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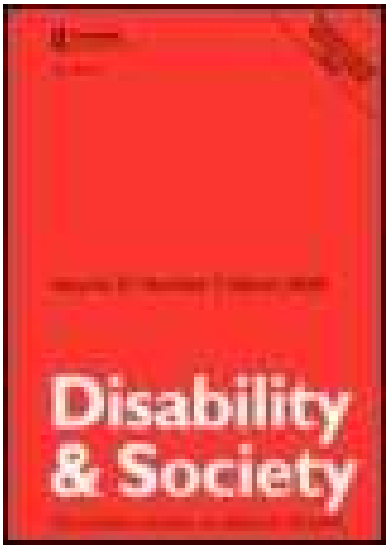

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CARFAX

Disability, Eugenics and the Current Ideology of Segregation: a modern moral tale

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ABSTRACT *Recently, an amalgamation of articles have appeared in a wide range of publications linking together community and school inclusion, and facilitated communication research as an unholy trinity of anti-empiricism eroding the disability fields. The authors of these critiques suggest that there exists a scientific basis for state institutions, segregated learning and a non-critical acceptance of traditional interpretations of expressive ability on the part of people with disabilities. In this article we expose not science, but an ideology of segregated control behind these claims. This ideology permeates the disability-related professions and is cloaked in the language of the natural sciences. We trace this use of the natural sciences to the eugenics movement of the early twentieth century and explore the legacy of the ideology of control as it impacts current understanding of disability.*

The professions, including those organised around disability, were founded in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on a model of Technical Rationalism (Skrtic, 1995). Schon (1983) described this as

> the heritage of Positivism, the powerful philosophical doctrine that grew up in the nineteenth century as an account of the rise of science and technology and as a social movement aimed at applying the achievements of science and technology to the well-being of mankind. Technical Rationality is the Positivistic epistemology of practice. (p. 31)

Based on the model of Technical Rationalism, if the disability disciplines were to claim legitimacy, they had to include the three tenets of professionalism. Schein (1972, cited in Schon, 1983) described these as an underlying basic science on which to build both an applied science of disability and a practical set of clinical skills and attitudes.

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The Place of Positivism in the Disability Traditions

Positivism has so dominated the disability-related fields that its claim to an underlying objective truth has come to represent an absolute and, until recently, unquestioned empiricist logic on which the four assumptions of special education are based. These assumptions, which form the basis for segregating people with disabilities from the community, include

(1) disability is a scientifically diagnosed condition which somebody either has or does not have;
(2) objectively identifying and measuring disability is useful;
(3) special education is the application of scientific principles to assist people identified as disabled;
(4) progress in special education equals improved assessment and intervention based on scientifically established specialised principles (Bogdan & Kugelmass, 1984).

The legacy of positivism as a technical, rational foundation for the disability related disciplines has meant that any idea, theory, practice or strategy that contradicts traditional special education empiricism can be, and is, dismissed as anti-empirical—a devastating criticism of techniques within a profession which, by the definition of professions, requires a scientifically rational basis. The flawed logic follows that if special education practices emerged from validated and replicated science conducted in an empiricist tradition, then how could it be possible for a contradiction to arise?

Evoking an illusion of objective science to support particular practices in the tradition of segregation while squelching dissenting voices occurred in a 1942 debate within the American Psychiatric Association over the deliberate killing of people with disabilities for control purposes. Kennedy (1942), an advocate for euthanasia, wrote

> The idiot and the imbecile seem to me unresponsive to the care put upon them. They are not capable of being educated; nor can such defective products ever be made to be so. Good breeding begets good brains; with no good brains there can be no good mind. (p. 13)

Kennedy supported 'euthanasia for those hopeless ones who should never have been born—Nature's mistakes' (p. 14). However, Kanner (1942) argued against the Spartan position that professional men of science should decide which children live or die. He suggested that one's position on euthanasia was not a question of science, but was a moral stance which questioned what we wish our society to look like:

> Psychiatry is, and should forever be, a science dunked in the milk of human kindness. Shall we psychiatrists take our cue from the Nazi Gestapo? Does anyone really think that the German nation is in any way improved, ennobled, made more civilized by inflicting what they cynically choose to call mercy deaths on the feebleminded? (Kanner, 1942, p. 21.)

