DISABILITY PROTESTS



Contentious Politics 1970–1999

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Contents

Acknowledgments vii
Introduction xi

1 One History of Disability in America: How Collective Action Became Possible 1

2 Collective Consciousness and a Profile of Issues 31

3 The Social Basis for Movement Formation and Mobilization 57

4 A Profile of Contentious Actions: How Success Became Possible 66

5 Cross-Disability and Impairment-Specific Protests: Social Movement Unity and Disunity 109

6 Changes in Protests over Time: Increased Heterogeneity, Decreased Societal Attention 139

7 The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act: The Effects of Cross-Disability Successes 160

8 The Deaf President Now Protest: The Effect of an Impairment-Specific Success 192

9 Looking to the New Millennium 214

10 Conclusion: Against All Odds and Contrary to the Conventional Wisdom 222

Appendix A: List of Acronyms 225
Appendix B: Methodology 227
References 243
Index 261

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There are many people and situations that contributed to the writing of this book. For the senior author, inspiration for researching this topic came from a seminar on Political Histories of Collective Action that she attended in 1992. Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), to which she expresses her gratitude, the seminar was conducted by Professor Sidney Tarrow and was attended by 11 other scholars interested in collective action. As a result of discussions that were held during that seminar, she shifted her research focus from one protest, which she wrote about in *Deaf President Now: The 1988 Revolution at Gallaudet University* (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995), to the more general topic of protests that were occurring in all parts of the disability community. It was in that seminar that she was first exposed to event history analysis, the research methodology used in this book.

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We want our rights,
and we don't care how.
We want a rev-o-lu-tion . . .
Nnnnnnooooowwwwwww (shouted)

— Peter Weiss, *The Persecution and Assassination of Jean Paul Marat as Performed by the Inmates of Charenton under the Direction of the Marquis de Sade* (lyrics by Adrian Mitchell)

I rebel, therefore *we* exist.

— Albert Camus, *The Rebel*

Introduction

Beginning in the 1970s in the United States, there were increasing numbers of protests centering on the lives of people who are deaf and those who have physical or mental impairments. These protests bear some similarities to those that formed the civil rights movement and the women's movement. This book is about those protests: It is about contentious political action in the deaf and disability communities. It describes attempts by people with many types of impairments to change the society in which they live. These people, as well as some who did not have impairments, wanted to change society's reactions to disability, as well as its policies toward people with impairments. They wanted people with impairments to have better lives than it seemed American society was willing to give them. They attempted to change American society by banding together, "taking to the streets," and fighting for changes that would permit people with disabilities to be able to live with more independence and dignity than had previously been the case.

Several journalists have attempted to describe what is commonly called the disability rights movement. In Kleinfield's *The Hidden Minority* (1977) and Shapiro's *No Pity* (1993), the authors sympathetically presented information, based upon interviews with a small number of people, about the lives and grievances of people with impairments. There are, however, a few scholarly, empirical studies of protests within the fields of deaf or disability studies. Pelka (1997) and Treanor (1993) chronicle disability activism in general. Matson (1990) discusses social movement activism in the blindness community and Christiansen and Barnartt (1995) and Jankowski (1997) discuss such activism in the deaf community. But all of these books are based either upon personal experiences of the authors, interview data from a few selected activists, or previously published material; none is based upon quantifiable data and none presents quantitative analyses of changes over time.

Within scholarly examinations of social movements (e.g., Goode, 1992) and anthologies that discuss various social movements (e.g., Buechler and Cylke, 1997; Costain and McFarland, 1998; Darnovsky, Epstein, and Flacks, 1995; Goldberg, 1991; Larana, Johnson, and Gusfield, 1994; and McAdam and Snow, 1997), neither the deaf nor the disability movements show up. The only exception is *one* article in Johnson (1983), which considers *one* protest.

This book is intended to fill the gap in the literature about social movements. In it, the authors use the research tools of social science to analyze actual events. With the exception of chapter 3, which is based upon interview data, this book is based upon the analysis of actual protest events, not upon the analysis of perceptions of a small number of people who agreed to talk.

In order to set the stage for this description, we need to be clear about whom it is we are discussing and what it is they have been doing. We need, in other words, to consider some characteristics of two social situations: first, the situation we call contentious political actions, and, second, the situation we call disability. We will now attempt to clarify these terms, in order to set out precisely what this book is, and what it is not, about.

COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR, SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, AND CONTENTIOUS POLITICS

Smelser (1962: 8) defines collective behavior as action that occurs outside of the usual social structural context, in which mobilization for action is on the basis of beliefs, and in which such action is not within the realm of normally or normatively expected social or political action. The duration of collective behavior can be short or long. Protests, riots, and panics are examples of short-term collective actions; fads and social movements are examples of longer-term collective behavior. The type of collective behavior with which we are concerned is that associated with social movements, although it does not comprise all social movement activity. Social movements are distinguished from other types of collective behavior by, among other things, their temporal character. They include many separate incidents of collective action carried out over an extended period of time. Social movements can include many types of actions, can use different tactics, and can be conducted by different groups of activists. Social movements commonly fight on many fronts at the same time. Participants may conduct marches, sit-ins, or strikes at the same time they are involved in lawsuits, voter-registration campaigns, and petition drives.

Members of a social movement form a somewhat amorphous social entity. Although there may well be offices, organizations, and membership lists, these do not form the whole of the movement. Social movements are "clusters of . . . overlapping networks and individuals" who share goals and collective identities (Whittier, 1997: 761). Some of those individuals may not be on any list of members of any social movement organization.

Earlier scholars of social movements viewed them as being completely different from ordinary political processes (McAdam, 1982). More recently, scholars have argued that social movements are at one end of a continuum, at the other end of which are regular, institutionalized political processes. There is a large area of overlap (Goode, 1992). Not all social movement actions will fall at the non-institutionalized, disruptive end of the continuum; nor will all "ordinary" political actions be at the other end. In addition, social movements are likely to use all means at their disposal, including simultaneous use of normative and contentious political actions.

Although it is difficult to specify *exactly* what a social movement is and is not (Marwell and Oliver, 1984), social movements are basically long-term *political* processes that seek social change.[1] In order to produce that change, they use mechanisms that are other than what we could call "politics as usual" (Meyer, 1993). Social movements are organized attempts to change some aspect of the social or political situation in which groups find themselves through the use of means that are

non-normative. They can be seen as being sustained interactions between aggrieved social actors and their allies, on the one hand, and opponents or public authorities, on the other (Tarrow, 1994: 33). "Collective action is about power and politics; it inevitably raises questions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, hope and hopelessness" (Tilly, 1978: 5).

Tarrow (1996) prefers to use the phrases *contentious politics* or *contentious political actions* to describe collective behavior that demands changes by the use of non-institutionalized forms of political action against elites, opponents, or the state. We will use the word *protest* to describe one specific type of contentious political actions. Following Tarrow, we will use the terms contentious politics or contentious political actions to describe groups of protest actions, and we will use the term *social movement* to describe the totality of the contentious plus the non-contentious actions that together form an organized attempt to change society.

Although most social movements engage primarily in contentious politics, this is not true of all. Some social movements focus on postmodern and postmaterialistic values, lifestyles, and self-actualization, rather than on political issues. Such movements are called "new social movements" by those scholars who distinguish between old and new social movements (Klandermans, 1991). An example of a new social movement would be the counterculture movement seen in the 1960s and early 1970s (Westhaus, 1972). Aspects of new social movements show up in all social movements, but we are not concerned with them here. Rather, what we are considering are those parts of social movements that include *contentious political actions* and are seeking *social changes*. Many people seek changes in their lives, and sometimes they seek those changes while in groups (i.e., collectively). However, they may not be seeking change at the level of the social, but rather at an individual or familial level. For instance, group therapy or self-help groups can seek to change individuals, but they are not social movements because they are not a political process. Even if there were five people (so it could be considered to be a collective action) holding a demonstration (therefore it can be considered to be contentious) in which they demand change relating to an issue that affects just them, such as a late income tax refund, that would not be a contentious political action. The people involved are not seeking *social* change, even though they are seeking change collectively. If they had been protesting aspects of the functioning of the Internal Revenue Service that caused their—and other people's—income tax refunds to be late, their protest could be considered contentious political action. In the example given, it is not (Freeman, 1975: 48–49).

Social movements are comprised of people who have no power to affect political decision making. This is why their needs or demands have not been successfully satisfied by conventional political processes. (If they had power within the traditional political processes, presumably, they would already have used that power to satisfy their demands.) Because they do not have power, they turn to contentious political activity in order to effect the changes they desire. This is one of the reasons why some of the ways in which they pressure policy makers differ from those used in conventional political processes. In the American context, this means that they do not depend solely on tactics such as lobbying or letter-writing campaigns, although they may also use those tactics. (If those are the only tactics they use, they do not fit the

conception of contentious political action used here.) Rather, they are likely to use tactics such as marches, sit-ins, or takeovers—tactics that are more disruptive than traditional tactics such as lobbying. They do this because disruption is one of the most successful of tactics available to people with fewer economic or political resources (Piven and Cloward, 1979).

Contentious political actions also tend to occur among crowds of face-to-face actors, rather than among categories of people ("publics") who may be connected by values or identities but are spatially diffused (Goode, 1992: 21). Contentious political actions are angry, confrontational, and demanding because they are protesting issues about which their adherents feel very strongly. The adherents are demanding something that they want very much—so much that they are willing to engage in behavior that is somewhat risky. It is because of the depth of their anger, the extent of their perceived need for what they are demanding, and the strength of their conviction that they have a right to what they are demanding, that they are willing to risk arrest, imprisonment, or, in some cases, death, in order to express their anger and outrage—as happened in 1970 when four students were shot and killed by National Guard troops during a protest at Kent State University.

Although little policy making is actually disinterested, traditional political processes are less likely to be dominated by the degree of emotion that is seen in contentious political actions, especially in the earliest stages of a social movement (Goode, 1992: 434). The emotions that are the basis of the movement have a target and, usually, an opponent. Because of this anger, contentious political actions attempt to incite conflict, rather than to stifle it. They are not in the business of conflict resolution, but, rather, use conflict as a way of mobilizing support (Hubbard, 1997).

Contentious political actions share purposes and goals that come from social movement ideologies or collective consciousnesses.[2] An ideology or collective consciousness is "a transforming set of ideas that legitimates opposition to traditional norms, roles, institutions, and/or the distribution of scarce resources" (Mueller, 1987: 92). A collective consciousness provides a social movement with direction, justification, weapons of attack, weapons of defense, inspiration, and hope (Blumer, 1995: 73). Its linguistic style will be "ornate, vivid, deliberately suggestive" (Geertz, 1973: 231); its rhetoric will be angry and passionate. Its adherents will use its language in such a way as to assist in mobilization of additional adherents, even if the passion in that language sometimes repels potential supporters. It is also a type of knowledge system that engenders commitment and action (Geertz, 1973: 220). Unlike the culture of a society, this type of knowledge or cultural system is not conservative (in the sense of conserving the social order) but rather is potentially disruptive; it is the culture of people who do not accept the legitimacy of the existing social order. A collective consciousness is an action-oriented set of ideas that involves notions of what is, what ought to be, and how to get there, quite unlike a societal culture that equates what is with what ought to be. A collective consciousness is what forms the basis for contentious political actions and, ultimately, for social movements (Barnartt, 1996). Overall, "a movement becomes possible when a group of people cease to petition the good will of others for relief of their misery and demand as their right that others ensure the correction of their condition" (Turner, 1968: 391).

Protests are one type of contentious political action, which Zolberg (1972) called "moments of madness." Other types include coups and revolutions, which are not relevant here. Protests are usually short but they are definitely of finite duration. Those protesting have clear demands that are usually directed at clearly defined targets (Rose, 1982). Protests are seemingly spontaneous, often initially leaderless events (Oberschall, 1973: 147), precipitated by clear grievances. As such, they are often explosions of previously latent consciousness (Mann, 1973). Although they may be seen as rational responses to grievances, they also take on an emotional character. Words such as *joy* (Fantasia, 1988), *ecstasy*, and *delirium* (Zolberg, 1972) have been used to describe what happens during a protest.

DEFINING DISABILITY

There are many ways to define disability, depending on the purpose for the definition. Disability can be defined medically by the presence of a physical or mental condition that is assumed to be disabling, such as deafness, or it can be defined by the presence of a limitation in a person's ability to function. For governmental administrative purposes, disability is defined as a way to identify who can receive benefits such as vocational rehabilitation support, Social Security Disability Insurance, or worker's compensation.[3] The term is defined legally to identify those who are covered under laws that target people with disabilities.[4] Disability is also defined by people themselves as one part of their identities; in the same way that people develop images of themselves as funny or attractive, they also develop images of themselves as disabled or not. In many cases, these different definitions, as well as others that might be used, are not consistent in their ability to identify who has a disability and who does not. Rather, people who are "disabled" under one definition are not necessarily "disabled" under another (Altman, 2001).

Disability, although related to a physical or mental condition, has variously been described as a process (Baldwin, 1997) or an interaction (Brandt and Pope, 1997). As such, it is different from the seemingly similar physical conditions we call race or gender, which are also assumed to be based upon physical differences (Baldwin, 1997). Race and gender are seen in our society (incorrectly) as having clear and distinct categories, as being easily identifiable, and, for the most part, as being an immutable characteristic of a person (Griffin, 1961).[5] In contrast, the determination of whether someone does or does not have a disability depends upon the implicit or explicit definition of disability being used.[6] For example, "[c]ivil rights litigation for race or sex seldom starts out with a challenge regarding whether one is really a female or really a member of a racial minority. By contrast, this has been the case for disability" (Mudrick, 1997: 56).

Disability is a different type of characteristic from race or gender. Impairments are variable, and they are not dichotomous conditions. Rather, unlike pregnancy, one can be "a little bit" disabled. Nor are impairments homogeneous characteristics. Physical and mental impairments vary along several dimensions and so are not one condition, either for those who experience them or for those who observe them. There are many dimensions in which impairments can differ. These include visibility;

stability; the degree of interference with physical, mental, or cognitive functioning; the degree to which the disabilities threaten life; the degree of pain involved; and the degree to which the disabilities pose ongoing medical problems.

Table I.1 shows some of the dimensions of impairments in a schematic form. It shows that an impairment may be visible, as is a mobility impairment; it may be invisible, as with psychiatric impairments; or it may be initially invisible but more difficult to keep invisible for an extended interpersonal interaction, as is the case with deafness. An impairment may involve pain, as with fibromyalgia, although many impairments, such as deafness or blindness, do not. An impairment may be life-threatening, as in diabetes or cancer, or it may not. But even disabling conditions with ongoing medical problems, such as spinal cord injuries or multiple sclerosis, are not necessarily life-threatening. The impairment may involve definite or possible ongoing medical problems or it may not. It may interfere with a person's mental or physical functioning—as with arthritis or schizophrenia—or, as is the situation with facial scarring, it may not. It may interfere with mental functioning, communication, or learning ability, or it may not. It may be reversible (curable) or it may not be. Finally, it may be a stable condition or it may be (or have the potential to be) a continually changing condition. Even the types of changes are variable. Some physical impairments may change in a somewhat predictable way—such as cancer—while others, such as multiple sclerosis, are not at all predictable as to course, periodicity, or outcome.

Impairments, then, have a high degree of variability. They are not necessarily the equivalent of what has been called in the sociological literature "the sick role" (Parsons, 1951), because people who have impairments may have otherwise perfect health. Some people with impairments may *also* feel themselves to be ill, and some will take on the sick role (whether it is necessary because of limitations that accompany the impairment or not), but others with the same impairments may not.

Additional differences among people who have physical or mental impairments are related to the timing of onset of the status, the permanency of the condition, and how they are socialized into the status. The timing of the onset of disability varies from birth until close to death. Some people are born with physical impairments, while others acquire their impairment during their childhood. For those who acquire their impairment during childhood, the identity attached to the master status of disability is learned at a young enough age that it can be incorporated into the person's overall identity. However, they are a minority of all people with impairments. Because incidence rates for physical impairments increase with age—and increase substantially after age sixty—the largest numbers of people with physical impairments are elderly.

Another source of variation comes from the lack of stability of impairments. Disability is a status people can enter and can also leave, sometimes more than once during their lifetime. Some physical impairments, such as hip dysplasia or cleft palate, can be treated or substantially alleviated. If this is done in later life, the person might move out of the category "disabled" and into the "normal" category. Conversely, hearing or vision impairments, which occur more frequently in later life, might move an older person into the status of "disabled." Because of the likelihood that most people will experience temporary or permanent disability during their lives, some disabled activists refer to people without disabilities as TABs (temporarily able-bodied).

Table I.1. Characteristics of Impairments

Characteristic	Yes	No
Visibility	Mobility impairment	Chronic pain
Pain is present	Fibromyalgia	Deafness
Is life-threatening	Heart condition	Blindness
Strong likelihood of ongoing medical problems	Diabetes	
		Developmental
Some likelihood of ongoing medical problems	Spinal cord injury	delay
Causes functional limitations	Arthritis	Facial scarring
Interferes with communication	Deafness	Spinal cord injury
Interferes with learning ability	Cognitive impairment	Mobility impairment
Is reversible	Hip dysplasia	Polio
Is stable	Blindness	Cancer
Prognosis is (at least somewhat) predictable	Macular degeneration	Multiple sclerosis

A third source of variability among people with impairments comes from early socialization patterns. Socialization is the process by which people learn what is expected of them by other people and by their culture. People learn the expectations, identities, and roles from members of their nuclear and extended families, friends, teachers, religions, the media, and their communities. As they are growing up, they encounter people who are like them, who have had similar experiences to theirs, who can serve as role models, and who can teach them how to react in the future. They also encounter people who are unlike them, whose presence helps to teach them in what ways they are unlike those people. Adults can, of course, be either positive or negative role models. Children may emulate their role models, or they may look at them and say "I don't want to be like that." But, whether positive or negative, role models have the power to teach about behavior, expectations, and sanctions.

Most identities are learned as part of the person's earliest socialization. However, children born with impairments are frequently the only members of their families with such a condition. While this is not true for the approximately 8 percent of deaf children who grow up in deaf families, it is likely to be true for most other deaf children and many other children with impairments. Therefore, children with impairments are most likely to be socialized by people who are unlike them in this very important characteristic. Those children cannot use their parents as either positive or negative role models. They cannot learn from their parents' own experiences—but they do learn from their parents. The parents may react to their child's physical impairment with grief, horror, or other negative emotions (Benderly, 1990), and they

may be getting advice from professionals who are well-intentioned but have no personal experience of disability.

Thus, the socialization of children with physical impairments is very different than is socialization into race or gender roles. Children with impairments may grow up never having seen an adult with that type of impairment. (Because of this, there are apocryphal stories in the deaf community of deaf children who assumed that all deaf people die when they are eighteen.) This is also true for their parents, and so neither they nor their parents may have a vision of the possibility that an impairment might not always cause one to be disabled.

On the other hand, many people are socialized into the status of "disabled" when they are adults. Any secondary socialization—socialization that occurs after childhood—must build upon primary or childhood socialization (Berger and Luckman, 1966). Thus, people who acquire a potentially disabling condition as adults do so after a childhood that very likely included learning that such a status is stigmatized. They must accept that they themselves now have a devalued condition and must reorganize their identities around that fact. In some cases they must make the transition from having several valued statuses (such as being white and male) to having one devalued status—disabled—that may overcome all of the other valued statuses (Barnartt, 2001b).

Because of the variability in impairments, there is likely to be a high degree of variability in societal reactions to people who are viewed as being "disabled." This is unlike the situation with gender. A person can (almost always) look at another person, immediately place that person into the category of "male" or "female," and then conduct the interaction based upon societally defined and shared expectations regarding gender roles. With gender, for better or worse, interactions tend to be somewhat clear from the beginning.

With impairment, the situation can be more complicated. Hidden impairments cause surprise and confusion when their presence is suddenly revealed and when a person realizes that "the other" in the interaction is disabled. At this point, the interaction is likely to change because of the stigmatized nature of the status of disability. If the impairment, like most mental or cognitive impairments, is not immediately visible, there is a continual issue for the person with that impairment of when and whether to reveal the condition because of these issues (Charmaz, 1991).

There are, however, ways in which the statuses of disabled, black, and female are similar. One is that people in all three of these statuses are, in linguistic terms, marked, or different from what is ordinary, expected, or normal. People who are in a marked category of a status, but who manage to transcend the limitations society attempts to place on that category, will be marked, both linguistically and in other ways. Such a person might be described as being a *black* doctor, a *female* lawyer, or a *disabled* minister.

A second similarity is that people in the marked category of each status are likely to have experienced the types of prejudice, discrimination, and differential treatment associated with minority group status (Stroman, 1982). As a result of this differential treatment, blacks, women, and people with disabilities have experienced different educational outcomes and job distribution patterns, and therefore lowered incomes,

when compared to a person who has the three unmarked statuses of white, male, and without a disability. Members of the marked statuses have historically been at a significant economic disadvantage compared to members of the unmarked categories of those master statuses (Barnartt, 1982b, 1986), although small improvements have been seen recently (Barnartt, 1997; Barnartt and Altman, 1997; Barnartt and Christiansen, 1996).

Furthermore, these three marked statuses are at least additive, if not multiplicative, in their effects (Almquist, 1977; Almquist and Wehrle-Einhorn, 1978; Epstein, 1973). Thus, for example, black workers earn less than white workers, black women workers earn less than white women workers as well as white and black male workers, and black female workers who are deaf earn less than white female workers who are deaf (Barnartt, 1982b).[7]

The third way in which race, gender, and disability are alike is that people in the stigmatized categories of all three have attempted to improve their situation through collective action. Blacks, women, and people with disabilities have been involved in social movements in the second half of the twentieth century. The social movement for civil rights for blacks is usually seen to have begun in the United States in the mid-1950s, even though incidents of collective action began long before that (McAdam, 1982; Payne, 1995). Collective actions regarding the status of women began in the mid-to-late 1800s, with a second wave of feminism occurring in the mid-1960s.

THE CONCEPT OF DISABILITY: DOES IT INCLUDE DEAFNESS?

Because impairment is such a heterogeneous category, we must ask if people with all types of impairments think that the term *disabled* refers to them. In the preceding discussion, we used examples relating to different types of physical impairments, including hearing losses, and have implicitly suggested that deafness is both an impairment and a disability. But there are many people who have audiological hearing losses who would find both conceptualizations objectionable. Those people would say that deafness is not a disability but a linguistic condition. Concomitantly, they would find the use of the term *hearing impairment* to be unacceptable because they do not feel impaired. With apologies to those people, we will continue to use the term because of its implied recognition that social situations in which they find themselves can be disabling.

Deafness and disability share many features. For many years both have been viewed through a medical model that saw only a disease to be cured. Both have been viewed by society as most appropriately dealt with by experts with knowledge of medicine or therapeutic fields such as physical rehabilitation or speech therapy. Both groups have been marginalized, and both have suffered from cultural ideologies of normality that have been used in an attempt to dominate those who are viewed as abnormal (Jankowski, 1997: 40–41). Both groups are labeled as being disabled by the larger society, and both have experienced lowered socioeconomic status as well as discrimination (Altman, 1985; Christiansen and Barnartt, 1987; Burkhauser and Daly, 1994; Barnartt, 1997; Barnartt and Altman, 1997). As a way of asserting positive

identities, both groups have started to use similar linguistic conventions when referring to themselves: Both use a capital D, as in *Disabled* or *Deaf,* to refer to those in the group who also share a consciousness of themselves as members of a community. This consciousness is that of a minority group that has become radicalized, so that its culture is really the consciousness of a social movement (Barnartt, 1996). Both groups view their oppression through the use of metaphors of colonialism and paternalism, and they use similar types of words to describe prejudice against their group. People with disabilities use the word *handicappism* to indicate prejudice against themselves, while deaf people use the word *audism* to describe prejudice against deaf people (Foster, 2001). Thus, some scholars assume that the commonality of experience should lead to a common disability perspective. Such scholars write statements such as, "This suggests that people with hearing impairments, for example, may have more in common with other disability groups than with other language-oppressed groups" (Finkelstein, 1993: 10).

There are, however, many in the deaf community who would disagree so completely with Finkelstein's statement that it is possible to say that deaf culture and disability culture are on a collision course (Foster, 2001). Let us compare the physical condition of deafness as well as the locations and types of barriers that confront deaf people to those that would be experienced by people with other types of physical or mental impairments.

Deafness as a physical condition produces a lessening of ability, or complete inability, to hear sound. It is frequently a stable condition that results from genetic background, disease, or environmental conditions. In some cases it is progressive, but in no case is it, by itself, life-threatening, and there is no risk that "secondary conditions" will result directly from deafness. (There may be linguistic and educational impacts because of childhood deafness, but those are not the same types of secondary conditions as urinary tract infections are for people who have spinal cord injuries, for example.)[8]

The barriers that exist for deaf people are quite different than those that face people with other types of impairments, since they relate only to communication. These barriers limit the ability of a person to be able to receive and send information in a form that is understandable by all parties (Barnartt, Seelman, and Gracer, 1990). They prevent access to information in the same ways that architectural barriers prevent access to buildings. They prevent people from receiving information, and they also prevent people from being able to send information. Because the barriers are so different, people with other types of physical or mental impairments are no more able to communicate with signing or nonspeaking deaf people than are nonsigning people who have no physical impairments. In addition, ways of reducing barriers for deaf people sometimes actually increase the barriers for people with other types of impairments. For example, passing out handouts or using projected visual aids at a presentation or meeting is a valuable aid for deaf people. But if the handouts are not also brailled or presented verbally, they will present a barrier to blind people; the visual aids are obviously of no use to people with vision impairments.

If deafness is not a disability, what is it? Proponents of the point of view that deafness is not a disability would say that the principal limitation of deafness—its reliance on visual language rather than spoken language—suggests that deaf people

are a linguistic minority group. That is, because they communicate visually, rather than auditorily, because they use American Sign Language instead of English, and because they do not speak English as their native language, they can more appropriately be compared to Hispanics in the United States and should be considered a minority group in the same way that Hispanics are (Parasnis, 1996). They do not need rehabilitation any more than Hispanics do, although deaf children may need bilingual education in the same way that Hispanic children do.

In this book we examine collective actions conducted by or for people with physical or mental impairments. We include deaf people or people with hearing impairments in that category. We do this because if we use a conceptualization of disability that sees it as an interaction between impairments and environmental factors (Brandt and Pope, 1997), deafness would be considered to be as much a potentially disabling condition as would multiple sclerosis. We will not tackle head on the question of whether deafness is a disability or not. Rather, we consider the question of whether the differences between the contentious actions conducted by deaf people and those conducted by people with other types of impairments are so great that they form two distinct social movements.

THE SCOPE OF THIS BOOK

Protests form what statisticians call the "unit of analysis" for most of the information reported in this book. The book focuses upon those actions within the deaf and disability communities that are non-normative, contentious political actions that occurred in the context of one or more social movements. It describes these actions, explores the roots of the actions, examines their progression, and suggests possible consequences of those social movement actions. Although we do not explicitly contrast protests related to deafness or disability with protests in the civil rights and women's movements, those movements form a backdrop to the collective actions in the deaf and disability community. We will examine the linkages of those protests to those related to deafness and disability.

The book will not consider those actions that can be seen as being part of social movements in the deaf and disability communities but which are not disruptive or extra-institutional. Therefore we do not consider lawsuits, lobbying, or other types of traditional political action that occurred at the same time as the contentious actions, even though they are collective action. For example, we will not be considering events such as those at first called the March on Washington, later known as the Washington Seminars, which were conducted by the National Federation of the Blind. These events included informational sessions for members as well as intensive lobbying of members of Congress (Matson, 1990). As such, they were undoubtedly very important in the history of the blindness community and perhaps to the disability community, and they may very well have resulted in social changes for people with visual impairments as well as people with other types of impairments. They were not, however, actual protests. Because they do not fit the definition of contentious political action being used here, they are not included as part of the data set whose analyses we are reporting here.

Contentious political actions form only the tip of the iceberg of social movement activity. Although this is true in all social movements, the exact proportion of contentious to noncontentious actions depends upon the social movement in question. Protests are, however, likely to form the most visible part of the social movement's battle. In addition, protests can serve to elicit support from the public, and that support may affect the outcomes of lawsuits or other types of institutionalized actions that occur at the same time.

This book does not intend to cover the entire range of disability activism.[9] Nor do we contend that this book presents the entire history of how changes in the social situations of disabled people came about. Rather, this book is looking at one subset of the actions that were carried out in the fight for those changes. It will leave analysis of lawsuits and other strategies to future researchers.

One reason for this strategy is that it is very difficult to identify all of the actions that constitute any social movement. Many researchers avoid this problem by focusing on one social movement organization or perhaps several—but that is not a solution. Focusing on one or even several social movement organizations simply cuts the pie in a different way; it ignores those social movement actions that were not taken by social movement organizations. (If we had followed that strategy, we would not have been able to include almost half of the protests in this data set, because they were not conducted by an identified organization.) Focusing on clearly defined contentious actions provides at least the potential for identifying the universe of all such events within the purview of the social movement. Although those actions do not comprise the social movement in toto, it is unlikely that the entire universe of actions that comprise any social movement can ever be identified empirically. Close examination of one subset of the actions that comprise the social movement may be ultimately unsatisfactory for someone who wants to know everything about that movement, but it provides us with empirical clarity and a starting point.

Is this a defensible strategy? Some readers would probably prefer to see a comprehensive history of *all* actions whose goal was improving the lives of people with impairments. But we would argue that the picture we are presenting in this book is like any good picture taken by a photographer. No snapshot can show what is happening outside the boundaries of its lens. But, by selecting clearly defined events, we are able to "get them in focus" better than has been done in the past. We can provide information, and perhaps correct misconceptions, about the events. We will examine their characteristics, and their progression over time in a way that has not been done systematically before.

In writing this book we used a method called event history analysis to focus on contentious political actions that occurred within the deaf and disability communities from 1970 to 1997. The data came from newspaper articles and other reports of protests conducted by or for the deaf or disability communities in the United States. Protests were selected that fit our operational definition of contentious political action. A protest had to have been *collective,* meaning that it had to include two or more people; individual protests were not included. The protest had to include *contentious political action.* It could not consist solely of lobbying, petitioning, testifying at a hearing, or conducting similar activities considered to be normative political activities in

this society. Finally, the event had to demand a *social change* or have a collective goal; it could not demand changes at the individual or even the familial level. By the use of several searching techniques, we have identified 745 protests that met our criteria.

A secondary focus of this book is on the activists who initiated and conducted some of these actions. The data source for this part of the book consists of interviews with disability activists. More information about these data sources and the methodological problems associated with their use, as well as possible solutions to those problems, can be found in the appendix.

A NOTE ON TERMINOLOGY

Words always carry implicit as well as explicit meanings. In the context of contentious political action, the words themselves can become contentious. For example, the social movement that supports a woman's right to choose to have an abortion calls itself the "pro-choice movement," while its opponents call it the "pro-abortion movement." The movement that opposes that choice calls itself the "pro-life movement," while the opposing movement calls it the "anti-abortion movement" or the "anti-choice movement."

The terminology in this book is no exception. We have chosen to use words that are closely associated with one model of disability. The terminology we use was originally suggested by Nagi (1965), and served as a basis for two reports issued by the Institute of Medicine (IOM) of the National Academy of Sciences (Pope and Tarlov, 1991; Brandt and Pope, 1997). The more recent of these strongly endorsed the use of a conceptualization of disability that incorporates environmental factors as a primary element in creating disability. It recommended shifting the focus of the definition of disability from the individual and the impairment to the interaction between impairment and environment. This concept challenges the medical model of disability, which sees disability as primarily a medical condition in need of remediation. In this view, the cultural category of "disabled" is socially, rather than medically, constructed, in part by cultural definitions and in part by the demands and limitations of social and physical environments.

Based upon this concept of disability, the 1997 IOM report distinguished between a pathology, an impairment, a functional limitation, a potentially disabling condition, and a disability.

- A *pathology*, which can be an infection, a metabolic imbalance, or a traumatic injury, occurs at the biological level and may or may not permanently change the body in some way. Examples are influenza, a breast tumor, or a broken bone.
- An *impairment* is residual damage or loss, usually resulting from a pathology, which occurs at the level of the organ system or body part. Examples include the heart damaged by a heart attack; a leg damaged by an accident; or the auditory nerve damaged by long exposure to rock music.
- A *functional limitation* is an inability, arising from an impairment, to perform basic human functions such as walking or hearing. A strict interpretation of this model would not consider dressing or making a phone call as functional

limitations, because these are tasks associated with social roles and entail the interaction of people with their environments.

- A *potentially disabling condition* is a chronic or permanent functional limitation. For example, a child who cannot hear, who is audiologically classified as being deaf, would be considered to have a potentially disabling condition. In the 1997 IOM model, a potentially disabling condition is not seen as the equivalent of a disability until interactions with the person's physical and social environments are taken into consideration.
- A *disability* is a limitation in ability to perform parts or the whole of a desired social role, such as working, being a parent, or attending church, in the physical and social environments in which these activities take place.

Although there are some types of impairments that might make it impossible for a person to perform any social role in any environment, there are not many. Whether or not an impairment becomes disabling is determined by a combination of the limitations caused by the impairment, the accessibility of the environment (both social and physical), and the requirements of the role. Thus, for example, if all of the family members of the deaf child mentioned above are also deaf, and all communicate using American Sign Language (ASL), the child is not disabled within the family environment. The child is only disabled when—or if—he or she begins to attend a school in which all others do not communicate using sign language. It is that specific environment that places limitations on the child's ability to perform adequately or optimally in the student role. In a society in which "everyone speaks sign language" (Groce, 1985), people with functional limitations in their auditory systems—whom society would consider to be deaf—are not disabled. Rather, they have a potentially disabling condition that will not be disabling in that environment but might be in others.

Another example would be a person who has a spinal cord injury that prevents walking and creates the need for using a wheelchair. That person would have a work disability if he or she were employed in the manual aspects of construction but not if he or she were employed as a professor (*if* all of the buildings were wheelchair accessible, all sidewalks had curb cuts, and lowered desks and blackboards were available).

The 1997 IOM conceptualization of disability implies that a person cannot be categorized as being "disabled" without reference to the environment in question. A person might not be disabled in the family environment but might be in the work environment. Another person with the same physical impairment might be disabled in the family environment but not in the work environment. Thus, this conceptualization of disability implies that knowledge of a medical diagnosis alone cannot be used, a priori, to determine either whether or not the person can be categorized as disabled. Nor can it indicate the level or extent of disability the person would experience.

Environments vary in the degree to which they are enabling or disabling. In this view, the presence of an impairment, by itself, does not determine whether the person has a disability, but, rather, the degree to which the person's environment is disabling. It is the environment (both physical and social) that determines the progression from pathology to impairment to functional limitation to disability and thus determines the extent to which an impairment is experienced by the person as disabling.

Following this notion, we use the word *impairment* to refer to a biological condition that is potentially disabling. We only use the word *disabled* when it is an established part of the identity of a person or when it is a part of a societal conception of a person with such an impairment. In this conceptualization, disability becomes, in fact, a socially determined condition. As such, this conceptualization most nearly fits the social science perspective of the authors of this book.

There are a few situations in which we will not follow this rule. We will use the term *cross-disability* rather than *cross-impairment* because the former phrase has been suggested by a number of authors, and we refer to their work quite often. Another situation in which we do not follow this rule is when we use the term *developmental disabilities*. For this concept, we use the terminology that seems to have replaced *mentally retarded* or even *person with retardation*. Finally, we have chosen to use the term *deafness* rather than *hearing impairment* because of the discomfort some vocal members of the deaf community have with the word *impairment*.

In addition, in our language usage we follow (with the exception of the situations described above) the philosophy of "people first." That is, writing *blind man* suggests that the blindness is the primary characteristic of that person. In order not to imply that, we will use phrases such as *man with visual impairments*. That usage prevents the assumption that the visual impairment is of overwhelming importance, which is suggested by the phrase *blind man*. It is also consistent with the 1997 IOM model and terminology: It does not assume that a disability exists because an impairment exists, but defers that judgment until the environmental context is added.

We have assumed three things about the people who are the subjects of the book. First, we assume that they have a mental or physical impairment—or are assumed by other people to have such a condition.[10] Second, we assume that, in at least some of the environments in which they exist, their impairment either is limiting (disabling), or they expect it will become so at some time in their lives. The third assumption is that those people involved in the actions that are the subjects of this book have been mobilized to participate in contentious political action because of their beliefs that all is not well where disability is concerned. Thus, we are not discussing all people with impairments but only a subset of that group—those people who have what some would call a disability identity but which we regard as a collective consciousness.[11]

NOTES

1. It is the case, however, that some protests are trying to maintain the status quo in the face of threatened changes.

2. Daniel Bell declared the "end of ideology" in 1960. Whether this was empirically correct or not (see Waxman, 1969), it had an important effect on research in this area. Since the early 1960s, social movement research has mostly ignored the role that ideas have in mobilizing support for social movements. Until fairly recently, attention has been devoted primarily to issues related to mobilization of resources (Mueller, 1987). Recently, however, the role of beliefs is gaining attention in the social movements literature, as scholars begin to consider how movements mobilize *people* rather than resources.

3. Although these definitions are often thought to equal medical definitions, as Berkowitz (1987) and Liachowitz (1988) note, they are actually political definitions that expand or contract according to political, social, and economic trends of the day.

4. Legal definitions also change according to social and political situations. Most recently, the definition of disability has been said by the U.S. Supreme Court *not* to include people who have potentially disabling conditions that are alleviated by medicine or technology.

5. There have, however, been mistaken gender identification of babies born with ambiguous genitalia. In addition, there are instances reported in the anthropological literature in which biological sex roles do not match cultural gender roles. One such example is that of the *hjiras* in India, biological males who enact roles that are close to being culturally female for religious purposes. *Hjira* are seen as a third gender, clearly defined and circumscribed by the culture, and identified as such only after a religious ceremony and surgical excision of male genitalia (Nanda, 1990).

6. Altman and Barnartt (1996) showed that this definitional problem has clear consequences for attempts to describe labor force outcomes for people with disabilities.

7. Society and the individuals involved create a hierarchy of statuses. For example, for deaf women, their deafness supersedes their femaleness, and thus they pay more attention to discrimination based upon deafness than to sexism (Doe, 1993).

8. Deafness, on the other hand, can *be* a secondary condition resulting from conditions such as brain tumors, measles, and neurofibromatoma.

9. Minkoff (1997) presents an example of research that does not limit its examination of protest events just to contentious political events, but also includes conventional political events.

10. The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) includes coverage of people who are "regarded as having a disability." Thus, a person with extensive facial scarring that does not interfere with functioning is considered disabled for purposes of this law. This is true also for deaf people at this time. Even though some deaf people see themselves as being a linguistic minority (Parasnis, 1996), until the societal conception of deafness changes, they are considered to have an impairment and so are eligible for coverage under the ADA.

11. As Hirsch (1995) notes, the identity of "person with a disability" is something that some people choose to claim even if their disability is relatively minor, while others choose to reject it in spite of a visible or significant disability.

1

One History of Disability in America: How Collective Action Became Possible

Many histories have been written about people with impairments. Some consider people with impairments in general; others either consider the history of people with specific types of physical impairments or delve into the history of disability laws and policies. Although these histories are useful, and will be cited here, by themselves they do not help us to understand the central question that this chapter attempts to answer, which is how contentious political action by people with impairments became possible.

The focus of this chapter is on how the history of people with impairments contributed to their readiness to become mobilized to participate in contentious political action.[2] This history prevented substantial mobilization from occurring for many years, but it also set the stage for the mobilizations that began in the 1970s. The answer to the question of why and how social movement activity in the deaf and disability communities occurred cannot be answered simply. We will see that it arose not *only* from the spillover from other social movements of the 1960s, not *only* because there were increasing numbers of people with impairments, and not *only* because Ed Roberts was in Berkeley. Rather, it was the interplay of social, demographic, political, and economic factors that produced a situation conducive to the development of contentious action by people with impairments. Differences in the social histories of people with various types of impairments set the stage for the diversity of issues, tactics, and timing in contentious actions. Communities of people with some types of impairments have developed over the years, in ways that have made cross-disability collective action somewhat difficult to achieve even now.

In this chapter we do not belabor the history of abuses such as the sterilization of retarded people or the fact that institutional settings were predominantly facilities for children from poor or immigrant families (Trent, 1994: 185). The mere presence of inequities or injustices does not explain contentious action. There are many situations in the world that participants or observers may think are abusive, discriminatory, outrageous, immoral, or otherwise inappropriate but which do not lead to collective

action. Rather, the social, economic, political, and cultural conditions must support the expression of the grievance in collective action. But since contentious action will also not occur without a grievance, we show how grievances arose, and how social and cultural situations developed that were conducive to the expression of grievances through collective action.

WHAT FACILITATES THE EMERGENCE OF CONTENTIOUS ACTION?

One of the questions scholars of social movements have considered is, "What types of social conditions facilitate the growth of contentious actions?" Many answers have been proposed (McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1988). Scholars who focused on social conditions that facilitate the genesis of social movements have included social structural strain (Smelser, 1962),[3] inequities in access to resources (McCarthy and Zald, 1973), the presence of existing social networks (Morris, 1984), the absence of competing solidarities, and the presence of aggrieved and otherwise powerless people (Lipsky, 1968; Piven and Cloward, 1979). Those who have focused on political conditions have included relative deprivation (Davies, 1963), changes in the structure of political opportunities, lack of repressive social control, and the sudden imposition of a grievance. Those who have focused on economic conditions have suggested that economic prosperity is a precondition of social movement activity. Those who have focused on demographic or geographic conditions have suggested that ecological concentrations of homogenous people must exist—and therefore, that numbers of the relevant people must be large enough to make such concentrations feasible, if not also common. Finally, those who focus on cultural characteristics, attitudes, or ideologies (a group that until recently has been rather rare among social movements scholars) have suggested that the "politicization of private life" and the existence of collective action "frames" that fit into existing cultural assumptions are necessary precursors to collective action (Snow et al., 1986; Snow and Benford, 1988, 1992).

Individually, each answer to the question suggests a condition that is necessary, but not sufficient, for such contentious political activity to occur. Taken together, they begin to provide a more complete answer to the question, but it is not clear how many of these necessary conditions must exist in one time period for collective action to become possible.

Several factors seem more important than others. These include ecological concentrations of homogenous people that occur either through voluntary or involuntary groupings; the presence of organizations; the basis for grievances; and the presence of collective action frames. The presence either of formal organizations or informal groups of people within the oppressed (or dominated) community is primary among the necessary conditions. In the absence of indigenous organizational strength, a community would be unable to take advantage of situations—such as a change in the political opportunity structure, a suddenly imposed grievance, or increasing relative deprivation—that would otherwise be conducive to contentious

political action. Organizations offer several crucial resources upon which social movements can be built including a membership base, a communication network, and leaders. In addition, groups can provide money, stable and predictable sources of funding, and labor. Such resources are especially crucial at the beginning of a movement, when outside resources are not available or reliable (McAdam, 1982; McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald, 1988; Morris, 1984). What we need to know, then, from the history of people with disabilities is how and when these facilitating conditions came to exist.

THE COLONIAL ERA

In the early years of European settlement in North America, disability was well known. People with disabilities either were born with them or their disability was the result of war-related injuries. Few impairments resulting from childhood or even adult illnesses were seen at that time because of the high childhood mortality rate. Almost one out of four children did not survive to age five and less than half survived to adulthood (Winzer, 1997). Adult mortality was also high. Women were perpetually pregnant or nursing, and life expectancy was about thirty-five years. People at that time were more likely to die from conditions that now might produce impairments than they were to survive with an impairment, because medical care was not sufficiently advanced to be able to cure severe acute illnesses.[4]

During colonial times, people who had cognitive or mental impairments, mobility impairments, or were blind or deaf were part of the social landscape (Trent, 1994: 7). For some families, having a member with such an impairment was not catastrophic. At the time of the American Revolution, over 90 percent of Americans were farmers. In that preindustrial economy, many types of impairments were not severe enough to prevent a person from working on the farm or in small-scale production. For example, deafness might not prevent a person from working in the fields, although loss of arm mobility might (Barnartt, 1992). Thus, people with impairments could still be economically productive (Gooding, 1994: 13).[5] In addition, many, if not most, people lived in extended families. If daily care was needed, families with many members could often manage. The downside of family care was that disabled children were expected to remain at home, and education or rehabilitation was unknown (Bowe, 1978: 9).

In the colonial era, the community response to a poor family who had a member with a physical impairment was to try to keep the family intact. This included providing cash or food assistance when possible. Called "outdoor-relief," it was a way to keep people with impairments in their homes and a way to provide some assistance to people who were infirm but not poor enough to need to go into a workhouse.[6] Funded by local governments, it was the most common type of societal response to disability at that time (Stone, 1984).

A few large cities, such as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, had formal institutions for people with impairments. These workhouses or almshouses were primarily meant for people who were poor, but many of their inhabitants also had

physical impairments (Ferguson, 1994: 25–29). Because there were so few institutions, it is likely that only a small proportion of people with impairments were in them. Some people with impairments were auctioned off as indentured servants (Crewe, Zola, and Associates, 1983: 1).

Since most people with impairments lived with their families, if the family was wealthy, having a disabled family member was seen as a private problem (Ferguson, 1994: 28). In Europe disabled children of wealthy or royal families often received services and types of education that disabled children from less wealthy families did not. This was sometimes done in order to permit the children to inherit wealth (Bowe, 1978: 8).[7]

Even in colonial America some wealthy families sent their children with impairments to Europe for "special education." Van Cleve and Crouch note the case of a family that sent its three deaf children to Scotland in the 1770s to receive a type of special education not yet available in the New World. But they also note the case of a family that was neither prominent nor wealthy that also hired a tutor for their deaf son (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989: 18, 21–24).

For people whose impairments resulted from their service in the military, society took some responsibility. This was true as early as 1636, when the Plymouth Colony decreed that a soldier maimed by war would be "maintained competently by the Collonie during his life" (Liachowitz, 1988: 21). During the 1600s there were also provisions made for disabled seamen, who were the first group to receive federal medical care benefits (Straus, 1965). After the Revolutionary War, a number of laws were passed that indicated the duty of the community (in this case the nation) was to support wounded soldiers under some circumstances and for some, usually limited, periods of time (Liachowitz, 1988: 22–28). Voluntary charitable groups became involved before 1700, beginning a tradition of charity that would continue for about two hundred years (Crewe, Zola, and Associates, 1983).

Although it is clear that during this period the lives of people with impairments were not totally rosy, neither were they likely to be substantially worse than the lives of the majority of those without impairments.[8] The majority of the population of colonial North America lived on farms and were not terribly wealthy. Children with impairments were unlikely to be educated, but they were not unique, because universal public education was not introduced until early in the twentieth century.

There were no communities of people with impairments at that time. Not only that, but it is also unlikely that people with impairments had much contact with one another. They did not meet in schools, in rehabilitation clinics, in work situations, or in residential facilities, because these did not exist. They did not meet in towns because transportation was not readily available. (It must be remembered, however, that most people, with or without impairments, lived somewhat isolated lives during that time.) If there were perceptions of unfairness or inequity among people with impairments, they would have been unlikely to have easily communicated those feelings to others with impairments. However, such perceptions were unlikely to have been characteristic of the times in any case. Thus, there were no conditions during colonial times that would have been conducive to the development of protests or any other form of collective action by people with impairments.

THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The War of 1812 and the Mexican War of 1846–1848 each produced more ex-soldiers with physical impairments. As had occurred after the Revolutionary War, laws were passed to provide money or grants of land for people with service-connected disabilities, but they still did not provide for medical or rehabilitative care (Albrecht, 1992: 97).

Some very important economic and social changes began at this time, which was the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. The process of industrialization was linked with rapid urbanization, and both had profound implications for the causation of disability, for the recognition and social construction of the notion of disability, and for disability policy.

Industrialization led to an increase in the numbers of people with disabilities. Factories, and the mines that produced raw material for them, were dangerous places to work. Workers in factories had disabling accidents. In addition, workers in mines contracted disabling illnesses such as black lung disease. The increased population density that came with urbanization led to increases in disease transmission and more epidemics. While many diseases were acute, killing large numbers of people, they also left survivors with physical and mental impairments. Thus, although industrialization is associated with increased standards of living and life expectancies, it is also associated with rising rates of chronic illness and physical disability (Albrecht, 1992: 42–43).

Industrialization and urbanization set the stage for changes in how disability was recognized and viewed within American society. As the result of a social structure in which economic success was primarily based upon working at paid jobs, disability came to be defined in economic terms as the inability to work (Berkowitz, 1987; Stone, 1984). Deviant or atypical characteristics that had been accepted in rural settings may have become less acceptable in urban settings, and accepted social roles previously open to people with disabilities who lived on farms or in small villages, such as "beggar" or "village idiot," disappeared (Hahn, 1997; Oliver, 1993: 51). With the advent of industrialization, there was greater emphasis on literacy. People with learning disabilities or mild intellectual or developmental impairments, who would not have stood out in societies in which literacy was poor or nonexistent, began to be recognized as having impairments (Winzer, 1997). Thus, the *recognition* of impairments as being disabling, as well as the numbers of impairments, may have increased as industrialization progressed.

As public education became more widespread, schools were also established for children who were deaf or blind. The first school for deaf children was established in Connecticut in 1817 and in 1832 the first school for blind children opened in Boston. By 1843, six states had state residential schools for deaf children, and, by 1857, there were nineteen such schools (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989: 43–47, 71). Some of the schools were established by deaf people themselves; the earliest of these was the Indiana School for the Deaf, founded in 1843 (Padden, 1996).

Since deaf people—children and some adults—were isolated together in residential schools and often encouraged to use sign language, conversing in it quickly

become a cherished part of their daily lives. Further, because sign language was a modality shared primarily with other deaf people and not the dominant society, this difference naturally drew deaf people closer together. These schools permitted deaf children and some adults to meet and interact, and they set the stage for the development of a deaf community (Jankowski, 1997: 46).

As mentioned previously, the Perkins School for the Blind was established in Boston in 1832 (Bowe, 1978: 11). The philosophy behind the establishment of that and other schools was to help blind people become self sufficient by offering them primarily vocational training. No one realized, however, that the schools had done nothing to "prepare *society* to receive them" (Matson, 1990: 5). As part of the school for blind children, Howe, the founder, began what was in essence the first sheltered workshop. This grew out of the vocational training program that was at the heart of his school; and it became necessary when it became clear that there was societal resistance to hiring blind people, whether they had training or not (Pelka, 1997: 282). However, Howe's school did not encourage the growth of a community in the same way that the deaf schools did. For one thing, communication was not such a large issue for blind children, who could communicate with their families and other children. But probably the more important factor was that Howe specifically tried to prevent community formation by refusing to allow alumni reunions (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989: 148).

The first school for "idiots" (who we would now call people with developmental delays) was opened in 1848. At least six others were opened over the next twenty years (Trent, 1994: 14–15). However, children and adults with mental impairments and other physical impairments often remained in their communities of origin. For example, in New York state in 1856, only 6 percent (424) of almshouse inmates were labeled as being "idiots," and about 22 percent (1,644) were labeled "lunatics" (Ferguson, 1994: 35). These numbers can be compared to reports that indicated that there were 1,812 "idiots" and 2,742 persons labeled "insane" in the state at that time (Ferguson, 1994: 63). Although these numbers probably substantially underestimate the true prevalence of these conditions, they suggest that the proportions that were institutionalized were small. This is supported by a survey of "idiots" done in upstate New York in 1873, which indicated that 67 percent lived in the homes of family or friends (Ferguson, 1994: 64). Children or adults with impairments who lived with their families were unlikely to interact with any people who had similar impairments.

The period from 1820 to 1850 saw the increasing use of almshouses to warehouse poor people as well as those with physical and mental impairments (Ferguson, 1994: 29–30). Those who were placed in almshouses experienced wretched conditions and physical abuse. Because poor and disabled people were housed together, those with impairments may have interacted with others with similar problems. Although the oppressive nature of the almshouses was recognized by some (e.g., Charles Dickens), collective action against the conditions from within was unlikely to occur because of the variety of social, physical, and mental problems that occurred at the almshouses.

Because schools for children who were deaf, blind, or had developmental delays were being opened, children with similar impairments were beginning to interact with each other on a regular basis as pupils of segregated, usually residential, schools.

Some of those who grew up in residential schools began to form communities. This was clearly true for deaf people, many of whom upon graduation secured jobs at the same residential schools they grew up in. In 1851, 36 percent of the teachers at these schools were deaf (Jankowski, 1997: 22).[9] Other former students stayed in areas close to the schools but did not get jobs there. In 1848 the *American Annals of the Deaf,* originally a publication for teachers of deaf students, began to be published (and continues to this day). In 1858 the New England Gallaudet Association of Deaf Mutes, the first organization set up by and for deaf adults, was established.

Thus, during this time period, a difference in social organization that would have a large impact on collective action more than 150 years later began to manifest itself. Although rates of disability probably were increasing, people with physical impairments other than deafness were most likely to remain fairly isolated, except for those children who attended segregated schools for blind or retarded children. It is among deaf people that we see the beginnings of the existence of shared values and interaction, in person or through print media, which are the hallmarks of a community. In the second half of the nineteenth century the deaf community emerged as a stronger force—only to experience several severe attacks against it.

THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Major social changes that occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century had an impact on people with disabilities many years later. One of the era's major events was the Civil War. The war provoked changes in how disabled veterans were treated by society. Not only were servicemen with disabilities given cash and other benefits, as had happened after the earlier wars, but, for the first time, medical or rehabilitative care was also provided (Albrecht, 1992: 96). In part, this change recognized that medical or rehabilitation providers had something to offer veterans, which had not previously been the case. But it was not until the very end of the nineteenth century that such practitioners really had much to offer.

Laws relating to blacks' civil rights were also passed as a result of the Civil War. These laws abolished slavery and provided for citizenship and voting rights for blacks, thus introducing the idea of civil rights for persons other than white, nondisabled males. The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments to the U.S. Constitution abolished slavery, guaranteed due process under the law, and guaranteed the right to vote regardless of race, creed, color, or condition of previous servitude (but not sex), respectively. Civil Rights Acts were passed in 1866 and 1875, although parts of the latter were later overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1887 the 1866 Civil Rights Act was extended to include ethnic and religious groups (Barnartt and Seelman, 1988).

In the last half of the nineteenth century, the sources of disability that had begun to increase in the early 1800s continued to rise. People other than military servicemen were increasingly exposed to chances of disabling injuries. Workplace injuries were becoming more common in factories and in railroad, mining, and timber industries. Because of this, toward the end of the century, labor unions and reformers would

begin to agitate for a system of compensation for workplace injuries similar to that which existed in Germany at that time (Albrecht, 1992: 97–99).

A vibrant deaf community developed toward the end of the nineteenth century. One impetus for that development came from overcoming the isolation that results from deafness, which was doubly distancing when compared to the isolation experienced by people with other types of physical or mental impairments at that time. Not only did deaf people seldom see other deaf people, they could also not communicate easily with the people with whom they did interact. So deaf people began to establish many organized ways in which to meet and interact with each other. An early example of a social club was the Deaf Mutes Union League of New York, founded in 1886 (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989: 95). Other organizations established around this time included the National Association of the Deaf (NAD), which began in 1880, the American Athletic Association of the Deaf, the National Congress of the Jewish Deaf, and the American Professional Society of the Deaf (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989: 87). In 1864, Congress passed legislation that called for the creation of Gallaudet University (then called the National Deaf-Mute College, a part of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb).[10]

Another reason for the growth of the deaf community was that many deaf men worked as printers. As a result, there were many newspapers for the deaf community (Neisser, 1983: 235). The first, *The Deaf Mute,* began at the North Carolina Institution for the Deaf and Blind in 1849. By the end of the century as many as fifty residential schools published newspapers (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989: 98), which included information of general interest to deaf people, such as advice and personal news, as well as news about activities specific to that school. But they also included articles aimed at hearing people, which portrayed deaf people's accomplishments and discussed incidents of perceived discrimination against deaf workers. For example, the *Silent Worker* began in 1891 as a school newspaper, but expanded its scope to include coverage of national and even international events within a few years (Buchanan, 1993).[11]

Even as the deaf community became organized for interaction and communication in the late 1800s, it suffered several setbacks. The first occurred in 1880, at an international meeting called the Milan Congress. At this meeting a resolution was passed that supported the teaching of speech to deaf people, rather than signs (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989: 108–10). As a result, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century and through the first half of the next century, educators and others, including parents, increasingly attempted to wrest control of the schools from educators, many of whom were deaf themselves, who favored the use of sign language (Buchanan, 1993: 182).

The second event with negative consequences for deaf people occurred in 1883. In that year Alexander Graham Bell, who was married to a deaf woman, and whose invention of the telephone was actually an attempt to assist her, wrote an influential paper called the "Memoir upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race." This paper advocated societal opposition to deaf people intermarrying (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989: 142). The following year, Bell reprinted many copies of this paper and sent it to members of Congress as well as many principals of deaf schools and others involved in deaf education (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989: 149).[12]

It is actually not clear whether Bell's paper or his invention of the telephone actually had a more negative impact on deaf people. But it is clear that the Milan Congress did have a strong negative impact on deaf people, because it resulted in fewer deaf teachers and superintendents at the state schools as time went on. Ironically, however, it may also have had an energizing and mobilizing effect. Although it did not mobilize the deaf community for disruptive collective action, the National Association of the Deaf (which was then called the National Association of Deaf-Mutes) tried to ward off some of the threats to sign language (Jankowski, 1997: 5). Because groups that experience external threats develop stronger internal bonds, the threats to the deaf community may have had the paradoxical effect of strengthening it.

Some aspects of the deaf community's development began to create a rift between deaf people and those with other types of impairments. In part, the split was occurring simply because the deaf community was growing, and it did not include people with other types of impairments. But there were also intentional efforts to separate deaf people from people with other types of impairments. For example, the *Silent Worker* made explicit attempts to distinguish the situation of deaf people from the situation of people with other types of impairments, if not actually to derogate them. One of these is an editorial that discussed why deaf workers were better earners than were blind people (Buchanan, 1993: 179).

Similar community development did not occur for people with other types of impairments. For people with mild mental retardation, the patterns of segregation and institutionalization that began in the early years of the century continued. In the period from 1850 to 1860 there were some experiments with small, school-like residential facilities for children who were not severely retarded, but almshouses remained the only option for severely retarded people who needed to be institutionalized (Ferguson, 1994: 157–58). The school-based experiments failed, and by the end of the century, asylums took people with both mild and severe retardation. Asylums had few pretensions at education (Ferguson, 1994: 80). They were dependent upon medical practice, and they used medical, rather than educational, paradigms (Trent, 1994: 36). Despite efforts at institutionalization, however, more people with retardation lived in the community than in any type of institutional situation. In 1890, only 5,254 people were counted by the decennial census as being inmates at asylums for "idiots," at a time when the country's population was more than sixty-two million (Ferguson, 1994: 83).

During the late 1800s there were changes in the situation for blind people that were somewhat akin to those occurring in the deaf community. Several Braille systems were invented, and at least one teacher at the Perkins School was blind (Pelka, 1997: 49). Several organizations of and for blind people were begun during this time, including the Friedlander Union (1871) and the New York Blind Aid Association (1887). An alumni group was formed in 1895 at the Missouri School for the Blind. This group was later opened to graduates from other schools, and it changed its name to the American Blind People's Higher Education and General Improvement Association. After gaining support from blind people and groups in more than a dozen states and holding several conventions, the organization was "invaded" by school administrators and in 1905 became the American Association of Workers for the Blind (Matson, 1990: 6). An Alumni Association of California Schools for the

Blind was also formed before the turn of the century (Matson, 1990: 8). Thus, situations conducive to the development of a blindness community began to emerge, although it is clear that for blind people that development was not as pervasive as it was for deaf people at that time.

In the area of mental health, the beginnings of an oppositional consciousness (Groch, 1994) emerged. Elizabeth Packard formed a group called the Anti-Insane Asylum Society in the 1860s. She published books and pamphlets that described the commitment of her husband to an insane asylum against her (and presumably also his) will (Pelka, 1997: 252). Later in the 1800s and early in the 1900s Clifford Beers would speak out on issues relating to people with mental disabilities and Helen Keller would do the same for people with multiple sensory impairments.

During the late 1800s, the stage began to be set for the contentious action that emerged later. The passage of civil rights laws for blacks provided the basis for a feeling of relative deprivation among other groups of people. The sheer numbers of people with impairments increased, as did the numbers and types of situations in which people with impairments were grouped or concentrated. A few organizations were established that drew together people with similar types of impairments, although there were not yet any cross-disability organizations. The trends toward legal definition of disabilities, the development of organizations to support persons with disabilities, and the development of communities of persons with various disabilities continued into the twentieth century, along with new trends that were conducive to the development of social movements.

THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY: 1900–1945

The early twentieth century saw large societal changes as well as changes in the medical and social situation of people with disabilities. Several factors made the situation more conducive to the subsequent development of a social movement for people with impairments. These factors were a large increase in the number of people with physical impairments, increases in places where people with impairments might involuntarily meet, and the growth of situations that could provoke a feeling of relative deprivation.

World War I left between 123,000 and 300,000 American veterans with disabilities (Gritzer and Arluke, 1985: 39; Pelka, 1997: 101; Treanor, 1993: 15). Immediately after the war, the first federal legislation relating to rehabilitation was passed; it focused upon disabled veterans only. Disabled vets are closer to the age when people are likely to protest than are older people whose impairments show up later in life (Straus, 1965). That very few protests occurred at this time was a function of the time period, not the ages of the largest numbers of people with impairments.

Longevity was another factor that increased the numbers of people with impairments. Improvements in hygiene, public health, and nutrition lowered the mortality rate, and people begin to live longer. Prior to the beginning of the twentieth century, relatively few people who became seriously disabled survived (Straus, 1965). Diseases and injuries that formerly would have caused death became curable or treatable by improvements in medical pharmacology and technology—but such treatments often

left physical impairments in their wake. In the years from 1900 to 1940, life expectancy increased by twelve years for men and by fourteen years for women, and the proportion who survived to age sixty-five increased by almost 18 percent for men and over 20 percent for women (Albrecht, 1992: 51). While some of the added life expectancy for women can be attributed to the increasing safety of pregnancy and child-bearing, at least part of the increase for both sexes has to be attributed to improvements in physicians' abilities to treat some types of diseases, such as diabetes. As Albrecht (1992: 49) notes, "The impaired population began to increase in number, severity and life expectancy." On the other hand, this increase occurred among people who would be unlikely under any circumstances to join in contentious actions (Abramowitz and Nassi, 1981).

Ironically, some of the factors that increased life expectancy also increased the problem of polio, which began to appear in epidemic proportions in the early years of the century. It is possible that improvements in sewer systems as well as overall hygiene reduced the exposure of very young children to endemic polio viruses and so actually increased the severity of the disease when older children were exposed to it. Whatever the cause, large numbers contracted the disease and survived, but with impairments. In 1916, 27,000 people were left paralyzed. There were epidemics in New York in 1931; in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Los Angeles in 1932; in Boston in 1935; and in Chicago in 1936, among other places (see http://www.polio.com).

Perhaps as a result of the increasing numbers of people with impairments, during the first part of the twentieth century there was growth in opportunities to share "common social space." Although people with physical and mental impairments were sometimes isolated, hidden, or otherwise kept from the mainstream of society (Treanor, 1993: 13), it is also true that many new organizations of and for people with impairments were established. These included the National Fraternal Society of the Deaf (1901), the Disabled American Veterans (1920), the League of the Physically Handicapped (1935), the National Federation of the Blind (1940), and the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped (1940). These and similar organizations provided places in which people with impairments might meet. With the establishment of the League of the Physically Handicapped and the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, there were, for the first time, places where people could interact with people who had impairments different than their own. A pattern of many impairment-specific organizations and a few cross-disability organizations was being established that would continue until the latter part of the century and would affect the types of collective actions occurring decades later.

In addition to organizations and schools, there were increasing numbers of involuntary situations in which people with impairments might meet. Primary among these were rehabilitation facilities and hospitals. The number of sheltered workshops increased because of the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, which gave such workshops exclusive bidding rights on certain types of goods and services for the federal government.[13] All in all, the isolation of people with impairments was beginning to break down.

During the first decades of the twentieth century, several situations developed that fostered a feeling of relative deprivation, or a sense that "my group is even worse

off than your group, and that's not fair." One situation derived from the effect of wars on the participation of people with impairments in the labor force. During the first and second world wars, most "able-bodied" men were drafted, but deaf men and people with other types of impairments were considered not able-bodied, so they were not drafted for the military. Ironically, however, men with mental retardation were drafted. During World War I, retarded men were drafted who had previously lived in institutional settings; some of these men did well in the military, but they were still returned to institutional settings after the war ended (Scheerenberger, 1983: 175). During World War II retarded men also served in the military or worked in defense industries. Even some people in institutions helped the war effort by assisting farmers, canning, repairing toys and clothes, participating in air-raid duties, and assisting with scrap salvage (Scheerenberger, 1983: 215).

The wars had a strong impact on workers in the deaf community. Although deaf workers were not drafted into the military, they were "drafted" for civilian war-related industries. During World War I, there were so many deaf men working in the Akron, Ohio, plants of Goodyear and Firestone that Firestone provided sports facilities, a dance hall, and a club room in which they could socialize (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989: 164). The labor of men with other types of impairments was used during World War II (Hahn, 1997). After the wars ended, the services of many of these workers with impairments were no longer needed, just as women's labor was no longer needed. However, this was not as true for deaf men; after the war, Goodyear and Firestone continued to recruit them because the company experience had been so positive (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989: 164).

Such experiences in the labor force could have been conducive to feelings of relative deprivation. People with impairments who worked during wartime might feel deprived in a real sense, because they had lost their jobs, but they also might feel deprived compared to other groups, such as blacks and women. During the war years, blacks moved from the South to work in factories in northern industrial cities. Although women who worked during World War II were also fired when the soldiers returned, the baby boom that occurred shortly thereafter fueled a need for labor in traditionally female occupations such as nursing and teaching. The result was increased female participation in the labor force during the 1950s and 1960s for women aged forty-five to sixty-four and in subsequent years for younger women, as changes in the demand structure of the labor force began to pull women back into the labor force (Oppenheimer, 1976). People with impairments, on the other hand, had jobs during the wars, showed that they could do the work, and then lost the jobs again, while other groups still had jobs or were increasingly getting new jobs.

The increased availability of education, especially vocational rehabilitation, for people with impairments may also have added to a feeling of relative deprivation. The 1935 Social Security Act provided for state grants for vocational rehabilitation services, and rehabilitation was increasingly becoming a medical specialty of some standing. Partly because of this, there were increasing numbers of people with impairments who were well educated, despite educational discrimination experienced by some people with impairments. There were even visible role models, although the most visible role model of all, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, kept his

impairment hidden almost all of the time. The increased educational opportunities did not, however, lead to better economic opportunities.

During this time a collective consciousness in several segments of the deaf and disability communities began to develop. In the deaf community, there was resistance to the assault on sign language that had begun at the Milan Congress. Newspapers, such as *The Silent Worker,* "championed the accomplishments of deaf citizens and help define and defend their rights in the United States and abroad" (Buchanan, 1993: 173). In the disability community, the Disabled American Veterans marched on Washington, D.C., in 1921 (Ronald Drach, personal communication, March 26, 1997). Beginning in 1935 and continuing until 1938, the League of the Physically Handicapped conducted sit-ins, strikes, pickets, and other actions in New York City and Washington, D.C. They were protesting work-related policies and discrimination in general, as well as some of the specific policies that governed the Works Progress Administration (WPA) and the Emergency Relief Bureau (ERB), two of President Roosevelt's programs to provide Depression-era relief (Longmore, 1997).

Finally, the 1930s and early 1940s saw the beginnings of an emergence of an important collective consciousness related to disability, although not among the potential beneficiaries. Parents of children with mental retardation began to organize in the 1930s, forming groups such as the Cuyahoga County Council for the Retarded Child (1933), the Washington Association for Retarded Children (1936), and the New York Welfare League for Retarded Children (Dwybad, 1990; Scheerenberger, 1983: 228). Although their activism did not pick up until the late 1940s, and primarily took the form of lawsuits, this was the beginning of an important change. Parents and other family members had always been involved with their family members with impairments, but as a group, they had been as separated and isolated as the people with impairments. The parents' movement would show that "making a fuss" could produce change.[14] As one parent noted, speaking of the (much later) success experienced when the 1975 Education for all Handicapped Children Act was passed: It "brought a profound change in parents, a change that has been internalized and cannot be undone. . . . No longer did they need to be grateful for every crumb; they could actually make demands on behalf of their children and expect reasonable responses to those demands" (Pelka, 1997: 240).

These organizational beginnings, and the activism that would come from them, presaged a time when people with impairments could develop a collective consciousness. In this period there was an intensification of several earlier trends. There were increases in numbers of people with impairments, and more common social space was available to them. There were also events that could seem discriminatory, and there were opportunities to work together to develop the sort of collective consciousness necessary in order to foment a social movement. Although several groups did try to do just that, they failed, because conditions were not yet right.

What conditions would have improved the chances that these early disability protests would have succeeded? Protests cannot succeed if society does not legitimize the demands of the protesters. During this period, it is clear that the protests were not perceived as being legitimate because they were not framed in a way that resonated with the society or with the targets of the protests. It was not until the end of the

1960s that there would be an acceptable and accepted frame into which disability protests could be successfully inserted.

POST-WAR AMERICA: 1945–1960

During this period, both the incidence and prevalence rates for impairments continued to increase.[15] Incidence rates increased for several reasons. Wars, again, were one reason. World War II left many disabled veterans. Some of these (approximately 2,500) were men with spinal cord injuries. This type of injury could finally be treated. After World War I, men with similar wounds died because medical rehabilitation techniques were not good enough to save them (Driedger, 1989).[16] Many of the World War II vets with spinal cord injuries were at the same hospital in California and went on to found the Paralyzed Veterans of America (Pelka, 1997: 236, 344). The Korean and Vietnam wars also added to the numbers of people with impairments.

A second cause of the increasing incidence of impairment continued to be polio: There were large epidemics in 1946 (25,000 cases), 1952 (58,000 cases), and 1953 (35,000 cases). These polio outbreaks provided the basis for some close friendships and social networks among those (particularly children) who spent months or years in rehabilitation facilities; the rehab hospitals may unwittingly have provided common social space that would help to develop networks of people with similar impairments and similar concerns.[17] A new source of impairments emerged during this time period because of the use of thalidomide, a drug given to pregnant women for morning sickness that produced impairments in their babies. This was more of a factor in Europe than in the United States, because the use of thalidomide was banned earlier in the United States than it was in Europe.

The prevalence rates for impairments increased because new drugs kept people with impairments alive longer. This was particularly true of antibiotics such as penicillin, which became available publicly after World War II, and streptomycin, which became available in the 1950s. Both played a significant role in increasing the life expectancies of children with retardation who previously had been very susceptible to infections (Scheerenberger, 1983: 222).

During this period the numbers of disability organizations increased nationally and internationally. In the United States, organizations such as the Blinded Veterans Association (1945), the National Mental Health Foundation (1946), the Paralyzed Veterans of America (1947), We Are Not Alone (1949), and the National Wheelchair Basketball Association (1949) emerged during the immediate post-war years. In 1947, the first meeting of the President's Committee on National Employ the Handicapped Week was held. This organization later became the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped. On the international level, new organizations included the World Federation of the Deaf (1951) and the International Federation of the Blind (later called the World Blind Union).

Why were these organizations important, since they were not conducting protests? The answer is that these organizations—sports, political, or lobbying—provided opportunities for people with impairments to meet. Along with schools, they provided children and adults with impairments the opportunity to interact and begin

to develop a collective consciousness. Judy Heumann, who was one of the early leaders of protests in New York City and elsewhere, described what this interaction meant to her:

> [M]y first real experience meeting other disabled people occurred in the school. I remember the feeling of relief when I was finally able to talk to other disabled people, who confirmed that my experiences as a disabled person were all too real. . . . In school we talked about situations such as, "What would you do if you were going down the street and somebody started staring at you?" We decided that we would turn around and say, "Take a picture, it lasts longer." I remember the first time we said this to somebody. . . . We didn't notice his reaction because we were laughing so hard. It was school experiences like these that made me realize that together with other disabled people we could assume power. (Heumann, 1992: 192–93)

The proliferation of groups during this period meant that there were membership bases, communication networks, and leaders—the components necessary for the infrastructure upon which contentious action could be built.

