THE STORY OF

Indepen-dance

Opportunity through inclusive dance

An oral history.

Research by Adam Sawyers and Geanina Beres
Written by Adam Sawyers

University of Glasgow Settlement

LOTTERY FUNDED

Table of Contents

Table of Figures 3

Introduction & Acknowledgements 4

Part 1 - A history of social care for disabled people: from the poorhouse to Self-Directed Support 5

1.1 - Institutions for the mentally disabled 5

1.2 - Day Centres and Special Schools 9

1.3 - Institutions for the physically disabled 9

1.4 - Changes in public attitudes in the late 20th century 12

1.5 - Legislative changes since the turn of the Millennium 13

Part 2 - A history of disability arts: from Victorian ‘freak shows’ to inclusive dance 16

2.1 - Victorian freak shows – a cruel spectacle, or a precursor to inclusive arts? 16

2.2 - Arts in institutions 18

2.3 - Arts outside institutions 20

Part 3 - The growth of Indepen-dance 23

3.1 - Genesis 23

3.2 - Milestones 25

3.3 - What makes Indepen-dance different? 27

Part 4 - The value of inclusive dance 28

4.1 - Happiness, health and wellbeing 28

4.2 - Social inclusion and community 31

4.3 - Perceptions, identity and imagery 33

Part 5 - The stories of Indepen-dance 36

Karen Anderson - Yvonne’s funeral 36

Mairi Brackenridge - How employees’ lives have changed 36

Claire Reda - Dancers going abroad for first time 36

Karen Anderson - ‘Four Last Songs’ performance 37

Irene Tweedie - On her son’s independence 38

Hayley Earlam - IND4 performance in a hall in Oban 38

Adam Sloan and Neil Price - Commonwealth Games 38

Hayley Earlam - Scottish Ballet visit 39

Neil Price - John Partridge visit 39

Adam Sloan – Personal achievements 40

Discussion and Conclusion 42

Bibliography 44

Table of Figures

Figure 1.1 - Drawing, by an anonymous ex-patient at Lennox Castle. 8
Figure 1.2 - Halliwick Home for Crippled Girls, near London, circa 1930. 11
Figure 2.1 - Poster promoting a ‘Missing Link’ exhibit at Pickard’s Panopticon freak show in Glasgow, 1908. 18
Figure 2.2 - Photograph showing a same-sex couple dancing in an institution circa 1920. 19
Figure 2.3 - Photograph showing girls at Chailey performing an early form of expressionist dance. 20
Figure 2.4 - Hilde Holger’s ‘Towards the Light’, staged in 1969. 21
Figure 3.1 - Photograph of Karen Anderson with her baby in the early days of the company in 1997. 24
Figure 3.2 - Ticket for the 2005 Special Olympics opening ceremony. 26
Figure 5.1 - Flyer for Vier Letzte Lieder, or Four Last Songs, first performed in 2005. 38
Figure 5.2 - Indepen-dance 4 working with dancers and choreographers from Scottish Ballet in 2015. 39
Figure 5.3 - John Partridge, shown here with Adam Sloan and Neil Price from Indepen-dance 4. 40

Introduction

This report aims to tell the story of Indepen-dance, an inclusive dance company founded by Karen Anderson in Glasgow in 1996. Karen was inspired to create the organisation after working in adult social care, where she recognised the lack of opportunities for people with learning disabilities to participate in dance. Over the past 21 years Indepen-dance has grown, now offering dance workshops to over 400 people per week.[1] This report aims to tell the story of Indepen-dance by building on oral history interviews conducted with eight of the company's staff in June 2017, in addition to items from the organisation's archive, and a variety of academic sources.

To fully understand the company's story, it is important to examine how the lives of disabled people have changed over the past centuries. The first section of this report focuses on the history of state-provided care for disabled people in Scotland and Glasgow. The second section examines the opportunities for disabled people to participate in the performing arts, and how these have changed over time. The third section tells the story of the growth of Indepen-dance itself, including a discussion on how the company differs from approaches taken in the past. The final two sections draw predominantly on testimony from oral history interviews with members of Indepen-dance staff to explain the value of inclusive dance, and to record a selection of stories from the company's past.

Throughout the report, it is argued that Indepen-dance's approach to offering community involvement and access to the arts is in stark contrast to the approaches of the past. It will be seen that inclusive dance gives people with learning disabilities the opportunity to become happier, healthier, and better integrated into society. It will also be seen that inclusive dance has the ability to alter the perceptions of nondisabled people, thereby improving the lives of disabled people. However, it is also important to note that many barriers remain which prevent Indepen-dance from fully achieving its aims, and these will be highlighted in the final section of the report.

An accessible version of this report is also available from the Indepen-dance website, which distils our findings into an easy-to-read format.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank all of the staff at Indepen-dance for allowing us to carry out our research and welcoming us into the company; particularly those who agreed to be interviewed. We would also like to thank the many members of Indepen-dance who allowed us to observe their dance classes and gave us a unique insight into the work of the organisation. Finally, we would like to thank the University of Glasgow Settlement for funding the project and providing us with academic support.

[1] Karen Anderson, *Indepen-dance Company CV* (2017), p.15.

Part 1 - A history of social care for disabled people: from the poorhouse to Self-Directed Support

The routes of society's modern attitudes to disability and dance can be traced back the early 19th Century, when the first statisticians attempted to define the 'ideal' person. This caused the development of what historian Lennard Davis refers to as the 'the tyranny of the norm.'[2] Along with a societal obsession with normalcy, there was also a corresponding obsession with abnormality. Disabled people began to be held behind closed doors in purpose-built institutions away from society. The evolution of these institutions will be discussed in this chapter, with particular attention paid to developments in the city of Glasgow.

1.1 - Institutions for the mentally disabled

Before Victorian times, people with mental disabilities were often labelled as 'lunatics', and thus deemed unfit to care for themselves. In Glasgow, the Town Poorhouse on the banks of the River Clyde was home to so-called lunatics from all social classes. According to a report from the time, they were kept in damp 'cells' in the building's basement in 'wretched condition.'[3] As time went on it became apparent that their living conditions had to improve. Many grand asylums were built in Britain between 1810 and 1900 in what historians have labelled the 'asylum age.' The same institutions were used for housing the mentally ill and the criminally insane, as well as people with learning disabilities. They can be seen as a product of changing attitudes as people began to see mental disability not as a medical problem, but as a moral one. New asylums were to be built in the countryside to keep patients out of the 'immoral' cities, but also apart from the wider population.[4]

The Glasgow Royal Asylum for Lunatics was built at Gartnavel in 1843 and was the largest institution of its kind in the city. Its facilities and ethos were good for its time, offering on-site 'pleasure gardens' and rules to ensure staff treated all patients with 'equal tenderness.' However, patients were segregated by gender and social class, and there was little freedom or individuality. Unofficially, the pre-Victorian regime of restraining patients continued. A contemporary report mentioned use of leather muffs, strait waistcoats, and 'handcuffs of iron.' A step towards improving conditions in asylums came with the Lunacy (Scotland) Act in 1862. This act was a real milestone, which permitted for the licensing of these charitable institutions, and finally recognised the needs of the mentally disabled as distinct from the mentally ill. However, even the best-run asylums treated the disabled as medical patients who needed to be kept separate from society and 'cured' if possible. Patients had very little freedom, and allegations of inhumane treatment continued well into the 20th century.

Negative attitudes towards disabled people around the turn of the century were exacerbated by the emergence of the eugenics movement. Eugenicists claimed to be applying Charles Darwin's theory of natural selection to human beings. They argued against offering medical treatment and social services to disabled people on the basis that this 'would undermine the natural struggle for existence and lead to the degeneration of the human race.'[5] The associations drawn by eugenicists between disability and 'criminal activity, mental incompetence, [and] sexual

---

[2] L. J. Davis, 'Constructing Normalcy: The Bell Curve, the Novel, and the Invention of the Disabled Body in the Nineteenth Century' in *The Disability Studies Reader, Second Edition* ed by L.J. Davis (2006), pp.4-6.
[3] James Christie, (ed.) *The medical institutions of Glasgow: a handbook prepared for the annual meeting of the British Medical Association held in Glasgow* (James Maclehose & Sons, 1888), p.123.
[4] R. A. Ross, *The locational history of Scotland's district lunatic asylums, 1857-1913* (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2014), p.16.
[5] Victoria Brignell, 'The eugenics movement Britain wants to forget' *New Statesman* (9 December 2010), para. 3.

license' shaped attitudes towards disabled people for many decades.[6] Eugenic policies were most influential in Nazi Germany, where 200,000 disabled people were killed, and around 400,000 were forcibly sterilised. However, the movement began in Britain and became increasingly significant in the UK around the turn of the 20th century. Politicians from William Beveridge to Winston Churchill championed Eugenic thinking. Indeed, Churchill once wrote that 'the multiplication of the feeble-minded is a very terrible danger to the race.'[7] However, despite legislation being proposed to sterilise or even arrest 'unfit' disabled people, opposition in parliament means that this never happened. Rather, the main legacy of British eugenicists was the strict gender segregation in British institutions which was 'pursued with extraordinary vigour' in order to 'curb the fertility of the 'unfit'.'[8] Following World War Two, the ideas of eugenics became seen as outdated due to their association with Nazi Germany,[9] but the influence of the movement lingered on.

The influence of the eugenicists can be seen in the Mental Deficiency and Lunacy Act of 1913, which profoundly shaped the lives of people with learning disabilities in Britain. Around 40,000 men and women were locked away due to the act, having been deemed 'feeble-minded' or 'morally defective.'[10] The act also allowed local authorities in Scotland to institutionalise children without parents' permission.[11] One example of the suffering caused by the Act can be seen in this letter, written in the 1920s by the mother of a patient at Stoneyetts hospital in Glasgow during the 1920s. In a letter to the authorities, she tells the 'heart-breaking' story of her daughter's treatment:

> 'My daughter was sent away for being slow to pick up lessons at school. She was to get home when she was sixteen ... She is now 23 years of age and her letters are heart-breaking. She is very unhappy and there is no reason for keeping her a prisoner. I think if matters are properly looked into she will be released. She is a fine healthy big girl and works very hard in the home; she is willing to go into service ... If there was anything wrong with her we would not fight so hard for release but she was not sent away for violence or anything like that. Now her education is complete I do not know what they are keeping her for. I will await your reply.' [12]

Despite clear problems with the city's treatment of disabled children, Glasgow's system was considered one of the most advanced in Britain by the 1920s, and certainly much better than rural areas where there was often little support for disabled children. Early attempts were even made to provide free transport for disabled children in Glasgow.[13] Care outwith institutions was also considered superior north of the border. Through its 'boarding-out' system, Scottish Poor Law authorities could relocate mental defectives of all ages away from institutions and place them in the care of foster parents in rural areas. No such system existed in England.[14] Whether this should be seen as an enlightened early example of 'care in the community', or an overbearing measure which moved disabled people far away from their friends and families, can be debated.