In an editorial commentary in the same issue (Commentary, 1942), the American Psychiatric Association supported Kennedy's 'objective' eugenic position. The editorial board dismissed Kanner as relying on emotional arguments

> Dr Kennedy favors the procedure under legal sanction in certain carefully defined cases, and he offers strong arguments in support of his position. Dr Kanner opposes this position but in his paper presents no arguments beyond the statement: "An idiotic child may have fond parents who want him alive." (p. 143)

The editorial disguised its particular morality within an empiricist scientific framework, and further noted

> Scientists presumably have reached their conviction by more or less impersonal routes; the layman on the contrary who has the misfortune to be the parent of a low-grade defective is actuated by strongly personal motives which he may or may not be capable of setting out clearly in his own consciousness. (Commentary, 1942, p. 143.)

The APA's moral position was hidden behind the rhetoric of objectivism that suggested clinically perfumed homicide was a matter of natural biological sciences and not a human value position.

More recently, an amalgamation of articles have appeared that have positioned particular current challenges to segregation in the disability-related fields as anti-scientific. Most prominently attacked by the authors of these articles have been efforts towards community and school inclusion, and research into facilitated communication. Certain of these authors link the three constructs together in an apparent effort to expose an unholy trinity of anti-empiricism eroding the disability disciplines.

For instance, a group described by the American Psychological Association as the Science Working Group on Facilitated Communication (Jacobson *et al.*, 1995) stated that facilitated communication developed because of deprofessionalisation that began with the 'movement of people from institutions to the community' (p. 751). This resulted in, the Science Working Group claims, 'increasingly unpredictable or disappointing outcomes' (p. 752), ultimately allowing for the emergence of the 'pseudoscientific' (p. 750) facilitated communication.

In 1995, the Learning Disabilities Division of the Council for Exceptional Children invited one prominent critic of inclusion to present a keynote address at the annual convention in Indianapolis, Indiana. This critic invoked the biological sciences as justification for the segregation of people with disabilities thereby setting a social Darwinistic tone for the proceedings reminiscent of the earlier cited American Psychiatric Association stance on euthanasia:

> In subhuman social ecologies, the concept of 'natural' order also applies. Dominance, pecking order, flocking, schooling, and congregation into a closed group or segregation of individuals from the group are typically merely observed by scientists, not manipulated. Scientists worry that the very manipulation of subhuman social ecologies might upset the ecological

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> balance. Another important aspect of subhuman ecologies is that the individual is not essential to ecological balance or to what is considered acceptable. There are sacrificial lambs. We do not want to prevent the fox from eating the mouse, nor do we want to prevent the harsh domination of one primate by another in its natural environment. The individual's life is expendable, and the individual's social standing in the group is accepted, whether the individual is a despot or an outcast. (Kauffman, 1995a, pp. 8–9.)

The keynoter quipped that our tendency to refine human social ecologies towards 'kinder and gentler' (p. 9) versions supported Mark Twain's assertion that humans are actually morally inferior to other animals. Emphasising what he viewed as the unnatural basis of inclusion, the critic stated 'Unfortunately, the ideology of full inclusion ignores or distorts the literature on social ecologies, and in so doing ignores or distorts the realities our students and teachers must face daily. It ignores or distorts the responsibilities we have to construct the most habilitatively restrictive environments we can for our students' (p. 14). The author uses the term 'bandwagon' to dismiss school and community inclusion (Kauffman & Hallahan, 1995), and also described facilitated communication as a related bandwagon that 'so many have boarded without credible scientific evidence ... (Hallahan & Kauffman, 1995, p. 64).

Other critics have similarly linked de-institutionalisation, school inclusion, and facilitated communication together as antiscience (Shane, 1994; Hudson, 1995; Kauffman, 1995b; Simpson, 1995; MacMillan *et al.*, 1996; Schopler, 1996). For instance, MacMillan *et al.* (1996) suggested that 'as a field we have a history of embracing untried treatments, only to find out subsequently that they were ineffectual, or in some cases, actually fraudulent' (p. 145). Listed with this statement are facilitated communication, full inclusion, normalisation, and de-institutionalisation.