There were, in addition, some changes that affected the ability of people with impairments to organize for contentious action. One was an increase in the degree of specialization seen within the field of medicine and the degree of differentiation of specialties seen within helping professions that dealt with people with impairments. This led to a situation in which people with different types of impairments tended to be separated by the medical system. Another trend, which began in the post-World War II years, was a more widespread acceptance of the idea that rehabilitation was possible, even for people with severe impairments (Dwybad, 1990: 156).

These trends may have had both positive and negative consequences. They increased contacts among people with similar impairments who had the same or similar practitioners, clinics, or hospitals, and so provided involuntary meeting places. But the consciousness and networks that might arise from such interactions were more likely to have been impairment-specific than to be cross-disability. The impacts of this trend were played out in protests that occurred in subsequent years.

One of the most important changes of the post–World War II period was increased parental and journalistic attention to public institutions for people with mental retardation and other impairments. The numbers of people who lived in institutions for mentally retarded people increased dramatically, from almost 117,000 in 1946 to over 193,000 by 1967 (Trent, 1994: 251). This change was, in part, fueled by advice from medical professionals to parents to "put [your] retarded children away and forget about them" (Trent, 1994: 241). In addition, the population of these institutions changed from being one of primarily juvenile delinquents to one that included younger children, more severely impaired children, and adults (Trent, 1994: 252). The numbers of people in state psychiatric hospitals peaked in 1955, although the numbers of people in state schools did not peak until 1968 (Trent, 1994: 242).

Concomitantly, there were a number of journalistic exposés on conditions in these institutions. Some were done by contentious objectors who worked in the

institutions during the war (Trent, 1994: 228, 237). Partially in response, the Cerebral Palsy Society of New York City (later to become a chapter of the United Cerebral Palsy Associations, Inc.) was established in 1946, and what was to become the Association for Retarded Children began with a convention in 1950.

The parents' organizations were concerned about neglect and mishandling of their children in institutions. They demanded that the institutions provide better physical environments, more appropriate medical and dental care, better therapy and training, and show more concern about their children's happiness. They also objected to the ways in which parents of retarded children were portrayed and treated by professionals and service providers—as grief-stricken, having a death wish, rejecting, and being completely ignorant of what was best for their child (Scheerenberger, 1983: 230). These organizations and others would be involved in some of the early lawsuits that were filed in regard to institutional conditions. In addition, the notion of deinstitutionalization began to surface among parents in the 1950s, although it did not become a national goal until the 1970s.

As noted previously, the parents' movement mounted one of the first challenges to the status quo regarding disability. The parents were the first group to exhibit an "oppositional consciousness" on a large scale and sustain it for a number of years. Although their tactics were not, by and large, those of contentious collective action, their examples of a collective consciousness, the demands they made, and their successes could serve as models for groups of potential beneficiaries when they began to mount their own movement in subsequent years.

Other changes occurred during this time. In 1948, the needs of disabled veterans returning to school after World War II led to the establishment of a disabled student services program at the University of Illinois at Champaign (Pelka, 1997: 166). In some ways this was the beginning of the concept of independent living.[18] Veterans also conducted at least one protest during the 1950s (Palmer, 2000). There were also legal and policy changes during this time period, including several expansions of Social Security programs to include more people with impairments, and vocational rehabilitation programs were expanded.

Expressions of an oppositional consciousness began to occur. At its 1948 convention, the president of the National Federation of the Blind presented a document entitled, "A Bill of Rights for the Blind." This document begins with language some would find radical even today: "I have a serious question to ask the sighted persons present—would you swap vision for a good chicken dinner? On the face of it this is an absurd question, for no one who has vision would swap it for anything. But for those of us who are blind, this question is not necessarily absurd. It is not that we prefer to have lost our eyesight, but having been deprived of it, we have discovered that it is dispensable" (Matson, 1990: 36).

At least one struggle occurred at this time between people with impairments and those without (who were usually in control of the situation). This incident, which occurred during the 1950s, was a struggle between the National Federation of the Blind, on the one hand, and both the system of sheltered workshops and those who ran them, on the other. The latter groups, the "blindness system," included employees of state agencies and commissions—some were blind themselves (Matson, 1990: 73).

The issues involved who could speak for blind people and who should not, whether blindness was a terrible affliction or one with which someone could live well, and other issues that still resonate today. Although a large amount of anger was expressed in national and other meetings, there was no contentious action at this time.

Several incidents of contentious action by people with impairments had occurred by this time, but they were isolated, unsuccessful, and did not impel subsequent actions. Neither the world nor the disability community was really ready for much more than that. But it was coming. The changes of the post war period set the stage for the emergence of a concerted effort at contentious action. The development of organizational bases, similar to those that had existed in the deaf community for many years, was one crucial factor, but it is unlikely that contentious action would have developed without many of the other changes discussed here. Although we argue later that the social movements of the 1960s were important for the development of contentious action in the disability community, the importance of the changes that took place immediately after World War II cannot be overlooked.

THE 1960S AND BEYOND

The 1960s saw the emergence of the "social movement society" in America (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998). During this period protests intensified in the civil rights movement and early protests began in the women's liberation movement, the first protest for which occurred in 1966 (Minkoff, 1997). The 1960s also sparked the student movement (which began with the free speech movement at the University of California, Berkeley) and the anti-war movement. The turbulent decade had a significant influence on members of the disability and deaf communities.

A number of authors have suggested that the disability rights movement arose from, or because of, the civil rights movement. Treanor (1993: 33) goes so far as to make the somewhat questionable statement that, "You could say that more than any other decade, the sixties sowed the seeds which made possible President Bush's signing of the Americans with Disabilities Act on July 26, 1990." If this is the case, what were the mechanisms by which this might have occurred?

We suggest two such mechanisms. The first is the fact that, for the first time, the civil rights movement provided a way of framing disability protests so that they could resonate in American society. The second is that the social movements of the 1960s contributed, both directly and indirectly, to components of what would become the disability movement.

Frames and Claims

One of the most important tasks that social movements actively engage in is the production of meaning for participants, antagonists, and observers (Snow and Benford, 1988: 198). That is, participants in social movements actively construct a collective consciousness. A central part of any collective consciousness is a frame, or an overall system of interpretation that enables individuals to "locate, perceive, identify, and label occurrences" (Snow et. al., 1986: 464). Collective action frames permit

individuals to recognize and diagnose problems and to propose solutions. They help social movements to mobilize potential adherents for action (Snow and Benford, 1988: 199) and they also mobilize "conscience constituents"—those who will not themselves benefit from the movement but who nonetheless support its goals and work to achieve those goals (McCarthy and Zald, 1987). Frames also help to garner bystander support and demobilize antagonists (Klandermans, 1992: 80). Frames provide meaningful reasons, within the context of a culture, for why a demand made by a social movement should be satisfied.

If an appropriate frame exists or can be created, it will make it easier for members of the social movement to recruit participants for contentious action, as well as supporters for that action, than it might otherwise have been. Because they fit within that cultural context, culturally resonant frames increase the likelihood that some or all members of a society will support the social movement's demands—and, therefore, that the movement will succeed. If a culturally appropriate frame does not exist or cannot be created, the social movement is unlikely to succeed in having its demands met.[19] Leaders of social movements are unlikely to invent new frames if they can avoid it. Rather, they are more likely to use already existing, previously successful, frames, which they can modify, if necessary, to fit their movement's issues.

There are four types of processes that can be used in social movements to build upon previously successful frames. These include frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension, and frame transformation (Snow et al., 1986). It is easier for social movements to use any of these processes than to invent a new frame and then elicit support for it every time a new issue turns up.

For those protesting within the disability community, one of the most important things to come out of the civil rights movement was the "frame" of civil rights. This frame included the notion that places should be accessible to all groups; the notion that all citizens should be able to exercise their political power through the voting booth; the notion that discrimination in hiring, promotion, or firing was not acceptable; and the notion that separate facilities were inherently unequal.

After the successful application of the frame of civil rights to blacks, the women's movement attempted to extend that frame to women. If the recategorization succeeded, the women's movement reasoned, our society would be more likely to recognize that women could legitimately make demands that had previously been seen as appropriate only for blacks to make. However, the frame extension was not easy.

The first extension of any frame is more difficult than successive frame extensions, because the first extension involves two processes. It involves acceptance of the idea of extending the frame at all, and it involves acceptance of the appropriateness of extending that particular frame to that particular group. There had to be acceptance of the idea that women were a minority group, and therefore experienced discrimination, before there could be a perception of women's problems as *group issues*, rather than individual problems, and as *minority group issues* appropriately interpreted through the use of a civil rights frame. Influential in the campaign to gain acceptance of that frame extension was an article by Helen Hacker (1951) called "Women as a Minority Group." There was resistance to this early frame extension from men in the civil rights movement as well as members of Congress when the 1964 Civil Rights Act



Dressed in American Revolutionary garb, protestors outside the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia connected the American ideals of freedom and independence to the disability rights movement.

was debated (Freeman, 1975). The arguments were not just about the appropriateness of that specific frame extension but also about the appropriateness of frame extension at all.

Frame extensions are more likely to succeed if there has been precedent for extending that frame to other groups or situations. If the *idea* of frame extension has already been accepted by the general population, it will be easier to mobilize support and participants for subsequent frame extensions than if there is no such precedent. If there is precedent, the task of the social movement is merely that of justifying the extension of a particular frame to their group or situation.[20] The success of the extension of the frame of civil rights to women set a precedent for subsequent attempts to extend the frame of civil rights to other groups. The frame of civil rights became a master frame, one that could apply to a number of groups (Snow and Benford, 1992), including people with impairments.

Although successive frame extensions may be easier than the initial one, there is no guarantee that all attempts at frame extension will succeed. Rather, some attempts may fail. An example of such failure (to date) can be seen in attempts by the gay rights movement to extend the frame of civil rights to gay people. During one debate over permitting gays to serve in the military, opponents specifically denied that the frame of civil rights applies to gays in statements such as, "The freedom train to Selma never stopped at Sodom" (Loose, 1993). Thus, even though frame extensions may become easier as time goes on, not all attempts will succeed. Rather, there are cultural limits to

the extensibility of any frame. Of course, part of the task of any social movement is to justify the frame extension it wants and to deny that its group is beyond those limits.

The civil rights frame was first applied to people with impairments in the early 1970s. As noted in a report about one of the earliest disability community protests, a march in Washington, D.C., that took place on May 5, 1972: "The civil rights concept has become equated with only racial minorities and for another minority of citizens outside of the defined parameters of the equal rights movement to take hold of this banner was a challenge. . . . Obviously to apply the label of discrimination to the disabled was unheard of" (Thoben, 1972: 25).

Activists within the deaf community and disability communities attempted to extend the civil rights frame to themselves (Fine and Asch, 1988). We will see in subsequent chapters how they did this. For now, suffice it to say that the attempt at frame extension in the disability community did not succeed in the 1930s but did succeed in later decades because, by the late 1970s, precedents for frame extension had already been set. The civil rights and other social movements from the 1960s were not a sufficient condition for the emergence of disability activism, but they probably were a necessary condition.

Other social movements occurred during this time period, which, although not providing frames for contentious political action, did provide fodder for claims made by people with disabilities, especially those claims that criticized medical personnel. One social movement was the patients' rights movement. This movement attempted to challenge the paternalism of doctors and their hegemony over treatment, and it was responsible for the subsequent adoption of informed consent in treatment as well as in research. The other relevant social movement was the women's health movement. As part of the feminist movement of the 1960s, participants in the women's health movement attempted to limit the extent to which the medical establishment controlled women's bodies and lives. In doing so, they challenged medical education as well as popular culture, formed self-help groups, created alternative services, and lobbied for changes in federal, state, and local laws (Rodwin, 1994). One direct effect of that movement can be seen in the writings of Irving Zola, who, as a respected scholar in the area of disability, was married to one of the founders of the Boston Women's Health Collective, a major player in the women's health movement.

Thus other social movements of the 1960s had a profound impact on what was possible for people with impairments. Whereas claims made in the 1930s basically fell on "deaf" ears in a society that could not comprehend them, claims made by the deaf and disability communities in the 1970s and 1980s resonated with frames that had been used by prior social movements and had been accepted by at least some sectors of society.

Social Movement Spillover

The social movements of the 1960s and early 1970s unintentionally helped the disability community in a number of ways. These movements did not simply provide a collective action frame. They also provided other components of social movements, which were taken up by the disability community in a process called spillover (Meyer



In a rally in Washington, D.C., before the passage of the ADA, demonstrators extend the frame of civil rights by incorporating slogans from the civil rights movement.

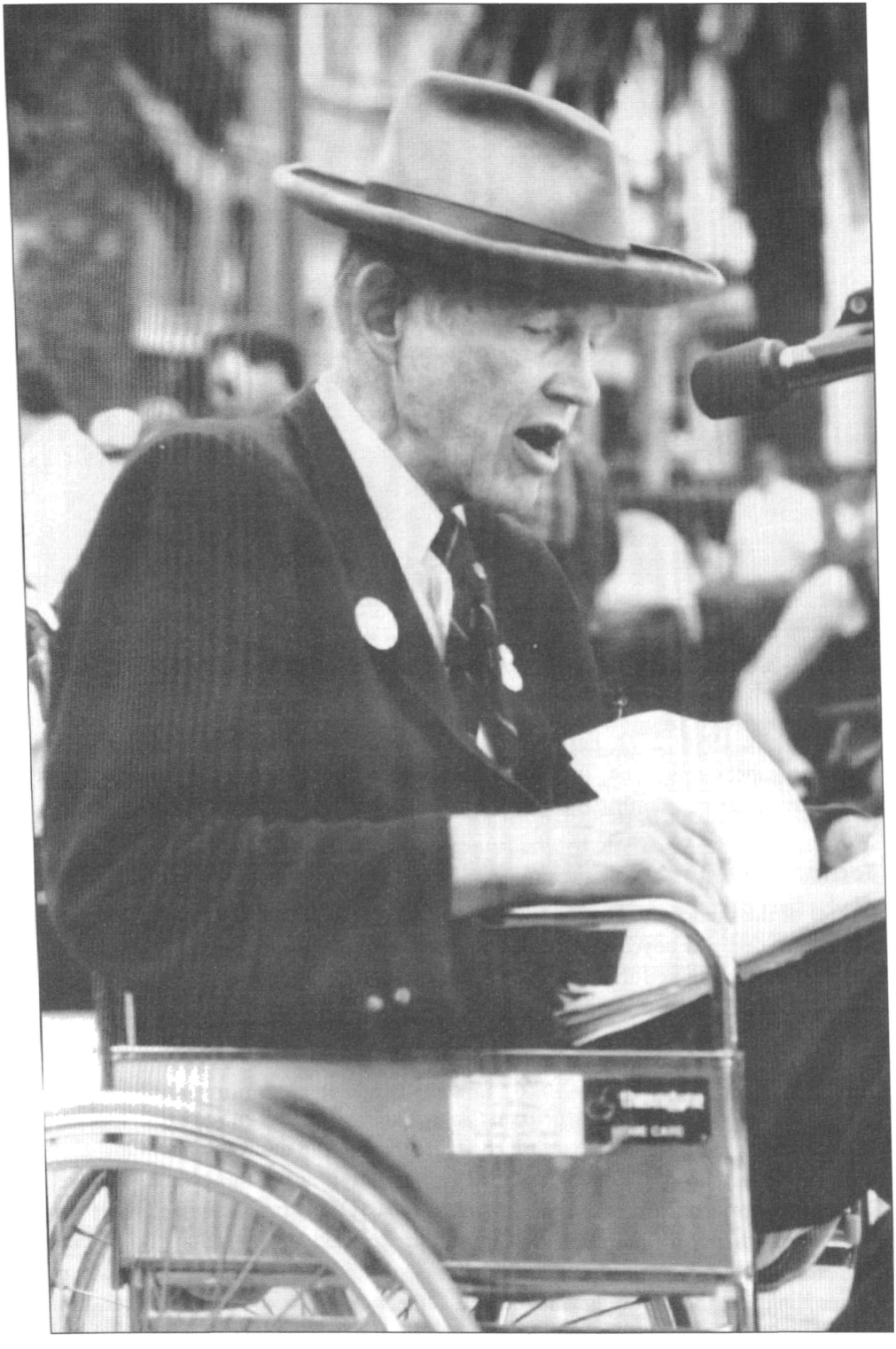
and Whittier, 1994: 277). Earlier social movements provided tactics, rhetoric, symbols, ideas, personnel, and, in some cases, support for the protests in the disability community. Let us examine these in more detail.

Tactics

Several of the tactics newly used by participants in the civil rights movement in the South included bus boycotts, sit-ins, and freedom rides (McAdam, 1997). Disability and deaf activists linked their issues to those of the civil rights movement by their use of similar strategies of nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience.

Symbols

One of the ways in which participants in social movements manipulate frames is through their use of symbols that link their situation to the desired frame. One of the symbols that is clearly linked to the civil rights movement is the phrase "I Have a Dream." Protestors during the Deaf President Now (DPN) protest at Gallaudet used that symbol when, on a march to the Capitol, they carried a banner that said, "I Have a Dream." The use of this phrase linked their protest symbolically to Dr. Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement. Other symbols taken from the civil rights movement are the songs "We Shall Overcome" and "We Shall Not be Moved," which protesters sang during the 1977 Rehabilitation Act protests (Treanor, 1993: 76).



Justin Dart has been called the Martin Luther King, Jr., of the disability rights movement.

Activists

Activists who attempt to extend a frame from a prior social movement are often influenced by members of that prior movement. This is most likely to occur if participants from the original social movement carry the frame with them directly to the new movement. This was seen quite clearly in the relationship between the civil rights movement and the women's movement, in which many participants in the former movement went on to foment the latter (McAdam, 1988; Freeman, 1975).

There was a small amount of direct diffusion of personnel from the earlier civil rights and women's movements to the disability community, as, later, there was diffusion of personnel from the early disability protests to the deaf community. Wade Blank, the founder of Americans Disabled for Public Transit (ADAPT) learned political organizing from the civil rights movement, participated in the march to Selma with Martin Luther King, Jr., and worked with draft resisters during the Vietnam War era (Pelka, 1997: 43). Mary Jane Owen, who became a disability activist after she became disabled, had been a member of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in the 1940s and a Vietnam War protester in the 1960s (Pelka, 1977: 232).

But direct diffusion of personnel from one movement to another is not the only way in which activists' thinking may be changed. There can also be diffusion of ideas and frames from one movement to another. The thinking of activists from the earlier movement, either in person or in their writings, may influence the thinking of activists in newer social movements. A number of examples of such influence are often cited by leaders in the disability community, such as Irving Zola (1983b), who was influenced by the civil rights movement and the women's movement. Gunnar Dwybad, a leader of the National Association for Retarded Children, saw the civil rights movement as a model for actions that could be used for issues relating to his cause (Pelka, 1997: 23), although it is not clear that he ever actually used that model to instigate contentious action. Ed Roberts was at the University of California, Berkeley, around the time of the free speech movement, and his fight for independent living was influenced by that and the women's movement (Shapiro, 1993: 47). Justin Dart, another prominent disability rights activist, studied and was influenced by the writings of Martin Luther King, Jr. (Shapiro, 1993: 111). There are many other examples in the disability and deaf communities that make it clear that writings of activists in earlier movements spilled over to the disability community and affected some of its potential leaders, even if there was little actual spillover of personnel.

Support from Other Movements

Earlier movements can be important for subsequent movements if the earlier movement still exists and can provide support to the subsequent movement. This is especially true if an earlier social movement can assist in frame extension to the newer movement by propounding the frame extension itself.[21] Although a coalition with, or support from, one social movement cannot by itself produce a frame extension, it can help. This has happened a number of times in the disability rights movement. Individual civil rights activists and civil rights organizations have supported the movement, and civil rights organizations have been involved in actions by disability rights protestors several times.

One instance of this occurred during the 1977 HEW sit-in in San Francisco, when the Black Panthers provided food and endorsed the protestors' goals in their newspaper (Johnson, 1983). Support by civil rights activists was also expressed before DPN, when behind-the-scenes lobbying for a deaf president occurred, as well as during the protest. Civil rights leader Jesse Jackson and Dorothy Gilliam, a respected black columnist for the *Washington Post,* both made their voices heard in favor of DPN (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995). Finally, during lobbying for the ADA, the executive director of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights was quoted as saying the ADA "is basically the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with respect to persons with disabilities" (Berkowitz, 1992).

Success

Finally, if an earlier social movement was successful, it can convey the notion that protests *can* succeed. It thus provides a motivation for subsequent groups to engage in that type of nontraditional political action rather than traditional forms of political action in the hopes that their movement, too, can succeed.

Other Changes during the 1960s

The social movements of the 1960s were not the only aspect of that decade that would facilitate subsequent protests in the deaf and disability communities. Other important factors included the Vietnam War, changes in perceptions of mental retardation, legal changes, medical and technological advancements, some obscure publications in the field of linguistics, and changes in the educational attainments and occupational involvement of people with impairments that could heighten feelings of relative deprivation.

The Vietnam War

The Vietnam War had a large impact on society as well as on people with impairments. As in previous wars, the numbers of people with disabilities increased as a result of the conflict. But the Vietnam War also increased the *visibility* of disability through books and movies about disabled veterans. Disabled vets who experienced discrimination were, perhaps, less likely to endure it quietly, because they felt they had sacrificed for their country at a time when others refused to (Gooding, 1994: 2).

Another impact of the war was related to contentious action itself. Protests against the war helped to bring about the routinization of protest, as well as greater acceptance of protest as a method of expressing grievances (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998). Vietnam War protests also contributed tactics, such as university takeovers and teach-ins, which would be emulated by protests in the deaf and disability communities.

Changing Perceptions of Retardation

As noted previously, between 1950 and 1968 institutions for people with mental retardation expanded at a faster rate than at any time in U.S. history. For example, from 1964 to 1965 the numbers of institutionalized people with retardation increased by almost 8,000, the largest single year increase ever (numbers calculated from Trent,

1994: 251). The total number of people living in institutions peaked at about 188,000 in larger institutions and 125,000 in smaller facilities in 1988 (Trent, 1994: 265). In part, the increase in numbers of institutions was due to a massive infusion of cash for construction of facilities for people with retardation that came from the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963 (PL 88-164). The truism that says that "a built bed is a filled bed" applies to mental health and mental retardation institutions as well as to the acute care hospitals to which it was originally applied.

At the same time, attitudes toward retardation were changing. The changes began in the early 1960s, due in part to the fact that then-President Kennedy had a retarded sister, and his family was active in promoting improvements for people with retardation. Among other events, Eunice Kennedy Shriver published an article on the topic in the *Saturday Evening Post*; President Kennedy addressed Congress on the subject of mental retardation and mental health; and he appointed a special President's Panel on Mental Retardation (Straus, 1965). One of the recommendations of this panel was that there should be a "new legal, as well as social, concept of the retarded, including protection of their civil rights; life guardianship provisions when needed; an enlightened attitude on the part of the law and the courts" (Scheerenberger, 1983: 248). This recommendation was extremely enlightened for its time—and it was not really accepted for at least another decade, if then.

Ideas such as normalization, deinstitutionalization, and community placement, which had been around since the 1950s, were becoming more accepted because of concerns about civil liberties as well as fiscal conservatism (Trent, 1994: 270). Both ideas supported the notion that the best place for children and adults with retardation (as well as for people with psychiatric illnesses) was not the institution but the community. These notions drove some of the lawsuits instituted by the parents' movement in the early 1970s, which determined that the constitutional rights of people in some institutions were being violated (Scheerenberger, 1983: 252). In addition to winning improved living situations for institutionalized residents, successful lawsuits also conveyed the idea that activism about disability issues can succeed, an important message for potential disability activists.

Legal Changes

Several legal changes during this period had a profound impact on events in the disability community, even though the laws passed did not apply directly to them. The application of the frame of civil rights to blacks occurred primarily through laws and Supreme Court decisions. In addition to the post-Civil War laws and constitutional amendments, important laws and decisions included the 1954 *Brown* v. *the Board of Education* decision by the Supreme Court, the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Executive Order 11246,[22] the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which has subsequently been renewed, and the Open Housing Act of 1968, which dealt with discrimination in aspects of housing (Barnartt and Seelman, 1988). The application of the frame of civil rights to women also occurred initially through legislation, including the 1963 Equal Pay Act, the 1964 Civil Rights Act (to which the words "and sex" had been added by Southern senators in

order to try to kill the bill), Executive Order 11246 and other, subsequent laws. The major federal laws that provided civil rights for women, members of racial and ethnic groups, and members of religious groups were passed in the 1960s.[23]

There were, however, no laws that connected disabilities with civil rights. From 1920 until 1950, disability legislation focused on income support and vocational rehabilitation (Berkowitz, 1979; Stone, 1984), and disability policy before the 1970s was characterized as "benevolent paternalism" (Hull, 1979: 21).

But there was one legal change during the 1960s that did have a direct impact on people with impairments and which began to redirect the focus of disability policy. In 1968, the Architectural Barriers Act was passed. This was the first law that even hinted at civil rights for people with impairments. It would have major implications for the disability community and, to a lesser extent, the deaf community. In this law, for the first time, access as a civil rights issue was raised for disabled people; and, for the first time, it was raised in federal law. The idea of civil rights for people with impairments was more important than the content of the law, at least initially, because there were no enforcement mechanisms built into the Architectural Barriers Act. It was not until the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 was passed (and regulations for it promulgated in 1977) that teeth were given to that law. (That law set up the Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board to enforce the previously unenforced Architectural Barriers Act.)

Also during this time, decisions from the federal courts declared that the constitutional rights of mentally retarded residents were being violated by inhumane treatment; that rights to due process must be maintained, even for people living in institutions; and that mentally retarded or mentally ill people working in institutions were covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1966 (Scheerenberger, 1983: 251).[24]

Medical Advancements

Medical advancements from the 1960s on affected some people with impairments, as well as having important implications for the composition of the disability community. One advancement is the increased ability of doctors to keep people with spinal cord injuries and polio alive. If one peruses biographies of leaders in the disability movement, (see, e.g., Pelka 1997), the high proportion of those people with spinal cord injuries becomes apparent. (Leaders in the independent living movement appear more likely to have been polio survivors, although it is not possible to say that with any certainty without further empirical verification.) The effects of these and other medical developments were to "create" more people with severe disabilities by keeping people alive. In addition, technological developments such as speech synthesizers and motorized wheel chairs increasingly permit people with severe impairments to function in ways that had not previously been possible.

Technological Changes

In the deaf community, a major technological change occurred in 1964, when Robert Weitbrecht invented an acoustic coupler that made possible the use of the teletype

machine to send messages over telephone lines. Called the TTY, it was a large and expensive telephone substitute. More recently, TDDs (Telephone Devices for the Deaf) were invented in the 1970s as smaller, cheaper, and more portable versions of TTYs. For the first time, deaf people could communicate with each other using devices similar to those used by hearing people. TTYs and TDDs did not immediately permit deaf people to communicate with hearing people, however, because the technology required that the hearing person also have a similar device, and few did. It is only since the ADA in 1990 mandated that all states set up relay systems, in which an operator acts as a go-between who can voice what the TTY is typing for a hearing person, and also type what the hearing person is voicing for a deaf person.

The Linguistics of ASL

Another change that had a major impact on the deaf community in subsequent years was the work of William Stokoe at Gallaudet. A professor of English, he published the first books that used linguistics to promote the argument that American Sign Language was linguistically identical to spoken languages, rather than being either a crude system of gestures or a signed dialect of English (Stokoe, 1960; Stokoe, Casterline, and Cronenberg, 1965). This argument began to give American Sign Language a legitimacy that had been taken from it by the Milan Congress in 1880.

Education, Occupation, and Relative Deprivation

One final factor that contributed to disability activism was the continuation of the trend toward some people with impairments getting more education and better jobs. In the deaf community, this was documented in a book by Alan Crammatte published in 1965 called *The Formidable Peak: A Study of Deaf People in Professional Employment*. In that book, he demonstrated that there were deaf professionals and described some of the difficulties they faced in their lives and careers (although he downplayed any notion of discrimination).

By the late 1960s increasing numbers of people with impairments were better educated, due, in part, to the GI bill, which paid for college educations for returning veterans—some of whom had impairments—after World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. This education, in and of itself, was likely to be a factor in the emergence of protests, because it gave protest leaders some capabilities that less educated people did not have. It also introduced issues of accessibility in colleges that had been unheard of before the late 1940s.

The greater numbers of people with impairments attending college meant that some were also likely to hold better jobs. At the most basic level, this meant that some people would have access to resources that make it easier for social movements to emerge, such as typewriters, copy machines, and office space. Perhaps the more important aspect of increasing education and involvement in the labor force, however, was that more people began to encounter subtle and overt prejudice and discrimination.

It had been clear for many years that deaf people held a lower social status and worked in lower paying jobs than did hearing people (Christiansen and Barnartt,

1987), and the same was true for people with other types of impairments (see, e.g., Kirchner and Peterson, 1985). Not much had been made of that fact until the 1960s. Before that, there was really no way to interpret such information that made sense in any culturally accepted way. People with disabilities had been defined, de facto, as nonworkers by disability policies that paid them for not working and explicitly declared them unable to work. If they did work, and if they encountered prejudice or discrimination in the labor force, this fact did not fit into the culturally accepted view of disabled people.

But discriminatory situations were beginning to attract the attention of people with impairments. Kenneth Jernigan, in a speech that was repeated several times, told the following story:

> In 1970 Tom Munn (a blind man) took a Michigan State Civil Service examination for the position of mechanic. He passed with a score of 96, and his name was placed on the register. He was not offered employment; others (with lower scores) were hired. In 1972 the Civil Service Commission created a separate list for the handicapped. Munn's name was transferred from the open register to the separate list, and his score was reduced from 96 to 70—which (regardless of performance) was the grade to be given to all so-called "successful" future blind applicants. Munn requested that his performance be evaluated. The request was refused. In 1974 (acting on his own) he secured a work trial evaluation with the Motor Transport Division of the Department of Management and Budget. He did the job without difficulty. The results were ignored. . . . They call it compassion and say we are incompetent. They tell us there is no discrimination—that the blind are not a minority. But we know who we are, and we will never go back. (Matson, 1990: 391)

In a similar situation, Judy Heumann was denied a teaching job in New York City. Such situations were to have an increasingly profound impact on the deaf and disability communities, as she and others were able to turn their anger into contentious action. As people with impairments were increasingly likely to experience relative deprivation, instead of absolute deprivation, they became aware that other groups had laws protecting them from discrimination but they did not.

This experience of relative deprivation was important to the development of a collective consciousness. Absolute deprivation seldom leads to contentious action, because people who experience it seldom have the resources with which to mount contentious action. Relative deprivation is more likely to lead to such action, however, partly because it involves comparisons to successful groups and partly because it occurs when potential movement activists are beginning to accumulate resources.

There was now a frame into which the experiences of prejudice, discrimination, and relative deprivation could be fitted. In the 1930s, saying that the public works programs of the Depression discriminated against people with impairments did not resonate with cultural notions of disability, and so it was not accepted. Once there was a frame of civil rights, people with disabilities could claim that they deserved to have such rights, and society might begin to listen. We will see in subsequent chapters that

members of the deaf and disability communities took this message to society when there was the possibility of frame extension, and when social conditions permitted and facilitated protests.

NOTES

1. See, for example, Berkowitz (1987); Bowe (1978); Ferguson (1994); Matson (1990); Pelka (1997); Scheerenberger (1983); Stone (1984); Treanor (1993); Trent (1994); Van Cleve and Crouch (1989).

2. This strategy is similar to that followed by several books about the history of the civil rights movement (McAdam, 1982; Morris, 1984).

3. Because structural strain is ubiquitous, that factor, by itself, cannot easily explain the emergence of contentious political action (McAdam, 1982).

4. Examples are illnesses such as polio and cystic fibrosis—it is unlikely that many people survived those diseases before the early twentieth century.

5. Paradoxically, societies with higher levels of industrialization can be more disabling than less industrialized societies (Oliver, 1993; Gooding, 1994: 10).

6. Workhouses were one of the earliest forms of assistance for poor people; such assistance was sometimes called "indoor relief" (Stone, 1984).

7. This was true in Spain in the mid-1600s, when several deaf sons of noble families were educated to speak and lipread (Van Cleve and Crouch, 1989: 15). We presume that they were educated in other areas as well.

8. This was true of earlier time periods, as well. Blind workers during the Middle Ages enjoyed the same types of protection in guilds that others did (Matson, 1990).

9. This amount peaked at 42.5 percent in 1879 (Jankowski, 1997: 22).

10. In Gallaudet's early years, art and sports were emphasized. The university had a football team as early as 1880 (Neisser, 1983: 241–43).

11. The *Silent Worker* wrote about the situation of deaf women, if they were mentioned at all, in a paternalistic way. It was also silent about issues such as racial segregation within the deaf community (Buchanan, 1993: 178–79).

12. The Eugenics movement in general was beginning to lead to the institutionalization or forced sterilization of people with impairments as well as pressure against immigration of people with impairments and the marriage of people with impairments to one another.

13. The standards were not actually *fair*, since the law waived minimum wages as well as other types of federal workplace regulations for these workshops (Pelka, 1997: 282).

14. The mothers' marches in the early 1950s, which demanded gamma globulin injections for their children as polio preventatives (even though this had not been shown to be effective) are another example of parents making a fuss (Straus, 1965).

15. Incidence rates indicate the number of people newly affected by a condition during a given period of time, while prevalence rates indicate the total number of people with that condition at one point in time.

16. Even as late as the 1950s, however, people with some types of spinal cord injuries, especially higher breaks, did not always survive. With changes in emergency medical techniques as well as in acute care, rates of survival of people with spinal cord or head injuries have increased substantially in the last several decades (Pope and Tarlov, 1991).

17. The evidence on this point is not clear. Zola (1983a) thinks that this did not happen, while other activists, such as Karen Hirsch (personal communication, 1998), think that it did.

18. Beginning in 1962, the independent living concept was expanded by Ed Roberts when he agitated for a similar program at University of California at Berkeley. This program succeeded and later became the Independent Living Center in Berkeley.

19. Snow and Benford (1992: 144) note that, "the failure of mass mobilizations when structural conditions are otherwise ripe may be accounted for in part by the absence of a resonant master frame."

20. Thus, Shapiro (1993: 116) notes that there was less opposition from the business community to extending the frame of civil rights to people with disabilities through the ADA than there had been to extending that frame to blacks (and women) when the 1964 Civil Rights Act was proposed.

21. Conversely, it can detract from the frame extension if it denies that the frame applies. Take, for example, blacks' denial of frame extension to the gay rights movement. The ultimate effect of this denial is yet to be determined (Duke, 1993).

22. Although not a law passed by Congress, an executive order has the force of law. This one strengthened the compliance provisions of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and for the first time required affirmative action by federal contractors.

23. Although the laws that applied to blacks and members of other racial and ethnic groups resulted from contentious action, the laws that applied to women did not. Rather, significant legislation was passed before substantial numbers of contentious actions occurred.

24. However, extension of coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act to workers in sheltered workshops did not occur until 1987 (Matson, 1990: 781).

2

Collective Consciousness and a Profile of Issues

Social movements are motivated by demands for change, which are derived from a type of belief system we call a collective consciousness.[1] These belief systems consist of ideas that transform perceptions and ultimately legitimate opposition to extant cultural beliefs or social structural arrangements (Mueller, 1987). This opposition to cultural beliefs is necessary in order to motivate people to seek change, because cultural beliefs naturally seek to conserve the social and political order. Some scholars have called a collective consciousness an "oppositional consciousness" because the problem identification, explanatory framework, and proposed solutions suggested by a collective consciousness will be in opposition to the cultural explanations with which those activists were raised (Groch, 1994). It is this oppositional consciousness that can cause people to engage in risky contentious political action.

A collective consciousness provides a lens through which a person's existence can be newly viewed and thus reinterpreted (Katzenstein, 1997: 8). In the women's movement, for example, "having your consciousness raised" meant becoming conscious of—and using—explanations that were group-based rather than explanations that focused on your own individual situation (Cassell, 1977: 16). Raising the consciousness of both women and men was the goal of one faction of the movement (Freeman, 1975).

The collective consciousness of a social movement suggests that personal problems result from unfair treatment rather than from a lack of personal effort or ability (Klein, 1987: 23) because, if it did not, there would be no reason for collective action to be taken to solve the problem. Therefore, collective consciousnesses are likely to suggest that, in the phrase used by the women's movement, "the personal is political." A collective consciousness identifies a problem, suggests a solution, invokes the necessity for collective action (Klein, 1987: 23), and impels its adherents to take that action. It provides the social movement with "justification, direction, weapons of attack, weapons of defense, inspiration, and hope" (Blumer, 1995: 73).

Collective consciousnesses also include delineation of group boundaries (Gould, 1993; Whittier, 1997). That is, they identify who is "with us" and who is "against us."

There were predictions that the development of a collective consciousness among people with impairments would be difficult, if not impossible. People with one type of impairment do not always identify or feel a commonality with people with other types of impairments. The problems faced by different impairment groups, and the solutions they seek, are sometimes not just different but completely contradictory. This makes the development of a shared consciousness problematic (Scotch, 1989). This is demonstrated by the fact that people with one type of impairment frequently stigmatize people with other types of impairments (Johnson, 1983). People with unseen disabilities are prejudiced against those with visible disabilities (Safilios-Rothschild, 1976: 45), people with physical impairments are prejudiced against those with mental impairments, and people without developmental impairments are prejudiced against people with such impairments (Ferguson, 1987).

Against these predictions, however, a collective consciousness did develop that was strong enough to impel contentious action. This chapter is concerned with that collective consciousness and its associated demands, which have motivated contentious actions taken by and for people with impairments since 1970. The chapter outlines two sets of demands. One set consists of demands that potentially apply to people with all types of impairments. Following Longmore (1997), Pelka (1997), J. Young (1998), and Zola (1987) we call these *cross-disability* demands. The second set of demands differs by impairment type; we call those *impairment-specific* demands.

CROSS-DISABILITY DEMANDS

Old and New Social Movement

Recently, some scholars of social movements have distinguished between old and new social movements. In their view, old social movements are concerned with issues of rights and the distribution of resources, for example the civil rights movement of the 1960s (Tarrow, 1992). New social movements are concerned with values (primarily postmodern and postmaterialistic), lifestyles, and self-actualization, especially among marginalized groups (Klandermans, 1991).[2] They are concerned with what some call *identity politics* (Anspach, 1979).

Cross-disability demands appear to be split into two major sets. Old social movement demands are concerned with the extension of the frame of civil rights to people with impairments; basically these civil rights are concerned with access (Barnartt and Seelman, 1988). The new social movement demands are concerned with lifestyle and attitudinal issues. DeJong (1983) calls the two sets of demands those for civil rights and civil benefits, while Pfeiffer (1993: 727) calls this the split between demands for rights and demands for services. The two groups of demands may also be called the disability rights movement and the independent living movement, although some people writing about collective action in the disability community seem to use the words interchangeably.

If these two sets of demands exist simultaneously, this suggests that both an old and a new social movement may be occurring contemporaneously. It is not clear without examination of data whether the split between the types of demands being made is wide enough to support this argument. This issue will be examined in later chapters.

If social movement theorists are correct, this conjunction of old and new social movements should be impossible. However, it is clear that it has happened before, in the 1970s women's movement, when one part of the movement demanded an extension of the frame of civil rights, equality, and nondiscrimination and the other part focused on consciousness-raising. The demands were being made by two distinct sets of supporters, who also used different tactics to achieve their ends—protests used by the former and consciousness raising sessions used by the latter (Freeman, 1975). It also occurred in the civil rights movement, when the black power movement was concerned with values and lifestyles at the same time that the other segment of the movement was concerned with civil rights. In that situation, also, it appeared that the people in these movements were different.

In the current case, it is not as clear that there are two separate groups of people. Pfeiffer (1988) claims that they overlap, but we will be unable to examine that claim empirically because of the limitations in the data we are using. We examine the argument that there is a split in demands in chapter 5.

The Old Social Movement Demand: An Extension of the Frame of Civil Rights

The most basic demand made by people with impairments is that the frame of civil rights be extended to them. In the process of frame extension, a frame originally applied to one group or several groups is extended to a new group, in what is essentially a process of cultural recategorization. Through this recategorization, it becomes legitimate for the new group to be making demands that had previously been seen as being inappropriate for them to make. Frame extension does not guarantee that the group's demands will be met, but it does suggest that the demands have some justification. Unjustified demands will never be met; justified demands might be. A successful frame extension is not a one-step process, but, rather, involves several stages: frame stripping, frame modification, and reframing.

Frame stripping involves justifying the inaccuracy or inappropriateness of the old frame through which an issue or group was viewed, so that it can be removed. After it is stripped off, a vacuum is created into which a new frame can be inserted. It is not a given that the new frame will be an extension of the desired frame, but this can be one outcome. Frame stripping may be done by the social movement, through protests as well as other means. It may also be aided by conscience constituents, especially in academic or media publications, who attempt to show why the old frame is outdated or perhaps empirically incorrect.[3]

Often the process involves *frame modification.* If this happens, modifications to the frame are formulated (and reformulated) both within and outside of the social movement. By the end of this stage, the social movement must have achieved some degree of consensus about which modifications it is willing to accept and which it rejects.

Reframing involves attempts by the social movement to apply the (possibly now modified) frame to its issue or group, which by this time has stripped off its old frame and is ripe for a new one. It also involves the social movement's attempts to make sure

that the desired frame rather than another is inserted into the vacuum left by the frame stripping process.

Demands for the extension of the frame of civil rights, and for the actual rights that accompany the frame, form the core of one set of cross-disability demands propounded by people with impairments. These demands say that people with impairments want a change "from good will to civil rights," in the oft-quoted title of Scotch's (1984) book. Adherents use phrases such as "new paradigm" or "paradigm shift" to discuss the ways they want disability to be viewed by the public and for policy purposes. They want disability to be viewed not as a medical condition but as a social condition, not as a condition that causes pity but also one that does not carry with it an automatic denial of basic civil rights. Below we examine the demands that people with impairments were (and sometimes still are) making about how this process should occur.

Frame Stripping

If the frame of civil rights is to be extended to persons with impairments, there has to be recognition that they are worthy or capable of having civil rights. This meant that three extremely deep-seated ideas—the essence of the frame by which our society has understood disability—had to be removed. These ideas are (1) that disability was a medical problem, (2) that people with impairments were deviant and therefore stigmatized, and (3) that disability was an individual problem that would only be ameliorated by individual effort.

Disability as Sickness

The first aspect of the old frame that had to be eliminated was the medical model of impairment. In that model, persons with impairments are seen as having a medical problem; they therefore must assume the sick role (Parsons, 1951). This role defines sick people as passive, dependent, childlike but also exempt from ordinary social responsibilities. This view of people with impairments assumes that, because they are sick, they are incapable of performing their socially prescribed tasks. They are in need of help from doctors and other medical personnel who specialize in their particular type of pathology, and they are expected to cooperate with such personnel until they are cured. This model of disability has been the basis for federal laws that still provide monetary support for people with impairments because they were assumed to be unable to support themselves (Berkowitz, 1987).

Disability as Deviance

Disability is also been seen as being a deviant social role. Exemption from normal social roles meant that a person was both normatively and "morally" deviant and was, therefore, stigmatized. Although disability is not the same as criminality, Goffman (1963) suggested that the stigmas are comparable. Our culture does not accept stigmatized people on an equal basis; thus, stigma had to be removed before people with impairments could seek integration and equal opportunity, which are a central part of the frame of civil rights (Cook, 1991).

Disability as an Individual Problem

In order for the extension of the frame of civil rights to succeed, there had to be a change in the attribution of causality (Stone, 1989). Sickness and disability are seen in our society as individual problems, caused by individual traits or situations, and therefore amenable to improvement or solution only through individual rehabilitation and effort. For people with impairments, this involved cooperation with treatment personnel in areas such as vocational rehabilitation or physical rehabilitation. This was the basis for those laws about disability that mandated vocational rehabilitation and training (Hahn, 1985a, 1985b). In order to view disability as a civil rights problem and people with impairments as victims of discrimination, this view of causality had to change. Disability had to become viewed as being caused by society—and therefore amenable to solution at the societal level—instead of being caused by and solved by individual effort or the lack thereof (Hahn, 1988).

These three aspects of the cultural lens through which people with impairments have been viewed—disability as sickness, deviance, and individual problem—had to be removed before the civil rights frame could be applied to people with disabilities. Stigmatized people are not seen as having the right to demand civil rights or to claim discrimination. People with impairments have to be seen as people who wish for, and can live independent, fulfilling, and self-supporting lives. They have to become viewed as people who constitute a minority group that has suffered from a lack of civil rights in order for an extension of the frame of civil rights to be possible.

Frame Modification

The frame of civil rights could not be applied to people with impairments without some modifications. For example, the right to vote is worthless if the voting booth is inaccessible, so accessibility of voting booths has to be included as a civil right under a modified civil rights frame. Previous civil rights legislation reshuffled seating patterns but kept the same equipment, so to speak, in order that blacks should not have to sit only at the back of the bus. But people with some types of impairments needed new or modified equipment on buses so that they could ride them at all (Berkowitz, 1992). The frame modification that was needed for people with impairments also had to involve the recognition that issues are of differential importance. For example, while accessibility was one of several important civil rights issues for members of racial or ethnic minority groups, it is *the* civil rights issues for people with impairments. Issues would have to change their salience hierarchy within the frame of civil rights in order for its extension to people with impairments to be able to succeed in satisfying their grievances.

Finally, the modification of the frame of civil rights had to involve the recognition that, although civil rights for blacks or women can usually be achieved for free, civil rights for persons with disabilities might cost something. The modified frame had to accept the premise that it was appropriate for society to bear at least some cost. Because a large amount of the opposition to extending the frame of civil rights to people with disabilities was based upon its presumed cost to businesses and to society, the frame of



A demonstrator's sign at a New Jersey public transit accessibility protest illustrates the core civil rights issue for people with impairments: accessibility.

civil rights was modified to include the acceptance of costs that did not pose an "undue burden" upon a business. The modified frame said that employers had to make "reasonable accommodation" unless to do so would cause "undue hardship." These notions were not included in the 1964 Civil Rights Act or in other laws that codified the notion of civil rights when applied to blacks or women.

Reframing

People with impairments demanded that American society accept a new model of disability. This new model would view persons with impairments as a minority group,[4] would indicate that discrimination was one of the most important sources of problems, and would accept the idea that problems could be fixed if civil rights were given to people with impairments.

Demands for acceptance of this new model of disability began in the 1970s (see Kleinfield, 1977) but were more frequent in the 1980s (see Meyerson, 1988; Stroman, 1982). Academics (e.g., Deegan, 1981; Barnartt, 1986; Barnartt and Christiansen, 1985; Christiansen and Barnartt, 1987) as well as advocates (Gleidman and Roth, 1980; Hahn, 1985a, 1985b) emphasized that lower incomes, economic discrimination, and political powerlessness characterized people with impairments as they did members of other minority groups.

The notion that people with impairments were a minority group was not accepted instantly. Some academics (e.g., Lerner, 1985; Meyerson, 1988) and journalists



A local independent living center in Memphis, Tennessee, protests the common practice of forcing people who use wheelchairs to sit in the front rows of movie theatres.

(Davis, 1988) disputed the notion that the concept applied to this group. The societal reframing of people with impairments as a minority group lacking in civil rights was a basic tenet of the collective consciousness that drove some of the contentious actions.

Specific Civil Rights Demands

There are two aspects of this frame that are central to demands by people with impairments for civil rights: (1) accessibility, which would permit the full integration of people with impairments, and (2) equal opportunity. In these demands the relative importance of the two issues is a little different than it is for blacks or women. While equal opportunity is important, it often cannot be achieved without achieving the prior demand—accessibility. That is, if one cannot even get into the building in which the job interview is being held, one cannot have an equal opportunity to be hired for the job. Thus, civil rights for people with impairments have to include accessibility as a basic demand. There are several types of accessibility.

Architectural Accessibility

The ability to get into a building and the freedom to move within that building are the essence of architectural accessibility. People with impairments demand the right to get into public, commercial, or governmental buildings, to travel freely within those buildings, and to know where they are traveling within those buildings. Being able to get into a building may involve having a ramped or flat entrance rather than steps, having a doorway wide enough to accommodate a wheelchair, having no thresholds in the doorways, having automatic doors, or having other features (such as handles instead of doorknobs) that permit someone to be able to open them easily.

Once inside a building, other accessibility issues arise. A wheelchair user must be able to go into offices, bathrooms, bathroom stalls, and into all other areas in order to have a level of access equal to that of a person who does not use a wheelchair. Wheelchairs can easily be blocked or hindered by raised thresholds as well as by types of flooring materials that make it more difficult for the wheels to move. Floors that can only be reached by steps, because they have no ramp or elevator, are completely inaccessible to someone using a wheelchair. Heights of appurtenances such as countertops in a reception area; faucets, sinks, and towel dispensers in a bathroom; switches or desks in a work area are factors that affect the accessibility of inside areas for wheelchair users. Labels or signs are an issue for people who are blind. Braille signs or auditory indicators on items such as bulletin boards, elevator floor indicators, and office labels are needed to give blind people the same information available to sighted people. In an accessible building, then, people with impairments have the same ability to move around as do people without impairments. To the extent that there is a free flow of people, those people may be both with and without impairments.

Transportation Accessibility

People with impairments also demand the ability to use public transportation systems on the same basis as people without impairments. Transportation accessibility has to do not with where people sit on a bus but with whether they can get on the bus at

all—and whether they know when to get off. At its most basic level, for transportation to be accessible a person cannot be denied access to it. For people who use wheelchairs, accessibility requires vertical access to the vehicle, station, or stop. Steps, whether into a station, onto a train platform, onto a bus or a subway train, or from the ground to an airplane, prohibit access for wheelchair users if there are no alternative access routes. In addition, accessibility means that there is room inside the vehicle for the person and the wheelchair. Completely accessible transportation would permit people with impairments to go to the same places, on the same schedules, with the same number of choices of times and routes, and with prices that are not higher than those charged to people without impairments.

There are also communication accessibility issues within transportation systems for people who have visual or hearing impairments. If transportation systems are to be accessible to those groups, information about times and places of arrivals and departures, both within stations and within vehicles, must be presented visually as well as aurally. Announcements of upcoming stations, schedule changes, equipment changes or breakdowns, or emergencies must be presented in both modalities. Communications using TDDs must be possible with ticket agents, and recorded announcements must be made available for TDD callers as well as for voice callers.

Communications Accessibility

People who have hearing or speech impairments demand communications accessibility. An environment that has communications accessibility has a lack of barriers to, and therefore access to, visual or auditory communication. Communications accessibility permits people who have hearing or speech impairments to be able to express themselves in the manner they choose with the assurance that they can be understood. Communications accessibility not only includes the removal of barriers that prevent access by the person with the impairment, as is the case with architectural barriers, but it also includes removal of barriers that prevent the flow of information between people with and without impairments.

Communications accessibility requires both proximal and distal accessibility. Proximal communication takes place through written or spoken words, through voice synthesizing equipment, or through the use of interpreters or captioning (either real-time or installed). Interpreters can either be sign language interpreters, who translate from spoken language to sign language or vice versa, or oral interpreters, who relay spoken language that cannot be seen to a person sitting quite close to them. Communications accessibility for distance interactions permits communications to take place through equipment, such as phone amplifiers, TDDs, or FM-loop systems, which permit all parties to send and receive information directly in a modality that they can interpret. Accessible distal communication can also occur indirectly using a telephone relay system, in which a third party can type words onto a TDD for the deaf person or read words from a TDD for a hearing person.

In a workplace, complete and ideal communications accessibility would mean that all work-, safety-, and personnel-related information would be communicated through a modality that the worker with an impairment could understand. Information in all events, including training sessions, staff meetings, office parties, and water

fountain gossiping sessions, would be accessible. Off-site work, such as interviews, presentations, or professional meetings, would be equally accessible for all participants. Complete accessibility of a professional meeting for a hard-of-hearing or deaf person would include the same choice to attend or not attend sessions or to change sessions in the middle that a hearing person would have, instead of limiting the person to specific times or sessions for which interpreters are scheduled. All personnel, including coworkers and supervisors, would be able to communicate with, and to understand the communications of, the worker who has a hearing or speech impairment.

Communications accessibility in education would involve the ability for instructors and other students to be able to communicate with, and understand, students with hearing or speech impairments. Classroom interactions would be accessible, so that no student would ever be told, "Oh, just read the book." In addition, extracurricular activities, dorms, advising offices, and all other aspects of student life would be equally accessible to students with or without impairments.

Environmental Accessibility

People with impairments are demanding that all aspects of the built environment external to buildings be made accessible to them. One demand relates to curb cuts, which are needed by people who use wheelchairs or scooters. They argue that curb cuts also help several other groups of people, including parents pushing strollers, bicyclists, and rollerbladers. Another demand relates to streetlights. People who are blind are demanding that streetlights at intersections have audible indicators of when it is safe to walk. People with impairments are also demanding accessibility in parks and recreation areas that are built with public money. In some places they are demanding that paths be paved so that wheelchairs can move over them more easily or so that blind people can walk there more easily (Shribman, 1990).

Although access is a civil right sought by people with all types of impairments, impairment groups are somewhat divided on how best to operationalize the concept in some situations. This discussion of types of accessibility hints at some of the bifurcations that divide people with different types of physical impairments. Communications accessibility is a very different type of issue than architectural or transportation accessibility.[5] Thus, change that meets the accessibility needs of one group might interfere with the accessibility needs of another. For example, curb cuts help people who use wheelchairs but they pose some difficulty for blind people. Having auditory announcements of subway station stops helps people with visual impairments but not people with hearing impairments.

Equal Opportunity

The demand for equal opportunity as one component of civil rights for people with impairments does not differ markedly from demands made by blacks or women in their pursuit of civil rights. Equal opportunity means that people are not held back by characteristics such as race, sex, or impairment status in their pursuit of the good life. Some disability advocates call this the demand for "a level playing field." Equal opportunities for people with impairments include access to work and education.

Work

People with impairments are demanding equal opportunities in the area of work.[6] These demands apply to people who are already working, who are looking for work, or who want to look for work. In these situations, equal opportunity means nondiscrimination. Using the same language and conceptions used by blacks or women, people with impairments demand that there be no discrimination based upon impairment status in advertising, hiring, promoting, firing, or any other aspect of employment. The notion behind this language when it was first applied to blacks and women was that people with equal qualifications should be treated the same rather than being treated differently, based upon their race or gender. People with impairments demand that such nondiscriminatory policies apply to them as well.

People with impairments sometimes have additional needs that must be met if equal opportunities are truly to be equal.[7] A person might need the provision of an FM loop system for use during meetings, as well as a rule that makes sure that every speaker talks into the microphone that sends information to the user's hearing aid. Another person might need the installation of a ramp into the building, and another might need to be able to take extra rest breaks but then make up the time by working longer hours.

The presence of adequate and accessible transportation and education is related to the ability to work. If a person cannot walk or drive to work or be driven, and if the public transportation system is not accessible or if a transit system is expensive or unreliable, that person cannot get to work. Thus, the demands for accessible public transportation systems are also related to demands for equal opportunity in the area of work. In addition, if educational opportunities equal to those for persons without impairments are not available to persons with impairments, they will not be able to compete equally for jobs.

Education

Many advocates feel that equal opportunity for children with impairments should mean, as it does for black children, that separate is inherently unequal. The concept of integration, when applied to children from racial or ethnic minority backgrounds, means that they should be able to attend any public school and that the same rules for school and class assignments should apply to all children. For children with disabilities, the parallel notion is that they should be educated in integrated classrooms or in the least restrictive environment at public expense. In the United States this is called *mainstreaming* or *inclusion*.[8]

As with work-related demands, however, the situation relating to the education of children with impairments is not exactly the same as the integration of children of different racial backgrounds, so the specific demands are slightly different. One demand is that children with disabilities have the right to a "free" and "appropriate" education. In this case, free means that it will be paid for by the government, no matter what the cost. As children without impairments are educated at public expense, so should children with impairments be. Appropriate means that children should be educated in "the least restrictive environment." If that environment is a regular class in a public school, or a special class in a public school, that is where the child

should be educated. If that environment is a private school, a segregated day school, or a segregated residential school, that is where the child should be educated.

Although the majority of the disability community supports the demand for mainstreaming, there is not complete agreement about this demand. In particular, there is a split between advocates for children with physical (primarily mobility) impairments and advocates for children with hearing impairments. The former are strong advocates for mainstreaming; the latter are not. Many leaders in the deaf community support sending deaf children to segregated programs or residential schools rather than to schools where mainstreaming is practiced. They believe that, in reality, the least restrictive environment for those deaf children for whom ASL is their native language is one in which the child can communicate with everyone using that language, one in which deaf adults can serve as appropriate role models, and one in which the culture of deafness is taught to every deaf child (Lane, 1992).

Activists who want the frame of civil rights extended to people with impairments think that in accessibility, work, and education people with impairments traditionally have not had civil rights. They emphasize the word *rights*. They demand the right to work without experiencing discrimination, the right to a free and appropriate education, the right to go into any public building or place, and the right to ride any mode of public transportation. These demands are cross-disability demands, although impairment groups do differ on some of the specifics.

The New Social Movement: Demands for Independent Living

The second set of cross-disability demands centers around the ability of people with impairments to live independently. The concept of independent living for people with impairments has been around since the post-World War II years, when, as noted in chapter 1, the University of Illinois began to make it possible for returning veterans with impairments to attend college. It attracted more attention when Ed Roberts demanded, in the early 1960s, that the University of California at Berkeley let him attend. By 1976, twelve other students with severe impairments had enrolled (Pelka, 1997: 60), and the group worked to make the campus and the community accessible. In 1972 Roberts founded the Berkeley Center for Independent Living. (Funding for independent living centers was included in the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and this spurred the growth of such centers around the country.)

The central demand of the independent living movement is that society should help to make it possible for people with impairments to be able to live independently. They should not be forced to live in institutions because they need care that only an institutional setting could offer them. Rather, they should be able to live in a community of their own choosing, in a residence of their own choosing, work at a job of their own choosing if they can, and associate with people of their own choosing. These demands revolve around choice, self-determination, and self-actualization. People who live in institutions are told what to do and when, where, and with whom to do it. Called total institutions by Goffman (1961), such places permit no choice or self-determination. Residents (or patients or clients, depending upon the termi-

nology favored by a particular institution) are awakened at the convenience of the institution, they may be dressed in the uniform of the institution, and their activities are scheduled and limited by the institution. In short, they have no freedom of choice.[9] They do not determine their own lives; rather, they are put in childlike and dependent positions, consistent with the sick role they are assumed to be in. Some younger people with impairments live in nursing homes, whose populations are primarily older people, because that is the only way they can get the assistance they need for daily living activities.

The independent living movement is fighting this type of life. If society is willing to pay money to keep people with impairments in institutions, it should be willing to spend that same money keeping them out of institutions. Many people who now live in institutions would be able to live on their own if they had personal assistant services. Personal care attendants should be available to assist disabled people with those tasks of daily living that they cannot do for themselves. Help might be needed in tasks such as turning over in bed, getting dressed, bathing, eating, driving, house cleaning, and shopping. Activists in the independent living movement argue that people with impairments who have this kind of assistance can work and be contributing, tax-paying citizens. Furthermore, they can and should be able to control their own lives. They should be the bosses. They should hire their own attendants, who should work for them as for any other employer except that their place of work may be in their boss's house.

The independent living movement is also making monetary demands. One demand is for federal or state support for personal care attendants, in addition to, or instead of, such support for institutional care. Medicare or Medicaid assistance should not only pay for personal care within institutions but should pay for care within people's own homes whenever possible. Some activists wish to see payments for personal care attendants uncoupled from health insurance, while others would like to see the rules regarding government-sponsored health insurance changed so that it would pay salaries for personal care attendants outside of institutions (and under the control of the person using the services).

Independent living demands may appeal to different age groups and impairment types than the other demands discussed here. DeJong (1983) suggests that these demands are most relevant for people with severe impairments—primarily spinal cord injuries, muscular dystrophy, cerebral palsy, multiple sclerosis, and postpolio syndrome. This part of the disability movement focuses on older adolescents and younger adults of working age. It was initially not yet concerned with older people, although, as these younger people with impairments age, its focus is likely to shift.

Activists in the independent living movement are demanding a reconfiguration of disability policy (Ascher et al., 1988; DeJong, 1983; Zola, 1983a), which, at both the federal and state levels, has traditionally focused on income support and medical and vocational rehabilitation (Berkowitz, 1979; Liachowitz, 1988; Stone, 1984). Disability policies have been based upon the notion that people with impairments are ill, are involuntarily incapable of performing economic roles or social functions, and are therefore excused from them. Such people are deemed worthy of public support, because the "illness" is not their fault (Scotch, 1994).

Independent living activists are also demanding that the old lens through which disability was viewed be stripped off for policy purposes. Their concern, however, is less with extending the frame of rights than it is with "day-to-day life and making decisions that lead to self determination" (Pelka, 1997: 166). They want people with impairments not to have to live out the sick role but to be able, with assistance, to live out a "well" role. Faced with a person with an impairment who had a job but no accessible transportation, independent living activists would want to assist the person to obtain usable transportation, while disability rights activists would take action to make local transportation accessible to that person and all others as a matter of "rights." As Pfeiffer (1988) notes, the independent living movement is concerned with providing services that will make it possible for people with impairments to function independently. Activists in this movement want people with impairments not to be viewed as patients who need to live in hospitals, nursing homes, or other types of institutions, but as people who can, with some assistance, live well outside of institutions. They note that assistance outside of institutions costs less than the same assistance when given inside an institutional setting.

In part, this movement is challenging the professional domination of professionals in the fields of medicine, rehabilitation, psychology, social work, and related fields. As such, it is related to social movements such as the patients' rights movement, the consumers' rights movement, and the self-help movement (DeJong, 1983; Pelka, 1997: 61), all of which have similar demands.

Overall, the basic independent living demand is that people with impairments should be able to direct their own lives and participate actively in the day-to-day life of the community (Ascher et al., 1988). They want self-actualization to be possible for people with impairments, societal integration for people who have been institutionalized or extremely marginalized or both, and they want personal assistance services to be provided so that living outside of an institution can be possible.

Both Movements

Pfeiffer (1988) notes that divisions between what are frequently called the disability rights movement and the independent living movement are not recent and he notes that sometimes the two movements are lumped together under the rubric of the independent living movement. Furthermore, he notes that if both do not occur, people who do not receive services may not be able to fight for rights. They are two halves of the coin that are necessary for people with impairments to be fully functioning citizens.

Other Demands

There are several other issues with which some cross-disability activists are concerned, including assisted suicide, disability culture, portrayals of disabilities, and telethons. These issues primarily concern how disabled people are perceived by society. These are important issues for many disabled activists, but their demands do not fit neatly into the categories of civil rights and independent living, so we consider them separately.



Disabled rights activists picket Jack Kevorkian's house in West Bloomfield, Michigan, to protest doctor-assisted suicide.

Assisted Suicide

Assisted suicide is one of the newer issues that concerns activists, although it is related to issues of genetic testing and abortion that have concerned some activists for many years. With national awareness of the situations in which Dr. Jack Kevorkian has helped some people to end their lives, people with impairments have become quite concerned about its usage. If assisted suicide becomes a legal way for people with impairments, seen as pitiable, helpless, and hopeless, to take their own lives, it can be used also as an excuse for society not to provide them with those services that would permit them to live satisfactorily. They admit that people with impairments who have not had services may not be surviving well. But, they argue, with services these people could survive quite well. The disability community is demanding that society provide services so that people can live rather than legalize assistance for them to kill themselves.

Portrayals

Another one of the issues that concerns people with impairments is how they are portrayed. One part of this concern relates to newspaper coverage of disability, which tends to fall into two categories. One category consists of "Tiny Tim stories," which focus on the sad, unlucky, disabled person, in need of pity and charity. These stories

tend to focus upon the terrible situation a person with an impairment faced or faces; they imply that impairment caused that pitiable state. The other category consists of "supercrip" stories. These stories portray a plucky disabled person who, despite having an impairment that ought to make it impossible, can climb mountains, literally or figuratively. The spotlight is on someone who has achieved a goal that would have been a superhuman feat even for someone without an impairment and may be even more of a feat for a person with an impairment (Shapiro, 1994).

These two types of stories clearly derive from the medical model. The first "Tiny Tim" stories suggest that the person cannot be blamed for being sick, because one of the tenets of the sick role is that people are not responsible for becoming ill. And, the stories imply that people who are sick should be pitied because they are unable to participate in society. The supercrip story shows the opposite—someone who has gone from being ill to being superhuman. In the first case, the pitiable person needs charity, and in the second case, the person needs nothing.

People with impairments have tried for many years (mostly without success) to change the focus of these stories. In recent years, new demands have arisen relating to other aspects of portrayals. One set, related to a lack of realism or stereotyping, has to do with the memorial constructed to honor Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Although Roosevelt hid his impairment from the public, apparently mostly with success, some people with impairments want him to be portrayed realistically, so that his wheelchair shows in at least one of the several statues being constructed for this monument. (In 2000, before President Clinton left office, he made sure this demand was met by adding one more statue to the monument.)

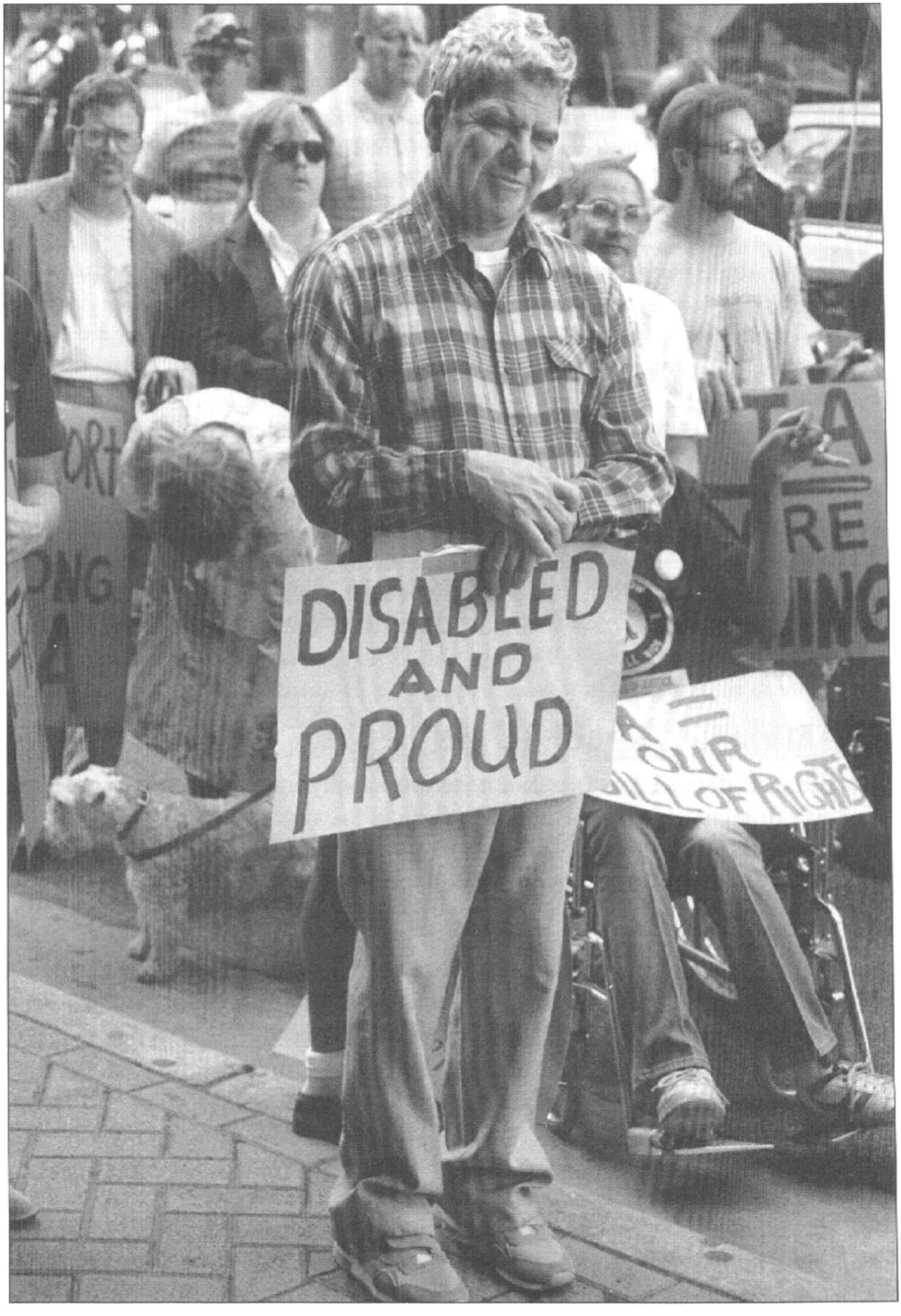
Who actually portrays a person with an impairment in movies or television programs is an issue that has incensed the deaf community for many years. There have been several instances in which hearing actors or actresses have played deaf characters either in movies or on television shows. People with other types of impairments also have rarely been portrayed in movies or advertisements, and activists have demanded their presence and accurate portrayal.

Telethons

Telethons are a type of portrayal that specifically concerns many activists. They represent one of the most despised aspects of disability history. In order to raise money, telethons emphasize many of the worst American cultural notions about people with impairments, portraying them as if they are incapable, pitiable, and in need of charity. Telethons are used to raise money to help people who are assumed to be unable to help themselves. All of the worst stereotypes are emphasized in an effort to pull at the heartstrings and purses of the general public. In the process, say the advocates, stereotypes about disability are reinforced, both for people with impairments and people without.

Disability Culture

Some activists within the disability community are demanding recognition of disability as a cultural aspect of a person and not just a physical aspect of a person.



The development of a minority group consciousness has given rise to a disability culture, which seeks to promote pride in the history, activities, and cultural identity of people with impairments throughout the world.

This culture, they say, has its own norms, values, symbols, jargon, and other components. Disability culture includes a group definition of people with impairments not as patients or welfare recipients but as an identifiable minority (Longmore, 1995). There is a public vocabulary (*persons with disabilities* instead of *the disabled*, or *deaf* instead of *hearing impaired*). There is also a private vocabulary, which persons without impairments should not use or do not know about (e.g., *supercrip*, a term used in somewhat the same way the word *nigger* is used in the black community, or *disabled person*, which indicates pride in having a disability). Disability culture includes the rejection of some personality characteristics (passivity, dependence) in favor of others (assertiveness, control) as well as disability art and theater, which celebrate disability pride. There is even, some argue, (only partially tongue-in-cheek) disability food—fast food from drive-through windows (because there are no accessibility issues with the restaurant).

Gill (1995) notes that the concept of disability culture serves to unify people with disabilities and to recruit new people into the community. From the point of view of disability culture, disability can be something to celebrate (Brown, 1995). It has become a rallying cry, but, more than that, it sets up terms for the debate that are different from the way disability was perceived by the public, as well as by adherents, prior to the creation of this phrase.[10] The phrase highlights the demands to change the frame through which disability is perceived, from being a medical problem to being both nonmedical and not a problem.

IMPAIRMENT-SPECIFIC ISSUES

The demands discussed so far relate to cross-disability issues. But groups of people with specific types of impairments have specific demands that relate to the particulars of their own experiences.

Demands Related to Deafness

In recent years, a social movement has arisen within the deaf community. The movement goes by various names including the bilingual-bicultural (or bi-bi) movement, the Deaf Pride movement, and the Deaf Power movement (Rose and Kiger, 1995). Jankowski (1997) calls it the Deaf movement. The convention adopted by those within the movement is to use the uppercase "D" in *Deaf* to indicate adherence to their demands; a lowercase "d" simply indicates audiological status. That is, people who are "deaf" have hearing losses in the range known by audiologists as severe or profound (i.e., not hard-of-hearing) but do not identify themselves as part of the Deaf community (B. White, 1998) and do not support the demands made by that community.

