

## CHAPTER SIX: PREJUDICE

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The word prejudice has two meanings<sup>1</sup>, which slightly differ from each other:

- (1) an "opinion, like or dislike, formed before one has adequate knowledge or experience",
- (2) "legal injury to somebody's existing rights or claims that may arise from some action or judgement".

Opinions about disability and about disabled people form part of all cultures both in the industrialised and developing countries. Our knowledge of the former ones is fairly well substantiated through many anthropological studies. From the developing countries there is as yet no systematical collection of information. What we know has been based to a large degree on anecdotes, and "collecting and analysing fairy tales", but a new wealth of systematic data is emerging.

Most common opinions about disability, whether from industrialised or developing countries, are biased and lead to prejudice. There is a perception that there is no effective technology, that "nothing can be done to help". Such prejudice is reflected in existing policies or lack of policies, legislation and expressions by leaders or people in general and international bodies. Only to a limited extent do even well educated people perceive their own prejudice.

If we want to implement a programme that creates services for disabled people and protects their human rights we must understand the local beliefs, attitudes and explanatory models concerning disability. The success, or lack of success, is likely to be influenced by the extent to which these cognitive factors are negotiable.

We must also learn to understand the reactions to prejudice among disabled people - the second half of this chapter will try to explain the responses to their frustrations.

### 2. CULTURAL NOTIONS OF DISABILITY

There are many tales about disabled people being disliked, neglected, abused, feared, ostracised, segregated, culturally invisible, etc. On the other hand there are other disabled children who are loved, well looked after and fully integrated in family life. Others may have been overprotected and, as a result, show non-acceptable behaviour.

So a great number of different situations exist in reality. What is preponderant might not be easy to recognise.<sup>2</sup>

For an analysis of cultural notions it let us to apply three levels of cognitive factors as proposed by Kleinman and modified by B. Helander.<sup>3</sup>

These are:

- "*a system of general cultural beliefs*, primarily concerned with the origin and consequences of disability. Beliefs operate at a fairly general level of culture. They connect disabilities to cosmological doctrines, religious dogmas, notions of sickness, disorder and abnormality."
- "*attitudes* are more or less explicit ideas held by single actors...built upon beliefs but are also shaped by experience of encounters with disabled persons. Attitudes also contain a strong emotional component."
- "*explanatory models*", which "are tied to specific cases of disabled persons and represent the outcome of a process of recognition of disabling symptoms, a labeling of these and a judgement of the future career of a disabled person. The process is shaped by both general beliefs and the attitudes of the involved persons as well as by a number of other social and political factors." Such models may be "shared

among a wider circle of people "who reach a community consensus" regarding a particular person.

In Boxes 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3 some examples are given.<sup>4 5</sup>

**Box 6.1. SOMALIA: CURSES AND JINNYS.**

"The eye...is one of the primary possible causes to any unforeseen misfortune that people will consider in their search for an explanation". It is "not believed to strike randomly" and is "triggered by some neglected duty or obligation of the victim...such as failure to respond to greeting, insufficiently shown hospitality, arrogance, etc.". A "major cause of ... disability conditions are the curses,...which are intimately bound up with the authority of parental generations". "The strongest is that of the maternal uncle". It is "incurred due to the transgression of rules or failure to fulfill obligations towards the elders". "Curses can wither your limbs".

"Sorcery emanates from the will of other humans". It causes disability and "strikes randomly and uncontrollably".

Spirits (jinnys) "are believed to inhabit the same world as humans, but to be invisible from them". "You have a jinny" is a synonym for "you're mad". Victims "seek to come to terms with the spirits by offering them the food and other items they are believed to require". "Often a sudden ache in the arms or legs is seen as a first sign of spiritual affliction". Other members and specialists form cults to offer relief. "Many otherwise inexplicable chronic symptoms are often referred to the spirit cults".

**Box 6.2. KENYA: PLEASE DO NOT USE OUR POTS.**

"The groups the society would look upon as disabled were the blind, physically handicapped, epileptics, lepers and mildly mentally retarded. The society would give shelter and food, but in a way which stigmatised the disabled persons. Often these people would be segregated in a way. Their huts were built at a distance from other huts, their utensils were not to be mixed with the rest of the family things. They were forgotten in most of the activities. This was mostly true for the epileptics, lepers and mentally retarded, who were thought to be contagious. The mentally retarded were also used for amusements, entertainments and so on".