---

[6] Davis, 'Constructing Normalcy', pp.8-9.
[7] Quoted in Brignell, 'The eugenics movement Britain wants to forget', para. 14.
[8] Steve Humphries & Pamela Gordon, *Out of Sight: The Experience of Disability 1900-1950* (Northcote House, 1992), p.100-101.
[9] Kanta Kochhar-Lindgren, 'Disability' in *Keywords For American Cultural Studies* (NYU Press, 2007), para. 3.
[10] Victoria Brignell, 'When the disabled were segregated' *New Statesman* (15 December 2010), para 2.
[11] Matt Egan, *The `Manufacture' of Mental Defectives in Late 19th and Early 20th Century Scotland* (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2001), p.238.
[12] Quoted in Egan, *The `Manufacture' of Mental Defectives*, pp.247.
[13] Humphries & Gordon, *Out of Sight,* p.12.
[14] Egan, *The `Manufacture' of Mental Defectives*, pp.104.

Many of the rules in Scotland's 20th century institutions now seem shocking. Throughout Scotland's residential homes, unqualified staff working with disabled children was common, children's own views were seldom listened to, and there was a lack of accountability. Corporal punishment was a part of patients' lives until the 1980s.[15] Extremely strict gender segregation was the norm in all institutions for the mentally disabled. This was because the 1913 Act was influenced by 'a desire to control female sexuality for both moral and eugenic reasons.'[16]

One example of an institution for people with mental disabilities was Lennox Castle, a large building on the outskirts of Glasgow. Lennox Castle opened in the 1930s in order to house and treat 'mental defectives' - a loose term which included people with learning disabilities as well as those with low IQs and the criminally insane. Patient's lives were strictly regulated, and gender segregation was rigidly enforced. Women lived at the top of the hill, and men at the bottom. This was true for staff as well as patients. A weekly dance was the only time male and female patients could mix, and even then it was under strict supervision by 'the superintendent, his wife, and the matron.'[17] Nevertheless, it was an important part of patient's lives, as shown in Figure 1.1. This drawing, by an anonymous ex-patient at Lennox Castle, shows the gender segregation, regimented schedule, and separation from the wider community that was typical of 20th century institutions. Everything was dealt with on site - even a hairdresser's - so patients rarely interacted with the outside world. Notable is the dance hall, as this represents the only time male and female patients could mix. The drawing suggests that 'the Danceing' was a fond memory for this patient, complete with the details of 'Records' and the 'Disc Jockey at the Assembly Hall Mike.'

[15] Tom Shaw, *Historical Abuse Systemic Review: Residential Schools and Children's Homes in Scotland 1950 to 1995* (Scottish Government, 2007), p.4.
[16] Egan, *The `Manufacture' of Mental Defectives*, pp.238.
[17] OpenLearn, 'Finding out about Lennox Castle' *Lennox Castle Hospital*, (Open University, 2016), section 1.1., part 4.

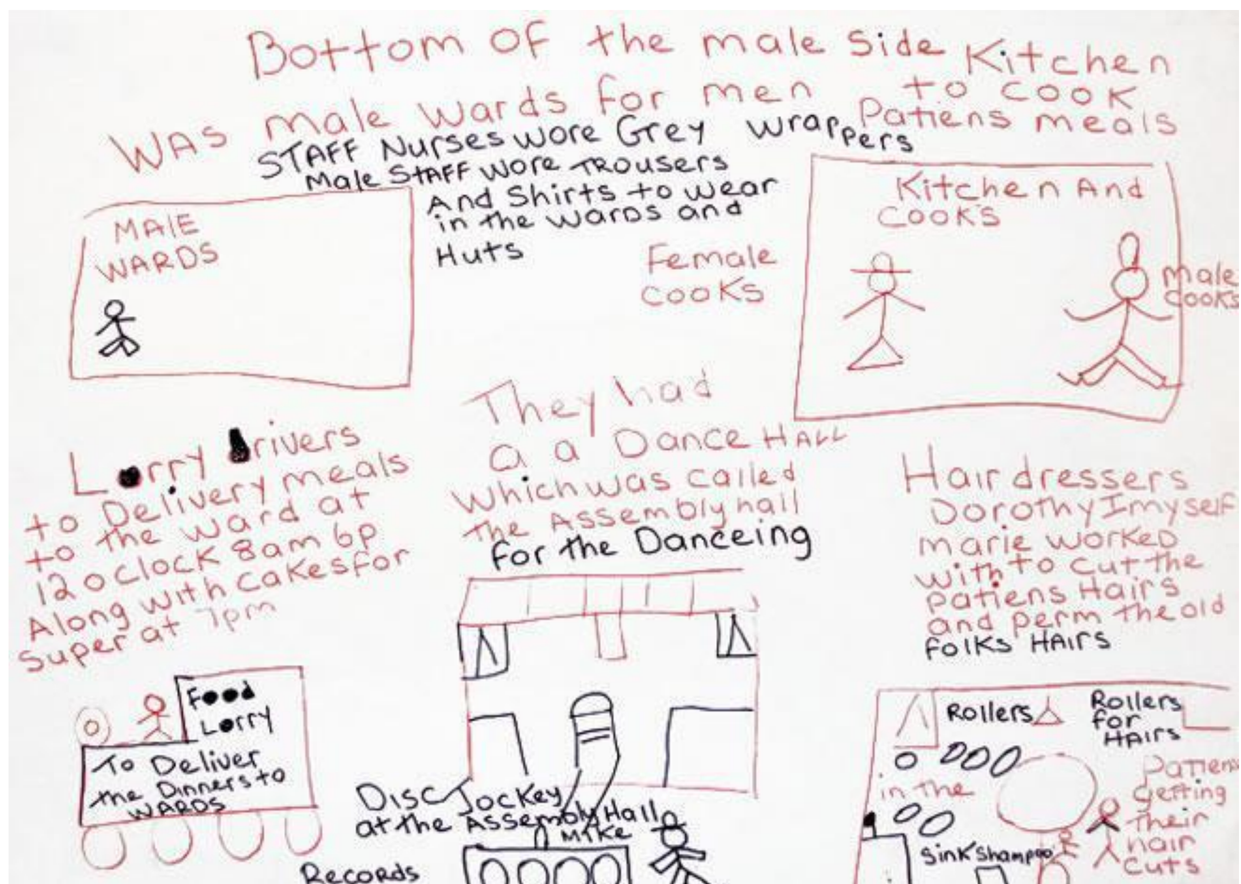


Figure 1.1 - Drawing, by an anonymous ex-patient at Lennox Castle, showing the gender segregation and strictly regimented schedule.[18]

Many of the rules at Lennox Castle, which were designed to ensure good behaviour from patients, now seem cruel. Punishments included being denied food, wearing embarrassing outfits, or even being forcibly drugged with powerful sedatives. The so-called 'five o'clock treatment' was used to punish patients who attempted to run away; patients were made to spend all day working at domestic tasks such as scrubbing the floor, and at 5 o'clock they were sent straight to bed, with a diet of only 'bread, bread and tea.' Records show that threats of violence were a part of everyday life for both patients and staff, due in part to the high number of nondisabled patients who were placed there due to their criminal backgrounds.[19]

Over time, practices at Lennox Castle changed, and by the 1980s male and female patients were permitted to live together. A greater emphasis was placed on education, training, and preparing for life outside the institution. Some privacy was even given to patients as cubicles were installed to break up the long rows of hospital beds and people were allowed to wear their own clothes. Despite these changes the hospital remained isolated physically from the outside world, with a strict schedule and pattern of life.[20]

---

[18] Lennox Castle Stories, 'Images: Drawings', online at http://www.lennoxcastlestories.co.uk/gallery/type/c/drawing
[19] OpenLearn, 'Finding out about Lennox Castle', section 1.1., part 3.
[20] OpenLearn, 'Explaining what we find out' *Lennox Castle Hospital*, (Open University, 2016), section 1.2., para's 6-7.

1.2 - Day Centres and Special Schools

Special education consisted of only informal small-scale classes until 1906, when a system of school board-run special schools were established. These schools were designed for children aged 5 to 16 who were considered 'dull and backward' and therefore unable to be educated in mainstream schools.[21] Critics at the time argued that excluding so-called 'mental defectives' from mainstream schools was unnecessary, and a debate over the merits of special schools continues to the present day.[22]

For children too profoundly disabled to be considered for inclusion in state-run special schools, a system of community-run day centres were set up as an alternative to institutional living. Mary Russell, a resident of Paisley, opened the first day centre in Scotland in 1910. Staffed by volunteers from local special schools, the centre 'organised visits, gave advice and provided support for the parents of the children.' Slowly, the centre expanded to include adults with learning disabilities. In 1923, the Paisley association expanded to cover the whole country, and later became known as the Scottish Association for Mental Health. The events of the 1910s and 1920s profoundly shaped day care provision for the rest of the century; indeed the SAMH is still active today.[23]

As life in institutions such as Lennox Castle slowly improved, so too did life for disabled children in Scotland's special schools. The idea that certain children were so severely disabled as to be 'uneducable' dominated in Scottish education for most of the 20th century, but the 1969 Melville Report and the 1974 Education Act changed this. Children who had previously been excluded from special schools became the responsibility of local authorities rather than charitable day centres.[24] This signalled a change in attitudes, and slowly over the coming decades disabled children began to be integrated more and more in mainstream schools.

1.3 - Institutions for the physically disabled

Concern for those with physical and sensory disabilities began in Victorian times. In Scotland, new institutions for children were founded in the rapidly-growing industrial cities. Usually set up by religious and moral campaigners, the earliest cared for blind and deaf children, and later those with other disabilities.[25] However, despite the good intentions of many of these institutions, the experience of children living in these institutions was often unpleasant. For example, at Donaldson's School for the deaf in Edinburgh, bed-wetting was common despite carrying strict punishments. Many children ran away. Those who remained often found that their institutional upbringing did little to prepare them for adult life 'in the community' once they were old enough to leave.[26] Historian Iain Hutchison has argued that this was due to the fact that the institutions put more emphasis on the 'confinement' of disabled children than offering them training.[27] To exacerbate this problem, there were no similar institutions for physically disabled adults who required care. Disabled adults in the 19th century were generally not segregated from society.

---

[21] G.O.B. Thomson, 'Legislation and Provision for the Mentally Handicapped Child in Scotland since 1906' *Oxford Review of Education* 9, 3 (1983), pp.234-235.
[22] Egan, *The `Manufacture' of Mental Defectives,* pp.8-9.
[23] Thomson, 'Legislation and Provision for the Mentally Handicapped Child', pp.235-236.
[24] Thomson, 'Legislation and Provision for the Mentally Handicapped Child', pp.237-238.
[25] Iain Hutchison. 'Voices from the past: early institutional experience of children with disabilities - the case of Scotland' *Pediatric Rehabilitation* 8, 1 (2005), p.68.
[26] Hutchison, 'Voices from the past', p.70.
[27] Hutchison 'Voices from the past', p.76.