Some of the issues for people with hearing impairments overlap those of people demanding disability rights; this is especially true in the area of discrimination. However, the specific demands for accessibility and equal opportunity differ. Deaf people are not concerned with getting into a building but with being able to communicate with the people in the building once they are inside. Whether it is a hotel, a movie theater, a court, a doctor's office, or a job interview, the issue is communication.

Deaf people are demanding the provision of interpreters in doctors' offices, courts, and hospitals; captioning of movies and videos; flashing light alerting systems in hotels; TDD-accessible 911 emergency telephone systems; and other types of communications accessibility. For deaf people, communications accessibility is the core of civil rights.

Employment discrimination issues for people with hearing impairments also revolve around communications accessibility. In a workplace, the provision of a TDD (about a $250 expense) or an interpreter, or restructuring a job so that nonessential telephoning duties are moved to another position, are ways in which employers can accommodate deaf workers. Deaf people feel discriminated against, for example, if they are not hired because employers refuse to make such accommodations or if they cannot attend a required training course or miss important information presented at a staff meeting because no interpreter or other communication facilitator was used.

There are, however, larger issues for many deaf people. Deaf culture and its recognition and acceptance as distinct from hearing culture is one of the major issues for those deaf people who consider themselves to be Deaf (White, 1998). This culture is seen to have its own norms or rules for behavior, values, symbols, language, and other components. Norms include, for example, tapping someone on the shoulder, stomping on the floor, or flashing the lights in a room to get someone's attention, introducing oneself by telling one's name and where one went to school before offering any other information, and assuming that gatherings in a house will take place in the kitchen (because it usually has the best lighting). Other norms include raising and shaking hands in the air instead of clapping and standing farther apart than hearing people do when communicating in order to utilize the entire upper body for sign communication (White, 1998). There are Deaf values, including the value on signing as opposed to speaking or lipreading, a strong positive regard for ASL, rejection of the clinical-medical perspective of deafness, and a high regard for deaf children, who symbolize the continuation of Deaf culture.[1] One of the most central values is that deaf people should identify with the Deaf movement and should demonstrate cultural pride. There are symbols, including the "I Love You" symbol and an ear with a slash through it. There are slogans, such as "Deaf people can do anything except hear," first said by Dr. I. King Jordan when he became president of Gallaudet University (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995). There is a non-auditory language that contains all of the linguistic components found in auditory languages (Neisser, 1983). One demand is that ASL be recognized as the equivalent of other languages. There is a history of the Deaf community and Deaf people that is as separate from the history of hearing people as the history of blacks is separate from the history of whites. There is Deaf humor, including a corpus of jokes passed from one generation to the next. There is also Deaf art as well as Deaf poetry (which is meant to be signed, not read) and Deaf theater. There are also items of material culture that are different for deaf people than hearing people, such as TDDs, flashing light alerting systems (doorbells, baby monitors, smoke detectors, and alarm clocks), and vibrating bed alarms.

Jankowski (1997) argues that the most basic difference between the Deaf movement and the disability movement is that, although the disability movement has embraced the frame of civil rights in its discussions of access and discrimination and in its demands for change, the Deaf movement has not. Rather, it has embraced the

frames of multiculturalism and diversity. Under this frame, Deaf people would fight not for integration but for respected segregation. She and other activists who embrace this perspective disavow the label of disability. They see themselves as being part of a linguistic minority rather than part of the disability community, a position the United Nations endorsed in 1987: "deaf and gravely hearing-impaired people [are] to be recognized as a linguistic minority, with the specific right to have their native and indigenous sign languages accepted as their first and official language and as the medium of conversation and instruction" (Wrigley, 1996: xiv). For activists who accept this position, being considered to be disabled is not a compliment, and it is not an option.[12]

The central issues for the Deaf movement are education, language, and culture—three issues that are intertwined. It is in the area of education that Deaf activists most strongly oppose the views of people with other types of impairments. Although some Deaf people do support the concept of mainstreaming, most suggest that it has problems. Deaf students in regular schools cannot just be put into a class with other students and be expected to succeed in the same way, perhaps, that a child who uses a wheelchair might. Deaf children need additional resources. They need teachers who know how to communicate in sign language, or because such teachers are so rare, they need interpreters. Because of issues about correct interpretation of advanced concepts at the high school and college levels, it is crucial that the interpreter and the teacher work together to make sure that the interpretation follows the meaning of the concept rather than be a word-for-word translation, which is almost never done.[13] In addition, because deaf students cannot watch an interpreter and take notes at the same time (and because few regular classrooms would be able to allow the additional time needed for them to take notes), students in higher grades and college classes need notetakers if they are to be on an equal footing with hearing students in those classes.

But even if competent, knowledgeable interpreters and diligent notetakers are provided, deaf students in hearing classrooms or schools are at a disadvantage in social interactions and extracurricular activities, for which interpreters are never provided. Because of this, deaf students who attend hearing schools will have more limited opportunities to participate on student councils, sports teams, or other extracurricular activities that are important to high school and college students, and they will have more limited communication in social interactions with their hearing peers. Thus, some deaf people and educators feel that a regular classroom does not constitute a "least restrictive" environment and, in fact, may constitute the *most* restrictive environment. Those who are adamant about this situation feel so strongly that they use terms such as "communication abuse," "communication violence," or "cultural genocide" when they discuss mainstreaming (Jankowski, 1997: 154; Foster, 2001). They favor the use of separate classrooms or, as the better alternative, separate schools where deaf students can interact with other deaf students and deaf, preferably native, signing teachers in environments that address their needs for communications accessibility.

In addition to supporting the use of separate classrooms or schools because of the communication accessibility, some deaf people favor the continuation of residential schools (even if many of the students are day pupils or pupils who go home for weekends) because they think that this is where Deaf culture is transmitted. In residential

schools, Deaf culture is taught by osmosis, through role models, and sometimes explicitly, along with Deaf history, whereas in public schools with small numbers of other deaf children and no deaf adults, deaf children are not systematically exposed to either Deaf history or culture. If residential schools die out, it will be much more difficult to socialize young deaf people into Deaf culture, because they are likely to be isolated from other deaf people. Activists in the Deaf movement cite the demands of cultural continuation and equality in school situations in their opposition to mainstreaming.

Another reason that many Deaf activists oppose mainstreamed programs for deaf children is related to language. They feel that deaf children learn best if they learn ASL as their first, natural language and then learn written and perhaps spoken English as their second language. In that situation, English would be taught as a second language, and there would be no assumption that children would have learned it as a first language (Neisser, 1983). Deaf activists also demand that programs that teach ASL as a first language be recognized and supported. It follows then that they support the hiring of more deaf teachers and school administrators, or, failing that, the hiring of hearing people who are fluent ASL signers. They feel that native ASL ability is a qualification that must balance other types of academic qualifications or training when candidates for positions in residential schools are interviewed or hired.

A somewhat more recent demand made by the Deaf movement involves an end to the use of cochlear implants in children. Advocates of this position say that "[t]he procedure is highly experimental, there is no evidence that children who receive cochlear implants learn English any better than they would with conventional hearing aids or with no aid at all, and the use of an implant could 'delay the family's acceptance of the child's deafness and their acquisition of sign communication' and thus have a negative impact on the child's future quality of life in the deaf community" (Christiansen, 1998: 1056).

The demands of Deaf activists, then, are very different than the demands of other disability activists. Although Deaf activists support the extension of the frame of civil rights to deaf people, their definition of civil rights is different than that of other groups. For them, "civil rights" includes the right to their own language, control over their own schools, their own teachers and other school personnel, and their own teaching methods. But their demands are not limited to civil rights; rather, they include issues relating to linguistic freedom, bilingualism, and being viewed as a linguistic minority group.

Demands Related to Blindness

Demands related to blindness fall into several areas, one of which is transportation accessibility. Blind passengers have been denied services completely or have been hassled, intimidated, and sometimes humiliated, especially on airplanes. Some blind passengers have been told they could not keep their white canes with them at their seats. One blind airline passenger was required to sit on a blanket in case she or he had an "accident." Blind passengers have been denied access to exit row seating, or, in some instances, were arrested for refusing to sit in an exit row seat. In 1988, the president of the National Federation of the Blind, Kenneth Jernigan, stated in several

speeches and in Congressional testimony that "[t]oday the situation is such that no blind person anywhere in the country can board a plane without fear of harassment, public humiliation, and possibly arrest and bodily injury" (Matson 1990: 531). (Since that time, several laws were passed to attempt to clarify and ameliorate the situation.)

Another set of demands relates to wages and other conditions at sheltered workshops. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 encouraged the growth of such workshops for blind people. In the early 1970s, there were approximately 160,000 workers in sheltered workshops, and we can assume that the majority of them were blind, as the law did not apply to workers with other types of impairments until it was amended in 1971. Even by the 1990s the majority of workers in these situations were not paid minimum wage rates (Pelka, 1997: 282). Blind workers in sheltered workshops began to demand that wages be raised to at least minimum wage, that unemployment compensation and worker's compensation be introduced, and that the possibility of collective bargaining be permitted (Matson, 1990: 755–57).

For a number of decades, a related concern was the accrediting of agencies that work with or for blind people. At issue are the operations and objectives of the Commission on Standards and Accreditation of Services for the Blind (COMSTAC), organized in 1965 and later renamed the National Accreditation Council for Agencies Serving the Blind and Visually Handicapped (NAC). Activists objected to the operations of this agency, which had little or no representation by blind people. NAC was perceived as having sympathies with organizations "for the blind," instead of organizations "of the blind," and many thought its outlook about blindness was paternalistic and condescending.

Finally, the blindness community has attempted to fight *against* paternalistic attitudes, discrimination, segregation, rejection, and a general sense that blind persons are inferior and *for* a recognition that they are competent and normal (Matson, 1990: 79).

Demands Related to Psychiatric Impairments

Activists have made a number of demands for changes in treatments and other aspects of psychiatric care. One set of demands is related to promoting empowered, positive, non-psychiatric identities; the goal is "relabeling" and shedding "ex-deviant" labels (Emerick, 1991). This may be the impairment group for whom the frame-stripping part of the frame extension process is the most important. Because stigma is attached to the label "ex-mental patient" (Goffman, 1963; Szasz, 1961), ex-patients seek to provide themselves with new, more positive, and less deviant identities. As former patients explain:

> the way society views us is all wrong. . . . They then disqualify us—throw us out with the trash. Mentals [sic] are shunned, ostracized, or treated with a lack of respect. We are discriminated against, just like other minorities.
>
> Ever since I joined this [activist] group, they have got me to think differently about myself. I am no longer ashamed. It's not my fault. (Herman and Musolf, 1998: 446)

Psychiatric survivor Judi Chamberlin, an early activist, is quoted as saying "all laws and practices which induce discrimination towards individuals who have been labeled 'mentally ill' need to be changed, so that a psychiatric diagnosis has no more impact on a person's citizenship rights and responsibilities than does a diagnosis of diabetes or heart disease" (Pelka, 1997: 252).

The other category relating to psychiatric impairment demands is patients' rights. The most radical of the groups use terms such as "compulsory psychiatry" and call themselves "the psychiatric survivor liberation movement." These rights, they say, include an end to forced medication, which they call "chemical restraints" or "chemical straitjackets" (Pelka, 1997: 63), an end to forced (some groups would say, *all*) electroshock treatments, an end to forced psychosurgery (i.e., lobotomies), which they call "surgical mutilation", and, overall, an end to the violation of civil rights that occurs in an involuntary commitment to mental hospitals. The demands related to ending forced medication have increased with the passage of laws in some states, such as "Kendra's Law" in New York State, which permit the practice.[14] Some groups demand an end to the use of all psychotropic medication, although others think that such medicines are overprescribed but sometimes still necessary. Many groups demand an end to what they see as being tortures, including solitary confinement and tying a person to a bed, which are done in the name of treatment. Activists want mental illnesses to be considered equivalent to physical illnesses for purposes of rights and health insurance, with the end result that American culture would destigmatize mental illness.

To some extent, the demands of activists in the psychiatric survivors' movement do not seem to overlap with either the disability rights movement or the independent living movement. And it is true that, in some specifics, they do not. Disability rights activists are not always attuned to the specific issues that face psychiatric survivors. And this movement sees the specific demands made by the independent living movement as having little to offer to it, since the latter's concerns are with issues of physical survival and assistance, not labeling or rights to refuse treatment.

But there are similarities. Stigmas apply to all people with visible disabilities and to those with invisible disabilities when or if those become known (Goffman, 1963). In addition, activists within the psychiatric survivors' movement applaud the extension of the frame of civil rights to people with mental as well as physical impairments. Despite the lack of overlap in specific demands, there are survivor activists who see themselves as part of the disability rights movement, and disability activists who see the psychiatric survivors' movement as part of the movement toward disability rights.

Demands Related to Developmental Disabilities

The earliest demands relating to developmental disabilities (which used to be called mental retardation), primarily made by parents, were related to the flagrant and severe abuses that occurred in the institutional settings in which their children lived. Some of these abuses even caused deaths. Some of the most egregious problems have been reduced, if not solved, as a result of lawsuits and other actions brought by parents as part of the parents' movement described in chapter 1. But abuses and deaths of adults

with mental retardation continue to this day (see, for example, Vobejda, 2000). Policy changes that favored deinstitutionalization and "normalization" reduced the numbers of children who live in institutional settings, but approximately 60,000 people with developmental disabilities still live in large state institutions, with another 40,000 living in large private facilities (Ferguson, personal communication, 1998). Thus, demands are still made for appropriate education and state support for people with developmental disabilities. Ferguson (1987) notes, however, that some of the demands made by the disability community have bypassed people with severe retardation, especially those for whom independent living is not, and never will be, possible. He notes that "disability," when used in the context of disability rights, has come to mean physical disability, not cognitive disability, and the minority group model, which reduces the limitations that accompany physical impairments to societal (i.e., discriminatory) practices, cannot deal with the situation of people who have severe mental retardation. As he notes, this has occurred partly because the policy reforms being sought by the independent living movement are being justified on economic grounds—if people with impairments could become self-reliant, they could cease to be dependent upon society's handouts. People with severe cognitive impairments will not cease to be dependent and will never live independently.

CONCLUSION

A collective consciousness has driven contentious political action by people with impairments. We have attempted to define the ideas that form this consciousness, spell out the grievances that have led to action, and suggest some of the remedies. The problems identified are diverse and deeply rooted in our society. They range from the ways deafness and disability are perceived to concrete problems of accessibility, discrimination, and, some would contend, human rights violations (see any issue of the journal *Dendron*).

The solutions are also diverse. They involve a cultural recategorization in which disability would be reframed. This reframing would include viewing people with impairments as a minority group lacking in civil rights, and would call for rethinking of disability policies so that they are not based upon an automatic equating of "disabled" with "unable to work." The recategorization would involve new rules, new roles, and sometimes new construction.

In the next chapters, we show how various demands have been translated into contentious political action. We show how members of a powerless, politically almost invisible community took the ideas that form the collective consciousness of a social movement and translated those ideas into action. We examine the ways in which the rhetoric of the protests fits with the actions that have been taken.

NOTES

1. This concept is similar to other concepts that have linked beliefs to contentious action, including "political culture," used by political scientists, and "mentalities," used by historians (Tarrow, 1992).

2. New social movements are not really new, either empirically or conceptually. The revitalization movements that Wallace (1956) discussed more than forty years ago resemble new social movements, although they did not grow out of a postmodern context. In addition, new social movement issues surfaced in the American countercultural movements of the 1960s (Turner, 1968; Westhaus, 1972).

3. For example, articles by Hacker (1951) and Streib (1963) aided in extensions of the frame of civil rights to women and to the elderly, respectively.

4. Although sociologists disagree about the defining aspects of a minority group, they tend to agree that it applies to people who differ physically or culturally from the dominant group in a society; who experience economic and political discrimination, and powerlessness; for whom membership in the group is ascribed rather than achieved; and for whom intramarriage is common (Stroman, 1982).

5. Cost is one area in which the types of accessibilities differ. Most of the costs of achieving accessibility in the built or natural environment involve one-time costs, either for removing barriers or for adding accessibility features. Usually these are accommodations that, once made, will not require additional expenditures, except for maintenance or replacement of equipment. Some aspects of communications accessibility can be achieved for free or for minimal cost. Chairs can be rearranged into a circle in classrooms; professors can learn not to speak while they are writing on the blackboard; walls can be repainted. But communications accessibility more often involves both one-time and ongoing costs. One-time costs can include the installation of visual fire alarm systems, loop or infrared listening systems, electronic signs or platform safety lights, telephone amplification devices, or built-in TDDs. They could also include purchasing equipment such as TDDs, FM systems, or hearing aids. Ongoing expenditures in addition to maintenance can include costs for closed or real time (live) captioning, note-takers, or sign language or oral interpreters (Barnartt, Seelman, and Gracer, 1990).

6. A related demand, which does not fall under the frame of civil rights, asks that support payments that are given to people with impairments under some circumstances, through Supplemental Security Insurance (SSI) or Social Security Disability Income (SSDI), be restructured so that they do not include work disincentives. That is, they demand that these programs be structured so people do not automatically lose medical assistance through Medicaid, an important benefit carried by these programs, in addition to losing the support payments, when they earn above the minimum amount. If people also lose their medical insurance when they start to earn money, they may be much less inclined to try to look for work because the fear of losing health insurance coverage is greater than the desire to work, especially if it is likely that the job would not carry health benefits. This is not an issue for all people with impairments. People with some types of impairments may have no more health concerns than an average person (Pfeiffer, 1997). But for people with types of impairments that do require extensive or specialized medical care, health insurance that covers their needs is a very large worry.

7. Burgdorf (1984) argues that the goal for racial and ethnic groups (as well as for women) was to make the laws as neutral as possible—to force the laws to disregard race (or sex) as a relevant classification. For people with impairments, however, neutrality may not be the most appropriate legal goal: The goal may be to remove barriers rather than simply ignoring them.

8. Other words are used in other countries. In Australia, for example, the word used is *integrated* and its opposite is *segregated* (Byrnes, 1998). In Zimbabwe the word *mainstreaming* is sometimes mixed up with the word *streaming*, or tracking (Barnartt and Kabzems, 1992).

9. See, for example, John Hockenberry's (1995) description of life in a rehabilitation facility.

10. It may also be setting up terms that are different from those used in other countries. For

example, some of the radical writings about disability from England, such as Oliver (1990), do not use the concept at all.

11. Some deaf parents surprise their doctors by being pleased with a diagnosis of deafness in their babies (White, 1998).

12. As Wrigley (1996: 8) notes, however, some Deaf activists "are willing to accept the label's inherent limitations in exchange for shorter-term payoffs in social welfare privileges," such as support by SSI, vocational rehabilitation, or coverage under the ADA.

13. An example of this was observed by the first author relating to the use of the word *waiver* in the context of the juvenile justice system. In that context, if people are waived from the juvenile system, they are in effect "bumped up" to the adult system. Thus, the word *waiver* in this situation should be signed "promoted." If the word is signed, as it frequently is, using the sign for "excused," students are likely to misunderstand the concept.

14. The issue is also becoming one that links the psychiatric treatment system and the criminal justice system with arguments about whether defendants can be forced to take medicine that may make them lucid enough to stand trial and, in some cases, to face the death penalty (e.g., Miller, 2001).

3

The Social Basis for Movement Formation and Mobilization

The major approach of this volume is to employ an event history analysis of protest activities to better understand protest actions in the disability community. In this chapter, we provide some complementary discussion based on two additional data sources—personal interviews by one of the authors with protest leaders and archival materials on protest organizations. (Some of these data have been incorporated into previous work by the authors.) These sources allow us to consider factors that cannot be studied as effectively from media accounts of protests. Through this analysis, we hope to suggest how social movement organizations developed and mobilized, and to suggest some key factors in the success of social movements.

THE BASIS FOR MOVEMENT FORMATION AND MOBILIZATION

Drawing on the sociological literature on social movements, our analysis is based on the assumption that a disadvantaged social position by itself is not sufficient to generate a social movement (Marx and McAdam, 1994). Many groups suffer difficult and grievous treatment without mobilizing collectively on their own behalf because they lack the cultural and social structural prerequisites for collective action. The capacity for protest activity by members of the disability community was based on mutually reinforcing cultural and social structural factors, which came together in the 1970s.

In the 1970s, disability consciousness became tied to distinct social structures that fostered the development of a political protest. These structures included common social spaces, interpersonal and interorganizational networks, and access to political resources (Scotch, 1998). Later, in the 1980s and 1990s, additional structures developed, in some cases as the result of deliberate social construction and in others as a byproduct of emerging communication technologies.

COMMON SOCIAL SPACE

The issue of achieving common social space is more of a challenge to the disability community than it has been for many other social movements. The labor movement, for example, grew up within workplaces such as factories, mines, farms, and, more recently, offices. The black civil rights movement grew up within the easily defined geographic and cultural boundaries of the African American community, and in the 1950s and 1960s, more particularly within African American churches and colleges. Activities and organizations within the gay rights movement typically built upon existing sites of interaction within the gay community such as gay bars and bathhouses, and later, voluntary associations concerned with the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

In contrast, for many people with disabilities, finding common social space was more problematic due to the demographic and geographic dispersion of disability, and to the constraints on transportation, communication, and freedom of movement associated with many impairments. Many people with disabilities had little contact with others with similar impairments and even less with people who had different conditions. For many, the social consequences of having a disability and thus being out of public life and dependent on nondisabled caregivers tended to exacerbate the social isolation. Medical treatment facilities and segregated special facilities did serve as points of convergence, however. Thus, the earliest common spaces associated with the development of the disability community were often rehabilitation hospitals, special social clubs, and children's camps, or activities of charitable organizations for (as opposed to of) people with impairments. Several movement leaders who were interviewed mentioned such facilities as their first contact with other people with disabilities and as places where feelings of commonality and solidarity on the basis of disability were fostered. In 1970, the Physically Disabled Student Program (PDSP) was founded at the University of California, Berkeley. It was a student-run housing and service program, established with a federal grant, that employed a model of independent living subsequently embodied in university and community-based centers around the country (Stein, 1980; Varela, 1979). A number of subsequent leaders of the Bay Area's disability movement, including Ed Roberts, were associated with PDSP and its successor, Berkeley's Center for Independent Living. Judy Heumann, a founder of Disabled in Action of New York and an important national disability rights leader since the 1970s, felt that her participation in an Easter Seals summer camp for disabled children was important in developing a sense of disability community that crossed lines of impairments and that the camp also was a source of subsequent networking.

In addition to these externally controlled settings, there has been a history of voluntary associations among certain groups of people with impairments. Disabled veterans have long had spaces and organizations of their own, although their organizations have typically not interacted with other groups of people with disabilities. An exception in the 1970s was the Eastern Paralyzed Veterans organization, which was part of the coalition of movement groups involved with the protests over the implementation of Section 504. The National Federation of the Blind (NFB), organized in 1940 by Jacobus tenBroek, has served as a networking and political action organization for

blind people for more than half a century, and was one of the earliest disability groups involved in protest activities in the 1960s (Koestler, 1975). (Those protests, however, do not fit the definition of contentious action being used here.) One of the 1977 Section 504 demonstrators alluded to the role of such an organizational network when he described how he joined the San Francisco protest: "That night I watched the news . . . the guy comes on and says . . . these blind so and sos, these crippled up so and sos, what are they trying to do. . . . Well, I had a quantum reaction to that, kinda like a bad smallpox vaccination . . . so my wife and I started gathering blind folks because we're tied in, somewhat, to the blind network at that time, and a bunch of us went over" (Johnson, 1983: 93).

Organizations of deaf people have played a comparable role within the deaf community, although most have lacked the confrontational political style of the NFB. The New England Association of the Deaf was founded in 1853, and state groups were established in New York and Ohio after the Civil War. The National Association of the Deaf (NAD) was organized subsequent to the First National Convention of Deaf-Mutes in Cincinnati in 1880, building on the base of state and regional organizations (Shaposka, n.d.). There also is a long history of deaf social clubs as gathering places for the deaf community.

In the late 1960s, local cross-disability organizations were formed for self-help and political protests in a number of cities. Several of these were outgrowths of college-based student groups or networks associated with rehabilitation programs. There are earlier examples of cross-disability organizations, but there is little record of them engaging in the kinds of political protests focused on in our analysis. A notable exception is the League for the Physically Handicapped (LPH), which was organized in New York in 1935 by individuals with disabilities to protest the unwillingness of the New York City Emergency Relief Bureau to refer them for jobs with the Works Progress Administration (Pelka, 1997: 190). Just as late 1960s disability movement organizations took recent civil rights and student protests as their models, LPH followed the 1930s model of militant trade union protests.

In 1970, a number of young disabled activists led by Judy Heumann formed Disabled in Action of New York (DIA), a group involved in a number of the earliest protests recorded in our database. By 1980, DIA had eight city, county, and state chapters, and had been engaged in protests over the veto of the 1972 and 1973 Rehabilitation Acts, the 1976 and 1977 United Cerebral Palsy telethons, and the 1977 protests over Section 504 (Disabled in Action of Metropolitan New York, n.d.).

In 1972, the Center for Independent Living (CIL) was founded in Berkeley, California, drawing on the founders' experience with a 1971 off-campus housing and peer support project of PDSP. The CIL soon became a national model for self-help centers for people. Purely political local grassroots groups may not have been able to sustain themselves over time without providing other benefits to their members. The service-political model of the Berkeley CIL group, which was the primary recruitment pool for the Section 504 protesters, was quite different than the more purely politically focused groups in other cities. Johnson (1983: 93) quotes Judy Heumann as noting that political organizations in New York City had difficulty sustaining themselves after the initial cohort of members left. Organizations that lacked service



Leading disability rights activist Judy Heumann established Disabled in Action, a group that was explicitly political in orientation and focused on such issues as transportation and architectural accessibility.

components, Heumann says, did not foster the types of social connections among members or with the larger community that allowed them to mobilize for successful protests.

A similar process occurred in Denver, Colorado, with the evolution of the Atlantis Community from a client-controlled provider of services to the springboard for the preeminent disability protest organization of the 1980s, ADAPT. The Atlantis Community was founded in 1975 by Wade Blank and Glenn Kopp in response to the confining experiences of young adults with disabilities in Denver's nursing homes (Brown, 1982). Atlantis's purpose was to teach people with disabilities to live independently and to advocate for civil rights. By 1978, Atlantis demonstrators were taking over transit buses in Denver's rush hour to protest the lack of accessible public transportation (Delsohn, 1978). By 1982, after years of protest by Atlantis activists, the Regional Transit District in Denver ordered eighty-nine accessible new buses and the following year agreed to retrofit all its existing buses with wheelchair lifts. In 1983, Atlantis activists formed a national organization, American Disabled for Accessible Public Transit, trained forty disability advocates from around the country in protest tactics, and conducted the first in a fifteen-year series of demonstrations on disability issues (Auberger, 1988).

As in Berkeley and Denver, it was independent living centers (ILCs) that brought people with disabilities together to participate in self-help activities and subsequently

served as the basis for political protests. ILCs are often the social locations in a community most accessible to, and supportive of, the disability movement, and ILCs have frequently been the source of participants in political protests. ILCs have proliferated since 1978, when federal rehabilitation funds became available for their support, although some critics have argued that dependence on federal financial support has constrained the involvement of centers in protest activity (Pelka, 1997: 167).

NETWORKS

A second structural component instrumental in the emergence of the social movement of people with disabilities has been the growth of interpersonal and interorganizational networks among members of the disability community. Such networks may seem essentially the same as the common social spaces discussed previously. However, the common spaces might be considered to be social positions or nodes occupied by people with potentially similar political interests, and the networks might be seen as the linkages among those positions.

A relatively small number of individual activists and cross-cutting organizations played crucial roles in the growth of disability protests and in the mobilization for protest activity. At the individual level, a few individuals concerned with disability rights, most notably Judy Heumann and Ed Roberts, have been associated with multiple advocacy and self-help organizations, and have been instrumental in facilitating communication and coordination within the movement. For example, Heumann organized Disabled in Action of New York, and then moved to Berkeley to attend graduate school:

> I was teaching in New York and I had to get a master's degree. . . . And I didn't want to go to school part-time . . . and I was looking around at schools. And I got a call from a guy by the name of Ed Roberts, in California, who told me about CIL and asked me if I was interested in coming to graduate school at Berkeley. . . . I was accepted at the School of Public Health. . . . And I got involved with the disabled students program [PDSP]. And I got involved with CIL, I was elected to its board. And then I went back to Washington to do my residency for graduate school. . . . I worked as a legislative assistant to Senator Williams from New Jersey. . . . I did legislative work in the area of education for handicapped kids and the transportation and disability areas. . . . One of the things that I was able to do was to help bring people in touch with more disabled people out in the community. There was an intent on the part of a number of offices to [have] more disabled people involved. ACCD was involved. . . . CIL became more involved. More grass roots programs. Like DIA was getting involved, and just local groups around the country were beginning to get more involved. Because we were also soliciting involvement from them. (Heumann, 1981)

When Ed Roberts left CIL in 1975 to become director of California's Department of Rehabilitation, Heumann returned to Berkeley to become deputy director of CIL:

I would get calls from people back East, who would ask me questions about stuff. I wasn't as involved as I had been before [in Washington], but I had at that time become friends with a number of people, so I spoke with them on a pretty regular basis. . . .You know they had all these meetings set up to discuss the [Section 504] regs with the various people impacted. . . . There had been a meeting that group of advocates had set up to meet with the [incoming Carter] administration to talk about how we felt the proposed regulations weren't strong enough. (Heumann, 1981)

At the local, regional, and national levels, key governmental and nongovernmental organizations have helped to promote interorganizational networks of individual activists and movement organizations. In the 1960s and 1970s, annual meetings organized by the President's Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped (PCEH), now called the President's Committee on the Employment of Persons with Disabilities, brought disability advocates across the United States together to discuss public policy issues. These national forums were the place where the future leaders of what was to become the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities (ACCD), the national cross-disability coalition that coordinated the Section 504 protests, first encountered each other and learned to work together.

Public agencies providing services to people with disabilities have long employed consumer advisory groups. In numerous cases, meetings of these service recipients have provided opportunities for sharing of common grievances, for discussing tactics for political efforts, and for bringing individuals into a larger network of movement adherents. For example, Eunice Fiorito, who became president of ACCD during the 1977 Section 504 protests, had been appointed as staff to the New York City Mayor's Advisory Committee on the Handicapped after several years as a social worker at Bellevue Hospital. After being appointed to the mayor's committee, Fiorito attended her first PCEH meeting in Washington, D.C.:

When I came to Washington in 1971, I was a very naive kid and struck it up with some other people. Judy [Heumann and I] were known as rabble-rousing kids. I was also known as someone with a big mouth and fairly bright, and we were the new people on the block. . . . We began to reach out to other young people or people of like mindedness at the PCEH and developed a network . . . finding out that other kids in other places had similar ideas. . . . In 1974 we set up our own alternative sessions . . . in the middle of the lobby of the Washington Hilton. There were about 150 or 200 of us. All these people would come in and stand and watch us and shake their heads. It was a fantastic experience, really. . . . It was a way in which we began to consolidate and began to realize we had more in common than we had different. [ACCD] incorporated in February of 1975 [and] called the first meeting of the coalition in April . . . at the tail end of the PCEH meeting. (Fiorito, 1981)

By the late 1970s, an established national network of politically sophisticated disability advocates had developed, a network that built on interpersonal and

interorganizational ties to plan and implement the Section 504 protests (Bowe, 1980). More grassroots-oriented communication networks were created in the 1980s, with the development of several publications that increased awareness through supportive coverage of protests and other events as well as providing information on current issues and opportunities for the sharing of disability cultural expression.

Perhaps the most prominent of these periodicals was *The Disability Rag,* which later became *The Disability Rag and ReSource.* It is currently published as *The Ragged Edge,* and is known to its readership as *The Rag. The Rag* was founded by Mary Johnson and Cass Irvin in 1980 as a publication of the independent living center and the disability advocacy community in Louisville, Kentucky. It quickly evolved into a national periodical of the disability movement, filling a needed niche by addressing concerns of the disability community's concerns about personal and public issues (Johnson, 1988). *The Rag* covered the full range of disability political issues from charity telethons to physician-assisted suicide to ADAPT's protests over inaccessible public transit. It also went beyond legal and public policy issues to address many concerns of everyday life with a disability. *The Rag* also became an important outlet for creative expressions of disability culture, including essays, fiction, poetry, and artwork.

Other periodicals targeted to the disability movement have been established since the mid-1970s. Some were essentially newsletters of movement organizations, such as ADAPT and CIL. Others, such as *Mainstream* and *Mouth,* were independent magazines that covered protest activities of the movement as well as political, social, and cultural concerns of the disability community.

The most recent development in the creation of movement networks has been the Internet. Many movement activists make extensive use of electronic mail and the World Wide Web for sharing information, discussing policy issues, and coordinating movement activities.

The web has also served to make information about the disability movement more widely available than traditional communication media, and to make participation in movement activities much easier for new adherents, particularly those located outside of the major metropolitan areas where most protests have been held.

RESOURCES FOR POLITICAL ACTIVITY

In addition to common social space and networks for communication, social movements need a variety of resources to support their political activities. To effectively mount protests, social movements need the capacity to mobilize adherents. The disability movement has deployed resources for protest activities in several distinctive ways. Ironically, the marginality to mainstream social life that is the focus of many disability protests accords some people with disabilities the flexibility to devote substantial time to organizing and participating in protests. Similarly, the combination of sympathy and stigma and the assumptions of incapacity associated with disability in mainstream culture may have made protests by people with disabilities appear more remarkable to the media, and their protests more newsworthy. In some cases, coverage of protests played against and undermined traditional stereotypes about disability, although in many other instances, stereotypes may have framed coverage in

ways that negated the message intended by protestors. Mainstream cultural conceptions about disability may also have affected how agents of social control such as the police and the courts dealt with disabled protestors, constraining forceful responses such as physical force or arrests.

Perhaps the most important resource available to disability movement organization has been funding. The disability movement has been able to operate at the grassroots level with a minimum of financial resources, so financial support may not be a critical factor in its continuation. There have, however, been several points where external resources have helped to sustain it. Forms of indirect support included grants to independent living centers and other service programs to underwrite operations. As has been discussed previously, these centers were often staging grounds for protests and recruitment pools for protest participants. Movement organizations themselves have often received direct public support. In many cases, this support was in the form of contracts for training, technical assistance, and policy dissemination on federal statutes such as Section 504 and the Americans with Disabilities Act (Scotch, 1989). An even more indirect, but still important, recent source of support has been federal funding for research and training in disability and rehabilitation research, which has underwritten activities at university and community-based research and training centers. Most of these grants went to centers engaged in research and demonstration projects supportive of rehabilitation for employment and independent living of people with disabilities. Research in support of such objectives has also strengthened the conceptual basis for the disability movement, however, and in some cases has utilized movement activists as staff or consultants. An important example of such support is the World Institute on Disability in Oakland, which was founded by Ed Roberts and Judy Heumann, and has conducted a number of research and dissemination projects relevant to the goals of the movement.

In other instances, funds were deliberately provided to promote movement activities. For example, in 1976, the federal Rehabilitation Services Administration provided ACCD with a grant for a project entitled "Feasibility Study to Develop a National Model of Cross-Disability Cooperation and Communication" (Bowe, Jacobi, and Wiseman, 1978). The grant was not used directly for lobbying, but it did help ACCD to establish an institutional presence in Washington as well as a formal administrative apparatus that facilitated the coalition's role in the Section 504 protests (Heumann, 1981). One leader of ACCD acknowledged the usefulness of the grant: "It was a study to determine the ability to establish a coalition for communication, coordination, and some other dumb kind of thing. Anyhow, very frankly, it was a pretext to get some money for the coalition to get going. . . . All I know is we had to get the thing off the ground. And that if we didn't get the money we weren't going anywhere."

Although such direct support of movement organizations has been rare, a number of federal agencies have continued to convene members of the disability community, including some activists, to discuss disability issues with policy makers and thus provide movement participants with enhanced legitimacy, visibility, and opportunities for dialogue. Such opportunities may have grown during the Clinton administration. Disability movement leaders have been appointed to federal government posts in both

Republican and Democratic administrations since 1976, but a significant number of such individuals received appointments by President Clinton to posts in many federal agencies, and the personal and organizational ties they have brought to their positions appear to have greatly facilitated interaction between the disability movement and the federal government.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have discussed the social basis for the formation and mobilization of the disability movement, drawing on qualitative research conducted by the authors on the movement leaders and organizations. Four primary factors have been addressed: consciousness, common social space, networks, and resources. We now turn to our data on protests conducted by the activists in the deaf and disability communities.

4

A Profile of Contentious Actions: How Success Became Possible

In this chapter we examine the characteristics of contentious political actions that occurred from the beginning of 1970 to the end of 1999 in which members of the deaf and disability communities and others have engaged for the improvement of the lives of people with impairments. We present a descriptive profile of all the contentious political actions included in our database. In this chapter, we focus on basic characteristics of all of the protests taken together, with results reported for all groups and for all time periods together. In subsequent chapters we examine characteristics of the actions over time, disaggregated by period of time and type of disability.

There are several themes or motifs that run through the analyses to be presented in the next three chapters. One is related to the problem of mobilizing a community for contentious political action given the nature of impairment. In the case of people with some types of impairments there are physical barriers to participation to overcome: If people cannot get to the protest, they will not come. Additionally, if people do not hear about plans for contentious action, they will not come. Finally, if they do not think that the issues apply to them, they will not come. In general, people participate in contentious actions, which are always somewhat risky, when their self-interest is stronger than their fear of risk.

Because the self-interests of people with impairments are potentially as different as the impairments themselves, mobilization is difficult, perhaps more so than it was in the women's movement or the civil rights movement. There is much less commonality among people with impairments than there is among people in other statuses. All females share certain basic physical characteristics as well as, to a lesser extent, basic social experiences. But that is not true of people with physical or mental impairments. They may not share an experience of stigma or discrimination, let alone a sense of what could be done to increase the likelihood that the disabling aspect of their impairment would be ameliorated. Mobilization in the women's movement or the civil rights movement could build upon similar discriminatory experiences that potential adherents were quite likely to have experienced. But within the population of people with impairments there may not be the commonality of negative

experiences that can as clearly be attributed to a sole characteristic, especially that of impairment.

In order for mobilization to occur, there must exist a collective consciousness that impels contentious political action—as opposed to noncontentious politics-as-usual—among people who have many different types of impairments. As we examine different aspects of the protests, we will see ways in which several of these potential barriers to contentious action have been overcome, permitting the escalation of such action as the years progressed.

The second theme that we will examine is that of success. We will examine factors that have been found by social movement scholars to predict success either in short-term contentious actions or in longer-term social movements. We will examine the degree to which those factors are present in these protests and thus the degree to which the protests had the potential for being successful.

PROTEST CHARACTERISTICS

Locations

Table 4.1 shows that the largest numbers of protests (16 percent) occurred in California. More than 12 percent occurred in Washington, D.C., more than 11 percent occurred in New York state, and almost 10 percent occurred in Colorado. Smaller numbers of protests were seen in Massachusetts and Texas, each of which had almost 7 percent of the protests, and Illinois, which had 6 percent. Georgia, Maryland, and Michigan had around 4 percent, Pennsylvania had over 2 percent, and

Table 4.1. Frequency Distribution of Protest Locations (N = 635)

State	Number of Protests	Percentage of Protests
California	102	16.1%
District of Columbia	77	12.1
Colorado	60	9.4
Massachusetts	44	6.9
Texas	42	6.6
Illinois	38	6.0
New York	72	11.3
Georgia	28	4.4
Maryland	23	3.6
Michigan	23	3.6
Pennsylvania	14	2.2
New Jersey	11	1.7
All others	101	15.9

New Jersey had less than 2 percent. All other states had fewer than ten protests each, although together they had almost 16 percent of the protests. All together, there were protests in forty-four states plus the District of Columbia.

To some extent table 4.1 supports the notion that the disability rights movement, born in Berkeley, California, in the mid-1960s, has continued to flourish there (O'Hara, 1998; Stein, 1980). On the other hand, it also shows that the majority of the contentious actions did not in fact only occur there; rather, these actions have been geographically dispersed. A large number of protests occurred in Washington, D.C., presumably in order to influence the federal government. Another concentration of protest activity was in Colorado, primarily, although not exclusively, in Denver. These protests probably occurred because ADAPT and the Atlantis Community were based in Denver, and both were very active in promoting protest activity. Overall, about half of the protests reported here occurred in four places: California, Washington, D.C., Colorado, and New York, while the rest took place in other states.

Demands

Impairment-Related Demands

Table 4.2 shows that cross-disability issues were the single largest category of demands, constituting almost 40 percent of the demands made. However, cross-disability demands do not constitute a majority of all demands made. About 28 percent of the demands were mobility-related; they make up the second largest demand category. Demands that were specifically related to deafness constituted about 7 percent of all demands, and those related to blindness constituted over 6 percent. Demands relating to developmental disabilities also constituted almost 6 percent of the total. Demands related to psychiatric impairments constituted about 10 percent of the demands, and those related to other types of disabilities, such as autism, breast cancer, or leprosy, or multiple disabilities, constituted a little more than 3 percent of all demands.

A few protests with demands related to AIDS were included in the present analysis. This was done when the demand made by the protest was related to disability. One example is a protest whose issue was that disability benefits were being denied to women who were HIV positive because the diagnostic criteria excluded many female HIV-related conditions. AIDS protests that were solely about AIDS itself or about gay rights–related issues were excluded from the current analysis. AIDS-related demands constituted ½ of 1 percent of all demands.

Even though no one single type of impairment-related demand was expressed more often than were cross-disability demands and while it is clear that a large number of cross-disability demands were expressed, the majority of the demands expressed were related to a specific type of impairment. On the other hand, the number of protests that are cross-disability is larger than might have been expected, by those writers who focused upon the strength and divisiveness of specific impairment-related distinctions in the disability community.

Table 4.2. Frequency Distribution of Type of Impairment-Related Demand

Type of Disability Demand (N = 772)	Number	Percentage
Cross-disability	303	39.2%
Related to mobility impairments	216	28.0
Related to deafness or hearing impairments	55	7.1
Related to blindness or visual impairments	49	6.3
Related to developmental disabilities	45	5.8
Related to psychiatric impairments	80	10.4
Related to other impairments	24	3.1

Note: Up to two separate impairments could be coded for each event. However, if the demand was seen as being cross-disability, a second impairment type was not coded. Therefore, the total number of demands is larger than the number of protests.

When we think about the nature of disability, these results make sense. Disability is an extremely variable status, so it makes sense that people with different impairments differ in political orientations and that some of the protest demands are impairment-specific. Because some issues are in fact cross-disability, and so affect people with many or all types of impairments, it also makes sense that some protest demands are cross-disability issues. There is "something for everyone" here—this has the effect of widening the pool of potential adherents.

Protest Demands

Social scientists (e.g., Barnartt and Seelman, 1988; DeJong and Lifchez, 1983) have claimed that accessibility is *the* major civil rights issue for people with physical impairments. By examining the content of the demands, we can see if this claim has been translated into contentious political action.

Table 4.3 shows that demands related to accessibility or discrimination constituted about one fourth of all protest demands. These demands could pertain to transportation, building, or communications accessibility or could pertain to civil rights issues such as employment discrimination. The next most frequent area of demands was laws or policies, which comprised almost 19 percent of all demands. Demands related to money comprised almost 18 percent of the demands. These issues ranged from complaints about Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) and Medicaid to complaints about the cost of services and the types of state and local assistance given to people with impairments. The next two most frequent demands were those related to characteristics of services, such as personnel or location, or to specific types of services. The former constituted about 13 percent of all demands, while the latter constituted 8 percent of all demands.

Table 4.3. Frequency Distribution of Specific Protest Demand Type

Type of Demand (N = 1051)	Number	Percentage
Accessibility, discrimination	270	25.7%
Money	188	17.9
Services, characteristics	132	12.6
Services, type	84	8.0
Portrayals	65	6.2
Education	46	4.4
Laws or policies	198	18.8
Assisted suicide	16	1.5
Workers' jobs	16	1.5
Attitudes or awareness	11	1.0
Other	24	2.4

Note: Two issues were coded when necessary.

Other types of demands showed up less frequently. Those related to the portrayal of disabilities constituted about 6 percent of all demands, while education-related demands constituted 4 percent. Each of the other types of demands including those related to assisted suicide, workers' jobs, public statements, diagnostic criteria, research ethics, imprisonment of protesters, and violence constituted less than 2 percent of the demands.

We also examined the distribution of protest demands as divided into the three categories of rights, services, and all other types of issues (Pfeiffer, 1988, 1993). Demands in the first category relate to accessibility, discrimination, and the passage or enforcement of laws. Those in the second category relate to money, types or characteristics of services, and workers' jobs. Table 4.4 shows that over 45 percent of the protest demands were related to services, and about 41 percent were related to disability rights. Less than 14 percent of the demands were related to all other types of issues. This table shows that the majority of demands made do fit into the two categories of rights and services, but it also shows that demands relating to services are somewhat more common than are demands relating to rights.

One could interpret this table as showing a split between demands related to the disability rights movement and demands related to the independent living movement. This argument is examined in depth in chapter 6. It is clear, however, that there is a disjunction between rhetoric and actual protest demands. The fact that more demands were related to service-related issues than to rights- or discrimination-related issues suggests that more dependency is being expressed in these contentious political actions than we might have expected. We examine this in more detail next.

Table 4.4. Frequency Distribution of Category of Protest Demand

Category of Protest Demand (N = 1026)	Number	Percentage
Disability rights	422	41.1%
Services	466	45.4
All other	138	13.4

Specific Demands

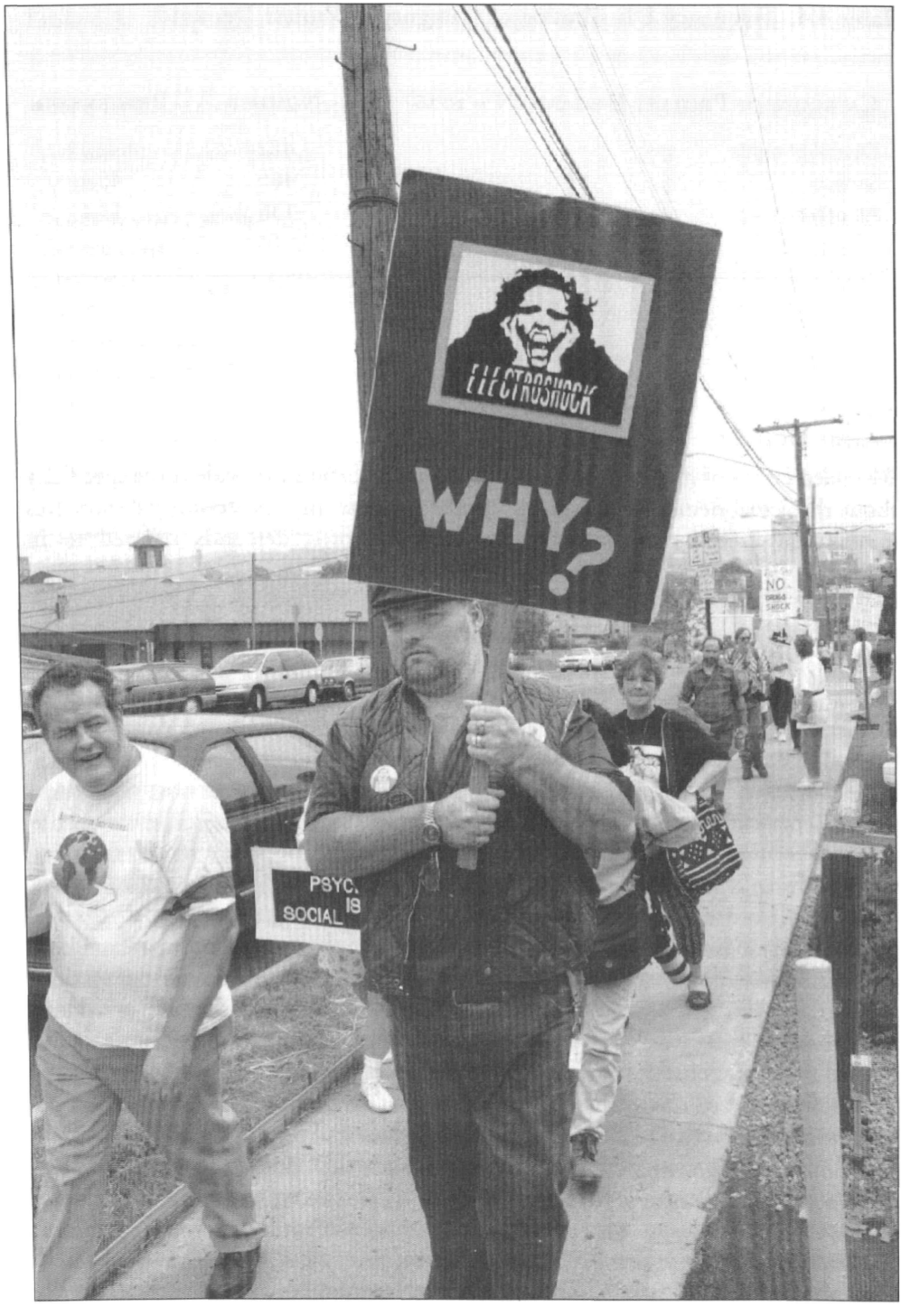
We coded details of many of the general demands in order to provide more specificity about the actual demands being made in the protests. In this section we show this information in order to understand what the protest demands referred to in particular.

Services

These demands could focus on two specific aspects of service: the characteristics of the services or the types of services offered or needed. Demands that focused on characteristics of services were somewhat more frequent (N = 127) than demands that focused upon specific types of service (N = 84).

Table 4.5 shows that, of those demands that focused on characteristics of services, about 30 percent were demands for better quality of services. About 20 percent of the demands focused upon the location of the services, usually because a facility was closing or moving. About 15 percent of these demands focused upon who controlled the services. (Many of the demands for service control occurred in protests by psychiatric survivors demanding an end to forced treatments and the right to refuse treatment.) Another 15 percent of service-related demands focused upon the amount of services provided; usually, when protesters were objecting to the amount of services provided, it was because cuts in services were being threatened. About 9 percent of demands focused on characteristics of the personnel delivering the services, and about 6 percent were related to cost or insurance coverage for services. Over 2 percent focused upon who was included in, or eligible for, the services, and almost 2 percent expressed a need for new services or programs. Overall most of the demands in this category either attempted to improve the quality or quantity of existing services or to maintain the status quo with regard to service locations, costs, and personnel.

About 44 percent of the demands that referred to a specific type of service focused upon electroshock treatments. This was a huge issue for psychiatric survivors, who held a number of protests on this issue. Another 35 percent of the demands focused on personal assistance services, while small numbers of demands focused on housing, health care, paratransit services, sign language interpretation, or captioning.



Psychiatric survivor groups such as the Mental Patients Liberation Alliance in Syracuse, New York, seek to stop forced electroshock treatments and forced drugging of patients in mental health institutions.

Table 4.5. Frequency Distribution of Demands Related to Services

Characteristics of Services (N = 127)	Number	Percentage
Quality of services	39	30.7%
Personnel	11	8.7
Amount	19	15.0
Location	26	20.5
Who controls the services	19	15.0
Cost or insurance coverage for	8	6.3
Need for new programs	2	1.6
Who is included or eligible	3	2.4
Type of Services (N = 84)		
Personal assistance	30	35.3%
Electroshock/other aspect of psychiatric treatment	38	43.8
Health care	8	9.4
Paratransit	2	2.4
Housing	4	4.7
Sign language interpreting or closed captioning	2	2.4

Money

Table 4.6 shows two characteristics of those demands whose focus was money. First, it shows the sources from which the money at issue came. Money that came from local- or state-level expenditures was most likely to be at issue; such funding constituted over two-thirds of the sources identified in protest demands. About one-quarter of the demands focused on federal governmental health insurance, specifically Medicare or Medicaid funds. Less than 5 percent focused on Supplemental Security Income (SSI) and SSDI, both of which are benefits paid to people who have an impairment that prevents them from working. About the same number of demands focused on issues relating to private health insurance.

Overall, demands related to financial issues were focused primarily on money that came from states or local governments. Fewer protestors objected to aspects of monetary assistance that came from the federal government. State and local monetary assistance were not specifically coded because the states appear to have noncomparable systems of disability funding that would have made the task of creating exhaustive categories laborious, if not completely impossible. In addition, the funding source was often not further specified in the newspaper article.

This suggests two possible views of federal monetary support. Either federal support is seen as adequate or acceptable or as not being amenable to change through contentious action. Whether the situation regarding state and local funds is actually

Table 4.6. Frequency Distribution of Demands Related to Money

Source of Money (N = 187)	Number	Percentage
SSI or SSDI	8	4.8%
Medicare or Medicaid	39	23.4
Private insurance	9	5.4
Other	110	70.0
Amount of Money (N = 160)		
Should be increased	32	20.0%
Should be kept the same—or at least not decreased	101	63.1
Should be moved from another source	17	10.6
Rules should be changed regarding expenditures	10	6.3

less acceptable than that related to federal sources of funding, or whether it simply was easier to focus contentious action on a target that is closer to potential protesters cannot be determined from this analysis.

Protesters demonstrating about money could be demanding that amounts be increased or decreased, or they could be demanding that money be moved from another source. The second panel of table 4.6 shows that the concern of over 60 percent of the money-related demands was that an amount of money either be kept the same (usually in the face of threats to decrease it) or that it should not be decreased. About 20 percent of the demands were concerned that the amount of money in that category should be increased, about 10 percent were that money should be moved from another source to pay for something, and about 6 percent were focused on the need for changes in the rules regarding expenditures. These latter two types of demands were most often related to money for personal assistance services—the demand was to use Medicare money or change Medicaid rules to permit expenditures for personal assistance services outside of institutional settings.

This table supports the idea that demands that focused on money do not derive from a model of disability independent of societal and monetary support. Protesters were not demanding less monetary support and more independence; they were demanding either that a previous level of support be maintained or that it be increased. No protests demanded that monetary support be decreased.

Overall, the pattern of demands displayed in these two sections supports the notion that one large segment of disability activism is concerned with disability services. Although many of the demands emanate from an independent living perspective, not all did. Clearly, some protests were held by people afraid of losing services or financial supports. We see this as indicating a disjunction between movement rhetoric and actual protest mobilization.

Table 4.7. Frequency Distribution of Accessibility Demands

Focus of Accessibility Demand (N = 205)	Number	Percentage
Transportation	127	61.9%
Entrances to buildings	38	18.5
Facilities within buildings	21	10.2
Communications	11	5.4
All types of accessibility, or another specific type[a]	8	3.9

a. For example, demands for curb cuts or about the accessibility of parks.

Accessibility

Of those demands that focused on accessibility, over 60 percent focused on transportation accessibility. Accessibility of buildings, either entrances (18 percent) or facilities within buildings (10 percent), together accounted for a little more than a quarter of the accessibility demands. Demands for communications accessibility comprised about 5 percent of accessibility demands, and demands for curb cuts, general accessibility, and employment accessibility together comprised less than 4 percent of all accessibility demands. The data in table 4.7 support the perception that, among demands that focused on accessibility issues, transportation accessibility was most likely to have been the subject of contentious political action.

Laws

Table 4.8 shows that demands related to laws or legal issues were most likely to focus on the need for enforcement of existing laws. That was the content of about 57 percent of these demands. Lesser percentages focused upon specific laws: About 11 percent focused on the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, about 8 percent focused on the ADA. An additional 5 percent of these demands asked for a new law, and around 2 percent each were related to U.S. Supreme Court interpretation of an existing law or to PL 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (now called IDEA, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act). About 18 percent were related to some other legal issue not specifically coded.

Although the Rehabilitation Act was the focus of one set of demands, the ADA was not the focus of very many protest demands. Some of the protesters who focused on the enforcement of laws were in fact demanding enforcement of the ADA, reflecting frustration with a post-ADA situation rather than demanding that a law be passed. (However, we do not present those analyses here.) Overall, demands relating to enforcement were more often made than were demands relating to a specific law.

Education

The largest proportion of education-related demands (34 percent) focused on characteristics of personnel. The characteristic could be their training, background, or

Table 4.8. Frequency Distribution of Legal Demands

Law or Legal Issue Being Protested (N = 175)	Number	Percentage
Rehabilitation Act of 1973	19	10.9%
Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990	10	5.7
PL 94-142 (IDEA)	3	1.7
New law needed	8	4.6
Enforcement needed	100	57.1
Court interpretations	3	1.7
Other laws or legal issues	32	18.4

Table 4.9. Frequency Distribution of Educational-Related Demands

Type of Education-Related Demand (N = 47)	Number	Percentage
Number of personnel	5	10.6%
Characteristics of personnel	16	34.0
Curriculum	2	4.3
Overall quality	1	2.1
Type of school	2	4.3
Linguistic issues	5	10.6
Actions by teachers	1	2.1
Availability or location	3	6.4
Mainstreaming (for)	2	4.3
Mainstreaming (against)	3	6.4
Other	9	12.8

skills, or it could be the procedures by which the personnel were chosen. Equal proportions of the demands (10 percent) related to linguistic issues and to numbers of personnel. Other demands, relating to mainstreaming (either for it or against it), the curriculum, the overall quality of the school, actions by teachers, and school availability or location, occurred in three or fewer cases. Again, there is a disjunction between rhetoric and contentious actions. Although rhetoric in the area of education focuses on mainstreaming (either for or against, depending upon whether one is talking about the deaf community or the disability community), the contentious political actions primarily focus on how personnel are chosen, what characteristics they have, or how many of them there are in a given situation.

Table 4.10. Frequency Distribution of Characteristics of Portrayal-Related Demands

Portrayal By (N = 58)	Number	Percentage
Media	17	29.3%
Service agencies	4	6.9
Famous person	33	56.9
Legislators or a government	3	5.2
Companies or organizations	1	1.7
Portrayal In (N = 55)		
In telethon	41	74.5%
In movie	7	12.7
In statues or memorial	3	5.5
In TV programs	3	5.5
Other	1	1.8

Portrayals

Table 4.10 provides more specificity about those protest demands related to unacceptable portrayals. The first panel of the table indicates by whom the objectionable portrayal was done. Most commonly, such portrayals were done by "a famous person"—57 percent of the objectionable portrayals fit into this category. Although the specific person was not coded, most such protests were aimed against Jerry Lewis and his telethons, but not all were. In one instance the famous person involved was Jeremy Irons, and the characterization was not a formal portrayal but consisted of disparaging remarks he made about having deaf people in the audience. (They got up and left.) An additional 30 percent of the objectionable portrayals were done by the media, but others came from service agencies, legislators or governmental officials, and companies.

The second panel of the table shows that, consistent with the focus on Jerry Lewis, the most frequently protested objectionable views of disability were from telethons—three-quarters of the objectionable portrayals were found there. Some protest demands were related to objectionable portrayals found in movies (11 percent), statues, or television programs (5.5 percent each). One case involved a protest against a "dwarf-tossing" contest that was thought to portray unacceptable stereotypes.

Summary

Our data revealed that there are many instances of a disjunction between the issues emphasized by the contentious political actions and the issues that form the core of the rhetoric used by the deaf and disability communities. Demands related to

accessibility often emerge as the focus of a contentious action, but they do not emerge as often as the rhetoric would lead us to expect. The same is true with regard to issues such as portrayals, education, and assisted suicide. All of these are important for the disability community, but they do not appear as a focus for protest as often as we expected from the rhetoric. The largest discrepancy we identified is that between rights and services. Although it is likely that most disability activists would agree that the essence of the disability movement, if there is only one, is disability rights, we see that protests about services are actually more common than protests about rights.

One thing we cannot know from these data is whether the demands for the contentious actions were chosen out of the types of frustration that usually lead to collective action, or whether they were chosen because they were thought to be more amenable to collective action. It is quite possible that the latter is true; if so, this would serve as an explanation for at least some of the results. For example, even though mainstreaming is an important issue in both the deaf and disability communities, it is most likely to be fought by individuals or families on behalf of a single individual. Any single case in which a child or a family feels that there is an issue related to mainstreaming is unlikely to attract the attention of disability organizations or those disability advocates who most often foment protests. For example, the book entitled *A Case About Amy* (Smith, 1996) describes the situation in which a deaf girl is denied an interpreter and other types of services in a mainstreamed program. That case went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court, in one of the early lawsuits arising from PL 94-142. But there were no protests involved in the case.

It will require more research to find out *why* these issues were the ones that emerged in contentious actions. Perhaps noncontentious actions such as lawsuits were the venue in which the rhetoric of rights was most frequently translated into action. If that were the case, we would want to know why this was so, and why contentious actions were more likely to focus upon demands related to services, some of which fostered independent living and some of which did not.

SUCCESS-RELATED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PROTESTS

Not all protest actions or social movements are successful in attaining their demands. In fact, estimates suggest that around 40 percent of social movements are failures (Gordon, 1992; Gamson, 1975). There are a number of factors that increase the probability of successful contentious actions. These include the degree of disruptiveness in tactics or other aspects of the protest (Piven and Cloward, 1979); selecting a target that is actually able to effect the change being demanded (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995); using violence (Gamson, 1990); focusing on a single, morally persuasive issue (Biklen, 1983; Rose, 1982); and having outside support (Lipsky, 1968; Johnson, 1983; Rose, 1982). In this section we examine several of these characteristics, that might be used to predict the likelihood that the protests would be successful, either singly or collectively. These characteristics include how disruptive the protest is, who the protest is targeting, where the protest happens, and what types of support the protest gathers from coprotesters or outsiders.

Disruptiveness

One of the reasons people turn to contentious political action is because the resulting disruption produces political leverage for people who otherwise have little power. The *more* disruptive the contentious action is, the more political leverage it is likely to produce; the more political leverage it produces, the more likely it is to be successful. The leverage may come from the perception that the protesting group is in fact powerful; it may come from media emphasis on the protest, or it may come from support from; or sympathetic reactions of, nonparticipants—who may or may not themselves be powerful. For example, in the Deaf President Now protest, although the protesters were not politically powerful in any traditional sense—and in fact many were too young to vote—media emphasis and bystander sympathy, including that from some members of Congress, seemed to have played a large role in its success (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995). In this section we examine the degree to which the protests included in the database were disruptive.

Duration

One of the indicators of disruptiveness is the length of the protest: A short protest is less disruptive than a longer protest. We use as the indicator of duration how many hours the protest lasted. However, we must note that many newspaper articles did not indicate that. Even if the event was such that a reasonable guess could have been made (e.g., a protest that appeared to last part of an afternoon), we did not guess. Instead, if there was no indication of duration, the duration was coded as "missing." Thus this section has much more missing data than we would like. Out of 745 cases, we only have even somewhat reliable data about the duration of 167 protests.

Those protests ranged in duration from .1 hours (6 minutes) to 7,680 hours. The median duration was 4.1 hours, meaning that half of the protests were shorter than 4 hours and half were longer than that. The modal—or most common—duration was 2 hours. These statistics suggest that protests were most likely to have been fairly short, probably lasting for part of one morning or one afternoon.

Although the majority of the protests were quite short, lasting less than one day, one-quarter of the protests for which we have data lasted for 28 hours or longer. The longest protest, a rent strike by disabled and elderly people seeking improvements in their housing quality, lasted for 7,680 hours, which is 320 days or ten months. Another extremely long protest, which lasted for seventy days, was conducted by Filipino war veterans demanding disability benefits. In this protest the veterans chained themselves to a statue of General MacArthur in a park in Los Angeles, carried on a hunger strike for a few days, and held a vigil near the statue every day for more than two months.

These very long protests do not fit with what is commonly seen to be the disability rights or independent living movements. Rather, although these long protests were about disability-related issues, they were conducted by two subgroups of the population of people with impairments—veterans and elderly disabled people. These are not the people whom the movements would see themselves as representing. Even though these protests represent people who are statistically more likely to have

impairments than members of the general population, they are not the core of either movement. In addition, these protests are not making demands consistent with the rhetoric of either movement.

The shorter protests form the core of the disability rights and independent living movements, with the exception of one protest regarding the need for implementation of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. This protest, in San Francisco, lasted for twenty-five days, or 600 hours. In general, however, the protests that form the core of the movements discussed here are on the shorter, and therefore less disruptive, side.

Size

The number of participants in a protest action is also related to its disruptiveness and therefore is a predictor of the ultimate success of the protest. We would expect that the larger the protest, the more disruptive it is, and therefore the greater the likelihood of success.[1] Larger protests will be disruptive in part because they last longer than smaller protests no matter what tactic is being used. Even if the protesters are just going to and from the protest location, a larger crowd will disrupt public transportation or traffic patterns more than a smaller number of people would. If the tactics include moving people from one place to another, such as in a protest march, a larger protest will last longer than if it were smaller. Containing greater numbers of people in one place may require more guides, monitors, or police. A larger protest is more likely than a smaller protest to disrupt whatever activity normally occurs in that location, and to spill over to outside areas.

Larger protests also have more political clout than smaller protests. All protests are designed to show activists' opponents how much support there is for their demand. Larger protests attempt to suggest that these opponents will lose a large amount of support, or never get it in the future, if their opposition continues. To supporters, larger numbers of people bolster their morale by showing how much support already exists. To both opponents and supporters, such protests suggest that there are larger numbers of people concerned about the issue than perhaps either group thought and that therefore there are political consequences to opposing the issue being protested. For these reasons, then, larger protests are more likely than smaller protests to be successful in attaining their demands in the short term.[2]

Crowd estimation is an inexact science and is frequently (if not always) controversial. Protesting groups desire the highest possible number to be reported, in order to maximize their perceived (and real) political clout. For that reason their crowd estimates are often doubted by police, who usually give smaller estimates. Organizations, in turn, tend to accuse police of deliberately undercounting. In any case, it is frequently difficult for anyone to know how many people are involved, especially if the protest is large and geographically spread out. Sometimes the numbers become so controversial that an "expert" is brought in to reevaluate the crowd estimate (see, for example, Fletcher and Harris, 1995).

Most of the information reported here came from neither the organizations nor police but from reporters. In addition, the problem of missing data, while not as large as with the duration of the protests, is quite large. Data were available on the

minimum number of participants for 469 protests, and data on the maximum number of participants was available for 343 events.[3]

By definition, the minimum number of participants was two. The maximum number of participants was 6,000. The median number of protesters was fifty, meaning that half of the protests had more people than that, half less. The largest 25 percent of the protests had only 182 participants or more. Most of the protests, then, appear to be small.

One might perhaps wonder how we know how many people are necessary for a "small" or a "large" protest. One way to evaluate this is by comparison with protests in other social movements. The 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, where Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his "I Have a Dream" speech, had at least 250,000 in attendance (Blumberg, 1991: 122). Even a minor march by members of the women's movement in San Francisco in 1996—well after what many consider to have been the peak of the movement—attracted 50,000 people (Shelton, 1996). A major march in Washington, D.C., the year before attracted over 200,000 people (Minor, 1995). Thus, we see that the largest disability protest, with 6,000 protesters, does not begin to approach the size of some of the larger protests in the civil rights or feminist movements.

There were twenty-four protests that had more than 1,000 participants. Nine of these protests (almost 40 percent) occurred in or around Washington, D.C. Another five occurred in California, and the rest were scattered, occurring in cities such as Boston, Massachusetts, and Trenton, New Jersey. Of the fifteen large protests that did not occur in Washington, D.C., seven occurred in state capitals. Overall, then, two-thirds of the largest protests occurred in locations of political importance. These were locations where legislators on the national or state level were most likely to hear about the protests, and, possibly, where the protests were more likely to be reported by the news media.

Single Events Versus Campaigns

A campaign is "an aggregate of collective events or activities that appear to be oriented toward some relatively specific goal or good and that occur within some proximity in space and time" (Marwell and Oliver, 1984: 12). Campaigns are a short-term part of social movement strategy (Kleidman, 1993). Campaigns can consist of several protests held at the same time in different places, or a number of successive protests. In either case, the target and the demands of the protests would be the same. Thus, a campaign can increase the size of a protest, the duration, or both, and can be expected to be more disruptive than a single protest. Campaigns, which we also call linked protests, bring the demand(s) to more than one audience, expanding the possibilities for bystander support. Linked protests have a higher potential for disruption than does a single protest. They also show that greater numbers of people, in more than one place, are concerned about the issue. The size and diffusion of concern gives the issue more credibility—it is not just one "bunch of kooks" demonstrating about something. It is more than one group demonstrating in more than one place or at more than one time. Linked protests reinforce the implicit suggestion

that there might be a voting bloc waiting to show its power. Thus it is easier for these protests to show "power in movement" (Tarrow, 1996) than it is for single, unlinked protests.

A little more than half (53 percent) of the protests in our database were single events, and about 46 percent were linked to other protests. The percentage of linked protests suggests a larger disruptive potential than does consideration of size or duration. It may have been that what they lacked in size or duration, they made up for by having other groups in other locations or at other times protesting the same issue.

Tactics

Perhaps the most obvious indicator of disruptiveness is the type of tactic used. Some contentious political actions, such as rioting or lynching, are extraordinarily disruptive and violent; others, such as holding up placards, are much less so. Here we examine the degree to which these protests used disruptive tactics.

Table 4.11 shows tactics that were used ten or more times. Up to three tactics per protest were coded, so the number of tactics is greater than the number of protests. The table shows that marches, demonstrations, or rallies constituted 38 percent of the tactics used. Protest marches have become part of the political scene in the United States since the 1960s (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998).[4] This tactic, although not considered to be part of the normative repertoire of political action within the American political system, is no longer considered a very disruptive form of contentious politics. Protest marches do tend to be quite visible, however, because their locations make them easily accessible to media coverage, and large marches can be quite disruptive of traffic, depending upon their location, route, day, time, and whether or not roads have been closed off in advance.

Several other types of tactics were used somewhat frequently. Two of the three tactics that were used most often were used in conjunction with a march or rally. One was chanting, which constituted about 7 percent of the tactics. The other was displaying or wearing something related to the protest issues or demands, which constituted about 16 percent of the tactics. What was displayed was usually a poster, while what was worn varied.

Other types of tactics that showed up somewhat frequently included blocking anything (9 percent), a takeover or lockout (2.5 percent), holding a vigil of any kind, including a candlelight vigil (3 percent), and having a sit-in (5 percent). Tactics that were used less frequently included protesters chaining themselves to something (most often a bus or part of a building—2 percent); meeting with or lobbying someone (2 percent); crawling (1 percent); demanding something (1.2 percent); interrupting, most often by booing, jeering, making noise, or blowing whistles (2 percent); handing out information (2 percent); and holding a strike of any kind, including a rent strike; or a boycott (2 percent).[5]

A number of tactics were included in the "other" category in table 4.11. These included resigning from positions en masse, trespassing, defacing property, having a picnic, holding a funeral (usually, but not always, a mock funeral), dropping or throwing something, staging a confrontation, performing a skit or play, issuing a

Table 4.11. Frequency Distribution of Types of Tactics Used

Type of Tactic (N = 1083)	Number	Percentage
March, demonstration, or rally	410	37.9%
Takeover or lockout	27	2.5
Sit-in or refusing to leave	50	4.6
Chaining themselves to something	20	1.8
Meeting with or lobbying someone	23	2.1
Interrupting, booing, jeering, blowing whistles or making noise	21	1.9
Vigil, candlelight or other	31	2.9
Wearing or displaying relevant information	176	16.2
Chanting	80	7.4
Handing out information	19	1.8
Strike (hunger, rent or other) or boycott	20	1.8
Blocking anything	96	8.9
Crawling	13	1.2
Demanding something	13	1.2
Others	84	7.8
Was Protest Disruptive? (N = 744)		
Yes	216	29.0%
No	528	71.0

"report card," having a teach-in, having a call-in, taking pictures, robbing a bank, and paying with all pennies. Some of these tactics, such as paying with all pennies, were done as a way of being disruptive. Some, such as staging a skit or play or issuing a report card, were done to educate the public. Some tactics were novel, such as protesters paying with all pennies or chaining themselves to buses. Others had been used extensively in the civil rights movement (marches and rallies), the anti-war movement (teach-ins and building takeovers), and the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa (using funerals for protests). Only a minority of these protests differed from the "repertoire of contentious action" usually seen in protests in this country. Although there was a diffusion of some tactics from other movements, there were also a few new tactics that emerged from these contentious actions.