Dismissing desegregation and communication efforts as unscientific implies that there exists a scientific basis for state institutions, segregated learning and a non-critical acceptance of traditional interpretations of expressive ability. We wish to explore these claims in order to expose, not science, but an ideology of segregated control that permeates the disability-related professions, and is cloaked in the language of the natural sciences—a rhetorical device described as 'scientism' (Hunter, 1990, p. 3). We believe that the use of scientism to hide ideology in the disability professions is the legacy of the eugenics movement. We will explore how this ideology of 'scientific' segregation, originating with eugenics, is central to the current arguments in opposition to inclusion and facilitated communication.

Origins of a Science of Control

By the end of the nineteenth century, care and treatment of individuals considered disabled in America had already gone through two transformations. In mid-century, some optimism existed as to the educability of individuals then considered to be idiots. The influential French emigrant Edouard Seguin proposed and implemented

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a Moral Education that focused on the development of the will in people considered to have mental deficiencies (Blatt, 1987). The Civil War followed by an economic depression beginning in 1873 led to a crisis in both the family and the state's ability to care for and educate people with disabilities. Seguin's earlier moral decree that idiocy was educable was trampled and reformed into the custodial practice of warehousing burdensome individuals in asylum-like institutions (Rothman, 1971).

The Eugenic Claim to Science

Early segregation efforts were not assumed to rest on a foundation of logical positivism. Rather, they represented the community's revulsion at difference—a particular moral stance. Yet, if individuals associated with the control and treatment of people with disabilities were to gain professional credibility, some manner of objective knowledge tradition had to be associated with their segregating practices and procedures (Schon, 1983). The 'science' of eugenics was just what superintendents of state institutions required in order to gain credibility and expand their influence of control 'within the parameters of scientific respectability' (Trent, 1994, p. 161).

Social discontent at the turn of the century. The changes arising from new immigration patterns and industrialisation, and their interaction with capitalism, led to cultural instability as a prominent theme in America at the end of the nineteenth century. Social philosophers, as well as medical personnel, social workers, and others charged with the care of individuals with disabilities, responded to societal concerns over crime, vice and immorality by linking these social problems to human variation. Specifically, the construct of mental deficiency, or feeblemindedness, was blamed for America's cultural ills.

The eugenic response to social discontent. The basic 'science of eugenics' (Goddard, 1914, p. 558) emerged serving as a functionalist platform on which to promote people with disabilities as menaces requiring control through various forms of segregation. Many of the most prominent eugenicists in the early years of the twentieth century were employed by or worked in association with state institutions for individuals with disabilities. Men like Fernald, Goddard and Ellis proposed that the solution to cultural problems would come through better human breeding (Biklen & Mlinarcik, 1978). This meant the control and ultimate elimination of what was considered poor human stock.

Henry Goddard, Director of the Research Laboratory of the Training School at Vineland, NJ, for Feeble-minded Girls and Boys, championed as scientific this movement which sought absolute control over individuals with disabilities. Goddard explained:

> The large share of attention which has been given to the new science of eugenics, or race betterment, shows conclusively that society is intensely interested in this problem of the improvement of the race ... The feeble-

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> minded person is not desirable, he is a social encumbrance, often a burden to himself. In short it were better both for him and for society had he never been born. Should we not then, in our attempt to improve the race, begin by preventing the birth of more feeble-minded? (Goddard, 1914, p. 558.)

Social Darwinism and hereditary genetics. Eugenicists pointed to the social Darwinists and hereditary statisticians of the late nineteenth century as their philosophical forebears. According to the social Darwinists, a human social order arranged hierarchically existed that was governed by the same natural principles that were thought by scientists to bound the biological order.

Alongside social Darwinism emerged the creation of numerical models thought to scientifically demonstrate wide variation of human characteristics across groups, but stability over generations. These combined with Mendelian genetics to focus attention on the inheritance of feeble-mindedness (Sarason & Doris, 1969).

The addition of psychometrics. While on a visit to Europe, Goddard encountered a test created by Alfred Binet and Theodore Simon which appeared to measure what was described as students' 'mental ages'. The test was used to segregate school children who might hinder regular classroom efficiency (Blatt, 1987).