Rather, they were highly visible, often making a living on the street as ‘crippled beggars’, or on stage in so-called freak shows.[28]

If necessity forced disabled adults to become highly visible in the 19th century, whether on stage or on the streets, the 20th century reversed this trend. As societal attitudes changed, and new forms of entertainment became popular, freak shows and public spectacles were seen as increasingly outdated. A more institutional approach dominated from the turn of the century onwards, with disabled people kept ‘out-of-sight and out-of-mind.’[29] The years around 1900 saw a spike in physical disabilities among newly born children caused by epidemics of disease - especially in large cities such as Glasgow where many people lived in poverty. At this time the eugenics movement was particularly prominent, and disability was shrouded in old-fashioned views of superstition and religion. In some families, disability was equated with ‘spiritual uncleanliness and evil’, which made disabled children’s lives very hard and shaped institutional approaches.[30] These children were particularly poorly cared for by the state, leading historian Iain Hutchison to describe them as ‘Scotland’s forgotten offspring.’[31] There was also a big difference in the attitudes of rich and poor at this time. While the working classes traditionally ‘indulged crippled children ... and made them the centre of family life’, the wealthy could afford to ‘closet their crippled children out of shame.’ This led to an incorrect view that disability was more common among working classes, and thus policy makers decided to place poor disabled children far from their slum-dwelling families, into countryside institutions.[32] These institutions were supposed to provide extra support, but merely allowed the public to forget about them as they were out of sight. Between 1900 and 1950 around 250,0000 disabled children in Britain were removed from their families and grew up in institutions. Underfunded and with a lack of government oversight, children were treated ‘like prisoners’ as they were given identification numbers and regulation haircuts, and their clothes taken away.[33] (see Figure 1.2)

[28] Nadja Durbach. *Spectacle of Deformity: Freak Shows and Modern British Culture* (University of California Press, 2010), p.18.
[29] Kochhar-Lindgren, ‘Disability’, para. 3.
[30] Humphries & Gordon, *Out of Sight,* p.12.
[31] Hutchison, ‘Voices from the past’, p.72.
[32] Seth Koven, ‘Remembering and Dismemberment: Crippled Children, Wounded Soldiers, and the Great War in Great Britain’ *The American Historical Review* 99: 4 (1994), p.1177.
[33] Humphries & Gordon, *Out of Sight,* p.12.

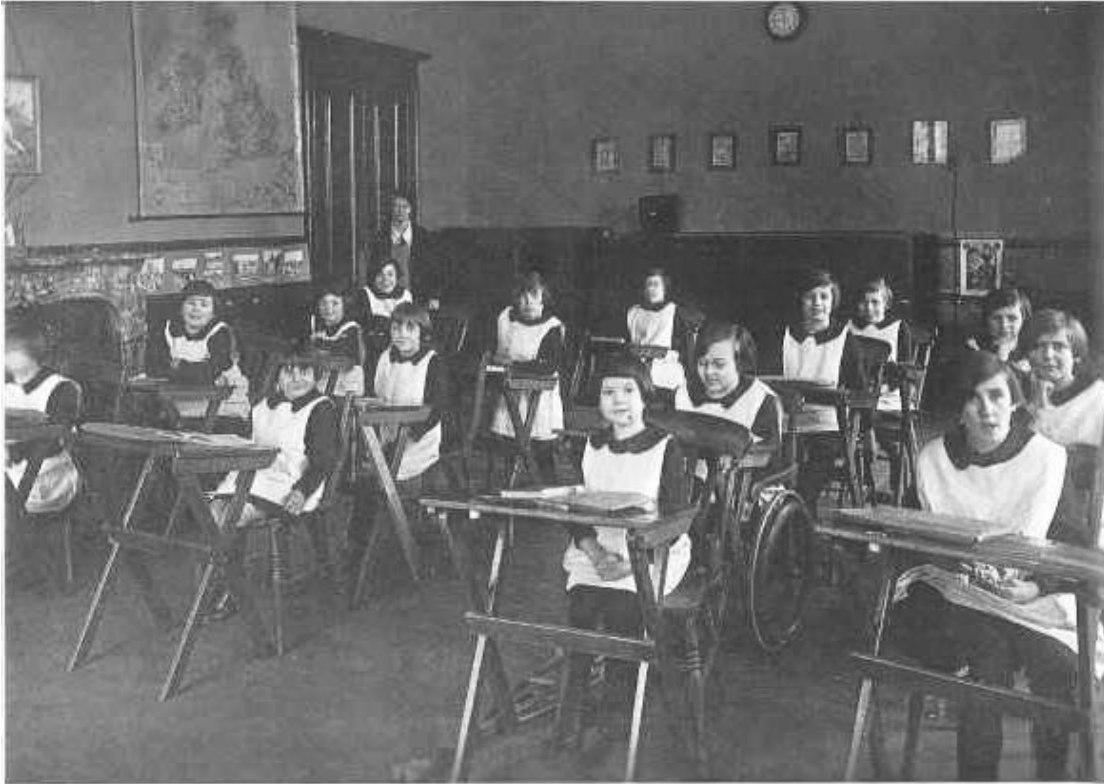


Figure 1.2 - Halliwick Home for Crippled Girls, near London, circa 1930. Mary Baker, a student in this photo, compared Halliwick to a prison.[34]

In Glasgow, East Park Home on Maryhill Road was Scotland's first institution for physically disabled children, formed in 1874. Although founded with good intentions, oral history testimonies with children placed there reveal a 'regime which greatly isolated children from the 'outside world'.' Although the children generally considered it a 'happy place', 'limited resources undermined quality and individuality of care.' In particular, former pupil Amy resented the lack of individuality: 'They institutionalized you in your look and everything, and that's what I objected to.'[35] Also, as there was little support for children once they left at age 13, they were often sent to the poorhouse, or to special delinquency schools for 'incorrigible' children.[36] The school is still active on the same site, and today it is well regarded for its work with disabled children.

Britain's attitudes towards physical disability were profoundly shaped by the experience of war in the early 20th century. Indeed, the word 'disabled' only came to have its modern meaning following the Boer War (1899-1902), which brought to public attention how unfit much of the civilian population was, and resulted in widespread war injuries among soldiers.[37] World War One also had a large impact on attitudes towards disability in Britain, as unprecedented numbers of injured soldiers came home to Britain with physical and mental problems. There was now a widespread belief that disabled soldiers were deserving of the country's help, and this forced the country to consider how to look after its entire disabled population.[38] The public became more familiar with disability as images of injured and maimed ex-servicemen were shown in the media playing sports and working in physical

[34] Humphries & Gordon, *Out of Sight,* p.71.
[35] Hutchison, 'Voices from the past', p.73.
[36] Hutchison, 'Voices from the past', p.73.
[37] Durbach, *Spectacle of Deformity*, p.16.
[38] Durbach, *Spectacle of Deformity*, p.176-177.

jobs. Additionally, disabled ex-soldiers were drafted in to cover jobs for men who had left for war, which showed they were capable of employment.[39] Those with abnormal bodies could no longer be 'othered' as before, and being limbless or maimed became almost 'normal.'

However, while there was help available for the war-wounded, the civilian disabled population fared worse than ever before. They now received very little charitable money, and the decline of the freak shows meant that there were no avenues for them to make a living on stage.[40] David Swift, who grew up in the 1930s and '40s with a hereditary muscular disease, remembered suffering from negative societal attitudes towards his condition as he dreamed of being a musician. Visiting one of the few remaining freak shows in Britain, he felt that he belonged up on stage with the freaks. 'I felt as though I were different, like a freak in a sideshow… There was nowhere else I could go. I used to have this great fear that they [my parents] would get rid of me or put me down because I was disabled.'[41] At this time, there were no routes into performing arts for young people like David, and childhood was often a lonely time.

1.4 - Changes in public attitudes in the late 20th century

The first groups fighting for equality for disabled people began in the 1960s and 1970s, inspired by the civil rights movement in America. The most notable group of this type in the UK was the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation, known as UPIAS. Writing in a ground-breaking 1976 report, they stated their view that:

> .'.. it is society which disables physically impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group in society.'[42]

They also called for an end to institutions which isolated disabled people, and spoke of the importance that disabled people 'assume control over their own lives.'[43] Slowly, this approach became known as the 'social' model of disability, distinct from the old-fashioned 'medical' model which prioritised treatment over societal change. Public attitudes, organisations, and legislation began to change to reflect the social model. In 1981, the British Council of Organisations of Disabled People (BCODP) and Disabled People's International (DPI) adopted the UPIAS approach and expanded to formally include all people with physical, sensory or cognitive disabilities.[44] The 1981 UN International Year of Disabled Persons and the 1995 Disability Discrimination Act in Britain were also major milestones in the journey towards equality for disabled people.[45]

Out of the struggle for equality grew a distinctive 'disability culture' or subculture. Disability scholar Colin Barnes argues that this is similar to subcultures in the LGBT and Afro-Caribbean communities. He describes that the main characteristics of disability culture are 'the redefinition of disability by disabled people and their organisations, and

[39] Koven. 'Remembering and Dismemberment', pp.1192-1197.
[40] Durbach, *Spectacle of Deformity*, p.177.
[41] Humphries & Gordon, *Out of Sight,* p.11.
[42] Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation. *Fundamental Principles of Disability* (UPIAS, 1976), p.14.
[43] Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation. *Fundamental Principles of Disability*, p.3.
[44] Colin Barnes, 'Effecting Change; Disability, Culture and Art?' paper presented at the *Finding the Spotlight Conference* (Liverpool Institute for the Performing Arts, 2003), p.5.
[45] Kirsty Johnston. *Disability Theatre and Modern Drama: Recasting Modernism* (Bloomsbury, 2016), pp.16-17.

the radical socio/political interpretation of disability' through the social model.[46] This is a major departure from the pre-1980s approach to disability arts, which was dominated by ideas of therapy and cure and led by nondisabled people.[47] Disability culture created a positive alternative - art by disabled people, for disabled people - distinct from a mainstream culture which often misrepresented disabled people.[48]

In the 1990s, the social model became increasingly applied to people with learning disabilities, as well as those with physical disabilities. Activists, lawmakers, and members of the public began to accept that 'the disabilities of people who have been labelled as having 'learning disabilities' have less to do with individual capacity than with the experience of living in a society that excludes.' [49] However, not everyone agrees that the social model is the best way to understand disability. Roland Humphrey, a disability arts activist, claims that the social model 'avoids mention of pain, medication or ill-health', in other words, real issues which *do* disable people. He also mentions that the experiences of those with physical, sensory or learning disabilities are each distinct from one another, although they get lumped in together by current models. Nevertheless, he concedes that the social model is much better than the previous medical model, and stresses the progress made over the previous decades.[50]

Public attitudes about institutions also began to change, particularly as allegations of systemic abuse in Scotland's residential homes became well-known in the 1980s.[51] Slowly, institutions began to downsize or close, and people with learning disabilities became reintegrated in the community. However, although these changes have generally been positive, they have been accompanied with spending cuts and restrictive regulations by successive governments. As former social worker and current chair of the Indepen-dance board Mairi Brackenridge put it: 'in some ways there's been huge progress. But I think I'm actually glad I'm out of social care at the moment, 'cus I think the [lack of] financial commitment we make to it means that you can't provide the services that you'd want to provide.'[52]

1.5 - Legislative changes since the turn of the Millennium

Despite important changes in cultural attitudes towards disability, improving the lives of disabled people has required changes in legislation too. A milestone was the Scottish Government's report, entitled *The Same as You?*, published in 2000. This report found that provisions for people with learning disabilities in Scotland were 'not as advanced as in many countries in Europe.' It recommended that 'for all but a few people, health and social care should be provided in their own homes or in community settings alongside the rest of the population', prioritising social inclusion over institutionalisation.[53] As Indepen-dance chairperson Mairi Brackenridge put it, the report was a vindication of the work of organisations like Indepen-dance:

[46] Barnes, 'Effecting Change', p.4.
[47] Carrie Sandahl & Philip Auslander. 'Introduction' in *Bodies in commotion: disability & performance* (University of Michigan Press, 2005), pp.6.
[48] Barnes, 'Effecting Change', p.6.
[49] Goodley & Moore, *Disability Arts Against Exclusion*, p.8.
[50] Roland Humphrey, 'Thoughts on Disability Arts' in *Framed: Interrogating Disability in the Media*, ed. by Pointon & Davies (British Film Institute, 1997), pp.174.
[51] Shaw, *Historical Abuse Systemic Review,* p.4.
[52] Interview with Mairi Brackenridge, 13 June 2017.
[53] Scottish Government, *The same as you? A review of services for people with learning disabilities* (2000), pp.iii-iv.