In table 4.11, we evaluated the tactics, and hence the protests, as being disruptive or nondisruptive. Disruptive tactics included protesters blocking something, such as a bus or an entrance to a building; chaining themselves to something, such as a stairway or a bus; sitting in a place and refusing to move; or taking over a building, an office, or a school. Other tactics coded as being disruptive were interrupting, booing,



A police officer uses bolt cutters to remove the chains from an ADAPT protestor in a Dallas bus terminal who chained himself to a steering wheel column of a bus.

jeering, blowing whistles, or making noise, strikes, boycotts, crawling or rolling, and paying with all pennies. A protest was considered disruptive if any of the three tactics coded was a disruptive tactic. A relatively low 29 percent of all protests included at least one disruptive tactic. For the sake of comparison, we note that AIDS protests were somewhat more disruptive than others. Analysis of AIDS protests collected as part of this data set showed that 33.5 percent of those protests used at least one disruptive tactic. These included sit-ins; booing and jeering; defacing property, often with real or fake blood; blowing whistles; and robbing a bank.[6]

Our examination of the tactics used in the contentious political actions reinforced what we saw when we examined the duration, sizes, and linkages of the protests. Taken together, the four variables suggest that the prototypical protest was about two hours long, with less than 100 participants, and linked to another protest conducting a rally, protest march, or demonstration. Overall the protests described here fall on the less disruptive side of the continuum.

This pattern appears to be somewhat different than that seen in other social movements in one other respect. Scholars of social movements have suggested that the most disruptive protests, that is, the largest, longest, loudest, or most violent, tend to attract media attention (Snyder and Kelly, 1977; McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith, 1996). The protests in our database were mostly nondisruptive, yet almost all of them attracted media attention. We will see later that the disruptiveness of the protests did not relate to the amount of media coverage.

By the criterion of disruptiveness, then, we would expect that the protests should not have been successful. But because disruptiveness is only one predictor of success, we examined other predictors in order to see if, overall, we would expect the protests to have been successful.

Targets

Those with power to address the demands being made are the most appropriate targets, and choice of target is important to the success of political actions (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995). Table 4.12 shows that state governments were the targets of protests almost one-fourth of the time. The federal government was the target less than 20 percent of the time, and local governments were the target of protests around 11 percent of the time. Overall, more than half of all of the protests had a governmental, rather than a non-governmental, target. Companies were the target of protests about 20 percent of the time. Telethons were the specific target about 6 percent of the time, and media or types of media presentations were the targets in 2 percent of the protests. Educational institutions, from elementary school through universities, were the target in about 5 percent of the protests. "The public" was also the target of about 4 percent of the protests. Professional associations, including the American Public Transit Association (APTA), a frequent target of ADAPT, and the American Psychiatric Association (APA), a frequent target in the psychiatric survivors' movement, were the target of less than 4 percent of the protests. Other targets, which made up about 7 percent of the total, included service agencies, medical facilities, churches or religious organizations, political parties, and the legal or judicial systems.

Table 4.12. Frequency Distribution of Targets of Protests

Target (N = 721)	Number	Percentage
Local government	78	10.8%
State government	167	23.2
Federal government	130	18.0
Companies	145	20.1
Educational institutions	38	5.3
Telethons	41	5.7
Media	15	2.1
Professional associations	26	3.6
Public	27	3.7
Service agencies	10	1.4
Medical personnel or services	12	1.7
One person	14	1.9
Church or religious group	1	0.1
Private organization	6	0.8
Political party	6	0.8
Legal or judicial systems	5	0.7

The focus on governmental targets reflects, perhaps, the long dependence of the disability community on government money and other forms of assistance. There was, however, less focus on the federal government as a target of protest than expected. There were a number of high profile protests whose focus was on the federal government, but the number of such protests as a proportion of all protests was surprisingly low. Surprisingly, state governments were the most frequent government target. Local governments show up as targets in the fewest protests of the three levels of government. Even though issues such as transportation tend to be handled at the local governmental level, there are many other issues, such as psychiatric treatment and some types of monetary assistance, that are not. Thus, it appears that protesters are (wisely) ignoring these less appropriate targets.

Given the history of federal governmental policies that enhanced dependency, one disability activist wrote that the disability community needed to target the federal government first and should only focus on more localized targets when federal level regulatory power had been maximized (Asch, 1986). This did not appear to happen. The focus on government targets, especially at the state level, is quite different than in some other social movements. In the anti-Vietnam War movement, for example, protesters primarily petitioned the federal government, or they addressed their demands to the public. There were—appropriately—no protests addressed to state and local governments, as those levels of government were essentially powerless

to deal with the issue being protested. The opposite is seen when the disability protests are compared to AIDS protests. Analysis of the authors' data shows that AIDS protests were much more likely to petition the federal government than were disability protests. Over half of AIDS protests focused on that target, and those protests were extremely unlikely to target state governments—only 6 percent of protests did so.

Companies were targeted more often than any level of government other than state government. This reflects the numerous protests held against the Greyhound Bus Company. Primarily sponsored by ADAPT, the protests attempted to convince the company to equip their buses with lifts in order to make them accessible to people who use wheelchairs. Greyhound had been extremely resistant to doing so, and as a result, endured days such as August 9, 1997, in which protests were held in forty cities across the country. By 2000, the company gave in to the protesters' demands.

Some targets showed up with surprising infrequency. Even though many people with disabilities loathe telethons—and telethons are an expressed grievance of the movement—they were the targets in less than 6 percent of the protests. Of course, some of the protests against one person were also protests against telethons, but not all were. Some were also protests against assisted suicide as carried out by Dr. Jack Kevorkian.

That the protest targets are so varied may also be a distinguishing feature of disability protests. The diffusion of targets reflects the breadth of the problems experienced by people with impairments. It also appears that protesters are consciously and appropriately choosing their targets. If this is so, it suggests that the protests should have been more successful than protests whose targets were chosen indiscriminately.

Locations

Protest locations can also influence the likelihood of success. If visibility and disruptiveness enhance the potential success of a protest, then the best locations might be prominent ones where ordinary activities are most likely to be disrupted. A protest in a private or hidden place is less likely to attract attention, and so is less likely to succeed.

Table 4.13 shows the locations of the protests. Because up to three locations were coded for each protest, a single location cannot be considered to be equal to a single protest. Rather, some protests had one location, some had two, and some had three. Consistent with the focus on government targets, government buildings were the most frequent protest locations, constituting almost 30 percent of all locations. Streets comprised the second most frequent location at 25 percent. Eighty-eight of the protests, or about 12 percent, were held at those two locations, and the combination of government building and street was the most common combination of protest location. Transportation facilities constituted almost 15 percent of the protest locations. Consistent with the focus on the accessibility of public transportation and the targeting of Greyhound in particular, many protests were held in or around bus stations. Only a handful were held in or near other types of transportation facilities. Public, nongovernmental buildings and educational institutions each comprised 6

Table 4.13. Locations of Protests

Locations of Protests (N = 857)	Number	Percentage
Governmental buildings	253	29.5%
Educational institutions	50	5.8
Public buildings	56	6.5
Private homes	11	1.3
Stores or shopping malls	5	0.6
Restaurants	9	1.1
Hotels	26	3.0
Medical facilities	26	3.0
Parks or plazas	31	3.6
Streets	211	24.6
Transportation facilities	130	15.1
Church or cemetery	9	1.1
Media facilities	28	3.3
Political party office or voting place	9	1.1
Other	14	1.6
Location Inside or Outside (N = 540)		
Inside	185	34.3%
Outside	412	76.3[a]
Inside only	121	22.7
Outside only	349	65.4
Both inside and outside	63	11.8

a. Percentages add up to more than 100 percent because a protest could be both inside and outside.

percent of the locations. Other protest locations, none of which comprised more than 4 percent of the locations, included media facilities, hotels, medical facilities, stores, restaurants, hotels, polling places or political party offices, and parks or plazas.

The second panel of table 4.13 shows whether the protests were held indoors or outdoors. (These were two separate variables, and they were coded for each protest). Less than one-quarter of the protests took place inside buildings, while three-quarters were held outside. When the total pattern for each protest is considered, the data show that almost two-thirds of the protests occurred outside only, while about one-fifth occurred inside only. Fewer than 12 percent of the protests occurred in both places.

Protests held inside buildings have the greatest potential to be disruptive, and outdoor protests have the greatest potential for visibility. The pattern reported here,

then, is of protests aimed at greater visibility, as most were likely to be located on streets and near government buildings. Because the tactics, size, and duration of the protests made them potentially less disruptive, the locations were well chosen to compensate for lack of disruptiveness and yet still have an impact.

Coalitions

Coalitions have the potential to increase a protest's success by providing support, visibility, and therefore clout. Coalitions may be formed if other protesting groups share issues, members, or resources. In part, the usefulness of having coalition partners comes from the greater numbers of people and the resulting increased visibility engendered by their joint action. In addition, support from coalition partners can provide other types of resources, such as lists of funding agencies or photocopying machines. Coalition partners may also provide better access to media, access to their own better-known leaders who have higher levels of credibility than the protesting group, or access to political leaders or policy makers. Finally, coalitions may provide access to membership lists or to networks of potential adherents and thus increase the mobilization potential for the original group.

Coalitions can be formal or informal. In a formal coalition, the groups would publicly announce that they are working together to solve a problem that affects the members of both groups. In an informal coalition, groups would work together without a formal statement of unity. In the actions being discussed here, an informal coalition would mean that the groups would protest together, without jointly sponsoring or organizing the protest and without formally declaring themselves to be coalition partners.

In addition, coalitions can be short term or longer term. Short-term coalitions could exist for the duration of one action (protest) or the duration of one issue or problem. Longer-term coalitions would exist for more than one issue or problem, but they would still last for a finite amount of time. Permanent coalitions would seem unlikely to exist, because if two organizations joined forces, they would probably change their names to reflect their new membership or mission. The two or more previously separate organizations would cease to exist.

There are many types of potential coalition partners for protests that focus on impairment-related issues. One category would be a group that has many members who have impairments, even though impairment issues are not the group's focus. Such groups would include those representing elderly people or those representing people with medical conditions like AIDS or cancer that are not usually considered to be disabilities. Perhaps the most logical coalition partners would be the single-disability self-help or support organizations, such as Easter Seals or the MS Society. They have not, thus far, seen their mission as involving protesting.[7]

Other potential coalition partners would be groups that have issues that overlap with those of people with disabilities, even if the group does not include many members with disabilities. Overlapping issues include civil rights, affirmative action, discrimination, Medicare, Medicaid, and other types of what are loosely called "welfare" payments. Groups that share some or all of these issues include feminists, racial or

ethnic groups, and welfare recipients. There could also be coalitions between disability groups fighting for special education and groups fighting for better conditions for children generally. Groups of people fighting issues related to bilingual education could be coalition partners with deaf people who are concerned about ASL usage in classrooms and the teaching of English as a second language. Thus, we see that there are many potential coalition partners for protesters in the deaf and disability communities.

One measure of the existence of a coalition is whether other types of protesters were present at the protest. In our data we did not code whether the coprotesters had formally joined forces, whether they were simply united for the time period of the protest, or whether the coalitions were short- or long-term. In fact, in most cases, we had no way of knowing this information, as such details are seldom mentioned in newspaper coverage of a protest. It is quite likely that those people we are designating as coalition members were simply coprotesters, who were most likely to have participated as individuals rather than as organized groups. Nevertheless, the advantages of their presence, in the short run, would be the same whether they participated as group representatives or individuals.

By and large very few disability protests had coalition partners. Only ninety, or about 12 percent, of the protests were reported to have had other protesters formally involved. In addition, only forty, or about 5 percent of the protests, had support expressed by external but noninvolved groups. This did not include the protests in which other groups held protests (i.e., occurred at the same time in the same place) that were essentially parallel to the disability protest but did not focus on the same issue.

Table 4.14 shows that the most likely coalition partners were groups representing elderly people. This occurred in twenty protests. Other protests were held in conjunction with unions or workers (twelve), groups representing poor or homeless people (seven), groups representing cancer patients (five), and groups representing immigrants (three). Four protests were held with groups representing blacks and Latinos. Three protests were held with right-to-life groups as coprotesters, and two protests each were held in conjunction with church or religious groups and parents' groups.

The table shows those coalitions that occurred with groups that have no stated relationship to disability. There can, however, be within-disability coalitions in which different impairment groups would work together in protests. These would not be truly cross-disability protests but rather protests in which two distinct disability groups were represented. Although such coalitions would seem to be logical, all impairment groups do not see the issues the same way.

There were only twenty-eight protests that had within-disability coalitions, and the patterns of these protests suggest where there is overlap among the issues related to specific impairment groups. Of these protests, those related to developmental disabilities were most likely (sixteen), and those related to deafness (four) the least likely, to have other impairment groups present. Although these numbers are small, they suggest that the differences between communications accessibility and other types of accessibility have resulted in the separation of protests relating to those issues as well as the separation of protesting groups.

The largest single type of within-disability coalition dealt with issues of interest to people with developmental disabilities and people with other types of impairments.

Table 4.14. Frequency Distribution of Coprotesters or Coalition Partners

Type of Group (N = 90)	Number	Percentage
Elderly	20	22.2%
Unions or workers	12	13.3
Veterans	12	13.3
Poor or homeless people	7	7.8
Blacks and Latinos	4	4.4
Immigrants	3	3.3
Cancer-related	5	5.5
Church or religious group	2	2.2
Right to life	3	3.3
Parents	2	2.2
Groups related to AIDS or substance abuse	3	3.3
More than one group	12	13.3
Other (including transsexuals and other groups)	76	7.8

This is somewhat logical, because two types of impairments that were coded as "other" were learning disabilities and autism. It is likely that these protests focused upon issues of relevance to children, as issues relating to schooling for children with these types of impairments are likely to overlap.

The two other largest categories of within-disability overlap were seen in protests that included people with developmental and psychiatric impairments, and those that included people with mobility and visual impairments. The former seems to represent the conjunction of impairments by location on the body. Whether this is an artifact of that cognitive grouping in the heads of reporters or whether it is a real conjunction of issues of interest to both types of impairment groups, such as institutional care, cannot be determined here. The conjunction of people with mobility and visual impairments seems most likely to represent demands related to overlapping accessibility issues, most likely in buildings or, sometimes, transportation facilities or vehicles.

The splits among impairment groups do appear to contribute to the lack of within-disability coalitions. Davis and Heyl (1978) point out that, in the past, the National Federation of the Blind resisted forming coalitions with groups representing other people with disabilities. And disability activists often castigate the unwillingness of those disability-related organizations with self-help missions to join in protests. Protests in which there were nondisability-related coalition partners were most likely to be making demands related to money or services. This was true of 72 percent of the demands made in protests in which there were coalition partners (data not shown). This begins to explain why groups such as older people, immigrants, poor or homeless people, and veterans were among those most likely to participate a



In 1977, during the Section 504 protests the International Association of Machinists, along with other organizations such as the Black Panthers, showed their support by providing transportation, food, and other assistance to the protestors.

coalition partners in disability-related protests. All have interests in service- and money-related issues.

Some logical coalition partners were extremely unlikely to be aligned with people protesting issues relevant to the deaf or disability community. One such group, feminists, *never* showed up as coalition partners, while others, such as blacks and Latinos, seldom showed up as coalition partners. Those groups might be more likely to protest about rights-related issues, but they were the least likely to have been involved in disability-related protests. The fact that the majority of the protests that had coalition partners focused on money and services is the flip side of the lack of coalitions with rights-related groups.

The reasons for the lack of coalition partners cannot be determined from the current data. But disability activists express a strong conviction that there has been a lack of interest in disability protests from progressive or liberal organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). They insist that such organizations "just don't get it" (Johnson, 1997).[8] Other activists simply put out a plea for coalitions, as in this statement, from a news release about a planned Not Dead Yet protest: "NDY urges the HIV/AIDS community to identify itself with the broader disability community, and to focus on defending our civil rights rather than accepting society's devaluation of our lives" (from Memphis Center for Independent Living home page available at http://www.mcil.org).

Activists have many stories about how they approached liberal or progressive organizations for help and were turned down—or literally could not get in the door because the organization's facilities were not accessible. Some suggest that because disability activists do not have a presence in liberal social organizations, those organizations are not cognizant of disability-related issues (Johnson, 1997). At the time of this writing, however, the situation is beginning to change. One feminist organization, the National Organization for Women (NOW), has recently linked itself to the cause of disability rights by printing a brochure called "Together We Will Achieve Disability Rights" and by printing an article in its newsletter about a large disability protest held in Washington, D.C., on May 12, 1999. It remains to be seen if this coalition will continue and if it will work to the benefit of people with disabilities.

Having coalition partners is a two-edged sword. Some might see the presence of such partners as giving away power (Johnson, 1997: 18). Others note that coalition partners will not develop the appropriate collective consciousness, so they are unlikely to bring new members into the movement (Ferree and Hess, 1994: 211). Thus, the lack of coalition partners may not be completely disadvantageous.

Bystander Support

Protests gain clout when outsiders—those not involved in the protest itself and who are unlikely to benefit directly from the protest—express support. Bystander support contributes in two ways. First, it reduces the costs of participation in the collective action by increasing the euphoria and the *perceived* probability of success associated with participation. Support also increases the *actual* probability of success of a protest, because it strengthens the protesters' bargaining position. It does this, in part, by changing the pressure from being localized in the protest situation itself to being more general. Support can help prolong a protest, or it can suggest an enlarged base of support. In either case, it increases the amount of disruptiveness the protest is perceived to have and thus increases its potential political clout. The success of a protest, then, is enhanced by the extent to which protesters can garner support from outside groups or individuals.

Such support can—and usually must—be actively pursued. The task of producing such support is important for participants in collective actions. McCarthy and Zald (1987) distinguish between support from the disinterested public, whom they call the "bystander public," and support from those who are not involved in the protest but might stand to gain if the demands of the protest are realized. They call these people "potential beneficiaries." Here we focus primarily on support from the bystander public. Support can either be symbolic, as in statements of support, or it can be material and include money, office space, telephones or fax machines, mailing lists, copy machines or other office machines, or the time and energy of personnel.

The Deaf President Now protest was one in which support from other groups was widespread. The DPN protesters got both material as well as symbolic support. For example, the Gallaudet University Alumni Association permitted the protesters to use their office space as well as a telephone bank that had already been set up for an alumni fundraising TDD-a-thon (telethon). This allowed the protesters to receive

pledges of money and support. Also, before the formal beginning of the protest, supplies, personnel, and expertise had been donated by some concerned deaf adults. Other resources were contributed by sympathizers as the protest continued. Christiansen and Barnartt (1995) note that "there was a distinct perception among the protesters that money and supplies, including blankets and hamburgers, were, almost literally, dropping out of the sky." Other important types of support, although not disinterested, came from interpreters who donated their time (normally twenty to thirty dollars per hour) and their skills.[9] Gallaudet's television crew also donated their time and skills.

Despite what happened during DPN, it may be that getting support from other organizations is unusual for protests in any community. It certainly did not occur for the majority of these protests: Only ninety-four protests, or about 13 percent of the protests, had formal support offered by another group, usually through statements of support. It cannot be known from these data whether statements of support, or other types of support, were requested, but the groups were not able to obtain statements of support when they did or if the protesting groups did not request support. One example of an outright refusal occurred when civil rights activists Rosa Parks and Jesse Jackson refused to join in, or even support, a bus protest, in Detroit in 1986 (Johnson, 1997; Shapiro, 1993: 128). In other situations, the lack of support may have existed because it was not sought. But the fact remains that disability protests have not benefited from possible alliances with other groups.

Only seventy-one of the protests, less than 10 percent, had *both* coalition partners *and* any sort of outside support, while over 14 percent, or 110 protests, had *either* one or more coalition partners or some sort of external support. The percentages suggest that disability and deafness-related contentious actions had a high degree of isolation from other protesting groups or potential supporters. These two indicators of the likelihood of success of the protests predict a lower degree of success than might be indicated by the other indicators already mentioned.

Organizational Involvement

Some of the research on protest success (such as that by Gamson, 1975) *only* studied social movements that had organizations associated with them, so it could not relate success to level of organizational involvement.[10] There is, however, research that suggests that cohesive protesting groups are likely to be more effective than less cohesive groups (Miller, 1985). Cohesiveness glues the participants in the group together and improves their chances of success (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995). It therefore seems likely that protests with organizational involvement would be more successful than those without. It is also likely that protests *instigated* by organizations would be more successful than those in which the organizational involvement occurred later, because instigating organizations would have networks of members upon which to draw. But we do not have data about whether an organization instigated a protest or simply participated in it.

Organizational involvement means that protesters are likely to be adherents who have a long-term concern with an issue, and that the concern is strong enough

to produce contentious political action. Organizational involvement suggests that the action is focused around a social movement, whereas lack of organizational involvement suggests that the contentious political action may be more isolated in context. Lack of organizational involvement in a protest suggests that it occurred on a spur-of-the-moment basis, fomented by people who may not have had any sort of connection to each other previously but who were similarly upset about a single issue. Those people may never come together again, so the power that might accrue from a voice that keeps demanding the same thing may not accrue to a protest without organizational involvement. This provides another reason why protests that have organizational involvement are more likely to be successful than are protests without it. Finally, protests led by organizations can be expected to be more successful than protests that are not because protest linkage is also related to organizational involvement. About 54 percent of protests that had organizational involvement were linked protests, while only about 24 percent of the protests without organizational involvement were linked to other protests.[11]

Type of Organization

Rather than there being one social movement organization—or even a few organizations—which represents the diverse community of potential beneficiaries, a number of organizations have been involved in these protests. We assume that not all organizations are likely to be equally successful, so we need to consider characteristics of organizations that might increase the likelihood of successful protests. The characteristics of various organizations may predispose them toward success. One such characteristic is whether an organization focuses on a single issue or on multiple issues. Gamson (1975: 45) hypothesized that multiple-issue groups ought to experience more success than single-issue groups, although his data did not support his hypothesis. In addition, the organizations involved in disability protests vary in a way that differs from those in other social movements. That is, organizations vary in the types of impairments they appeal to or recruit from. If we add this to the dimension of numbers of issues their scope encompasses, we can create a two-dimensional characterization of organizations.

Figure 4.1 shows that many of the organizations involved in protests are either disability- or issue-specific. Disability-specific organizations include the National Association of the Deaf (NAD), the National Federation of the Blind (NFB), the American Council for the Blind (ACB), and Support Coalition International (SCI).[12] All of these organizations have multiple issues, but they are of interest primarily to people with one type of impairment. They do not recruit from all sectors of the disability community, and the issue or issues that form their central concern are not applicable to people with all types of impairments. We call these organizations single-impairment, multiple-issue organizations.

There are also a number of organizations that focus on one issue but appeal to a variety of impairment-issue groups. We call these organizations multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations. ADAPT is one such organization. Its acronym originally stood for Americans Disabled for Public Transit, and its primary focus in its early

Scope of Issue	Impairment Status	
	Single	**Multiple**
Single		ADAPT (219) Jerry's Orphans (10) Not Dead Yet (14) FDR in a Chair Campaign (2) Concrete Change (5) Concerned Rail Corridor Riders (2) Other (5) (Total = 257)
Multiple	National Association of the Deaf (4) National Federation of the Blind (13) American Council for the Blind (4) Support Coalition International (12) Other (26) (Total = 59)	ACCD (14) Disabled in Action (10) Disabled People's Liberation Front (5) TASH (2) The ARC (4) Independent Living Centers (22) Paralyzed Veterans of America (6) Other (19) (Total = 82)

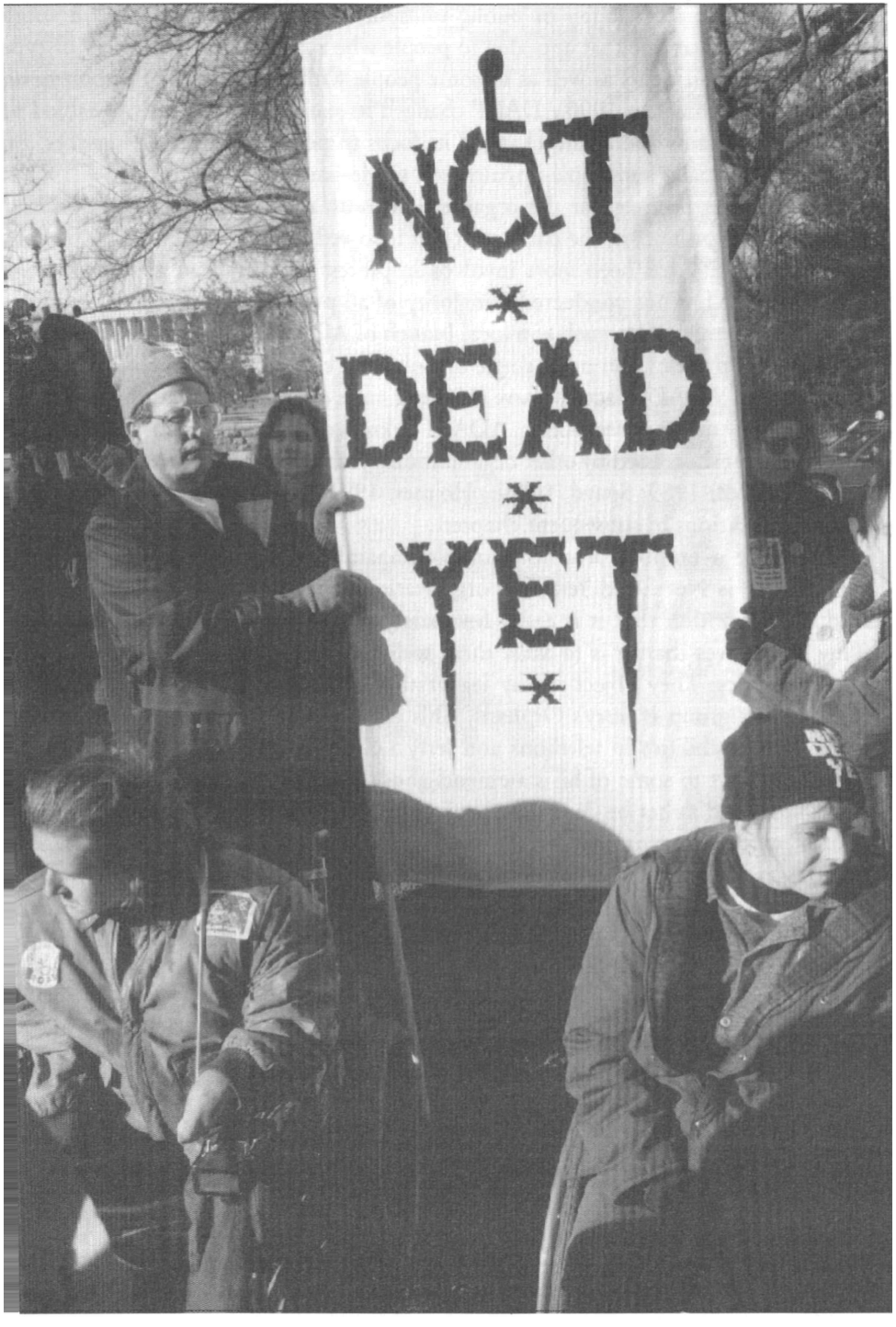
Figure 4.1. Typology of disability organizations. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of protests in which each organization was involved.

years was on the accessibility of public transportation systems. Although a single, narrow issue, it was one that appealed to people who may have had a variety of types of mobility impairments as well as to some people with other types of impairments, such as blind people. In 1990 ADAPT changed its name to Americans Disabled for Attendant Programs Today and changed its focus to personal assistance services, but it remains essentially a multiple-impairment, single-issue organization.

ADAPT has been by far the organization most active in contentious political actions. Of the protests in the data set, it was involved in 219, or almost 30 percent. Although ADAPT has been more involved in protest activity than any other single organization, it has not conducted a majority of all protests. State or local branches of national organizations, such as a local branch of ADAPT, conducted more than 7 percent of the protests. No other single organization conducted more than 1 percent of the protests. ADAPT's actions have also been more contentious than those of many other groups. Among other aspects, ADAPT is known for using tactics that are more disruptive than those used by other organizations. Journalists often describe the group as militant (Lee, 1989; Spayd, 1993b; Holmes, 1991). We examine this contention and its implications in subsequent chapters.

There are a number of other multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations. One of these is Not Dead Yet. This organization's opposition to assisted suicide is based on the notion that it is easier for society to assist people with disabilities in killing themselves than it is to assist them to live independent and productive lives with disabilities. They object to any legalization of assisted suicide for this reason. Another such group is Jerry's Orphans. This organization protests the portrayal of people with disabilities in telethons and Jerry Lewis's involvement in the telethons. They also object to some of his statements about disability, including one in which he said he would rather be dead than be disabled. The FDR in a Chair Campaign is a fourth multiple-impairment, single-issue organization. It focuses on how Franklin Delano Roosevelt was to be portrayed in the memorial that opened in 1997. Other multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations include Concrete Change, an organization that focuses on accessibility in housing, and Concerned Rail Corridor Riders, which focuses on accessibility of trains in the Chicago suburbs. All of these organizations are multiple-impairment in the sense that their issue relates to more than one type of impairment, but their rallying cry involves a single issue.

There are some organizations that can be classified as multiple-impairment, multiple-issue, or cross-disability, groups. These include the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities (ACCD), Disabled in Action (DIA), the Disabled People's Liberation Front (DPLF), The Association for the Severely Handicapped (TASH), the Association for Retarded Citizens (ARC), the Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA),[13] and all independent living centers (ILCs). The organizations included in this category are not homogeneous. Rather, the category includes several subcategories. ACCD and DIA attempt to represent people with all types of impairments on issues such as laws or discrimination patterns that could affect them all. They attempt to be truly cross-disability organizations. Organizations such as TASH and the ARC do not represent all people with all types of impairments. Rather, they represent people with



Not Dead Yet was formed in 1996 shortly after Jack Kevorkian was acquitted in the assisted suicides of two women with non-terminal disabilities.

a number of types of impairments on a number of types of issues. TASH focuses on people, primarily children, with multiple impairments or extremely severe impairments, while the ARC focuses on issues relevant to people with mental retardation, no matter what its source and no matter what the person's age. Thus even though these groups are multiple-impairment, multiple-issue, they are not *comprehensively* cross-disability in their coverage.

We included ILCs in this category. They attempt to be inclusively cross-disability, and they concern themselves with many issues related to disability. However, they are a very different type of organization than are the others. They are not social movement organizations but self-help organizations. Their focus is primarily on individuals and helping them to solve problems, rather than on legal or policy issues. We included them because they have become involved in some protests, even though it is not their intention to be protest organizations.[14]

Figure 4.1 also shows how many protests were conducted by each organization and by each category of organization. The figure shows that, overall, multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations were involved in 257 protests, or almost 35 percent of all protests.[15] Cross-disability organizations were involved in 82 protests, and single-impairment, multiple-issue organizations were involved in 59 protests. Thus, it is clear that cross-disability organizations were not involved in the most protests. Rather, it was the multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations that were most likely to be involved.

Multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations were very important for the development and continuation of these protests. For any single organization to focus on all types of impairments is a difficult task, because different medical conditions raise different types of issues. On the other hand, if a social movement had many organizations, each focusing on only one type of impairment, it would make communication unlikely and would decrease the possibility that organizational networks, which are likely to facilitate contentious action (Morris, 1984), would arise.

Multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations partially solve both of these problems by including many impairment groups that have a common interest in a single issue. Organized around the issue instead of the type of impairment, these organizations could coalesce around specific issues that affected many impairment groups. Three of these issues that are of potential interest to people with many types of impairments are portrayals, telethons, and assisted suicide. The groups that formed around these issues are the FDR in a Chair Campaign, Jerry's Orphans, and Not Dead Yet, respectively. Although not as all-encompassing as groups such as DIA or ACCD, either in the scope of their issues or in their desired membership, such organizations are much more inclusive than single-disability organizations.

Such organizations also help to solve the problem of attracting impairment groups that either have very small populations or have small populations of potential activists. For example, the majority of people with sensory impairments—hearing and vision—are elderly and unlikely to be successfully mobilized for contentious political action, unlike younger people with spinal cord injuries, multiple sclerosis, or other conditions. If, however, potential adherents can be drawn in by focusing on a relevant

issue, the pool of potential adherents can be increased. Multiple-disability, single-issue organizations make successful mobilization of larger numbers of aggrieved activists possible, because they expand the scope of issues as well as the potential base of adherents. By maximizing the numbers of possible adherents, this type of organization maximizes the possible effect of contentious political actions.

Although multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations appear to have been an important part of the solution to the mobilization problems posed by the varieties of impairment, they are not complete solutions. Although they are quite inclusive, the issues on which these groups focus do not affect all people with impairments. For example, none of these issues are likely to appeal to deaf people, and none of the groups appear to have attempted to recruit deaf people. (If they did, it was most likely to have been without success.) The issues of these groups were also unlikely to resonate with people with psychiatric impairments. However, groups of this type would seem to be better placed to begin to solve the mobilization problem.

Overall, both the proportion of protests that had organizational involvement and the types of organizations most likely to be involved suggest that these protests should fall on the more successful side of the continuum.

Types of Participants

The types of people involved in contentious political actions should be related to the success of those actions. Although this has not been investigated, we can hypothesize that contentious actions conducted by the potential beneficiaries of that action are more likely to succeed than actions conducted for them by other people. There are a number of reasons for this hypothesis. First, the potential beneficiaries would be to likely care more about the results and so might be more likely to put their hearts into the action. They are more likely to have had real experience (what some disability advocates like to call "lived experience") with the situation being protested, and they are more likely to be able to talk about why the situation is problematic. Conversely, protesters without actual knowledge of the problems being protested may seem to the potential beneficiaries as being paternalistic and to the bystander public as being insincere.

As table 4.15 shows, the greatest number of protests (more than 80 percent) were conducted by the potential beneficiaries. Many of the early (albeit noncontentious) legal and political actions taken for the betterment of the lives of people with disabilities, especially those with mental retardation, were taken by parents and other family members (Altman and Barnartt, 1993), but this situation has changed. The passivity that organizations *for* people with impairments instill, either by intent or as a result of their policies (Scott, 1969), that might have been a barrier to mobilization for contentious action has clearly been overcome. Although children with impairments are also likely to be present or future beneficiaries, they showed up in only about 8 percent of the protests. This result is to be expected, because children are not usually participants in contentious political action.

The second most common category of protesters includes what are known in social movement terms as conscience constituents (McCarthy and Zald, 1987). These

Table 4.15. Frequency Distribution of Types of Participants

Type of Participant	Number	Percentage
Adults with disabilities	596	80.1%
Children with disabilities	59	7.9
Adults without disabilities	155	20.8
Children without disabilities	15	2.0
Professionals/treatment personnel	55	7.4
Educators	19	2.6
Parents or other family members	99	16.0

Note: Each category was coded separately, so any one protest event could have from one to seven different types of participants. The percentages shown were calculated based upon 745 protests.

are people who do not stand to benefit from the changes being demanded, but who nonetheless support them. In almost 21 percent of the protests, there were conscience constituents involved. These are people without disabilities who would not personally benefit from the successful resolution of the protests' demands. They were also people who were not identified as being family members, so they were not even doing this to improve their familial situation. They were people who thought the demands were correct and so voted their conscience with their feet.

The third most common type of protestor is what Goffman calls the "wise." By this he meant "persons who are normal but whose special situation has made them intimately privy to the secret life of the stigmatized individual and sympathetic with it, and who find themselves accorded a measure of acceptance, a measure of courtesy membership in the clan" (Goffman, 1963: 28). Such people could include friends or colleagues of people with impairments, but the people who are most likely to be members of "the wise" are family members.[16] As Goffman (1963: 30) says: "A second type of wise person is the individual who is related through the social structure to a stigmatized individual, a relationship that leads the wider society to treat both individuals in some respects as one." Family members are among those who would be most knowledgeable about a particular impairment. We see that protesters in 16 percent of the protests fit into this category. This relatively low percentage shows that the wise may have known about disability, and may have experienced it vicariously, but they are not primarily the people seeking changes using the methods of contentious politics.

In part this lack of participation may represent the fact that, although the wise *know* what is happening, they are not themselves in fact *experiencing* it, no matter how sympathetic, empathic, or knowledgeable they may be. Or, if they are stigmatized to the same degree—as Goffman indicates—they are still likely to have other identities into which they can retreat to mitigate the effect of such stigma. Thus they may not become radicalized to the extent that people who actually experience the frustrations do, and so are less likely to participate in somewhat risky contentious action.

On the other hand, lack of participation may not have been their own choice. Most social movements go through periods of attempting to define who is "_____ enough" and attempting to prevent those who are not "_____ enough" from representing those who are *really* members of the movement. (For "_____ enough," one can fill in black, feminist, Jewish, deaf, disabled, or any other characteristic.) Although it was not true in the time period in which the earliest protests occurred, in the recent past questions have been raised about whether someone is not just "disabled" or "deaf" but whether he or she is "disabled *enough*" or "deaf *enough*" to represent the potential beneficiaries in the contentious actions (see, e.g., Doe, 1996; Drake, 1997). The wise are now less welcome in protests than they may have been in the past.

Professionals or treatment personnel were also only mentioned as being present in about 7 percent of the protests, and educators were mentioned as being present in less than 3 percent of the protests. The much lower levels of participation in the contentious actions by people without disabilities may be indicative of the growth of the contentious actions as parts of self-directed movements, and not simply attempts by members of the movements to push out those not "qualified." It is clear that the contentious political actions were conducted primarily by potential beneficiaries without much assistance from other categories of people. This indicator, also, predicts that the protests ought to fall on the more successful side of the continuum.

Summary

In this section we have considered a number of indicators that have been suggested in the literature on social movements to be related to the success of protests. We have shown that many of these indicators would lead us to predict a relatively higher likelihood of successful outcomes of the protests. This was not true of all of the indicators, especially those related to disruptiveness and to coalition support. But, on balance, these indicators would lead us to predict that a majority of the protests should have been successful.

EXTERNAL RESPONSES

Several types of consequences can result from contentious political actions. Some of the consequences are external, as when a protest attracts attention from agents of social control, such as police or a member of another type of security force. Table 4.16 shows that police or other types of security forces were present in about 20 percent of these protests. Attention from agents of social control sometimes results in arrests of protesters. There were arrests in only about 13 percent of these protests. Attention from social control agents sometimes gets out of hand, and protesters are injured; this only happened in five of the protests in our database.

Of those protests coded as being disruptive, over 60 percent had police present, but arrests were made in only about 35 percent. This suggests that even the disruptive protests were not perceived as being *too* disruptive. Police were present in about 10 percent of the less disruptive protests, and there were arrests in 4 percent of those

Table 4.16. External Results of Protests

Type of External Result	Number	Percentage
Police were present during the protest	150	20.2%
Protesters were arrested	79	12.7
Protesters were injured during the protest	5	0.8
Protest got a response from anyone	290	39.0
Protest was partially or completely successful	113	15.2

actions. Although the statistical relationship between disruptiveness and both police presence and arrests is very strong,[17] there is not a perfect relationship between police presence and the disruptiveness of the protest tactics.

Protesters can, and in fact hope to, garner attention from those who are being petitioned in the protest. Official responses that acknowledge a protest can include (from most to least desirable) being able to meet with the person who has the authority to change the situation (and so, it is hoped, resolve the issue that caused the protest), setting up a future such meeting, having that person issue a statement of support, having that person issue a vague promise to "look into the issue," or having a spokesperson acknowledge that the person is in fact aware of the protest. Only 39 percent of the protests got any type of responses. This means that over 60 percent did not get any response except for coverage in one or more newspapers.

These results support our interpretation that these protests were not perceived by authorities as being very threatening or disruptive. Only a small percentage attracted attention from police or security forces, and an even smaller percentage resulted in arrests. Although many protests got responses from someone in authority, the majority did not. Most of the protests did garner media attention, but for many, that was the extent of the attention they drew.

The disability protests did not garner much attention, either from social control agents or from those being petitioned. This is quite different from protests in some other social movements. Over 40 percent of the AIDS protests included in our database attracted a police presence, and there were arrests in 30 percent. McCarthy and McPhail (1998: 102) report police presence ranging from 96 percent for protests conducted by Queer Nation to 100 percent of protests conducted by ACT-UP (an AIDS protesting group), Janitors for Justice, and Operation Rescue. They also report arrest rates that varied from 50 percent of the protests by Queer Nation to 99 percent of the protests by Operation Rescue. No matter whether the protests by these other groups actually were more disruptive or whether they were just *expected* by the police to be more disruptive, it is clear that those protests garnered more attention, albeit perhaps negative attention, than did disability protests.

SUCCESS

Protests can be evaluated by how successful they are in attaining their demands. The simplest definition of success is whether or not the goal of the action was achieved. With a single contentious action, the ease with which one can determine success depends partially upon the type of demand. A protest can have very limited demands, such as being able to meet with an official to discuss an issue. In that case, the meeting is evidence of success. The demand can be for a limited policy change, such as the hiring (or nonhiring) or firing (or nonfiring) of a specific person or specific category of person. Again, success or failure is easily determined. If the demand is broader and involves, for example, the passage of a specific law, it seems as if the success is easily determined: If the law is passed, the social movement is successful. But direct linkage between one or several specific contentious actions and the passage of a law is often not so obvious and usually cannot be determined empirically. Finally, if the demand is extremely broad and somewhat nebulous—when, for example, the demand is for "equality" or "justice"—determining the degree to which any one contentious action or group of actions contributed to the success is the most difficult.

It was not easy to evaluate success from the media reports of protests. For many, it was not mentioned in the report. Sometimes it would be mentioned in a subsequent report, but the probability of finding the subsequent report was low. In addition, the overall impact of these protests may have had a different degree of success than did any specific action. Of the protests included in our database, only about 13 percent were clearly successful in attaining the specific demand made by the protest. Another 2 percent were partially successful. The majority of the protests were unsuccessful in attaining the specific protest demand, at least in the short run.

This low rate of success may be related to the relative lack of disruptiveness exhibited in the protests, or it may be related to a political culture in which protest is seen as an increasingly accepted expression of beliefs (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998). If political protest has become both less contentious and more acceptable, its power is diminished. As we discuss in later chapters, however, it is clear that, whether these protests were effective in the short term or not, their overall effect has been to improve the lives of people with disabilities, which was, after all, the long-range goal of the activists who took part in them.

PROTESTERS' PLANS FOR SUBSEQUENT COLLECTIVE ACTION

The lack of success in attaining the demands made in any one protest does not mean that the protest had no effect. One important consequence of collective action is what happens to the protesters themselves. Social movement theorists have suggested that prior movement activity may enhance subsequent action mobilization because it can lead to new ideas, beliefs, or ideologies (Oberschall, 1980: 65); new collective consciousnesses (Groch, 1994); new networks of relationships; new goals (Zolberg, 1972: 206); a new sense of politicization (Tarrow, 1994); or a new collective identity (Mann, 1973). Thus, collective actions are sometimes less important as goal attainment mechanisms than as mobilization tools.

Table 4.17. Protesters' Plans for Subsequent Actions

Protesters' Plans for Subsequent Action (N = 72)	Number	Percentage
Planned or threatened another protest	40	55.5%
Planned a petition drive	8	11.1
Planned lobbying or letter-writing campaign	16	22.2
Lawsuit	4	5.5
Setting up a new organization	2	2.8
Setting up a meeting	1	1.4
News conference	1	1.4

Protesters can become motivated by the failure as well as by the success of a protest (Sztompka, 1988) to engage in subsequent actions. They may gain skills or exposure to new goals, tactics, or ideologies, all of which may encourage them to join in another protest or another social movement (Zald and Garner, 1987). They may also reevaluate unsuccessful tactics in order to hone their strategies for future contentious actions (McAdam, 1997: 352) and so may decide to do it again "and do it right this time." Subsequent actions might be contentious, such as additional protests or petition drives; they might be noncontentious actions such as letter-writing campaigns, petition drives, or lobbying efforts; or they can be individual actions such as filing a lawsuit.

Table 4.17 shows that only about 10 percent of the protests planned subsequent action (disruptive or not). In those situations in which further action was planned, the type of action most likely to be discussed was a future protest, which comprised about 55 percent of the future plans. About 22 percent of the future plans included a letter-writing drive or a lobbying campaign. About 11 percent of the future plans included a petition drive. About 5 percent of the future plans included instituting a lawsuit, about 3 percent included setting up a new organization, and about 1 percent each included holding a news conference or setting up a meeting. It must be noted, however, that because the data derive from media reports, what this really tells us is that activists rarely indicated their future plans to the media. Whether subsequent collective actions were planned and did in fact occur could not be measured here.

CONCLUSION: SUCCESS AGAINST ALL PREDICTIONS

This chapter has painted a picture of a social movement action in which the empirical reality is different than the conventional wisdom, and it is also somewhat at loggerheads with the disability rhetoric. The rhetoric focuses on disability rights and, more recently, independent living, but the reality of protests is somewhat different.

The protest demands were most likely to revolve around services or money, issues that some disability rights activists would probably like to disavow. Rather than being consistent with a new paradigm of disability that sees people with disabilities as a minority group that experiences discrimination and unequal treatment, our research shows that most of the protests are consistent with the older paradigm that emphasizes people with disabilities as recipients of, if not blatant charity, at least society's largess. It is also clear, however, that the new paradigm has made significant inroads into the disability consciousness. Although the largest category of protest issues is services, broadly defined, the categories that represent the paradigm shift show up in a substantial minority of protest issues.

We also see a social movement that has not been much of a threat. Most of the protests carried out by people with impairments were similar to protests carried out by many other groups—they were most likely to include a demonstration by people carrying signs and chanting slogans, held near enough to a government building to attract the attention of media and policy makers. The locations and the types of tactics used were those that were likely to draw attention to their demands without being disruptive, and that attention may actually have been more sympathetic to the protesters' demands than more disruptive tactics might have been. Disability protests tended to target government agencies or policy makers and tended to occur (almost literally) in the shadows of such agencies or policy makers. They would be visible even though they were using less disruptive tactics, so perhaps they did not need to use disruptive or even violent tactics in order to attract attention.

Paradoxically, the lack of disruptiveness may have worked in the protesters' favor. Although this is contrary to scholarly predictions and analyses of social movement activity, because our society has tended to view disability with sympathy, pity, and charity, perhaps those feelings carried over to the view of these protests. If the protests had been more disruptive, they might have challenged the societal view of disability so much as to have threatened any sense of support (or guilt) that the bystander public might otherwise have felt.

We have shown that there is one important characteristic of these protests that worked in their favor. The organizational involvement, and especially the types of organizations involved in the protests, could act to overcome some of the aspects of impairment that might have mitigated against the possibility of sustained contentious action. The focus of the organizations could act as a mobilization tool that would add to the possibility of sustained contentious political action, which seems to have been what happened.

The protests were not actually very successful, despite the predictions that would have been made by correlates of success. However, our measure of success depended upon media reports. Frequently the protest outcome would not have been known by the end of the protest, so it would not be reported. But one of the clearest outcomes is that people with impairments have continued to protest, against all odds and against many predictions. One of the largest barriers had been predicted to be the impairment-specific nature of the problems and their solutions. But we have seen that people with impairments have protested—separately by impairment and together. We examine the tension between those two types of protests in the next chapter.

NOTES

1. The relationship may be more complicated than that. For example, Oliver and Marwell (1988) suggest that heterogeneous groups may have smaller critical masses.

2. Gamson (1990: 50) showed that the size of a group at its maximum was not related to the success of the group in gaining new advantages, although it was to its gaining acceptance. However, his focus was on groups that lasted over a period of time and he did not examine individual contentious actions.

3. This discrepancy in numbers of protests for which data were available results from the fact that, as noted in chapter 10, if a picture was included in the article about the protest, the number of protesters shown in the picture was taken to indicate the minimum number of protesters.

4. That protests have become so common and so diffuse in their foci can be seen by a protest called a "toad-in" that targeted Disney World in Florida because the park eliminated "Mr. Toad's Wild Ride" in favor of a Winnie the Pooh ride (Schneider, 1999).

5. Because meeting with or lobbying someone does not by itself constitute a protest, these actions were included only when they were done in conjunction with protest tactics. The category "demanding something" was coded only when it was a specific part of what was occurring. Usually what was being demanded was a meeting with someone.

6. We can also compare these results to Tarrow's (1989) examination of collective action in Italy from 1966 to 1973. His data show at least 21 percent of the collective events as being violent and another almost 10 percent being confrontational.

7. The MS Society has been involved in protests, but its mission is neither contentious action nor social change.

8. Or, it is possible that disability activists do not understand the history and issues of other movements, such as labor unions (Grupper, 1995).

9. The interpreters enhanced the credibility of some protesters, especially in their television appearances. This was done when they voiced for protesters who communicated in ASL. They embellished the statements by adding words or by using more erudite words (that expressed the same meaning as the sign) than the protesters themselves used (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995).

10. Many such studies have been based upon organizational records, so they cannot provide data about protests that were not conducted by organizations.

11. The gamma for this relationship is .58, indicating a strong relationship. The chi square is 57.5, significance < .00001.

12. There are so many groups that Emerick (1991) reported that a *sample* of such groups included 104 groups. Of these, he classified 27 as radical. Persons with psychiatric impairments may actually be represented by the greatest number of organizations. Early groups included the Insane Liberation Front, founded in Oregon in 1970, and the Mental Patients' Liberation Front, which was founded in Boston in 1971 (Pelka, 1997: 252). By 1975 there were many other organizations, including the Network Against Psychiatric Assault, formed in 1972, and the Committee Against Psychiatric Oppression (Anspach, 1979: 765).

13. Despite PVA's claims that it has not engaged in contentious action (Younkin, 1989), it has.

14. There are other organizations in all of these categories, but they have not yet been involved in contentious politics. One relatively new organization, which attempts to be multiple-disability, multiple-issue oriented, is the American Association of People with Disabilities.

15. This does not include state level branches of national organizations or some organizations that were coded as "other."

16. Or interpreters, for deaf people (Mindess, 1999).

17. Gamma = .86 for both relationships.

5

Cross-Disability and Impairment-Specific Protests: Social Movement Unity and Disunity

Because impairments differ, disability is an extremely variable status. There are not only large differences between mental and physical impairments but also vast differences among different types of impairments within those two categories. Although there are some similarities in experiences, problems, and goals, there are also major differences in experiences, problems, goals, and suggested solutions. The similarities and differences depend upon the impairment groups being compared, the goal being sought, and the solution being suggested. This is particularly true when a mental and a physical impairment are compared. If this is the case, then, can groups of people with different types of impairments come together into one social movement, demanding changes that would help all people with impairments? A number of observers of the disability scene have asserted that contentious action by people with impairments in the latter decades of the twentieth century differs from earlier action because of its cross-disability nature. They assert that issues of interest to people with many different types of impairments, and with solutions that would help people with many different types of impairments simultaneously, are becoming more frequent. One author states that current disability protests exemplify "an ecumenical ideology of disability issues and an inclusive definition of disability identity" (Longmore, 1997: 97). These authors also cite the presence of cross-disability organizations such as American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities (ACCD) as evidence. They assert that cross-disability action has become more possible because of the growth of a disability consciousness that encompasses people with all types of impairments (Barnartt, 1996).

This assertion about cross-disability organizing is the opposite of assertions made by other scholars (e.g., Johnson, 1983; Scotch, 1989), who suggested that social movement activities around disability rights would most likely fragment into different impairment groups. There are several reasons why they made this prediction. One is that people with one type of impairment do not always identify or feel a commonality with people with other types of impairments. The extremely different

individual experiences that arise from the different types of impairing conditions "limit the meaning of shared oppression and, therefore, the potential to claim solidarity on that basis" (McGuire, 1994). Thus impairment groups could have been expected to make distinctions between "good" impairments and "bad" impairments and make no attempt to see commonalities (Scotch, 1988). In fact they frequently do stigmatize other types of impairments in the same ways that people without impairments do (Johnson, 1983). Specifically, people with unseen disabilities are prejudiced against those with visible disabilities (Safilios-Rothschild, 1976: 45), people with physical impairments are prejudiced against those with mental impairments, and people without developmental impairments are prejudiced against people with such impairments (Ferguson, 1987). Another reason for the predicted split is that specialization in the medical community divided impairment types therapeutically, a split that could be expected to carry over to the political realm (Zola, 1983b). Finally, the problems that are faced by different impairment groups and the solutions they seek are sometimes not just different but are also completely contradictory. Indicative, perhaps, of some of the tensions that exist between and among groups representing different types of impairments is the fact that Pelka (1997: 5) attributes the successful passage of the ADA to work by the Paralyzed Veterans of America, while Matson (1990) implies a large role for the National Federation of the Blind. Perhaps both are correct.

Despite these differences, one disability activist, who also notes that all movements have divisions, schisms, disagreements, and philosophical conflicts, states: "Just because a non-disabled professional fighting for the integration of developmentally disabled children in the state of Maine doesn't understand the needs of an adult with environmental illness fighting chemical contaminants in the state of Hawaii doesn't mean they aren't in the same movement" (Golden, 1996).

Which is correct? This chapter attempts to evaluate which argument about the nature of social movement organizing in the disability community is more correct. The chapter addresses the question of the degree to which the contentious actions conducted by people with different types of impairments have formed one social movement or several. Really this is a question about social movement boundaries. When many groups span a large range of issues, use different tactics, are protesting about unrelated issues, and are responded to differently by the public, should we consider that one social movement is occurring or more than one?

In order to consider these questions, we need to find out how large the variation is among protests led by the different groups. To do this, we compare several aspects of the protests that were conducted by, or related, to, cross-disability issues and impairment-specific issues. We compare the patterns of specific demands made by each group, as well as the general categories of demands. We also compare the timing of the groups' protests, the targets to which they addressed their demands, the degree to which each group's protests had organizational involvement, the degree to which the protests led by each were single or linked events, their disruptiveness, and several aspects of society's responses to them. We then use these characteristics to paint a picture of the divisions that have occurred among the protests. This will help us to determine whether we have one social movement or several in the disability community.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT DISUNITY

Social movements are seldom unified. They usually have a number of social movement organizations (SMOs), each arising out of somewhat different background experiences, holding somewhat different goals, and pursuing somewhat different strategies to try to achieve those goals (McGuire, 1994). Although there is likely to be some commonality in problem identification, SMOs may disagree on the other aspects of their collective consciousnesses. If they agree on the basic problem and the basic goal, they may frame the issue in different ways (Benford, 1993: 678). They may agree on the basic goal but not on how to get there. Alternatively, they may disagree on the goal but share analyses of what is and what ought to be. Social movements of any kind have "a variety of SMOs, linked to various segments of supporting constituencies . . . competing among themselves for resources and symbolic leadership, sharing facilities and resources at other times, developing stable and many times undifferentiated functions, occasionally merging into unified ad hoc coalitions, and *occasionally engaging in all-out war against each other*" (Zald and McCarthy, 1987: 161; emphasis added).

As the phrase in italics above indicates, sometimes the lack of unity among groups within social movements is large enough to create a schism. Examples of schisms can be seen in some social movements. In the labor movement, for example, a schism occurred between Communists and non-Communists. In the civil rights movement there was a major schism between those who supported nonviolent direct action (represented by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference) and those who supported the more militant ideology and tactics of the Black Power movement (represented by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) (Blumberg, 1991).

In the women's movement, there were several schisms. One was between those who emphasized social change and those who emphasized personal change. The latter conducted most of their social movement activity in consciousness-raising groups, while the former conducted protests, instituted lawsuits, and took other measures to attempt to ensure change at the societal, rather than the individual, level. A further schism occurred between Socialist feminists, who believed that women would never gain equality as long as capitalism existed, and those feminists who wanted to change society but not the theoretical underpinning of its economic system (Deckard, 1979; Ferree and Hess, 1994). Thus, there were disagreements about tactics as well as about goals within this movement.

THE VARIABLE NATURE OF DISABILITY SOLUTIONS

Differences among the impairment groups are the clearest when we compare the solutions they seek. Sometimes a solution would benefit one impairment group more that another. In other instances, solutions that would benefit one group are simply irrelevant to another group. In still other situations, a solution that would benefit one impairment group would actually make things worse for another group. Finally, people with one type of impairment can sometimes benefit most from

solutions that are exactly the opposite of a solution needed by people with other types of impairments.

Educational mainstreaming is an example of a solution that benefits one group more than another. Although its results seem to be positive for children with some types of physical impairments, it is not as clear that this is the case for deaf children or children with some types of cognitive or other impairments. In fact, as we indicated in chapter 2, some deaf advocates think that mainstreaming is not a benefit and should not be assumed to be the least restrictive environment for deaf children.

There are many examples we could cite of solutions that help one impairment group but make things worse for another group. Using overheads or other visual aids in a classroom would help deaf students but make it harder for blind students. In transportation systems, having auditory information is helpful to blind people but not helpful for deaf people, while the reverse is true for printed information that was not also brailled.

Examples of solutions that are relevant for one group but irrelevant to another group would include any aspects of personal assistance services, which are very important for people with many types of physical impairments but are irrelevant for deaf people and people with some types of mental impairments. Another example of a demand that people with one type of impairment make that is irrelevant to people with other types of impairments is electroshock treatment. It is unlikely that most groups of people with physical impairments are very concerned about its use, but this is an extremely important concern for psychiatric survivors.

Sometimes a solution for one group of people with impairments makes things worse for another group. Seating arrangements are one simple example. Having seats in straight lines with wide aisles benefits people who use wheelchairs and blind people, but it makes communication more difficult for deaf people. For them, having chairs in a circular arrangement aids their ability to maintain visual contact and thus enhances communication, but it makes navigating the chairs somewhat more difficult for people who use wheelchairs and much more difficult for people who are blind. Curb cuts are another example: They help people in wheelchairs but make life harder for blind people.

There are also some solutions that, after use by one group, are later taken up and used to benefit another impairment group. Although not the subject of contentious political action, seeing eye dogs are an example of one solution taken up by other impairment groups. Assistance dogs have been adapted for deaf people and those with physical impairments; hearing ear dogs and service or assistance dogs are becoming commonplace.

Because of these differences, it might make sense to argue that the variable nature of disability would create schisms, or even separate social movements, among people with impairments. Here we examine the patterns of demands and other variables for different impairment groups, in order to see whether or not social movements in the disability community have created schisms or separate movements. We note, however, that, although protests that were classified as "other disability" or "AIDS" are included in the category of "impairment-specific," they are not included in the parts of the tables that analyze specific impairment groups. Rather, we analyze the five



In 1991, protestors blocked the entrance to the parking lot of the Social Security Administration's determination unit outside of Baltimore, Maryland, to highlight the need for Medicaid to cover personal assistance services, which would allow people with impairments to live outside of nursing homes and rehabilitation centers.

specific impairment groups whose demands we discussed in chapter 2: mobility impairments, deafness, visual impairments, developmental disabilities, and psychiatric impairments.

COMPARING DEMANDS

Cross-Disability Demands

Table 5.1 shows that funding was the most common of the demands made in the 387 protests that were classified as being cross-disability, making up more than 28 percent of those demands. Funding-related demands made in cross-disability protests also constitute the majority (almost 60 percent) of all funding-related demands. About 14 percent of cross-disability demands focused on laws, and about 11 percent focused on the characteristics of services. Over 12 percent of the demands focused on portrayals, 9 percent focused on issues related to accessibility or discrimination, and about 9 percent focused on types of service. About 4 percent of the demands focused on assisted suicide, almost 4 percent focused on policies, and 2 percent focused on education.

Because the largest category of cross-disability demands is funding-related, we explore that category in more depth. Table 5.2 shows that the largest proportion of these demands (55 percent) asked that the amount of funding "not be decreased," while the other large group of demands (21 percent) asked that the amounts of money be increased. These demands were in response to threatened budget cuts;

Table 5.1. Frequency Distribution of Demands Made in Cross-Disability Protests

Demand (N = 387)	Number	Percentage
Accessibility, rights, discrimination	35	9.0%
Monetary	111	28.7
Characteristics of services	42	10.9
Type of services	36	9.3
Laws	54	14.0
Assisted suicide	16	4.1
Policies	14	3.6
Education	9	2.3
Portrayals	49	12.7
Other[a]	21	5.4

Note: Two demands could be coded for each protest.
a. Such as political statements, policies, violence, attitudes, and need for awareness.

Table 5.2. Frequency Distribution of Monetary Demands Made in Cross-Disability Protests

Funding (N = 99)	Number	Percentage
Should be increased	21	21.2%
Should not be decreased	54	54.5
Should be moved from another source	15	15.2
Rules for expenditures should be changed	9	9.1

protesters asked that a proposed budget cut not happen or that an already enacted budget cut be rescinded. The funding-related demands, then, are attempts to preserve or reinstate existing services. Other funding-related demands asked that money be moved from another source (15 percent) to pay for services at issue or that rules regarding expenditures be changed (9 percent).

Many of the funding-related demands were expressed in protests relating to payments for personal assistance services, because one of the major demands being made by ADAPT is that individuals with impairments in Medicaid-funded institutions be given a choice about staying in that setting or being able to use the same amount of

money for home and community services (ADAPT letter to President Clinton, July 13, 1998). That is, funding from Medicare or Medicaid should be able to be used to pay for care outside of an institutional setting rather than only for care received inside an institution. This would permit people who want to live independently, rather than in nursing homes, to be able to do so, but it would require rule changes about the use of this funding.

Table 5.3 presents the service-related demands made in these protests, the most common of which relates to the quality of services (35 percent). Another large category relates to the location of services (21 percent). Smaller proportions of the demands focused on the amount of services provided (14 percent) and the costs or insurance coverage for those services (11 percent). About 9 percent of demands were related to personnel and about 7 percent to controls of the programs or services. The bottom segment of table 5.3 shows the types of services the demands are related to. The demands were by far most likely to refer to personal assistance services (78 percent), and much less likely to refer to health care or housing (8 percent each). One protest demand was related to paratransit services.

Table 5.4 shows that the largest proportion of portrayal-related demands (74 percent) objected to portrayals by "a famous person," while a much smaller percentage objected to portrayals by the media (14 percent), a service agency (9 percent), or a legislature or governmental body (2 percent). (In all cases but one, the famous person referred to was Jerry Lewis.) By far the largest proportion of demands made in regard

Table 5.3. Frequency Distribution of Service-Related Demands Made in Cross-Disability Protests

Characteristics of Services (N = 43)	Number	Percentage
Quality	15	34.9%
Personnel	4	9.3
Location	9	20.9
Amount	6	14.0
Who controls them	3	7.0
Cost or insurance coverage	5	11.6
Types of Services (N = 36)		
Personal assistance	28	77.8%
Housing	3	8.3
Health care	3	8.3
Paratransit	1	2.8

Table 5.4. Portrayal-Related Demands Made in Cross-Disability Protests

Portrayals (N = 43)	Number	Percentage
By the media	6	14.0%
By a famous person	32	74.4
By a service agency	4	9.3
By a legislature or government	1	2.3
Portrayals (N = 42)		
In telethons	41	97.6%
In statues	1	2.4

to where the disability portrayal occurred referred to telethons (over 97 percent). Statues were the other source of portrayals targeted by protesters. Only one protest in this category was coded as cross-disability. The results shown in table 5.4 clearly show that the antipathy the disability community has for Jerry Lewis and his telethons has been reflected in contentious political actions.

Demands Related to Mobility Issues

Table 5.5 shows the demands made that were related to mobility impairments. In this category, the most frequent (almost 60 percent) demands were for accessibility rights or against perceived discrimination. Thirty-four percent of the mobility-related demands focused on laws or policies. Small proportions of the mobility-related demands addressed issues of funding (1.5 percent), services (4 percent), or other categories such as the imprisonment of protesters or violence. Of the accessibility-related demands, almost 80 percent were related to transportation accessibility, 12 percent were related to accessibility of building entrances, and another 7 percent were related to within-building accessibility. Only a tiny number of these protests were related to curb cuts or overall accessibility issues.

Demands Related to Visual Impairments

Table 5.6 shows that the most common demand in blindness-related protests was related to characteristics of services. About one-third of the demands were in this category. Smaller numbers of demands were related to accessibility or rights issues (21 percent), funding (15 percent), and portrayals (11 percent). Demands relating to laws or policies comprised almost 10 percent of blindness-related demands, while

Table 5.5. Frequency Distribution of Demands Related to Mobility Impairments

Demand (N = 332)	Number	Percentage
Accessibility, rights, discrimination	189	56.9%
Funding-related	5	1.5
Services (characteristics or types)	13	3.9
Laws or policies	113	34.0
Other[a]	12	3.6
Accessibility Demands (N = 198)		
Transportation	158	79.8%
Building entrances	24	12.1
Within buildings	13	6.6
Curb cuts	2	1.0
Overall	1	0.5
Law-Related Demands (N = 108)		
ADA	6	5.6%
Enforcement needed	86	79.6
Other	16	14.8

Note: Because two accessibility issues per protest could be coded, numbers in the "accessibility demands" portion of the table are higher than the numbers in the "demand" section.
a. Such as imprisonment of protesters, violence, portrayals, and the need for awareness.

demands in regard to workers' jobs comprised about 7 percent and demands relating to education comprised the rest (almost 5 percent).

Of the demands relating to characteristics of services, around one-third were about the location of services (usually because a service was about to be moved). One-fourth of the demands were about the quality of services, and about one-fifth were about personnel issues. About one-fourth of the demands were about controls over the service, usually because people with visual impairments wanted to control their own services rather than having them be controlled by people without such impairments.

A number of the protests about the control of services were actually focused on a blindness-related accreditation agency, the National Accreditation Council for Agencies Serving the Blind and Visually Handicapped (NAC). The practices of this agency were extremely contentious issues in the blindness community beginning in the 1960s. The National Federation of the Blind led a number of protests against NAC, which

Table 5.6. Frequency Distribution of Demands Related to Visual Impairments

Demand (N = 62)	Number	Percentage
Accessibility, rights, discrimination	13	20.9%
Funding-related	9	14.5
Related to services	20	32.3
Portrayals	7	11.3
Laws or policies	6	9.7
Workers' jobs	4	6.5
Education	3	4.8
Service-Related Demands (N = 19)		
Quality	5	23.5%
Personnel	3	17.6
Location	6	35.3
Who is included or who controls the services	4	23.5
Accessibility-Related Demands (N = 18)		
Transportation	14	77.7%
Buildings or all types	4	22.2

coincided with the meeting of the NAC. The protests focused on the appropriateness of the standards that the NAC used, or, sometimes, didn't use (Matson, 1990: 794).

Protests related to rights or accessibility issues tended to focus on two areas: airline rules and accessibility of public transportation systems, particularly the Metro subway system in Washington, D.C. Demands relating to blind travelers on airlines were about existing rules as well as nonexistent rules that airline personnel incorrectly thought they had to follow for blind travelers. The battle over airline rules was protracted and messy. A number of blind travelers were arrested for refusing to accede to demands made by airlines or, sometimes, other types of transportation companies (Matson, 1990). There were actually many more of these incidents than are included in this database, because quite a few of them involved single travelers and so could not be considered to be collective action. Rather, most of the actions were either individual protests or lawsuits, neither of which fit the definition of contentious collective action being used in this book. Success in this area was finally attained through the passage of the Air Carrier Access Act of 1986.

Several of the protests focused on the issue of workers' jobs, an issue of great concern to the National Federation of the Blind during the 1980s. The specific concern

was not the existence of the jobs per se but the fact that those blind people who worked in sheltered workshop situations were not covered by the Fair Labor Standards Act. This affected wages (which were below minimum wage), working conditions, and the ability to unionize. Although this issue was the focus of a huge amount of interest and the subject of a number of lawsuits, as with airline access, there were actually very few disruptive protests. In 1987 Congress did finally amend the Fair Labor Standards Act to include the demands that the NFB had been making (Matson, 1990: 781).

Overall, when visual impairment-related protests are combined with blindness-related demands and activism, it becomes clear that the blindness community *was* extremely active in fighting for its demands. Few of the grievances, however, were expressed as contentious political actions. Instead activism occurred through lawsuits and lobbying. Some protests occurred as blind people let themselves be arrested rather than give in to demands being made of them by airline or other types of transportation personnel (Matson, 1990). These acts of civil disobedience received media publicity and probably had an impact but, because of the definitional strictures adhered to in this book, they are not included as cases for the purposes of data analysis. It is also clear that this community has had a number of successes. Although they did not seem primarily to result from disruptive *collective* action, they may in part have resulted from the disruptive *individual* actions.

Demands Related to Deafness

Based upon the history described in chapter 1, as well as differences between deafness and other types of impairments, it would make sense to expect that protests related to deafness would be very different than those fomented by other impairment groups. Table 5.7 shows that the largest proportion of the protest demands (39 percent) were related to educational issues. In addition, almost half (46 percent) of the protest locations were schools or colleges. However, not all deafness-related protests were about education. Other issues included accessibility or rights (16 percent), funding (11 percent), characteristics of services (15 percent), portrayals (6 percent), and laws (3 percent).

The second segment of table 5.7 shows that over 48 percent of the education-related protests were focused on characteristics of personnel, 17 percent focused on linguistic issues or school types, and two demands each were related to curricula, quality of the school, or hiring procedures. In chapter 8 we discuss the linkage between this protest emphasis and the successful Deaf President Now protest of 1988.

Demands Related to Psychiatric Impairments

Table 5.8 shows the types of demands made in the protests related to psychiatric issues. The largest proportion (36 percent) were related to types of services, primarily electroshock treatments, to which activists in this community are adamantly opposed. Another set of demands (28 percent) was related to characteristics of services.

Table 5.7. Frequency Distribution of Demands Related to Deafness

Demand (N = 79)	Number	Percentage
Accessibility, rights	13	16.4%
Funding-related	9	11.4
Characteristics of services	12	15.2
Education	31	39.2
Laws or policies	3	3.8
Portrayals	5	6.3
Other	6	7.8
Education-Related Demands (N = 29)		
Personnel (characteristics or numbers)	14	48.2%
Curriculum	2	6.9
Hiring procedures	2	6.9
Overall quality	2	6.9
Linguistic issues	5	17.2
School (type of or against mainstreaming)	5	17.2

Funding-related demands comprised about 21 percent of the demands. Smaller numbers of demands focused upon workers' jobs (5 percent), laws (5 percent), violence against people with mental illness (2 percent), and a variety of miscellaneous issues, including diagnostic categories and the need for increased awareness.

Of the protests related to service characteristics, almost 60 percent were related to who controls those services, with the specific demand usually being that patients should be able to refuse treatments rather than being forced through physical restraints to accept medicines, shock treatment, or solitary confinement. Other service characteristics expressed as protest demands related to the quality of care (25 percent) or the cost or location of care (16 percent). The former demand was also related to types of treatments being used, and location demands related to whether facilities were being closed or moved. The specific type of "service" being protested was most likely to be electroshock treatments—only 10 percent of the demands related to types of service did not focus on those.

Demands Related to Developmental Disabilities

Table 5.9 shows that the largest proportion of protest demands related to developmental disabilities were for funding (42 percent). The other large category of demands was related to characteristics of services (31 percent). Additional demands that surfaced in small numbers of protests included education, laws, violence or safety

Table 5.8. Frequency Distribution of Demands Related to Psychiatric Impairments

Demand (N = 105)	Number	Percentage
Funding-related	22	21.0%
Characteristics of services	29	27.6
Types of services	38	36.2
Workers' jobs	5	4.8
Violence or safety	2	1.9
Laws	5	4.8
Other (diagnostic categories and the need for awareness)	4	3.8
Characteristics of Services (N = 24)		
Who controls it	14	58.3%
Quality	6	25.0
Cost or location	4	16.6
Type of Service (N = 37)		
Electroshock	33	89.2%
Other treatments, including enforced drugging	4	10.8

Table 5.9. Frequency Distribution of Demands Related to Developmental Disabilities

Demand (N = 64)	Number	Percentage
Funding-related	27	42.1%
Characteristics of services	20	31.3
Education	3	4.7
Laws	3	4.7
Workers' jobs	3	4.7
Violence or safety	3	4.7
Other	2	3.1

ssues, workers' jobs, and research ethics. The demands that were related to funding were overwhelmingly related to sources of money other than those specifically coded. Only one protest was focused on SSDI and one on Medicare or Medicaid funds, while nineteen were focused on "other sources of funds." And all of the funding-related protests demanded either that funding be increased or that it not be decreased. Thus we see the focus of protests that related to the developmental disability community being overwhelmingly related to funding or service issues.

