or occupation of this hypothetical individual (Rose, 1999b). Promotion of diversity is regarded as a pathway to health and wellbeing, combating the negative influences of discrimination and exclusion (Leydet, 2011). Rose (1999b) points out that the language of government is showing a shift away from governing nations or citizens, towards governing a range of communities; or as Leydet (2011) puts it, we are seeing a new model of 'differentiated citizenship', promoting the recognition of diverse lifestyles and circumstances, requiring considered and complex management rather than universal rules and systems.

In the final lecture of his 1976 series at the Collège de France, Foucault argued that in the years leading up to the Second World War, some national socialist regimes employed discourses that echoed nineteenth-century evolutionism, conceiving of man as a species, in which the strength and viability of the overall population is derived from and affected by the qualities and characteristics of individuals or groups of individuals within that population. This line of reasoning provided the basis for racist policies which sought to define desired population characteristics and minimise or eradicate anything that threatened these, the most extreme example of which was the Nazi regime (Foucault, 2003a). I propose that this evolutionary discourse has not disappeared from governmental discourses, but that in the context of current government, a different aspect has been pursued to achieve a different purpose and has different effects. Rose (1999b) suggests that in what he terms 'advanced liberal government', bio-politics is imbued with a new ethical

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[49]Workbridge. (2012b). *Why employ disabled people?* Retrieved 26 January, 2012, from http://www.workbridge.co.nz/?page=1331

domain. He observes that in the context of people making constant choices about how to responsibly conduct themselves and create their lives (as entrepreneurs of themselves), a new kind of ethics has entered the domain of government. 'Ethico-politics', as he terms it, is concerned with governing people in such a way that they will self-govern responsibly, maintaining a proper relation between their obligation to themselves and their obligation to others (Rose, 1999b).

Applying this idea, in the context of ethico-political government, the concept of 'diversity' formulates a position in which the strength and viability of the population is best safeguarded by upholding a *variety* of human characteristics, including those that may not be obviously beneficial in the present context. Through this, the security of the population and the promotion of ethical concepts such as the rights of marginalised people become complementary rather than contradictory goals. In popular evolutionary thought, different characteristics or qualities thrive in different conditions, and thus maintaining a varied (or diverse) genetic base is crucial to the survival of the species when changes occur. Hence, this aspect of evolutionism has been taken up in the discourse of positive diversity—that businesses and societies in general that are diverse will prosper compared with those that are homogeneous in today's fast-changing environment. The three vocational rehabilitation practices that I have focused on particularly emphasise this discourse of positive diversity, almost to the point of being an alternative to the notion that the person needs to be 'rehabilitated' in order to fit into the workforce. The idea of promotion of diversity as an alternative to rehabilitating the individual has important implications, which I discuss in Chapter Nine.

8.5.2 Entrepreneur of the self: Interdependence, resourcefulness, and creative solutions

Creative solutions, resourcefulness and interdependence can be seen as a particular set of ways in which discourses constructing the 'entrepreneur of the self' are deployed in vocational rehabilitation practices. Creativity and resourcefulness is seen as important for finding the right 'niche' where a person can thrive in a job and/or career. Interdependence is the way in which this is achieved—in other words, realising how other people can be 'partnered' or otherwise linked in with the subject of vocational rehabilitation to help achieve these creative solutions. To give examples, "vocational consultants" following the Kaleidoscope model are urged to "partner with a person" and "act innovatively to find RTW [return to work] solutions to barriers with their client", to "stick with it, think outside the square and get creative."[50] Similarly the Elevator supported employment service information page on their website states "we provide creative employment solutions, well-matched employees, on-site training and ongoing support for as long as you need us:"[51] and as discussed earlier, work in the supported employment model often includes

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[50]Perriam, 2010

[51]Elevator. (2012d). *Offering more career options for disabled people*. Retrieved 10 January, 2012, from http://www.elevator.org.nz/about.html

long-term involvement of a support person. Curveballs' core values include "interdependence", "partnership/relationship" and "relatedness."[52]

While there are a number of similarities in terms of how 'interdependence' and 'creativity' are interpreted in these three practices, there are also differences in terms of where the focus is put for the different practices, particularly when it comes to ways in which practices of 'self' are integrated with work. The focus in supported employment is on job matching and working with employers to develop creative solutions that benefit everyone and give the client a specialist 'niche' they can develop and be proud of. Supported employment specialises in finding that 'niche' job—sometimes creating positions that did not formerly exist through conversations with employers about their needs and aspirations and analysing current workplace and job task setup, identifying positions perfect for job applicants with specific abilities. A high level of importance is given to the client's wants and needs, but the work of 'job carving' in supported employment is seen to be the job of the employment specialist.[53] The focus for Kaleidoscope, by contrast, is on encouraging their clients to see the beginning point as really exploring who they are and what they are passionate about, rather than starting with the job market and letting that direct decisions.

> Oho Ake [a component of the Kaleidoscope vocational rehabilitation programme] is not about finding a job for a client. Oho Ake is about facilitating a vocational rehabilitation process that assists clients to gain durable employment themselves through tapping into their passions, work motivations, experiences, and abilities.[54]

In this model, the client is the main driver in finding a 'niche', and the vocational consultant acts much more as just that—a consultant.

Finally, the Curveballs philosophy is that coping and positive change comes from the individual learning about what is satisfying work for them, and viewing their situation and opportunities in new ways.[55] Thus, the main focus of that service is the individual learning—which may happen as part of negotiation and participation in the job market, or it may be a more separate process. One of the other core values for Curveballs is "authenticity", "integrity" or being "true to self", which guides the ways in which vocational rehabilitation is conceived.[56]

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[52]Robson, 2011, p. 2

[53]Geary, T., Griffin, C., & Hammins, D. (2007). Job carving: Creating jobs that fit an individual's ideal conditions of employment and benefit the workplace. In C. Griffin, D. Hammins, & T. Geary (Eds.), *The job developer's handbook: Practical tactics for customized employment* (pp. 119–138). Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes Publishing.

[54]Kaleidoscope. (2007). *Oho Ake Consultants Book* [Training and reference book]. Christchurch: Kaleidoscope Vocational Programme.