> 'Disabled people should be 'the same as you', as that report says. The idea that people can enjoy the same activity you can, and you can communicate and be part of that with them. Indepen-dance is that demonstration in practice, of what that policy document was talking about.'[54]

Also around the year 2000, local and national governments were beginning to recognise the potential of arts to improve disabled people's lives.[55] Indeed, by the time the government published their follow-up report *The Keys to Life* in 2013, they committed specifically to disability arts, even mentioning the work of Indepen-dance as an example of 'good practice' in the field.[56]

Importantly, *The Same as You?* report also committed the Scottish Government to introducing direct payments, as an alternative to centrally-funded day centres. This change allowed disabled people to choose the method of their care, increasing their independence and allowing them to choose provisions that suit them.[57] This had important ramifications for arts organisations. Indepen-dance Dance Development Manager Claire Reda discussed the positive and negative effects of the closure of day centres and the government's introduction of Self-Directed Support (SDS) in 2013:

> 'Unfortunately, the government thought 'oh we'll have a great idea here, let's give people their own budgets and let's close all the day centres' ... So they have to manage their own money… what's happening is either people are getting their own budgets and they're not accessing activities, or they're getting their budgets and they can only afford for that adult or young person to go out two or three days a week. So I think their idea was great, but I don't know in society if it's the way we should be moving forward…. It's hard, and it's the way that the government thought 'yeah, let's cut some money and let yous decide.' I don't think it's been done right.'[58]

The government's implementation of SDS has also been criticised in a report by the Centre for Welfare Reform. Despite describing SDS as the 'best option', a 'vital shift in choice, power and control', and applauding its human rights-based approach, the report also has serious criticisms.

> 'It is clear that, for individuals attempting to direct their own support, the system does not deliver; it is instead characterised by wasted time, unmet need, poor outcomes and continued imbalances of power and control … can we truly support the creative and practical design of transformational care for the individual with a workforce that, despite being heavily regulated and monitored, is barely trusted to practice with any degree of autonomy?' [59]

Simon Duffy, the director of the Centre, has also warned that the government's good work has been put at risk by its decision to integrate health and social services, as well as its commitment to austerity economics.[60] The report's main criticisms - that social services are over-regulated and under-funded - were echoed in interviews with

---

[54] Interview with Mairi Brackenridge, 13 June 2017.
[55] Edward Hall. 'Making and gifting belonging: creative arts and people with learning disabilities' *Environment and Planning* A, 45 (2013), pp.244.
[56] Scottish Government, *The keys to life: Improving quality of life for people with learning disabilities* (2013), p.54.
[57] Scottish Government, *The same as you?*, p.94.
[58] Interview with Claire Reda, 29 June 2017.
[59] John Dalrymple et al. *Self-Directed Support: Your Choice, Your Right: A Discussion Paper from the Centre for Welfare Reform* (In Control Scotland, 2017), p.6.
[60] Simon Duffy, 'Foreword' in Dalrymple, John et al. *Self-Directed Support*, p.3.

Indepen-dance board members. However, despite these problems, the leaps and bounds that been made in the field of social care over the past decades are cause to be optimistic for the future.

Part 2 - A history of disability arts: from Victorian 'freak shows' to inclusive dance

Disabled people have long suffered from a lack of equal access to opportunities in the world of performing arts. This chapter chases the evolution of disability arts provisions; from the often-cruel world of Victorian freak shows which nevertheless offered independence and fame to a small number of disabled performers, to attempts to bring arts into the institutions of the 20th century.

This chapter will offer a particular focus on the involvement of people with disabilities in the world of dance. Dance has always been an important part of people's lives, with almost every culture around the world practicing dance; from simple folk dances to complex theatrical performances.[61] Throughout history there are countless examples of artists and performers who have overcome the barriers of physical, sensory and mental disabilities: from Beethoven to Lord Byron to Stevie Wonder.[62] However, within the world of dance there have been surprisingly few famous historical figures with disabilities. This is due to a long-running issue in Western theatrical dance, whereby disabled people have been marginalised in favour of a very narrow vision of how a dancer should look and behave, with the ideal being 'white, long-limbed, flexible, thin and able-bodied.'[63] As this chapter will show, the emergence of inclusive dance companies like Indepen-dance at the end of the 20th century has begun to challenge this perception.

2.1 - Victorian freak shows – a cruel spectacle, or a precursor to inclusive arts?

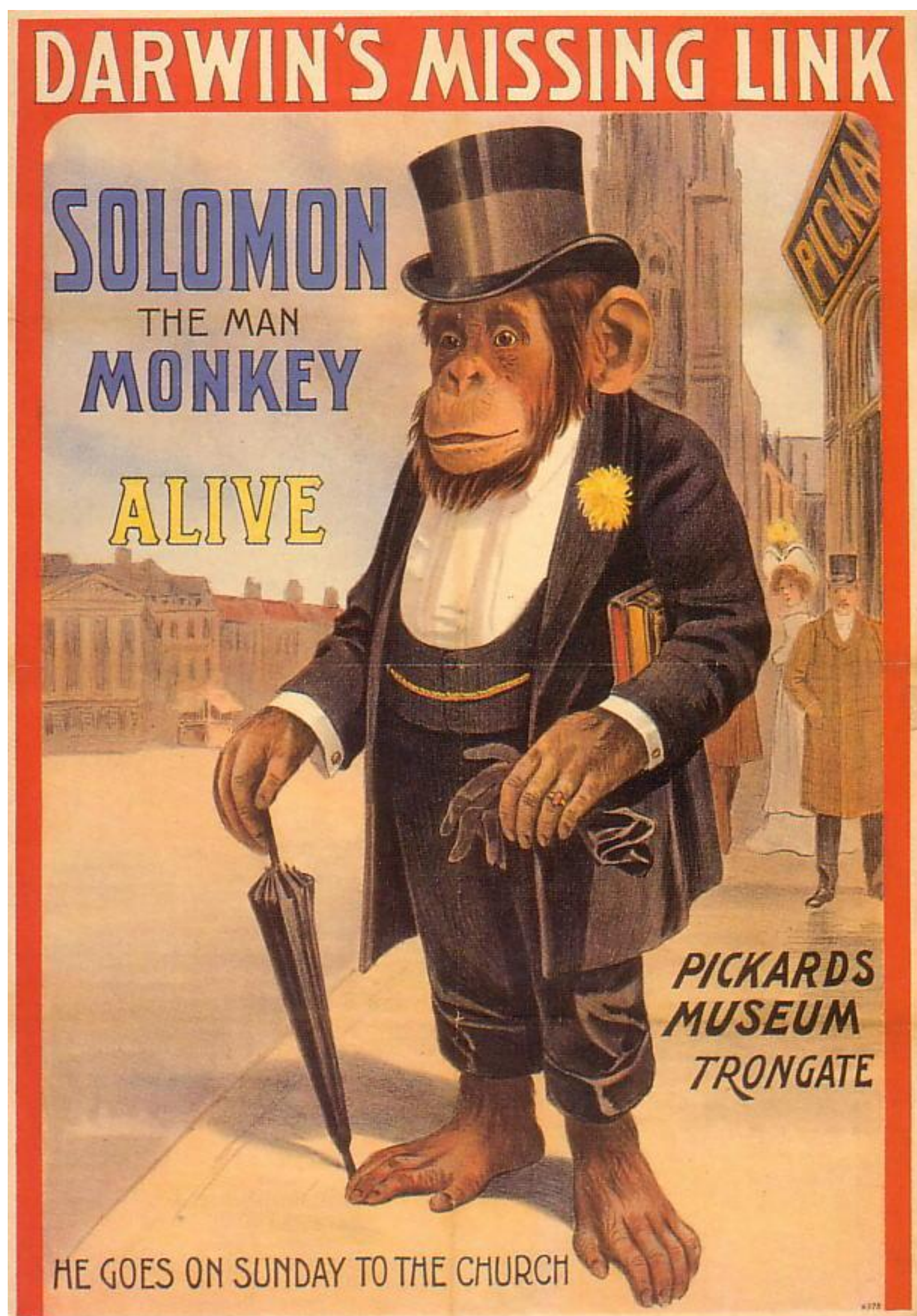
Often when disabled people have appeared on stage throughout history, they have been portrayed as 'figures of fun' and entertainment for the wealthy, rather than artists in their own right.[64] For example, the Ancient Greek and Roman elite used people with physical disabilities as slaves as a form of entertainment, and royal courts in medieval Europe kept people with learning disabilities as 'fools' and 'jesters.'[65] One example of disabled people being exhibited to the public in this way are the so-called 'freak shows' which were particularly popular in Britain during the Victorian and Edwardian periods. These were institutions where the public could pay to see disabled people with unusual talents, along with the severely deformed, and nondisabled actors. At a time when society was obsessed with notions of normality and abnormality, freak shows represented the only opportunity for the public to see disabled people perform on stage.

In Glasgow, records of freak shows exist from as early as the 18th Century, and were especially popular around the annual Glasgow Fair in July.[66] What began as informal acts in tents on Glasgow Green turned into more established venues, some of which remained until the 1940s. Largely clustered around the Trongate area, they featured acts including 'lobster-clawed ladies', 'elephant men' and even a 'bear woman.'[67] Particularly popular were performers claiming to the evolutionary 'missing link' between primates and humans (see Figure 2.1). Such exhibits were common in Britain's freak shows, and could be talented primates, but were most often disabled humans from

---

[61] S.H.E. Harmon et al. 'Disabled Dance: Grounding the Practice in the Law of 'Cultural Heritage'', European Journal of Current Legal Issues 20,3, (2014) § 3.1.
[62] Barnes, 'Effecting Change', p.7.
[63] Carolien Hermans, 'Differences in Itself: Redefining Disability through Dance' *Social Inclusion* 4, 4 (2016), p.160.
[64] Pamela Abbott & R. J. Sapsford, *Community Care for Mentally Handicapped People* (Open University Press, 1987), p.9.
[65] Barnes, 'Effecting Change', p.12.
[66] Elspeth King, 'Popular Culture in Glasgow' in *The Working Class in Glasgow 1750-1914* ed. by R.A. Cage (Crook Helm, 1987), p.158.
[67] King, 'Popular Culture in Glasgow', p.167.

overseas. They represented Victorian and Edwardian society's anxieties over imperialism, morality, and Darwinism; particularly as the eugenics movement was spreading the incorrect idea that disabled people were less 'evolved' than the nondisabled.[68]



[68] Durbach, *Spectacle of Deformity*, p.89.