Comparisons of Demands

These tables have shown that contentious political actions of the different impairment groups made very different types of demands. In large part, the differences illuminated by the tables are consistent with the rhetoric of each group, as discussed in chapter 2. We did discover, however, that some issues that were important to a particular impairment group did not receive attention through contentious political action.

Statistically, we cannot compare the demands made by the different impairment groups because the numbers are too small.[1] Because of the relatively small numbers of demands in some of the categories, the addition of a few more cases in each category might change the results. This is not true of most of the other analyses presented in this book. This is a problem both of the specificity of the demands and of the large differences among the different impairment groups. We can solve this problem in part by using the three larger categories of demands identified in earlier chapters: rights, services, and others. We can also consider all of the impairment-specific protests together. Here we compare the distribution of the three categories of demands in cross-disability protests with that in impairment-specific protests. We then compare the specific impairment groups' distributions across these three categories of demands.

The top panel of table 5.10 shows that about 23 percent of the demands made in cross-disability protests, but 52 percent of demands made in impairment-specific protests, were related to rights. About 53 percent of cross-disability demands were related to services, compared to about 40 percent of impairment-specific demands. About 24 percent of cross-disability demands but only about 7 percent of disability-specific demands fell into the category of other demands.

When we examine the demands this way, we see large differences between the two types of demands. Cross-disability demands are much more likely to be related to services than are impairment-specific demands, and they are also more likely to be classified as "other" than are impairment-specific demands. Conversely, impairment-specific demands are more likely to be related to rights than are the demands made in cross-disability protests.

The lower panels of table 5.10 show the proportions of demands made by the specific impairment groups that fit into the three categories of demands. Although almost 90 percent of mobility-related demands were related to rights, much smaller proportions of the demands made by the other impairment groups fell into this category: About 20 percent and 26 percent, respectively, of the demands made in protests related to deafness and visual impairments fell into the category of rights, but

Table 5.10. Crosstabulation of Impairment Type by Category of Demands

	Category of Demands			
Disability Type[a]	Rights	Services	Other	Totals
Cross-disability	23.1%	53.4%	23.6%	100.1%
	(89)	(206)	(91)	(386)
Impairment-specific	52.0	40.4	7.5	99.9
	(333)	(259)	(48)	(640)
Specific Impairment Type[b]				
Mobility impairment	89.5%	5.7%	4.8%	100.0%
	(301)	(19)	(16)	(336)
Deafness	19.2	69.2	11.5	99.9
	(15)	(54)	(9)	(78)
Visual impairment	25.8	58.1	16.1	100.0
	(16)	(36)	(10)	(62)
Developmental disability	6.3	84.1	9.5	99.9
	(4)	(53)	(6)	(63)
Psychiatric impairment[c]	4.8	89.5	5.7	100.0
	(5)	(94)	(6)	(105)

a. Chi square = 29.7, significance level < .00001.
b. Types of impairments other than those listed in the second panel are not included, although they are included in the top panel. Also, impairment-specific protests could have two types of impairments cited. Thus, the numbers in the two panels of the table differ slightly. This is also true for subsequent tables.
c. Chi square = 411.9, significance level < .00001.

only 6 percent and 5 percent, respectively, of the demands made in protests related to developmental disabilities and psychiatric impairments fell into this category. Thus, the preponderance of rights-related demands made in protests related to mobility impairments account for the high proportion of impairment-specific demands that are related to rights.

Conversely, the demands made in protests related to all types of specific impairments except mobility were most likely to be categorized as demands for services. This was especially true for demands related to developmental disabilities and psychiatric impairments; over 80 percent of the demands made in protests led by these two impairment groups were related to services. Smaller proportions of the demands made in deafness-related protests (70 percent) or in protests related to visual impairments (less than 60 percent) were related to services. But, because these demands comprised

comparatively smaller numbers, impairment-specific demands overall are slightly less likely to be related to services than are cross-disability demands.

None of the impairment groups made large numbers of demands that did not fit into these two categories. Protests related to visual impairments were most likely to make "other" demands, although only 16 percent of those demands fit into this category. The proportions of "other" demands made by the other impairment groups varied from a high of 11 percent for deafness-related demands to 5 percent for demands related to mobility impairments and psychiatric impairments.

The data suggest that there is a large difference between the demands made in protests related to mobility impairments, the demands made in protests related to all other specific types of impairments, and demands that are cross-disability. Protests related to mobility impairments focus overwhelmingly on rights, and protests related to the other four types of specific impairments, and also cross-disability demands, tend to focus on services. Demands made in cross-disability protests are also likely to focus on services, but they are the most likely of all the groups to express all other types of demands. All of these differences are statistically significant. However, cross-disability demands were the most evenly spread out among the three demand categories, while at least 60 percent of impairment-specific demands were to fit into one category with only small percentages in the other categories.

COMPARISONS OF OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF PROTESTS

Next we investigate other aspects of protests on which the impairment groups may differ. We continue to compare cross-disability protests to all impairment-specific protests together as well as to individual impairment-specific categories. In this way we can consider whether all impairment-specific protests form a category unto itself and how the separate groups differ among themselves.

Comparisons of Targets

Table 5.11 shows that the impairment groups' choices of targets were quite different. Local governmental targets were more likely to be chosen by impairment-specific protests than by cross-disability protests. Within the specific disabilities, local governmental targets were most likely to be chosen by protests related to developmental disabilities (18 percent) or mobility impairments (17 percent). They were less likely to be chosen by protests related to visual impairments (12 percent) or psychiatric impairments (10 percent), and they were the least likely to be chosen as the target of protests related to deafness (4 percent).

State government targets were more likely to be chosen by cross-disability protests (27 percent) than by impairment-specific protests overall (20 percent), but the impairment groups were again very different. State governments were most likely to have been chosen as targets for developmental disability protests (65 percent). Psychiatric disability-related protests were also more likely than other impairment-specific protests, including cross-disability protests, to focus on state government

Table 5.11. Impairment Type by Protest Target

Disability type[a]	Target: Local Government	State Government	Federal Government	Other	Totals
Cross-disability	10.6% (31)	26.4% (77)	32.5% (95)	30.5% (89)	100.0% (292)
Impairment-specific	13.1 (56)	19.6 (84)	7.7 (33)	59.6 (255)	100.0 (428)
Specific Disability Type[b]					
Mobility impairment	16.7% (36)	3.7% (8)	10.2% (22)	69.3% (149)	99.9% (215)
Deafness	3.7 (2)	24.1 (13)	1.9 (1)	70.3 (38)	100.0 (54)
Visual impairment	12.2 (6)	24.5 (12)	4.1 (2)	59.1 (29)	99.9 (49)
Developmental disability	18.2 (8)	65.9 (29)	2.3 (1)	13.6 (6)	100.0 (44)
Psychiatric impairment	10.0 (7)	38.6 (27)	1.4 (1)	50.0 (35)	100.0 (70)

a. Chi square = 95.3, significance level < .00001.
b. Chi square = 124.4, significance level < .00001.

targets (almost 40 percent). About 24 percent of protests related to deafness and visual impairments focused upon state governmental targets, although less than 4 percent of protests related to mobility impairments did so.

Cross-disability protests were by far the most likely of the impairment types to target the federal government, with almost one-third of the actions focused there. The other impairment groups varied, from a high of 10 percent of mobility-related protests focusing on the federal government to a low of less than 2 percent of protests relating to psychiatric impairments focusing upon that target. With only a few exceptions, the federal government does not deal with impairment-specific issues. Exceptions include the establishment of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb (later Gallaudet University) in 1864 and the 1936 passage of the Randolph Sheppard Act, which established a federal program for employing blind vendors in federal office buildings. So the fact that cross-disability protests were much more likely than impairment-specific protests to target the federal government makes strategic sense.

Finally, impairment-specific protests were almost twice as likely as cross-disability protests to focus on all other types of targets. Only about 30 percent of cross-disability protests focused upon "other" targets, while almost 60 percent of the impairment-specific protests overall focused upon such targets. Within the specific impairment groups there was again considerable variation. Deafness-related protests and mobility-related protests were the most likely to focus upon all other targets (70 percent and 69 percent, respectively). About 59 percent of visual impairment, 50 percent of protests related to psychiatric impairments, and 14 percent of developmental disability-related protests focused on other targets.

Overall, we see that the cross-disability protests were the most evenly spread out across the different targets. Protests led by impairment-specific groups were more likely to have one "favored" target category toward which at least half of their protests were aimed.

These results fit with the patterns of demands shown in table 5.10 in which the specific impairment groups also had favored categories of demands. In part, the focus of mobility-impairment related protests on nongovernmental targets can be accounted for by the large numbers of protests against the Greyhound Bus Company (which they refer to in some of their publications as "the dirty dog"). That company has been the target of a large proportion of protests related to transportation accessibility. Smaller numbers of mobility-related protests were focused upon issues within the jurisdiction of local governments, such as curb cuts for sidewalks, transit systems, or local buses. Surprisingly few focused on the federal government, which had the power to change the rules, especially those related to inter-city transportation. It is not clear whether the federal government was not seen as willing to enforce the rules actively or as being more amenable to noncontentious types of pressure (which were also occurring through lobbying). Almost none of the mobility-related protests targeted state governments because almost none of their issues come under state-level governmental jurisdiction.

Cross-disability protests were most likely to focus upon the federal government. This is consistent with their primary focus on money and services. Some of the



ADAPT uses confrontational acts of civil disobedience and similar nonviolent direct action tactics, such as sit-ins and lockouts, to achieve its goals.

protests were related to policy issues that affect many groups, such as Medicare payments for personal care attendants. In addition, because a substantial number of cross-disability protests concerned issues of disability rights, the federal government was the target. For example, those protests included actions related to the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, the ADA, and the Supreme Court ruling on assisted suicide. The fact that the second most common type of target for cross-disability protests was nongovernmental targets is likely to reflect the heterogeneity of nonlegal cross-disability issues, which range from telethons to the accessibility of stores. The cross-disability protests that focused on the state level probably were concerned with the types of monetary assistance provided by governments at that level.

Protests related to deafness were likely to have targeted nongovernmental entities, primarily residential schools. If protests at state residential schools for deaf, blind, deaf-blind, or developmentally disabled students had been coded as having a state governmental target instead of an educational institution target, the propensity of these protests to target state governments would be more pronounced. Protests related to developmental disabilities tended to focus at state-level targets because those services tended to be provided at the local or state level. Protesters concerned with psychiatric issues were most likely to focus their demands on nongovernmental targets such as psychiatrists (frequently at annual meetings), other treatment personnel, or state governments, which set policies because they run psychiatric hospitals.

Thus, protesters in the different impairment groups tended to focus their energies on targets that were most likely to respond to their demands. The data presented here reinforce the suggestion made in chapter 4 that the appropriate choice of targets was one reason for the success of disability protests.

Organizational Involvement

Table 5.12 shows the levels of organizational involvement in the protests for the impairment groups. It indicates that, when cross-disability protests are compared to impairment-specific protests, the levels of organizational involvement are similar (63 percent compared to 68 percent, respectively). These small differences do not reach statistical significance, but, when the specific impairment groups are examined, large and statistically significant differences emerge.

Table 5.12. Impairment Type by Organizational Involvement

	Organizational Involvement	
Disability Type[a]	Yes	No
Cross-disability	63.0%	37.0%
	(191)	(101)
Impairment-specific	68.1	31.9
	(284)	(133)
Specific Impairment Type[b]		
Mobility	90.3%	9.7%
	(204)	(22)
Deafness	29.3	70.7
	(17)	(41)
Visual impairment	48.9	51.1
	(28)	(23)
Developmental disability	40.4	59.6
	(19)	(28)
Psychiatric impairment	60.3	39.7
	(38)	(25)

a. Chi square = 1.9, not significant.
b. Chi square = 118.9, significance level < .00001.

The highest level of organizational involvement (about 90 percent) is seen in the protests related to mobility impairments. A little over 60 percent of the protests related to psychiatric impairments had organizational involvement, compared to less than half of the protests related to the other three types of impairments. Almost 49 percent of protests related to visual impairments, about 40 percent of protests related to developmental disability, and less than 30 percent of deafness-related protests had such involvement.

Based on the relatedness of organizational involvement and protest linkage discussed in chapter 4, it should be true that the groups with the highest levels of organizational involvement should have the lowest levels of protests that are single events (i.e., not connected to other protests or clearly part of a campaign). The data in table 5.13 show that this is the case. Only about one-third of mobility-related protests were single events, while large proportions of the protests related to the other impairment groups were single events. Specifically, 60 percent of cross-disability protests, 69

Table 5.13. Impairment Type by Protest Linkage

	Protests Were Linked	
Impairment Type[a]	Yes	No
Cross-disability	39.7% (119)	60.3% (181)
Impairment-specific	51.5 (226)	48.5 (213)
Specific Impairment Type		
Mobility impairment	65.5% (141)	34.4% (74)
Deafness	30.9 (17)	69.1 (38)
Visual impairment	38.8 (19)	61.2 (30)
Developmental disability	22.7 (10)	77.3 (34)
Psychiatric impairment	41.8 (33)	58.2 (46)

a. Chi square = 9.9, significance < .002.

percent of deafness-related protests, 61 percent of protests related to visual impairments, 74 percent of the protests related to developmental disability, and 56 percent of the protests related to psychiatric impairments were single events. Thus, the two impairment groups with the lowest levels of organizational involvement (deafness and developmental disabilities) had the highest levels of single-event protests.

The high level of organizational involvement in mobility-related protests can be explained, in part, by the involvement of ADAPT, which conducted 156 (73 percent) of these protests. State-level branches of ADAPT also conducted some, but other organizations conducted the majority of the other 59 mobility-related protests. ADAPT did not just conduct mobility-related protests. Although most of its involvement in mobility-related protests was prior to 1990, not all was. Even after it changed its name and its mission in 1990, it conducted some protests that focused on transportation accessibility issues. But its involvement in protests related to cross-disability issues increased from about 10 percent in the 1980s to almost 38 percent in the 1990s.

The low level of organizational involvement in deafness-related protests is somewhat surprising, given the long history of established organizational structures within the deaf community; however, the organizations in that community historically have not been involved in contentious politics, so they have been slow to jump on the protest bandwagon. No organization within the deaf community has a history of contentious action.

Table 5.14 lists societal responses to protests. It shows the extent to which protests in the different impairment groups were disruptive, the degree to which there was a police presence during the protest, and the percentages of protests at which arrests were made. The first column of the table shows that cross-disability protests and impairment-specific protests, overall, were very similar in their levels of disruptiveness: Almost 30 percent of impairment-specific protests, compared to about 28 percent of cross-disability protests, used at least one disruptive tactic. These differences are very small and not statistically significant. In contrast, there are large differences among the specific impairment types. Over half (51.5 percent) of the protests related to mobility impairments used at least one disruptive tactic, while this was only true of about 18 percent of protests related to visual impairments, 11 percent of protests related to developmental disabilities, 9 percent of protests related to psychiatric impairments, and 7 percent of protests related to deafness. Thus we see that cross-disability protests and protests related to mobility issues were much more likely than were protests related to other types of impairments to include at least one disruptive tactic.

A similar pattern can be seen in the second column of the table, which shows the percentages of protests that had police present. Cross-disability protests were a little different from impairment-specific protests: Almost 30 percent of cross-disability protests had police involvement, while about 20 percent of impairment-specific protests had such involvement. But again, when we disaggregate the disability protests into the specific impairment groups we see that mobility-related protests are very different than the others. Although almost 35 percent of mobility-related protests had police present, less than 15 percent of protests related to visual impairments had police present and less than 9 percent of the protests related to the other specific types of impairments had police present.

Table 5.14. Other Characteristics of Protests by Impairment Type

Impairment Type	Disruptive	Police	Arrests
Cross-disability	28.1% (85)	29.7% (79)	13.5% (36)
Impairment-specific	29.7 (43)	20.1 (71)[a]	12.1 (43)
Specific Impairment Type			
Mobility impairment	51.5% (109)	34.8% (57)	23.8% (39)
Deafness	7.2 (4)	7.3 (4)	0.0 (0)
Visual impairment	18.4 (9)	14.3 (7)	10.2 (5)
Developmental disability	11.1 (5)	2.4 (1)	0.0 (0)
Psychiatric impairment	8.8 (7)[b]	8.3 (4)[c]	0.0 (0)[d]

a. Chi square = 7.6, significance < .007.
b. Chi square = 301.8, significance < .0001.
c. Chi square = 40.5, significance < .0001.
d. Chi square = 40.6, significance < .0001.

A similar pattern can be seen in regard to protests in which arrests were made; these are shown in the third column of table 5.14. Cross-disability protests and impairment-specific protests had similar low percentages of arrests—13.5 percent and 12 percent, respectively. The differences between them are not statistically significant. When the specific types of impairments are disaggregated, we again see that the highest levels of arrests were made in protests related to mobility impairments (24 percent) than in any other category. Of the other categories, only protests related to visual impairments had any arrests at all (10 percent). Protests related to deafness, developmental disabilities, and psychiatric disabilities had no arrests.

Some of the differences between mobility-related protests and those related to other specific types of impairments in these variables can be attributed to the presence of ADAPT, which was known for its confrontational tactics. Unlike impairment groups such as blindness, in which the most radical organization had very radical



Protests against the Greyhound Bus Company, such as this one in St. Louis, Missouri, helped to eventually pressure the company to comply with ADA regulations to make all its buses accessible to people with impairments.

ideas but an extremely traditional and noncontentious political style, ADAPT's style tended to be in-your-face and its political activities were mostly of the contentious political variety.[2]

This organizational style is reflected in the fact that, among mobility-related protests, over 56 percent of those led by ADAPT were disruptive, while less than 35 percent of those in which ADAPT was not involved were disruptive, a statistically significant difference.[3] ADAPT-led protests were more likely to have police present (38 percent to 28 percent) and they were more likely to have had arrests made (27 percent to 23 percent), although neither of these differences is large enough to reach statistical significance.

However, not all of the differences between mobility protests and other types of impairment-specific protests or cross-disability protests can be attributed to ADAPT. That organization was involved in 77 percent of the protests related to mobility impairments, while other organizations—or no organizations—were involved in the rest of the protests. Conversely, ADAPT was involved in about 31 percent of cross-disability protests. Independent living centers, including Atlantis, which was a precursor to ADAPT, were also involved in protests relating to both types of issues. Other organizations and other protesters also contributed to the differences between cross-disability protests and impairment-specific protests, but ADAPT clearly had a large role in creating these differences.

Finally, we consider whether protests by the different groups were responded to in different ways. Table 5.15 shows that, with the exception of protests related to mobility impairments, a minority of the protests got a response from anyone. While almost 57 percent of mobility-related protests got a response, for all of the other categories, including cross-disability, between 40 percent and 50 percent of the protests got a response. The exception is protests related to psychiatric impairments, of which less than 30 percent got a response.

When we evaluate the success of the protests, we see that those related to deafness were the most likely to be successful (25 percent), and those related to mobility impairments were next (22 percent). Protests related to both of these groups were more successful than any other category of protests. Cross-disability protests and all impairment-specific protests considered together were successful about 18 percent of the time. The individual types of impairment-specific protests other than those related to mobility impairment were successful less than 10 percent of the time.

The data show that there were large differences between impairment-specific protests considered together and cross-disability protests. When impairment-specific protests are disaggregated into the five specific impairment types, the differences increase. On most variables, protests related to mobility impairments were strikingly different from protests related to the other four types of specific impairments. These differences were substantively large as well as statistically significant in most cases. Protests related to mobility impairments made different demands, focused on different targets, were more likely to have organizational involvement, were more likely to have protests that were linked to other protests as part of a campaign, were more likely to be disruptive, were more likely to have police present, and were more likely to have arrests made.

Table 5.15. Responses to Protests by Impairment Type

Impairment Type	Got a Response	Was Successful
Cross-disability	44.0% (117)	18.4% (49)
Impairment-specific	48.6 (173)	18.0 (64)
Specific Impairment Type		
Mobility impairment	56.9% (95)	22.3% (37)
Deafness	43.6 (24)	15.4 (14)
Visual impairment	50.0 (26)	8.2 (4)
Developmental disability	41.5 (17)	9.5 (4)
Psychiatric impairment	29.2 (14)	8.3 (4)

Note: Numbers and percentages under "Got a Response" show "yes" responses only.

We return now to the question with which we began this chapter: Is there one cross-disability social movement in the disability community or are there a number of impairment-specific social movements? The answer seems to be that there are both. There is a substantial group of protests that are cross-disability, but also substantial numbers that are impairment-specific. The cross-disability protests are different from and more heterogeneous than the impairment-specific protests. There are also differences among impairment-specific protests, primarily between protests related to mobility impairments and protests related to the other four types of impairments.

The differences are not so great that we could say that there are countermovements that focus on the same issue but approach it from completely opposite perspectives; have completely different frames, tactics, leaders, goals, and constituencies; and define success in opposite terms (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996).[4] This is true despite rhetorical opposition between deaf activists and other disability activists, which is the situation that seems most likely to produce a countermovement. For example, the Deaf President Now protest was perceived by many as being a campaign

within the disability movement. However, it was not planned or instigated by that movement, nor were members of that movement involved at the beginning, although some disability rights activists (especially Justin Dart and Evan Kemp) offered statements of support as DPN progressed. In addition, the issues in that protest were not framed as disability rights issues; rather, they were framed as civil rights issues. In fact, the protest might have failed had the issues been framed as disability rights issues (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995). Despite this subtle rejection of deafness as a type of disability, the protest was hailed by disability rights activists and others as a victory for all people with disabilities (Zola, 1992; Shapiro, 1993).

Some disagreements between the deaf community and people with other types of impairments have produced public spats. In one, members of the deaf community objected to remarks made by Judy Heumann in her capacity as Assistant Secretary for the Office of Special Education and Rehabilitation Services (OSERS) in which she called separate special education "immoral." The American Society for Deaf Children initiated a letter-writing campaign to object to this position.

Overall, however, protests related to deafness are not very different from protests related to other types of impairments. While protests related to deafness, as well as protests related to other impairments, are different from cross-disability protests, they are not a countermovement to cross-disability protests. Additionally, the deaf community has never engaged in a counterprotest that was specifically targeted at a protest initiated by people with other types of impairments. Some deaf people do not want to be treated by the same policies that treat people with other impairments in some situations, but they do not oppose those policies for those other people, just for themselves. Conceptualizing the deaf community as a countermovement to the rest of the disability community does not seem to fit the facts.

CONCLUSION: SOCIAL MOVEMENT DISUNITY AS A SOLUTION

We have shown that impairment groups differed in protest demands, the timing of those demands, levels of organizational involvement, proportions of protests that were part of a campaign, proportions that were disruptive, proportions that engendered a response, police presence, and arrests. There were differences in all of these variables, both among the protests held by the specific impairment groups and between those taken together as cross-disability protests.

Several patterns emerged from the data presented in this chapter:

1. Protests related to mobility impairments have high levels of organizational involvement and low levels of single, unconnected protests. Protests related to deafness and to developmental disabilities have low levels of organizational involvement and high levels of single, unconnected protests.
2. Cross-disability protests were the most evenly spread out across the different targets. Protests led by impairment-specific groups were more likely to have a "favored" target, one category toward which at least half of their protests were aimed.

3. Cross-disability protests were most evenly spread out among the three demand categories. Disability-specific protests were likely to have one category into which more than half of their demands fit.

What can we say about these results? One hypothesis has been that there are at least two social movements occurring concurrently in the disability community, a disability rights movement and an independent living movement (Barnartt, 1993). But the evidence for this claim is not strong. Most of the service-related demands were not related either to independent living in general or to specific demands of the independent living movement. Only a small number of protest demands were related either to personal assistance services or to control over services, which are two of the major issues for the independent living movement at this time. Rather, they were related to keeping services at appropriate levels of quantity or quality or keeping them paid for.

Another interpretation of these results would be that all of the protests fall within the boundaries of one movement, but that the movement is full of rifts that divide both people and action. Let us explore this possibility. The schisms that occurred in the women's and civil rights movements were splits between groups of adherents, based upon ideology. With the data we are using, we cannot evaluate whether there are splits between group *members*. That is, we cannot know whether protesters focusing on one issue are different people than those focusing on another issue. We have found that there is some overlap in organizations: Mobility-related protests tend to be led by mobility-related organizations, and mobility-related organizations also participate in cross-disability protests. But there are few other overlaps. There have been only a few situations in which impairment-specific organizations have participated in cross-disability protests. The data certainly support the argument that there are divisions in the demands made by the different impairment groups within the disability community.

We cannot, however, call these schisms. The word *schism* suggests divisions that are broader than those seen here. Perhaps the word *fault line* would more accurately describe the divisions. These are not parts of one social movement fighting against one another, as was true in the other social movements discussed earlier. Rather, for the most part, they are parts of a social movement whose demands have different emphases. Sometimes they support each other's demands, sometimes they support each other's protests, and sometimes they only celebrate the successes of other protests in the hopes that those successes will reinforce their own demands (Zola, 1992).

Perhaps we should have expected nothing different. We have seen that a substantial amount of contentious political action is cross-disability. It is also clear, however, that a number of contentious political actions are impairment-specific. Although the numbers of cross-disability protests are substantial, they have not had the power to overcome the self-interests of specific impairment groups. Many of the demands made in the impairment-specific protests still focus on trying to solve the problems that members of that specific impairment group are likely to face. They are actions that are more concerned with survival than with social movement politics or rhetoric. In short, the contentious political action that has occurred in the disability commu-

nity is split in ways that are very similar to ways in which the physical status of impairment is split.

Is this good or bad? We argue that there are positives and negatives to this sort of social movement situation. For the present, the divisions actually contribute to solving a problem central to this social movement, the mobilization of people with impairments. But for future success, a solution to the divisions may become necessary.

Divisive mechanisms could hurt a social movement. But we argue that these divisions actually have positive consequences for disability activism. They enhance its ability to mobilize the most people. Because of the differences between types of impairments and even within a single type of impairment, mobilizing people with impairments is somewhat problematic, as we have noted earlier. But, by having some protests that are cross-disability and others that are impairment-specific, the number of issues being protested can increase. Increasing the number of issues increases the potential numbers of protesters, because they become more likely to see at least one issue as being in their own self-interest. Thus, the impairment-specific protests begin to solve the mobilization problem. Protests can function usefully for the movement by drawing in people who can relate to that specific issue, even though they may not think of themselves as disabled or have identities as disabled persons. Protests may serve to expand the base of potential beneficiaries to whom impairment-specific issues may appeal. Those people are "at risk" of later being turned into adherents for the cross-disability movement but that may not have happened yet. And we know that the more adherents a movement has, the more likely it is to be successful over the short and long terms.

A second positive aspect of the divisions is that the variety of issues brought to the fore by the protests might expand the knowledge of the bystander public. Because of the relatively large proportion of the population that either has an impairment, is related to someone who has one, or knows someone who has one, the more issues that are brought to the public's attention, the more likely it is that an issue will resonate with a previously uninvolved person. This increases the potential that the protests will be viewed positively by the larger society and, therefore, that they will be successful. Thus, the great variety of issues may have—serendipitously—been advantageous to the activism occurring among people with impairments.

But it is also clear that there is a downside to the divisions. From the point of view of sheer numbers, it would be better if the majority of protests were cross-disability and if individual impairment groups came together and forgot their differences. Political power is most likely to derive from a unified community that convincingly claims to represent a large voting bloc. But because contentious politics is not politics as usual, the power that contentious politics generates does not come just from numbers; nor does it come from any other traditional measure of power such as voting strength, campaign donations, or lobbying power. Rather, the power of contentious politics arises from disruption, emotion, and the ability to garner bystander support. As long as this disunified movement continues to find success in disruptive collective action, the disunity may not matter. In addition, it may be that the disunity that comes from the splits within this community also serves to widen the variety of issues that it brings to the public's attention. When or if the "power in movement" is lost,

however, it will be important for the disability community to have political unity. Eventually, contentious politics loses its power, often because social control agents learn how to deal with a particular tactic (McAdam, 1982). If contentious actions lose their power, a formerly powerless community, having seen that it has power, may begin to lean more heavily on institutionalized politics. As Tarrow (1994: 191) has stated, "For brief periods of history the power in movement seems irresistible, but it disperses rapidly and passes inexorably into more institutional forms of politics."[5] Disability activism will have to be well positioned to take advantage of that time.

NOTES

1. A cell size of less than five requires modifications of the chi square test; having many cells smaller than five necessitates the use of other statistical tests (Blalock, 1972: 285–86).

2. ADAPT also engaged in more traditional actions such as lawsuits, but we do not have data on those activities.

3. The relationship between disruptiveness and ADAPT's involvement is much stronger when protests for all impairments categories are included—the gamma for that relationship is .75 and the chi square = 101.1, significance < .00001.

4. A countermovement situation exists around the issue of abortion in the United States and Canada. In this situation, one movement supports a woman's right to choose to have an abortion, while the other movement denies that the choice to have an abortion—or the action of having an abortion—should ever be an option. The movements differ on everything from the words they use to refer to themselves and to each other to tactics and solutions. The two movements not only oppose each other's positions, frames, and solutions, but they also often oppose each other physically during protest actions. The two movements have faced each other across barricades during demonstrations and across roads near abortion clinics. One movement has inflicted violence, including murder, on supporters of the other. Because many of their actions are in relationship to each other, instead of in relationship to other targets, these two movements are viewed as being countermovements to each other by social movements scholars (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996).

5. At the moment we know that people with impairments do not show their power at the ballot box (Shields et al., 2000). We know that the deaf community is, overall, apolitical and basically disinterested in voting or other forms of traditional (i.e., noncontentious) political participation (Bateman, 1996). We do not know the extent to which such attitudes underlie the lack of political participation among members of other impairment groups.

6

Changes in Protests Over Time: Increased Heterogeneity, Decreased Societal Attention

In this chapter we consider how the characteristics of the contentious actions changed over time and attempt to explain those changes in relationship to earlier protest characteristics as well as to external events. In particular, we try to relate changes in the protests to changes in the political opportunity structure, that is, those aspects of the political environment that either encourage or discourage people from using collective action (Tarrow, 1994: 18).

CHANGES OVER TIME IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Although changes over time have not received as much attention from scholars as have other topics such as recruitment to, or initial causes of, social movements, some scholars have suggested changes that they would expect to see in a social movement over time. One of the changes that they expect to see over a social movement's life is in the organizational structure of the movement. At the beginning, preexisting organizations are extremely important in order for the social movement to have a base upon which to build (McAdam, 1982; Morris, 1984). Organizations provide resources such as a membership base, communication networks, group solidarity, and leaders. Organizations create ties that can promote the initial mobilization of current members and new participants (Gould, 1997: 135). The major growth in social movement organizations should occur after the height of the protest cycle (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998: 19). If social movement growth is to occur, the movement has to develop new resources, find new funding sources, and find or create new leaders. It may also need to change protest tactics, or tactical innovation may occur as the pace of contentious action increases (McAdam, 1982, 1997). Finally, social movements experience diffusion. Tactics, members, or organizations may diffuse geographically within one movement, from one movement to another, or from one group of activists to another (Strang and Soule, 1998).

CHANGES OVER TIME IN PROTEST FREQUENCY

Figure 6.1 shows the numbers of protests in each year since 1970. What we see is a picture of overall increases—albeit by fits and starts—in the amount of contentious political action in which people with impairments are involved. This action has not ended and may not even have peaked.

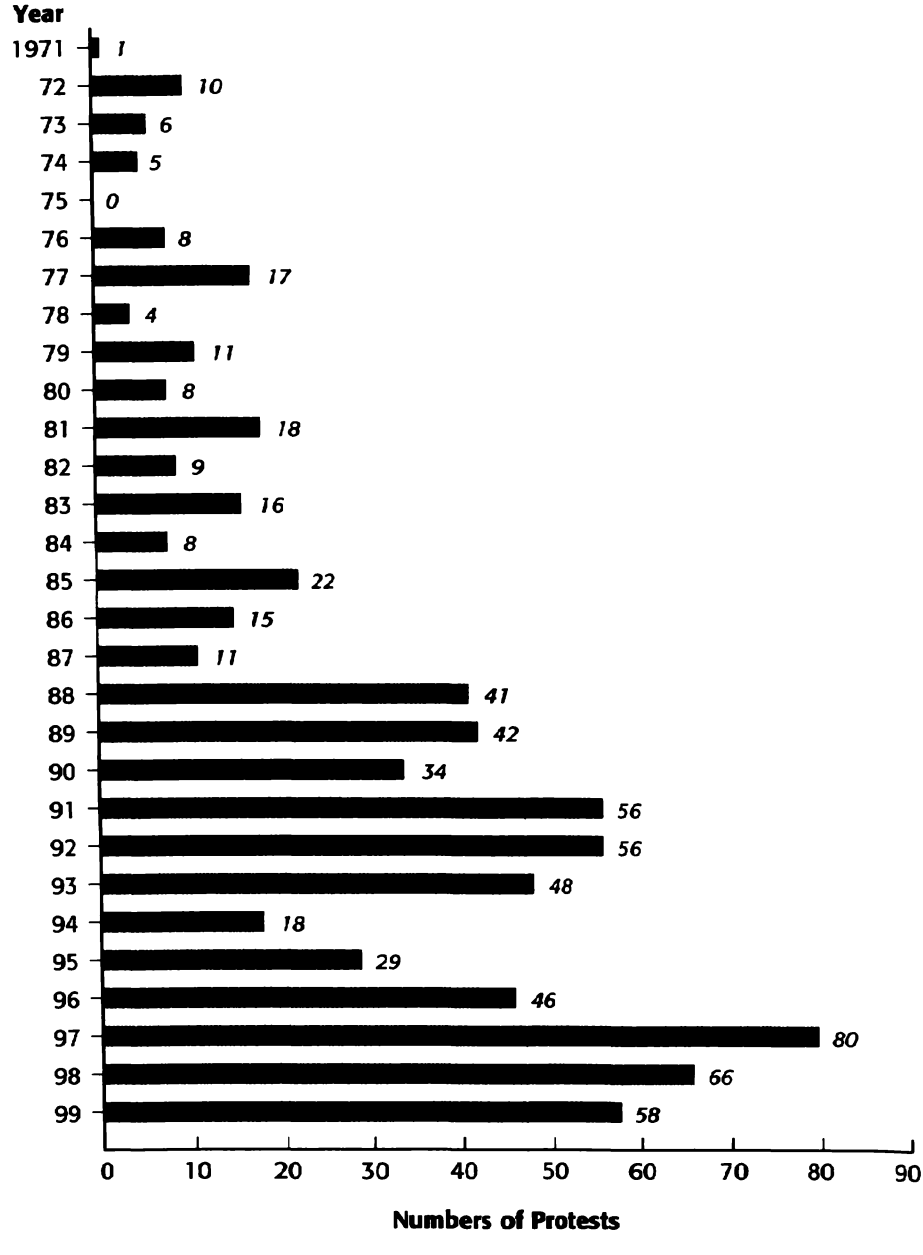


Figure 6.1. Numbers of protests per year

Protest activity started slowly. Although the time period covered by this research begins in 1970, we did not find any protests that met the criteria for inclusion in our database until 1971. From 1972 through 1976, there were ten or fewer protests per year; and in 1975 there were no protests. In 1977, there were seventeen protests. Ten of those were the protests in regard to the failure of the federal government to write and finalize the regulations for the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. The protests occurred around the country, including one in Washington, D.C., conducted by protesters who began in San Francisco and then came to the nation's capital to continue the action. In the months after the Rehabilitation Act protests ended, there were additional actions in San Francisco and other cities. In 1978, the numbers of protests decreased to four. There were small peaks in the numbers of protests in 1979, 1981, 1983, and 1985, but, in general, the level of contentious political activity remained somewhat low until 1988. After 1987 social movement activity began to explode. While in no year before 1988 had there had been more than twenty-two protests, in 1988 there were forty-one protests. The Deaf President Now protest occurred in that year, along with eight sympathetic protests, but there were thirty-two other actions as well. One set of protests was a campaign by ADAPT against Greyhound that involved a number of protests in July as well as protests in thirteen cities in early September.

In 1990 the level of protest activity decreased slightly to thirty-four protests. In 1991 and 1992 the levels of protest increased again, to fifty-six protests in each year. Protest activity decreased again after 1992 until it bottomed out in 1994, when there were only eighteen protests. After that year, the level of activity again increased. The highest level of protest activity for any year was seen in 1997, when there were eighty protests. In 1999 there were fifty-eight protests—if we do not count all of the 150 protests that were supposedly held by veterans' groups on Memorial Day of that year (Siegal, 1999). If we count all of those, the number of protests for 1999 far exceeds the number for any other year.

The impression of disability activism presented by these numbers is quite different than the impression someone might have gotten from reading commentaries published in the early years of the protests. There are several articles that talked about the disability movement much earlier than the present data show it to be anything more than in its infancy. One example is a 1975 *Los Angeles Times* article entitled "Handicapped 'Pushy' New Political Force: Handicapped on March for Access to Public Facilities" (Lembke, 1975). An article in the *New York Times* entitled "The Handicapped, a Minority Demanding Its Rights" appeared on February 13, 1977, before the protests around the Rehabilitation Act that would occur later that year (Schultz, 1977). Another article proclaiming "Disabled Emerge as Bold Political Force" appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* on June 26, 1978 (Roberts, 1978). Yet another article appeared four years later, also in the *Chicago Tribune*. This article was entitled "Handicapped Find Organizing Can Make Their Presence Felt" (Ogintz, 1982). A final example of the journalistic view of these protests can be seen in a book by Kleinfield (1979) entitled *The Hidden Minority: A Profile of Handicapped Americans.* In that book Kleinfield notes that, during the early 1970s, "the movement went into a phase of getting nowhere," which implies that before that it had been "going somewhere" (1977:27). There is not much evidence from our data that was true.

Journalists were not the only ones who proclaimed, much earlier than the data would support, that a new social movement was occurring. In 1979 one scholar published an article in which he suggested that not only was there a disability movement but also that there was a social movement of former mental patients (Anspach, 1979). Another researcher agreed when he said, "[t]he protest movements involving Vietnam, the feminist movement . . . [etc.] . . . gathered strength during the late sixties, but the civil rights movement of disabled people, with few exceptions, lagged behind and was not to reach a culmination until ten years later" (Treanor, 1993: 43).

The realities of disruptive collective action were quite different than all of these authors have suggested. The numbers in figure 6.1 suggest that political power was unlikely to have derived from the small numbers of protests that had occurred up to the dates of any of those articles. By 1975, when the first article was written, there had only been twenty-two protests. Despite Anspach's assertions to the contrary, prior to the protests around the Rehabilitation Act in 1977 only three of those protests had focused on mental health issues. We must wonder what led to the perception by journalists and scholars that there was already a social movement and that people with impairments had political clout. Was it their astonishment that *any* protest led by people with impairments (who up until that time had truly been a hidden minority) was successful? That seems to be the most likely explanation for the post-1977 articles, but does not explain the pre-1977 articles.

What made protest activity begin in 1972, and how do we explain the fluctuations in the numbers of protests in subsequent years? Even when the stage is set for contentious action, as it seemed to be by the end of the 1960s, such action is unlikely to occur without some proximate cause. A specific grievance must spark contentious action. In this case, the spark was probably President Nixon. He vetoed a number of budgetary measures, some of which had an impact on people with impairments. He vetoed the early version of what was to become the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and, after it was passed, he made sure that no money was appropriated to support its provisions. These actions all sparked protests in the years before 1977. In April 1977, the fact that the regulations for the Rehabilitation Act had not yet been finalized, despite the election of the Democratic president Jimmy Carter, sparked a number of protests (these are discussed in more detail in the next chapter).

After the protests around the Rehabilitation Act in 1977, we have to add in the factor of success. Once success has been achieved, a different dynamic enters the equation. There are a number of maxims in our culture about success, including "success breeds success" or "nothing succeeds like success." In the realm of contentious action, it appears that these sayings are true. There is substantial evidence that the Rehabilitation Act success did contribute to a growing willingness among people with impairments to plan and participate in disruptive collective action (see chapter 7).

The 1981 peak is also partly a reaction to budget cuts by the Reagan administration, as several protests were held that were related to that issue. There were at least two issues related to disability that showed up in the early 1980s that might have attracted protests but did not. One issue was the controversy over the so-called "Baby Doe" regulations, which determined the extent to which hospitals must keep babies

with several physical impairments alive. Although people with impairments did not use this situation as an occasion for disruptive collective action, many disability groups were involved in the court cases that confronted this issue (Pelka, 1997: 37–38). The other issue was a controversy over the right of a woman named Elizabeth Bouvia, who had severe physical impairments and said she wanted to die, to take her own life. This controversy focused on the extent to which hospitals should, or could, keep someone alive who did not want to stay alive, and whether they could use force to do it. There were no protests about these issues from a disability rights perspective. There was one protest about the Elizabeth Bouvia situation, but it was clearly aligned with the right-to-life movement rather than with the disability movement (*Denver Post,* 1987). There were also no protests that we could find using the searching mechanisms available to us that focused upon the attitudes toward disability that underlay either of these situations.[1]

The surge in protest activity that began in 1988 does not have a single cause. Rather, there seem to be several factors at work. One cause may have been the success of the Deaf President Now protest. As we discuss in greater detail in chapter 8, its success may have spurred subsequent protests. Partly as a result of that protest, there appears to have been a change in political culture regarding disability, with the result that there was more sympathy or empathy for disability issues in Congress than had previously been the case (Altman and Barnartt, 1993). This change in political culture may have brought with it an opening up of the political opportunity structure (Tarrow, 1994) that permitted the introduction of the Americans with Disabilities Act into Congress. The transition from the Reagan administration to the Bush administration may also have had a role in changing the political opportunity structure. There were many more members of that administration with some connection to disability than ever before (Altman and Barnartt, 1993; Pelka, 1997). This opening of the political opportunity structure may well have been perceived by activists as something to be exploited with increased protest activity.

The introduction of the first version of the Americans with Disabilities Act into Congress in 1988 provided a new target and opportunity for protests. Although there is little evidence of a huge increase in protests specifically aimed at the Americans with Disabilities Act, many of the protests from 1988 through 1990 were aimed at issues of accessibility. These protests, many organized by ADAPT, focused on accessibility, especially (but not exclusively) in transportation. In 1988, ADAPT organized twenty-four of the forty-one protests and in 1989 it organized twenty-one of the thirty-nine protests. This is a clear instance of an opening in the political opportunity structure being related to increased protest activity (Tarrow, 1994). Between the introduction of the Americans with Disabilities Act into Congress and the fact that there was now a track record of widely publicized and successful protests, we have the beginnings of an explanation for the rise in the numbers of protests during this time period.

The large numbers of protests in 1992 and 1993 reflect protests against telethons. In 1992 there were eighteen such protests, and in 1993 there were ten (*Boston Globe,* 1993). The large numbers of protests in 1997 are explained by the events of August 9, 1997, when ADAPT sponsored protests against Greyhound in forty cities across the country (*Ragged Edge,* 1997).

We must note the possibility that the changes over time seen here, especially the large increases after 1988, are not real but are a reflection of the data collection strategies used in this study. Because computerized databases existed for the late 1980s and the 1990s, it is possible that protest reports for those years are more complete than for years prior to the computerization of the databases. If this were true, the increase in numbers of protests after 1988 could be seen to reflect better searching techniques rather than an actual increase in numbers of protests. If so, the increase in numbers of protests would be an artifact of availability of computerized searching procedures used to locate the protest events rather than a real increase. However, if that were the case, there should have been jumps in the numbers of protests for those years (1975, 1986, 1989, and 1996) in which the sizes of the databases increased. Only 1996 saw such an increase, although even in that year, with expanded databases to search, the numbers of protests did not surpass the highest years. Rather, jumps in numbers of protests occurred in 1988, 1991, and 1997. Thus, expansions in computer searchable databases seem unlikely to provide explanations for the surge in protests.

Another explanation for the increasing numbers of protests is the dispersion of contentious action across our society. As in many other countries, the United States has become a "social movement society" (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998). Once a new tactical weapon used by few groups, protest has become a taken-for-granted activity used by many groups. The numbers of protests by people with impairments may have increased because the numbers of protests have increased across all sectors of American society. Thus, these protests may be simply reflecting a larger societal trend. This explanation does not imply that the increases in protests are a methodological artifact, but would instead emphasize that the changes are not unique to people with impairments.

Perhaps it doesn't matter which explanation is correct. The fact is that the numbers of contentious political actions have increased from none to many. Even if protest is something that is occurring among many groups, it is still a new occurrence among people with impairments and so needs to be explored further. We now look at changes over time in some of the other aspects of these contentious actions.

CHANGES BY DECADE

At this point in the discussion, we are altering our pattern of analysis in order to focus on changes by decade. While changes in the numbers of protests by year are interesting, other parts of our data do not always permit such close scrutiny. In the years for which only a few protests were found, one additional protest can make a large difference in one category of a variable, while the opposite is true for years in which many protests occurred. Analyzing the patterns by decade may obscure some changes that could help us to understand the progression of the contentious actions being examined, but it will permit the analysis of overall patterns of change using a level of detail appropriate for the data we are using here. For these analyses, we use decade as an independent variable, based on the assumption that changes over time cause variations in the characteristics of the protests.

Type of Impairment Demand by Decade

Table 6.1 shows that cross-disability demands constituted about 52 percent of all demands made in the 1970s, about 24 percent of those made in the 1980s, and about 46 percent of the demands made in the 1990s. Impairment-specific demands taken together comprised about 47 percent of demands in the 1970s, 76 percent in the

Table 6.1. Impairment Type by Decade

	Decade		
Impairment Type	**1970s**	**1980s**	**1990s**
Cross-disability[a]	52.4% (33)	24.2% (46)	45.8% (225)
Impairment-specific	47.6 (30)	75.8 (144)	54.2 (266)
Total	100.0% (63)	100.0% (190)	100.0% (491)
Specific Impairment Type[b]			
Mobility impairment	23.3% (7)	54.1% (85)	44.1% (124)
Deafness	13.3 (4)	11.5 (18)	11.7 (33)
Visual impairment	33.3 (10)	9.6 (15)	8.5 (24)
Developmental disability	16.7 (5)	6.3 (10)	10.7 (30)
Psychiatric impairment	13.3 (4)	14.6 (23)	18.5 (2)
Others	0.0 (0)	3.8 (6)	6.4 (18)
Totals	99.9% (30)	99.9% (157)	99.9% (281)

a. Chi square = 28.2, significance < .00001.
b. Two impairment types may be coded for impairment-specific protests, so the numbers on the top of the table do not match those on the bottom.

1980s, and 54 percent in the 1990s. When we look at impairment-specific demands separately, we see that demands related to mobility impairments constituted only about 23 percent of the demands made in the 1970s, but 54 percent of demands made in the 1980s and about 44 percent of all demands made in the 1990s. Deafness-related demands constituted about 13 percent of demands made in the 1970s, 12 percent of demands made in the 1980s, and about 12 percent of demands in the 1990s. Demands related to visual impairments constituted about 33 percent of demands made in the 1970s, about 10 percent of the demands made in the 1980s, and about 9 percent of demands made in the 1990s. Demands related to developmental disabilities constituted about 4 percent of demands made in the 1970s, 5 percent of demands made in the 1980s, and almost 6 percent of demands made in the 1990s. Demands related to psychiatric impairments constituted more than 13 percent of demands made in the 1970s, about 15 percent of demands made in the 1980s, and about 4 percent of demands made in the 1990s. There were no protest demands relating to other types of impairments in the 1970s, but such demands constituted about 3 percent of all demands in the 1980s and almost 7 percent of all demands in the 1990s.

Cross-disability demands were proportionally highest in the 1970s. They decreased by almost half in the 1980s but then increased again in the 1990s. We might have expected that, in the post-ADA period, demands should have become more cross-disability. Some impairment-specific accessibility issues, especially relating to transportation, have been dealt with in the ADA, so such issues should have decreased in importance. At the same time, some of the issues that had not been taken care of in the ADA, such as Medicare funding for personal assistance services, are cross-disability issues.

There were also problems specific to various impairments that had not been resolved. This is particularly true with deafness. The provisions related to communication accessibility in the version of the Americans with Disabilities Act that passed were much more limited than they had been in the unsuccessful 1987 version of the bill. Although some aspects of communications accessibility, including TDDs in airports (each terminal must have one), electronic signs, visible paging systems for airports, and captioning or sign interpretation on airplane safety films, are included in Titles II and III of the ADA, it is also clear that not all aspects of communication accessibility are covered. For example, public information systems in buses and rail systems are required in the regulations to have loop or induction coil systems; this would be an advance but one that will only help persons who use hearing aids (Barnartt and Seelman, 1991).[2]

Demands related to deafness comprised one of the smallest proportions of impairment-specific demands in the 1970s, when it comprised about 6 percent of all demands. The proportion increased to 8 percent in the 1980s but dropped back to 7 percent in the 1990s. However, the decrease in percentage masks the larger numbers, a trend that we discuss in chapter 8.

Demands related to mobility impairments were the largest category in the 1980s—they comprised more than half of all demands in that decade. It is likely that this fact reflects the involvement of ADAPT, which formed in 1984. Demands related to mobility impairments also comprised the largest category in the 1990s, the

number of mobility-related demands increased from the previous decade. What is perhaps most surprising is that there were still so many demands related to mobility issues in the 1990s, despite the change in ADAPT's name and mission. Many of the demands related to mobility, however, are about enforcement of the gains won in the Americans with Disabilities Act.

The 1970s was the decade in which blindness-related demands comprised their largest proportion, when they made up over one-third of all demands. This was also the case for demands related to developmental disabilities, although those demands comprised a lower proportion of all demands. These two impairment groups were both organized for collective action earlier than some of the other impairment groups, although, as noted in chapter 1, the early demands related to developmental disabilities were more likely to reflect the involvement of parents than to be a true developmental disabilities movement.

Demands related to psychiatric impairments constituted the highest proportion of demands in the 1990s, when they comprised about 19 percent of all demands. Demands related to other types of impairments did not occur in the 1970s. Although they increased both in number and proportion across the decades, they still constituted less than 7 percent of all demands made in protests in the 1990s.

Because the actual numbers of protests increased in the 1990s, percentage decreases seen in demands related to mobility impairments, deafness, blindness, and psychiatric impairments do not reflect decreasing *numbers* of protests. Rather, there were increasing numbers of protests related to all of these types of impairments, but they comprise smaller proportions of the total.

Protest Demand Categories

Table 6.2 shows that demands related to rights comprised about 40 percent of demands during the 1970s, 50 percent of demands during the 1980s, but only about 39 percent

Table 6.2. Type of Demand by Decade (N = 1024)

	Type of Demand			
Decade	Rights	Services	Other	Totals
1970s	40.5%	45.6%	13.9%	100.0%
	(32)	(36)	(11)	(79)
1980s	50.0	41.6	8.4	100.0
	(119)	(99)	(20)	(238)
1990s	38.3	46.5	15.1	100.0
	(271)	(329)	(107)	(707)

Note: Chi square = 12.8, significance < .02.

of the demands made in the 1990s. Demands relating to services comprised between about 42 and 46 percent of the demands in all three decades—they comprised almost 46 percent of the demands made in the 1970s, almost 42 percent of demands made in protests in the 1980s, and a little over 46 percent of those made in protests during the 1990s. All other types of demands comprised about 14 percent of the demands made in the 1970s, less than 9 percent of demands made in the 1980s protests, but over 15 percent of demands made during protests in the 1990s.

If we equate demands for rights with the disability rights movement, as we did in chapter 4, we could say that, based on the present results, this movement was in its ascendancy in the 1970s and 1980s. By the 1990s it appears to have peaked and be somewhat on the decline, because its demands constituted a somewhat smaller proportion of all protest demands than in the previous two decades. However, demands relating to rights continue to comprise over one-third of all protest demands—as a social movement, it has not completely died. We can also say that, if demands for services represent the independent living movement, then that movement has remained a significant part of contentious actions by people with impairments across all decades. In each decade its demands have constituted over 40 percent of all demands made in protests, but it is comparatively at its strongest in the 1970s and 1990s.

Demands related to all other issues were a minority of all demands in the 1990s as they were in the other two decades. During the 1990s, however, the category "other demands" constitutes a larger proportion of all demands than it did in the 1970s, and a much larger proportion than it did in the 1980s. This suggests that protest demands are becoming more heterogeneous than they had been in the past.

Targets

Table 6.3 shows changes in targets over time when they are categorized into local governments, state governments, the federal government, and nongovernment entities. The latter range from companies, stores, and educational institutions to medical or other treatment facilities, service agencies, and single individuals. About 11 percent of the protest targets were local governments in the 1970s compared to 18 percent in the 1980s and about 10 percent in the 1990s. State governments made up about 31 percent of targets in the 1980s but about 14 percent of targets in the 1980s and about 24 percent in the 1990s. Federal governmental targets comprised about 31 percent of all targets in the 1970s but decreased to being about 19 percent in the 1980s and to about 16 percent of targets in the 1990s. All other targets comprised an increasingly larger share as the decades progressed. They were only about 28 percent of all targets in the 1970s but increased to about 49 percent in the 1980s and to exactly 50 percent in the 1990s.

Thus, we see several changes over time. In the 1970s the state and federal levels of government were more common targets than were local governments and slightly more common than all other targets (the difference, however, is small). In the 1980s, protests aimed at local governments comprised a larger proportion than they did in the 1970s, as did protests aimed at other types of targets. Protests aimed at state and federal governmental targets decreased proportionally. By the 1990s, protests that focused on nongovernmental targets became the highest proportion of targets. The

Table 6.3. Targets of Protests by Decade (N = 719)

	Decade		
Type of Target[a]	1970s	1980s	1990s
Local governments	10.8%	18.0%	10.1%
	(7)	(32)	(48)
State governments	30.8	14.6	24.2
	(20)	(26)	(115)
Federal government	30.8	18.5	15.8
	(20)	(33)	(75)
Nongovernmental	27.7	48.9	50.0
	(18)	(87)	(238)
Totals	100.1%	99.9%	100.1%
	(65)	(178)	(476)

a. Chi square = 27.6, significance < .0002.

proportion that aimed at local governmental targets decreased proportionally to its 1970s levels. The proportion of protests aimed at the federal levels of government also decreased to its lowest level. The proportion aimed at state governments increased, although it did not reach its 1970s level.

What conclusions can we draw from these numbers? One is that the targets of the protests were related to events that were occurring at the time of the protests. The federal government was most likely to be the target when there were processes occurring at that level of government that could be influenced, such as the writing of a law, or when there were federal issues, such as Medicare, at stake. When there were no federal actions pending, protesters tended to focus on other targets. They focused on state or local governments when there were issues related to programs or monetary support, and activists focused on other targets when other issues emerged.

The largest concentration of protests aimed at the federal government occurred in the 1970s, when the Rehabilitation Act was an issue. Toward the end of the 1980s, the Americans with Disabilities Act was a focus for protests. Earlier in that decade the federal government was often not the target of protests, although issues related to mobility accessibility were potentially amenable to solution or amelioration at the federal level. Either the federal government was not seen as being susceptible to influence from protests, or it was seen as being more susceptible to influence from noncontentious than from contentious political actions. Except for the first eight months of 1990 before the ADA passed, during the 1990s the perception may have been that more issues remained at the state than the federal level. Thus, a smaller proportion of protests was aimed at the federal government than had been the case in

earlier decades. This was true despite the increasing salience of issues related to payment for at-home personal care attendants rather than for care in nursing homes, issues that in some situations were related to Medicare and Medicaid and so were amenable to solution at the federal level. This relatively diminished focus on the federal government also occurred despite issues of enforcement of the Americans with Disabilities Act at the federal level and its interpretation in federal courts.

State-level targets comprised relatively larger proportions of protests in the 1970s and the 1990s than in the 1980s. In the 1970s, this probably reflected the relatively larger proportion of demands related to services (many of which were provided or paid for at that level). In the 1980s the relatively smaller proportion of targets reflects the increase in demands related to mobility impairments and the decrease in cross-disability demands because the former are less likely to have a solution at the state level and the latter are more likely to. In the 1990s, the increase in state-level targets reflects the same factors that reduced the focus of federal government targets: the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act. Some of the issues not fixed by the Americans with Disabilities Act were more likely to be amenable to attention from the state governmental level. These were categorized generally as demands related to services, but, in fact a larger number of demands for services were related to money, and most of the monetary demands focused upon state level targets.[3]

Although attention toward local targets was proportionally higher in the 1980s than in the other two decades, local governments show up as targets in the fewest protests in every decade. This reflects the fact that disability policies are seldom set or even implemented at this level of government. Very little monetary support for people with impairments comes from local governments, very few laws related to disability are passed at this level, and only a few services are provided by governments at this level. As this has not changed over time, the focus of contentious action upon this level of government has remained at comparatively low levels.

Increasingly, protest attention has turned toward nongovernmental targets to solve the problems experienced by people with impairments. Although such targets were the focus of only about one-fourth of the protests in the 1970s, in the 1980s and 1990s they constituted about half of all protest targets. Nongovernmental targets ranged from telethons, to places of public accommodation such as hotels, to commercial establishments such as stores or restaurants, to attitudes of the general public. Some of the 1990s protests demanded that establishments follow Americans with Disabilities Act regulations or that those regulations be enforced, but many protests focused on other targets. The increasing diversity of targets reflects the number of nongovernmental issues being protested, such as telethons and assisted suicide, which arose primarily in the 1990s.

Changes in targets also reflect changes in the political opportunity structure. After passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act, the federal political opportunity structure shut down.[4] Sympathy for issues related to disability seemed to have been used up, even though the ADA did not even achieve full implementation for several years thereafter. Until issues of enforcement and legal interpretation of the Americans with Disabilities Act arose in the late 1990s, many goals that seemed achievable at the federal level apparently were achieved, so protest turned elsewhere.

We have found that, overall, the targets of protests were appropriately chosen, both for the period of time in which the protests occurred and for the issues receiving the most attention at that time. This apparent relationship between protest targets and the issues of the day increased the likelihood that the protests would succeed. The changes shown here reinforce the notion that protest targets were not chosen at random. Nor were the targets the same all the time, whether or not they were appropriate for the issue. Rather, there seems to be linkage among issues, targets, and the political opportunity structure that changed over time but enhanced the potential for successful protests.

Organizational Involvement

Table 6.4 shows several characteristics related to the organizational involvement in protests as it changed across the decades. The first column shows the levels of organizational involvement. It shows that, although in all decades a majority of the protests were conducted by organizations, the decade with the lowest percentage of protests conducted by identified organizations was the 1970s. In that decade about 57 percent of the protests were conducted by organizations, while almost 68 percent of the protests had such involvement in the 1980s and 67 percent had it in the 1990s. While we do see an increase from the lower level of organizational involvement in the 1970s to the relatively higher proportion in the later two decades, the increase is small and does not reach statistical significance.

After the early years of a movement, increases in organizational involvement can occur for several reasons. Especially if there were early social movement successes attributable to protesting organizations, existing organizations may become radicalized and begin to view their goals as most readily attainable through protest. Alternatively, new organizations might emerge whose purpose is to produce social change and to engage in contentious action in order to produce that change. In a climate of successful contentious action, it is less likely that an organization already involved in contentious action will cease such activities, although it is imaginable if an organization decides to devote its resources to other aspects of social change. Rather, it is more likely that, once protesting groups are known to be successful, new groups, nonaffiliated groups, and already affiliated groups will "jump on the bandwagon."

ADAPT is one example of an organization that originated because of protests. The second column of table 6.4 shows the proportions of protests in which ADAPT was involved in the 1980s and 1990s. (ADAPT was founded in 1984, so could not have been involved in the 1970s.) In the 1980s, ADAPT led 52 percent of the protests. The *numbers* of protests led by ADAPT also increased in the 1990s, but in that decade ADAPT led less than 43 *percent* of the protests. Thus, although ADAPT became increasingly involved in protests, it was not just ADAPT that was pushing the growth in contentious action after 1989.

Organizational Type

The other half of table 6.4 shows changes in the types of organizations over the decades. This table shows that multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations were

Table 6.4. Types of Organizational Involvement by Decade

Decade	Percentage of Protests with Organizational Involvement	Percentage of Protests with ADAPT Involvement	Type of Organization			
			Multiple Impairment, Single Issue	Single Impairment, Multiple Issue	Cross-Disability	Totals
1970s	56.9% (37)	0.0% (0)	0.0% (0)	19.2% (5)	80.8% (21)	100.0% (26)
1980s	67.5 (114)	52.3 (67)	83.9 (68)	4.9 (4)	11.1 (9)	100.0 (81)
1990s	67.0 (305)	42.8 (155)	81.9 (185)	9.3 (21)	8.9 (20)	100.1 (226)

Note: Organizations coded as "any state-level branch of a national organization" were excluded, as were several other categories that were not specific enough to permit accurate coding.

nonexistent in the 1970s. However, such organizations conducted the vast majority (84 percent) of protests in the 1980s and in the 1990s, although their "market share" dropped slightly in the 1990s to 82 percent of all protests. Single-impairment, multiple-issue organizations conducted a minority of protests in any decade, but they conducted comparatively more of the 1970s protests (19 percent) than during the 1980s, when they conducted only 5 percent of the protests, or the 1990s, when they conducted 9 percent of the protests. Clearly, this type of organization has never been a major player in the protest arena, but it was comparatively most active early in the years of the disability-related protests. The single-impairment, multiple-issue organizations, which tend to be older, come from the time when groups were separated by type of impairment and before contentious action was much of an option. The modest resurgence of action by such groups in the 1990s occurs contemporaneously with a slight shift away from protest involvement by cross-disability organizations. Cross-disability organizations conducted a majority of the protests only in the 1970s, when they conducted almost 80 percent of organization-led actions. Since that decade, cross-disability organizations conducted less than one eighth of the protests.

More organizations have become active in the protest arena through time. A number of organizations, some of which were newly formed and some of which were older, engaged in their first protests in the 1990s. New organizations included Jerry's Orphans, Not Dead Yet, Concrete Change, Concerned Rail Corridor Riders, the FDR in a Chair Campaign, Support Coalition International, the Disabled People's Liberation Army, and TASH. Most of these newly formed groups are multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations. This was a very important development in the history of disability protests because it made possible and increasingly likely the mobilization of increasing numbers of people with different types of impairments who might not have been interested in issues related to disability. This change in the patterns of organizational involvement probably led to the successful mobilization of larger numbers of aggrieved activists. We noted previously that increasingly heterogeneous issues showed up in the contentious actions as time progressed. The newer organizations were the impetus for that heterogeneity. The changes in organizational involvement have been closely related to changes in the protest issues over time, because these new organizations were active in protesting "their" issue.

Disruptiveness

Because disruptiveness is a major predictor of the success of protests, we need to examine how it changed over time. Here we examine the changes in disruptiveness, examining duration and size of the protests, the tactics used, and whether the protests were part of campaigns.

Duration

Table 6.5 shows that in the 1970s, half of the protests were 20 hours or less in duration, while the other half were longer than 20.5 hours. The modes provide a more accurate reflection of the duration of protests in the 1970s, because of the small

Table 6.5. Indicators of Duration and Size by Decade

Decade	Median	Mode	Range
		Duration (hours)	
1970s	20.5	2.0	1.0–720
1980s	3.0	36.0	0.25–240
1990s	4.0	2.0	0.01–7680
		Numbers of Participants	
1970s		150	6–2000
1980s		20	2–6000
1990s		200	2–5000

number of protests for which we have data. The most common duration for a protest in the 1970s was two hours. The shortest lasted an hour, and the longest lasted for 720 hours.

During the 1980s, half of the protests lasted for less than three hours, while the other half lasted longer. The most common protest length was thirty-six hours, but there were ten protests that lasted more than one day. The shortest protest lasted only fifteen minutes, while the longest protest in the 1980s was 240 hours, or ten days. Overall, then, protests in the 1980s were shorter than in the 1970s, and the split between short and long protests was not as dramatic as it was in the earlier decade.

In the 1990s, while half of the protests lasted for less than four hours, the most common length was two hours. The shortest protest lasted for six minutes, and the longest lasted for 7,680 hours (more than ten months).

In sum, the 1980s saw the shortest protests with the least variability in length. Protests in the 1990s tended to be longer than those in the 1980s. About 20 percent of the protests in the 1990s lasted one day or more, although there were also some extremely short protests that lasted less than an hour. Protests in the 1970s tended to be longer than in the 1980s, but there were fewer of them. Based upon duration, then, protests were more disruptive in the 1970s and 1990s.

Size

The second half of table 6.5 shows that protests in the 1970s most often had 150 participants. The minimum number of protesters was six, and the maximum was 2,000. In the 1980s, the largest number of protests had only twenty participants. In the 1990s, the most common number of protesters was two hundred but ranged in size from two at a minimum to 5,000 as the maximum.

The protests in the 1980s were the most variable, but that decade also contains the single largest protest, which had 6,000 participants. If, however, we consider "large" protests to have more than 1,000 participants, the data (not shown) indicate that the highest number of large protests occurred in the 1990s. Only two protests that included 1,000 protesters or more occurred in the 1970s, while eight occurred in the 1980s. The other fifteen protests occurred in the 1990s. These results suggest that the protests became more disruptive, in that they were longer and larger in the 1990s than in the 1970s.

Tactics

Table 6.6 shows that the proportion of protests that were disruptive did not differ much by decade. Although the proportion that was disruptive declined from 33 percent in the 1970s to 32 percent in the 1980s and to about 28 percent in the 1990s, these changes are small. There were, however, changes in the types of protests that were disruptive. In the 1970s, cross-disability protests were more likely to be disruptive (42 percent) than were impairment-specific protests (23 percent). In the 1980s, that pattern was reversed: Impairment-specific protests were more likely than cross-disability protests to be disruptive. In the 1990s cross-disability protests and impairment-specific protests were about equally likely to be disruptive: About 28 percent of the protests in both categories used at least one disruptive tactic.

The tactics themselves did not appear to become more disruptive as time progressed, but impairment-specific protests became more likely to use disruptive tactics, especially in the 1980s. These results suggest the strong role of ADAPT and its protests as models for other organizations. Other organizations could learn two things

Table 6.6. Disruptiveness of Protests by Decade

Decade	Percentage of Disruptive Protests	Percentage of Cross-Disability Protests That Were Disruptive	Percentage of Impairment-Specific Protests That Were Disruptive
1970s	32.8%	42.4%	23.3%
	(20)	(14)	(7)
1980s	31.5	17.4	35.5[a]
	(58)	(8)	(50)
1990s	28.1	28.1	27.5
	(139)	(63)	(74)

a. Chi square for the differences in the 1980s = 5.3, significance < .03.

from ADAPT's tactics and history. They could learn how to conduct disruptive protests, and they could learn that disruptive protests were successful. Even protests that were not conducted by organizations might have learned from the success of ADAPT's tactics. Thus it is likely that ADAPT's influence was both direct and indirect through its own successful protests and through its influence on other protesting organizations. As we discovered, however, the increasing disruptiveness of the protests was not matched by an increasing rate of success.

Protest Linkages

The proportions of the protests that were part of a campaign increased across the decades, from about 31 percent in the 1970s, to almost 46 percent in the 1980s, to over 49 percent in the 1990s (see table 6.7). Again, there were differences between cross-disability protests and impairment-specific protests. In the 1970s, 17 percent of impairment-specific protests were linked compared to 42 percent of cross-disability protests. In the 1980s, 53 percent of impairment-specific protests were linked, compared to almost 25 percent of cross-disability protests. In the 1990s, almost 55 percent of impairment-specific protests were linked, compared to 42 percent of cross-disability protests. Overall, impairment-specific protests became more likely to be part of a campaign, but this was not true for cross-disability protests. They followed a curvilinear pattern in which the linkage levels were the same in the 1970s and 1990s but much lower during the 1980s.

Table 6.7. Protest Linkages by Decade

Decade	Percentage of Protests That Were Linked	Percentage of Cross-Disability Protests That Were Linked	Percentage of Impairment-Specific Protests That Were Linked
1970s	30.8%	42.4%	16.7%
	(20)	(14)	(5)[a]
1980s	45.9	24.4	52.9
	(85)	(11)	(74)[b]
1990s	49.2	42.3	54.9
	(240)[c]	(94)	(147)[d]

a. Chi square = 4.9, significance <.03.
b. Chi square = 11.1, significance < .0009.
c. Chi square = 7.8, significance < .02.
d. Chi square = 7.6, significance < .006.

RESULTS OF THE PROTESTS

The proportion of protests that got any response at all increased slightly between the 1970s and the 1980s, from 50 percent to almost 53 percent (see table 6.8). In the 1990s, it decreased substantially, to less than 44 percent. Police involvement followed the same pattern. It increased very slightly, from about 31 percent of the 1970s protests having police involvement to around 32 percent of the 1980s protests, but decreased to 20 percent in the 1990s. Protests at which arrests were made were actually quite rare in the earliest decade: Only a little more than 8 percent of the protests resulted in arrests. That level increased in the 1980s to over 21 percent, but decreased again to about 10 percent in the 1990s. Finally, the levels of success also fell across the decades, from about 25 percent of the protests being successful in the 1970s to about 17 percent in the 1980s and 1990s.

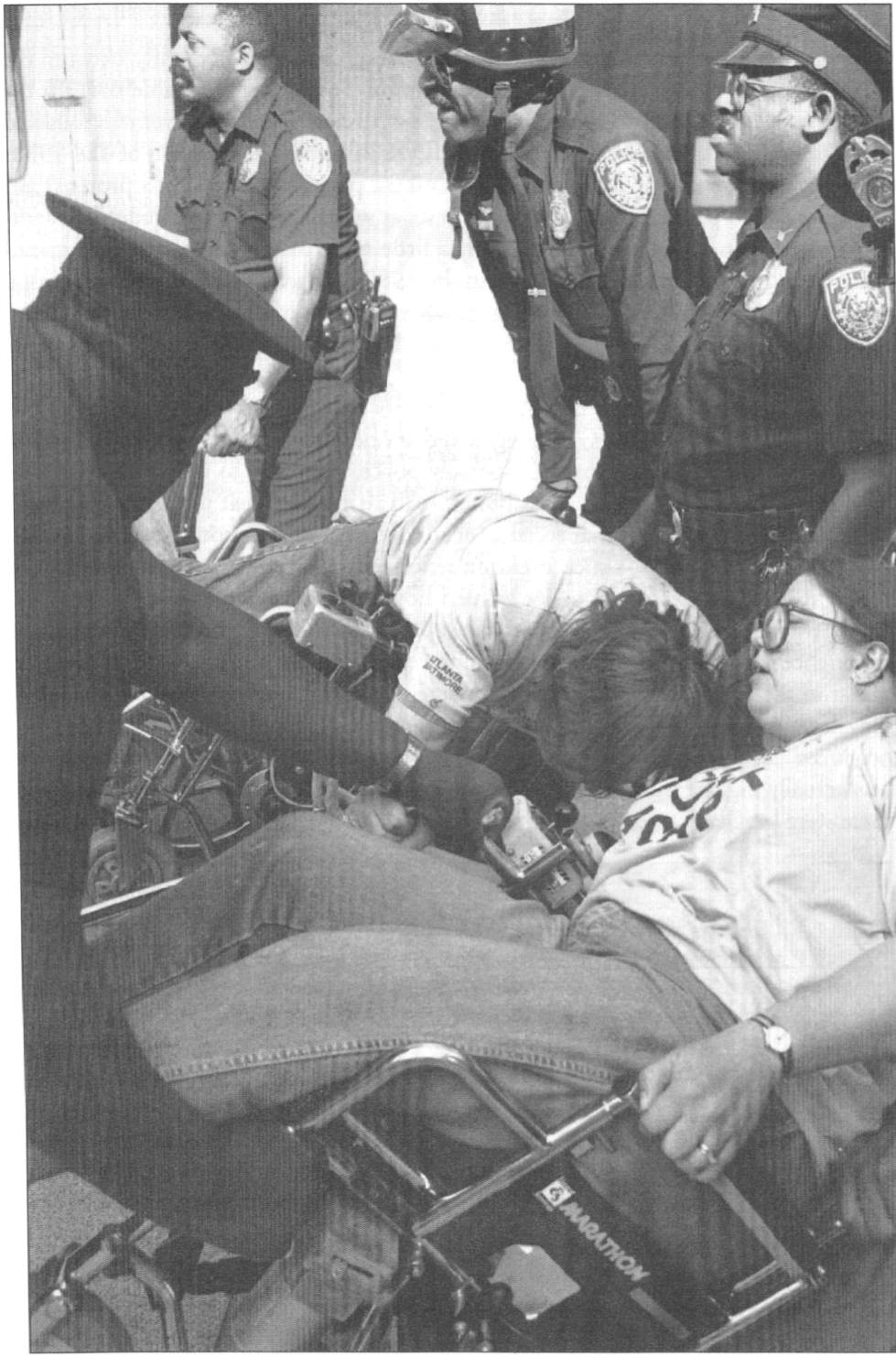
How does the presence of police at protests relate to the disruptiveness of the protests? McAdam (1997: 344) has suggested that one of the reasons that cycles of protest peak is that agents of social control, especially police, learn how to deal with the tactics used in such a way as to defuse their power. Is there evidence that this is the case here?