**Box 6.3. A WEDDING IN SRI LANKA**

"On my wedding day I wanted us to share some of the celebration and happiness with my friends at the home for disabled. But my mother strongly protested, because the married couple are expected to go to a place connected with prosperity and well-being. Many people still believe that just looking at a person with a disability or touching her on the wedding day, will surely cause the future baby to be disabled also. Apart from her own worries she also feared what the guests and relatives would think. But still my husband and I insisted to keep the programme, and we invited the guests to accompany us to the institution. Many were a little hesitant, but only a few refrained. It seemed, however, that they changed their minds on seeing how happy and normal those children were. We had another round of speeches, songs, distribution of sweets and laughter. I still continue my contacts with them, but certainly it has not caused me any kind of misfortune. Our baby, who is now two years old, is a healthy and harmonious little child."

**3. DISCRIMINATORY BEHAVIOUR**

Beliefs, attitudes and explanatory models do contribute not only to what people think about disabled people but also how they act towards them. Again there are no systematic studies about discriminatory behaviour towards disabled people, and obviously such behaviour varies a great deal.

The sight of a person who differs in appearance and behaviour mostly creates a feeling of discomfort and fear. There are many more levels of reaction to "discrepancy": pain, freezing, fright, avoidance, stigmatising, distancing, denigration and stereotyping. These reactions and the subsequent behaviour may be observed in adults, who avoid visual and physical contacts as well as communication with disabled people. Children normally do not (or have not yet been influenced to) perceive such differences, and several studies show that they do not spontaneously avoid contact with disabled children.

But discriminatory behaviour is widespread - although not much talked about. As explained in the previous chapter, it is common in several developing countries for newborn babies who have some slight, visible impairment to be put to death, and mothers who don't agree to conform may be threatened with severe sanctions.

Disabled children are sometimes hidden, particularly from foreigners. Their parents neglect many of them. This is the obvious situation in some countries where disability surveys have been published. Some surveys show a prevalence of paralysis caused by polio, which is two to three times higher among boys than among girls<sup>6</sup>. Since the incidence must have been identical, this proves that there is a greater degree of neglect of disabled girls in countries where there is a preference for boys, so more girls die. Similarly, there is an excessive mortality rate, for instance, among those born deaf (and certainly they do not die from deafness) and among mentally retarded<sup>7</sup>. In some countries it is difficult to find more than a few children who have survived to the age of 15 with cerebral palsy, yet the incidence should be higher than in the industrialised countries.<sup>8</sup> It has been observed that children can have deformities, which can only be explained as a result of severe trauma inflicted by an adult.

It is true that we also observe family situations characterised by a very positive and caring behaviour towards the disabled children. This is to some degree caused by "selection": these are the survivors, and many of them are found in families with a better than average economic situation.

It should be pointed out that families living below the poverty line face a difficult situation. It might not be possible for all the children to survive in periods of economic distress and lack of food. The choice to let the strongest survive is forced upon such families by circumstances over which they appear to have little control. In balance, it is understandable that discriminatory behaviour with severe consequences, including excessive mortality, is dominant.

This is in conformity with the situation in some industrialised countries. Zigler<sup>9</sup> undertook a study of a group of mildly retarded children in the USA, and found histories of "extensive physical abuse or neglect" among 45 per cent of them. He may not have been aware of all such cases. And there are frequent stories in our Western newspapers of severe abuse of disabled children, adolescents and elderly who are at home or under the care and supervision of professional personnel in institutions.

#### 4. *THE EFFECT OF GENERAL SYSTEMS OF BELIEFS ON POLICIES*

Most developing countries do not have a clear set of explicit policies related to disabled people. This most probably reflects the general systems of beliefs.

Politicians or legislators are no different from others and, if the general view is that disabled people are "useless" and will remain so, whatever is done, then this belief will be reflected in policies.

Governments may avoid explicitly stating why they act as they do, and they may ignore the subconscious effects of traditional beliefs.