[55]Robson, 2011

[56]Robson, 2011

8.5.3 Empowerment and partnership: Focusing on motivations, hopes and dreams for the future and strategically involving others in the execution of plans

The notion of vocational rehabilitation as a process of empowering people to follow their hopes and dreams is another aspect that is highlighted in these three vocational rehabilitation practices. Each of the practices holds ideals of career development, and creating an employable individual rather than just an employed one, and envisions the route to this as empowering individuals to determine their own futures. In the case of supported employment, this is seen to occur on the job — where a person will discover their usefulness and develop skills and self-esteem through training and support. Supported employment aims for "services and outcomes based on the preferences and aspirations of the individual and a commitment to ongoing pursuit of careers."[57] In the Kaleidoscope service, empowerment is seen to occur largely in the process of exploring hopes and aspirations in thinking about what a person's 'dream' job might be, leading to greater self awareness which will lead to more informed investigation of job options and creative solutions. For example, a reference and training manual for staff of a Kaleidoscope programme emphasises self-awareness as one of the main outcomes of the process of seeking meaningful employment.[58] Kaleidoscope defines a 'positive outcome' as one in which the client is doing a job they enjoy, without being dependent on resources that are outside what they can expect to maintain long-term. Their task is one of encouraging a person to recognise their skills and their strengths, and identify what they want, and then use this to help themselves (re)gain work. The Curveballs business plan states that their client base will be "people who are experiencing unplanned situations and these situations are the catalyst for needing assistance in reshaping their future now [...] within the context of career where working is seen to be part of this."[59] Thus, their focus is on empowerment in the context of career development, conceiving of career as so intertwined with life that the two should not be separated.

Responsibility: Taking action right now, and being clear what is at stake if you don't

> People come to us with some level of motivation to help themselves in the process.[60]

> One of the key attributes I've observed of those persons who have successfully re-created their lives, which for many has included a return to work (RTW) after a serious SCI [spinal cord injury] is their commitment or focus to optimising their abilities.[61]

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[57]The Association for Supported Employment in New Zealand. (2011a). *ASENZ information*. Retrieved 10 January, 2012, from http://www.asenz.org.nz/asenzinformation.html

[58]Kaleidoscope, 2007

[59]Robson, 2011, p. 1

[60]Robson, 2011, p. 2

[61]Work for all (Kaleidoscope), 2010b

Interwoven with the concept of empowerment is the idea that people are expected to want to take responsibility for their own lives and their own futures, and will weigh up the benefits and costs of various actions available to them. The neo-liberal idea of each person's life being an enterprise that they are constantly pursuing relies on an expectation that people will be motivated and take responsibility for undertaking that enterprise. This concept of empowerment, therefore, is linked with an expectation that people will take an interest in their own interests, and take on the project of pursuing them.

Cruickshank (1999) applied governmentality to the notion of empowerment, arguing that in order for the idea of democracy (and related notions of equality and freedom) to work, we have to view individuals as free to act in their own interests. Because of this, it is problematic when people seem not to be able to act in their own interests, or show apathy or indifference, such as is the case with populations often referred to as 'disadvantaged'. As such, programmes of 'empowerment' have become commonplace, and are an element of many community development schemes. These programmes aim to rectify this problem by trying to get people interested in and able to take action to look after their own interests. Cruickshank highlights, however, that one of the problems then becomes how to work out what is actually in the interests of those people. This problem has led to empowerment programmes being subject to a lot of debate because of the question of whose interests they are serving.

Related to the idea of taking responsibility is the emphasis on implementing vocational interventions as soon as possible—taking action right now. It is often argued that the longer people spend *not* engaged in vocational activities, the less likely it is that they will return to work.[62] The ways in which vocational rehabilitation practices take up the task of early intervention varies, but is consistent with this concern. Supported employment, for example, focuses on getting people into the workplace as soon as possible, whether or not they are 'work-ready', focusing on support and training on the job rather than pre-employment preparation.

> Supported Employment services will facilitate direct access to the labour market (optimally within 4 weeks) developing and utilising a precise job/person match - without insistence upon prolonged 'getting ready' activities or pre-vocational training.[63]

Kaleidoscope tackles the problem by offering services at the earliest possible time. Since their client group (individuals with a spinal cord injury) spend time being treated and rehabilitated in hospital after injury, this is where Kaleidoscope situates its services. However, despite the fact that they do much of their work in a hospital inpatient setting, employees of Kaleidoscope are often not people with health-professional backgrounds,

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[62]Welfare Working Group (New Zealand). (2011). *Reducing long-term benefit dependency: Recommendations*. Wellington: Ministry of Social Development.

[63]The Association for Supported Employment in New Zealand, 2011a

but those who have skills in recruitment and/or career guidance, motivation and empowerment. Their particular early intervention philosophy is sometimes thought of as bringing the outside world into a setting where it is usually suspended (the hospital), and thus reminding people that despite being in hospital with a seemingly uncertain future, they remain normal people who will lead normal lives — of which work is a part. Consultants are advised that with clients they should "start 'dreaming & [sic] scheming' about vocational matters as soon as possible after onset of injury to set a positive RTW [return to work] expectation."[64]

Curveballs focuses on getting people into the service at a point at which they realise they are experiencing an "unplanned situation" in their lives, focusing very much on taking action towards "reshaping their future now."[65] The emphasis on acting in the present and also on the client leading the process with guidance or consultancy from the vocational professional is similar to the form of empowerment used in the Kaleidoscope model. However, the way in which the circumstances for needing vocational support are characterised (simply as "unplanned situation") can be seen to suggest an even greater degree of client centredness regarding the interpretation of the situation, the responsibility for action and the way in which that action is taken. The interpretation of disability as just one of a range of possible situations affecting ability to work is a discussion I will return to in Chapter Nine.

8.6 Concluding summary

Aided by a focus on three specific practices that in some way resist dominant notions of what vocational rehabilitation constitutes, but are still viable practices, I have explored a range of current and emerging discourses in vocational rehabilitation that serve to highlight current concepts and concerns in this field. Discourses of 'diversity'; 'human capital' and re-fashioning of self in terms of vocational potential; and 'empowerment'; which can be shown to be consistent with neo-liberal discourses of work and employment, are highlighted in these particular practices, sometimes displaying a variety of interpretations in terms of translation into methods of vocational rehabilitation. As in the subsets of texts analysed in previous chapters, discourse of economic reason (in this case, neo-liberalism) is evident in vocational rehabilitation discourse, and bio-political imperatives regarding the wellbeing and security of the population are foregrounded in the governmental concern for practices of vocational rehabilitation to endure.

Returning to the idea of 'history of the present' which was introduced in Chapter Two, the previous three chapters were intended as an attempt to locate historical conditions that allow us to think, speak and act as we do currently in vocational rehabilitation, and the present chapter as an analysis of current discourse. In Chapter Nine, I focus on bringing these analyses together to interrogate the practice of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa

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[64]Work for all (Kaleidoscope), 2010b
[65]Robson, 2011, p. 1

New Zealand, with the purpose of considering its effects and opening space to re-examine its construction.

9

Discussion

9.1 Introduction to the chapter

This final chapter in the thesis aims to consolidate and extend the analysis that has been developed over the previous four chapters, then consider possible implications and opportunities for continuing the inquiry that this thesis initiates. The chapter is presented in three sections. The first section discusses the thesis that has been emerging in the analysis presented in the previous four chapters, reviewing what I have shown through discursive analysis, and developing arguments that have been introduced in these chapters—in particular bringing together theoretical threads that have become visible during this process. In the second section, I explore two discursive themes in current texts that I consider particularly pertinent in terms of the effects of discourse in the field of vocational rehabilitation—a normalisation of disability and the relationship between disability and vocational rehabilitation. I also consider the work of other authors that relates to my analysis, discussing similarities and differences as well as opportunities for future inquiry. Finally, I consider what this thesis offers, and possible avenues by which to continue the discussion that it has begun.