Figure 2.1 - Poster promoting a 'Missing Link' exhibit at Pickard's Panopticon freak show in Glasgow, 1908.[69]

A point of contention between historians is whether freak shows represent the exploitation of disabled people by wealthy showmen, or whether they offered a rare opportunity for disabled people to use their disability to their advantage and generate an independent income. If the latter is the case, it could be argued that freak shows represent a precursor to the inclusive arts of more recent decades. However, historian Robert Bogdan comes to a more nuanced conclusion. He argues that some freak shows offered certain performers good salaries and living conditions, and even fame and fortune. However, he stresses that the majority of performers were exhibited in second-rate establishments, where life was hard and people had very little pity. Despite these drawbacks, a life of performing in freak shows offered disabled people a degree of acceptance and freedom in a time of negative societal attitudes, employment discrimination, and a lack of social security.[70]

2.2 - Arts in institutions

Traditionally, the only arts provisions available for institutionalised disabled people have been paternalistic attempts at 'art therapy.' While art therapy has its place, its critics argue that it has 'individualised and depoliticised creativity' and treats disabled people as infants,[71] and stress the importance of 'art that is of' disabled people, rather than 'art that is for' disabled people.[72] Indeed, towards the end of the century, some genuine attempts to allow disabled people to express themselves creatively begin to emerge.

Social dance in institutions did exist, as discussed above in the context of Lennox Castle, but it was always tightly controlled, without the potential for self-expression. For example, in some institutions, gender segregation was so strict that only same-sex dance couples were allowed (see Figure 2.2).

---

[69] Pickard's Museum, 'Darwin's Missing Link' (1908), online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Darwin%27s_Missing_Link.jpg, licensed under Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike License.
[70] Robert Bogdan. 'The social construction of freaks' in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, ed. by R.G. Thomson (Columbia University Press, 1996), pp.34-35.
[71] Barnes, 'Effecting Change', pp.7-8.
[72] Allan Sutherland. 'Disability arts, disability politics' in *Framed: Interrogating Disability in the Media*, ed. by Pointon & Davies (British Film Institute, 1997), p.159.

Figure 2.2 - Photograph showing a same-sex couple dancing in an institution circa 1920. [73]

Perhaps the earliest dance programme which allowed disabled dancers to express themselves was at Chailey Heritage School in Sussex, England. The school was run by pioneering philanthropist Grace Kimmins, who had an enlightened view that children with disabilities could achieve independence through 'recreation, education, and vocational training', as well as cutting-edge medical care and 'dance and play therapies.'[74] Kimmins was already at the forefront of the 'English folk dance revival', having created an early form of community dance for poor young girls in London through her Guild of Play organisation around the turn of the century.[75] At Chailey, she developed dance events for the children, 'intended to amuse them, encourage their physical development, and gratify financial supporters.' This included an elaborate dance performance at the Savoy Theatre in London in 1933, which was well-received by the press.[76]

However, even at Chailey, dance was primarily for therapy rather than self-expression, and was often for the benefit of rich benefactors rather than the children themselves. While historian Seth Koven points to Chailey as a rare example of a forward-thinking institution,[77] interviews with former pupils reveal that life there was not always happy. Chailey was still very institutional; children had their clothes taken away from them,[78] and were served small portions of unpleasant food. Although the girls appear happy in photographs, testimonies from former students reveal that they resented wearing institutional uniforms, and that they were frequently hungry. Student

---

[73] Humphries & Gordon, *Out of Sight,* p.109
[74] Koven, 'Remembering and Dismemberment', p1175.
[75] E.M. Nielsen, 'Origins of the Folk Dance Movement' in *Folk Dancing* (Greenwood, 2011), p.53.
[76] Koven. 'Remembering and Dismemberment', p1178.
[77] Koven, 'Remembering and Dismemberment', p1175.
[78] Humphries & Gordon, *Out of Sight,* p.73.

Marjorie Jacques remembers being so hungry that pupils would resort to eating grass when they were outside in the playing field shown in Figure 2.3.[79]

Figure 2.3 - Photograph showing girls at Chailey performing Margaret Morris movement - an early form of expressionist dance.[80]

As the 20th century progressed, there were further attempts to foster more creativity in day centres, albeit with limited success. Karen Anderson remembers working in social work as a Day Centre Officer under a particularly arts-minded manager who instituted an 'Activity Week' to add variety to the routines of the disabled adults at the centre. Karen's background in dance led her to begin dance classes, although she now acknowledges that these early classes were 'awful' as they were not tailored specifically for disabled people. However, Karen could tell that there was promise in the concept as the class really enjoyed the music and dancing.[81] A lack of training for would-be dance teachers, along with a lack of support from day centre management, conspired to prevent disability dance from becoming widespread in institutions. To make matters worse, as institutions began to close in the 1980s and 1990s, disabled people began to lose access to the (already very limited) arts programmes held in day centres and special schools. Indeed, a 1998 report into disability arts in Salford in Greater Manchester found that there were almost no opportunities for disabled people to take part in performance arts in a community setting.[82] However, this was beginning to change as more and more inclusive dance organisations were starting up.

2.3 - Arts outside institutions

[79] Humphries & Gordon, *Out of Sight,* p.79.
[80] Grace Kimmins, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals, Chailey, 1903-1948: Being an Account of the Pioneer Work for Crippled Children* (Baynard, 1948), p.83.
[81] Interview with Karen Anderson, 8 June 2017.
[82] Goodley & Moore, 'Disability Arts Against Exclusion', p.17.

For young disabled people living outside of institutions, access to dance was very difficult to come by. Dance halls were a very big part of early 20th century culture, but were often not accessible to people with physical disabilities, due to physical accessibility issues as well as cultural taboos.[83] Nor were there any specialised disability dance classes or workshops. However, this began to change in the 1960s due to the pioneering work of Austrian-born choreographer Hilde Holger. When Holger's son Darius was born in 1949, he was diagnosed not only with Down Syndrome, but also heart and lung conditions. Undeterred, she began rehabilitating him through a new form of dance therapy she created. As Holger's particular form of choreography was centred around self-expression rather than carefully choreographed movement, it was ideal for people of all abilities and body types.[84] Taking what she had learned from working with Darius, she became the first choreographer to put on a public performance featuring young adults with severe learning disabilities. Her production of 'Towards the Light', shown in Figure 2.4, featured young people from a day centre in London and was staged at the renowned Sadler's Wells Dance Theatre in London in 1969. This performance was a landmark in the development of inclusive dance, which would inspire a generation of inclusive dance activists.[85]

Figure 2.4 - Hilde Holger's 'Towards the Light' was the first public performance to feature young people with learning disabilities, staged in 1969. [86]

One of the earliest organisations dedicated to non-therapeutic dance for the physically disabled was the Wheelchair Dance Association. The association was founded in the UK in 1974, and is still active, holding yearly festivals and championships. Favouring formal ballroom-style dancing, dancers are split into three sections depending on severity of disability, and nondisabled dancers cannot participate.[87] While the association's long history is proof of

[83] Humphries & Gordon, *Out of Sight,* p.113-116.
[84] L.A. Horvitz, 'Biography of Hilde Holger' *Hildeholger.com* (2005).
[85] Luke Jennings, 'Amici Dance Theatre Company: Tightrope' *The Guardian* (27 June 2010).
[86] Hildeholger.com, 'London - Towards the Light' *Images from London*, online at http://hildeholger.com/london/images-from-london/
[87] Wheelchair Dance Association, *Festivals* (2017), online at http://www.wheelchairdanceassociation.org/festivals

its continuing success, their tightly-choreographed, non-integrated approach lacks the emphasis on individual expression and independence which inclusive dance companies would adopt in the coming decades.

The path towards what we now label as 'inclusive dance' was opened by proponents of radical styles of 'new dance' in the 1960s and 1970s. These choreographers created an alternative dance culture, not beholden to 'the exclusive corporeal aesthetic that has traditionally dominated contemporary and classical dance.' [88] For example, in Scotland, choreographer (and former student of Hilde Holger) Royston Maldoom started community dance classes in Dundee in the late 1970s. He was inspired by his own experience as a young man, growing up on a remote farm unaware of dance opportunities. 'I always felt so angry that I could get to 21 without anyone introducing me to dance as an option ... I was determined to bring dance - the life-enhancing power of dance that I believe in - to as many people as possible.'[89] In more recent decades, Maldoom has frequently worked in the world of inclusive dance.

One style of 'new dance' in particular has become key to inclusive dance. Steve Paxton created and defined 'contact improvisation' in the late 1970s: 'As a basic focus, the dancers remain in physical touch, mutually supportive and innovative ... they do not strive to achieve results, but rather, to meet the constantly changing physical reality with appropriate placement and energy.'[90] Although not created specifically for disabled people, contact improv is used by inclusive dance companies as it blurs the lines between professional, recreational and therapeutic dance. It allows for beautiful, radical dance without 'classical conceptions of grace, speed, agility, and control within the disabled body.'[91]

The world's first inclusive dance company was created by choreographer Wolfgang Stange in 1980. Stange moved from his native Berlin to London as a young man to work as a chef, but he became a dancer after meeting fellow Londoner Hilde Holger. Holger became Stange's mentor, and imparted on him her philosophy of valuing 'honesty on stage' above technical precision.[92] By the late 1970s he was teaching dance to two classes; one for able-bodied people, and one for people with visual impairment, although over time he integrated them both. In 1980 he also added dancers with physical and mental disabilities, heralding the creation of his Amici Dance Theatre Company. Throughout his career, Stange's maxim has been that 'you're never too disabled, too blind, too old or too proud to be able to perform.'[93] Amici's model for integrated community dance has been adopted by groups around the world, including Indepen-dance.