A great deal of effort is needed to give politicians adequate knowledge<sup>10</sup> and experience of rehabilitation, so as to convince them of the effectiveness of programmes for disabled people. The best way to achieve this is to actively involve governments in providing public services of rehabilitation.

#### 5. *HUMAN RIGHTS PREJUDICE*

It is a fact that, as a result of general beliefs and negative attitudes, there is a neglect of the respect for human rights as applied to disabled people.

This neglect is visible in all areas: the rights to life, protection by the law, property, assembly, development, equal access to public service, work, standard of living, education and so forth. These rights are expressed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948. In this context, it is interesting to read a statement by the United States Congress, namely the introduction to Public Law 101-336 adopted in 1990<sup>12</sup> (see Box 6.4). The statements here do apply equally to developing countries.

**Box 6.4 PREJUDICE IN THE UNITED STATES**

"The Congress finds that

- (1) some 43,000,000 Americans have one or more physical or mental disabilities, and this number is increasing as the population as a whole is growing older;
- (2) historically, society has tended to isolate and segregate individuals with disabilities, and, 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, and costs the United States billions of dollars in unnecessary expenses resulting from dependency and nonproductivity."

In 2006, after several years of preparations The United Nations General Assembly adopted the new Convention on the Rights of Disabled Persons. This is an important step forward.

**6. THE REACTIONS OF DISABLED PEOPLE TO PREJUDICE: RESIGNATION, REFORM OR REBELLION**

It is easy to understand that disabled people today are discouraged and frustrated by the prejudice they constantly face. They are wondering if there is any way to bring some fundamental changes to a system that causes such widespread discontent and injustice. They want to move away from a set of values that classifies them as deviants or marginal human beings and accords them status of second-class citizens. There are several types of reactions to be found among those who face prejudice, both in the disabled and in the non-disabled population.

A model may be proposed to explain the social mechanisms causing frustration: the reaction of people to the injustices they encounter in their daily life.

Three basic social functions: performance, competence and aspiration are involved.

*Performance* signifies the level of function a person reaches, including performance at work, at home, during leisure time, and so forth;

*Competence* indicates the sum total of a person's abilities, education, experience, common sense and behaviour, or the maximum that this person could do if given the opportunity;

*Aspirations* reflect what a person would like to do: his or her dreams, ideas and wants.

These three functions have several levels and relate to each other.

- Ideally a person's *performance* should be equal to his or her competence. But many human beings will never be given the opportunity to function anywhere near their level of competence. At work, for example, there are far too many simple, repetitive and dull jobs requiring but a fraction of our competence. This is disturbing, and many of us seek compensation by way of leisure time activities such as hobbies, social contacts or membership in various interest organisations. An unemployed person will perceive that his or her work performance is zero. This is often the case for a disabled person. The opportunities for leisure time activities too may be reduced, causing frustration.
- *Competence* is more than the sum total of a person's innate physical and mental abilities. Education, both at school and as preparation for a job, will develop and refine these abilities. Later in life, experience will further enhance this competence: learning to develop skills out of knowledge, applying them using common sense, and developing an appropriate behaviour. Non-disabled people in developing countries are to a large extent deprived of the opportunities for education and experience. Persons with disabilities are even worse off. They are often excluded as a group *a priori* without any proper examination of their individual competence. They rarely find employment even if qualified for the particular job. As a result, they become dependent on their families or turn to begging. A large gap between competence and performance gives rise to frustration.
- Our dreams, ideas and wants make up our *aspirations*. While young we may have unrealistic aspirations. With time and experience we learn to match them to what we may predict will happen to us in the future. It is not at all unusual to see people's aspirations surpassing both their performance and their competence. Some people are highly motivated, they strive for a better future, and they want to achieve more.

Like everybody else, disabled people have their aspirations and ambitions, which will have to be adjusted to their respective level of competence. But once these are matched, they find themselves up against a system of rejection that may pervade virtually every sphere of the society in which they live. Because of their functional limitation or on account of some other, visible minor problem they are often labeled "useless," irrespective of their competence. They also have the feeling that there is a widespread lack of respect for their human rights.