Because there are a necessarily limitations to the number of lines of inquiry that can be pursued in the context of a thesis, my intention when choosing what to discuss in detail was to continually refocus the analysis and argument on the practice of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand. This allowed for the analysis to be targeted towards addressing the research questions, while acknowledging that it will always be partial and incomplete. There are some constructs (for example, the individual worker-subject, notions of contribution, value, health) that although identified in this thesis as contributing to vocational rehabilitation discourses, I have not discussed the specific genealogies of. This is something I would like to investigate further in other studies, extending the work started here and utilising the work of other authors in these areas. Furthermore, there are constructs such as citizenship, state government and government of the economy which I have introduced in early chapters but do not discuss in-depth in themselves, focusing mainly on the roles they play within discourses that construct vocational rehabilitation. Throughout the thesis, where appropriate, I have pointed to work by other authors that does go into more depth.

9.2 Economic and social imperatives and the constitution of vocational rehabilitation

The analysis of vocational rehabilitation texts presented over the last four chapters shows key associations between discourses that construct the economic and social imperatives which inform governmental actions and the constitution of vocational rehabilitation. In this section, I will look at different aspects of these associations, before extending the analysis to a consideration of wider themes later in the chapter.

9.2.1 Discourses of economics, industry and work in the construction of disability and vocational rehabilitation

One of the most salient threads throughout the analysis in the present study was an enduring relationship between what are understood to be the factors that cause work disability and what the main goals of vocational rehabilitation are. This in itself is unsurprising given that the aim of vocational rehabilitation is to help people overcome disability so they can work. However, the way in which discourses can be seen to construct work, and in turn disability, and the translation of this into governmental imperatives, are of considerable importance.

In the years following the First World War, work was a participation in the 'economic and industrial machinery' and a clear importance was put on skilled, permanent employment within established trades and industries. Temporary and casual labour was seen to be dangerous for the individual because of its unreliability, and dangerous to society because of concerns that if there were large numbers of men who were not settled in a permanent job there was a potential that this would precipitate social problems (such as disenfranchised men who become a burden, or may even become sympathetic to ideas of social upheaval). Furthermore, the prevailing liberal economic discourses indicated that attempts to intervene in the economic system could endanger its viability, producing conditions in which it was difficult to either introduce new industries or adapt existing ones to accommodate men who were unable to offer the right skills, or unable to work a normal forty-hour week. Thus, in texts relating to vocational rehabilitation at this time, disability was primarily defined in terms of inability to sustain normal employment because of inability to carry out skilled work applicable to current industries and/or inability to maintain normal hours. One of the key discursive constructs at this time, which I have indicated was vital to the introduction of formalised vocational rehabilitation, was the identification of *disability as a special category of unemployment*—one which negatively affected the wellbeing of many of the men who had fought for New Zealand in the war. Thus, conditions of possibility for the introduction of trade training for ex-soldiers as vocational rehabilitation can be seen emerging at the intersection between the imperatives and constraints of the 'economic and industrial machinery' and discourses showing disability as a category of unemployment with serious effects for those who had fought for their country.

Texts from the middle years of the twentieth century analysed in Chapter Six showed little change in the way that industry and its associated economic imperatives appeared; but in the context of the 'welfare state', governmental focus had a much greater emphasis on the management of 'social' issues and minimising inequalities. In this milieu, vocational rehabilitation was revisited and considered as a potential means of ameliorating social problems such as isolation that people faced if they found themselves in the circumstance of being disabled. Participation in work was conveyed in these texts as both a responsibility and a right of citizenship, and also a hallmark of someone who was fulfilling their role as a citizen of New Zealand. Like the period following the First World War, however, the ability of 'disabled' subjects to fit into jobs that were required by industry was a major obstacle, in this time referred to as a problem of 'productive capacity' which limited a person's potential for participation in 'useful employment'. Discourses of the welfare state emphasised equality among all citizens as a key governmental aim, and work appeared as central to the life of a citizen; therefore the problem of access to work became a problem of inequality that had to be addressed, and disabled *civilians* became subjects of vocational rehabilitation. With sheltered employment becoming an increasingly popular community initiative to allow access to work for people with limited 'productive capacity', the extension of trade training programmes to disabled civilians ensured that everyone had the opportunity to lead a 'useful life', but that there would be an attempt to limit the number of people whose income would be paid by the state as sheltered employees.

In the context of the 'disability rights' emphasis of the 1980s, the construction of the role of work in society once again played a key role in vocational rehabilitation texts. However, we see a dissociation between 'disability' and work ability, with 'disabled' appearing as primarily an identity label; and lack of participation in 'real' (as opposed to sheltered) work as a hallmark of discrimination against those labeled 'disabled'. A worker-role was still discussed as central to social participation, and discourses positioned disabled people as able workers who were at best underutilised and at worst discriminated against with regard to employment. Notions of 'productive capacity' and 'economic and industrial machinery' that had constrained the ability of industry to accept disabled workers and produced vocational rehabilitation schemes that focused on trade training were problematised. Discourses that constructed the opportunity for employment as a key component in creating able workers provided the conditions for a shift in emphasis to work experience and work brokerage in vocational rehabilitation.

In current texts, economic activity is once again constructed as a central part of life. For individuals this involves a relation with notions of 'employability' and 'value', which are (re)produced in dynamic interactions with the labour market and can be perpetually pursued through skill acquisition, experience, self development and so on. In these texts, dominant discourses convey the idea that almost all people are potentially able to work, with work being not any particular set of activities, but whatever might be considered of 'value' in the labour market. Accordingly, disabled people who experience difficulty

obtaining or maintaining employment become clients or consumers of vocational rehabilitation services. These services are designed to address individual barriers to employment and/or assist the individual to re-envisage their worker selves in order to reposition them as employable incorporating their current range of skills and abilities. In texts concerning vocational rehabilitation, disability can be seen as a potential limitation but also a potential qualification for work. It either enhances or diminishes value, depending on the match between the individual and the work situation, combined with employer attitudes and expectations within wider society. Economic discourses position as central to participation in economic life the activity of producing individual economic subjects who are considered to have 'value' in an ever-evolving job market. In this milieu, an increasing part of vocational rehabilitation practice is ensuring that whatever an individual's circumstances, a situation can be found where disability does not reduce that value, and ideally contributes to it.