Our research suggests that social control attention to the protests was highest in the 1980s. In the 1990s, police attention remained at lower levels, although it never totally disappeared. Had the police learned how to "handle" such protests? Possibly. But there are a number of other possible explanations. One is that, as police gained experience with these protests, they began to realize that the protests were not a severe threat to the common good and, in fact, were not very disruptive. Alternatively, they may have realized that arresting disabled protesters as opposed to dispersing them produced "bad press" for the police. While by several indicators the disruptiveness was actually highest during the 1970s, the police were less likely to be present, and there were less likely to be arrests made, than was true in 1980s. That decade was the

Table 6.8. Results of the Protests by Decade

Decade	Got Any Response	Police Involved	Arrests Were Made	Was Successful
1970s	50.0%	31.3%	8.3%	25.0%
	(32)	(20)	(5)	(16)
1980s	52.6	31.8	21.3	17.4
	(82)	(50)	(33)	(27)
1990s	43.6	20.1	10.2	17.5
	(175)	(80)[a]	(41)[b]	(70)

a. Chi square = 10.3, significance < .01.
b. Chi square = 14.9, significance < .001.



Police arrest protesters outside the Department of Health and Human Services in Washington, D.C.

peak decade for police presence and also for arrests. The 1980s also saw a conservative Republican White House, which may have contributed to the more frequent police presence. In the 1990s, although protests were larger, longer, more likely to garner support, and to be part of a campaign, they were less likely actually to be disruptive. They were also more likely to be ignored—by the police as well as other respondents—and they were also less likely to have been successful.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have shown that there were changes in many aspects of the protests across the decades. These included increases in the numbers of protests, increases in the proportions of protests that were cross-disability, increases in the proportions of protests that focused on state government and nongovernment targets, increases in the proportion of demands that were related to services, increases in the numbers of protests run by organizations other than ADAPT, changes in the types of organizations running the protests, and decreases in the amount of attention from police and other entities.

Taken together, these trends suggest that two related processes occurred. Protests are diffusing, and they are becoming more heterogeneous. The social movement expanded its issues, its organizations, its targets, and even the types of impairment-related demands expressed in protests. It is possible that the decreased societal responsiveness to the protests shows that the flip side of being more diffuse or heterogeneous is being less concentrated. Being too diffuse can mean putting more pressure on larger numbers of targets, or it can mean being spread so thin that the effectiveness of the pressure diminishes. Or it can mean that diffusion has resulted in a social movement that is expanding rather than declining, and that has not yet begun to peak or become institutionalized. In succeeding chapters, as we investigate why these changes have occurred, we add the variable of success to the equation.

NOTES

1. The organization Not Dead Yet refers to this situation as the basis for its establishment. So, even though there were no immediate reactions from people with impairments, there was a long-term reaction that became part of a trend in organizational development.

2. A number of federal laws were passed around this time that referred specifically to deaf people. These include the Telecommunications Accessibility Enhancement Act of 1988 (PL 100-542), which addressed the TDD accessibility of the federal communications system, federal agencies, and the offices of members of Congress; and the Decoder Circuitry Act of 1990 (PL 101-431), which mandated that new televisions had to have built-in captioning decoders rather than needing to have an extra piece of equipment in order for people to be able to read program captions.

3. Data not shown.

4. In fact, Iraq invaded Kuwait only a few days after the ADA signing, so as congressional attention turned to that issue, the window of opportunity for disability issues closed with a bang (Altman and Barnartt, 1993).

7

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act: The Effects of Cross-Disability Successes

Social movement activities, including both contentious and noncontentious actions, are carried out over an extended period of time. Thus, earlier actions and their results will affect subsequent actions and their results. In this chapter and the next, we examine the effects that several clear successes had on subsequent patterns of protests in the deaf and disability communities. In this chapter we consider the effects of two cross-disability successes on subsequent contentious political action in these two communities, while in the next chapter we consider the effect of an impairment-specific success on them. The first of the two cross-disability successes was a set of protests that occurred in April 1977. These protests emerged because of the failure of the federal government to promulgate regulations for the Rehabilitation Act of 1973; protesters demanded that this failure be rectified. The second success was the signing of the Americans with Disabilities Act in July 1990.

These two successes were similar in some ways. Both focused on cross-disability issues that applied to people with all types of impairments, and both were about legislation. In addition, people with many types of impairments, including deaf people, worked for the successful results. However, the two successes differed in several important ways. In the case of the protests around the Rehabilitation Act, the success was directly attributable to one set of contentious political actions that focused specifically and solely on that issue. In the second case, that of the passage of the ADA, reasons for success were multiple, and not solely or even strongly related to contentious political action. It is possible that the ADA's success was more clearly related to noncontentious than to contentious political activity. These two cases, then, permit us to examine the effect of different types of success on subsequent contentious political activity.

In this chapter we examine the sequelae of these two successes. We examine changes in numbers of protests, locations, issues, organizations, and other factors that might have been affected by the two types of successes. We are not looking to see if the successes caused the sequelae. Causation is difficult, if not impossible to prove, and it is usually even difficult to support either statistically or conceptually. Although we cannot say that success caused any visible changes, we can look at patterns of changes that are suggestive of the effects these successes may have had on subsequent contentious political action.

THE EFFECTS OF SUCCESS ON SUBSEQUENT POLITICAL ACTIONS

Success is one characteristic of prior contentious actions that would seem likely to affect subsequent action. It makes sense to hypothesize that more successful contentious actions would have different sequelae than partially successful or completely unsuccessful contentious actions. Logically, three predictions are possible regarding the relationship between successful contentious action and the *amount* of subsequent contentious action. One would predict that successful contentious actions should be followed by a *decreased* amount of contentious action, the second would predict that they should be followed by an *increased* amount, and the third would predict that there should be no change in the amount of subsequent contentious action.

Strain-related theories of the origin of social movements (e.g., Smelser, 1962; Westhaus, 1972) would predict that a successful contentious action would *decrease* the number of subsequent contentious actions. Such theories assume that one of the most important, if not *the* most important, factors in mobilization for contentious political actions are psychological, ideological, political, or socioeconomic frustrations. These frustrations are perceived to be caused by social structural or cultural imbalances, because if they were caused by individual factors such as motivation level or intelligence, *collective* actions would not be expected to produce solutions. A contentious political action that successfully attains its goal reduces the frustration or the strain that caused the initial mobilizations. The success, then, would lessen the need for subsequent contentious action and for the social movement itself. The social movement would eventually disappear. This happened, for example, with the antiwar and student movements of the 1960s (Oberschall, 1999).

Of course, success is not the only reason a social movement would die. Social movements die because of factors such as lack of resources, problematic organizational factors, leadership changes, failure to mobilize support, changes in the political opportunity structure, changes in the effectiveness of the movement's frames, and failure to attain established goals (Kamenitsa, 1998). Social movements may also die because they become institutionalized by becoming part of the government or of nongovernmental organizations that are engaged in noncontentious political action. Some scholars assume that this aspect is so much a part of a social movement's history that they include institutionalization as the final stage of a movement (Smelser, 1962). An example of success leading to the transmogrification of a contentious organization into a noncontentious organization occurred recently in South Africa

Klandermans, Roefs, and Olivier, 1998). In that situation the African National Congress's position changed from an organization that specialized in contentious actions to one that is running the government.

The second prediction is that success would *increase* subsequent mobilization and contentious action (Barnartt, 1994).[1] There is evidence of this occurring in French coal mining strikes, hijackings (Strang and Soule, 1998), wildcat strikes (Fantasia, 1988), and race riots (Oberschall, 1980), among other types of contentious actions. There are several reasons why we might make this somewhat counterintuitive prediction. One is that participants in the action would see that collective action could make a difference and could be a way to get what they want, and they would want to repeat what worked the first time. Thus, "a successful challenge . . . provides model[s] of effective tactics" (Jenkins, 1983: 548), and there would be a demonstration effect (Minkoff, 1997) or a learning curve. As Tarrow (1994: 96) states, "Contentious collective action demonstrates the possibilities of collective action to others. . . . [T]his occurs when 'early risers' make claims on elites that can be used by those with less daring and fewer resources. Moreover, collective action exposes opponents' points of weakness that may not be evident until they are challenged."[2]

Successful contentious actions may also affect participants in other ways. Participation in successful contentious actions can lead to a sense of personal efficacy, which may lead to increased willingness to join a social movement (Payne, 1990: 161). Participation in a successful action is more likely to influence a person to engage in additional contentious actions, while participation in unsuccessful actions is less likely (Fantasia, 1988). Participation might also lead to a "revolution of rising expectations," in which gains won by the protesting group lead to a desire for more gains. This desire might not be just among participants in the originally successful action but would be felt by larger numbers of the movement's adherents and even previously apolitical potential beneficiaries. Successful protests lead to similar claims by other claimants (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998: 1).[3] In an example of this phenomenon, Groch (1994: 385, emphasis added) cites the case of a woman who passively observed disability activists protesting for transportation accessibility for several years. After riding an accessible bus won by those protesters, she said, "*Now* I believe we have to be more forceful."

Finally, there is the possibility a successful contentious action will change the political opportunity structure (Tarrow, 1994). Collective actions themselves can force the political opportunity structure open to make it more receptive to subsequent contentious actions about that issue or related issues.[4]

We would also expect that societal reactions to successful contentious actions would change. Successful contentious actions may raise the level of understanding among nonparticipants about issues related to the protest and they may recruit new participants. If this occurs, subsequent protests about related issues may be more successful—or, at least, they may be more likely to garner attention—than did prior protests.

The third prediction is that the success of earlier contentious actions is not related to subsequent contentious actions. This prediction seems quite unlikely to be true, as it would be difficult to see why the result of any political action would *not* affect subsequent actions.

The two major predictions about the effect of social movement success on subsequent contentious actions may not be mutually exclusive. As the history of the women's movement shows, after women's suffrage was obtained, one branch of the movement continued its activism under the guise of the National Women's Party (NWP) in an attempt to get an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution passed. The other branch of the movement gave up its collective consciousness and activism so thoroughly that it even became opposed to the NWP (Ferree and Hess, 1994; Taylor, 1990).

It is not easy to determine whether a particular social movement really is successful or not, because its impacts can be indirect or related to other social structural and cultural changes (Andrews, 1997: 800). Social movements sometimes produce effects that they did not anticipate or desire while failing to produce the desired effects. Actions that in the short term do not seem successful may appear to be more successful in the longer view of historical retrospection. Even if the desired changes occur, it is sometimes difficult to know the degree to which the social movement itself was responsible for them (Kendrick, 1991). For example, structural and cultural patterns (such as percentages of women in the labor force or approval of women working outside the home) ultimately moved in directions the women's movement sought, although interim evaluations might not have shown that. But are we certain that the women's movement caused these changes? Probably not. Are we certain that, if it did cause these changes, it was the only cause? Absolutely not. But the changes occurred during and after many contentious and noncontentious actions by that movement.

If prior successes are likely to lead to increased contentious action within a social movement, we would expect to see several types of changes following successful contentious actions. These would include increases in the level of mobilization for subsequent actions, as represented both by numbers of protests and by numbers of participants. We would expect that previously successful organizations would continue their involvement, perhaps even at a stepped-up level, that new organizations would develop, and that already existing organizations not previously involved in contentious actions would want to join the movement once they have seen that their goals could be attained by disruptive contentious action. Once their demands have been met, we would expect that social movements would change their demands, rather than go out of existence. Finally, we might expect that media attention would be drawn by the success, so that media reports would increase, although this prediction is the opposite of what the existing literature suggests, which is that media interest tends to wane *before* a movement's issues have been resolved (Kielbowicz and Scherer, 1986: 85).

Specific Predictions about Disability Successes

McGuire (1994) suggested that, because of its cross-disability nature, one of the results of the passage of the ADA should have been an increase in cross-disability activism. We would assume that the same should have been true after the Rehabilitation Act protests, as they were also cross-disability protests. Furthermore, because the Rehabilitation Act protests actually *caused* the success, the effect on any subsequent aspect of collective action, including its cross-disability nature, should

have been stronger after these protests than after the ADA was passed. We examine this prediction along with the general predictions about the relationship between success and subsequent contentious action for each of the successes we now explore.

THE REHABILITATION ACT PROTESTS

The Protest Events

The Rehabilitation Act, which was passed in 1973, had a difficult birthing. President Nixon had twice vetoed the early versions of what was to become the Rehabilitation Act. When the law actually passed, it did so with very little congressional debate (Treanor, 1993). After the law was passed, Nixon made sure that no money was appropriated to support its provisions. There were several protests about each of these situations. Protests in 1972 and 1973 were held in conjunction with meetings of the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped (Treanor, 1993).

Four years and two presidents later, the government still had not released regulations for this law by April 1977, although officials in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) had drafted a set of regulations for the law in 1975 and 1976. The delay in releasing the regulations was perceived by the disability community to be related to political considerations. Even a lawsuit that resulted in a United States District Court judge from the District of Columbia ordering that the regulations be released "with no further unreasonable delays" was ineffective (Treanor, 1993: 66). Meetings between representatives of disability constituencies and representatives of the government had the same result. Although versions of regulations had in fact been written by late 1976, some of the people in HEW who needed to sign off on them decided they were too controversial and sent them back to Congress, essentially asking for help (Treanor, 1993: 67). Even after Jimmy Carter became president, nothing seemed to be happening.

Members of the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities (ACCD) became very angry about this. This organization, although cross-disability, included many deaf members as well as members with other types of impairments. Deaf members included Frank Bowe, T. J. O'Rourke, and Al Pimentel. Other prominent members included Judy Heumann, Eunice Fiorito, Deborah Kaplan, Mary Jane Owen, and Fred Fay (Treanor, 1993). Disability leaders, primarily from ACCD, decided to turn to public protest. Frank Bowe and Eunice Fiorito, the executive director and president, respectively, and board members enlisted help from other organizations, including the Disability Rights Center, the American Council of the Blind, and the Children's Defense Fund. Frank Bowe donated book royalties to help finance the protest (Treanor, 1993: 61).

Members of the disability community had been using noncontentious political actions such as lobbying and letter-writing for over three years, asking for Rehabilitation Act regulations. On March 18, 1977, ACCD sent a letter to President Carter and to Joseph Califano, whom Carter had appointed as secretary of HEW, setting a deadline of April 4, 1977, for protests to begin if no action occurred. They threatened that they would occupy HEW offices around the country and would not to leave until the regulations were issued.



Demonstrators for Section 504 held a candlelight vigil outside the home of Joseph Califano, the secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for the Carter administration.

HEW did not issue the regulations by the time specified, but the protesters did not actually carry out all of their threats. The protests, which began on April 5, 1977, were held near or inside several regional offices of HEW across the United States as well as their central office in Washington, D.C. Short protests were held in New York City, Los Angeles, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Denver, Boston, Atlanta, and Philadelphia. In Washington, D.C., about 300 protestors held a march and then a demonstration inside the HEW building at Califano's office. Califano met with a few representatives of the protesters, including Frank Bowe, but was not willing to sign the regulations at that time (Treanor, 1993: 75). Some of the protesters (perhaps fifty to seventy-five) decided to continue the protest overnight. They began a sit-in, but they were denied access to food until the next morning, when each protester was given a cup of coffee and a doughnut. After twenty-eight hours, they left the building (Treanor, 1993: 77).

The threat to occupy a building was only carried out in San Francisco. In that action, approximately 120 protesters occupied the HEW building, and about half did not leave for twenty-five days. This protest was similar to student protests of the late 1960s and early 1970s, in which college students occupied campus administrative offices. These protests, in turn, were based on tactics taken from the labor movements of the 1930s and the civil rights movement of the 1950s. In the San Francisco protest, like the student protests, activists occupied offices and refused to leave. In this case, however, HEW officials were reluctant to use force to evict visibly disabled demonstrators, fearing negative public reaction, because the protest received prominent

media coverage in newspapers and on television. Other organizations, such as the Black Panthers, helped the protesters by bringing food and supplies to them (Johnson, 1983).

An additional protest was held in Washington, D.C., two weeks later, when some of those who were part of the San Francisco siege came to present their demands (again) directly to Califano. The protesters held a candlelight vigil outside his house a protest at the White House, and then another protest at the HEW building in Washington, D.C., before they flew back to San Francisco to join the protesters who remained there. Ultimately, on April 30, 1977, Califano agreed to sign the regulation (Fleischer and Zames, 1998). Most of the media attention was focused on the takeover in San Francisco, with daily or weekly commentary in several newspapers and on television. The shorter protest in Washington, D.C., also garnered some attention, but the protests held in other cities garnered much less media attention. Some produced no newspaper coverage, even in their own cities.

The Type of Success Won

Touted as the bill of rights for handicapped citizens, the Rehabilitation Act included several types of provisions that had not previously been applied to people with disabilities. Section 502 of the law set up the Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board to enforce the Architectural Barriers Act of 1976 (PL 90-480). Section 503 required that federal contractors whose contracts were for more than $2,500 set up affirmative action programs for people with impairments. Section 504 was perhaps the most important part of the law, at least as it related to civil rights. It stated that there could be no discrimination in programs that obtained federal grants. These ranged from local public school systems, colleges, and universities to local and state governments and federal health and human service providers. This section mandated that civil rights similar to those accorded to racial or ethnic groups should also apply to disabled people. It stated that access to any program receiving federal assistance should be guaranteed "to any otherwise qualified handicapped person" (Barnartt and Seelman, 1988; DeJong and Lifchez, 1983: 46; DuBow and Goldberg, 1979; Hull, 1979: 24; Treanor, 1993).

The primary creators of Section 504 were sympathetic congressional staffers (Scotch, 1984), many of whom who had worked on the 1964 Civil Rights Act and who expressly modeled Section 504 after that law. In social movement terms, these were conscience constituents, persons who did not stand to benefit from the reforms they were seeking (McCarthy and Zald, 1987).[5]

There was one little-noticed provision in the Rehabilitation Act that eventually, after it was amended in 1978, had a much greater importance than anyone expected. This was a section of Title I that called for "innovation and expansion grants." These grants were to be used by agencies or nonprofit organizations to expand vocational rehabilitation services for people with severe impairments. Ed Roberts, who was then the director of the Department of Rehabilitation for the state of California, used these funds to set up the first independent living center (Pelka, 1997: 263). In 1978, an additional law was passed that enhanced this part of the Rehabilitation

Act. Called the Comprehensive Services and Developmental Disability Amendments (PL 95-602), it made independent living centers a priority for state vocational rehabilitation programs. It intended that federal funding should be provided for these centers (Barnartt and Seelman, 1988), but Congress did not actually appropriate all the money called for in the bill (DeJong and Lifchez, 1983). The support that was received provided for development of the common space needed to form networks and facilitate social movement organizing, so it eventually had a profound impact on disabled people's ability to mobilize people for contentious action.

The Rehabilitation Act was limited because neither the attorney general nor a federal agency could begin litigation to enforce it (Days, 1980). Although remedies were not included in the language of the law itself, they were included in the regulations and the 1978 amendments of that law. In this way its scope was *much* more limited than the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to which it is often compared. The real impact of the law has been modest because of its limited scope (Barnartt, 1982a), but its symbolic importance was great. The fact that successful protests put the law into place gave those protest victories great importance in the collective consciousness of the disability community. The fact that this success was *directly* connected to contentious action provided a validation of the power of protest in general, as well as the power of that community specifically. Neither had been seen before in the limited numbers of protests that had been held before this time.

The actions in these protests were aimed directly at the target that had the power to ameliorate the situation being protested—the federal government. Some of the protests (those in Washington, D.C.) were held at the home of, and focused on, the specific individual who had the most power to right the situation directly—HEW Secretary Joseph Califano. The demands expressed in these protests applied to all people with impairments, and the protesters included people with many types of impairments. Because the protesters defeated the federal government in a David and Goliath situation, this success can be viewed as one that conveyed symbolic as well as real importance to the entire disability community. So we must ask if there are empirically measurable changes that substantiate the impact of this symbolic success.

PATTERNS OF CONTENTIOUS ACTIONS AFTER THE REHABILITATION ACT PROTESTS

We cannot do quantitative analyses on the time periods before and after the Rehabilitation Act success because the numbers do not permit it. Specifically, with thirty-three protests, or about 4 percent of the cases, occurring before the Rehabilitation Act protests and 96 percent occurring after them, the numbers are too skewed to permit crosstabular analyses. There are, however, some variables we can examine to help us to understand the impact of the Rehabilitation Act protests on subsequent protest activity.

If we look more closely at the patterns of contentious action before and after the Rehabilitation Act protests, there was not an *immediate* explosion of action after the Rehabilitation Act protests. Although there were four more protests in 1977 after the Rehabilitation Act protests ended, there were only four protests in

1978, eleven in 1979, and eight in 1980. So the Rehabilitation Act success did not lead directly to a burgeoning number of protests or an explosive social movement.

There was, however, slight geographical diffusion of protest actions. Before the Rehabilitation Act protests, the majority of protests had not occurred in California. This is somewhat counter to the conventional wisdom in some parts of the disability community that believes the disability rights movement was born and grew in San Francisco under the leadership of Ed Roberts (Pfeiffer, 1988). Rather, seventeen out of the thirty-three prior protests took place in the greater New York City area (including Trenton and Atlantic City, New Jersey). There had been a few protests in Sacramento (three), Chicago (four), and Washington, D.C. (three), and one each in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and San Francisco. The four protests that occurred in 1977 after the Rehabilitation Act protests took place in New York (one), Sacramento (two), and San Francisco (one). Of the four subsequent protests in 1978, two were in San Francisco, one was in Washington, D.C., and one was in Denver. Of the protests in 1979, two were in the greater Washington, D.C., area, but the other nine occurred in various cities in California.[6] This geographical distribution seems to reflect the fact that the most striking success of the Rehabilitation Act protests was perceived to have occurred in San Francisco, even though the Washington, D.C., protests may actually have been more effective in contributing to the success. This perceived success seems to have energized and mobilized people in the San Francisco area for contentious action, and that is why more protests occurred there in the years after the Rehabilitation Act protest.

We predicted earlier that there could be an increase in the response or success rates of protests following a successful action. In the case of the Rehabilitation Act protests, this did not occur. Before the Rehabilitation Act protests, 45.5 percent of the protests got a response, and about 18 percent were successful. After these protests, a little more than 46 percent of the protests got any sort of response, and about 17 percent were successful. So there was no change in the societal response as shown by rates of responsiveness or success.

After the Rehabilitation Act protests, the proportion of cross-disability protests did not increase but rather decreased. While cross-disability protests constituted over 45 percent of the protests held before the Rehabilitation Act protests, they only constituted about 40 percent of the protests held after that time. Protests related to blindness, developmental disabilities, and psychiatric impairments also became proportionally less common after Rehabilitation Act protests, although, again, the majority of their protests occurred after these protests.

None of this is to say that these protests had no effects at all. Rather, one of the largest effects was on participants in the protest. As Judy Heumann, one of the leaders said, "There was a real sense of victory and power that was not an illusion . . . people believed at that point that they could make a difference" (Treanor, 1993: 83). Protest leaders also thought that this protest affected how people with disabilities were viewed by society. For example, Kitty Cone stated, "I think [the protest] was really a turning point in the disability rights movement. It helped us to be seen as an oppressed group with a legitimate struggle for civil rights" (Treanor, 1993: 83).

Despite the elation felt by the activists, there was neither an immediate spiral of mobilization nor indications of a diffusion of the success. There were not huge

numbers of protests in the next several years, because the resources and social conditions necessary for protest to occur were still not there. There was not yet any one organization in the disability community that was committed to contentious action, as ADAPT would be, and there were not yet the multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations that were so successful during the 1980s and 1990s in mobilizing adherents for contentious action. There were not yet large numbers of places for people with various impairments to gather, as there would be in later years when independent living centers brought people with different types of impairments together. Impairment-specific organizations, such as American Foundation for the Blind (AFB) or National Association of the Deaf (NAD) existed, but many were still run by people without impairments for people with impairments. Information and mobilization networks had yet to materialize.

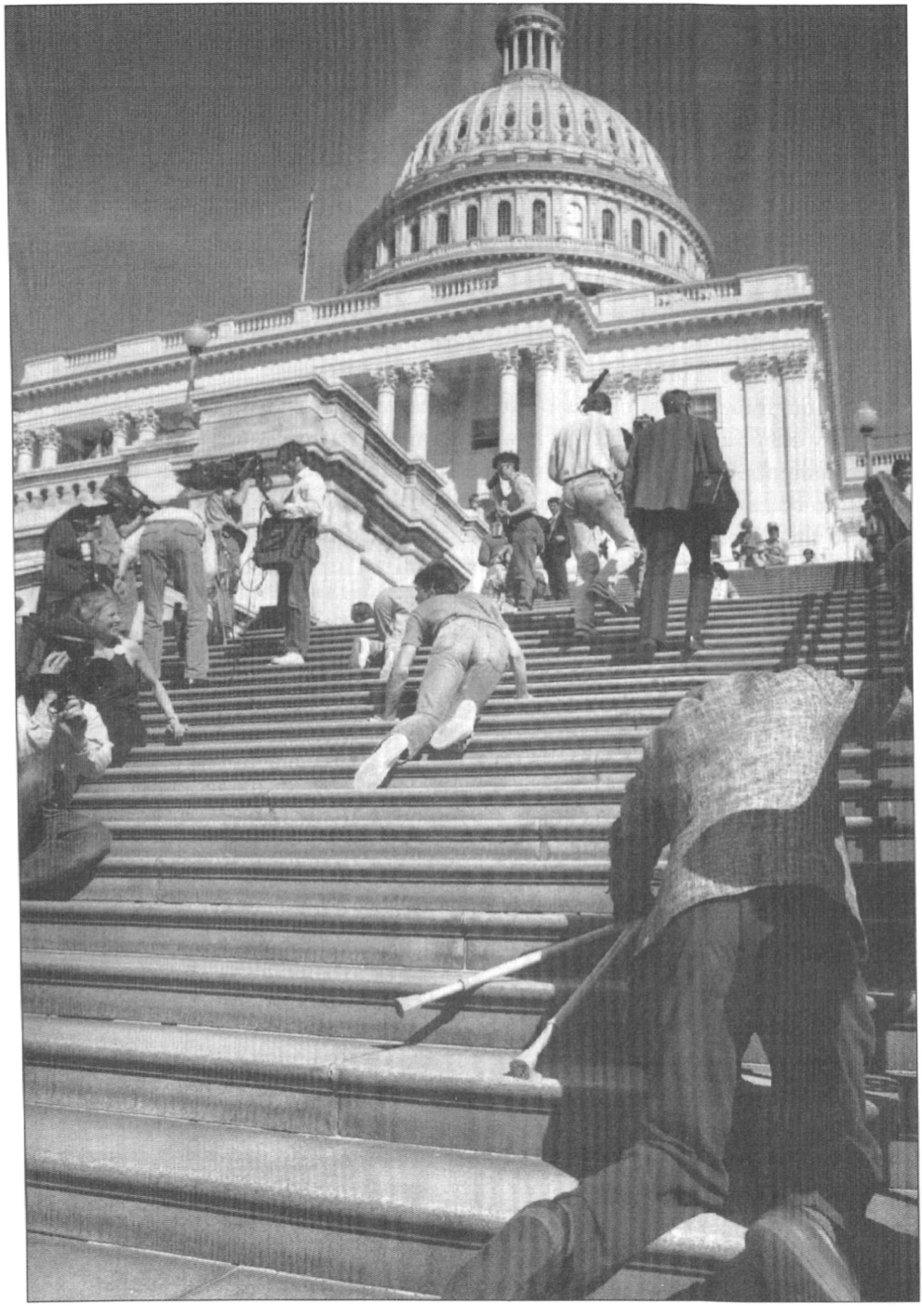
Although the success of this contentious action resounded through the deaf and disability communities, it did not have an immediate and strong impact upon subsequent contentious action, because the other resources and supports necessary for such action to occur did not yet exist in large enough numbers. This success occurred too early in the social movement for it to have had the type of impact hypothesized earlier. Had it occurred later in the history of disability activism, its sequelae might have been much different.

Thus we may have to amend the predictions made earlier in the chapter about the effects of successful contentious action. Those predictions presuppose that there is a social movement with an infrastructure strong enough to support subsequent contentious action. If there is not, as there was not in this situation, the success can still influence the collective consciousness of the activists and others, but it cannot by itself produce subsequent contentious action. Rather, other conditions must be met before this can happen.

THE ADA AND SUBSEQUENT PROTEST ACTIONS

The Passage of the ADA

The Americans with Disabilities Act was signed into law on July 26, 1990. Several groups of actors were important in assuring its passage. One group included constituent advocacy organizations such as the Paralyzed Veterans of America, United Cerebral Palsy Associations, Inc., the National Center for Law and the Deaf, then at Gallaudet University, the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund (DREDF), and the Association for Retarded Citizens. These groups and many others were involved in writing drafts of the bill. They were also involved in testifying, and in preparing individuals to testify, in the congressional hearings held around the ADA. While organizations representing deafness were actively involved in writing the ADA, NAD withdrew from the process before its completion because of conflicts with groups representing other impairments who felt that NAD's demands would be impossible to fulfill. Organizations representing deaf and hard-of-hearing people also decided to press for separate laws regarding specific aspects of communications accessibility. One of their motivations was to reduce the possibility that opposition to the ADA would develop from broadcasters or television manufacturers if, for example,



At the Wheels of Justice march and demonstration in 1990, several dozen protestors crawled up the eighty-three marble steps of the U.S. Capitol, each carrying a scrolled paper with the opening words of the Declaration of Independence, and took over the Rotunda to push for the swift passage of the ADA.

the decoder circuitry aspects of communications accessibility were included in the ADA. Thus they decided it would be better to have separate bills written, which is what occurred. Perhaps partly because of this, the version of the ADA that finally passed contains only one short section (Title IV) addressing issues of interest primarily to deaf people (Altman and Barnartt, 1993).[7]

Members of Congress formed the second group important to the passage of the ADA. One of the most striking facts about the makeup of the Congress that passed this law is the number of members who had family members with a disability or had a disability themselves. These included Senator Lowell Weicker (initially, although his defeat took him out of the process), Senator Tom Harkin (chair of the Senate Labor and Human Relations Committee, of which the Subcommittee on the Handicapped, which actually wrote the bill and shepherded its passage through Congress, was a part), Senators Edward Kennedy, Robert Dole, and Daniel Inouye, and Representative Tony Coelho. In addition, there were a number of members of the Bush administration such as Attorney General Richard Thornburgh and Boyden Gray (who was chief legal counsel to the president) who had impairments themselves or had family members with impairments (Altman and Barnartt, 1993).

Support from conscience constituents, of whom there are several categories, was also important to the passage of the ADA. Some support came from civil rights organizations, such as the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR), which provided supportive testimony and expertise in civil rights issues. As with the presence of labor unions and civil rights groups during the Rehabilitation Act protests, the presence of LCCR gave the impression of political power and the weight of numbers behind the issue. It also assisted in the frame extension necessary for the passage of the ADA, when its executive director said, "It is basically the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with respect to persons with disabilities" (Berkowitz, 1992). The fact that Ralph Neas, the head of the LCCR at that time, had in the past had a bout with a potentially disabling illness was not generally known but was probably important in his and his organization's support of the ADA (Pelka, 1997: 222). Large corporations, including Marriott, IBM, and DuPont also became conscience constituents. Finally, support came from ACT-UP, a group usually associated with contentious action, that was also lobbying for health care issues related to AIDS.

There were at least two serendipitous factors that aided in the ADA passage. One was a strike at Greyhound that diverted the attention of its president, an active opponent of the ADA (Berkowitz, 1992). The other was the fact that Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, came seven days after the signing of the ADA. Had it not been signed when it was, the Gulf War would have occupied congressional attention and the ADA may not have passed at all. It is quite possible that it squeaked through a limited window of opportunity created by the convergence of a number of factors, including the makeup of the Congress and the president's staff (Altman and Barnartt, 1993).

It is also possible that the Deaf President Now protest was a factor in the passage of the ADA. The extensive media coverage it received may have played a part in creating acceptance for the extension of the civil rights frame to people with impairments. It was also perceived by some observers as having played a part in bringing the issue to Congress's attention (Altman and Barnartt, 1993; Shapiro, 1994).

The ADA: The Reality

The ADA was a very powerful law, the first civil rights legislation of broad scope that focused solely on disability (McGuire, 1994). It attempted to level the playing field for persons with physical and mental impairments in the areas of employment (Title I), public accommodations (Title II), and transportation (Title III) by mandating nondiscrimination in those areas. In Title IV it attempted to increase communications accessibility, although it only required that all states set up telephone relay systems within two years (Barnartt and Seelman, 1991).[8]

The regulations for these titles spelled out in great detail accessibility standards for everything from doorway width to ramp angle to what constitutes a line of sight in a stadium or movie theater. In consent decrees that the Justice Department has entered into since the regulations went in to effect, they have mandated when sign language interpreters are required at Disney World (with two weeks notice), whether service or guide dogs can be quarantined in Hawaii as are other dogs entering the state (no), and whether a person who reads for a person with a visual impairment who is taking social work licensing exams needs special training (yes) (U.S. Department of Justice, 2000).

This is not to say that accessibility or discrimination issues have disappeared, or that the ADA has solved all of the problems. There are not enough data yet to answer that question. What did happen with the passage of the ADA is that it put in place a legal remedy with much broader scope than had previously been the case at the federal level.

Not all people with disabilities would agree that the ADA was an unmitigated success. The strongest Deaf advocates do not agree with the expressed intention of the ADA to provide a mechanism for full inclusion of people with disabilities. Rather, these people are more likely to support separatism, especially in schools, but in some other areas also (Jankowski, 1997). One example of this unhappiness with the ADA can be seen in the attitude expressed around Gallaudet University that the ADA has been a disaster for the university, since it permits deaf students to seek college educations anywhere.

There are a number of problems with the ADA, especially in relation to enforcement. For one thing, the ADA requires that people who feel their rights have been violated under the ADA file a complaint themselves, which requires a degree of knowledge and resources that many people do not have, especially those with impairments, who tend to have lower incomes than people without disabilities. Another difficulty is that it does not permit government agencies to initiate investigations or lawsuits or to be proactive in seeking out instances of violations. Finally, it permits no compensatory damages to be awarded by a successful lawsuit, unlike the situation in civil rights laws for women or racial minorities (*Ragged Edge,* 1998). Thus, lawyers have less interest in taking Title III cases, especially on a contingency basis (which is the only way someone without money can convince a lawyer to take a case), because there is little possibility of financial reward for them. In addition, evidence about the success of the ADA, especially in the area of employment, has been somewhat mixed. Some researchers or reporters see improvement; others do not. These evaluations are

fraught with conceptual and methodological problems, however, and thus may not give us a true picture of its effects (Kirchner, 1999).

To some extent, it does not matter whether the ADA was a real victory for the deaf and disability communities (or if it should become so in the future) or if it was simply a symbolic one. It is the perception of reality, rather than the reality itself, that causes actions. A sociological maxim says that things perceived as real are real in their consequences. It is absolutely clear that the ADA was *perceived* to be a victory by people with disabilities, as well as by outsiders. For example, in reports of a protest held in Washington, D.C., in May 1993, a newspaper reporter noted that "[t]heir willingness to make the effort [i.e., protest] is in part a testament to the Americans with Disabilities Act." The article continued: "The ranks of the disabled agitating for better treatment has [sic] swelled since the law was passed, according to activists, because it empowered physically and mentally impaired people with the same rights as other minority groups" (Spayd, 1993a).

The ADA's Symbolism: Frame Extension

In addition to specific legal changes mandated by the ADA, the act had a large impact on the way in which people with impairments are viewed in our society. With the passage of the ADA, the frame of civil rights was explicitly extended to persons with disabilities. The language in Section 2, Findings and Purposes, makes this clear (emphasis added).

> (a) Findings.—The Congress finds that—(2) . . . despite some improvements, such forms of *discrimination* against individuals with disabilities continue to be a serious and pervasive social problem; (3) *discrimination* against individuals with disabilities persists in such critical areas as employment, housing, public accommodations, education, transportation, communication, recreation, institutionalization, health services, voting, and access to public services; (4) unlike individuals who have experienced discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, national origin, religion, or age, individuals who have experienced discrimination on the basis of disability have often had no legal recourse to redress such discrimination; (5) individuals with disabilities continually encounter various forms of *discrimination,* including outright intentional exclusion, the discriminatory effects of architectural, transportation, and communication barriers, overprotective rules and policies, failure to make modifications to existing facilities and practices, exclusionary qualification standards and criteria, segregation, and relegation to lesser services, programs, activities, benefits, jobs, or other opportunities; (6) census data, national polls, and other studies have documented that people with disabilities, as a group, occupy an *inferior status* in our society, and are *severely disadvantaged* socially, vocationally, economically, and educationally; (7) *individuals with disabilities are a discrete and insular minority* who have been faced with restrictions and limitations, subjected to a history of *purposeful unequal treatment,* and relegated to a position of *political*

powerlessness in our society, based on characteristics that are beyond the control of such individuals and resulting from *stereotypic assumptions* not truly indicative of the individual ability of such individuals to participate in, and contribute to, society; (8) the Nation's proper goals regarding individuals with disabilities are to assure equality of opportunity, full participation, independent living, and economic self-sufficiency for such individuals; and (9) the continuing existence of *unfair and unnecessary discrimination and prejudice* denies people with disabilities the opportunity to compete on an equal basis and to pursue those opportunities for which our free society is justifiably famous.

People with impairments were explicitly viewed in this law as fulfilling the characteristics of a minority group. As the italicized words indicate, people with disabilities had been seen as stereotyped, having experienced discrimination and prejudice, being disadvantaged, experiencing lower socioeconomic status, and being powerless. All of these are characteristics of minority groups, and this passage also refers to people with disabilities as a minority group. Finally, this passage admits that, although people with disabilities are a minority group like those defined on the basis of race, religion, or ethnic background, they did not benefit from the same types of legal protection as other minority groups already granted civil rights under the law.

The language in the act clearly rejects the view that disability is only a medical problem, that it is a deviant or stigmatizing condition, and that disability is an individual problem that would only be ameliorated by individual effort. It accomplishes the frame stripping, frame modification, and frame extension that the disability and deaf communities have desired for many years.

Patterns of Protest after the ADA Passage

The passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act may have been a major victory for the disability community, but it was not a victory that came from disruptive collective action. It is, however, perceived by many in the disability community to be that (Groch, 1994). What effect, then, did this law, with its symbolism and rhetoric of success, as well as its associated frame extension, have on protest activity in the disability community?

The ADA did appear to enhance the collective consciousness that had been developing in the disability community. People "began to see the impact that systematic advocacy had in making changes in the law and pushing people into changing their minds" (Groch, 1994: 385). With the enhancement of a collective consciousness there is likely to be more contentious political action, and that is in fact what happened. Unlike the period after the Rehabilitation Act protests, when social movement activity might have been expected to explode but did not, in this situation social movement activity did explode, but not immediately. There had been nineteen protests in the seven months of 1990 before the ADA was signed, while there were fifteen protests in the remaining five months of the year, or approximately the same level of protest. Levels of protest activity did increase dramatically in the next few

years. There were fifty-six protests each in 1991 and 1992, and forty-eight in 1993. The highest levels of contentious action of any years in the period covered by this study occurred in eight of the nine years following the signing of the ADA.

If we consider the entire time periods before and after the signing of the ADA, we see that about 36 percent, or 266, of the protests in the database occurred in the 247 months before the ADA was passed, while slightly over 64 percent (477), occurred in the 113 months between the date of the ADA passage and the end of 1999. We see that the estimated average rate of protests per month would be 1.07 per month in the pre-ADA period, while it would be over 4.2 per month in the post-ADA period. Disability activism had been occurring for almost twenty years before the ADA was signed but had produced fewer protests during that entire time than occurred in the nine and a half years since its passage. It is clear that the passage of the ADA was associated with an intensified cycle of protesting.

In order to be able to explain this surge, we must first consider the possibility that it does not reflect a real increase in contentious political activity. We must rule out the possibility that this surge is an artifact or reflection of some other type of change. Possibilities are that the surge reflects a change in interest by the media, is an artifact of the searching procedures used to locate the protest information, or reflects a surge in protest activity across the whole society.

Could this apparent surge in protest activity simply be an artifact of additional media attention drawn to this social movement because of this success? If so, the increased numbers of protests we found for the post-ADA years would reflect increased numbers of *reports* of protests rather than increases in actual numbers of protests.

Social movements scholars suggest that media interest in a social movement's concerns tends to wane before a movement's issues have been resolved (Kielbowicz and Scherer, 1986: 85). If they are correct, media interest certainly should have waned after this movement attained some success, especially after the large success that the ADA represents for the disability community. This should be true unless the relationship between media reporting and actual numbers of protests in the disability community is different than has been the case for protests in other communities. There is no reason a priori to suspect that protests in the disability community are any different than those relating to any other issue, so it would seem to be unlikely that a new pattern of media interest would have emerged here.

As a way of examining changes in patterns of media attention to protests, we can examine the pattern of newspaper coverage in the pre- and post-ADA periods. Table 7.1 shows that the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* actually included fewer stories about disability protests in the post-ADA period than they did in the pre-ADA period. Other newspapers included a larger number of stories in the post-ADA period but the number decreased as a percentage of the overall coverage of protests. Such newspapers included the *New York Times,* the *Washington Post* (although its change was less than 1 percent), the *Chicago Tribune,* and the *Denver Post.* On the other hand, newspaper coverage of disability protests did increase for some newspapers, including the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Boston Globe.* Finally, there was a large increase in both the number of stories reported in other newspapers and the percentage of the database those stories comprised.

Table 7.1. Newspaper Coverage by Time Period

	Pre-ADA		Post-ADA		
Newspaper	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Percentage Change
New York Times	31	11.6%	23	4.9%	–6.7%
Washington Post	21	7.8	36	7.6	–0.2%
Los Angeles Times	24	9.0	19	4.0	–5.0%
San Francisco Chronicle	24	9.0	57	12.0	+3.0%
Chicago Tribune	13	4.9	15	3.2	–1.7%
Boston Globe	23	8.6	53	11.1	+2.5%
Denver Post	36	13.5	62	13.1	–0.4%
Atlanta Journal-Constitution	19	7.1	15	3.2	–3.9%
Other newspapers	76	28.5	194	40.9	+12.4%
Totals	267	100.0%	474	100.0%	

Note: Articles from non-newspaper sources such as magazines, e-mail, web pages, or discussion lists are not included.

Newspapers are, in fact, reporting more disability-related protests. This begs the question of whether there were actually more protests to report or whether the newspapers were simply more attentive to, and therefore more likely to report on, disability-related protests. The average numbers of sources (including non-newspaper sources) that covered each protest did not change from the pre-ADA to the post-ADA period—on average, a protest was covered by 1.25 sources in both periods. We must therefore seek other explanations for the increases in levels of contentious political activity seen after the passage of the ADA. We do this by examining pre- and post-ADA patterns of characteristics of the protests.

Changes in Issues and Demands

Table 7.2 shows that demands related to rights or laws constituted about 47 percent of all demands in the pre-ADA period but a little more than 38 percent in the post-ADA period. Demands related to services constituted about 44 percent of all demands in the pre-ADA period and about 46 percent of the demands in the post-ADA period. Finally, all other types of demands constituted only about 9 percent of the demands made in the pre-ADA period, but almost 16 percent of demands made in the post-ADA period.

The data in table 7.2 suggest that after the law changed to provide a legal solution for some of the discrimination-related problems people with impairments had faced, somewhat fewer protests focused on legal issues. Instead, demands were slightly more likely to focus on issues related to services, which were mostly not affected by the ADA. Demands that did not fit into either the category of rights or the category of service also increased. This also makes sense. The ADA did not satisfy all demands, including those related to objectionable portrayals in telethons,

Table 7.2. Protest Demands by Time Period

Type of Demand (N = 955)	Pre-ADA	Post-ADA
Rights	47.0%	38.4%
	(156)	(266)
Services	43.7	46.0
	(145)	(318)
Other	9.3	15.6
	(31)	(108)
Totals[a]	100.0%	100.0%
	(332)	(692)

a. Chi square = 10.7, significance < .005.

educational issues not addressed by prior legislation, or other types of issues. In addition, some new issues had arisen, including assisted suicide and portrayal of disability in national monuments.

Table 7.3 shows the distribution of the impairment-related protest demands in each time period. The largest changes occurred in cross-disability and mobility-related demands. The table shows that cross-disability demands increased from about 30 percent of all demands in the pre-ADA period to over 44 percent in the post-ADA period. Mobility-related demands decreased from about 34 percent of all demands in the pre-ADA period to less than 25 percent in the post-ADA period. There were small decreases in the percentages of demands related to deafness and visual impairments. Demands related to visual impairments comprised almost 10 percent of demands in the pre-ADA period but less than 5 percent in the post-ADA period, while deafness-related demands decreased from almost 9 percent of all demands in the pre-ADA period to about 6 percent in the post-ADA period. There were increases of less than

Table 7.3. Impairment Type by Time Period

Impairment Type (N = 771)	Time Period	
	Pre-ADA	Post-ADA
Cross-disability	30.4% (85)	44.4% (218)
Mobility	33.9 (95)	24.6 (121)
Deafness	8.6 (24)	6.3 (31)
Blindness	9.6 (27)	4.5 (22)
Developmental disability	5.4 (15)	6.1 (30)
Psychiatric	10.0 (28)	10.4 (51)
Other	2.1 (6)	3.7 (18)
Totals[a]	100.0% (280)	100.0% (491)

a. Chi square = 298.9, significance < .00001.

1 percent in the demands related to developmental disabilities and psychiatric impairments. Demands relating to other impairments increased from about 2 percent of all demands in the pre-ADA period to almost 4 percent of the demands in the post-ADA period. Although that was a small increase in percentage, the numbers of protests tripled and the percentages almost doubled.

Cross-disability protest demands were much more in evidence in the later time period than in the earlier period. Was this result a continuation of the cross-disability advocacy that occurred as part of the process of getting the ADA passed? Did the process of writing the ADA, in which there were many advocacy groups involved, lead to an increase in cross-disability contentious actions? Some analysts (e.g., McGuire, 1994) suggest that it did. We suggest that it did not. We suggest that the increase in cross-disability demands is related to the types of issues that were available for contentious political action after the ADA solved some of the problems addressed in earlier protests. We examine this by looking at the relationship between impairment type and the category of demands made in the two time periods. Table 7.4 shows that, of impairment-specific pre-ADA demands, about 49 percent were related to rights as were about 54 percent of post-ADA demands. About 43 percent of the pre-ADA demands were related to services and about 39 percent of the post-ADA demands were. Only about 8 percent of pre-ADA demands related to other issues, as were only about 7 percent of post-ADA period demands. Thus, among impairment-specific

Table 7.4. Crosstabulation of Impairment Type by Issue Type by Time Period (N = 997)

Impairment Type	Type of Issue			
	Rights/Laws	Services	Other	Totals
Impairment-Specific				
Pre-ADA	48.7%	43.0%	8.3%	100.0%
	(112)	(99)	(19)	(230)
Post-ADA	54.2	38.7	7.1	100.0
	(221)	(158)	(29)	(408)
Cross-Disability[a]				
Pre-ADA	43.1%	45.1%	11.8%	99.9%
	(44)	(46)	(12)	(102)
Post-ADA	15.8	56.3	27.8	99.9
	(45)	(160)	(79)	(284)

a. Chi square = 34.2, significance < .00001.

demands, although there was a trend toward increasing rights demands and decreasing services demands since the ADA passage, these changes were not very large and were not statistically significant.

About 43 percent of pre-ADA cross-disability demands were related to rights, but this is true of less than 16 percent of post-ADA demands. About 45 percent of the pre-ADA demands were related to services, but over 56 percent of post-ADA demands were. Finally, although only about 12 percent of pre-ADA demands fit into the "other" category, almost 28 percent of post-ADA demands did. In the pre-ADA period, then, cross-disability demands were somewhat more evenly split between the categories of rights and services. In the post-ADA period, cross-disability demands were most likely to be related to services or to other demands.

The relative stability in the proportions of impairment-specific demands related to rights is explained by the fact that those demands that were rights-related were most likely to focus on enforcement issues. Ninety-eight out of the one hundred demands made for enforcement were made in the post-ADA period. A large number of enforcement demands were likely to have been related to transportation accessibility, which was also more likely to be the focus of protest demands in the post-ADA period than in the pre-ADA period.

Overall, in the post-ADA period, cross-disability demands focused on issues that were not taken care of in the ADA, especially those related to the provision of personal assistance services. Impairment-specific demands still maintained their primary focus on rights. These changes cannot be explained as a result of organizational processes leading up to the ADA but rather as a result of what was left to be done after this legislation passed. This fact and the fact that a larger proportion of the post-ADA protests have been cross-disability help us to explain the increase in demands related to services in the post-ADA period. But there were also organizational changes that can be related to changes in the cross-disability demands.

Organizational Involvement

Protest activity might increase after a success if organizational involvement in protests increases, but table 7.5 shows that organizational involvement actually did not increase substantially. During the pre-ADA period organizations were involved in about 63 percent of the protests, and just over 68 percent of the protests had organizations involved in the post-ADA period. However, the data in table 7.5 also show that, in the post-ADA period, the proportion of protests led by organizations that were newly involved in protests (either because they were newly established organizations or because they had not previously been involved in protests) was almost 16 percent. About 8 percent of the protests in the pre-ADA period were led by organizations that did not lead protests in the post-ADA period. Both of these facts suggest that there were large changes in organizational involvement in contentious action from the earlier to the later time period.

Table 7.6 shows that, in the post-ADA period, there was a phalanx of new organizations involved in protests.[9] Of the protests associated with new organizations, Support Coalition International conducted twelve, Jerry's Orphans conducted ten,

Table 7.5. Organizational Involvement by Time Period

Time Period	Protests Conducted by Organizations	Protests Conducted by Organizations Not Involved in Protests in the Other Time Period
Pre-ADA	63.3%	8.3%
	(157)	(13)
Post-ADA	68.3	15.9
	(301)	(48)

Not Dead Yet conducted fourteen, Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA) conducted six, Concrete Change conducted five, the American Council of the Blind conducted four, and the FDR in a Chair Campaign and TASH each conducted two. All of these organizations except TASH, PVA, and the American Council of the Blind are new organizations that were established in the post-ADA period. The other organizations have been around for a while but are newly involved in protests. In addition, some organizations were involved in larger numbers of protests in the post-ADA period than they were in the pre-ADA period. These include ADAPT, the National Federation of the Blind, state-level branches of national organizations, and other organizations (which became the source of a large amount of the organizational involvement).

In the terms used by social movements scholars, this increase in numbers of organizations participating in contentious political actions is an increase in organizational density. This is important because, "[i]ncreases in organizational density . . . provide an enduring infrastructure for the diffusion of protest when political conditions are favorable" (Minkoff, 1997: 780). Those organizations exist and can mobilize for contentious action when the time is right. For a time, this is good. But at some point in the cycle of protest, increased organizational density (i.e., having too many organizations) weakens the protest cycle by increasing competition for resources such as donations as well as for members (Zald and McCarthy, 1987). Thus, later in a cycle of protest, having too many organizations closes off opportunities for protest. In chapter 6 we pointed out that the organizational changes indicated the growth of a new type of disability organization, the multiple-impairment, single-issue organization. There were, however, changes not only in the type of organizations but also in the issues on which the organizations focused. These changes are related to the passage of the ADA because the organizations arose to deal with issues that it had not touched, including telethons, assisted suicide, psychiatric issues such as electroshock and forced medication, and the portrayal of impairment in national monuments.

One important post-ADA change occurred to ADAPT. Its initial, pre-ADA focus had been public transportation systems, and its initial demand was that public

Table 7.6. Crosstabulation of Organizational Involvement by Time Period (N = 397)

Organization	Time Period	
	Pre-ADA	Post-ADA
ADAPT	70	149
Disabled in Action	8	2
ACCD	13	–
Jerry's Orphans	–	10
National Association of the Deaf	2	2
National Federation of the Blind	6	7
Concrete Change	–	5
Disabled People's Liberation Army	3	2
TASH	–	2
FDR in a Chair Campaign	–	2
Any independent living center	12	9
Support Coalition International	–	12
American Council of the Blind	–	4
The ARC	2	2
Any state-level organization	25	32
Not Dead Yet	–	14
Paralyzed Veterans of America	–	6
All others	28	59
Totals	169	319

transportation be made accessible to people who have an impairment that would prevent them from getting on to vehicles or into stations. The acronym for the organization's name before the ADA was passed stood for Americans Disabled for Public Transit. The ADA largely acceded to ADAPT's demands. It mandated that public transportation systems be made accessible. The organization, having met with substantial success with the passage of the ADA, could have gone out of business, as it had succeeded in having its demands met. However, it did not. Rather, after a meeting of its national leaders in 1990, it changed its name and its mission (Hartman, 1993). Its name became Americans Disabled for Attendant Programs Today. Its focus became a demand for personal assistance services to permit people with impairments who need assistance to live at home instead of in nursing homes and to have those services paid for by Medicare or Medicaid. This issue was not explicitly addressed by the ADA, although the goal of using public money for people with impairments outside of nursing homes is relevant to Title II.

Table 7.7. Crosstabulation of Type of Issue by Time Period by Type of Organization

	Type of Issue			
ADAPT[a]	Rights/Laws	Services	Other	Totals
Pre-ADA	82.3%	10.4%	7.3%	100.0%
	(79)	(10)	(7)	(96)
Post-ADA	73.5	21.3	5.2	99.9
	(183)	(53)	(13)	(249)
All Other Organizations[b]				
Pre-ADA	47.2%	43.2%	9.6%	100.0%
	(59)	(54)	(12)	(125)
Post-ADA	22.6	57.3	20.1	100.0
	(65)	(165)	(58)	(288)

a. Chi square = 6.2, significance < .05.
b. Chi square = 6.6, significance < .00001.

Despite the change of name and mission, ADAPT did not totally give up on its old issues and targets. Rather, in the post-ADA period, ADAPT led a number of demonstrations about transportation accessibility against private bus companies, particularly Greyhound. ADAPT accused the company of trying to be exempted from the requirements of the ADA. The most recent series of protests occurred in August 1997 in forty cities across the nation. In 1999 Greyhound finally signed an agreement with the Justice Department to abide by the ADA (U.S. Department of Justice, 2000). Although the majority of ADAPT's protests have not been related to personal assistance services, even in the past few years, the proportion that is related has increased.

Table 7.7 compares the changes in the categories of demands in protests organized by ADAPT to those in protests by all other organizations before and since the ADA passage. It shows that, in ADAPT-organized protests, while the vast majority (over 82 percent) of pre-ADA demands were made in the area of rights, this proportion decreased to about 74 percent of post-ADA demands. Demands related to services increased from about 10 percent of pre-ADA demands to 21 percent of post-ADA demands. Demands around other issues decreased slightly, from about 7 percent of pre-ADA demands to about 5 percent of post-ADA demands. Overall, these are fairly small changes, and are certainly not as large as we would have expected for an organization that had undergone a change of name and mission.

The changes in demands made in protests led by all other organizations are larger. Demands related to rights decreased from about 47 percent of pre-ADA demands to 23 percent of post-ADA demands. Demands related to services increased from about 43 percent of pre-ADA demands to about 57 percent of post-ADA demands. Demands related to all other types of issues increased dramatically, from less than 10 percent of pre-ADA demands to more than 20 percent of post-ADA demands.

Thus, the increase in contentious political activity in the disability community in the post-ADA period can partly be explained by this growth in organizational density. New organizations have entered the contentious political arena, as have newly protesting, already established organizations. Although many of the older organizations involved in protests in the pre-ADA period continued to be involved, more multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations have become involved in contentious political activity since the ADA was passed. These organizations have had the effect of expanding the types of issues included in the protests held by members of the disability community. These organizations and their issues most likely emerged as a result of an "issue vacuum" created by the ADA success. As soon as the ADA created a remedy at the federal level for many of the demands that had been made in prior protests, especially those relating to rights and legal issues, those issues were no longer available for contentious political action. The only issues left were those related to the rule enforcement stage of the "moral entrepreneurship process" that occurred around the ADA (Altman and Barnartt, 1993).

The largest cross-disability issue that remained, personal assistance services, was rapidly taken over by ADAPT, so there was no "issue vacuum"; rather, if another organization took up that issue, it would be competing with ADAPT, which was large, powerful, and well established. If a new or existing organization wanted to become involved in protest, it had to take up issues that were not contained in ADAPT's mission. These other issues did not fit neatly into the category of disability rights, and they were not dealt with within the scope of the ADA. They were also not "owned" by ADAPT. Until this time, there had also been no organizations identified with them. Thus, they were "ripe for the picking," and it appears that several organizations emerged to pick them.

Targets

There are several other changes that we can see when we compare the pre-ADA and post-ADA time periods. One relates to targets. Table 7.8 shows that there were changes in the targets to which protests were directed after the ADA passage. Local governmental targets had constituted almost 15 percent of pre-ADA targets but less than 10 percent of post-ADA targets. State governments, which had constituted about 20 percent of pre-ADA protest targets, increased their post-ADA proportion to almost 23 percent. The federal government, which had constituted almost 22 percent of pre-ADA protest targets, decreased slightly to comprising less than 16 percent in post-ADA targets years. Finally, nongovernmental targets increased from almost 43 percent of pre-ADA targets to over 52 percent of post-ADA targets. Thus, we see a tendency toward focusing on state-level governmental targets and nongovernmental

Table 7.8. Targets by Time Period

Time Period	Type of Target (N=594) Local Government	State Government	Federal Government	Nongovernmental	Totals
Pre-ADA	15.6	20.3%	21.8%	42.0%	100.0%
	(40)	(53)	(56)	(108)	(257)
Post-ADA[a]	10.2	23.4	15.6	50.9	100.0
	(347)	(108)	(72)	(235)	(462)

a. Chi square = 10.8, significance < .02.

targets and away from local and federal governmental targets since the ADA was passed. These changes were statistically significant.

They also make sense. The ADA represented a federal-level remedy in the area of rights. Other federal-level remedies might still be sought for problems such as transfer of payments, assisted suicide, and personal care assistants, but these problems are more likely to be dealt with at the state than at the federal level. Also, because other issues were brought to the fore by the new organizations, it makes sense that new targets might also be sought. The whole scope of contentious political action in the deaf and disability communities could change after the ADA was passed, and it did. The changes in scope also required changes in targets to fit the new issues, and that is what happened.

Protest Support

Changes in the amount of outside support the protests received are shown in table 7.9. This table shows that the percentage of protests that had coalition partners increased from about 8 percent in the pre-ADA period to almost 13 percent in the post-ADA period. Support from other organizations also increased slightly, from almost 10 percent of the protests in the pre-ADA period to over 14 percent in the post-ADA period. Finally, when we combine the two types of support to see how many protests received any support, we see that about 10 percent of the protests in the pre-ADA period got any type of support, while about 17 percent got any type of support in the post-ADA period. Although these changes are not large, the statistically significant trend toward increasing overall support suggests an increasing acceptance of legitimacy of the demands made in post-ADA protests.

Table 7.9. Crosstabulation of Presence of Outside Support by Time Period

	Type of Support (N = 594)		
Time Period	Coalition Partner	Organizational Support	Any Type of Support[a]
Pre-ADA	7.9%	9.8%	10.5%
	(21)	(26)	(28)
Post-ADA	12.8	14.3	17.2
	(61)	(68)	(82)

a. Chi square = 6.0, significance < .02.

External Responses

Table 7.10 shows that the percentage of protests at which police were present decreased markedly, from almost 32 percent of pre-ADA protests having police present to less than 20 percent of post-ADA protests attracting such attention. Concomitantly, the percentages of protests at which arrests were made decreased from about 17 percent of pre-ADA protests to less than 10 percent of post-ADA protests. How do we explain these decreases in proportions of protests that had police present or arrests made? The post-ADA protests were only slightly less disruptive than pre-ADA protests—about 31 percent of pre-ADA protests included at least one disruptive tactic; it was true of less than 28 percent of post-ADA protests. In both time periods, police were much more likely to be present, and arrests were made more often in protests that used at least one disruptive tactic. Perhaps the decreased police presence reflects a perception that the protests were less of a threat. Alternatively, once some of the protest issues had gained legitimacy through the passage of the ADA, perhaps the protests themselves also gained legitimacy.

The protests also received less attention overall in the post-ADA period than they did in the pre-ADA period. In the earlier period, almost 52 percent of protests got any sort of response, while in the post-ADA period less than 43 percent did. Although this is a small change, it is consistent with the lowered levels of police attention and arrests. Both of these trends suggest that disability protests garnered less attention after the ADA was passed, even though more protests have occurred since that time. This suggests that disability protests are likely to become less successful in the future. If they are perceived as less of a threat, and if it is the case that the power that accrues to contentious political action derives mostly from its disruptive potential, that power seems to be dissipating. The percentage of completely or partially successful protests decreased, from 19 percent of protests in the pre-ADA period to a little less than 18 percent in the post-ADA period (data not shown).

Table 7.10. Crosstabulation of Outcomes of Protests by Time Period

Period	Police Present[a]	Arrests Made[b]	Got Any Response[c]
Pre-ADA	31.6%	17.4%	53.0%
	(74)	(41)	(123)
Post-ADA	19.7	9.9	42.7
	(76)	(38)	(166)

a. Chi square = 11.1, significance < .001.
b. Chi square = 7.5, significance < .007.
c. Chi square = 6.2, significance < .02.

Overall, we have seen that there were a number of changes in the protests from the pre-ADA period to the post-ADA period. The numbers of protests increased substantially. Protests became more likely to be cross-disability; to make demands related to services to include a wider range of demands; to be conducted by multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations; and to be less likely to attract police attention, result in arrests, get a response from anyone, or be successful.

A COMPARISON OF THE TWO SUCCESSES

We have presented data about changes that occurred after two successes that differed because of the part of the cycle of protest in which they occurred. The first success occurred very early on, within six years after protests in the disability community began. The second occurred after disruptive and contentious political action had become well established. It is likely that the timing of these two successes affected their sequelae. The early success in getting the regulations for the 1973 Rehabilitation Act proved to people with impairments that contentious political action worked. That may have been its primary contribution, as the actual scope of the law was somewhat limited. In social movement terms, the success became a mobilization tool. Success creates essentially instant action mobilization, without prior consensus mobilization (Barnartt, 1994). The most important result of the success that occurred around the Rehabilitation Act was the social movement that grew after it and from it.[10]

The second success—passage of the ADA—not only occurred at a very different time in the cycle of protest; it was also a different type of success. Its scope was much larger, both in terms of the numbers of people potentially affected and the areas in which it had the potential to affect them. It was the clearest success experienced by this community, but it was not really caused by contentious action. However, by the time this success occurred, there was an established record of contentious, sometimes extremely disruptive, political action. Protesters as well as potential adherents did not need to learn that success from contentious action was possible; they already knew it. Though this success seems to have led to two different but related outcomes.

The first set of outcomes consisted of two surges in protest activity. The first lasted for three years, from 1991 to 1993. The second surge occurred in 1996 and 1997. The largest and most marked mobilizations for contentious political actions have occurred *since* the passage of the ADA. Instead of having faltered, died, or becoming institutionalized, as hypotheses based upon strain theories would have predicted, this social movement grew.

The second outcome was a serious change of direction for the contentious political actions that were occurring. New issues came to the fore to fill the issue vacuum that passage of the ADA left. New and different types of organizations emerged, and sectors of the community that had been less involved in contentious political action became somewhat more involved. There was a trend toward greater heterogeneity in protest demands. This trend occurred at the same time as the increase in the number of multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations.

The fact that the ADA passage extended the frame of civil rights to people with impairments meant that it could produce a feeling of empowerment among them,

whether or not they were activists. The empowerment that attaches to people who suddenly have rights produces a revolution of rising expectations. In some cases the effect is on the interpersonal level. One activist, discussing the impact of the ADA on his life, said, "When we go out—Cynthia and I—we expect things to be better and it makes us angrier when it's [sic] not. And so we're much more aggressive about challenging people than we were before." Another said that people with disabilities "are suddenly saying things like 'let's take 'em to court.' I've never heard such stuff before. . . . I mean, there's a transformation going on among mild mannered people: 'I have the right. . . . I heard it on TV. They can't tell me I can't get in there. I'm going to take them to court.' And that's brand new" (Pfeiffer, 1996: 274).

People who suddenly realize that they do in fact have rights begin to ask for more, and that empowerment leads to more protests because empowered people not only ask for more, they demand more. Powerlessness means that you will not get something even if you ask for it, which is probably why so many powerless people or groups do not ask. What else does empowerment mean other than the notion that, if you ask for something, you will get it—or, at least, you might get it?

There is an additional reason why a revolution of rising expectations may occur after a major success such as the ADA. A right, once granted, may expand. This seems to have happened in the case of sex discrimination in the workplace. Sex discrimination in the workplace used to refer to hiring, promotion, and firing. That notion has been expanded over the years to include sexual harassment. In part this has been a legal change, but it has likely resulted because people asked for sexual harassment to be included in the scope of the concept of sex discrimination. Thus, the right to a workplace free of sex discrimination has expanded to include the right to a workplace free of sexual harassment, because sexual harassment has been determined to fit within the category of sex discrimination.

In the post-ADA period we see new issues emerging, and new organizations and different parts of the community becoming involved in contentious political action. People with impairments are asking for new rights in the hopes that now they might get them. They are asking for independent living as a civil right, not just as a cost-effective measure. We see this as evidence that the revolution of rising expectations is fueling some of the growth of contentious political action that we have documented.

As discussed previously, the other reason issues have changed since the ADA passed is that there is no need for contentious action around issues that the ADA solved. Thus, the passage of the ADA was followed by a change in the scope and direction of the contentious political action occurring within the disability community. This did not happen after the Rehabilitation Act passed because its issues remained.

We have seen, then, that the successes experienced by the disability community due to passage of the Rehabilitation Act and the ADA were followed by very different sequelae. These sequelae seem to have been affected by the timing of the success within the cycle of protest and by the type of success.

Comparisons to other social movements will be necessary in order to evaluate the degree to which the patterns reported here are true. Based on preliminary analyses using similar data, such patterns do not appear to be true for the AIDS movement, for example. If these patterns are not true of all movements, it will be necessary to

begin to specify the conditions under which they are or are not true. The present results suggest that the variables of the timing and the scope of the success importantly affect the relationship between success and subsequent social movement mobilization.

A POSTSCRIPT ON THE ADA

Ironically, the ADA has recently come under serious judicial challenge by at least one circuit court and by the U.S. Supreme Court. Some of what had been seen as ADA victories have been whittled away by state and federal courts. These attacks have taken two forms. One is an attack on the scope of the ADA, with an attempt to limit its coverage. In one recent group of linked cases, the Supreme Court decided that people who can correct physical impairments, such as wearing glasses for nearsightedness, are not considered to be disabled under the law.

In another case (*Christopher B. Alsbrook* v. *City of Maumelle, Arkansas*), the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 8th Circuit ruled that Congress had exceeded its authority in extending Title II of the ADA to the states (Fay, 1999a). This case was settled before it came to the Supreme Court, but as this is being written, the Supreme Court has upheld a similar ruling. Significant sections of the ADA may be invalidated. This type of attack is occurring not just as an attack on disability legislation but on the federal government's right to impose legislation upon state governments. As part of this states' rights issue, a number of pieces of civil rights legislation have been attacked in several different court cases. Another case that fits under this rubric is *Olmstead* v. *L. C. and E. W.* This case challenges ADA regulations requiring states to provide care for people with impairments in the least restrictive environment, which activists interpret to mean outside of institutions and in community-based settings or in their own homes. While seemingly a case about ADA regulations, it is also a case about states' rights.

It remains to be seen whether these attacks on the ADA will be successful. From the point of view of contentious action, the relevant question is whether such attacks will mobilize more action. Some contentious actions have already occurred, protesting state governors' support of the states' rights position and, in some cases, successfully pressuring those governors to change their positions. Activists assume that such a challenge would engender contentious action, saying, for example, "I think people would go nuts . . . a lot of people you've never, ever seen before in the streets would go nuts. Everybody knows about the ADA. It belongs to them" (Pfeiffer, 1996: 282). Time will tell if Pfeiffer is correct.

NOTES

1. Although successful contentious actions could potentially increase consensus formation, consensus mobilization, and action mobilization (Klandermans, 1984, 1988), it is quite difficult to measure the first two. The present analysis only discusses action mobilizations because the data used here measure actions.

2. However, initial success following tactical innovation can be followed by failure, once opponents learn how to counter the new tactic successfully. Opponents, too, have a learning curve (McAdam, 1997: 353).

3. Together, these two explanations would begin to overcome the free-rider problem, which asks why people should participate in risky and potentially costly social movement actions when they are likely to benefit from whatever is gained by other collective actors (Hirschman, 1982; Mueller, 1992).

4. Tarrow (1994: 155) suggests that cycles of protest begin when political opportunities become open. We are turning Tarrow on his head with this suggestion.

5. There were other instances around this time in which sympathetic legislators or legislative staffers added to or modified legislation in ways that were favorable to the disability community, without involvement with, or agitation from, members of that community. One was the addition of the "Biaggi Amendment" to the 1970 Urban Mass Transportation Act. This amendment added the concept of equal rights for people with impairments to its language. The second occurred in amendments to the 1973 Federal Aid to Highways Act. One of these mandated that the Washington, D.C., subway system, then being built, include elevators. Another prohibited the secretary of transportation from approving funds for construction of new urban mass transit facilities unless the facilities using the money provided reasonable access to elderly or handicapped persons (Treanor, 1993: 52–53).

6. A similar instance of geographical diffusion occurred in the civil rights movement. In that case, a successful lunch counter sit-in that occurred in Oklahoma City was followed by similar sit-ins in four nearby cities, where they had varying degrees of success (McAdam, 1997: 346).

7. Thus, it is possible that the ADA left gaps for deaf people larger than those left for persons with other types of impairments (Barnartt and Seelman, 1991).

8. Relays permit someone to type on a TDD to an operator, who will read that information to a person without a TDD, or vice versa.

9. We cannot assume that these were the only organizations formed during this time period, but they are the ones that show up in our database as having been involved in contentious political activity.

10. For purposes of contentious action, an indirect, positive effect may have been the growth of independent living centers. Although members did not participate in huge numbers of contentious actions, they provided places for people with many types of impairments to meet.

8

The Deaf President Now Protest: The Effect of an Impairment-Specific Success

The Deaf President Now (DPN) protest, which occurred at Gallaudet University in Washington, D.C., in March 1988, was a highly visible protest that was successful in attaining all of its demands. In addition, the link between the collective action and its success was quite clear. Here we examine the impact of this protest in the deaf community on subsequent contentious political actions by deaf people as well as by people with other types of impairments.

There were a number of ways in which the DPN protest was similar to the protests held to demand that the regulations for the Rehabilitation Act be written.[1] The Rehabilitation Act and DPN protests occurred early enough in the history of protests for the relevant communities that they were startling and apparently viewed as a new development for that community. The protests were very disruptive, and they were tactically similar. DPN and the Rehabilitation Act protest that occurred in San Francisco borrowed tactics from earlier protests in other social movements—the student and anti-war protests of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Both involved a takeover and a lockout.[2] In the case of DPN it was the takeover of an entire campus instead of just one building, while the San Francisco protest involved the takeover of part of a building. Although the DPN protest initially occurred only in one place, and so was different from the Rehabilitation Act protests, which began simultaneously in nine cities, at least seven other sympathy protests were held to support DPN as the week progressed. The DPN and Rehabilitation Act protests were focused upon very limited targets that had the power to right the situation. In addition, both sets of protests were disruptive and drew substantial amounts of media attention.[3] Finally, the demands in both sets of protests were framed as civil rights issues (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995).