While early integrated organisations such as Amici were focused on expanding access to dance, they did so at a community level. The UK's first integrated *professional* company was CandoCo, based in London. Consisting of three disabled dancers and three nondisabled dancers, CandoCo deliberately rejected the label of 'disability dance.' They work to 'complement one each other's strengths and abilities, not to highlight any one individual's capacity.'[94] The group were initially seen as a challenge to the conservative dance establishment. In 1999, a newspaper dance critic described their performances as 'horrific', voyeuristic, and compared them to a 'freak

---

[88] Owen Smith, 'Shifting Apollo's Frame: Challenging the Body Aesthetic in Theatre Dance' in *Bodies in commotion: disability & performance,* ed. by Sandahl & Auslander (University of Michigan Press, 2005), p.76.
[89] Quoted in Mary Brennan, 'Fate, fortune and love of the dance' *The Herald* (3rd November 2000).
[90] Steve Paxton. 'A Definition', *Contact Quarterly* (Winter 1979), p.26.
[91] A.C. Albright, 'Strategic Abilities: Negotiating the Disabled Body in Dance' in *Moving History/Dance Cultures: A Dance History Reader*. ed. by A. Dils and A.C. Albright. (Wesleyan UP, 2001), pp.61-62.
[92] Horvitz, 'Biography of Hilde Holger.'
[93] Jann Parry 'All about Amici and its director Wolfgang Stange' *DanceTabs* (2015).
[94] Smith. 'Shifting Apollo's Frame', p74.

show.'[95] While attitudes can be slow to change, CandoCo's approach to integrated dance has been vindicated, as co-founder Celeste Dandeker-Arnold won Liberty's Human Rights Arts Award in 2012.[96]

Spearheaded by groups such as Amici and CandoCo, inclusive dance has become a worldwide movement. Fundamentally different from mainstream approaches to dance, a shallow focus on physical appearance 'is replaced by a focus on how movement is connected to a sense of self… dance is more and more seduced by the body as we sense it, feel it and live it.'[97] Inclusive dance has become particularly well established in Scotland over the past twenty years. Arts funding body Creative Scotland has written that 'there is rich professional diversity', and have pointed to artists such as Claire Cunningham, Caroline Bowditch and Marc Brew who have 'begun to fundamentally challenge perceptions around the dancing body.'[98] By 2007, Scotland had around twice as many disability-related dance companies per head of population than England,[99] and in 2013 as the British Council acknowledged that Scotland was ahead of the rest of the UK in promoting equality on stage.[100] However, despite great progress in community dance, a lack of equal access to training prevents disabled people from entering the field professionally.[101]

Part 3 - The growth of Indepen-dance

3.1 - Genesis

Karen Anderson, the founder and Artistic Director of Indepen-dance, describes her introduction to the world of inclusive dance as 'serendipity.' Working in a day centre for people with learning disabilities, she struggled to translate her prior experience as dancer into an effective workshop. However, by chance she found a flyer for an inclusive dance workshop run by Wolfgang Stange. Although Karen was previously unaware of Stange's work, she describes this as 'a lightbulb moment' as Strange taught her how to structure dance lessons for disabled people. She considers Stange as 'the person who started this journey for me', and to this day Stange offers his expertise to Indepen-dance. [102]

However, Karen became unhappy at changing management styles at the day centre where she worked, as they did not share her vision of an arts-based approach. Thus, she left her job and found employment as a dance specialist at another day centre. Around this time, Karen became Dancer-in-Residence at Strathclyde Regional Council. However, she remained frustrated at the management in her new day centre, as further staffing changes prevented her from fulfilling her vision. Therefore, along with her husband and fellow dancer Jamie Armstrong, she left the world of social work to begin a new inclusive dance company in 1996 - a company which would become Indepen-dance. Indepen-dance began with only one weekly class of 12 adults with learning disabilities, held in Partick in the

[95] Smith 'Shifting Apollo's Frame', p80.
[96] Liberty, 'Liberty honours human rights heroes in annual awards ceremony' (22 November 2013), online at https://www.liberty-human-rights.org.uk/news/press-releases/liberty-honours-human-rights-heroes-annual-awards-ceremony
[97] Hermans, 'Differences in Itself', p.160.
[98] Creative Scotland, *Review of Dance in Scotland* (2012), online at http://www.creativescotland.com/__data/assets/pdf_file/0018/21474/Dance-Sector-Review-Report.pdf
[99] Jo Verrent, *Dance and disability in Scotland* (Scottish Arts Council, 2007), p.11.
[100] Harmon, Waelde & Whatley, 'Disabled Dance', para.1.
[101] Verrent, *Dance and disability in Scotland,* p.3.
[102] Interview with Karen Anderson, 8 June 2017.

west of Glasgow.[103] Originally with only herself and her husband working out of a small office, Karen has spoken of her gratitude to Phyllis Steel from Giant Productions, who was passionate about inclusive theatre and arts, and 'a great mentor' who supported the company's growth through its earliest years.[104] As demand grew, more classes were added, and new freelance dancers came aboard as teachers. By 1998 the number of weekly classes had expanded to four, and an average of 100 people were attending workshops each week.[105]

Figure 3.1 – Photograph of Karen Anderson with her baby in the early days of the company in 1997.[106]

The first employee to be added was Claire Reda, who joined the company on placement straight out of college and today serves as the Dance Development Manager. She describes her pride in seeing the company continue to grow after 21 years:

> 'I think a milestone is being 21 years old and still achieving and growing every year, not just being static. Seeing these little ideas and going with it. So we have our classes from zero right through to adults, and we're catering for everybody, no matter of age or ability. And seeing where the gaps are - we're looking at launching an elderly class ... We're just trying all the time - basically I think we're creating a new wheel,

[103] Anderson, *Indepen-dance Company CV*, p.17.
[104] Interview with Karen Anderson, 8 June 2017.
[105] Anderson, *Indepen-dance Company CV*, p.15.
[106] Photograph from the Indepen-dance archive.

we're not reinventing the wheel, we're creating our own journey ... I think there's many milestones but achieving 21 years and still having our classes at capacity, and basically having a community level but also a professional level, we work in education, training. All the time we're developing.'[107]

As the company has grown, it has added new groups, new workshops, and new approaches to dance; ensuring that people with a diverse set of needs are catered for. Beginning with just one adult performance company, the Young 1'z youth company was added in March 2008. As numbers grew, it became increasingly difficult to travel with the full performance group, and thus the company's professional-level group Indepen-dance 4 was conceived in 2013. In addition to the performance groups, core classes are provided for those beginners of all ages to learn to dance. Over 400 people now attend Indepen-dance classes each week. In addition, Indepen-dance now provides specialist services for those with profound and multiple disabilities, as well as training, education and outreach services.

3.2 - Milestones

Staff members spoke of many landmark events in the company's 21-year history. Karen spoke of her memories of 'having to do things on a shoestring, but really having a really great time.' A particular highlight was the company's first trip away:

> 'One of the things that stands out in my memory is the first time, I think, we went away. We went away to Wales, and we stayed in a thing - it was like a bothy in the middle of the woods. It was really a rough sort of shelter… I think we slept on these horsehair mattresses and we had a gas fridge, which I thought was hilarious, 'cus there was no electricity! [laughs] So we stayed in this place, it was really beautiful, and we just danced and had fun. And it was so lovely, but it was so rough when I think about it! And we had parents involved at that time, the parents would cook dinner for us coming home from dancing all day, so it was really great fun.'

Another fondly-remembered event was the adult performance group's involvement at the opening ceremony of the 2005 Special Olympics. The performance at Celtic Park gave the dancers an opportunity to perform in front of an audience of thousands, both in the stadium and on television.

[107] Interview with Claire Reda, 29 June 2017.

Figure 3.2 - Ticket for the 2005 Special Olympics opening ceremony, showing the green and blue colour scheme worn by the dancers in a performance choreographed by Cheryl McChesney.[108]

In August 2006 the company celebrated its 10-year anniversary with an exhibition held in the Tramway, along with a retrospective exhibition of sculpture, film and photographs. The exhibition opening was held with special guest Royston Maldoom, now the recipient of an OBE. A 'tree of Indepen-dance' sculpture was created to mark the date, and people's comments and wishes for the future were attached. Chief among these wishes was for Indepen-dance to one day gain a premises of its own. Four years later in 2010 this was realised, as the company moved from its small office above a church in Berkeley Street to the newly-redeveloped Briggait in the city centre. Working in close proximity to other arts and performance organisations has made a huge difference to Indepen-dance. However, Claire has expressed her hopes for the future as the Briggait undergoes further renovation in the coming years:

> 'It's always been a dream, way back… all of the staff, we always wanted Indepen-dance to have a home. Now we're based in the Briggait, we have got a home in our office, but hopefully with the space at the back being developed we will have a home that we can share work, bring professionals, bring people to classes.'[109]

Building on its successes at the Special Olympics, Indepen-dance was again involved when the Commonwealth Games came to Glasgow. In 2010 dancers Kelly and Neil went to Delhi to participate in the closing ceremony and handover. When the games came to Glasgow in 2014, the company was involved at many levels. Claire remembers:

> 'The word came out that they were auditioning again, and that they wanted younger people to be involved too ... we thought 'we could maybe support our Young 1'z to do that.' ... I was really nervous about this big event with a lot of our young people, it was a big massive thing, it was going to be at Hampden, a really big venue. They had thousands of people watching, but also hundreds of people physically moving, they had earpieces in. So we sent three of our support staff to work with them, and they went every week and rehearsed… The young people just could believe they were going to be performing on screen, they were going to be with these celebrities, they were thriving on the experience that they were given. They then performed and they loved it. They surprised us with what they could achieve. Even our staff were struggling with the earpieces in, like 'this group go left, this group go right', constantly going. But they managed it, and they had a ball. And then they rocked out to Rod Stewart and stuff. But also on top of that we had a community aspect, where we performed some flash mobs just along at the river. It was more of an open workshop, as people were walking along the front to get to the different venues we were a pop-up performance. People came and sat in the wee amphitheatre, and we did a wee performance, and then people went off to their next venue. So we were involved quite heavily in the games.'

Today, Indepen-dance builds on the work of pioneers, but also gives back to the global inclusive dance community. Hayley and Emma, two of the dancers in Indepen-dance 4, spoke of the opportunities they have had to meet with people from around the world:

[108] Scanned item from the Indepen-dance archive.
[109] Interview with Claire Reda, 29 June 2017.

Emma: ‘I think we’ve all just got to the point where we’re really proud of the way we work, we're really proud of our practice we’ve developed. Which has totally been inspired by all the people that we’ve had the chance to work with, so all these other artists have kind of informed the way we work and we’ve taken all our favourite bits of what they do and we’ve made it into something that we’re really proud of. And now we’ve got to the point where we want to tell everyone about it, and be like ‘you should do it like this, it works really well!.’

Hayley: ‘We worked a lot with Wolfgang who runs Amici, I’m sure you’ll have heard a lot about them. Karen brings people across all the time to run training sessions for us, or sends us over to do things. Last year we worked in Italy at a festival, we got to work with this amazing choreographer - she’s from Berlin, right? We had such an inspirational time with her, Karen’s bringing her back to teach us again next year. So we work with quite a lot of artists within this inclusive dance community, whether they’re disabled or nondisabled, and I think just sharing all those ideas is really inspiring. And we’re constantly getting these opportunities, so it’s just like it feeds us, doesn’t it? It's like getting fed something really nourishing every month or so, and we get to learn from someone.’[110]

In 2014 and 2016 the company staged the Gathered Together International Inclusive Dance Festival, which it hopes will become a biennial event. The festival facilitated work between inclusive dance companies from all over the world who would never have met otherwise - from America’s Axis Dance Company, to Belgium’s Platform K, to Columbia’s ConCuerpos.