The summary given here illustrates a consistently present but shifting relation between the various economic and social discourses that produce citizens, workers and disabled people and construct and situate vocational rehabilitation. The notion of leading a 'useful' life or having 'useful' employment (as in the post-WWI and welfare state milieus) can be seen to be produced within economic discourses that construct the role of workers within an industrial system as important but relatively invariable. By contrast, the notion of constructing a worker-self that has 'value' in the employment market is linked with discourses that show individual 'human capital' as a key *variable* within an economic system. Likewise, interventions to adjust work opportunities with the objective of producing 'equal' citizens during both welfare state government and a movement for increased disability rights in the 1980s highlights a governmental imperative to ensure the wellbeing of the population by way of modifying 'social' conditions. By comparison, the discourses in current texts pertaining to diversity and the constant (re)production of human capital highlight an ethico-political focus. With this focus, governmental action has shifted away from direct intervention, instead being directed at ensuring that people are free to pursue the enterprises that make up their lives (of which work is one) and endeavoring to facilitate conditions that will compel them do this in a responsible way.

This analysis applies and extends existing work by Foucault and other Foucauldian scholars in 'governmentality studies', particularly (among others cited in earlier chapters) the work by Rose (1999) and Dean (1999) in social and neo-liberal governmentalities, and Tremain (2001, 2002), Corker (2002) and Galvin (2003) in disability. My study incorporates this existing work into an analysis of texts specific to vocational rehabilitation, showing how economic, social, citizenship, work and disability discourses intersect and modify each other, and how this constructs a social practice—vocational rehabilitation.

9.2.2 Worker subjectivities and vocational rehabilitation

The construction of worker subjectivities is also a key point to discuss here, as the practice of vocational rehabilitation functions to produce worker-subjects appropriate to the milieu within which those potential workers are situated. Although the focus of my analysis is on practices of vocational rehabilitation, these practices are very much entwined with discourses of appropriate worker-subjects.

In the texts from the time following the First World War, the subjectivity of the 'permanent' and 'sound' worker was what vocational rehabilitation sought to produce. In this time, vocational rehabilitation was very much focused on *producing a fairly well-defined 'right' kind of worker*, thus reducing the risks to both individuals and society posed by temporary and casual workers (undesirable kinds of workers). The viability of the economy and therefore the security of the state and its population was tied to these worker subjectivities, and vocational rehabilitation aimed to address 'worker mentality' as a fairly standard quality, key for the worker to be able to cope with working life, and something that was acquired by a person rather than a part of a person.

During the shifts in vocational rehabilitation that occurred in the context of the New Zealand welfare state described in Chapter Six, a key governmental focus was on *ensuring the right kind of citizen*. In this context, the concept of 'normal' had significance because of a focus on equality combined with the need to be able to identify what the right kind of citizen was (see section 9.3 for further discussion). Thus, vocational rehabilitation took on the role of producing people who were engaged in 'useful' employment, one of the crucial characteristics of a 'normal' citizen.

In the situation where 'the disabled' had become a much more unified and politicised group, as described in Chapter Seven, discourses concerning worker-subjects and citizenship took on a different role—defining disabled people as a unified section of society who were unfairly treated with regard to employment opportunities and who were distinct from other 'disadvantaged' people. Hence there were moves to shift vocational rehabilitation into a role of *reducing discrimination of this specific group of citizens, who were already potential workers*, by a process of integration, thus working to privilege the subjectivity of the *'normal' worker*.

In the texts discussed in Chapter Eight, we see discourses that produce an increasingly diverse and malleable conception of what constitutes employable qualities, and the aim of vocational rehabilitation as *producing or maintaining citizens who are able to pursue an enterprise of maximum employability*. Vocational rehabilitation is constructed as an undertaking that assists or empowers individuals to address disability-related barriers to work and re-fashion their careers so that disability is either minimised or capitalised on.

These various worker subjectivities, alongside the preceeding discussion of economic and social imperatives, illustrate the key role that the notion of 'normal' work and its contrast with 'disability' plays in the construction of both the need for and the constitution of vocational rehabilitation. The next section explores these specific themes in more depth,

discussing theoretical implications and situating them within other existing literature.

9.3 Vocational rehabilitation as an apparatus of normalisation and a consumer of disability

9.3.1 Vocational rehabilitation and the pursuit of 'normal' lives

One of the discursive threads that seemed to be particularly pertinent in my analysis of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand was the relationship between the work of vocational rehabilitation and conceptions of what constitutes 'normal' occupation, skills, conduct and mentality. Concepts of 'normal' living appear as central to the aims of vocational rehabilitation and, as with 'disability' (discussed further in section 9.3.2), changes in concepts of 'normal' lives can be shown to be associated with changing practices in vocational rehabilitation.

In the post-WWI texts, 'normal' adult male life was seen to be a 'useful' life — where work was a 'normal' occupation and a worker's skills and mentality were what each man acquired in his journey through to adulthood. Within these discourses, widespread disability caused by war produced a large number of men who were not following the 'normal' life patterns and occupations for a number of reasons, including inability to do work tasks, inability to sustain a normal working schedule and disruption in the normal pathways to employment. The systems of industry and production were constructed as a key regulating force, and crucial to the functioning of civil society, and this industrial and economic 'machinery' determined what workers' skills and working schedules needed to be. This produced a situation in which a population mainly comprised of not just workers, but the *right kind* of workers (having specific skills and able to sustain permanent fulltime employment) was an important objective of government. In this context, vocational rehabilitation can be seen to be an apparatus which functions to maintain a situation in which this right kind of worker was the norm, so as to maintain the industrial systems that were key to the functioning of civil society.

In the New Zealand welfare state during the middle years of the twentieth century, a key governmental focus was on the equality of all citizens, with discourses constructing population wellbeing as produced in a society in which all citizens were ensured a livable income and the access to the basics of a decent life even if they were unable to obtain or sustain employment. Alongside this, economic discourses and associated systems of production were similar to what can be seen in the post-WWI texts, with particular industries and trades and therefore specified skills and worker hours being necessary to maintain the status quo and thus a stable society. Accordingly, part of 'normal' living for citizens was to be engaged in 'useful' employment. Here, 'normal' took on a particular significance for two reasons. First, since equality among citizens was one of the key objectives of government, 'normal' living emerged as a concept by which equality could be assessed—if

an individual was living as others lived, he or she could be considered equal to those others, thus a concept of what 'normal' life was became important to enable this assessment to be made. Second, this examination of equality through the concept of 'normal' living involved a problematisation of incapacity for work, as those who were unable to work due to disability were regarded as citizens with equal rights, but deprived of the opportunity to participate in 'useful employment' and therefore the living of a 'normal' life. As it was essential for the maintenance of this type of society that it was normal to work, it follows that the desired way to achieve equality was through giving those who were unable to work in the normal way the opportunity to engage in 'useful' employment — if necessary, outside of the existing systems of production, thus reducing inequality while maintaining the required economic system. Here, vocational rehabilitation again appears as a technology to maintain a norm, but in this milieu it is the norm of engagement in 'useful employment', even if (due to low 'productive capacity') that employment must be outside the essential and self-sustaining systems of production. In both these texts dealing with the introduction of vocational rehabilitation for disabled civilians during the 1950s and the post-WWI texts discussed in the previous paragraph, vocational rehabilitation can be shown to be pursuing the normalisation of disabled people to achieve specific governmental objectives.