This protest was, however, also quite different in a number of ways from the protests held around the Rehabilitation Act. First, and perhaps most importantly, it was an impairment-specific protest. It was a protest about a deafness-related issue, conducted primarily by deaf people, about demands that had real meaning for only a small number of deaf people. Its demands were limited in scope, focusing on

personnel at one institution. This protest was not about legislation, nor was it applicable to all people with disabilities. The DPN protest was not a campaign (Marwell and Oliver, 1984) within the larger disability rights movement. It was not planned, instigated, or in any other way caused by that movement. Although other disability groups expressed support for the protest, only a handful of representatives from other impairment groups or other disability organizations actually participated (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995). Finally, the DPN protest lasted for only eight days, from March 6, 1988, until March 14, 1988, although there was a preliminary rally on March 1. The longest of the Rehabilitation Act protests lasted for twenty-five days.

We might have assumed that, despite the similarities between DPN and the Rehabilitation Act protests, DPN would have made little difference to the activism of people with other types of impairments. The DPN protest directly changed nothing in their lives. We expect its greatest impact to have been on the deaf community rather than members of the larger disability community. But even though this protest was by deaf people about a deafness-related issue, researchers have claimed that it had both a direct (Zola, 1992) and an indirect impact on the larger disability community. Shapiro (1994: 124) thinks the DPN protest was one of two "great consciousness-raising events of the disability rights movement." That it had an indirect effect on people with other types of impairments, through the passage of the ADA, was emphasized in 1992 when Justin Dart announced that Gallaudet students and faculty would be presented with the Distinguished Service Award of the President of the United States on October 30. Dart stated that "The long successful struggle by the students and faculty to replace paternalism with empowerment sent a vital message to the nation and [DPN] was a major contribution to the passage of the ADA." Even ignoring the political motivation such a statement might have had a few days before a presidential election, and the inaccuracies in the first part of the statement, it nevertheless supports the perception that DPN had an impact on persons with disabilities outside the deaf community (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995: 217).[4]

Now let us turn to an examination of two possible effects of the DPN protest on subsequent social movement activity. We investigate effects it may have had on contentious political action in the larger disability community, and we investigate effects it may have had on such activity in the deaf community.

THE DEAF COMMUNITY PRIOR TO THE PROTEST

The development of a strong deaf community began many years earlier than did the development of a similar community or communities of people with other types of impairments. From that history, we might have expected that contentious political action in the deaf community would have started earlier than it did in other parts of the disability community, but this was not the case. Rather, there were only a few incidents of collective action before the Deaf President Now protest. The short answer to why that is the case, when it seems to be counterintuitive, is that the community development that occurred in the deaf community probably *prevented* it from happening. How is this possible, when many of the same social conditions necessary for contentious political action to occur had existed for deaf people for many decades?

Common social spaces had existed in schools, clubs, and common workplaces since the late 1800s. Organizations and clubs of deaf people had begun many years before organizations of (not for) people with other types of impairments. In addition, it is probable that rates of deafness have been increasing, although the largest increases are among older people. There was also a rubella epidemic in the mid-1960s that increased prevalence rates of deafness among children during that time.

The deaf community also experienced increases in educational levels and occupational status, with most of those changes occurring since the early 1970s (Barnartt and Christiansen, 1996; Barnartt, 1997). (Prior to the 1970s, most deaf workers were printers—if they were male—or sewers and stitchers in clothing factories—if they were female.) Because of changes in occupational opportunities, a split developed between working class and professional deaf people (Padden, 1996). Two books by Alan Crammatte's, published in 1965 and 1987, illustrate the increasing numbers of well-educated deaf people. More recently, a new "industry" of sign language teaching, as well as growth in demand for teachers and sign language interpreters, permitted even more deaf people to move into professional or semi-professional jobs (Padden, 1996).

Accompanying these advances in occupational status, however, were instances of prejudice and discrimination in the workplace. Salary inequities existed (Barnartt, 1982a; Christiansen and Barnartt, 1987) that were more likely to be remarked upon and to lead to feelings of relative deprivation, especially among deaf workers who had higher levels of education. As a result, during the 1970s, some members of the deaf community began to view themselves as an oppressed minority. The Deaf Pride and Deaf Power movements helped deaf people to evaluate themselves more positively—to value themselves. As part of this process, it is likely that feelings of relative deprivation began to be expressed: "'[D]eaf Americans no longer compare[d] themselves to deaf Americans 20 years ago and remark[ed] how much better off they are. Rather, members of the deaf community begin to compare themselves to hearing people and feel cheated when comparisons are made on educational opportunities, income potentials, housing and other resources" (Rose and Kiger, 1995: 524).

Thus, although on the surface the situation of deaf people seems to have been similar to that of people with other impairments in the 1960s, it was not. There was a strong deaf community in the early 1970s, which was not the case for the rest of the disability community. There were local, state, and national organizations; deaf clubs that formed the backbone of local deaf communities; newspapers; and even a university, none of which existed in any quantity for people with other types of impairments. Members of the deaf community could turn to each other when things got bad. This group or community solidarity is part of the explanation for why collective action did not begin sooner in this community: "The 'dividing practices' of the dominant structure, which at first isolated deaf people from society, proved to be a saving grace for deaf people. The establishment of a 'class' of deaf people enabled them to create a social structure in which organizations, newspapers, and intermarriages primarily involving deaf people became a way of life" (Jankowski, 1997: 63).

It is actually harder to explain why collective action *did* begin than it is to explain why it did not. Part of the explanation for the relatively late eruption of collective action in the deaf community is that a number of deaf leaders were involved in the

cross-disability activism that surfaced in the mid-1970s. These deaf community leaders included Frank Bowe, who was an initial organizer of the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities; Al Pimentel, who was its first president; and T. J. O'Rourke, who was also an early leader of that organization. All three participated in the Rehabilitation Act protests, and Frank Bowe was one of the leaders of the group protesting in Washington, D.C. (Treanor, 1993: 61–63). In addition, some of the men who would became instigators of the Deaf President Now protest also participated in the Rehabilitation Act protests, although they were quite young and were not protest leaders (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995). Thus, some of the early deaf activism was linked with cross-disability activism.

But tensions developed in the deaf community in the 1970s that did not have any equivalent in other parts of the disability community. One set of issues arose around the use of total communication (TC) in deaf education and the place of American Sign Language, and the other was related to mainstreaming deaf children into regular schools. In the 1960s and early 1970s, William Stokoe and his colleagues (Stokoe, 1960; Stokoe, Casterline, and Cronenberg, 1965) argued that American Sign Language was an actual language. They showed that sign language had a grammar with the same features as spoken language grammars, although not the same grammatical structure as English.

At about the same time, total communication started in deaf education. The notion behind total communication was that people should use all faculties available to them. TC encouraged speaking while signing, or using appropriate lip movements if one did not use one's voice, and it encouraged those with some residual hearing to use it when possible. At first this was seen as a huge and very positive step forward by the deaf community, for, instead of having their hands slapped when they tried to sign, as was the case for many years previously, deaf children were now taught in sign. However, as that movement gained steam, people began to realize that TC meant using signs in English word order, akin to speaking German in English word order. Sometime after 1978, when 65 percent of deaf education programs admitted to using total communication (Jankowski, 1997: 77), the realization that this was linguistic nonsense led to the beginning of what was called the bi-lingual–bi-cultural (or bi-bi) movement in the deaf community. This movement pushed the notion that there were two cultures with two languages, and deaf people could participate in both, but both they and hearing people should be aware that they were doing it.

Concomitantly, the integration of children with impairments into regular classrooms had been mandated by PL 94-142, passed in 1975. This law assumed that classrooms that integrated children with and without impairments provided the "least restrictive environment" as mandated in the law. This was increasingly seen as disastrous for the deaf community. The percentages of children attending residential schools dropped substantially. Even those students who did attend residential school as boarders typically went home on weekends. Thus, even the residential schools of the past generation were ceasing to exist (Padden, 1996).

The feeling was growing that children who were not in residential schools were losing out on the socialization into the deaf community that occurred there. There was also growing evidence that, even if children who attended regular schools or

classrooms were academically better off, they tended to feel isolated and they lacked opportunities for social interaction as well as the chance to participate in extracurricular activities (Foster, 1989; Foster and Emerton, 1991). Thus, some deaf people have created a sign for "mainstreaming" that is a takeoff on the more commonly accepted sign: It indicates the oppression of the one by the many rather than indicating the equal mixing of two groups (Jankowski, 1997: 89). Others talked about mainstreaming as being "cultural genocide" (Jankowski, 1997: 94).

There has never been unity among parents and educators of deaf people, who have been divided between "oralists" and "manualists" since the early 1800s (Benderly, 1990). Although that division also existed among deaf people, prelingually deaf people were more likely to realize how necessary a visual language was for communication than, apparently, were parents and educators of post-lingually deaf children.

By the late 1970s, divisions appeared within the deaf community about whether an "integrationist" or "segregationist" approach to hearing people and hearing society should be taken (Jankowski, 1997: 68). Some deaf people felt that deaf society was sufficient unto itself, while others felt that interaction with hearing people could not be avoided. This was especially true for deaf parents, over 90 percent of whom have hearing children. Such a split was not in evidence in the disability community at that time (and does not seem to be in evidence even now). This division affected the deaf community's relationship to the disability community, because by the late 1970s, the idea that the deaf community was a linguistic minority, rather than a disability grouping, had begun to be expressed.

There are several possible explanations, then, for why the deaf community was not very mobilized for disruptive collective action before 1988. One is related to the sociological truism that outside pressure increases group solidarity. Oppression from the outside would have strengthened bonds within the community instead of turning the community toward the outside. Alternatively, the divisions within the community between oralists and manualists, and between those favoring total communication and those favoring the bi-lingual–bi-cultural approach, may have occupied its attention enough that protests against the larger society (i.e., the hearing world) may have seemed less important. Or perhaps the deaf community was not mobilized for collective action because the right issue had not come along.

Prior to DPN, there was a lot of collective action among deaf activists. However, it was more likely to take the form of a letter-writing campaign or a lawsuit, so it did not satisfy the criteria for inclusion as contentious political action.[5] For example, in 1977 a lawsuit was filed against a residential school that expressly refused to hire a candidate because he was deaf. After DPN, such an action would (and could in several cases) lead to protest.

There were, however, a number of protests that do fit the criteria for contentious political action. Table 8.1 shows that nineteen deafness-related protests were labeled as occurring before DPN, although eight of those were actually DPN-related protests.[6] So there were actually eleven protests (20 percent of all deafness-related protests) before DPN, while almost 66 percent of deafness-related protests occurred after DPN. A smaller proportion of nondeafness-related protests (24 percent)

Table 8.1. Numbers of Protests by Time Period and Impairment Type

Time Period	Nondeaf	Deaf
Pre-DPN	23.8%	34.5%
	(164)	(19)
Post-DPN	76.2	65.5
	(524)	(36)
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	(688)	(55)

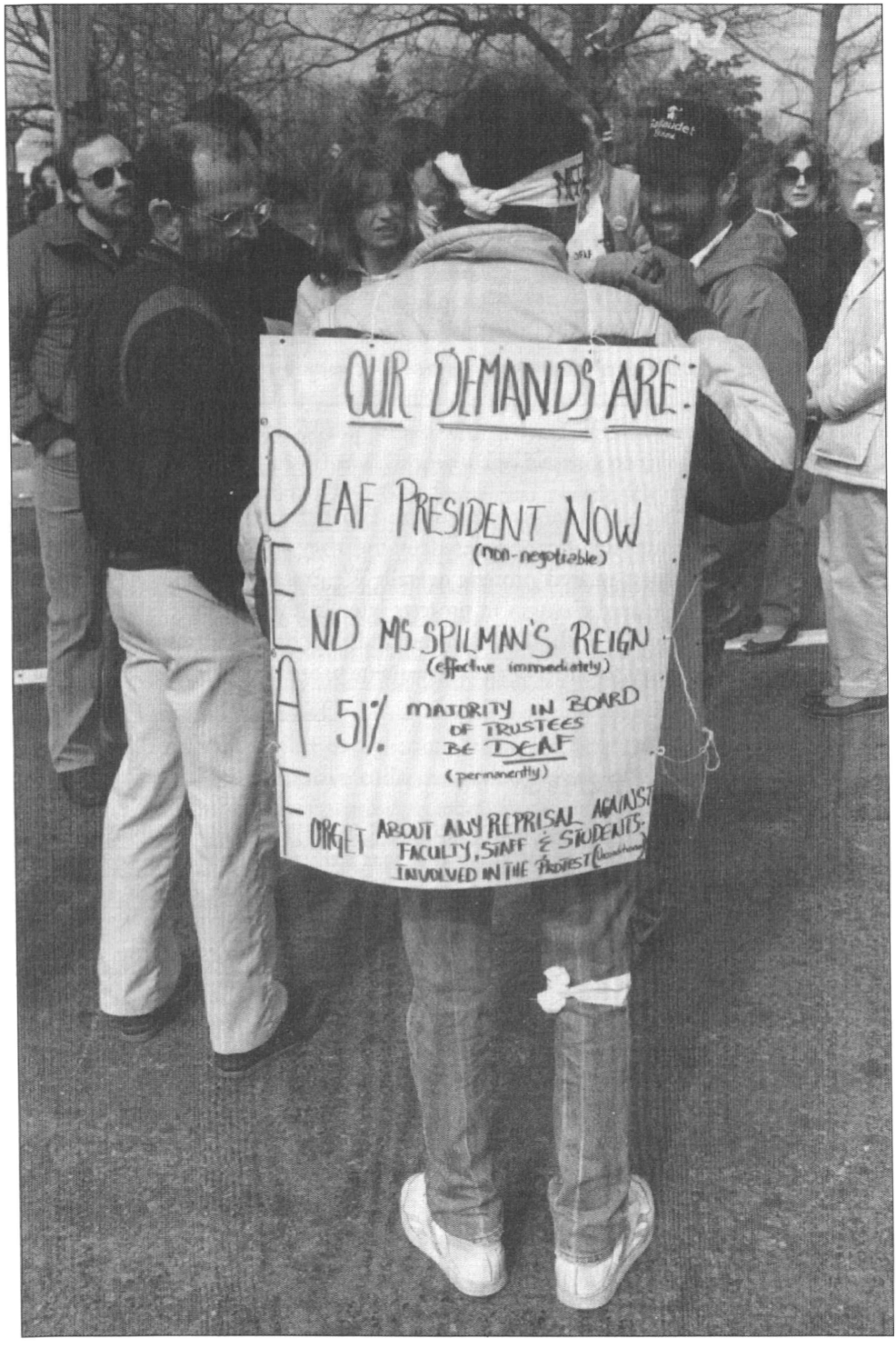
occurred before DPN, and a larger proportion (76 percent) occurred after DPN. These are not statistically significant differences, but they appear large because of the small number of deafness-related protests overall. We examine the changes in numbers, as well as other related changes in protests later in this chapter. First, however, we discuss the actual events of the DPN protest and the characteristics of that protest that are relevant for consideration of the subsequent protests both inside and outside of the deaf community.

DPN PROTEST EVENTS

The possession of a grievance may not be sufficient to foment collective action, but it is necessary. In 1988, an issue came along that was sufficiently powerful to mobilize more of the deaf community than had been mobilized before. In August 1987, the president of Gallaudet University announced his resignation. Shortly thereafter, procedures and committees were established to permit all sectors of the campus, including those working at the elementary school and the high school attached to the college, to express their preferences. A professional headhunting organization was hired to assist in identifying qualified candidates. After a long and complicated search, three finalists were identified: two deaf men and one hearing woman.

As early as September 1987, a number of off-campus individuals and alumni groups began to attempt to influence the board's decision through a letter-writing campaign. Deaf adults and deafness-related organizations, including the National Association of the Deaf, began lobbying the search committee and the board of trustees intensively for the appointment of a deaf person. (There was however, opposition within the deaf community to this, particularly by middle-aged and older deaf adults [Barnartt, 1989].) Even Republican presidential candidates Robert Dole and George Bush, Sr. got involved by sending letters in support of a deaf president.

Up until a few days before the final selection was to be made, most Gallaudet students and faculty were relatively apathetic about the issue. A rally on campus on



The Deaf President Now protest successfully achieved all of its demands in a relatively short period of time.

March 1, 1988 attracted more than 2,000 people, and about twenty deaf people from around the country spoke about the need for a deaf president. Subsequent to the rally, students set up a small tent-city outside the main administrative offices on campus, but the real protest did not begin for several more days. Several hundred people, including students, faculty, and members of the local deaf community, came to the campus on Sunday afternoon, March 6, 1988, to await the announcement they expected to hear—that the board had selected one of the two deaf finalists. The announcement of the selection was not made by the board itself but by the university's public relations office. That office had three sets of preprinted leaflets available for distribution, so that they could spread the word quickly. When the public relations office was notified of the board's decision, a young man picked up a handful of the flyers and rushed to another part of the campus where someone else actually made the announcement to the waiting crowd: Despite the lobbying, the board had selected Dr. Elisabeth A. Zinser, a hearing woman with strong academic and management credentials but little experience with deafness-related issues or with deaf people.[7]

The Deaf President Now protest began in earnest after the announcement. Many in the crowd were very upset with the board's decision and were additionally incensed that it had not even bothered to come to the campus to announce its decision. Angry speeches occurred on campus and in the middle of a street bordering the campus. Speeches culminated in several hundred people marching through the streets of Washington, D.C., to the hotel where the members of the board of trustees were meeting. All of the protesters were not permitted to enter the hotel, but a small group was permitted to enter and meet with the chair and a few other members of the board. The protestors expressed their dissatisfaction with the board's decision. During this meeting, the chair, Jane Bassett Spilman, was widely reported by the media to have said that "deaf people were not ready to function in a hearing world."[8] After the meeting she went downstairs to address those protesters who were still at the hotel. Others in the crowd had become impatient and had marched on to the White House, several blocks away. She agreed to meet with the protesters the next day in order to explain the board's decision. During the night protesters hot-wired several cars and buses so they could move them into position to barricade all but one of the six entrances to the campus. When workers tried to enter the campus the next morning, most were turned back by the protestors. Only a few professors and others who were considered to be sympathetic to the protest were permitted in. The next day the protesters formulated four demands: (1) the resignation of the newly appointed president and the appointment of a deaf president, (2) the resignation of the chairperson of the board of trustees, (3) no reprisals against the protesters, and (4) the appointment of a deaf majority to the board of trustees.

Later that day, there was a meeting between the board and the campus community. Using an interpreter, Ms. Spilman began the meeting by attempting to explain the board's decision. At one point during the noisy meeting she told the crowd (most of them deaf) that people should be quiet so they could hear her. When a faculty member walked in front of her and signed to the crowd that the board had refused to reconsider its decision, most of the crowd walked out and marched to the Capitol



The protestors successfully linked DPN to the civil rights frame.

The protest continued and picked up momentum throughout the week. Deaf students in at least eight residential schools engaged in sympathy protests. The schools were in Rhode Island, Texas, Colorado, Illinois, Maryland, Georgia, and California (Gannon, 1989). In addition, deaf people from around the country came to Washington, D.C., to join the protest. Offers of help and statements of support came from local labor unions, national organizations of deaf people, and congressional representatives, as did unsolicited donations from churches and other organizations. Meetings, marches, and the closure of the university continued. Local and national newspaper coverage of protest events was extensive. Television coverage included appearances by one of the student leaders and the new president on national news programs such as *Good Morning America,* the *MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour,* and *Nightline.*

On Thursday evening, March 10, 1988, in the face of the pressure generated by the protest, Dr. Zinser resigned. In her resignation letter, she accepted the frame extension the protesters wanted. She ended the news conference by saying that she wanted to send a message to the deaf community that today she was also celebrating, with them, "their day in the sun" (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995).

The next day, protestors marched to the Capitol, held a rally on the steps of the building, and again demanded the appointment of a deaf president. On Sunday the board of trustees agreed to the protesters' demands. Dr. I. King Jordan was appointed president of the university, and a deaf man was selected to become chairperson of the board of trustees. There were no reprisals against the protesters, and a task force was established to study the composition of the board of trustees, which attained a deaf and hard-of-hearing majority after several years.

Although the protest was reported in the media to be a student protest, it was actually more complicated than that. The people who ultimately had a strong impact on the events of DPN were six young deaf men (most of whom were Gallaudet alumni) who called themselves the Ducks. They began meeting as a group in early January 1988, and agreed to do whatever they could to increase the likelihood that a deaf person would be chosen as Gallaudet's president. They organized the March 1 rally, recruited the speakers, and publicized it to the media. They also attempted to interest student leaders, which was not easy because there was little interest even two days before the selection was announced. The four students who finally emerged as the protest leaders were the second group of students approached by the Ducks; the first group they approached was not interested. The Ducks did not plan the marches, the closure of the university, or any of the other events that occurred once the selection was announced. The Ducks were there during all of the protest events, but they ultimately let the student leaders take the credit for what happened (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995).

During the protest references to the civil rights and women's movements surfaced in banners as well as in rhetoric, but there was no reference to the disability rights movement. The protest was not framed as a disability rights protest, even though that might have been the most obvious frame to use. Neither the protesters nor the media called it that. Rather, the protesters publicly called it a civil rights protest, and the media accepted their framing, even though the choice of a university president is not usually seen as a right, let alone a civil right.[9] Elisabeth Zinser reinforced that framing in her resignation speech when she said, "This was a civil rights moment in history for deaf people" (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995: 142).

To advance the protesters' goal of gaining public support for their demands, this was a strategically sound move. The idea of disability rights had not at that time achieved much, if any, acceptance, let alone the type of acceptance that civil rights for other groups had. But the frame of civil rights and the precedent of frame extension were in place by this time, even if the extension of that frame to deaf people had not occurred. Possibly the protesters received more sympathy and support for their demands than they might have if they had framed the protest as disability rights (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995).

The DPN protest included at least 2,000 participants; it lasted for approximately 168 hours; used tactics that included a takeover, a protest or rally; and displays of banners and signs. The protest took place at three locations: a school, the streets, and government buildings. Participants included both adults and children with disabilities, adults without disabilities, and teachers and educators. These characteristics help us to understand what happened after DPN.

THE RESULTS OF DPN IN THE DEAF COMMUNITY

Retaining Symbolic Visibility

This protest was really about personnel in one university, albeit an institution that is fairly central to the deaf community. But it has maintained strong symbolic visibility since 1988, both in Congress and the deaf community. In August 1988,

Representative Steve Gunderson (D-Michigan) introduced a bill into the House of Representatives to create a "Deaf Awareness Week" that would fall during the week that contains March 7. This is the first time, to our knowledge, that an attempt has been made to commemorate a student protest that closed down a university by creating a national commemorative week in its honor.[10] In March 1991, in a speech in honor of that Deaf Awareness Week, Senator Harkin (D-Iowa) said, "No one can forget the events of March 1988, when the students and faculty at Gallaudet University protested the decision . . ." (*Congressional Record,* March 13, 1991). He expressed similar sentiments in March 1992 (*Congressional Record,* March 10, 1992).

The protest has also retained symbolic visibility within the deaf community. Columns in deaf community publications such as the *DCARA News,* a California regional publication with a national circulation, regularly use phrases such "as the students [sic] at Gallaudet showed us . . ." Many books about aspects of deafness written since that time (e.g., Benderly, 1990; Lucas, 1991; Sacks, 1990; Lane, 1992; Luczak, 1993) have mentioned DPN in glowing terms, whether or not it is relevant to the subject of the book. The two aspects of the protest emphasized in most of these books are its success and its framing as a civil rights issue (Barnartt, 1994).

The protest itself probably accounted for a few small changes at Gallaudet University. There was the addition of a deaf studies major and later a department of deaf studies, increased emphasis on sign language proficiency for faculty and staff, and an effort to recruit more deaf people for faculty and staff positions (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995). But many anticipated positive changes, such as enrollment increases and increased donations, did not happen (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1992).

One impact we might have expected to see from the Deaf President Now protest would have been an increased willingness of the deaf community to engage in contentious political action, because it had seen the efficacy of such action. But if the protest really was perceived as being a victory for all people with disabilities, it likely would have been associated with increased numbers of protests in the deaf and disability communities.

Increases in Protest Frequency

After 1988 there was definitely an increase in the number of protests. This was true both for deafness-related protests and for protests that were unrelated to deafness. In the total pre-DPN period, which lasted for 219 months, there were 184 protests, or about 24 percent of all contentious actions. In the post-DPN period, which lasted for only 141.5 months, there were 560 protests, or about 76 percent of all actions.

Although the increase in protests related to deafness from eleven before DPN to thirty-six protests after it might not seem like a huge change, it represents an increase of more than 300 percent in the simple numbers of protests. Looking at it another way, we can calculate an idealized number of protests per month in these time periods, which is important to do because the post-DPN period is shorter than the pre-DPN period. Deafness-related protests increased from .05 per month in the pre-DPN period to .25 per month in the post-DPN. Thus, deafness-related protests increased fivefold. This clearly suggests that DPN had an effect on the willingness of

deaf people to engage in contentious political action. Both numbers and frequency of protests increased after DPN.

However, protests unrelated to deafness issues also increased, from .75 per month in the pre-DPN period to 3.7 per month in the post-DPN period. This was also almost a fivefold increase. The same factors that caused increases in protests related to other impairments were also at work in the deaf community. It is also clear, however, that the deaf community and deaf activists *perceive* DPN to have caused a complete change in the deaf community. For example, Harvey Goodstein, a politically active member of the deaf community in the Washington, D.C., area, said, in a presentation at Gallaudet University in 1998, "winning gave us hope and confidence that we could change the world." Statements such as this suggest that the deaf community believes that dynamics similar to those that occurred in the disability community after the Rehabilitation Act success occurred in the deaf community. The numbers shown here suggest that this was not true. But, at the very least, we can say that DPN did not dampen the willingness of groups to make protest demands related either to deafness or to other types of impairments, as might have happened if DPN had failed.

Changes in Protest Demands

Demands made in the deafness-related protests that occurred before DPN were most likely to be related to services, as table 8.2 shows. One-third of the demands made in

Table 8.2. Specific Demands of Deafness-Related Protests by Time Period

	Time Period	
Demands	Pre-DPN	Post-DPN
Education-related	26.7% (4)	32.0% (17)
Rights- or law-related	26.7 (4)	18.9 (10)
Money-related	6.6 (1)	15.1 (8)
Services-related	33.3 (5)	17.0 (9)
Other (including attitudes and portrayals)	6.6 (1)	17.0 (9)
Total	99.9% (15)	99.9% (53)

nese protests fit into this category. A little more than one-quarter each of the emands was related to any aspect of education or to rights or laws. One protest each 7 percent of the total) was related to money and to portrayals.

After DPN, one-third of all protests related to deafness focused on education. Demands related to rights or laws comprised 19 percent of the demands, demands elated to services (other than education) comprised about 17 percent, and those elated to money comprised 15 percent. Demands related to attitudes and to other ssues comprised 11 and 5 percent, respectively. In sum, post-DPN demands were nore likely to be related to education than were pre-DPN demands; they were also a little more likely to be related to money or to attitudinal issues, and they were ess likely to be related to services or rights. The changes do not reach statistical significance, but they still indicate a trend of substantive interest. The increase in education-related demands, after a large and successful protest related to education, seems unlikely to be a random change. We suggest that there has been diffusion (Strang and Soule, 1998) of that type of protest demand, a contention we examine below.

If we look at the specific education-related demands made in the pre- and post-DPN period, we see this diffusion more clearly (see table 8.3). Before DPN, one-quarter of education-related demands related to personnel; after DPN, in which personnel was the major issue, more than one-third were. Post-DPN, about 30 percent were related to issues of curriculum, school quality, or program type (mainstreamed or not mainstreamed), while these had comprised half of pre-DPN education-related demands. About one-quarter of pre-DPN education demands were related to linguistic

Table 8.3. Education-Related Demands by Time Period, Deafness-Related Protests Only

	Time Period	
Demand Related To	Pre-DPN	Post-DPN
Personnel	25.0% (1)	35.3% (6)
Curriculum/type of school/quality of school	50.0 (2)	29.4 (5)
Linguistic or other issues	25.0 (1)	35.2 (6)
Total	99.9% (4)	100.0% (17)

Note: Chi square = 8.9, significance < .02.

or other issues, but post-DPN those rose to 35 percent. Thus we see that issues that were either the specific demands of DPN or were closely related comprised more of the education-related demands in protests held subsequent to DPN.

Examples of this diffusion showed up especially in protests held shortly after DPN. A walkout at the Wisconsin School for the Deaf in November 1991 was held to protest insufficient numbers of deaf staff persons, especially dorm counselors, at the school. Students demanded a deaf superintendent for the campus (when the hearing incumbent retired), the immediate removal of the dean of students, a change in staff composition requiring half of them to be deaf, and that there be no reprisals against protest participants. After two days of protest, all demands were met (Kenyon, 1992). A similar protest occurred at New York's Lexington School for the Deaf in 1994.

Another aspect of protest diffusion can be seen if we examine the locations of protests held before and after DPN (see table 8.4). Before DPN, schools or colleges were only 21 percent of protest locations, while after DPN they were about 43 percent. Before DPN all other locations, which included streets, non-school buildings, parks, and media facilities comprised almost 79 percent of protest locations, but after DPN they were only 57 percent. There has been a large change in protest locations in the direction of DPN.

Several post-DPN protests that were held in a similar location occurred at Gallaudet's sister school, the National Technical Institute for the Deaf (NTID), a unit of the Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT). This school, which has one of the other large postsecondary education programs for deaf students, holds an exchange weekend with Gallaudet students every year, and it is one of the schools from which at least one busload of students came to Washington during DPN to join the protest. Since that time, there have been several student protests at NTID—there had been none before DPN. The first protest demanded better sign language skills for faculty. Another, in the fall of 1991, included demands for more pay TDDs on campus and

Table 8.4. Locations of Deafness-Related Protests by Time Period

	Time Period	
Location	Pre-DPN	Post-DPN
School or college	21.4%	43.2%
	(3)	(19)
Nonschool location	78.6	56.8
	(11)	(25)
Total	100.0%	100.0%
	(14)	(44)

Note: Chi square = 11.1, significance < .0009.

better sign language skills among the support staff. During this protest the student body president of RIT (i.e., the presumably hearing president of the hearing part of the school), put several of the protest demands into the agenda he presented in his initial speech to the student body, presumably adding significantly to the power of those demands.

Table 8.5, which details the changes in protest targets, shows that the targets of deafness-related protests were most likely to fall into the governmental or "other" category even before the DPN protest. Post-DPN protests were most likely to focus on educational targets; almost half (47 percent) of the targets were educational. Another large group of protests (33 percent) focused on governmental targets. However, these were most likely to target state governments and, in fact, some of those protests were about educational issues, such as state governmental funding for a state-run residential school in South Carolina. Post-DPN protests were less likely to focus on local governments than were pre-DPN protests and much less likely to focus on all other targets.

In sum, contentious political actions were more frequent after the DPN protest, protesters were more likely to make demands related to education and to target schools, and the actions were more likely to occur in or around schools or colleges than before DPN. It is difficult to assess causality with the types of analyses we are doing here. We cannot say that DPN *caused* any changes, either inside or outside the

Table 8.5. Category of Targets by Time Period and Type of Impairment-Related Issue

	Pre-DPN[a]		Post-DPN[b]	
Target	Deaf	Nondeaf	Deaf[c]	Nondeaf[d]
Governmental	40.0%	59.2%	33.4%	52.3%
	(4)	(93)	(12)	(266)
Educational institution	20.0	0.6	47.2	1.8
	(2)	(1)	(17)	(9)
Other	40.0	40.1	19.4	45.9
	(4)	(63)	(24)	(233)
Total	100.0%	99.9%	100.0%	100.0%
	(10)	(157)	(36)	(508)

a. Chi square for groups pre-DPN = 20.8, significance < .00004.
b. Chi square for groups post-DPN = 56.8, significance < .00001.
c. Chi square for difference between time periods for deafness-related protests = 19.0, significance < .0008.
d. Chi square for nondeafness-related protests is not significant.

deaf community. If we see changes, we can say that the DPN protest was coterminous with the changes described. However, it is also clear that there have been large and statistically significant changes in post-DPN deafness-related protests compared to those held before DPN. It is difficult to know what might have caused these changes if DPN did not.

CHANGES IN PROTESTS UNRELATED TO DEAFNESS

One factor that lowers our confidence in attributing these changes to DPN is that fairly soon after the end of the Deaf President Now protest (in May 1988) the first version of the ADA was introduced into Congress. It was voted down in the fall of 1988 but did pass after it was introduced the second time in 1989. Its introduction may have been as important in galvanizing contentious action as the DPN protest, so this confounds any analyses of changes in the pre- and post-DPN periods.

In order to try to control for this and other external factors that might have affected changes in protests in the disability community before and after DPN, we compared the direction and amount of change in nondeafness-related protests to the direction and amount of changes in deafness-related protests. Table 8.5 also includes information about changes in targets in protests that were unrelated to deafness. In protests not related to deafness, governmental targets decreased slightly from 59 percent of targets before DPN to 53 percent after. Educational targets comprised a very small proportion of targets in both periods, less than 1 percent in the pre-DPN period to less than 2 percent in the post-DPN period. Finally, all other targets increased from about 40 percent of targets to over 45 percent. Unlike the changes in protests related to deafness, these changes did not reach statistical significance. So we see that after the DPN protests, protests unrelated to deafness did not change their targets, but the deafness-related protests did.

Table 8.6 uses the three classifications of demands to compare changes in the distributions for deafness- and nondeafness-related protests across the two time periods. It shows that demands made in protests related to deafness did not change much. Demands related to services comprised 76 percent of pre-DPN demands compared to 66 percent of post-DPN demands. Demands related to rights comprised 20 percent of pre-DPN demands but 19 percent of post-DPN demands. And other demands comprised 4 percent of pre-DPN demands but 15 percent of post-DPN demands.

For protests unrelated to deafness, rights were the focus in about 43 percent of demands in both the pre-DPN and post-DPN period. Service-related demands decreased slightly, from almost 46 percent of protests in the pre-DPN period to 43 percent in the post-DPN period. All other demands increased from 11 percent of pre-DPN demands but about 14 percent of post-DPN demands.

Demands made by the two types of protests were quite different: Demands unrelated to deafness were about evenly split between rights-related and services-related demands, and demands related to deafness were overwhelmingly likely to be related to services. This was true in both time periods. Although both types of protests made slightly more heterogeneous demands in the post-DPN period than in the pre-DPN

Table 8.6. Category of Protest Demands by Time Period and Impairment Group

	Pre-DPN[a]		Post-DPN[b]	
Demand Category	Deaf	Nondeaf	Deaf	Nondeaf
Rights	20.0% (5)	42.8% (83)	18.9% (10)	43.1% (324)
Services	76.0 (19)	46.4 (90)	66.0 (35)	42.5 (320)
Other	4.0 (1)	10.8 (21)	15.1 (8)	14.4 (108)
Total	100.0% (25)	100.0% (194)	100.0% (53)	100.0% (752)

a. Chi square for groups pre-DPN = 7.8, significance < .03.
b. Chi square for groups post-DPN = 13.2, significance < .002.

period, protest demands related to deafness were still much more likely to be related to service issues than were demands unrelated to deafness. The demands of the two types of protests were significantly different from each other in each time period, but the changes from pre-DPN to post-DPN were not significant for either protests related to deafness or protests unrelated to deafness.

PROTEST DIFFUSION IN THE DEAF COMMUNITY AFTER DPN

The data presented here supports the notion that there has been a diffusion of several components of the DPN protest to other protests related to deafness. Lists of demands, frequently four, always including that of no reprisals for protesters, have shown up repeatedly.[11] The exact demands of DPN—to have a deaf president and chair of the board of trustees—have not diffused. But the implied demand for increased numbers of deaf personnel in educational institutions has. We have seen the diffusion of demands related to educational issues, specifically personnel and educational quality issues. We have also seen diffusion of protest locations: Many more protests were held at schools or colleges than had been the case before DPN. DPN tactics have also diffused. School lockouts, although not using buses to block entrances, occurred in several of the protests at residential schools. There has even been diffusion of one of the symbols that emerged in the DPN protest. "Deaf applause" (waving the hands over the head), which is interpreted to have a strong Deaf Power connotation, developed during the protest and has continued to be used

since. The explicit pictorial symbol for Deaf Power that developed during the protest—a picture of a clenched fist next to an ear—seems to have disappeared.

We must note that some protest diffusion has not occurred. One event that occurred on the Gallaudet University campus should have mobilized large-scale student discontent. That was the strangulation death of a protesting student by campus security guards in December 1990. That dramatic and shocking event failed to produce more than a quiet and not completely successful one-day boycott of classes. The acquittal of the guards of these charges in September 1992 produced no public reaction at all. Nor did a similar event also in Washington, D.C., in 1991, in which another deaf man, not a student, was strangled to death by police in his home (Escobar, Castaneda, and Wilgores, 1991).

It is also worth noting the categories of people who have not been mobilized for subsequent contentious action. The four students who were identified as being the leaders of the DPN have retained the deaf community's respect they gained during DPN; one year all four were asked to give commencement speeches at residential schools. But they have also been busy getting on with their lives, going to graduate school, getting married, and having children—they have not participated in other protests.

There has been a lot of research about diffusion, although more has been about the diffusion of innovation than about the diffusion of protest. What we have seen here echoes some of the research results. We have seen that protests have diffused among similar types of locations as well as spatially, from the center to the periphery (Shils, 1970) of the deaf community. Protests diffused from Gallaudet University, which is seen by some in the community as a central institution, the "Harvard" of the deaf community, and, until recently, one of the few colleges deaf students could attend, to other, less central educational institutions. It does not seem that the protests diffused spatially based upon geographical proximity, which is the usual pattern of diffusion (Strang and Soule, 1998).

MOBILIZATION OF THE DEAF COMMUNITY

The evidence presented here also supports the argument that there has been increased mobilization of the deaf community for contentious political action since the DPN protest. We have seen that in the increased numbers of protests and in the increased frequency of protest per unit of time. Although it is true that there has been a similar increase in numbers and frequencies of protests unrelated to deafness, we need to consider what the increases in protests related to deafness mean for the deaf community.

Klandermans (1984, 1988) has suggested that the process of mobilization for such action occurs in three distinct phases: consensus formation, consensus mobilization, and action mobilization. The first two are concerned with beliefs. *Consensus formation* is the "convergence of meaning in social networks and subcultures" and *consensus mobilization* is "a deliberate attempt . . . to create consensus among a subset of the population" (Klandermans, 1988: 175). Consensus mobilization implies an attitude possibly supportive of contentious action but not (yet) an action or even

necessarily a willingness (yet) to participate in action. *Action mobilization* is "the process by which . . . a social movement calls up people to participate" (Klandermans, 1984: 584). It refers to adherents participating in contentious political action, not just being sympathetic or sharing the goals of an action or of a whole social movement. Klandermans views consensus mobilization as a necessary precondition for action mobilization. That is, people have to share a collective consciousness before they will engage in the potentially risky behavior involved in contentious political actions.

The DPN protest was not an "explosion of previously latent consciousness" (Mann, 1973: 45). Rather, it was an almost completely spontaneous collective event whose scope was unexpected even by those who were hoping for some sort of contentious collective action if a hearing person were chosen. There was almost no consensus formation, let alone mobilization, among the students even two days before the protest began. Within the deaf community, especially among middle-aged and older deaf adults, there was opposition to, and fear of, any sort of collective action (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995).

If Klandermans is correct, mobilization should not occur *after* any protest and especially not after one single contentious action such as DPN. This is especially true if the event was explosive and short, leaving neither lasting groups nor networks of adherents nor clear leaders who can activate constituents or manage the tasks of issue framing. And if there had been little or no consensus formation before DPN, how do we explain the growth of contentious action after DPN?

One of the most important factors in this protest was its success. It is likely that this was an extremely important factor in subsequent mobilizations in the deaf community. Not only was it successful, it was also a single event whose success was clearly attributed to contentious action. As such, this success suggested that protest could be a solution to one of the long-standing problems that deaf people have experienced—control by hearing people, especially in schools. An expectation of success is one of the variables that affects the cost-benefit equation people use when deciding whether or not to participate in potentially risky contentious action (Oberschall, 1980; Klandermans, 1988). Perceptions of collective political efficacy arising from a previous successful conflict lead to increased social movement participation (Hirsch, 1986), but social movement participation itself does not lead to increases in subsequent grievance levels (Opp, 1988). Thus, the successful protest causes the consensus mobilization of previously unmobilized people: "Witnessing previously inconceivable forms of action . . . creates a new-found readiness to act" (Klandermans, 1992: 93). We can see this in a flyer from early 1989, encouraging people to attend a rally regarding the reauthorization hearings for PL 94-142, the law that mandated the mainstreaming of children with disabilities. Text in the flyer included this statement: "Why March 1st? Because on this day, exactly one year ago, Gallaudet students protested for their next president to be deaf. It is on this one-year anniversary that we feel we should make the impact to call attention to the LRE (least restrictive environment) issue!"

It is not that the subsequent actions themselves were necessarily successful. In fact, of the post-DPN, deafness-related protests, only about 16 percent were successful in attaining their demands (but none of the pre-DPN, deafness-related protests

were successful). But having seen one huge success, the deaf community continued to search for additional successes.

THE EFFECT OF DPN ON THE DISABILITY COMMUNITY

The DPN protest was not a campaign within the larger disability rights movement, but as we have noted, some observers saw the DPN success as a victory for the entire disability community. If that was the case, its success should have had as much of a mobilizing effect on the disability community as it had on the deaf community. Numerically, protests unrelated to deafness did increase after the DPN protest. Such protests did not increase more than deafness-related protests, but they did not increase less. As previously noted, however, the increases in protests in both communities might have been related to a number of other factors than this one protest.

One important way to interpret the results presented earlier in the chapter is to emphasize the fact that they do not show that protests unrelated to deafness became more like deafness-related protests. Rather, we saw that the issues in protests unrelated to deafness remained quite different than those in protests related to deafness, as did protest targets and locations. This suggests, although does not prove, that factors other than the DPN protest were related to the increase in protests unrelated to deafness.

LOOKING FORWARD

Recently, the deaf community has called for defining deaf people as a linguistic minority, and wants the rights that adhere to that identity. Padden (1996) thinks that this shift happened in the early 1990s, after DPN. In Padden's view, DPN was a revolution of middle-class deaf people, so it makes sense that the issues that have increased in importance in the deaf community since then—bilingualism and biculturalism—are issues of interest to fairly well-educated deaf people, those most likely to be professionals. These are not issues about which very many protests have been held.

It is also perhaps worth noting that, although a segment of the deaf community has become more mobilized for contentious political action than it had been before DPN, the deaf community is, overall, apolitical and basically disinterested in voting or other forms of traditional (i.e., noncontentious) political participation. Members of the deaf community express the notion that even political activism is only for well-educated deaf people (Bateman, 1996).

Thus it seems that, since DPN, the deaf community has found, in a small way, a type of political activism it can embrace. Relating to only one part of the community, perhaps, and addressing issues that are not of interest to all, true, but we still see the beginnings of political activism in a community that did not previously embrace such activism in any substantial way. It can be attributed in part to the DPN protest, but it is also clear that the same factors that were at work in increasing protests unrelated to deafness could also be implicated.

Why did DPN not affect contentious actions in the disability community? One reason may be that the DPN protest demands were framed as civil rights issues and not as disability rights issues. By doing this, the DPN protest did nothing to narrow the split between the deaf community and the disability community; instead it probably reinforced it. The protest did not create organizational ties or common issues that could be shared with the disability community. Rather, possibly unwittingly, by using the frame of civil rights, the protesters attempted to detach themselves from previous disability frames. In addition, the protest issues in DPN—and in many of the subsequent protests related to deafness—were not issues that make much difference in the lives of people with most other types of impairments. We have seen here that the subsequent collective actions in the deaf community were closer in nature to the DPN protest than they were to protests unrelated to deafness. The DPN protest both reflected the deaf community's inward focus and probably reinforced it.

CONCLUSION

We began this chapter by noting the ways in which the Deaf President Now protest was similar to the 1977 protests around the Rehabilitation Act regulations and the ways in which it was different. We asked how it affected protests in the larger disability community, unrelated to deafness, as well as those in the deaf community.

It seems clear that, in the deaf community, protest success led to changes. Although there are other issues that the deaf community faces with regard to the hearing world, those have not become the subject of protests. The activists who protested after DPN hoped to continue the winning tradition of that protest, and many of the protests were successful. The DPN protest led to the diffusion of protest characteristics within the deaf community. Because of that, protests related to deafness became more different than protests related to other impairments than they had been pre-DPN. So the deaf community appears to be moving away from the disability community, at least in the realm of contentious actions. This could have been predicted from some of the more radical writing in and about the deaf community (e.g., Jankowski, 1997; Lane, 1992). It is not clear whether this split will continue and whether the two communities are also working in opposite directions in noncontentious actions. It is possible that it will continue. Rose and Kiger (1995: 526), when discussing factors that are important for the political future of the deaf community, suggest that, "[t]he deaf community must work simultaneously on solidarity among deaf Americans, on the one hand, and participation in the hearing world, on the other." They do not include coalitions with members of the disability community and, as we saw previously, that does not seem to be an unexpected outcome from this protest.

NOTES

1. That protest also had a direct linkage to the Deaf President Now protest. Some of the protesters who subsequently took part in Deaf President Now acknowledged the importance of that participation in the Rehabilitation Act protests—and its success—in their thinking about organizing for the subsequent situation at Gallaudet University.

2. In this, these protests differ from early protests in the black communities of the South in the 1960s. In those protests, newly successful tactics such as sit-ins supplanted older tactics, such as voter registration drives, which had outlived their usefulness (McAdam, 1982). The two protests at issue here used tactics that had prior successes in earlier movements.

3. Although the Rehabilitation Act protests, especially the one in San Francisco, received increasing attention as time passed without a resolution, they never received the amount of attention that DPN got. And the earlier media coverage was not as positive. DPN was a highly visible protest with extensive coverage. The story was on the front page of the *Washington Post* for several days, and the page with the headline that announced the success of the protest was used in the *Post*'s advertisements for several months after the protest. The protest was covered in newspapers from the *New York Times* to small-town papers (see Gallaudet University, 1988), it received extensive coverage on national television and radio newscasts, and one of the student leaders was named "person of the week" by ABC. Moreover, most of the publicity was favorable to the protest and to the protesters, unlike media coverage of contemporaneous student protests, including a similar protest at Howard University a month later.

4. Altman and Barnartt (1993) argue that the success of DPN was not *directly* responsible for the passage of the ADA but that it may have contributed *indirectly* through the process of frame extension. It may be clearer that the DPN protest helped to create a climate in which laws that affected primarily deaf people, including the Telecommunications Act of 1988, could be passed (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995).

5. Because the operational definition rules, described in chapter 10, limited protest reports to those that described a protest in the past tense, it is likely that some protests before DPN could not be included in the database. For example, there were threatened protests in 1979 about the movie "Voices," which used hearing actors to play deaf characters, but no report was located that covered the actual protest, so it could not be included.

6. In the subsequent discussion, the DPN protest and the sympathy protests are not included unless specifically identified that way.

7. Dr. Zinser had so little knowledge about deafness that, early in the application process, she asked someone who was more familiar with the issues what she should do to prepare herself in case she was selected for an interview. He told her to read some books about the education of deaf children, but did not discuss sign language, the education of college age deaf students, issues of Deaf culture, or the deaf community (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995).

8. Ms. Spilman probably did not actually make this comment, although many continue to believe that she did (e.g., Solomon, 1994). Rather, she apparently used a double negative and was either misinterpreted or misunderstood (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995).

9. Within the deaf community, and among the protesters, the protest was framed as "the end to oppression of deaf people by hearing people" or an end to the plantation mentality (Christiansen and Barnartt, 1995).

10. As an additional indication of the favorableness with which the protest was regarded in Congress, Gallaudet's federal funding levels, which had been holding somewhat steady before DPN, increased each year between 1988 and 1992. Gallaudet receives about 75 percent of its funding from the federal government and the rest from private sources. These amounts did not actually increase much if inflation is taken into account, but many government programs were cut or kept at the same funding levels during this period (Barnartt and Christiansen, 1992).

11. This demand appears to have entered the collective action repertoire (Tilly, 1983) of deaf students for the first time.

9

Looking to the New Millennium

To conclude our study, we illuminate trends that might help to predict the disability scene in the new millennium. We examine trends in contentious political action in academia, and look at trends in the United States and elsewhere.

FUTURE INCREASES IN CONTENTIOUS POLITICAL ACTION

Prediction in social science is always risky, but there is one prediction relating to contentious political action by people with impairments that we can safely make. That prediction is that such activity will continue and probably increase. In social movement terms, this cycle of protest has not yet peaked. There are several reasons why we feel safe in making this prediction. One relates to the ways in which new technologies, particular e-mail, will affect collective action, and the other relates to trends highlighted in this book that are likely to presage the escalation of contentious political action.

E-Mail and Social Movement Activity

There are a number of ways in which new technologies, and particularly e-mail, might affect activities within all social movements. Electronic mail permits easier mobilization of potential adherents, easier mobilization of known adherents for specific actions, and easier framing of issues. Communication is instantaneous and can reach a large number of people. The fact that they are self-selected for interest in the issues in the first place only increases the impact of such communication. People can be told about protests and encouraged to participate. They can also be assisted with practical problems that might otherwise prevent their attendance, such as transportation or knowing whether accessible bathrooms will be available. The use of e-mail distribution lists is cheap. Although it may require the recipients to be

affiliated with an organization or payment of a monthly access charge, it does not require postage, paper, or copying charges every time an organization wants to contact its members. Thus organizations can pass some of their expenses to their members—and so can operate on an even thinner shoestring than might have been possible in the past. In fact, an "organization" can actually be one person and not have to exist in any place other than that person's computer.

The use of e-mail can also assist in issue framing. Messages can be written so that they emphasize the frame the organization wants to propound. E-mail can also be used to send up-to-the-minute reports on protests in progress, both to mobilize more outside support and to recruit participants. It can also be used to present the protesters' versions of events, which they may feel have been reported incorrectly, superficially, or not at all in the media.

These factors potentially have a stronger impact on social movement activities by people with impairments than in other protesting communities. Because of the physical isolation from others that some people with impairments experience, as well as barriers that make communication and interaction difficult (Scotch, 1988), e-mail may turn out to solve some mobilization problems. It can be sent to people with visual impairments who might otherwise need a reader; it can be sent to deaf people who might otherwise need a TDD, a captioning decoder, or captioned programs to get the news, as well as to people with other types of impairments. These factors are one reason why we predict an increase in contentious political activity related to disability issues in the future. But there are others.

Emerging Issues

As we pointed out earlier, new issues are emerging that may mobilize people with impairments for contentious action. The ADA may be one focus for protest. Although most major disputes about the unwillingness of companies or other entities to follow ADA requirements have been settled, there are still areas in which such settlements have not been made, and those areas are ripe for protest. In addition, the recent legal challenges, described briefly in chapter 7, present opportunities for contentious and noncontentious action.

Another reason why contentious political action in regard to disability issues seems likely to increase is that some of the issues are coming more to the fore of the national consciousness, although people without impairments do not always see these issues as disability-related. One such issue is that of assisted suicide, which the disability community sees as a disability issue but other people do not. There is a countermovement brewing between people with impairments and members of another social movement. Examination of the descriptions of several protests about assisted suicide shows the movement-countermovement dynamic clearly. In one protest, on January 8, 1997, the target was the U.S. Supreme Court, which that day was hearing arguments about assisted suicide cases from the states of New York and Washington (Biskupic, 1997). Although it was not remarked upon by the media, the first author of this book observed several sets of countermovement protesters. One set identified itself by carrying banners that said "the Hemlock Society"; the other set

identified itself as Physicians for Assisted Suicide. Each group had only three representatives that this observer could see. Both groups supported a person's right to assisted suicide in some conditions. In this protest, Not Dead Yet was opposing this position, but the groups were not targeting their protests at each other. Rather, all of them were targeting the Supreme Court.

People with impairments claim assisted suicide as a disability issue, but it shows up as the basis for contentious political action in contexts where it is not framed as a disability issue at all. One example of this occurred in Virginia in the fall of 1998. In this situation, the wife of a man who had suffered a severe brain injury wanted to remove the feeding tube that was keeping him alive. Her actions, which were well publicized because they involved a court battle with the state of Virginia, spawned at least two protests, including picketing by four hundred protesters on September 20 (Sipress, 1998) and a prayer vigil by 200 protesters on October 5 (White, 1998). These protests were not framed as actions against assisted suicide but as pro-life protests associated with the antiabortion movement (Goldstein, 1998).[1]

The removal of life support for people with severe injuries is not a new issue. It surfaced in the early 1980s with the controversy over the Baby Doe regulations passed for hospitals and with the Elizabeth Bouvia situation. We noted in chapter 5 that the latter situation did engender a right-to-life protest, but no protests that were framed as disability protests. Much later, the Elizabeth Bouvia situation formed the basis for Not Dead Yet's organizational development. Although the removal of life support has not been the basis for contentious actions for many years, it seems to be coming to the fore again as a contentious issue at this time.

The situation in regard to assisted suicide is somewhat parallel to the abortion rights versus right-to-life countermovement situation (Meyer and Staggenborg, 1996). There is the same sort of terminological debate, with supporters calling the issue "the right to die" and opponents calling it "assisted suicide." The terminological debate has reached the point where names used by the groups do not actually communicate their position. Both sides attempt to frame the debate in terms of compassion. One group, called "Physicians for Compassionate Care," opposes assisted suicide, while another group called "Compassion in Dying" favors the right to physician-assisted suicide (Goode, 1999).

There has been one protest that was a clear instance of countermovement tactics. This occurred on January 24, 1998, and was organized by members of Not Dead Yet and a number of other organizations, including ADAPT, the ARC, and the Denver and Boulder Centers for Independent Living. In this action the protesters took over the national offices of the Hemlock Society, which supports assisted suicide, and proceeded to chant slogans such as "We can't live with your lies" until some protesters were arrested for trespassing (Young, 1998b).

People with impairments are not the only players opposing assisted suicide, and Not Dead Yet is not the only group opposing it. But it is an instance of the coalescing of a disability issue, about which there have been contentious political actions, with a nondisability issue. This fusion of issues would seem to portend more contentious political actions in the future.

International Protests

Contentious action by people with impairments has not been limited to the United States. There have been protest actions in other countries since at least 1973, and those incidents are apparently becoming more common. The database used for this book includes sixty-six incidents of protests that did not occur in the United States. The locations of the protests ranged from an early one in India in 1980, to more recent protests in Korea, Thailand, Somalia, Israel, Cuba, Italy, and South Africa. The countries with the most protests logged in our database were the United Kingdom and Canada, but that probably represents the number of English language newspapers available to the authors than it does the actual number of protests.

Foreign protests were rare before 1980. Between 1980 and 1993 there were a handful almost every year. Since 1994, there have been protests every year, with the peak years being 1994, when there were thirteen protests, and 1999, when there were ten. Although we are sure that these numbers do not reflect all of the protests, we suspect that the pattern resembles reality. In the foreign protests, the largest number of demands were cross-disability related, although substantial proportions were related to visual impairments and deafness. About 36 percent of the protest demands were related to rights, 50 percent were related to services, and 14 percent were related to other types of issues; these protests were more tilted toward services-related demands than the American protests. It is likely that the numbers of protests outside of the United States will also increase. E-mail and the World Wide Web have the potential to spread awareness of the American situation, including the ADA, a law that most countries do not have an equivalent for.

Academia

Despite the notion that scientific research in all fields is value-free, academic research and teaching are areas that are often affected by contentious and noncontentious political action. The causal direction of the relationship between social movements and academic research and teaching is neither completely clear nor unidirectional. Calls from social movement advocates for new perspectives and research have clearly tended to accompany social movements in recent decades. On the other hand, existing research is also used by those advocates to bolster ideological positions.

With the rise of the civil rights movement came black studies, with the rise of the women's movements came women's studies, and with the rise of the gay movement came "queer theory." Similarly, the social movements among people with impairments have been accompanied by the development of disability studies and deaf studies, respectively, as well as the development of what advocates see as a new research methodology more appropriate for studies of people with impairments than older research methods have been. Although there has been research, and courses have been taught in both of these areas, they have tended to be either in departments of physical therapy, rehabilitation, or education; they were courses that mostly came from a medical model of disability; and they focused on training students for careers in rehabilitation, physical or occupational therapy, or special education. The new

fields being developed are meant to be stand-alone departments located within colleges of arts and sciences or humanities.

Disability Studies

Although research that did not come from a medical model of disability has been done for several decades, it is only recently that a model of disability other than that of the medical model has been taken seriously. When the environment was included in early research, it was seen either as an epidemiological factor contributing to the severity of disability (Wan, 1974) or as the disadvantage that the disability created for the individual in the social context (Wood, 1980). The Nagi (1965, 1969) conception of disability, which was discussed in the introduction to this book, has challenged the medical model of disability, which sees disability as being primarily a medical condition in need of remediation. There have been limited numbers of presentation or publication opportunities for research done from such a model. The first change in this situation occurred with the formation in 1982 of a section within a regional social science association (the Western Social Science Association) called the Society for the Study of Chronic Illness, Impairment and Disability (SCIID). In 1987, that section split off and became its own professional association named the Society for Disability Studies (SDS). Although at the beginning SDS kept to its roots as a social science organization, it has recently expanded its focus to include humanities approaches to disability studies.

Journals that used a nonmedical perspective on disability did not appear until the late 1980s or early 1990s. *Disability, Handicap and Society* (now known as *Disability and Society*) began publication in 1986, followed by the *Journal of Disability Policy Studies* in 1990. Prior to the inauguration of these journals, most research on disability issues found outlets in medical journals; in journals related to specific disabilities, such as the *American Annals of the Deaf,* the *Journal of Visual Impairment and Blindness,* or the *American Journal of Mental Retardation*; or in books or edited volumes (e.g., Albrecht, 1976). Much of the research produced between the late 1960s and early 1980s was focused on individuals and their adjustment to the dependency status. Psychologists, social psychologists, and sociologists were concerned about psychological adjustment to, and coping with, impairment; morale and motivation in rehabilitation settings; and levels of social support in the family and community. Research that *appeared* to touch on environmental components of disability in this early period included the study of the attitudes of peers, employers, and others toward persons with disabilities. In the 1990s there has been a burgeoning of research in areas including demography and epidemiology of disability, and in conceptualizing, defining, and measuring disability. Analytical research has moved away from health and policy areas, expanding into topics rarely examined earlier such as voting behavior, abuse, and violence (Altman and Barnartt, 2000).

Although SDS was formed more than a decade ago, it is only recently that disability studies is beginning to be institutionalized. Disability studies courses are offered in over 100 colleges and universities (Kasnitz et al., 2000). Recently, master's- and doctoral-level training programs in disability studies have been established, and

books identifying themselves with the field and perspective of disability studies are being published in areas as disparate as sociology and literary criticism (Monaghan, 1998).

Deaf Studies

Parallel to what is happening in disability studies, there has been a movement within the deaf community to promote deaf studies. Kelly (1998) directly attributes the growth of deaf studies to the models in other areas influenced by social movements such as black studies, women's studies, and other cultural studies in America that came into being after a certain kind of social consciousness was raised. For African Americans, a history of oppression in America was the impetus. For women, being denied equal opportunities brought forth a new wave of feminists. The societal status as "the other" was the major thrust for the birth and growth of most other cultural studies, including Chicano/a studies and gay and lesbian studies. Likewise, the field of deaf studies was engendered by social consciousness.

At Gallaudet University, it was possible prior to 1988 and DPN to minor in deaf studies. As noted earlier, the development of a major in deaf studies and a separate department of deaf studies occurred after DPN. Many universities offer courses relating to deafness as well as sign language courses that can count toward a language requirement.

Controversies in Disability and Deaf Studies

Who Can Work in These Fields

We noted in chapter 4 that controversies about who is "_____ enough" to represent potential beneficiaries in the contentious actions are beginning to show up in relation to protests. Analogously, one of the controversies involving these two new fields is who is "deaf enough" or "disabled enough" to teach or do research. A number of articles have been published recently that discuss this issue (e.g., Cassuto, 1999; Darling, 2000). One outcome may be that these questions will become fodder for the contentious action "grist mill."[2]

Participatory Action Research

A final development related to protests by people with impairments is the call for a new research methodology. This call seems to arise from a past that has included two problems. One is the abuse of people with impairments for research purposes and the other is the use of the outmoded and, activists hope, obsolete frame for studying impairment and disability.

There have been ethical problems in the use of people with impairments as research subjects, some of which parallel problems that have existed for many years in research and some of which do not. In general, it has only been in the past decade or so that ethical safeguards such as informed consent, voluntary participation, and lack of harm have been in place for researchers in fields from medicine to sociology (Babbie,

1998). People without impairments were certainly affected. Abuses were widespread and severe; they included everything from using license plates to trace men observed in homosexual encounters to causing psychological breakdowns by showing people that they had the potential to kill someone else for the sake of an experiment.[3]

Abuses for the purposes of research, such as the Tuskegee Study, certainly suggest that researchers felt free to take advantage of minority groups.[4] One example of an alleged abuse of people with impairments showed up in a 1972 protest by parents concerning the use of their children with developmental disabilities for research on the hepatitis virus (Schmeck, 1972). Abuses such as this, in which people were used as research subjects without their or their parents' knowledge or consent, are one reason for the call for a new research methodology in which people with impairments are explicitly given power.

The other motivation for this call for a new research methodology is that researchers in rehabilitation and disability, as well as in social sciences, have tended to use the medical model to guide their research. As mentioned previously, much of the research conducted between the late 1960s and early 1980s in psychology and sociology was focused on individuals and their adjustment to the dependency status. Economists focused on topics such as evaluating the structures and functions of public disability programs like worker's compensation and social security, studying the economic costs of vocational rehabilitation or of particular types of disability such as mental retardation, and determining the effects of disability on the labor supply (Altman and Barnartt, 2000).

Demands for participatory action research are demands to rectify the models used, the research questions asked, and the vocabulary used, as well as to stop ethical abuses. People with impairments are demanding a say in what and how research is done. They are demanding control over how their bodies and their minds are used in research. They are also attempting to wrest control from people who do not understand disability or who do not share their interpretation of it. They want a say in the questions asked as well as the analyses that are done. The most radical take the position that no one who does not have an impairment can understand the situation of people who do, and, therefore, people without impairments should not do research related to disability. People who are somewhat less radical recognize that there are not enough trained researchers with impairments to conduct the research. They demand more training programs, more funding, and whatever else is needed to permit more students with impairments to be trained as researchers.

Similar demands have been made in other social movements. And, in fact, the politicization of research is an increasingly common demand in, and consequence of, social movement activity.[5] Demands made within the various disability movements are similar to demands for "feminist research," which led to the publication of books such as *Feminist Methods in Social Research* (Reinharz, 1992), and concerns about the inclusion of race in research, which led to the publication of books such as *Race and Ethnicity in Research Methods* (Stanfield and Dennis, eds. 1993). Again, although these demands have not yet shown up as the subjects for contentious action, they have shown up in the AIDS and breast cancer movements, so it is not out of the question that at some point in the not-too-distant future, they will.

NOTES

1. That framing difference posed the methodological issue of whether these protests should be included in the database or not. Ultimately, the decision was made not to include them.

2. Although there have been deafness-related protests about the need for deaf personnel in residential schools and colleges, none have been related to teaching deaf studies and none have been related to the question of whether someone is "deaf enough." In those protests, being deaf, as opposed to being hearing, was "deaf enough."

3. See any textbook in research methods in social sciences, such as Babbie (1998), for more extensive discussion of these and other abuses.

4. For forty years, from 1932 to 1972, the U.S. Public Health Service (PHS) deceived 399 black men in the late stages of syphilis as part of an experiment designed to follow the natural progression of the disease in African American men. These men, for the most part illiterate sharecroppers from one of the poorest counties in Alabama, were told they were being treated for "bad blood," and given aspirin rather than the usual treatment for syphilis. Their doctors had no intention of curing them at all. Autopsies of the men were to yield the data for the experiment, and they were thus allowed to degenerate under the ravages of the late stages of syphilis, which can include tumors, paralysis, blindness, insanity, and death.

5. The AIDS movement and the breast cancer movements in the United States are prime examples of these contentions.

10

Conclusion: Against All Odds and Contrary to the Conventional Wisdom

This book has shown that, despite predictions it would not happen, there have been a substantial number of protests related to disability since 1970. Those, along with other types of actions such as lawsuits, petitions, and lobbying, form one or more social movements. This book has also shown that some of the patterns that characterize the protests differ from the rhetoric used by activists.

A number of factors came together in the late 1960s and early 1970s that made protests by people with impairments possible. These included increasing numbers of people with impairments, especially younger people who were more likely than older people to protest; increasingly common interactions among people with impairments because of the increased number of potential meeting places; a track record of successful protests by other groups protesting other issues; an increasing legitimation of protest as an acceptable political tool; a frame into which disability demands might be fit; increases in the possibility of a feeling of relative deprivation compared to other minority groups; and, early in the 1970s, some very specific grievances, including the introduction of the Rehabilitation Act into Congress, its passage, the failure of the Nixon administration to appropriate money for it, and then the failure of the Nixon and Carter administrations to finalize the regulations necessary for it actually to happen.

Those factors probably provided the initial push for protests to begin. Other factors were important in the continuation of the protests after the 1977 protests. These included an early success; increasing perceptions of discrimination and relative deprivation compared to other minority groups; the extension of the frame of civil rights to groups in addition to blacks and women; the beginning of the development of multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations; and the increasing frequency of protests, both in the United States and elsewhere.

The rate and number of protests escalated over the years, with the highest numbers of protests occurring in the late 1980s and 1990s. There were a number of factors that permitted that to happen. One was an organization (ADAPT) that used the tactics of disruptive contentious action visibly and increasingly frequently. There were

two successes that also spurred protest activity, although for different reasons: the Deaf President Now protest and the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act. The former contributed another clear success to add to the track record, while the latter contributed both the possibility of a revolution of rising expectations and a set of new issues, those related to enforcement of the ADA. The development of multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations was extremely important, because such organizations began to solve one of the toughest mobilization problems faced by people with impairments: that of the diverse nature of impairment and the resulting lack of commonality that people with various impairments face.

That protests continued to increase after the ADA shows the ability of the protesting groups to adapt to changing circumstances. When an issue vacuum formed because an issue that had been the subject of many protests was taken care of, at least on paper, by the ADA, other issues rose to take its place. Some of those issues were related to enforcement, but many were not. Because this was not a one-issue social movement (like the protests against the Vietnam War, for example), there was much more flexibility to develop new issues or to turn previously noncontentious issues into contentious ones. The rhetoric surrounding people with impairments became more diffuse, as did the protest issues. Now there are issues such as telethons, assisted suicide, the availability of TDD-accessible 911 emergency phone numbers, and captioning of videos for home usage. None of these issues had been the subject of protests prior to 1990. Other issues, such as portrayals—which had been the subject of a few protests but were more often the subject of noncontentious actions—also became the subjects of protests.

Thus, protests related to issues of interest to people with impairments have continued to flourish in the 1990s. On a number of indicators, in addition to their issues, they have become more heterogeneous. These indicators include protest targets, protesting organizations, and the types of impairments represented by the issues, the organizations or the protesters themselves. They have diffused geographically, also. They have also begun to attract less attention from agents of formal social control such as police, but they have begun to attract the attention of newspapers of more localized scope than they had in earlier decades.

There are a number of ways in which these protests have defied both the rhetoric of the deaf and disability communities and also what those communities treat as conventional wisdom. The protests do not focus primarily upon disability rights, but, rather, are more likely to be related to services. Although the largest single category of demands relates to issues of accessibility and discrimination, the protests are more likely to focus on the two categories of demands related to monetary issues or demands related to characteristics of services than they are to focus on accessibility issues. Additionally, there are not large numbers of protests that fit the rubric of "independent living" apart from other issues. Thus, it is also clear that the "new paradigm of disability" has made significant inroads into the disability movement consciousness, and that issues that represent the paradigm shift represent only a substantial minority, rather than a majority, of protest issues.

The growth in numbers of protests also has not been because of increased cross-disability organizing; rather, although cross-disability protests form the largest single

category of protest, they do not form a majority of protests. Rather, there have continued to be sizeable numbers of impairment-specific protests. These protests differ substantially from each other as well as from cross-disability protests. Most specific types of impairments, including deafness, have been the subjects of protests since the early 1970s; exceptions are impairments such as learning disabilities or multiple sclerosis, which were not the subjects of protests until more recently. Within the deaf community, the notion that the Deaf President Now protest was the first contentious political action is incorrect. The specificity of issues seen in the impairment-specific protests has the important function of drawing in people who can relate to those specific issues, whether or not they feel themselves to be disabled or to have an identity as a disabled person. These protests may serve to expand the base of potential beneficiaries to whom impairment-specific issues may appeal and thereby expand the pool of potential beneficiaries who are "at risk" of being turned into adherents for the cross-disability movement.

The notion that ADAPT is the most active player in the protest arena is correct, but ADAPT has never conducted the majority of protests. Rather, it has provided a model for types of organizations as well as for types of actions. Its organizational type, that of a multiple-impairment, single-issue organization, has been emulated (consciously or not) by other organizations. Its successes provided tactical models as well as, most likely, inspiration, both for new organizations and newly protesting older organizations.

Even the notion that the disability rights movement originated in California has been shown to be somewhat suspect. While a number of the earliest protests occurred there, not all did. And, although California was the state in which the largest numbers of protests occurred, only about 10 percent of the protests occurred there.

Finally, this book has shown that protests relating to impairment are not dying out; rather, they are become more frequent, more heterogeneous, and more diffuse. The cycle of protest is not finished, and it may not have peaked. This is true in the United States and is even truer outside of this country, where there has been more diffusion of contentious politics worldwide than has been shown here (see, for example, Barnartt, 2001a).

Being too diffuse can mean putting more pressure on larger numbers of targets, or it can mean being spread so thin that the effectiveness of the pressure diminishes. With protests that are increasing in size and duration, as well as the other trends discussed here, we see social movement expansion rather than decline. However, we also have seen decreases in societal responsiveness. If this indicates that protesters are "spinning their wheels," the cycle of protest may begin its decline. When or if the "power in movement" is lost, it will be important for the disability community to have political unity. If contentious action loses its power, institutionalized politics is likely to take it place. The players in these contentious actions will need to become, or train others to become, players in that type of action. This will be necessary if the successes that have already been won by the contentious actions described here, as well as contemporaneous noncontentious actions, are not to be lost and continue to emerge.

Appendix A: List of Acronyms

ACB	American Council for the Blind
ACCD	American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
ACT-UP	AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power
ADAPT	formerly Americans Disabled for Public Transit, now Americans Disabled for Attendant Services Today
APA	American Psychiatric Association
APTA	American Public Transit Association
ARC	Association for Retarded Citizens
CIL	Center for Independent Living
CORE	Congress of Racial Equality
DIA	Disabled in Action
DPLF	Disabled People's Liberation Front
DPN	Deaf President Now
DREDF	Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund
HEW	Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
ILC	Independent Living Center
LCCR	Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
LPH	League for the Physically Handicapped
NAC	National Accreditation Council for Agencies Serving the Blind and Handicapped
NAD	National Association of the Deaf
NDY	Not Dead Yet
NFB	National Federation of the Blind
NOW	National Organization for Women
NTID	National Technical Institute for the Deaf
NWP	National Women's Party
OSERS	Office of Special Education and Rehabilitation Services
PCEH	President's Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped
PVA	Paralyzed Veterans of America
RIT	Rochester Institute of Technology
SCI	Support Coalition International
SCIID	Society for the Study of Chronic Illness, Impairment and Disability
SDS	Society for Disability Studies
TASH	The Association for the Severely Handicapped

Appendix B: Methodology

In this appendix we explain in detail how the data reported in this book were collected. We also explain the basis on which some decisions regarding categorization and data analysis were made. These decisions are important because they determine the scope of the book. Understanding these decisions permits the reader to know what is included in this book and what is not. The decisions about the operationalizations (measurements) of the variables used here set the limits about what the data reported in this book can tell us and what they cannot.