Just as Karen was inspired by Wolfgang’s training workshop, Indepen-dance now also engage with the wider community and provide inspiring training for the next generation of carers, social work staff, choreographers, and community dancers. Such outreach work is vital - bringing in new faces from outside the disability world is the only way to develop inclusive dance and create a more inclusive environment for the future.[111]

3.3 - What makes Indepen-dance different?

Contrasting the ethos of Indepen-dance, it is clear that it is very different from the institutional and pathological approaches to disability which characterised much of the 20th century. Some disability scholars have criticised some integrated dance companies for failing to fully utilise the talents of disabled dancers, or falling victim to stereotypes portraying them as ‘hopeless’ or ‘victims.’[112] However, this is not the case at Indepen-dance, where disabled people are fully integrated into performances and treated with dignity. As Indepen-dance chairperson Mairi Brackenridge argues, Indepen-dance’s commitment to professionalism has been successful in changing attitudes towards disability:

> ‘I think that what we’ve done is develop the understanding that you can engage with people and achieve much more than folk understand, simply by offering the opportunity to explore for themselves what their abilities and skills are, and to be able to find a way of expressing that has been really important.’[113]

[110] Interview with Indepen-dance 4, 22 June 2017.
[111] M.L. Morris et al., ‘Developing and Sustaining an Inclusive Dance Program: Strategic Tools and Methods’, *Journal of Dance Education* 15, 3 (2015), p.122.
[112] Fiona Campbell, ‘Re-constructing the image of the disabled performer’ *Animated* (Spring 2009), pp.27-29.
[113] Interview with Mairi Brackenridge, 13 June 2017.

This approach, pioneered by Indepen-dance and other inclusive dance companies, is fundamentally different from the disability arts provisions of the past. As this chapter has shown, such approaches to disability arts were not genuine attempts to provide a fun and stimulating activity for disabled people. From Victorian and Edwardian freak shows where disabled people performed for money in an environment which was unsafe and unsympathetic, to relatively progressive attempts to introduce dance therapy in institutions, each of these approaches fail to give due agency to the performers themselves. As dancer and disability activist Petra Kuppers puts it, disability art in the 20th century was too often about 'keeping disabled people in their place.'[114] Building on the social model of disability, and the work of inclusive organisations like Indepen-dance, things are different today. Now 'people with learning disabilities can dance for everyone or just themselves or just for other people with learning disabilities - everyone can choose.'[115]

Despite tremendous progress, staff spoke in interviews of the potential threats they saw to the future of the company. These range from financial uncertainty, to stubborn public attitudes which refuse to change. In particular, staff were uneasy about the company's transition from a small charity run largely by one person, to a nebulous and multifaceted organisation. Indeed, Goodley and Moore's study of performing arts opportunities for people with learning disabilities found that many 'were created by an enthusiastic, often lone, service-provider' and therefore do not last beyond that person's retirement.[116] However, Karen herself is optimistic that Indepen-dance will continue to grow even after she has left:

> 'I think, what I'm proudest of, is the legacy that we're creating now… and it's also about the development of the activity that we're doing. Every single person who works for Indepen-dance is shaping the organisation and shaping the way we deliver our sessions. It's not just now one person, it might have been me in the beginning, but it's now a collective of people all studying and researching and finding better ways to do what we do, finding innovative ways to fund us, so it's a collective. That's what I'm most proud of is the human effort within the organisation, to drive it forwards, to become something that's sustainable for the longer future when I'm not here. I don't want to say the word 'institution', but it will become something embedded in society, that everybody knows about Indepen-dance. Disabled people in the future will just naturally have that opportunity, and we will change attitudes towards disabled people.'[117]

Part 4 - The value of inclusive dance

The value of Indepen-dance's work can be difficult to explain to people unfamiliar with the company. This chapter attempts to explain how Indepen-dance achieves its aims of encouraging the physical and mental health of its dancers, promoting the inclusion of disabled people in society, and altering the public's perceptions of disability. Throughout this section of the report, using a combination of evidence from oral history testimonies and from academic sources, it will be argued that inclusive dance is among the most effective ways of achieving these aims.

4.1 - Happiness, health and wellbeing

[114] Petra Kuppers, *Community Performance, an Introduction* (Routledge, 2007), p.26.
[115] Goodley & Moore, *Disability Arts Against Exclusion,* p66.
[116] Goodley & Moore, *Disability Arts Against Exclusion,* p19.
[117] Interview with Karen Anderson, 8 June 2017.

According to research conducted by the Scottish Government in 2013, people who participate in culture and sport report better physical health and life satisfaction than those who do not – a fact which remains true for disabled and nondisabled people.[118] Moreover, the authors found that, 'of all the activities in the study, dancing has the strongest association with self-assessed health', with regular dancers 62% more likely to report good health than those who did not participate in dance.[119] The health benefits of inclusive dance in particular have been recognised by health professionals. In 2012, an article in the *Nursing Standard* examined the positive health effects of Magpie Dance, a disability dance charity based in south-east London. The article found that many nurses who had initially been sceptical about inclusive dance were won over after witnessing the health benefits first hand. While many people with learning disabilities live mostly sedentary lives, and are therefore likely to suffer from obesity, 8-out-of-10 dancers at Magpie Dance said that dancing had improved their health.[120]

Oral history interviews with Indepen-dance staff likewise revealed the positive impact that dance has had on the health of those who are involved with the organisation. Adam Sloan, who has Down Syndrome and dances with the professional group Indepen-dance 4, reported that he now notices a deterioration in his health if he doesn't dance for a period of time.[121] Hayley Earlam, who joined Indepen-dance as an apprentice at the same time as Adam, also noticed an long-term improvement in his health:

> 'I remember when we were doing our apprenticeships, Adam's mother said, 'oh no, Adam can't walk', we were talking about how we wanted to travel from one class to another. I said 'let him walk, he'll be fine.' She was like 'no, no, best take a taxi or a bus', and I was like 'no, no, we'll walk.' Adam, you were talking about how your health improved being a dancer. I just remember that initial problem, 'no, no, Adam won't walk.' Yes he will!'[122]

Similarly, an interview with Irene Tweedie, the Treasurer of Indepen-dance, revealed the impact that participating in dance has had on her son Andrew, who is a wheelchair user. Here, she speaks about the positive impact on Andrew's mobility, as well as his mental health:

> 'It's also really important for me that Andrew stays mobile. Although he's in a wheelchair a lot of the time, he is able to walk a bit, and he does need to stay mobile, and dancing is giving him exercise in a very interesting way. So that's a fantastic benefit for him. And I think it's just giving him something that he likes to do that's his. He needs to stay mobile, to be able to transfer from his chair to wherever. I don't have a lot of equipment at home to manage him - there's some rails and a ramp and that's kinda it. So Andrew needs to be mobile from that point of view. But he also needs to be mobile from his own point of view, to keep his own health… He also clearly needs to have activities and challenges in his own life, and Indepen-dance is one of them. The fact that they are often working towards a performance of some sort gives them, or gives him, that challenge. So from a mental health point of view, it gives him something to be proud of, to challenge himself and to look forward to. Both ways [physical and mental health], it's significant, and helps him to become a more well-rounded individual.'[123]

---

[118] Clare Leadbetter & Niamh O'Connor, *Healthy Attendance? The Impact of Cultural Engagement and Sports Participation on Health and Satisfaction with Life in Scotland* (Scottish Government Social Research, 2013), p.5.
[119] Leadbetter and O'Connor, *Healthy Attendance?,* p.15.
[120] Ian McMillan, 'Step Change' *Nursing Standard* 26, 38 (2012), pp.19-20.
[121] Interview with Indepen-dance 4, 22 June 2017.
[122] Interview with Indepen-dance 4, 22 June 2017.
[123] Interview with Irene Tweedie, 21 June 2017.

Workshops at Indepen-dance are specifically designed to promote positive mental health. Each dance session begins with a gentle warm up standing in a circle. This not only warms up the participant's bodies but 'warms up a sense of self and others.'[124] Similarly, 'quiet sitting or lying' at the end of each session acts as a form of 'meditation' which can improve mental health and gently allow dancers to 'collect their bodies, and find their balance.'[125]

A focus on maintaining positive mental health among people with learning disabilities is particularly important in this post-intuitional age. Indepen-dance chairperson Mairi Brackenridge, who formerly worked in adult social care, reports that life outside of institutions can leave disabled people with a lack of focus:

> 'While I absolutely agree that we were right to move away from the institution settings, I think unfortunately what's replaced it is not always stimulating for people. Sometimes when you go round a shopping centre, you see too many people where that is their social activity. Actually, there is a question to how much going round a shopping centre actually helps people develop, in terms of understanding what they can achieve, but also getting some enjoyment from life. You know, just some of the things that maybe some of us take for granted; our ability to engage with arts or literature or whatever it is that add value to our lives. And I think one of the things we would like Indepen-dance to be seen as is that opportunity for people to test out and try things that might add that value to their life. Dance might not be for everybody, but, actually, by seeing what dancers can achieve somebody else might be interested in trying drama or art or something else, so we open up eyes broader than that.'[126]

Participating in dance offers people with learning disabilities opportunities for 'play, exploration, fantasy, imitation, pattern recognition, representation, emotional expression and ritual', all of which are all useful in ensuring positive wellbeing, development and mental health.[127]

Also important is the impact of participating in dance on the confidence of disabled people. When asked what impact Indepen-dance has had on the lives of disabled people, Irene answered as follows:

> 'I think it's a very subtle impact in lots of ways but a very dramatic one in lots of other ways. When I say subtle it's because it happens gradually, over a period of time, and you don't necessarily notice it until you look back to where you were, or where the individual was before they started with the organisation… It's usually around about confidence, it's about aspiration and ambition, and those are things that a lot of the clients didn't have before they became involved with the organisation. Particularly confidence; confidence is a huge thing for a lot of people with disabilities, and so giving disabled people confidence is a great gift.'[128]

In addition to the tangible effects of dance on physical and mental health, Mairi noted that many dancers simply love dancing, and participating in Indepen-dance has made them happier and more confident. She also describes some of the achievements that this has led Indepen-dance members to achieve:

---

[124] Kuppers, *Community Performance*, p.110.
[125] Kuppers, *Community Performance*, p.130.
[126] Interview with Mairi Brackenridge, 13 June 2017.
[127] Howard Miller, 'Artistic ability vs. developmental disability' *Impact* 10 (1997), p.4.
[128] Interview with Irene Tweedie, 21 June 2017.

> ‘In terms of the folk who come to Indepen-dance and enjoy the activity we provide I think it's everything from the fact that for some people it's just something that they enjoy doing every week. If you go to some of our classes and just the whole atmosphere is often just one of positive energy, to people who have developed skills and activities that they never thought they would. So [Indepen-dance staff members] Sean getting a job, Adam getting his fellowship award from the Royal Scottish Academy, Neil developing his choreography and his individual work, it's just individuals are really inspiring in themselves.’[129]

Therefore, it has been shown that Indepen-dance offers a variety of benefits to dancers’ health and wellbeing, with both physical and mental benefits.