In the texts from the 1980s that show a problematisation of the training and sheltered employment models of previous decades, these discourses of 'normal' appear quite differently, in that 'normal' is redeployed as a benchmark by which discrimination against disabled people is made visible. In these texts, participation in 'normal' life is something that is portrayed to be a key aspiration amongst a unified section of society referred to as 'the disabled', but something that is difficult to achieve due to discrimination. In these texts, 'normal' life was the life that the 'able-bodied' majority experienced, and thus the goal of 'the disabled' was to have the same life experiences and opportunities as the able-bodied, and there was a whole range of discrepancies between the reality of life for 'the disabled' and the 'normal' life of the able-bodied. A significant concern was for the participation in 'normal' employment, as this was seen as one of the hallmarks of full participation in society. Accordingly, vocational rehabilitation began a shift from provision of assessment, training and sheltered employment towards work experience, work brokerage and employment opportunity schemes, aiming to integrate disabled people into normal workplaces from which they had been excluded. In this, vocational rehabilitation was again functioning as a technology of normalisation, but what constituted normalisation was integration into the same jobs and workplaces that able-bodied workers participated in, and the shifts in the practices of vocational rehabilitation can be seen to align with this.

In current texts, 'normal' is again a key concept in discourses of vocational rehabilitation, but what constitutes 'normal' appears to be in a process of diversifying and pluralising. In the main, work and employment is structured around what is considered to be 'normal' physical and mental functioning, and as such vocational rehabilitation aims to enable people to participate in this. However, one of the emerging themes in vocational

rehabilitation discourse is a reconsideration of the definition of ability to work (such as whether a worker must be independently able to carry out a job) and a repositioning of disability as a qualification and an expression of human 'diversity'. Particularly when it comes to these discourses of 'diversity' and different concepts of what acceptable function can be, what we can see is not a rejection of 'normal' as such, but an expansion of it. This expansion fits within 'ethico-political' government—a concern with governing people in such a way that their self-conduct reflects two simultaneous responsibilities: to the enterprise that is their own lives, and the effects of that enterprise on the society they are part of (Rose, 1999). Within a societal model in which individuals are encouraged to pursue the enterprise of self development as part of their role as citizens, it fits that what may be considered within the realms of a 'normal' citizen may become more diverse as citizens pursue their own pathways within what can still be considered responsible existence. Furthermore, the idea of 'diversity' as a societal goal makes it possible, ethical, and even prudent to seek to reconsider the approach to 'different' individuals who would previously have been subjects of intervention to achieve normalisation, bringing them within the folds of 'normal' instead. This is an idea I will discuss in more detail in section 9.3.3.

Other authors have also explored this notion of 'normal' in the context of disability discourse. One recent example from the UK is Foster and Wass (2012, p. 12), who argue from an analysis of three cases considered under the UK's Disability Discrimination Act that currently in the UK "ableist norms, like gendered norms, have shaped the world of work and continue to do so. They are deeply embedded in the practices, policies and culture of organisational life". They argue that one of the main problems that results in the inaccessibility of employment for disabled people is that very often a job is conceptualised as a disembodied role—jobs within an organisation being designed around ideas of what workers should be able to do (based on a gendered, ableist expectation of what humans are capable of), with the ideal worker being the person who happens to best meet pre-defined criteria, which are created before a potential worker even has opportunity to apply for the job. One of the other issues that these authors raise is that the 'standard' job description and person specification, which was in many cases brought in to address issues of equality in workplaces, actually perpetuates discriminatory practices because it fails to acknowledge and value diversity, often being written based on a particular conception of an employee which is grounded in ableist norms. While I would not contest this interpretation and indeed this can also be seen in current texts in Aotearoa New Zealand, I would propose that their reflection that there was a failure to acknowledge and value diversity draws on discourses of diversity, which I argue are actually expanding these norms. Indeed, the authors go on to contrast the approach they are critiquing with other methods—such as more flexible employee-task models where strengths and capabilities of existing employees are considered against job tasks that must be achieved in order to design the most appropriate and efficient way of achieving those tasks.

In an example looking at discourses of disability, Gray (2009) suggests that even within

the discourse of disability as diversity (what she calls the 'multicultural' narrative of 'disability as difference'), the argument is that disability is actually a different kind of *ability* and thus resituates disability on the able side of the able-unable binary, while the binary itself and thus the norm of ability remains intact. While this discourse of disability as a new kind of ability is certainly present in the current texts I analysed, I would suggest that there are additionally discourses at play which do not construct disability as positive difference or a new kind of ability, but simply circumstance or diversity. For example, the discourses that Curveballs employ reason that injury or illness with ongoing consequences that affect functioning are among a range of life circumstances that a person encounters which might affect their work, so situates these circumstances as among others and not separate, not constituting a special or new kind of ability. I also discuss some more general examples of practices that challenge the ability-disability dichotomy in section 9.3.3.

9.3.2 Vocational rehabilitation's vital connection to disability

Although the area of inquiry and research questions for this study were focused on vocational rehabilitation, a significant portion of the discussion in my analysis has been on notions of disability. This analysis of vocational rehabilitation has highlighted the key link between the forms that vocational rehabilitation has taken and notions of disability within a particular societal milieu. The connection between disability and rehabilitation more generally is not unusual. To give just a few examples, French historian Stiker devotes approximately half the book titled *A History of Disability* (Stiker, 1997) to a discussion of rehabilitation; and a more recent historian of rehabilitation, Linker (2011), proclaims the emergence of rehabilitation as a recent response to disability. This is mirrored in existing histories of vocational rehabilitation specifically, which often allocate early chapters to a discussion of pre-rehabilitation disability (for example see Obermann, 1980; Rubin & Roessler, 1978). In these histories and also in the texts analysed for the present study, along with numerous other examples, vocational rehabilitation and disability are intertwined to such an extent that the connection seems self-evident. As introduced early in this thesis, a key part of a Foucauldian approach to inquiry is to question those things that seem self-evident, and once this connection between disability and vocational rehabilitation is problematised it opens up a number of important questions about possible effects of current discourses.

I will take an example from one of Foucault's lectures to develop this discussion. In Foucault's examination of liberal economic theories during his lecture of 24 January 1979 at the Collège de France (Foucault, 2008a), he talked about the idea that liberalism as a governmental rationality is a *consumer of freedom*, in that liberal economic theories and policies rely on the notion of freedom in order to exist and to operate, and thus discourses of liberalism reproduce discourses of freedom (Foucault, 2008a). In Nikolas Rose's words, the significance of liberalism in regard to freedom is not liberalism's recognition or defense of freedom as a right of citizenship, but that it marks the first time that "the arts of gov-

ernment were systematically linked to the practice of freedom" (Rose, 1999, p. 68). In the situation where government is systematically linked to freedom, freedom must continue to be produced, because unless this occurs, the basic foundations on which the practice of government is grounded would cease to exist. I argue that in a similar way, vocational rehabilitation is a consumer of disability. Vocational rehabilitation relies on disability to exist and to operate, and thus discourses of vocational rehabilitation reproduce discourses of disability (for example through the definition and articulation of disability in determining service eligibility), and are dependent on them to make vocational rehabilitation intelligible—systematically linking disability to the practice of vocational rehabilitation.