The level of aspiration will be affected by frustration caused, in turn, by the competence/performance gap. But the level of aspiration is not necessarily proportional to the degree of frustration. It depends to some extent on the personality structure. Some people react almost violently to minor injustices. Others may show very little feeling even when thoroughly abused. Some people may resist a lowering of their aspirations because they have an optimistic and strong personality. They exhibit an attitude that "somehow we will overcome the problem". Others refuse to lower their aspirations because they enjoy a supportive social environment. Others "overshoot" all realistic expectations and aggressively demand unreasonable favours. Others again show little resistance, and even small setbacks may cause their aspiration levels to plunge. Furthermore, the degree of frustration may not be constant, nor will a person's aspirations fall at all times by the same degree: we are more hopeful on some days and less so on others.

Table 6.1. shows three different levels of aspirations and the patterns of reaction caused by the degree of frustration associated with each of the three levels; comments are offered below.

Table 6.1.. Level of aspiration and patterns of reaction to frustration

Aspiration level	Reaction to frustration
Low	<u>Resignation</u> , the person feels defeated, depressed: "No use even to try".
Normal	<u>Reform</u> , the person has some hopes: "the system can be improved", "let us change the future".
High	<u>Rebellion</u> , the person rejects the entire value system and wants to replace it by a new one.

- "Resignation" is a common reaction among disabled people, in particular in the developing countries. It affects those who have tried to conform to society's rules only to find its avenues closed everywhere. These are people who may lack the necessary inner strength or the necessary support from their social strata to try innovations or to rebel. Many of them have had no schooling and have always felt pushed aside or neglected. Among them are people who may have listened to those with power in their hands and who believed for as long as possible that one day they would make good on their political promises. Among them may be the disabled elderly or youths, who are waiting for services that have as yet failed to materialise and perhaps never will. Unfortunately, there are indications that resignation as a reaction to frustration may be gaining ground, as millions more will be resigned to the same fate. As mentioned earlier, every year, well over two million join the list of disabled people in need of rehabilitation. If available resources continue to be mismanaged, misery and frustration will grow. And if the national authorities continue giving nothing but symbolic support, nothing will change for the better.

- "Reform" is what one should strive for, but few disabled people in the developing countries dare to hope. In this book, I will describe an innovative approach for reform, which challenges the conventional system on almost every point. No doubt this is not the only alternative; there are others, and these should be presented and tested for their effectiveness.

Disabled people need to be encouraged to work for a reform of a system set against them. Governments are in a position to exercise decisive, countrywide influence on the prevailing situation. Consequently, it should be mandatory for governments to commit themselves and to accept responsibility for bringing about a change. Organisations of disabled people should spearhead the call for reform. However, in the developing countries, they are severely hampered in such efforts, owing to their members' lack of functional training, education, of jobs, of status, of administrative experience, and of negotiating skills and of financial resources. They must shed a pattern of behaviour associated with beggars and appear as a group of citizens seeking rights assured to all under the constitution of their respective countries. To strengthen these organisations and to develop their potential for full partnership should become part and parcel of all rehabilitation programmes.

- "Rebellion". Merton<sup>13</sup> has explained this term in a different context (see Box 6.5.)

**BOX 6.5. REBELLION**

*"When the institutional system is regarded as the barrier to the satisfaction of legitimized goals, the stage is set for rebellion as an adoptive response. To pass into organized political action, allegiance must not only be withdrawn from the prevailing social structure but must be transferred to new groups possessed of a new myth. The dual function of the myth is to locate the source of large-scale frustrations in the social structure and to portray an alternative structure which would not, presumably, give rise to frustration of the deserving. It is a charter for action. In this context, the functions of the counter-myth of the conservatives becomes further clarified: whatever the source of mass frustration the conservatives claim, it is not to be found in the basic structure of the society. The conservative myth may thus assert that the frustrations are in the nature of things and would occur in any social system...Or, if not the doctrine of inevitability, then the doctrine which deflects hostility from the social structure into the individual who is a "failure"..."*

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*The myths of rebellion and of conservatism later work toward "a monopoly of imagination",... "seeking to define the situation in such terms as to move the frustrated towards or away from adaptation."*

Rebellion is a reaction against the prevailing value system. Our societies give supremacy to a limited set of values, for instance, wealth, power, beauty. Those at the lower end of the spectrum - the poor, the powerless and the unattractive are considered failures, and sometimes also blamed for it. Other values our societies certainly ought to recognise include: kindness, honesty, empathy, affection, solidarity, and willingness to help others, to make sacrifices. But these values do not seem to count for much.