Though Binet and Simon did not suggest that their test garnered some stable numerical notion of general intelligence (Blatt, 1987), Goddard returned to the United States claiming just that (Trent, 1994). He, along with Lewis Terman, and others, 'refined' the work of Binet and Simon. They developed measurements of intellect, the 'science' of psychometrics, that were used to separate for control purposes people thought to be menaces to society.

The proliferation of control through segregation. It may seem contrary to self-interest for the emerging 'helping professions' to lead and promote the eugenics movement. However, this group of professionals profited tremendously from the idea of better breeding. Eugenics lent sorely lacking scientific credibility to the proliferation and expansion of segregated systems and procedures. This resulted in a greatly expanded base of power, privilege and authority from which to further promote the various professions associated with the control of people with disabilities. Services primarily took form in the expansion of the institution, use of forced sterilisation, and the emergence of special education (Sarason & Doris, 1969).

The Emergence of Special Education

The first segregated classrooms for children defined as disabled appeared at the end of the nineteenth century in conjunction with the developing eugenics movement and compulsory school attendance laws. Schools continued to automatically exclude students with obvious differences, but became increasingly concerned about 'slow and backwards' students who were, by law, entering the public system.

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Early segregation based on cultural differences. The initial segregation into ungraded, or special, classrooms focused on separating out the children of the new immigrants, those from southern and eastern Europe who demonstrated difficulty with the English language and American cultural customs (Sarason & Doris, 1979; Trent, 1994). From the time that special classes began, they were largely populated by 'subculture' children from minority groups' (Sarason & Doris, 1979, p. 6). In 1921, 75% of the children in New York City's special education system were of foreign-born parentage (Sarason & Doris, 1979).

Special education directly leads to the institution. The segregated classrooms did not emphasise expectations of achievement, nor a vision that the student would ultimately belong in the larger community. Instead, special education was viewed as a 'way stop' (Sarason & Doris, 1979) on the road to the institution. The education children received in the segregated classrooms was, in effect, designed to lead to successful institutionalisation (Blatt, 1987; Goddard, 1914; Sarason & Doris, 1969, 1979; Trent, 1994). The curriculum of segregated special education, then, originated with the science of eugenics and was ultimately a curriculum of control.

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The Shifting Foundation of the Science of Control

The emergence of eugenics as an empiricist science at the turn of the century supported the claim to professional status and enhanced authority made by those who oversaw the segregated control of individuals with disabilities. However, in the 1920s, confidence in eugenics as a foundational science began to erode. This resulted from multiple factors such as psychiatry's waning interest in matters of disability, the mass need for social supports for millions of Americans brought on by the Great Depression and, following World War II, an emerging Parents' Movement focused on educational rights for children with disabilities (Sarason & Doris, 1979; Shapiro, 1994; Trent, 1994).

The Parents' Movement and a shifting epistemology. The science of eugenics linked feeble mindedness to pauperism. In the late 1940s middle class and upper class families admitted that disability was a part of their lives as well. Parents came together to organise for educational opportunities for their children with significant disabilities. These children had remained excluded from the earlier versions of segregated special education.

The Parents' Movement of the early 1950s was the first organised and sustained demand by supposed non-experts to expand services. That parents found their voice in the midst of an epistimological crisis in the disability fields is probably no accident. Though the entrenched segregated system of control could be justified ontologically as a protective arrangement for people now viewed as victims, this was hardly a scientific foundation on which to legitimise and perpetuate the professions that had gained prominence through the science of eugenics. The systems of control had become, in effect, a trunk and branches to a tree with no roots.

Ironically, within the parental challenge to authority, the disability professions

found an alternative objective epistemology which replaced eugenics as the foundation of segregated practices. The children around whom the Parents' Movement rallied had always been excluded from educational opportunities because of the presumed degree of their disability. Within the professions, there was a sense of essential logic to this exclusion: it was assumed these were people who could not benefit from schooling and who did not belong in the community. However, parental demand challenged the field's logic, resulting in an emergent interest in operant psychology.