A vital relationship between disability and rehabilitation has been identified in other contexts, with different emphasis. In particular, authors in disability studies have articulated a dependence of the practices and professions that care for and treat disabled people on the disabled status of the people they exist to serve, suggesting that this could be seen as a 'parasitic' relationship, where professionals are 'disability parasites' (K. Davis, 2003; Swain, French, & Cameron, 2003). Although I have identified a similar concept in showing a vital link between disability and vocational rehabilitation through analysis of vocational rehabilitation texts, my argument is different in that it focuses on articulating this relationship in the context of a genealogy and discursive analysis. In the argument I make here, the issues these authors identify would be considered one of the potential dangers of discourses in which disability requires rehabilitation, but the emphasis is on considering this effect as well as others, the conditions of possibility for the various effects, and the relationships between them.

One of the things that are highlighted by my method of stipulating key shifts in vocational rehabilitation thought and practice in Aotearoa New Zealand for analysis, is that changes seen in vocational rehabilitation thought and practice can be shown to be associated with changes in notions of disability. As discussed previously, in the texts from the period following the First World War disability was constructed as importantly distinct from other forms of unemployment—a way of identifying those who were unable to work (needing adaptation and retraining) from those who were simply idle. Thus the form of vocational rehabilitation at this time specifically addressed 'disability' as distinct from unemployment, through interventions of training and readaptation to working life.

From my analysis of the vocational rehabilitation texts from the middle years of the twentieth century during the height of New Zealand's welfare state, a shift could be seen where work came to be problematised as a key part of life in which equality between all citizens was desired. In this milieu, disabled civilians were brought into the fold of vocational rehabilitation because their circumstances (being of low 'productive capacity') meant they were in a position of being unable to participate in 'useful' employment as other citizens were. At this time, disability was seen to produce circumstances where an individual was unable to access 'useful' employment, and vocational rehabilitation practices were designed to address this problem through training opportunities for those

whose productive capacity could be improved, and sheltered employment for those who were unable to work in normal employment.

In the 1980s when we see another shift in vocational rehabilitation practice—this time away from training and towards work brokerage and integration schemes, there is again an association with a key difference in the way that disability is understood. In this milieu disability appears as a unified and politicised identity and there is a distinction made between an individual's identity as 'disabled' and their ability to work—'disability' being depicted as an identity label that attracted discrimination and this being the key problem for disabled people with regard to employment.

At all of these historical points, vocational rehabilitation can be seen to respond to disability, and thus to reproduce disability through its very existence; and in turn, disability is a key construct in the production and continuation of vocational rehabilitation practices. A key aspect of this, relating back to the previous section, is the function of vocational rehabilitation as a technology of normalisation. Looking at current practices in vocational rehabilitation, the normalisation of disabled people to fit in with work roles is still a dominant theme, but we can see an emergence of discourses that employ normalisation quite differently—using notions such as diversity to promote the normalisation of disability itself.

9.3.3 From normalisation of disabled people to normalisation of disability?

In *A History of Disability* (Stiker, 1997), French historian Stiker argues that the time during which societies have practiced rehabilitation is characterised by a discourse of normalisation—a will to normalise those who are disabled in order to integrate them into society as opposed to considering them too different and therefore outside of it (Stiker, 1997). He points out through his analysis that in France at the time he was writing, "the disabled person is integrated only when disability is erased" (Stiker 1997, p152). Building on the discussion of normalisation given in section 9.3.1, this is a discourse that can be identified across the range of texts that I analysed for this study. In the current texts, however, although the normalisation of disabled people through vocational rehabilitation is still dominant—as is evident in practices like assessment of work ability—there are also different discourses emerging that alter ideas about normalising disabled people, particularly when it comes to practices that focus on promoting diversity and the viewing of disability as a potential qualification for a job role. These practices are, as I have argued already, working to expand what is considered to be normal, but in some senses they are also resisting previously held notions of vocational rehabilitation and, I will argue, the idea of disability as well.

In some current texts relating to vocational rehabilitation practice, the idea of normalisation has been redeployed to challenge thinking about disability itself. For example, how is it that a practice such as supported employment that may never withdraw specialist input and support can be considered vocational rehabilitation if vocational rehabilitation

is fundamentally about creating a worker who is normalised to be independent in their work tasks? Similarly, how is it that a practice like Curveballs which may consist only of motivation and empowerment can be considered vocational rehabilitation, when the only thing being done to change the person's abilities or circumstances is through changing that person's and other people's perspectives on how things are? It may be arguable that either of these services do constitute vocational rehabilitation and indeed this uncertainty about categorisation is one of the reasons I chose to analyse these practices. Both of these practices resist how vocational rehabilitation has been previously conceived by changing the way they engage with the discourses of disability and normalisation. Rather than using discourses of rehabilitation to normalise the disabled, these practices are in different ways applying discourses of normalisation to disability itself.

There are also other emerging movements outside of vocational rehabilitation, which apply normalisation to challenge the discourse of disability. Two examples in Aotearoa New Zealand are Philip Patston's promotion of a framework he calls 'constructive functional diversity' (Patston, 2007) and the Be Accessible movement which advocates for accessibility (Be Accessible, 2012). Patston's (2007) framework of 'constructive functional diversity' proposes that some ways of functioning are simply more common than others, and it is important to enable people who have less common ways of functioning to be able to participate in society. Patston labels encounters in which a person's particular way of functioning causes them disadvantage as 'functional dissonance'. The Be Accessible movement in Auckland exercises a more subtle resistance by joining together people traditionally labeled as 'disabled' such as wheelchair users, with other categories of people such as parents who use pushchairs and advocating for the common goal of 'accessibility' in public spaces. My argument does not assume that these discourses are engaged in a process of 'disappearing' disability, and the positions on this from those who engage with these discourses may differ. Crucially, these points of resistance often emphasise that what we currently know as 'disability' is a very real experience for many people in today's society, and issues of social justice are prominent. However, I am arguing that concepts such as 'functional diversity', 'accessibility', and in the specific context of vocational rehabilitation, different models of employment and 'career coaching' for 'unexpected life events' subtly shift our notions of what is normal. Within these discourses, disadvantage rather than disability becomes the problem to be addressed, and this is being carried out through practices such as promoting diversity and encouraging empowerment.