The existing value system seems thoroughly integrated in most social and cultural environments, and most people would take exception to the idea that it can be changed. Most people argue: "This is the way all societies are ordered: some people are at the top, others at the bottom"; or "It is natural that those who fail want to blame those who are successful." It does not seem easy to propose a new value system that would serve to relieve the frustrations of the disabled people who have become marginalised.

Those representing "the cream of society" - the rich, the powerful and the beautiful - pull the strings and write the laws of the land. In the eyes of the disabled person, they may be seen as keepers of the prevailing value system. They set up rules that will force others out of focus. They support and enforce a system based on intimidation and injustice; the victims are all the poor. By defining disabled people as deviants, the leading forces of our society contribute to the very phenomenon that they see as the problem: poverty, underperformance, dependency and segregation.

So far, this system has not been seriously challenged. It seems to grow stronger as time goes on, adding to rather than relieving the burden for those considered "marginal" or "imperfect". Some societies are still finding innovative ways of circumscribing the human rights of disabled people, while others corrupt them by offering rewards for staying on the sidelines.

However, the situation is not hopeless. Gallaudet University in Washington D.C. provides a recent, successful example of rebellion. It is the most important academic institution for deaf people in the United States. A few years ago, its board met to choose a new president. They rejected a very competent candidate, who himself was deaf. They voted instead for an equally competent, hearing scholar. The students and the academic staff then started a series of demonstrations and strikes that went on for several weeks. The media offered daily coverage of this unusual event. Some members of the board gave interviews, which clearly reflected a high degree of prejudice. Finally the chosen president found the atmosphere so hostile that she resigned, as did most of the board who had resisted the choice of the deaf candidate. The latter was then given the post.

This rebellion was successful, for several reasons:

- First, the group who rebelled was very homogeneous. It held a single undivided opinion, all members were in one place, which happened to be the nation's capital,
- Second, the group was well organised and had excellent and undisputed leadership,
- Third, the group managed to catch people's imagination, so the media exposed the problem, including the high degree of bias among the board members, the lack of consultation with academic staff and students, and so forth.

Can such rebellions be expected to occur in the future? In the industrialised countries maybe. But there are many constraints. One is the fact that the group of "disabled people" is no longer a homogeneous one. It seems to "disappear in the haze" of identification problems. Social security legislation in many countries now labels as "disabled" very large groups of people who are socially marginal and rejected by the labour market for a variety of reasons. It might not seem easy to forge a coalition of partners out of this variety, or to get them all to agree on a common course of action under a unified leadership. But, on

the other hand, we must realise that "disabled people know best who they are." Thus there is a likelihood that limited, homogeneous groups of disabled people will unite if need be. They can then choose examples of direct action, which can be easily understood by the media. Organisations of disabled people could

**Box 6.7 THOSE WITHOUT VISION WILL ALWAYS PERISH**

At the opening ceremony of DPI's III World Congress in Vancouver, Canada, in April 1992, Mr Joshua Malinga, DPI chairman, gave a statement. Excerpts are below:

"I remember a biblical saying that 'those without vision will always perish'. For over 2000 years, we have suffered all forms of degradation, humiliation, oppression, exploitation, discrimination and under-development.

"Disabled people all over the world are condemned to poverty and under-development, which manifests itself in abject poverty, pitiful lives, street begging, marginalization and complete rejection by almost every strata of society...the biggest crime against humanity.

"Our vision was to create a world where disabled people enjoyed the same rights with other people and where disabled people were afforded equal opportunities...

"DPI was born in order to spearhead the liberation of disabled people worldwide. That was an important, crucial decision and the world has never been the same for disabled people, for those who have maintained an oppressive regime in the name of rehabilitation and care.

"The vision of the future over and above the guiding philosophy is to be able to translate our thinking into concrete actions that will involve disabled people in all political, social, cultural and economic systems. Like any other struggle for social justice, disabled people have to realize that our struggle is long and protracted and it is against ingrained negative attitudes, and that it has to be fought at all levels and everywhere.