The emergence of operant psychology as control. Though related to Thorndike's learning theory, Skinnerian psychology deemphasised the meaningfulness of a stronger or weaker bond between stimulus and response, and instead focused on the probability of operants occurring through selective reinforcement (Dembo, 1988). If, through laboratory conditioning, rats could be made to perform in particular ways, then, according to conventions of the time, surely people with disabilities could also have their performance shaped. With parents demanding educational options for their children who, the disability fields presumed, could not think, here was an ideal response.

Sobsey & Dreimanis (1993) point to an experiment conducted in 1949 as the first use of operant conditioning on an individual with a disability. In this test, Fuller (1949) sought to have an 18-year-old 'vegetative human organism' raise his right hand. The young man was denied food for 15 hours. Then, when he raised his hand, sweetened milk was injected into his mouth. This selective reinforcement resulted, over time, in an increased number of right hand movements. Fuller (1949) concluded

> While of normal human parentage, this organism was, behaviorally speaking, considerably lower in the scale than the majority of infra-human organisms used in conditioning experiments—dogs, rats, cats. ... Perhaps by beginning at the bottom of the human scale the transfer from rat to man can be effected. (p. 590)

Fuller's experiment led in the 1950s to an invigorated research effort to condition behaviors of people considered disabled (Berkson & Landesman-Dwyer, 1977). Initially termed 'The Experimental Analysis of Behavior,' this effort quickly turned specifically towards what its proponents considered socially important behaviour, and was renamed Applied Behavior Analysis (Baer *et al.*, 1968, 1987).

Operant psychology as foundational control. Operant psychology under any name supported the continuation and expansion of the segregated systems of control. It did this by suggesting that human beings with disabilities were cognitively similar to the laboratory rats on whom learning theory was developed:

> In order to apply the laboratory science of behaviorism to special education, it was necessary to model the special education classroom after the laboratory rather than the regular classroom. The highly controlled

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> conditions that were considered to be necessary for teaching students with special needs were alien to and incompatible with regular classrooms. The results have been catastrophic for students of special education. (Sobsey & Dreimanis, 1993, p. 5.)

The emphasis in these learning environments on instructional control and compliance resulted in students unable to make choices, act, or even respond coherently outside of the rigidity of the structured classroom (Reichle & Sigafoos, 1991; Sobsey & Dreimanis, 1993).

The eugenic logic revisited in behaviorism: from classroom to institution. There is scant evidence that skills taught in segregated classrooms generalise to the larger world. This lack of generalisability requires that there exist a further set of rigid environments into which these students can transition.

Similar to the eugenic logic of the institution as the natural outcome of special education, segregated environments relying on extrinsic foci of control led to the need for further restrictive placements. Hence, community living facilities and state institutions retained rigid, controlling, dehumanising conditions. Illustrating the continued focus on control, one former resident of a state institution for people described as mentally retarded recalled his experiences in the institution explaining

> Sometimes (attendants) would lock us up—put us in isolation or up on the detention ward. Locking us up. Sometimes the attendants would dress residents up in a dress and parade you around the ward ... They had a word to use for another discipline—'candy' was it. That was what they used for the stick that they beat your ass with. They would say, "Bend over and I'll give you some candy" ... We had showers in Building 56. A regular hassle. Line up and take your bath. Then occasionally they'd check to see if you had lice or cooties. I never got them. A few of them got that disease, what is it called? I guess gonorrhea ... It isn't bad enough you got to be in the goddamn nut house, but you have to contract all the diseases that mankind don't want. (Bogdan & Taylor, 1994, pp. 47–49.)

The experiences related by this former inmate interviewed by Bogdan & Taylor (1994) do not appear to be unique. The relatively few accounts that have been authored by people who resided in institutions for the mentally retarded paint a very consistent picture of neglect and abuse (see, for example, Crossley & McDonald, 1984; Pastor Bolnick, 1985; Sienkiewicz-Mercer & Kaplan, 1989). However, since these life-experiences were written by people outside the disability professions, they could be, and were, dismissed as anecdotal—separated from the supposed science of the disability traditions. In labelling the accounts 'non-scientific', the profession could then safely ignore the rich and terrifying descriptions of the horrific existence that awaited inmates of custodial institutions.