The concept of 'diversity' is not unique to the discourses relating to disability that I describe here, and numerous authors in fields such as feminism and queer theory have wrestled with, critiqued and modified recent moves away from 'identity politics' toward positions in which identity is not the key standpoint (May, 2009; Jagose, 2009). These critiques are fruitful, and highlight a dilemma in that an ethic of positive inclusion along the lines of 'diversity' has the tendency to obscure significant struggles (such as discrimination or harm inherent in societal structures), thus creating different effects when compared

with the separation and exclusion caused by 'identity', but these are are arguably no less problematic. Critiques and propositions in these fields are well worth consideration in terms of their potential effects when it comes to disability and rehabilitation. A key difference between these lines of thinking and what I present in this thesis is that my critique remains with the discourses that can be identified in current vocational rehabilitation texts and their effects, with a focus on the practice itself rather that its subjects. However, the scholarship offered by feminist and queer literature, as well as the transference of these ideas into disability studies (for example see L. J. Davis, 2006; Heffernan, 2012) could be a productive avenue for future inquiry. In particular, the idea that 'disability' is an unstable category that must continually be re-thought offers useful positions from which to pursue a rethinking of vocational rehabilitation that resists essentialising disability. To give just one example, the present study intersects with these other critiques in proposing that discourses of 'disability' focus on social inequality, and who disability affects and how they are affected is different over time, while 'disabled' as a construct endures in changing forms. When considering the relationship between vocational rehabilitation and 'disability' articulated here, this suggests that a continual, *conscious* revisiting of what vocational rehabilitation should be and do is warranted.

Returning now to the argument that vocational rehabilitation is a consumer of disability, I suggest that one of the effects of the normalisation of disability itself is that it serves to question the current foundations of vocational rehabilitation. It is conflicting to hold simultaneously the idea that the purpose of vocational rehabilitation is to normalise those who are disabled, and the idea that disability itself needs to be normalised, so the will to normalise disability itself leaves us questioning the function of vocational rehabilitation. In other words, currently and historically vocational rehabilitation is a consumer of disability, it relies on the idea that disability is something distinct and identifiable and that disability needs to be addressed and ameliorated in order that vocational rehabilitation as we know it can continue to be intelligible. However, recently emerging discourses in vocational rehabilitation adopt positions of normalising disability, which problematise previously held concepts of vocational rehabilitation. I would argue that this currently emerging problematisation is something that will need to be addressed in vocational rehabilitation, and I hope the present study will serve to facilitate a conscious consideration of this issue.

9.4   Situating the present study

While genealogy and governmentality studies are certainly not new, they appear quite differently and present various opportunities within different fields and disciplines. I would propose that the present inquiry offers a type of critique that is rare in health and rehabilitation, and has not been applied before to vocational rehabilitation, therefore posing some new opportunities.

There are a great number and a huge variety of studies that employ Focuault's approach

to 'genealogy' to explore a particular social practice. Furthermore, there are many studies that utlitise Foucault's notion of 'governmentality' to explore and critique various topics. In the political studies literature, it is common to see analyses of aspects of civil society that draw on Foucauldian discussions of bio-politics, governmentality and citizenship to explore the effects of current political practices. Rarely, however, does this focus on practices in the context of health and rehabilitation. In the nursing and allied health literature, there are an increasing number of studies that employ discursive analysis (drawing on Foucault or other theorists) to critique specific current problems or practices—for example contraceptive prescription (Hayter, 2007) or health coaching (Howard & Ceci, 2012). It is much more unusual, however, to see analysis of the broader social practices within health and rehabilitation (such as the practice of vocational rehabilitation) that have endured for some time and shown significant shifts in their form and purposes over that time. In health and rehabilitation literature, it is very rare to see studies that take the primary focus as the social practice itself, as opposed to the people who are the doers or recipients of that practice, while the former is much more commonly seen in political studies.

As someone with a background in rehabilitation practice, the process of doing this study was a considerable challenge because my training and work experience had taught me to focus on change at the level of the individual, with thinking that was situated with the people who are subjects of the practices rather than the practices themselves. My inexperience with the sort of thinking that is required to ask the question "what is discourse producing"—which makes visible social practices, rather than "what are people experiencing"—which makes visible the effects of those practices, made it difficult initially to apply the philosophy and theory to my topic. A lengthy consideration of how Foucault's thought could be translated into a methodology that allowed me to approach the topic in a way that was at times unfamiliar to the point of confusion, very much helped me to maintain the focus required (this methodological application is discussed in-depth in Chapter Three). The strength in this approach is that it has opened up vocational rehabilitation—something which I considered familiar—for consideration from a very different perspective. I would propose that the challenge it posed to me, coming initially from the perspective of a practitioner, is also valuable to other people intimately involved with vocational rehabilitation practices. In addition to this, the application of theory and methodology that is more common in sociological and political work to vocational rehabilitation acknowledges that vocational rehabilitation is sociological and political, and policy attached to it should include consideration from these perspectives.

9.5 The task of a genealogy and possibilities for continuing the discussion

During an interview conducted near the end of his life, Foucault articulated that his work was not about solutions, but about opening up problems; that everything always has dan-

gers and the choices that have to be continually made are about what those dangers are and which we need to address in a given moment.

> You see, what I want to do is not the history of solutions, and that's the reason that I don't accept the word 'alternative'. I would like to do genealogy of problems, of problematiques. My point is not that everything is bad, but that everything is dangerous, which is not exactly the same as bad. If everything is dangerous, then we always have something to do. So my position leads not to apathy, but to a hyper- and pessimistic activism. I think the ethico-political choice we have to make every day is to determine which is the main danger (Foucault, 1983a, pp. 231–232).

In accordance with this orientation to inquiry, my thesis is not about proposing solutions, but about making visible a discursive landscape that maintains and transforms conditions of possibility for vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand, and opening space to consider what this makes possible to think about, speak about and do. The question of what 'should' be is, as Foucault states, an ethico-political task of determining the dangers it shows and the evaluation of what action should be taken. While I have offered an analysis, the question about whether there are dangers that can and should be addressed is outside the scope of this genealogy, and no doubt dependent on the perspective it is viewed from. What I would like to offer here instead is a consideration of some pathways for continuing the discussion that I have been prompted to consider as a result of my engagement with this study. The most pertinent for me is awareness that a consideration of philosophy and an active engagement with the movement of discourse has a powerful role to play if the aim is to achieve conscious and considered changes in practice.

9.5.1 An engagement with discourse

In my view, discursive analysis as a tool can help make visible things that may prompt us to in turn see new possibilities. The outcomes of the present inquiry, for me, create a prompt to seriously contemplate what vocational rehabilitation might look like if discourses normalising disability itself were to have increasing dominance, to the extent where I wonder if it could even be called 'rehabilitation'. Furthermore, I am provoked to ask questions about what other effects an increasing normalisation of disability itself might have. As discussed in the above paragraph, everything is dangerous and I cannot help but wonder what new dangers might surface, in conjunction with new possibilities.