"We live in one world and we need each other and each other's support.

"Violation of human rights in one country should be seen as violation of human rights against all disabled people and should be met with violent force.

"My message to you all is that the struggle has only begun and, in the words of Winston Churchill, 'Never surrender, never, never!'"

capitalise on the goodwill they have in the eyes of many ordinary citizens. Some inspiration can be drawn from the opening statement at the 1992 World Conference of Disabled People's International (DIP), which is reproduced in Box 6.7<sup>14</sup>.

However, the situation in the developing countries still differs very much from that in the industrialised world. In developing countries, organisations of disabled people are very weak or circumscribed. They can, in the present situation not be expected to carry out a rebellion alone. Political systems in many such countries have little patience even for small-scale rebellions, and the media can rarely be counted on to give support. I have, however, seen several examples of successful demonstrations, both in African and Asian countries, which managed to draw the attention of the authorities. They even resulted in some important changes, such as the opening up of government posts to disabled people. Organisations of disabled people should not be the only ones to seek change of the current value system. Every decent citizen who reacts to injustice should mobilise his or her loyalty to stand up in defense of those now unfairly marginalised and therefore without a chance of ever living a life in dignity.

This will call for summoning up the courage to challenge certain fundamental values of our present society.

## 7. *LESSONS LEARNED FROM THE EXPERIENCE OF PREJUDICE*

Prejudice against disabled people is common everywhere. It exists at all levels of culture, in the developing as well as in the industrialised countries. Beliefs, attitudes, explanatory models, and common discriminatory behaviour against disabled people are expressions of this prejudice.

Prejudice is built into a system that functions at the general level of all cultures. It makes its

appearance even among the best educated people and shows very few signs of diminishing.

Given the many constraints, the main option left for relieving frustration among the disabled people in developing countries is to follow a programme aimed at reform. The programme should provide public services of good quality. It should be integrated into community efforts to meet all essential needs. And most important, it should provide better opportunities, greater influence and justice for disabled people. In order to achieve these results, there is no better way than to organise the poor, dependent people to massively protest against paternalism, intimidation, humiliation and exclusion.

#### COMMENTS AND REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup>A.S. Hornby: Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English, Oxford University Press, UK, 1987.

<sup>2</sup>B. Ingstad: Disability and Culture in Bruun-Ingstad (Ed.): Disability in a Cross-cultural Perspective, Department of Social Anthropology, Oslo, Norway, 1990.

<sup>3</sup>B. Helander: Mercy or Rehabilitation? Culture and its Prospects for Disabled in Southern Somalia, Bruun-Ingstad, *ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>Bruun-Ingstad, *ibid.*

<sup>5</sup>R. Tiroler: Rapport Nr. 9, Social Förvaltningen Örebro, Sweden, 1991.

<sup>6</sup>Report on the sample survey in Nepal, see, Chapter Two. Ministère des Affaires Sociales et de la Promotion Féminine: Rapport d'Enquête de Recensement des Personnes Handicapées. (Baboye Madbei et al.), N'Djamena, Tchad, 1989.

<sup>7</sup>A. Hasan and H. Aziz: Int.J.Mental Health UM 10, No. 1, p. 23, 1981.

<sup>8</sup>The lowest possible incidence of cerebral palsy would, in the opinion of the author, be 1 per 1,000, most likely it is 2-3 per 1,000 infants. Cf. also the Mali survey presented in Chapter Two.

<sup>9</sup>E. Zigler: Controlling child abuse in America. An effort doomed to failure? In "Critical perspectives on child abuse", ed. R. Bourne and E.H. Newberger, pp. 171-213. Lexington Books, Lexington, Mass., USA, 1979.

<sup>10</sup>For instance, the UN International Year of Disabled People (1981) and the UN Decade of Disabled People (1983-92) have contributed to an increased awareness among politicians. Another important factor is to improve the image of disabled people. There are some excellent recommendations in "Improving Communications about People with Disabilities", Recommendations of a United Nations Seminar 8 - 10 June, 1982, Vienna, Austria.