Though the current supporters of segregated options for individuals with disabilities argue otherwise (Jacobson *et al.*, 1995; MacMillan *et al.*, 1996; Schopler, 1996), it clearly is a misrepresentation to suggest the state institution has, even in the

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modern era, scientific justification. Perhaps the myth continues because medical doctors and psychologists continue to have a close association with the science of segregation, basically custodial warehousing, of people with disabilities. Also, experimentation on inmates occurring within the science of segregation may be misconstrued as forming an empirical basis for the existence of the institution.

For instance, high exposure rates in institutions to such diseases as hepatitis and shigellosis led to years of research devoted to systematically exposing institutionalised individuals to various diseases. The scientists could then test vaccines (Ward *et al.*, 1958; Krugman *et al*,, 1960; Krugman *et al.*, 1967; Krugman *et al.*, 1971; Chance, 1972; Levine *et al.*, 1974).

Also, institutions served as sites of conditioning experimentation designed to alter deviant behaviours. Of course the deviant behaviour was directly related to the decrepit institutional environment to begin with. Evidence exists clearly linking institutional environments to stunted social and cognitive development (Butterfield & Zigler, 1965; Clancy & McBride, 1975; Conroy *et al.*, 1982) and stereotypic, aggressive and dangerous behaviours (Klaber & Butterfield, 1968; Clancy & McBride, 1975). Ironically, then, institutions presented ideal subject pools and spurred published experiments of treatment approaches. These experiments did not seek to change the environments, but rather involved professionals acting on the inmate in order to alter or suppress various behaviour patterns. Often, the 'treatments' were tested in isolation even from normal institutional routines, and so generalisation was a commonly cited problem (Blanchard, 1966; Edwards & Lilly, 1966; Lovaas & Simmons, 1969; Azrin & Wesolowski, 1974).

Many of these empiricist experiments combined features of the bizarre, useless or simply cruel. Among these were: a study by Hollis & Gunnell (1965) that set up a situation involving food competition among girls at an institution to examine their 'dominance behavior'; a study by Kircher *et al.* (1971) that used electric shock to enhance the performance of children in picture-naming experiments; and a study by Stevens (1971) that documented the changes in rocking movements as a result of changing music tempo.

Given the evidence concerning the decrepit conditions existing in segregated environments for individuals with disabilities, it is particularly disingenuous for critics of desegregation efforts to make the claim

> Proponents of deinstitutionalization in the 1960s and 1970s and the full inclusionists of the late 1980s and 1990s share the same logical flaw: that physical placement in a mainstream setting equates to integration into that setting. (MacMillan *et al.*, 1996, p 146.)

In fact, proponents of desegregation support both the elimination of contexts that dehumanise individuals, and the creation of environments where all people, disabled or not, belong (Biklen 1992; Falvey, 1995; Villa & Thousand, 1995; Ryndak & Alper, 1996; Stainback & Stainback, 1996). No evidence is cited, nor does any exist, that mere physical presence is the goal or the outcome of desegregation for people with developmental disabilities.

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The Science of Segregation in the Current Debate Over Facilitated Communication

Those who criticise desegregation efforts based on scientism must ignore both the reality of the institution and a vast body of research on thoughtful school and community inclusion. The critics appear to fear the voices of those challenging the social practice of controlling through segregation individuals with disabilities. It is, then, not surprising that the voices of people with disabilities, given strength, clarity and volume through facilitated communication training, have been grouped by these professionals alongside community and school inclusion as representatives in an unholy trinity of antiscientific practice. We, however, believe these to be a trinity exposing and challenging the eugenic origins of the control professions.

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The challenge of Facilitated Communication to segregation traditions. Recent research demonstrating the usefulness of facilitated communication training in the lives of particular people with disabilities has contradicted long-held professional beliefs about the meaning attributed to certain behaviour patterns and performance mannerisms (see Biklen, 1990; 1993; Crossley, 1994). Facilitated communication is a form of expression in which people who have difficulty speaking and controlling movements may gesture with physical support to a communication board. The physical support is gradually faded [for a discussion on facilitated communication and the controversy surrounding the method see *Mental Retardation*, 32(4) (1994)].