As I highlighted in the chapter which introduced the thesis, inquiry in the field of vocational rehabilitation in recent years has been characterised by a taken-for-granted position that vocational rehabilitation is both desirable and necessary. In accordance with this, the main area for research and development has been in aiming to make vocational rehabilitation more effective in compelling and enabling people to overcome disability so they can work. What the present study has shown is that when there is explicit investigation of what produces and maintains vocational rehabilitation as useful and intelligible, and what

it makes possible to think about, speak about and do, insights emerge that are obscured when the aim is primarily to refine practices towards particular goals. For example, it is of considerable importance that there are emerging discourses that seek to promote 'diversity' and normalise disability, which are substantially different from discourses that have maintained the practice of vocational rehabilitation in the past which and continue to dominate—those that position vocational rehabilitation as a technology of normalisation. The ability to explicitly consider how the emergence of these discourses might affect how vocational rehabilitation is both practised and evaluated could be a valuable tool for future innovation.

This inquiry also prompts me to consider some of the incongruences in current vocational rehabilitation discourse and practice. One of the salient examples for me is that analysis of current texts highlighted some emerging discourses in vocational rehabilitation that construct practices focused on re-fashioning the worker-self, empowering disabled individuals to re-position disability as experience and qualification, and changing notions of what able workers might look like. However, methods of evaluation on which vocational rehabilitation funding are currently based in Aotearoa New Zealand tend to be focused on assessing how quickly and cost-effectively a service can get people into jobs—thus privileging the practices that focus on 'normalising' disabled people through addressing 'barriers to employment'. Other evaluation approaches exist (one example being adaptations of human capability models based on the work of Amartya Sen, discussed in Robeyns, 2011); however currently these do not appear to have been taken up in the context of vocational rehabilitation. Hence, one of the possible avenues of inquiry that might be considered based on the analysis given in the present study is a consideration of how evaluation in vocational rehabilitation might shift to reflect discourses of empowerment and the normalisation of disability, considering how appropriate practice in vocational rehabilitation can be recognised and also how potential dangers might be identified and addressed.

The thoughts I mention here are just a few examples of the directions in which the inquiry has taken my thinking, to illustrate some pathways a study such as this might stimulate. What is arguably also important in an area of practice such as vocational rehabilitation, however, is to have ways of continuing the conversation from here. The methodology with which this study was designed does not seek to incorporate a 'way forward' but I think it is worth considering how future actions might be stimulated. From my own engagement with postmodern philosophy for this thesis, I believe the postmodern, anti-essentialist approach has a lot to offer and I would suggest is one of the most underutilised tools in health and social care practices currently. Therefore, I offer a brief discussion below of the role I see philosophy could play in continuing inquiry.

9.5.2 The role of philosophy

As discussed briefly in Chapter Three, in the years just prior to his death, Foucault's work turned to focus on 'the subject' and ethics, through the exploration of ancient Greek and

Roman notions of 'care of self' and 'truth'. His work on care of the self emphasised the importance put on always becoming unfamiliar with oneself, challenging oneself to be continually transforming; the idea that subjective 'truth' was accessed through the transformation of the subject rather than the acquisition of knowledge (Gros, 2005). Although Foucault's focus in these final years was on the individual ethical subject, this notion of maintaining a perpetual orientation to uncertainty and change as an ethical practice is also worth reflecting on when it comes to social practices such as vocational rehabilitation. Indeed this orientation was not new, it was something that Foucault also encouraged through his earlier work, but his articulation of it was much more focused during this later work concerning the subject.

The idea of maintaining an uncertainty and constantly making the things that have become self-evident unfamiliar again is a useful tool, which is used in different ways by different thinkers. For example, Richard Rorty, the American pragmatist who described himself as an anti-essentialist and a 'liberal ironist', argued that inquiry should be seen as a process of recontextualisation rather than discovery, and claimed that humans, although they frequently engage in inquiry, only sometimes do this consciously and mindfully (Rorty, 1991). In this argument Rorty implies that we should be more intentional and adventurous in our inquiry, that this may yield possibilities which we never get to otherwise, and states that "the desire to dream up as many new contexts as possible" and as such "to be as polymorphous in our adjustments as possible" is our potential as humans (Rorty, 1991, p. 80). In a very similar sentiment, Clare Colebrook asserts that the philosophy of French philosopher Deleuze (a contemporary of Foucault) demonstrates that:

> Most of the time we fail to really think, instead, simply wallowing in the inertia of common sense. By contrast, if we philosophise—if we create difficult, unmanageable and disruptive concepts—then we will question, provoke and challenge our lives (Colebrook, 2002, p. xii).

For Deleuze, as for Foucault, the purpose of thought was not to represent reality, but to open space to become other than what we are. However, while Foucault's work focused on disrupting our common-sense understandings through examining their contingency, Deleuze's focus (in collaboration with Guattari), was to disrupt our common sense understandings by confronting us with concepts in unfamiliar forms, invoking different ways to envisage the 'reality' we live. Thus, in an addition to specific consideration of the arguments raised in this thesis, finding ways to be polymorphous in our thinking and engage with ideas that create uncertainty, make us uncomfortable and force us to be inventive is, I believe, a helpful approach to the ethico-political landscape that is current vocational rehabilitation. One way to do this might be an earnest exploration of ideas that currently seem out-of-place in vocational rehabilitation—perhaps 'belonging' to other fields such as art, philosophy or chemistry. Another might be to consider what vocational rehabilitation might look like if all the current structures and systems within which it is situated

either did not exist or were completely different. A great number of thinkers in addition to Foucault could help stimulate this task, but without an openness to the sort of critique that encourages a consideration of new, strange and seemingly incongruous ideas, this remains constrained by "the inertia of common sense".

9.6   Concluding summary for the thesis

In this thesis, I have used discursive analysis according to the methodological and theoretical work of Michel Foucault to analyse the practice of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand. The purpose was to interrogate the practice of vocational rehabilitation, to open space to examine how it is made possible in discourse and the effects it has socially and politically. The aim was to make visible the current construction of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand, what has made possible its production and maintenance, and what it makes possible to think about, speak about and do. Through this analysis I have made three key arguments that (as I have discussed) apply and build on existing Foucauldian scholarship, and provoke consideration of particular challenges regarding vocational rehabilitation as a social practice. First, that the practice of vocational rehabilitation in Aotearoa New Zealand is made possible through discourses of economics, disability and citizenship. Second, that vocational rehabilitation is a governmental practice that functions as an apparatus of normalisation and is a consumer of disability. And third, that accordingly, as discourses of disability and disability's relationship with 'normal' change, this has significant implications for vocational rehabilitation. I prefer not to call these three arguments conclusions but rather the results of a particular line and method of inquiry, which makes certain things visible and may open up other lines of inquiry. I have proposed some possible avenues here, those that my own engagement with this thesis has provoked me to consider; and I encourage others to engage with it, critique it and be prompted to take other directions.

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