BASIC METHODOLOGY

The methodology used to gather and analyze the data for all chapters of this book except chapter 3 is called event-history analysis (Olzak, 1989). In this methodology, the unit of analysis is the protest event. This means that we did not collect systematic data on specific people or their attitudes. Rather, we collected information about instances of contentious political action that fit the conceptual definitions described in our introduction and elucidated in this appendix. Reports of protests were collected primarily from mainstream newspapers, but information was also gathered from books, newspapers, and magazines published within or about the deaf and disability communities, from electronic news lists in which protest events were discussed, and from World Wide Web sites of organizations involved in protests. In most cases, information about protests mentioned in these sources was also located in a newspaper for the relevant city. This was done so that sources of bias could be reduced and sources of information kept as consistent as possible. Based upon the information gathered, each incident of collective action was coded according to a number of variables. Data were entered into an SPSS/Windows system file for analysis. In total, 745 protest incidents were identified and used in the analyses presented here. These protests do not include AIDS protests that focused on gay and lesbian issues, although they do include AIDS protests that focused on impairment-related issues (when these were reported in prior chapters, they were referred to as "other impairments"). Media reports about AIDS protests were also collected for the years 1989 through 1996. Although the 161 AIDS-related cases that comprise that database are less comprehensive than the data on disability protests, comparable analyses were reported in some instances. Information was also collected on some protests that occurred outside the United States, and instances of celebrations were also collected. These data were not included in our analysis unless so noted.[1] There were a number of rules that were followed about whether a case of protest was to be included or not.

First, the protests had to have been discussed in the past tense. That is, newspaper articles that discussed protests planned for some future time (usually tomorrow or next week) were not included unless we could also find a report of the actual occurrence.[2] We eliminated reports about future protests in order to ensure some level of accuracy about actual events rather than projected events. Usually information about projected events came from an organizational sponsor trying to get publicity and motivate and mobilize participants; it is not the same as a report of a finished event. In addition, it is possible that some protests that were announced in advance did not happen. This could be because not enough people came, and so the action was a failure. Alternatively, it could be because the threat of a protest galvanized the opposition into giving in to the demand that sparked the threat. This apparently happens frequently with strikes, but it is unknown what proportion of other types of contentious actions might achieve their goal simply by being announced.

Second, the protests included here were either conducted by people with disabilities or involved an issue specifically identified as being of importance to people with disabilities. Some of the early protests were conducted by conscience constituents, such as parents, rather than by the potential beneficiaries (Altman and Barnartt, 1993). Although Dwybad (1990) suggests that the parent protests were part of a different social movement, we are including them under the purview of protests, but are considering the type of participant to be one variable.

We did not choose to identify disability-related protests by whether the participants themselves had an impairment because, as noted previously, some protests were about disability issues but were carried out by people who did not themselves have impairments. These people may have been family members, educators, or conscience constituents, people who cared about disability-related issues for a variety of reasons. Rather, we identified protests as being relevant to this study by the types of issues being protested. The issue itself had to be related to disability. How, then does one set limits on the types of issues that can be considered to be disability issues? As with all the variables discussed here, limits were set, and lines were drawn, which sometimes were very fine lines, indeed. Issues that were important to the lives of people who generally were considered to have a impairment, such as people who use wheelchairs, people who have impairments of hearing, sight, or learning capabilities, were easy to categorize: They were disability issues. But what about issues being protested by breast cancer survivors, people with AIDS or leprosy, or people who were obese? Some of these could be eliminated based upon strictures mentioned below, such as being related to fundraising or self-help. If, however, the protests were related, for example, to disability benefits and they fit the other criteria discussed below, they were included.

The third stricture was that the event had to be contentious action. "Drawing the boundaries [for contentious actions] both generously and consistently is a delicate and laborious task" (Tilly, 1978: 275). We have attempted to define the operational boundaries in such a way that they are consistent with the conceptualization of contentious political action discussed in our introduction, so that they make clear the boundaries we are using, and so that the decision rules we have set can be applied consistently. Finally, we have attempted to set up these rules so that someone else could replicate these analyses.

The definition of contentious political action presented in the introduction specified that these actions were non-normative, and their supporters were demanding social change. As we noted, social movements conduct contentious actions as well as other types of actions that do not fall within these boundaries. The data used for this book include only those events that fall within the definitional boundary of contentious political action. Although some authors consider celebrations to fall within the scope of social movement actions, we did not include them for analysis because they are not contentious. The actions that fit this definition were contentious in that they were demanding something. They were also non-normative, in that they fall outside of what is accepted by our political culture and social structure. Thus, an action such as a news conference, even one that announces opposition to a policy or position held by the powers that be, would not be considered a non-normative action, even though the content might be oppositional. Nor are petitions, lobbying, letter-writing campaigns, or voter registration drives included, because all of these are accepted parts of the American political process.[3] Normative actions, even if contentious, do not fall within the definition of contentious political action.

In using this strategy, we are presenting work that differs from that of authors such as Tilly (1978), who considered any action that presents visible claims against governmental powers to be included under the rubric of contentious political action. Finally, contentious political action must be demanding social change rather than change at the individual or familial level, and it must apply to more than an individual or familial situation.

Two other strictures were placed upon the types of actions included. One is that the action could not *only* be related to self-help. (If they *also* had a self-help component, that was not coded.) This is a very important limitation. There are many organizations whose focus is on disability or people with impairments. Some of these are self-help organizations. Such organizations attempt to empower their members, but they do not do it by political means, and they do not always do it explicitly or even consciously (Katz, 1993: 31). We did not include or acknowledge a very large number of such organizations because their goals and actions do not fit with the subject of this book.

The other stricture placed upon the action is that it could not only be related to fundraising. Another group of disability-related organizations exists to provide help *for* people with disabilities, and much of their activity consists of fundraising.[4] The money they raise may be used for medical research into the condition, for publications about the condition, or (sometimes) for direct assistance to people with those conditions. Although the results of such activities may benefit some people with some impairments at some times and places, because they are primarily run by people without impairments for purposes sometimes at odds with the wishes of people with impairments, using methods, such as telethons, that people with impairments despise, they cannot be included here.[5]

The fifth rule was related to numbers of participants. One operationalization decision that had to be made was exactly what constituted *collective* contentious political action. How many people are necessary in order for an event to qualify as collective? Scholars of social movements themselves do not agree. One scholar (McPhail, 1991: 159) says two or more persons working together constitute collective action, while

another indicates that ten or more are needed (Tilly, 1978: 277). We used the more liberal definition of two or more people.

Individual protests are not included in the database, although there have been many instances of individual impairment-related protests about social injustices. For example, in 1977 a man named Timothy Flanagan rolled his wheelchair down the middle of a street in Washington, D.C., and then held up traffic in an underground garage in an attempt to publicize the inaccessibility of the (then) new subway system in that city (Bonner, 1977). Other individual protests included a deaf man who claimed he defrauded the Social Security Administration of $400,000 as a protest on behalf of all people with disabilities (Becklund, 1991). Another man began a trip from Los Angeles to Washington, D.C., in a motorized wheelchair to protest the marriage penalty that exists for Social Security benefits (Haley, 1991). In none of those cases were the protesters identified as being members or even representative of a social movement organization.

Individual protests do not fall within the realm of contentious political action. But individual protests can be non-normative political protests whose goals are to encourage social change. It is also true that individual protests arise out of the same sorts of frustrations with, or anger about, situations as do those protests that we are considering to be contentious political actions. The people who conducted the individual protests just mentioned had not yet transformed their frustration or anger into the type of collective consciousness necessary for contentious political action. Instead, they either thought their problem was an individual one or that the solution(s) would occur on a case-by-case basis. In the future, they may very well engage in collective actions that have the same targets as their individual actions but did not do so in the instances cited here. Individual protests can help to produce social change in some of the same ways that collective protests can, but because they do not fit the definition of contentious political action being used here, they cannot be included in the database.

Searching Procedures/Sources

The research for this book is based upon reports from many newspapers and some other sources. Newspaper articles were located through searches of two types of indices. One procedure searched four computerized newspaper databases. One database of newspaper abstracts, accessible through the library system of the Washington, D.C., area consortium of universities, covered the period from 1989 to the end of 1999. It included abstracts for articles from twenty-five newspapers, primarily from major American cities, as well as some international newspapers.[6] Another database of newspaper article abstracts, accessed from the Library of Congress, covered some of those same newspapers from 1986 to 1988. A third database, also accessed from the Library of Congress, included actual articles from four newspapers not included in the previous databases. These newspapers are the *Baltimore Sun* (1991–1995), the *Arizona Republic/Phoenix Gazette* (1990–1995), the *Dallas Morning News* (1985–1995), and the *Washington Times* (1990–1995). A fourth database, also accessed from the Library of Congress, included abstracts of articles from over one hundred smaller regional newspapers for the years 1996 and 1997.

Another procedure involved the search (by hand) of print indices for the period from 1970 to 1989 for four newspapers that are considered to have a large circulation, to be of national scope, or both. The two newspapers of national scope were the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times,* which are frequently used by social movements researchers precisely because of their coverage (Kielbowicz and Scherer, 1986). The *Los Angeles Times* was considered important because of its large circulation and pervasive influence within the newspaper world (Van Driel and Richardson, 1988). The fourth newspaper is the *San Francisco Chronicle.* That newspaper was chosen in part because San Francisco has been thought to be the birthplace of the disability movement and because of its reputation as having a high incidence of countercultural activities (Van Driel and Richardson, 1988).

In the computerized searches, many key words and combinations of key words were used. The primary combination used "protest," "rally," "demonstration," or "arrest" *and* "handicapped," "disabled," "disability," "deaf," "deafness," "blind, "blindness," "retarded," "retardation," "mental illness," "mental health," "psychiatry," "wheelchair," "telethon," "independent living," "assisted suicide," or "cochlear implant." In the print searches, primary topics were "handicapped," "deaf," "blind," "mental retardation," and "mental illness." In the print indices, searches of listings under "demonstrations" or "protests" almost never turned up a listing that was not also cross-listed under the disability type, which was not true of the computerized searches.

OPERATIONALIZING THE VARIABLES

In this section we discuss how the variables used in this study were defined for the purposes of this book—what are called in research terms "operational definitions." One might think that this is simply academic nitpicking and is not important. But, by making these distinctions, we can be clear about exactly what we included in this book as well as what was beyond the scope of this book. In addition, the operationalizations helped us think more clearly about the theoretical distinctions being made, in an iterative process in which the theories help us to operationalize the variables and then the operationalizations help us refine and specify the theories (Babbie, 1998).

Here we discuss any of the variables reported in previous chapters about which there might be questions about reliability or validity.[7] We are not attempting to report the specific categories. In most cases, those have been indicated in chapter 4.[8] Here we are commenting on issues that arose as the work was being done.

Categories were established in two ways. They were initially derived from knowledge of aspects of the collective consciousness of the deaf and disability communities, as reported in chapter 2, as well as from knowledge of previous research in social movements. Subsequent categories were established as needed. This occurred if, in a report of a protest, it became clear that the protest had a characteristic that did not fit into the existing categories of the variable. In that situation, a new category would be established that encompassed that protest. Thus categories for the variables were established both deductively and inductively. When new categories were established, it was necessary to go back and recategorize completed cases in order to ensure

consistency. This occurred when, for example, the categories of "restaurant," "store or mall," and "hotel," which had previously been subsumed under the less-specific category of "public, nongovernmental building," were added.

Date

The date used was the one on which the newspaper account of the protest occurred. Usually this meant the date of the actual protest was off by one day, because most newspaper reports discuss events that occurred "yesterday."

Location

Protest locations were coded in several ways. First, up to three variables for the type of location were coded. In this case, as in other variables, if all three variables were not needed, the extra variables were coded as missing. For each variable, a protest could be coded to indicate whether or not it was held inside or outside. Protest locations were also coded as to the specific city, state, and country in which they occurred.

Protest Size

Two variables were created to indicate the size of the protest—one that indicated a minimum estimate and one that indicated a maximum estimate. This was done because of the large numbers of problems that exist in crowd estimation. If an exact number was given, that was entered into both the minimum and maximum crowd size variables. If a crowd estimate was not given in the article, both the minimum and the maximum numbers of participants were coded as missing. Sometimes a minimum number could be estimated from an accompanying picture. If a picture was included in the article about the protest, the number of protesters shown in the picture was taken to indicate the minimum number of protesters, but the maximum number of participants was coded as missing.

Words that newspaper reporters used to report crowd size, such as "dozens" or "scores," complicated our ability to estimate the numbers of protesters. In response, we developed number estimates to go with the newspaper terminology: These included a "handful" (= six), "dozens" (= twenty-four to thirty-six), "scores" (= sixty), "several" (= two), "a band of" (= eight), and "a group of" (= eight to ten).

Type of Impairment Demand

Two variables indicated which type or types of disabilities were related to the demands made in the protest. The coding decision was based both upon the types of protesters and the types of protest demand involved, but not on the type of organization, which was dealt with separately. A judgment was made, based upon these two pieces of information, about the impairment group(s) to which the demand was most likely to relate. For example, protests around residential schools for deaf children, or at a university for deaf students, occurred around issues of interest primarily to deaf

people, as did protests around issues such as sign language or the availability of captioned videos. In these cases, the impairment-related demand was coded as "deafness." Protests around the qualifications of an accrediting board that dealt only with schools for blind children were of interest primarily to blind people and so were coded as being "blindness-related." Protests around closing or downsizing a mental hospital were of interest primarily to patients, former patients, and their family members, and so were coded as being related to psychiatric impairments. In all of the cases that were coded as relating to a specific type of impairment, the protest appeared to be of primary interest to people with that one type of impairment.[9]

If a demand was related to many or most types of impairments, it would have been coded as "cross-disability," following the terminology used by Longmore (1997) and J. Young (1998a). In those cases, the second impairment-related variable was coded as "missing." For example, in the Rehabilitation Act protests in 1977, the issue had the potential to affect all people with all types of impairments. In addition, most of the newspaper accounts, as well as accounts by Johnson (1983) and Treanor (1993), indicate that the protesters (usually described as being deaf, blind, wheelchair users, and others) came from many impairment groups. Thus, both the issue and the types of protesters were cross-disability.

In those cases in which it was clear that two, but only two, different types of impairments were at issue, the second variable was coded, using the same categories as used for the first variable. For example, if a protest concerned funds for caretakers for children who were developmentally disabled, autistic, or had other types of impairments, two variables would be coded—one as "developmental disability" and one as "other."

The type of impairment issue cannot be assumed to be the same as the type of protesters. Frequently the newspaper articles would refer to "protesters in wheelchairs," even though the issue was related to personal assistance or home health care. In cases such as this, the type of impairment was not coded to represent the characteristics of the protesters but rather to represent the type of demand being made. Type of protester was not used as a sole indicator for "type of issue," because it seems unlikely that newspaper reporters indicate this reliably enough.[10]

Tactics

Up to three tactics were coded for each protest event; all three variables were needed for most protests. For example, a simple demonstration tended to be coded as (1) a march with (2) chanting and (3) displaying signs or posters. Sometimes three variables were not enough. Especially in the longer protests, many types of actions occurred. One example of that would be the Deaf President Now protest. Tactics used included a takeover and lockout (of the campus), a boycott (of classes), several protest marches and rallies, chanting, and displaying (posters), among others. In that case, the decision was made about which three tactics most clearly described or represented the actions that occurred. In the case of DPN, the decision was to include "takeover or lockout," "march or rally," and "displaying anything." In total, the list of tactics coded included almost fifty different types of tactics, ranging from a protest march,

demonstration, or picketing, to writing graffiti, interrupting anything (usually a meeting), candlelight or other types of vigils, and robbing a bank.

Targets

The type of target toward which the protesters addressed their demands was usually clear from the media coverage of the protest. In a few cases it was not, and then decisions were made as to the most likely target. Only one variable was created for targets. In a few cases, it seemed likely that there were two or more targets; in those cases, the major target was chosen. Usually the major target was not "the public," because we assumed that all protests intend to increase public awareness of an issue; that category was only chosen when the public was clearly the target of the protest.

Protest Demands

Up to two categories of demand were coded for each protest. The categories were designed to cover general aspects of the issue around which the protest was focused, according to the newspaper reports. Most protests had only one demand coded because the major demand was clearly related to one area. Others, however, seemed to have two clearly different demands, so each was coded. The only situation in which including variables was automatic was in the case of services. Any protest whose demands related to services had two demands included. These two demands were the characteristics of the service(s) and the types of service(s). Thus, it is possible to know both what the complaint was and what type of service the complaint referred to (this double counting was taken into consideration in subsequent calculations).

In several places we reported protest demands that had been reduced to three categories: those related to civil rights, those related to services, and all others. There is some inaccuracy in these categories. Not all demands related to laws were related to rights, and not all demands about workers' jobs were related to the delivery of services. Also, there are several other specific categories that might have been subsumed into the category of rights but were not. These included political statements or positions and policies. The reason they were not included is that they could refer to political positions or policies related to rights, services, or other issues that fit neither category.

Types of Participants

Variables were created to indicate categories of participants. This is a situation in which the reliability of the media reports is extremely suspect. Obviously, people who attracted the attention of the reporters were more likely to be mentioned than were people who did not attract their attention. Because of this, the results related to these variables were not thought to be extremely reliable.

Supporters and Coalition Partners

Several variables were created to indicate whether or not the protest had outside support or was enacted as part of a coalition with other types of protesters. One variable

indicated whether there was a nondisability group that participated in the protest. This variable was concerned with a group that was either participating as an identified group or participating as an identified contingent of similar people. It was separate from the variables about types of participants previously mentioned. Sometimes these groups were associated with other social movements, such as the feminist movement or the civil rights movement. In other cases they were simply other types of protesters. They had to have been identified in the news coverage as being part of, or representing, a group in order to be included here. This means that if one nondisabled woman was mentioned as having participated in the protest, she would have been coded as a "nondisabled adult," whereas a group of gay men identified as such would have been coded under that variable.

Sources of Information

Eight newspapers were coded specifically. These included the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Denver Post*, and the *Atlanta Journal/Constitution*. Other newspapers were simply indicated as "other newspaper," and other types of sources were coded as "other, non-newspaper." These sources included e-mails, web sites, magazine articles, and electronic distribution lists. Because only two sources were coded, and because some protests were identified by more than two sources, a variable was created to indicate how many sources had been located for the protests. Thus, the number of sources was coded, from "1" to "5 or more."

MISSING VALUES

Although the total number of protests included in the database is 745, not all cases include information on all variables. One reason is that media reports do not always include all of the types of information coded here. In fact, the degree to which media reports varied from one newspaper to another was striking. One newspaper might give the exact times for an event's beginning and ending, while another would include many participants' names but not times or places.

Another reason for missing data, however, was a decision we made in order to counteract the likelihood of underestimation of the numbers of protests. In any article that indicated that other protests were also held (usually on the same day), all instances were coded. If an article said that "Protesters . . . joined hundreds of others organized nationwide last week in more than a dozen cities" (Burson, 1989), all of the other protests that already existed in the database would be identified. If all twelve had not been identified, cases would have been created that just included the date and any other available information. This frequently included the organizing group, especially if ADAPT was involved. All other variables would be coded as missing, until more information about those protests could be identified. Sometimes it could not be, and so the majority of the variables would have been coded as being missing.

On all tables the number of cases is reported *for that variable* rather than for the entire database. Thus, each table indicates the number of cases (N) for that table only,

and the percentages reported are based upon that N rather than the total N unless otherwise noted.

STATISTICAL ANALYSES

In this book we report only relatively simple statistical analyses. These analyses are primarily frequencies and cross-tabulations. Statistical measures of association have to be appropriate for the level of measurement of the variables. This necessitated the use of the chi square test. This statistical test primarily tells us the extent to which the distributions of the variables for several groups differ from what might be expected by chance. A chi square result cannot be interpreted as indicating either the strength of association or the direction; it simply tells the probability with which the results differ from chance. It also cannot be interpreted to imply causality in any way. The probability can be read from the significance level: Thus, for example, a table that indicates that "significance level = <.00001" means that there is less than one chance in 10,000 that these results might have been chance (i.e., random) results. In other words, there is a very large chance that differences seen do not result from chance but reflect real differences between the groups or time periods being compared. Significance levels of less than .05, meaning that there are five chances out of one hundred that the results occurred by chance and do not reflect real differences, are considered by statisticians to be acceptable. We have not reported any chi square tests that had a significance level like that.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Numbers of Protests

The database contains 745 incidents of protest. This number is larger than other quantitative investigations of social movement actions. Tilly (1978: 247), for example, included about 400 cases for his intensive analysis of a thirty-year period, but we are examining almost double the number of cases for the same number of years. All researchers who use media-related data would agree, however, that it is very likely that *any* number of protests, no matter how large, that are identified through newspaper searches would underestimate the true number of actions in which any social movement engaged. We agree, and we are sure that this number of protests underestimates the true prevalence of disability protests in the thirty years considered here. Because the number of protests included is sufficiently large, any amount of underestimation would have to be extremely large in order to invalidate the *patterns* of results presented here. When results are based upon well over 700 cases, any single overlooked case would change a given percentage by less than 0.15 percent, or less than one-seventh of one percentage point. It would take seven cases *in the same category* of one variable in order to change any result by 1 percent. Thus, it would require many additional cases, in the same category of one variable, to begin to change the patterns of results reported here. *Patterns* of relationships can be accurate even when the numerical differences are not exact, because relationships among variables change much more slowly than do the variables themselves (Davis, 1984).

We argue that the analyses presented in this book are likely to represent patterns that would be seen in the entire set of protests carried out by all people with impairments, if that set were knowable. The patterns being presented here are likely to be true even if the numbers of cases or percentage distributions may not be exact.

Representativeness

A large amount of evidence shows convincingly that media reports substantially underrepresent the actual number of protests occurring in a time period. McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith (1996) showed this by comparing the numbers of protests covered by the media—including television news programs and newspapers—to numbers of protests for which police permits were obtained. However, some event-history analyses have been based only upon analysis of one newspaper, the *New York Times* (Olzak, 1989). The fact that the data for this study come from many newspapers, as well as from data sources other than newspapers, increases the likelihood that protests were located.

The *Denver Post* was the newspaper with the most frequent coverage of protests. Only about 6 percent of the media reports came from the *New York Times*, and another 6.5 percent came from the *Washington Post*. Almost 11 percent came from the *Denver Post*, almost 9 percent came from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, and over 8 percent came from the *Boston Globe*. About 5 percent came from the *Los Angeles Times*, and 4 percent or less came from the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* and the *Chicago Tribune*. Over 30 percent of the reports came from other newspapers, and about 15 percent came from non-newspaper sources such as books, magazines, e-mails, or web pages.[11]

Frequently protests in one city were located through newspapers in another city. Over 85 percent of the protests identified by the searching procedures used here were covered by only one source, and less than 9 percent were covered by two. Thus, it is clear that the use of many newspapers, as well as several types of non-newspaper sources, identifies substantially more contentious political actions than are identified by using one newspaper or even a small number of newspapers. The fact that the protests in this data set cover almost all states might counter the objection that these data represent just those protests that fall into the "catchment areas" of the newspapers examined. Clearly, this is not the case, because newspapers cover stories that do not occur in their local area.

It would make sense to suggest that newspaper coverage is biased toward more disruptive protests—those that are longer, larger, and more violent (McCarthy, McPhail, and Smith, 1996; Snyder and Kelly, 1977). After all, their job is to sell newspapers. It is clear, however, that the data set accumulated here does not share that bias. As noted in chapter 4, less than one-third of the protests included in our database were coded as being disruptive, based upon the tactics used. Other information presented in chapter 4 also supports the notion that many of the protests covered were small, localized events. We would argue that the extensive searching, the use of many newspapers, the use of other sources, and the use of information published by or about some of the major social movement organizations have produced a data set that is less prone to a bias toward disruptiveness than were the databases those scholars used. In addition, it is clear that the use of sources other than one or two national newspapers substantially

ncreased the numbers of protest events included and decreased the degree of under-epresentation that would have existed if we had not done so.

Mueller (1997) suggests that there is an inverse relationship between protest size ınd likelihood of being covered by news media, and she suggests that protests with ess than 1,000 participants are extremely unlikely to be covered. If she is correct, the esults reported in chapter 4, related to the sizes of the protests, are somewhat sur-ɔrising. Our data set includes reports of only twenty-seven protests that involved 1,000 or more protesters, but includes information on more than 700 smaller protests. The statistical relationships (correlations) between the measure of the numbers of participants and the numbers of newspaper reports is extremely weak, although in the predicted direction and statistically significant. In contrast, the correlation between duration of a protest and number of newspaper reports is negligible. This does suggest that media coverage is related to the sizes of protests, although perhaps not in the ways Mueller would lead us to expect.

This discussion makes us wonder if something other than size or duration made these protests newsworthy, as the majority were covered by at least one newspaper. Christiansen and Barnartt (1995) suggest that there were a number of factors that led to the large amount of media interest in the Deaf President Now protest. These included the reporters' own backgrounds as protesters, the (perceived) novelty of seeing deaf protesters, the fact that the protesters were so attractive, the type of issue being protested (what was seen as being a civil rights issue), the location of the protest (in the nation's capital), the David and Goliath aspect of the protest, and because support of the protest by reporters and other hearing people cost them nothing. It is clear that some of these factors may be at work in coverage of other protests, but few of them coincide in many other protests. It does seem that this raises questions about Mueller's contention and is an area for future research.

We must be careful in interpreting the results reported in this book. The events used in our database cannot be considered a true sample of all contentious political actions held during the time period designated. The term *sample* suggests that some degree of statistical rigor was used in its identification. A statistically appropriate sample exists only when the parts of the sample have been selected in a systematic way, so that every element in the population has an equal chance of being selected. This requires that the sample be drawn from a clearly defined population (of people, events, or other types of units of analysis). If such procedures were used, the sample can be said to represent the population, and degrees of possible error can be identified. In our study, the total population of protest events is not known and is probably unknowable. To what extent the protests reported here estimate that unknowable population is also not known, so the data presented here cannot in any way be considered to be a *sample* of all protests that took place from 1970 to 1999.

How Are Collective Actions Distinguished from Each Other?

One of the trickiest issues in operationalizing the concept of contentious political action is determining whether a series of actions should be considered to be one

action or several. McPhail (1991: 159, emphasis added) notes that, "It is not uncommon for several *separate* sequences of collective behavior to occur simultaneously within a large gathering." We also found that to be true.

Groups would often carry out simultaneous actions or would carry out one action on the heels of a prior action. An example of this can be seen in two protests carried out in New York City in 1972, after President Nixon had vetoed the Rehabilitation Act. In the first action, protesters, after having had a rally in front of a federal building, moved to block an intersection in an area of the city and at a time of day when it had little impact. Shortly thereafter they blocked a major intersection at rush hour, which had much more impact and got them much more publicity (*New York Times,* 1972).

Another example occurred recently in Washington, D.C. From May 9 to 13, 1999, protesters carried out a series of actions that included a takeover of the offices of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, several marches, several rallies including one on the steps of the U.S. Supreme Court building and one at the main entrance of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and a takeover of offices of the National Governor's Association (Spayd, 1999; Fay, 1999a, 1999b).

So how do we define the boundaries of one action? Were the two incidents described above one protest or more? Social movement scholars do not agree about this. Tilly (1978: 250) defined a continuous action as one in which the same people were involved over a period of time. He suggests that two protests can be considered to be the same event if they happen on the same day or consecutive days and have a personnel overlap of 10 percent or more of the smaller event. Most of the information used for this study is not good enough to be able to know *how many* people were overlapping, so we had to use information about organizational sponsorship or leaders. Thus, if the organization was the same or the leaders were the same in several consecutive protests, we assumed that they were part of the same event.

Because of our inability to identify continuous personnel, we established a set of decision rules in order to define whether there was one action or more than one being conducted based upon timing and proximity. If an action occurred over a period of days or weeks but was conducted (apparently) by the same members of the same group, about the same issue, in the same place (or in continuous places or actions), then it is seen as one event. Examples of such situations are the Deaf President Now protest and the Rehabilitation Act protests in San Francisco; both were conducted over a period of days, but the personnel remained basically the same and the issues did not change. An example that comes from the AIDS movement is a tent city erected in San Francisco. This tent city, known as the AIDS vigil, was erected in the United Nations Plaza in San Francisco and continued for over ten years. At its height it is estimated to have had twenty activists living there. Newspaper reports (Matier and Ross, 1995; Ybarra, 1995) indicate that not all who lived in the tent city were AIDS protesters, but its purpose never wavered, and so it can still be considered to be one protest. In these examples, continuity is an important determinant of whether an action is considered to be one unified action even if it spans days, weeks, or months.

Even a situation in which two or more protests were conducted by the same group about the same issue but in different places and using different tactics on

consecutive days would still considered to be the same event. An example of this (one of many) would be a protest held in Atlanta at the end of September 1989. In this situation the same group (ADAPT) protested the same issue (transportation accessibility) over several days. The protest was aimed at APTA (the American Public Transit Association) and occurred during one of that association's annual meetings (as did many other ADAPT protests). Several different tactics were used over the course of three days. These included a protest march, a building takeover, and a bus blocking. They also occurred in several different places: the conference hotel, a federal building, streets, and the Greyhound bus station. But because of the continuity of personnel, the basic issue, and the fact that all actions occurred in a sequence, these events were considered to be one protest for purposes of data analysis.

Marwell and Oliver (1984: 12) have distinguished between single collective events and collective campaigns, which they see as being "an aggregate of collective events or activities that appear to be oriented toward some relatively specific goal or good and that occur within some proximity in space and time." We used this definition as a guide for situations in which a protest is not an isolated collective event but is linked to other events. In that case it was coded as being linked to another protest or as part of a campaign. Some protests in close temporal proximity are not considered to be one protest but part of a campaign. If two or more protests were conducted in the same city by different groups of people, even if all are members of the same organization, at different places, at approximately the same time, and about the same issue, they were considered to be separate protests but part of a campaign. Also, if a series of protests was held at different places but with reference to one another, we also considered it to be a campaign. An example of such a campaign would be the protest conducted by ADAPT about the accessibility of Greyhound buses. In 1988 and 1997 there were protests in a large number of cities across the nation on the same day. The protests in regard to the Rehabilitation Act form another example. Included as part of that campaign are the additional protests in Washington, D.C., carried out by some of the protesters from the takeover of the HEW building in San Francisco, as well as the protests in the other cities on the first day of the San Francisco siege. It must be noted that the number of protests that are linked is not the same as the number of campaigns because there was no indication of how many other protests any single protest linked to.

CONCLUSION

There is no question that this study has methodological problems. All research does. However, this study is the first one to use event-history analysis of disability protest events rather than subjective and retrospective reports by protesters or protest leaders. We have attempted to indicate the areas in which we feel problems are most likely to arise because of the nature of the data sources, searching procedures used, or operationalization decisions. We hope that future researchers will take this information as a basis for their own investigations of the same subject.

NOTES

1. Celebrations are an important type of social movement activity, especially for recruitment, but they do not fit the definition of contentious political action being used here.

2. This rule served to underestimate the actual numbers of protests, but articles about planned protests tended to include only information about the issue to be protested and, sometimes, about the sponsoring organization. Thus, most of the variables would have been coded as "missing" anyway, so not much information was lost by not including the planned protest data.

3. There are some situations in which such tactics might be non-normative and so might be considered to be contentious political action. For example, in the South before the civil rights movement really got off the ground, voter registration drives were non-normative (Payne, 1995). Those drives, as well as the related education campaigns to get black voters able to pass the literacy tests required for voter registration, were some of the initial actions taken by the movement as part of Freedom Summer (McAdam, 1988). But they are not non-normative in the current context.

4. Because the help is provided for, rather than with, people with disabilities, these organizations are viewed as being paternalistic, if not worse, by many people in the deaf and disability communities.

5. It must be noted that issues related to fundraising can become contentious. This has been seen in the gay community, which made funding for AIDS research a political priority and the subject of much contentious political action. That action was quite successful in increasing the amount of money allocated by the federal government for AIDS-related research. More recently, the breast cancer movement has explicitly attempted to copy these tactics in the hopes of achieving similar results (*Time,* 1993).

6. This database no longer exists.

7. Reliability is a determination of whether a measurement is likely to give the same results in a different sample or time period. Validity is a determination of whether a measurement is "true" or at least truly represents the concept at issue.

8. In a few cases, for example, if a category of a variable only showed up in one or a few protests, the categories were combined or reported as being "other."

9. Doing this permitted us to analyze patterns related to specific impairment-related issues. It should not obscure the argument that even protests around an issue most relevant to people with one type of impairment are of interest to people with any type of impairments. That is, all protests are about the empowerment of people with disabilities, so every successful protest empowers all. To some extent, this is true. But, as we showed in chapter 8, it may not have been as true as Zola (1992) thought.

10. For one thing, journalists were likely to report the most types of impairments by the presence of obvious equipment, such as wheelchairs. For another, they may not have known what types of impairments the protesters had, as many are invisible.

11. It should be noted that e-mail and web-based sources were considered secondary. This means that they were coded as secondary. A newspaper source was always coded as the first source; however, web and e-mail sources sometimes pointed to protests whose coverage in newspapers could then be found more easily.

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Index

Note: Page numbers in italics indicate photographs.

abortion, 138n. 4
acacemia, 217–19
ACB. *See* American Council of the Blind
ACCD. *See* American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities
accessibility: architectural, 38; blindness-related protest demands, 118; communication, 39–40; cost issues, 55n. 5; environmental, 40; frequency of protest demands, 69, 70, 75; mobility-related protest demands, 116; transportation, 38–39
accessibility protests: rise in numbers of, 143
ACLU. *See* American Civil Liberties Union
action mobilization, 210
activists: spillover effects and, 23. *See also* deaf activism; disability activism
ACT-UP, 103, 171
ADA. *See* Americans with Disabilities Act
ADAPT. *See* Americans Disabled for Accessible Public Transit; Americans Disabled for Attendant Programs Today
African National Congress, 162
AIDS protests, 68, 85, 87, 103
Air Carrier Access Act of 1986, 118
airlines, 51–52, 118
almshouses, 3–4, 6, 9
Alumni Association of California Schools for the Blind, 9–10
American Annals of the Deaf, 7, 218
American Association of People with Disabilities, 108n. 14
American Association of Workers for the Blind, 9
American Athletic Association of the Deaf, 8
American Blind People's Higher Education and General Improvement Association, 9
American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 92
American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities (ACCD), 62, 64, 97, 164, 195
American Council of the Blind (ACB), 95, 164, 181
American Disabled for Accessible Public Transit (ADAPT), *84*, 95, *127*, 138n. 2, 222, 224; assisted suicide protests and, 216; Wade Blank and, 23; change of name and mission, 97, 182; disruptive protests and, 133; effects of ADA passage on, 181–83; founding of, 60; funding-related demands, 114–15; Greyhound Bus protests, 87, 141; influence on disability protests, 155–56; involvement in cross-disability protests, 130, 133; levels of protest activity, 68, 97, 130, 143, 151; mobility-related protests, 130, 131, 133, 146; personal assistance services and, 97, 182, 184; transportation accessibility protests, 87, 97, 130, 141, 143, 181–82, 183
American Disabled for Attendant Programs Today (ADAPT), 97, 182
American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, 11
American Journal of Mental Retardation, 218
American Professional Society of the Deaf, 8
American Sign Language (ASL), 27, 49, 51, 195
American Society for Deaf Children, 135
Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), 110, 159n. 4, 223; Deaf President Now protest and, 193, 207, 213n. 4; effects on disability protests, 174–88; frame extension of civil rights and, 173–74; future protests and, 215; impact on political opportunity structure, 149–50; impairment-specific disability issues and, 146; Leadership Conference on Civil Rights on, 24; passage of, 143, 169, 171; problems with, 172–73; protest demands regarding, 75; recent judicial attacks on, 190; scope and intent of, 172; success-related outcomes, 188–89; as victory for disability community, 173

antibiotics, 14
Anti-Insane Asylum Society, 10
ARC. *See* Association for Retarded Citizens
architectural accessibility, 38
Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board, 26, 166
Architectural Barriers Act, 26, 166
arrests: at disability protests, 102–3, 131, 133, 157, 159, 187
ASL. *See* American Sign Language
assisted suicide, 45, 87, 97, 99, 143, 215–16
Association for Retarded Children, 16
Association for Retarded Citizens (ARC), 97, 99, 169, 216
The Association for the Severely Handicapped (TASH), 97, 99, 153, 181
asylums, 9
Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 175
Atlantis Community, 60, 68, 133
audism, xx

"Baby Doe" regulations, 142, 143
Beers, Clifford, 10
Bell, Alexander Graham, 8–9
Berkeley Center for Independent Living. *See* centers for independent living
bi-lingual—bi-cultural movement, 48, 195
"Bill of Rights for the Blind," 16
Black Panthers, 24, 166
blacks: equal employment opportunity, 41; status and, xviii–xix; Tuskegee Study, 220, 221n. 4
Blank, Wade, 23, 60
Blinded Veterans Association, 14
blindness community: activism in, 119; common social space, 58–59; development of oppositional consciousness, 16–17; history of, 5–6, 9–10, 11, 14; workers in the Middle Ages, 29n. 8
blindness-related demands: collective demands, 51–52; protest demands, 116–19, 124, 147, 178
Boston Globe, 175
Boston Women's Health Collective, 20
Bouvia, Elizabeth, 143, 216
Bowe, Frank, 164, 165, 195
Braille systems, 9
Brown v. Board of Education, 25
bus companies. *See* Greyhound Bus Company
Bush, George, Sr., 143, 197
business: as targets of disability protests, 87
bus stations, 87
bystander public, 93–94

Califano, Joseph, 164, 165, 166, 167
California, 67, 68, 168
campaigns, 81–82, 156
captioning decoders, 159n. 2
Carter, Jimmy, 142, 164
Case About Amy, A (Smith), 78
centers for independent living (CILs), 30n. 18, 42, 58, 59, 61, 166, 216
Cerebral Palsy Society of New York, 16
Chamberlin, Judi, 53
Chicago Tribune, 141, 175
children: in protests, 100; socialization and disability, xvii–xviii
Children's Defense Fund, 164
Christopher B. Alsbrook v. City of Maumelle, Arkansas, 190
Civil Rights Act of 1866, 7
Civil Rights Act of 1964, 18–19, 25–26, 30n. 22
civil rights movement: conjunction of old and new social movements in, 33; disability rights movement and, 17–21, 23–24; frame extensions, 18–20, 33–41, 173–74, 201; frame modification, 35–36; schisms in, 111, 136; symbols and, 21; tactics, 21; women's movement and, 18–19, 23
civil rights organizations: ADA passage and, 171
Civil War, 7
Clinton, Bill, 46, 65
coalitions, 89–93, 186
cochlear implants, 51
Coelho, Tony, 171
collective action: deaf community and, 193, 194–95, 196–97; effects on mobilization, 104–5; facilitating conditions, 2–3; free-rider problem, 191n. 4; in Italy, 107n. 6
collective action frames, 17–18
collective behavior, xii
collective consciousness: delineation of group boundaries and, 31–32; development in disability community, 13, 14–15, 174; effects of ADA passage on, 174; frames concept, 17–20; oppositional, 31; "the personal is political," 31; relative deprivation and, 28; social movements and, xiv, 31
Colorado, 67, 68

Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 8, 126
Commission on Standards and Accreditation of Services for the Blind (COMSTAC), 52
Committee Against Psychiatric Oppression, 107n. 12
communication accessibility: Americans with Disabilities Act and, 146; civil rights demands, 39–40; cost issues, 55n. 5; deaf community and, 39–40, 48–49; federal laws affecting, 159n. 2; protest demands regarding, 75
companies. *See* business
Compassion in Dying, 216
Comprehensive Services and Developmental Disability Amendments, 167
COMSTAC. *See* Commission on Standards and Accreditation of Services for the Blind
Concerned Rail Corridor Riders, 97, 153
Concrete Change, 97, 153, 181
Congress: funding of Gallaudet University, 213n. 10; passage of ADA and, 171
Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 23
conscience constituents: ADA passage and, 171; defined, 18; in disability protests, 100–101; frame stripping and, 33; Rehabilitation Act and, 166
consensus formation, 209
consensus mobilization, 209–10
contentious political actions: collective consciousness and, xiv; defined, xiii; discrepancies between rhetoric and protests, 77–78, 105–6; dispersion of, 144; effects of success on subsequent actions, 161–63; e-mail and, 214–15; emerging issues, 215–16; external (societal) responses to, 102–3; facilitating conditions, 2–3; future increases in, 214–20; mobilization and, 66–67; oppositional consciousness and, 31; protests, xv; social movements and, xiii–xiv; success-related characteristics, 78–102; Vietnam War protests, 24. *See also* deafness-related protests; disability protests
contentious politics: defined, xiii
CORE. *See* Congress of Racial Equality
countermovements, 134, 138n. 4, 215, 216
Crammatte, Alan, 27
cross-disability, xxv
cross-disability demands: analysis by category, 124; on assisted suicide, 45; categories of, 113–15; changes by decade, 145, 146; comparison to impairment-specific demands, 122; on disability culture, 46, 48; in disability protests, 68; effects of ADA passage on, 178, 179, 180; new social movement demands, 32, 42–44; old social movement demands, 32, 33–42; on portrayals of disability, 45–46; on telethons, 46
cross-disability organizations, 59, 97, 99, 153
cross-disability protests: comparison to impairment-specific protests, 124–34, 135–36; deaf community leaders in, 195; disruptive, 130–31, 155; effects of success on subsequent actions, 161; following Rehabilitation Act protests, 168; levels of success, 133; organizational involvement, 128–33; protest demands in, 113–15; protest linkages, 156; targets of, 126–27. *See also* Rehabilitation Act protests
curb cuts, 40
Cuyahoga County Council for the Retarded Child, 13

Dart, Justin, *22*, 23, 135, 193
DCARA News, 202
deaf activism: disability movement and, 134–35; symbols and tactics, 21. *See also* Deaf President Now protest; disability activism
Deaf applause, 208–9
Deaf Awareness Week, 202
deaf community: ADA and, 169, 171; advancements in education and employment, 27, 194; American Sign Language and, 27, 49, 51, 195; barriers to deaf people, xx; Alexander Graham Bell and, 8–9; bi-lingual—bi-cultural movement, 195; collective action and, 193, 194–95, 196–97; collective consciousness and, 13, 193–96; common social space, 59, 194; communication accessibility and, 39–40, 48–49; divisions in, 196; education issues, 42, 50–51, 195–96; effects of Deaf President Now protest on, 201–7, 208–12; employment and workplace discrimination, 49, 194; federal laws affecting, 159n. 2; frame extension from civil rights, 20, 201; history of, 4, 5–7, 8–9, 12, 13, 193–96; lack of political participation, 138n. 5, 211; leaders in cross-disability protests, 195; as linguistic minority, xxi, 49, 196, 211; Milan Congress and, 8, 9, 13, 27; mobilization of, 209–11; opponents of cochlear implants, 51; sign language and, 5–6, 13, 27, 49, 51, 195;

deaf community *(Continued)*:
social movement within, 48; split with disability community, 49, 212; TTY and TDD technology, 26–27
deaf education: controversial issues in, 42, 50–51, 195–96; effects of Deaf President Now protest on, 204–6; protest demands, 119
Deaf movement, 48–51
Deaf Mute, The, 8
Deaf Mutes Union League of New York, 8
deafness: as physical condition, xx; as secondary condition, xxvin. 8; shared features with disability, xix–xx
deafness-related demands: of deaf community, 48–51; effects of ADA passage on, 178; effects of Deaf President Now protest on, 203–7; protest demands, 119, 146
deafness-related protests: characteristics of, 135; diffusion following Deaf President Now protest, 208–9; effects of Deaf President Now protest on, 202–3; levels of success, 133; locations of, 205; low levels of organizational involvement, 130; prior to Deaf President Now protest, 196–97; targets of, 127, 205
Deaf Power movement, 194, 208, 209
Deaf President Now (DPN) protest, 141, *198*, *200*, 223, 224; ADA and, 171, 193, 207, 213n. 4; bystander support and, 93–94; bystander sympathy in, 79; civil rights activists and, 24; compared to Rehabilitation Act protests, 192–93; disability community and, 134–35, 193, 211; the Ducks in, 201; effects on deaf community, 201–7; events of, 197, 199–201; frame extension from civil rights, 201; influence on disability activism, 143; lack of effect on nondeaf disability protests, 207–8; lasting symbolic visibility of, 201–2; media coverage of, 79, 213n. 3; mobilization of deaf community, 209–11; protest diffusion in deaf community and, 208–9; symbols in, 21
Deaf Pride movement, 194
deaf schools: deafness-related protests at, 205; in Europe, 4; residential, 6–7, 50–51, 127, 195–96; sign language and, 5–6. *See also* deaf education; Gallaudet University
deaf studies, 219
deaf women: hierarchy of status and, xxvin. 7
Decoder Circuitry Act, 159n. 2
deinstitutionalization, 16, 54
Denver Post, 175
Department of Health and Human Services protests, *158*
developmental disabilities, xxv; collective demands, 53–54; protest demands, 120–22, 147; protests related to, 127, 135. *See also* mentally retarded
DIA. *See* Disabled in Action
disability: deafness and, xix–xx; definitions of, xv–xix, xxiv; dimensions of and variability in, xv–xviii, 109; frame stripping of traditional understandings, 34–35; IOM model of, xxiii–xxv; literacy and, 5; medical model of, 15, 34, 46; personal identity and, xxvi; reframing, 36, 38, 174; similarities with race and gender, xviii–xix; socialization and, xvii–xviii; variability in societal reactions to, xviii
Disability, Handicap and Society, 218
disability activism: activists, 23; changes in political opportunity structure and, 143; disability community divisions and, 137–38; influence of Deaf President Now protest on, 143; symbols, 21; tactics, 21. *See also* deaf activism; disability protests
Disability and Society, 218
disability community: advancements in education and employment, 27–28; common social space, 58–61; Deaf President Now protest and, 193, 211; development of collective consciousness, 13, 14–15, 174; development of oppositional consciousness, 16–17; lack of political participation, 138n. 5; legal changes in the 1960s, 25–26; medical advancements and, 26; medical model of disability, 15, 34, 46; networks, 61–63; periodicals and journals, 63, 218; prejudice between impairment groups, 110; relative deprivation and, 11–12, 28–29; role models, 12–13; spillover effects from social movements of the 1960s, 20–24; split with deaf community, 49, 212; technology advancements and, 26–27; variable nature of disability solutions and, 111–13. *See also* disability movement
disability consciousness: development of political protest and, 57. *See also* collective consciousness
disability costs: frame modification and, 35–36
disability culture, 46, 48

disability history: colonial era, 3–4; early twentieth century, 10–14; nineteenth century, 5–10
disability legislation, 25–26, 190–91n. 1. *See also* American with Disabilities Act; Rehabilitation Act
disability movement: basis for formation and mobilization, 57; common social space, 58–61; comparison of impairment-specific and cross-disability protests in, 124–34, 135–36; cross-disability nature of, 109; deaf activism and, 134–35; discrepancies between rhetoric and contentious action, 77–78, 105–6; early reports and commentaries on, 141–42; funding, 64; interactions with federal agencies, 64–65; issue of unity and, 109–10, 134–35, 136–38; networks, 61–63; periodicals and journals, 63, 218; prejudice between impairment groups, 110; resources for political activity, 63–65. *See also* disability community
disability organizations: changes over time, 151–53; development of collective consciousness and, 14–15; disability-specific, 95; history of, 8, 9, 11, 14; involvement in protests, 94–100, 106, 128–33, 151–53, 180–84, 186; typology of, 95–97, 99–100, 151–53
disability protesters: effects of successful contentious actions on, 162; effects of the Rehabilitation Act protests on, 168; numbers of, 80–81, 154–55; plans for subsequent actions, 104–5; types of, 100–102
disability protests: analysis of changes by decade, 144–59; bystander support, 93–94; campaigns, 81–82, 156; changes in frequency over time, 140–44; coalition partners and, 89–93; comparisons of impairment-specific and cross-disability types, 124–34, 135–36; deaf activism and, 134–35; development of collective consciousness and, 13; disability community divisions and, 137–38; discrepancies between rhetoric and action, 77–78, 105–6; dispersion of contentious political actions and, 144; disruptiveness, 79–85 (*see also* protest disruptiveness); duration of, 79–80, 153–54; effects of ADA passage on, 174–88; external (societal) responses to, 102–3, 130–31, 133, 157–59, 168, 187–88; following Rehabilitation Act protests, 167–69; geographic distribution, 67–68, 168; historical overview, 222–23; influence of ADAPT on, 155–56; international, 217; interpreters in, 107n. 9; locations of, 87–89; media coverage, 63–64, 103; organizational involvement, 94–100, 106, 128–33, 151–53, 180–84, 186; outcomes, 106–7; plans for subsequent actions, 104–5; size of, 80–81, 154–55; summary of trends, 223–24; tactics, 82–83, 85, 155–56; targets, 85–87, 97–99, 124–28, 148–51, 184–86; trends of diffusion and heterogeneity in, 159; types of participants, 100–2. *See also* cross-disability protests; deafness-related protests; Deaf President Now protest; disability protest success; impairment-specific protests; mobility-related protests; protest demands; Rehabilitation Act protests
disability protest success, 133; ADA success-related outcomes, 188–89; effects on mobilization, 210; effects on subsequent contentious actions, 160–63, 188–90; evaluating, 104–5; lack of protest disruptiveness and, 106; levels of through time, 157, 159; Rehabilitation Act and, 163–64, 166–67, 188; "revolution in rising expectations" and, 162, 189; success-related characteristics, 78–102
Disability Rag, The, 63
Disability Rights Center, 164
Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund (DREDF), 169
disability rights movement: accessibility demands, 38–40; concerns of, 32; cross-disability protests and, 127; education demands, 41–42; equal opportunity demands, 40–41; frame extension of civil rights and, 17–20, 33–41; histories and studies of, xi; levels of activity through time, 148; spillover effects and, 20–21, 23–24; support from other movements, 23–24; Vietnam War and, 24. *See also* rights-related demands
disability solutions: variability between impairment groups, 111–13
disability studies, 218–19
Disabled American Veterans, 11, 13
Disabled in Action (DIA), 59, 61, 97
Disabled People's Liberation Army, 153
Disabled People's Liberation Front (DPLF), 97
disabled veterans: common social space, 58; GI bill, 27; history of, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 14, 16; long protests by, 79; Vietnam War and, 24

discrimination: deaf community and, 49, 194; protest demands regarding, 69, 70; sex discrimination, 189
Distinguished Service Award, 193
Dole, Robert, 171, 197
DPLF. *See* Disabled People's Liberation Front
DPN protest. *See* Deaf President Now protest
DREDF. *See* Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund
Ducks, the, 201
DuPont Corporation, 171
Dwybad, Gunnar, 23

Eastern Paralyzed Veterans, 58
education: deaf community protest demands, 119; disability community advancements, 27–28; equal opportunity and, 41; least restrictive environment, 41–42, 195; protest demands regarding, 70, 75–76. *See also* deaf education; mainstreaming
Education for All Handicapped Children Act, 13. *See also* Individual with Disabilities Education Act
electroshock treatments, 71, 119
e-mail, 214–15, 217
Emergency Relief Bureau, 13
employment discrimination: deaf community and, 49
employment opportunity, 41; blindness-related protest demands, 118–19; disability community advancements, 27–28; protest demands regarding, 75
empowerment: ADA passage and, 188–89
environmental accessibility, 40
equal opportunity: in education, 41–42; for people with impairments, 40. *See also* employment opportunity
Equal Pay Act, 25
Equal Rights Amendment, 163
eugenics movement, 29n. 12
event history analysis, xxii–xxiii
Executive Order 11246, 25, 26
executive orders, 30n. 22

Fair Labor Standards Act, 11, 30n. 24, 52, 119
families: in colonial era, 3, 4; as "the wise," 101
Fay, Fred, 164
FDR in a Chair Campaign, 97, 99, 153, 181
federal government: disability movement and, 64–65; funding of Gallaudet University, 213n. 10; as target of disability protests, 85, 86, 87, 126–27, 148–50, 184
feminism: schisms in, 111
Fiorito, Eunice, 62, 164
Firestone Tire company, 12
Formidable Peak, The (Crammatte), 27
frame extension: ADA and, 173–74; from civil rights movement, 18–20, 33–41, 173–74, 201; Deaf President Now protest and, 201
frame modification: ADA and, 174; of civil rights frame, 35–36; defined, 33
frames/framing, 17–20; e-mail and, 215
frame stripping: ADA and, 174; defined, 33; of traditional understandings of disability, 34–35
free-rider problem, 191n. 4
Friedlander Union, 9
functional limitation: defined, xxiii–xxiv
funding-related demands, 113–15, 120, 122. *See also* monetary demands

Gallaudet University: ADA and, 172; creation of, 8; Deaf President Now protest, 21, 197, *198*, 199–201, 202; deaf studies, 219; diffusion of protests from, 209; federal funding, 213n. 10; sports at, 29n. 10; strangulation death of protesting student, 209
Gallaudet University Alumni Association, 93
gay rights movement, 19, 30n. 21
gender: similarities to disability, xviii–xix
GI bill, 27
Gilliam, Dorothy, 24
Goodstein, Harvey, 203
Goodyear Tire company, 12
government: as target of disability protests, 85–87, 124–27, 148–50, 184, 186
Gray, Boyden, 171
Greyhound Bus Company, 87, 126, *132*, 141, 143, 171
Gulf War, 171
Gunderson, Steve, 202

Hacker, Helen, 18
handicappism, xx
Harkin, Tom, 171, 202
Health, Education, and Welfare Department, U.S., 24, 164–66
hearing impairments. *See* deafness
Hemlock Society, 215, 216

Heumann, Judy, 15, 28, 58, 59, *60*, 61–62, 64, 135, 164
Hidden Minority, The (Kleinfeld), 141

IBM Corporation, 171
IDEA. *See* Individual with Disabilities Education Act
identity politics, 32
ideology, xiv, xxvn. 2. *See also* collective consciousness
ILCs. *See* independent living centers
impairment: defined, xxiii; IOM model of, xxiv–xxv
impairment groups: lack of political participation, 138n. 5; prejudice between, 110; variable nature of disability solutions and, 111–13
impairment rates: following World War II, 14; increased longevity and, 10–11; Industrial Revolution and, 5; in late nineteenth century, 7–8
impairment-specific demands: analysis by category, 122–24; blindness-related, 116–19; changes by decade, 145–47; comparison to cross-disability demands, 122; deafness-related, 48–51, 119; effects of ADA passage on, 178, 179–80; mobility issues-related, 116; related to developmental disabilities, 120–22; related to psychiatric impairments, 119–20. *See also* impairment-specific protests
impairment-specific organizations, 95
impairment-specific protests: comparison to cross-disability protests, 124–34, 135–36; disruptive, 130, 131, 155; levels of success, 133; organizational involvement, 128–33; protest linkages, 156; targets of, 124–26, 127–28. *See also* Deaf President Now protest; impairment-specific demands
inclusion, 41
Independent Living Center at Berkeley. *See* centers for independent living
independent living centers (ILCs), 97, 99, 133; common social space and, 60–61; Rehabilitation Act and, 42, 166–67
independent living movement, 16, 30n. 18, 42–44, 148
Indiana School for the Deaf, 5
Individual with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), 75
"indoor relief," 29n. 6
Inouye, Daniel, 171
Insane Liberation Front, 107n. 12
institutionalization: demands related to, 54; history of, 6, 9, 15, 24–25; issues of abuse and death, 53–54; journalistic exposés of, 15–16; restrictions on individuals in, 42–43
International Association of Machinists, *92*
international disability protests, 217
International Federation of the Blind, 14
Internet, 63. *See also* e-mail; World Wide Web
interpreters: communication accessibility and, 39; deaf education and, 50; in disability protests, 107n. 9
Irons, Jeremy, 77
Irvin, Cass, 63
Italy, 107n. 6

Jackson, Jesse, 24, 94
Janitors for Justice protests, 103
Jernigan, Kenneth, 28, 51–52
Jerry's Orphans, 97, 99, 153, 180
Johnson, Mary, 63
Jordan, I. King, 49, 200
Journal of Disability Policy Studies, 218
Journal of Visual Impairment and Blindness, 218
journals and periodicals, 63, 218. *See also* media

Kaplan, Deborah, 164
Keller, Helen, 10
Kemp, Evan, 135
Kennedy, Edward, 171
Kennedy, John F., 25
Kent State University, xiv
Kevorkian, Jack, 45, 87
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 23, 81
Kopp, Glenn, 60
Korean War, 14

Labor Standards Act of 1966, 26
law-related demands: disability protests and, 69, 70, 75; effects of ADA passage on, 177
LCCR. *See* Leadership Conference on Civil Rights
Leadership Conference on Civil Rights (LCCR), 24, 171
League of the Physically Handicapped (LPH), 11, 13, 59
least restrictive environment, 41–42, 195
legal issues. *See* law-related demands
Lewis, Jerry, 77, 97, 115, 116

Lexington School for the Deaf, 205
life expectancy, 11
linguistic minority, deaf community as, xxi, 49, 196, 211
linked protests, 81–82, 156
literacy, 5
local governments: as target of disability protests, 85, 86, 124, 148, 150, 184
Los Angeles Times, 141, 175

Mainstream, 63
mainstreaming, 41, 78; deaf education and, 42, 50, 51, 195, 196; variability of benefits among impairment groups, 112
March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, 81
Marriott Corporation, 171
media: coverage of Deaf President Now protest, 213n. 3; coverage of disability protests, 63–64, 103, 175–77; coverage of successful social movements, 163; pre- and post-ADA coverages, 175–77. *See also* press
Medicaid, 43, 73, 74, 115
medical care: support payment demands, 43, 55n. 6
medical model of disability, 15, 34, 46
Medicare, 43, 73, 74, 115
medicine: antibiotics, 14; disability community and, 26; spinal cord injuries and, 29n. 16. *See also* medical model of disability
Memorial Day protests (1999), 141
mental health, 6, 10. *See also* psychiatric impairments; psychiatric survivors
mentally retarded: changing perceptions of, 24–25; deinstitutionalization, 16, 54; history of, 6, 9; parents' movement, 13, 16; in World War I and II, 12. *See also* developmental disabilities; institutionalization
Mental Patients' Liberation Alliance, *72*
Mental Patients' Liberation Front, 107n. 12
Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act, 25
Mexican War, 5
Middle Ages: blind workers, 29n. 8
Milan Congress, 8, 9, 13, 27
minority groups: defining, 55n. 4; reframing people with impairments as, 36, 38, 174. *See also* linguistic minority
Missouri School for the Blind, 9
mobility-related demands: changes over time, 146; disability protests and, 116, 124; effects of ADA passage on, 178
mobility-related protests: ADAPT and, 130, 131, 133, 146; characteristics of, 135; disruptiveness, 130; levels of organizational involvement in, 129, 131, 133; levels of success, 133; targets of, 126
mobilization: as consequence of collective action, 104–5; of deaf community, 209–11; e-mail and, 215; problems in, 66–67; process of, 209–10
monetary demands, 69, 70, 73–74, 113–15, 120, 122
mothers' marches, 29n. 14
Mouth, 63
multiple-impairment, multiple-issue organizations, 97, 99, 108n. 14
multiple-impairment, single-issue organizations, 95, 97, 99–100, 151–53, 153

NAC. *See* National Accreditation Council for Agencies Serving the Blind and Visually Handicapped
NAD. *See* National Association of the Deaf
National Accreditation Council for Agencies Serving the Blind and Visually Handicapped (NAC), 52, 117–18
National Association for Retarded Children, 23
National Association of Deaf-Mutes, 9
National Association of the Deaf (NAD), 8, 9, 59, 95, 169, 197
National Center for Law and the Deaf, 169
National Congress of the Jewish Deaf, 8
National Deaf-Mute College, 8
National Federation of the Blind (NFB), 95; on airline accessibility, 51–52; "Bill of Rights for the Blind," 16; coalitions and, 91; founding of, 11; NAC protests, 117–18; protests on jobs, 118–19; role in blindness community, 58–59; Washington Seminars, xxi
National Fraternal Society of the Deaf, 11
National Mental Health Foundation, 14
National Technical Institute for the Deaf, 205–6
National Wheelchair Basketball Association, 14
National Women's Party (NWP), 163
Neas, Ralph, 171
Network Against Psychiatric Assault, 107n. 12
networks, 61–63
New England Association of the Deaf, 59

New England Gallaudet Association of Deaf Mutes, 7
new social movements, xiii, 32, 55n. 2; demands of, 42–44. *See also* independent living movement
newspapers: deaf community and, 8. *See also* independent living movement
New York (state), 67, 68
New York Blind Aid Association, 9
New York Times, 141, 175, 213n. 3
New York Welfare League for Retarded Children, 13
NFB. *See* National Federation of the Blind 7
Nixon, Richard, 142
Not Dead Yet, 92, 97, *98*, 99, 153, 159n. 1, 181, 216
NWP. *See* National Women's Party

Office of Special Education and Rehabilitation Services (OSERS), 135
old social movements: accessibility demands, 38–40; concerns of, 32; education demands, 41–42; equal opportunity demands, 40–41; frame extension of civil rights and, 33–41. *See also* disability rights movement
Olmstead v. L. C. and E. W., 190
Open Housing Act, 25
Operation Rescue protests, 103
oppositional consciousness, 16–17
organizational change, 139
organizational density, 181, 184
O'Rourke, T. J., 164
OSERS. *See* Office of Special Education and Rehabilitation Services
"outdoor-relief," 3
Owen, Mary Jane, 23, 164

Packard, Elizabeth, 10
Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA), 14, 97, 169, 181
parents' movements, 13, 16
Parks, Rosa, 94
participatory action research, 219–20
pathology: defined, xxiii
patients' rights, 20, 53
PCEH. *See* President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped
PDSP. *See* Physically Disabled Student Program
penicillin, 14
periodicals and journals, 63, 218
Perkins School for the Blind, 6, 9
personal assistance services, 97, 182, 184
personal care attendants, 43
Physically Disabled Student Program (PDSP), 58
Physicians for Assisted Suicide, 216
Physicians for Compassionate Care, 216
Pimentel, Al, 164, 195
Plymouth Colony, 4
police: presence at disability protests, 102–3, 130–31, 133, 157–59, 187
polio, 11, 14, 29n. 14
political opportunity structure: changes in protest targets and, 150; disability activism and, 143; effects of successful contentious actions on, 162
portrayals of disability: demands regarding, 45–46, 77, 115–16; organizations targeting, 97, 99
potentially disabling condition: defined, xxiv
President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped (PCEH), 62, 164
President's Committee on National Employ the Handicapped Week, 14
President's Committee on the Employment of Persons with Disabilities, 62
President's Panel on Mental Retardation, 25
press: coverage of Deaf President Now protest, 213n. 3; coverage of disability protests pre- and post-ADA, 175–77; early reports on the disability movement, 141. *See also* disability rights movement
primary socialization, xvii–xviii
protest campaigns, 81–82, 156
protest demands: on accessibility, 69, 70, 75, 116, 118; in ADAPT-organized protests, 183; analysis of changes by decade, 145–48; blindness-related, 116–19, 124, 147, 178; comparisons of, 122–24; discrepancies between rhetoric and action, 77–78, 105–6; on education, 75–76; effects of ADA passage on, 177–80, 183–84; frequency distributions, 69–70; law-related, 69, 70, 75, 177; mobility-related, 116, 124, 146, 178; monetary, 69, 70, 73–74, 113–15, 120, 122; on portrayals of disability, 45–46, 77, 115–16; related to developmental disabilities, 120–22, 147; related to psychiatric impairments, 119–20, 147. *See also* cross-disability demands; deafness-related demands; impairment-specific demands; rights-related demands; services-related demands

protest disruptiveness: bystander public and, 93; changes over time, 153–59; comparisons between impairment-specific and cross-disability protests, 130–31; duration, 79–80, 153–54; lack of, disability protest success and, 106; police presence, 102–3, 130–31, 133, 157–59, 187; pre- and post-ADA, 187; protest campaigns, 81–82, 156; protest size and, 80–81, 154–55; tactics in, 82–83, 85, 155–56
protest marches, 82
protests: as contentious political actions, xv; defined, xiii. *See also* disability protests
protest symbols, 21, 208–9
protest tactics: changes over time, 155–56; disruptiveness and, 82–83, 85, 155–56; spillover effects, 21
protest targets: changes over time, 148–51; comparisons between impairment-specific and cross-disability protests, 124–28; of disability protests, 85–87, 97, 99; effects of ADA passage on, 184–86
psychiatric hospitals: journalistic exposés of, 15–16
psychiatric impairments: collective demands, 52–53; forced medication issues, 53, 56n. 14; organizations representing, 107n. 12; protest demands, 119–20, 147; protests related to, 133; targets of protests, 127
psychiatric survivors, 53; protest demands of, 71
psychosurgery, 53
Public Health Service, U.S.: Tuskegee Study, and, 221n. 4
PVA. *See* Paralyzed Veterans of America

Queer Nation, 103

race: similarities to disability, xviii–xix
Rag, The, 63
Ragged Edge, The, 63
Randolph Sheppard Act, 126
Reagan administration, 142–43
reframing: defined, 33–34; of disability, 36, 38, 174
Rehabilitation Act, 223; Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board, 26; impact of, 167; independent living centers and, 42, 166–67; Nixon and, 142; passage of, 164; sections of, 166
Rehabilitation Act protests, 75, *92*, *165*; deaf community leaders in, 195; Deaf President Now protest compared with, 192–93; disability community and organizational networks and, 62, 63; Disabled in Action and, 59; effects on protesters, 168; events of, 164–66; geographic distribution, 141; pattern of contentious actions following, 167–69; predictions on the effects of success in, 163–64; in San Francisco, 80, 141, 165–66; success-related outcomes, 188; type of success won by, 166–67
Rehabilitation Services Administration, 64
relative deprivation, 11–12, 28–29
research methodology: issues in, 219–20
residential schools, deaf, 6–7, 50–51, 127, 195–96
Revolutionary War, 4
"revolution in rising expectations," 162, 189
rights-related demands: analysis by impairment groups, 122–23; changes by decade, 147, 148; cross-disability protests and, 127; effect of ADA passage on, 177, 179, 180, 184. *See also* disability rights movement
Roberts, Ed, 23, 30n. 18, 42, 58, 61, 64, 166, 168
Rochester Institute of Technology, 205, 206
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 12–13, 46, 97

San Francisco, 168; Rehabilitation Act protests, 80, 141, 165–66
San Francisco Chronicle, 175
Saturday Evening Post, 25
schools for the impaired, 5–7. *See also* deaf schools
SCI. *See* Support Coalition International
SCIID. *See* Society for the Study of Chronic Illness, Impairment and Disability
SDS. *See* Society for Disability Studies
Section 504 protests. *See* Rehabilitation Act protests
security forces, 102, 103. *See also* police
services-related demands: analysis by impairment groups, 123–24; blindness-related protests and, 117–18; changes by decade, 147, 148; cross-disability protests and, 115; effects of ADA passage on, 177, 179, 180, 184; frequency of, 69, 70, 71; related to psychiatric impairments, 119, 120
sexual harassment, 189
sheltered workshops, 6, 11, 16, 30n. 24, 52, 119
Shriver, Eunice Kennedy, 25
sign language, 5–6, 13. *See also* American Sign Language

Silent Worker, 8, 9, 13, 29n. 11
single-impairment, multiple issue organizations, 95, 153
social changes, xiii
social control agents, 102, 103
socialization: disability and, xvii–xviii
social movements: academia and, 217; basis for formation and mobilization, 57; for blacks and women, xix; changes over time, 139; collective action frames, 17–18; collective consciousness and, xiv, 31; contentious politics and contentious political actions, xiii–xiv; defining membership in, 102; definitions of, xii–xiii; disunity in, 111; effects on successful contentious actions on, 161–63; e-mail and, 214–15; facilitating conditions, 2–3; frame modification, 33; frame stripping, 33; free-rider problem, 191n. 4; members of, xii; old and new, 32–33; oppositional consciousness and, 31; reframing, 33–34; of the 1960s, spillover effects, 20–24; social changes and, xiii
social movements organizations (SOMs), 111, 139
Social Security Act of 1935, 12
Social Security Administration protests, *113*
Social Security Disability Income (SSDI), 55n. 6, 73
Society for Disability Studies (SDS), 218
Society for the Study of Chronic Illness, Impairment and Disability (SCIID), 218
SOMs. *See* social movements organizations
South Africa, 161–62
Spain, 29n. 7
speech impaired: communication accessibility and, 39–40
spillover effects, 20–24
Spilman, Jane Bassett, 199, 213n. 8
spinal cord injuries, 29n. 16
SSDI. *See* Social Security Disability Income
SSI. *See* Supplemental Security Insurance
state governments: as target of disability protests, 85, 86, 124, 126, 148, 150, 184, 186
states' rights: ADA challenges and, 190
statues: cross-disability demands, 116
status, xviii–xix
stigmas: frame stripping and, 34; psychiatric impairments and, 52–53
Stokoe, William, 195
streptomycin, 14
"supercrip" stories, 46
Supplemental Security Insurance (SSI), 55n. 6, 73–74
Support Coalition International (SCI), 95, 153, 180
Supreme Court, U.S.: assisted suicide protests and, 215–16; challenges to ADA and, 190
symbols. *See* protest symbols

TABs. *See* temporarily able-bodied
TASH. *See* The Association for the Severely Handicapped
TDDs, 27, 39, 159n. 2
technology: disability community and, 26–27
Telecommunications Accessibility Enhancement Act, 159n. 2
Telephone Devices for the Deaf, 27
telethons, 59, 77, 87, 97, 99, 116, 143
teletypewriters (TTYs), 26–27
televisions: captioning decoders and, 159n. 2
temporarily able-bodied (TABs), xvi
tenBroek, Jacobus, 58
thalidomide, 14
Thornburgh, Richard, 171
"Tiny Tim" stories, 45–46
tire industry: deaf community and, 12
transportation accessibility: ADAPT-organized protests, 87, 97, 130, 141, 143, 181–82, 183; blind community and, 51–52, 118; civil rights demands, 38–39; equal employment opportunity and, 41; protest demands regarding, 75
TTYs. *See* teletypewriters
Tuskegee Study, 220, 221n. 4

United Cerebral Palsy Association, 59, 169
University of California, Berkeley, 58
University of Illinois, 16, 42

Vietnam War, 14, 24
visual impairments: collective demands, 51–52; protest demands, 116–19, 124, 147, 148. *See also* blindness; blindness community
Voices (film), 213n. 5
Voting Rights Act of 1965, 25

War of 1812, 5
Washington, D.C.: Deaf President Now protest, 197–201; disability protests in, 67, 68, 168; large protests in, 81; Rehabilitation Act protests 166; strangulation deaths of deaf persons, 209

Washington Association for Retarded Children, 13
Washington Post, 175, 213n. 3
Washington Seminars, xxi
We Are Not Alone, 14
Weicker, Lowell, 171
Weitbrecht, Robert, 26
wheelchair users: architectural accessibility, 38; transportation accessibility, 39
Wheels of Justice march and demonstration, *170*
Wisconsin School for the Deaf, 205
"wise, the," 101–2
within-disability coalitions, 90–91
women: equal employment opportunity, 41; status and, xviii–xix
women's health movement, 20
women's movement: civil rights movement and, 18–19, 23; conjunction of old and new social movements in, 33; consciousness raising, 31; effects of successful contentious actions on, 163; schisms in, 111, 136
work: blindness-related protest demands, 118–19; deaf community and discrimination, 194; equal opportunity and, 41; sex discrimination and, 189
workhouses, 3–4, 29n. 6
Works Progress Administration (WPA), 13
World Blind Union, 14
World Federation of the Deaf, 14
World Institute on Disability, 64
World War I, 10, 12, 14
World War II, 12, 14
World Wide Web, 63, 217

Zinser, Elisabeth A., 199, 200, 201, 213n. 7
Zola, Irving, 20, 23