In response to optimistic research regarding the usefulness of facilitated communication training, an oppositional literature has arisen that seeks to re-establish traditional patterns of professional disability interpretation and control (Green & Shane, 1994; Shane, 1994; Hudson, 1995; Jacobson *et al.*, 1995; Simpson, 1995). Opposition to facilitated communication initially emerged in response to the work of Rosemary Crossley, an employee at St Nicholas Hospital, an institution for people with disabilities in Melbourne, Australia. Palfreman (1994) described the conditions at St Nicholas as 'terrible' (p. 34)

> Profoundly intellectually disabled children are warehoused in huge wards in an environment devoid of color and stimulation. The inmates of St Nichs, as it was known, live their whole lives surrounded by tall white walls, their basic needs being supplied at the convenience of the staff. (Palfreman, 1994, p. 34.)

However, because this was a state 'hospital' designed by professionals who claimed expertise in the care of individuals with profound disabilities, no one cared to challenge the squalid, dehumanising conditions that surrounded the inmates for life. In fact, attention focused on St Nicholas only after the institution's legitimacy was challenged by an inmate, Anne McDonald, who demanded freedom. The control profession rallied in an effort to squelch McDonald's typed words.

McDonald struggled to survive at St Nicholas in an extremely malnourished condition (Crossley & McDonald, 1980; Palfreman, 1994). The controversy, however, ignored McDonald's physical state, emerging only after she typed using facilitated communication that she wished to leave the institution. She informed

Crossley that a nurse had placed a pillow over her face (Crossley & McDonald, 1980).

Personnel in the Health Commission of Victoria accused Crossley of manipulating McDonald's hand to produce this typed statement. This resulted in Crossley entering into a Supreme Court battle to establish McDonald's right to reside outside the institution. The Health Commission resisted Crossley in court explaining that they 'declined to permit Ms Crossley to take the applicant from hospital to live with her because of a sense of *moral responsibility* for the welfare of Ms McDonald' (Dwyer, 1996, p. 76, emphasis added). In effect, controversy and attention developed only when a person with a disability challenged the traditional power structures that maintained professionals as the controlling agents and people with disabilities as voiceless objects to be controlled in an environment that malnourished both the body and the soul.

The Supreme Court of Victoria, Australia sided with Crossley and McDonald, and McDonald moved from the institution (Crossley & McDonald, 1980). Her legal issues were not entirely completed, however. The Public Trustee controlled McDonald's financial affairs on the grounds that she was an infirm person. To remove this label, McDonald had to return to the Supreme Court where she was asked to pass a test that, it was suggested, would prove her intellectual and communicative competence. Out of the presence of Crossley, McDonald was asked to type two words, string and quince. Crossley re-entered the room and supported McDonald as she typed 'string,' and 'quit.' The Court viewed her latter misspelling as evidence of wit rather than incompetence (Crossley & McDonald, 1980). Professionals in the field, however, suggested it was a manifestation of Anne's intellectual vacuum. For instance, one angry critic stated, 'Remarkably, production of just two words, 'string' and 'quit' (only one of which is accurate) constitute the scientific bedrock on which the entire FC movement is based' (Palfreman, 1994, p. 40).

The disability professionals re-organised their efforts to support the continued confinement of inmates at St Nicholas when a second individual, Angela Wallace, typed that she would like to participate in making decisions regarding her place of residence (Crossley & McDonald, 1980). Wallace's case ended up in County Court rather than the Supreme Court and pitted non-verbal inmate against the psychiatric profession.

The most influential testimony in the Wallace case came from a psychiatrist named Eisen who authored a report with the Eisen Committee after testing the competence of individuals at St Nicholas who were expressing themselves via facilitated communication (Dwyer, 1996). Eisen, a consultant with the World Health Organisation in Geneva, took the stand against Wallace and reported that he had found absolutely no valid evidence that any of the inmates with whom Crossley worked could communicate using the alphabet, or that any had even rudimentary literacy or numeracy skills. Eisen suggested that Wallace herself functioned below the intellectual level of a toddler. When asked to present his notes from the testing situations, Eisen replied that he had only one note; all the others had been destroyed. Judge Gorman, who presided over the case, supported the Health Commission and ruled that Angela Wallace should remain incarcerated in St

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Nicholas. Soon after the judgment, Angela Wallace died in the same malnourished condition Anne McDonald had lived under (Crossley & McDonald, 1980).

Following the court proceedings, the notes that Eisen claimed were destroyed were, in fact, obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. Not only was Eisen's statement on the destruction of the notes false, but the content of the notes demonstrated that the Eisen Commission had established on numerous occasions that several of the people Crossley worked with, including Angela Wallace, demonstrated valid and sophisticated literacy and numeracy skills. So compelling were the notes in favor of Angela Wallace's competence that had they been honestly presented to the County Court, Wallace may well have won her right to leave St Nicholas

> The Minutes and Secretary's notes show that the (Eisen) report misrepresented what was actually found by the Eisen Committee in its sessions working with the 'children'. Had the Committee's notes been produced at the hearing, Dr Eisen's evidence would, as Judge Gorman acknowledged, have been discredited. The court was misled as to the existence of this vital evidence which could well have avoided the tragic result for Angela Wallace. (Dwyer, 1996, p. 81.)

The link between those opposed to facilitated communication and the early eugenicists is evident in the effort to control people with differences through segregation which effectively silences them, and, ultimately, may kill them.

Beyond Scientism in the Debates of the Disability Professions

A recent article listed treatment 'fads' in the disability professions (Schopler, 1996). Included as a fad was de-institutionalisation: 'the politicized overextension of the concept helped to produce the increasing costs of homeless people' (p. 279). Also, included was full inclusion: 'as an overextension of the civil rights movement, it can disrupt appropriate education for both handicapped and nonhandicapped students' (p. 279). Facilitated communication completed the list: 'When FC is used to charge parents or child care workers with sexual abuse, they are subjected to destructive accusations without appropriate evidence' (p. 279).

The common thread linking community and school inclusion and facilitated communication is that they represent a direct challenge to the technical rational science of segregation on which the control professions have been built. The science of segregation, originating with eugenics, supports the notion that difference must be stigmatised, contained and eliminated from the community. Technical rationalism suggests that better and better professionally designed techniques will develop for the control of difference. Challenges to this manner of control are considered anti-professional and, because professions are purportedly based on science, anti-scientific.

The challenge of desegregation efforts and facilitated communication to the control professions is that they disrupt entrenched notions of expertise and the myth of clinical judgment (Biklen, 1992). The professions fear the idea that the com-

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munity, family, friends, neighbors and inclusive schools may provide a more meaningful life experience for people with disabilities than do clinically generated segregated contexts built on psychological theories of deviance originating with eugenics.

The professions also fear people with severe disabilities communicating meaningfully about their place in the community because the locus of expertise shifts from the person who controls people with disabilities based on professional degrees and work experience to the actual people with disabilities speaking for themselves. The professional claim that science serves as the basis for silencing people whose communication is facilitated rings hollow and false. It requires ignoring the accomplishments and words of people with disabilities who have demonstrated that they, indeed, are the authors of their typing. This has occurred in multiple ways: in testing and experimental conditions (e.g. Crossley & McDonald, 1980; Intellectual Disability Review Panel, 1989; Steering Committee, 1993; Cardinal *et al.*, 1996; Sheehan & Matuozzi, 1996; Weiss *et al.,* 1996; Biklen & Cardinal, 1997; Marcus & Shevin, 1997); through outside corroboration of typed statements (e.g. *State of Kansas* v. *Warden*, 1995); through progressive independence in typing skills (e.g. McCarthy *et al.*, 1996); and in distinctive writing styles unique to an individual across facilitators and which could not be imposed by an outside source (e.g. Sellin, 1995). To conveniently omit and planfully disregard this documentation suggests empiricist social and psychological attacks on facilitated communication have no relationship to the natural sciences and do not fit any conceivable model for thoughtful human inquiry.

The claim that segregation and professionally induced silence are empirically validated is, in actuality, scientism, the rhetoric of the natural sciences used to cloak an ideology of control through segregation. Criticism of inclusion and facilitated communication represents a particular moral position, a belief in how society should look, that is then supported by data generated from the paradigm of segregation and stands in opposition to those whose moral position seeks a more inclusive world where the voices of people with disabilities are supported, heard and respected.

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