4.2 - Social inclusion and community

According to a 2006 report examining ‘what matters most’ to people with learning disabilities in Scotland, opportunities for socialising and participating in physical exercise make the top of the list. Groups and clubs like Indepen-dance ‘form an important part of people’s social experience’, helping form friendships and foster independence and pride.[130] Dance is particularly useful for encouraging social inclusion, as scholar Carolien Hermans writes:

> ‘Dance is a social encounter: it’s a place where we share meanings with each other on a bodily level. It’s a place where the private and the public meet. Dance mediates and has the power to construct and deconstruct social meanings; it has the potential to create spaces in which fixed identities and normative standards suddenly become unstable and uncertain… Dance is the art form par excellence in which communication takes place on a non-verbal level. In dance we engage with ourselves and with others through the kinaesthetic.’[131]

Therefore, she finds, dance is a valuable tool to allow people with limited verbal communication skills express themselves. Furthermore, public dance performances are unique in allowing the audience to imagine themselves in the dancer’s position, thus increasing their empathy towards disabled people. Dancer Hayley Earlam spoke about how she has experienced this phenomenon herself since becoming involved with inclusive dance

> ‘I think being able to communicate that level of humanity, on a really grand scale, is really important for people to see. A lot of my friends and family, they were similar to me before hand, they’d never met anybody [with disabilities], and now they're really comfortable in it. My boyfriend, he’s a nurse, and when he was training he was like ‘I’m taking care of somebody in a ward, and he has Down Syndrome, and I don’t have a clue how to talk to him.’ But then he was like ‘I just thought of chatting with [Indepen-dance dancers] Adam and Neil, and I just did exactly the same.’ And I was like ‘is that not exactly how you just talk to your friends as well?’ and he was like ‘oh yeah, it is!’.’[132]

As part of Indepen-dance’s commitment to encouraging social inclusion, they employ a number of people with learning disabilities; indeed 40% of their staff members have a disability.[133] This is particularly important, as many

---

[129] Interview with Mairi Brackenridge, 13 June 2017.
[130] Lisa Curtice, *‘How’s it Going? A survey of what matters most to people with learning disabilities in Scotland today* (SCLD, 2006), pp.5-6.
[131] Hermans, ‘Differences in Itself’, pp.161-162.
[132] Interview with Indepen-dance 4, 22 June 2017.
[133] Karen Anderson, *Indepen-dance Business Plan* (2017), p.8.

barriers remain for learning disabled people to work. By one estimate at least as many disabled people are looking for work as are currently employed, but issues around benefits and negative social attitudes prevent them from gaining employment.[134] As Irene reports, despite the challenges that employing people with learning disabilities can bring, Indepen-dance remain committed to the principle:

> 'As a board member the thing I'm proudest of is the fact that we absolutely have a policy of including everyone who wants to be included ... the fact that we employ a lot of disabled people, which I think is right and proper, but a lot of other organisations don't do that ... As an organisation, we employ a large percentage of disabled people. Which, in pure commercial terms doesn't make sense because it's more expensive to employ those disabled people, because we pay them the living wage which everyone should get, but it takes more management time to manage them and organise them, so in strict commercial terms that's costing the organisation money. And trying to explain to a funder that our management structure is slightly heavier than normal because of that isn't always understood or appreciated, or they're not prepared to fund it. So that's quite a challenge, but I'm very proud that we do it.'[135]

Karen Anderson spoke with pride about the impact Indepen-dance has had on the lives of its staff members, in particular Marco, who works as an administrator:

> 'Marco, our administrator who has Asperger's, his mum was in yesterday and she said 'thank you for what you do for Marco, because it's the best job he's ever had. He's been bullied terribly in his previous employments and he's so happy to be here, and he thinks he's so lucky to have this job' ... Because the classes were getting busier and busier we felt that we needed somebody on the ground to take the registers and taking in the fees… so he came along and he was brilliant at it, because of his autism, his disability is something that supports us in a real positive way because Marco likes order and structure and he likes to make sure everybody's there and ticked off and the money's taken and everything. He's just brilliant at what he does.'[136]

Likewise, Adam Sloan was incredibly grateful for the opportunity that the organisation has given him to become a professional dancer, stating 'I think if I hadn't got into dance, I would have never had a job. Or a different job. I just need to keep on dancing.'[137]

However, although Indepen-dance gives people with learning disabilities the opportunity to become involved in the world of professional dance, there remains a lack of opportunities for disabled people in mainstream dance education. In 2007, a study commissioned by the Scottish Arts Council found that although much work had been done to allow disabled people to enjoy recreational dance, access to vocational dance training was extremely limited. Barriers such as lack of physical access, financial limitations. and attitude problems were cited.[138] Indepen-dance 4 dancer Emma Smith highlighted that despite the good work of charities like Indepen-dance, this problem remains an issue

[134] Curtice, 'How's it Going?', p.34.
[135] Interview with Irene Tweedie, 21 June 2017.
[136] Interview with Karen Anderson, 8 June 2017.
[137] Interview with Indepen-dance 4, 22 June 2017.
[138] Verrent, *Dance and disability in Scotland*, p.17.

> 'We're aware that there isn't any dance training courses that I know of in Scotland that someone will really be able to access if they had a disability. A lot of colleges would say 'oh we would accept a disabled dancer', but we don't see them coming through these colleges so there's clearly something happening there. And we're so like, we know this works, the way that we've trained together, and the practice that we've developed, so I think we're really proud of that and we're at the point where we're trying to get everyone to do it like this, 'cus we know it works!'

4.3 - Perceptions, identity and imagery

As their business plan states, one of the key aims of Indepen-dance is to change people's perceptions around disability through the medium of inclusive dance:

> 'We are challenged by society's lack of understanding and empathy for disabled people. However, through inclusive dance we have started to erode some negative perceptions. We take and create opportunities wherever possible to highlight the talents and abilities of disabled people. We do this in close collaboration with nondisabled dancers and teachers and have raised the profile of inclusive dance onto an international platform.'[139]

The idea that disability arts can change attitudes is well established within disability scholarship, and Indepen-dance is building on a worldwide political and cultural movement:

> 'Arts practice should also be viewed as much as a tool for change as attending meetings about orange badge provision ... Only by ensuring an integrated role for disability arts and culture in the struggle can we develop the vision to challenge narrow thinking, elitism and dependency on others for our emancipation. To encourage the growth of a disability culture is no less than to begin the radical task of transforming ourselves from passive and dependent beings into active and creative agents for social change.'[140]

The capacity of Indepen-dance's work to change attitudes was mentioned by many interview participants. For example, Indepen-dance 4 dancer Hayley Earlam was asked whether participating in inclusive dance had changed her perspective on disability:

> 'I think that's an understatement. Like, I can't imagine it being any different. I've got so many friends that have a disability, and I've met so many wonderful people, that are both disabled and nondisabled, that are all involved in this world… I don't see anybody having a disability anymore, I've got to meet so many people that you see beyond that. And that's something that Adam and Neil have touched on earlier, when they were saying that when they perform you're challenging that person's perception. Of course it might be a visible disability, and an audience will realise that. But I'd like to think that, particularly in our performances, probably in the first 5 minutes you see it - but then as we progress into our work I think people just - you see this moment where they're like 'oh, they're different!', and then they relax into it and they take the work for what it is.'[141]

---

[139] Anderson, *Indepen-dance Business Plan*, p.3.
[140] Elspeth Morrison and Vic Finkelstein, 'Culture as struggle: access to power' in *Disability Arts and Culture Papers* (Shape, 1992), pp.11-12.
[141] Interview with Indepen-dance 4, 22 June 2017.

Adam Sloan and Neil Price, who are both disabled dance artists with Indepen-dance 4, also reported that people's perceptions changed once they saw them dance, albeit each in different ways:

> Adam: 'I see a difference. Once I dance, I want people to think that I'm someone who has a disability and basically I just want people to dance the same way as me ... One girl saw me in a piece we did, called 'Four Go Wild in Wellies', and a girl who had the same disability as me, she pointed me out, it was quite nice, she pointed me out, 'that's the boy in the red jacket.' And that's what I want people to see when I dance.'
>
> Neil: 'I think for me it was a wee bit opposite from Adam. He wants people to see him as having a disability, and I don't want them to think that I'm someone who has one. I'd like them to see that I'm an ordinary person, like both Hayley and Emma. I feel accepted and included in dance. Sometimes I used to get excluded from things like that. And I didn't want to feel like that anymore. So, uhm, dance really helped me with that.'[142]

Interestingly, Adam recognised the potential of dance to draw attention to his disability and normalise it, while Neil felt that dance erased his disability and made him feel 'ordinary.' That both Adam and Neil could use dance to express themselves as they wished, in two different ways, is testament to the versatility of inclusive dance as an instrument of social change.

Nondisabled people's 'fear' of interacting with disabled people came up several times in the interviews. Although well-meaning, members of the public struggle to know how to relate to disabled people. This 'repulsion' that many nondisabled people feel can be explained by a long history of segregation and institutionalisation of disabled people.[143] As Karen Anderson explains, Indepen-dance is actively working against this phenomenon by integrating people of different abilities, with an approach in stark contrast to those of the past:

> 'One of the things that I've learned is that often people are just afraid of the unknown. If they've not been exposed to people with disabilities in their life they feel either uncomfortable or a bit afraid or they don't want to offend them. So that's about changing attitudes as well. What we do is expose people to the work that we do either in classes or in venues or by performing…I love the fact that we have lots of little people who go with their parents and grandparents to class. And as they're leaving class they're seeing disabled people who are leaving that venue. And I would love to know how we've affected that child's idea of people with disabilities ... As my children were born they were just included in the activities. I do think that my children see disability very differently. They don't actually see it as a disadvantage or something that stops you from doing anything. They see the people as individuals.' [144]

A strong commitment to professionalism runs throughout Indepen-dance's work, with reliance on professional choreographers, musicians and technicians. As Mairi Brackenridge explains, this is important as it challenges the audience's preconception of disabled dance as necessarily being a small-scale, community affair.

> 'I think that when people come and see our public performances, I think we've moved an attitude from 'oh isn't it nice to see these people doing that' to 'isn't it amazing, the quality of the dance performance that people are able to put on.' And actually, in some performances, you don't notice the disability any longer.

[142] Interview with Indepen-dance 4, 22 June 2017.
[143] L. J. Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness, and the Body* (Verso, 1995), p.13.
[144] Interview with Karen Anderson, 8 June 2017.

> The professionalism of what they're doing is such that it's a professional production, it's not something that's done by people with disability, and it's very nice to watch.'[145]

Indeed, the company's professionalism has altered the attitudes of people in powerful positions, such as in Emma and Hayley's story below, and this has the potential to alter official policy:

> Emma: 'When we were performing at Scottish Ballet we had 2 MSPs come just to watch us rehearse. I've no idea why they were there. Again, talking about perceptions, I think people come in and they kinda know what it's going to be, and then when they see it they're like 'oh no, it's not.' I just remember one of them being like 'you're so detailed!' and we were like 'what do you mean?' And it was like 'Oh well, you wouldn't let his hand be there' and we were like 'yeah it was because we were rehearsing, we're a professional company!'
>
> Hayley: 'I think sometimes I hear that from people as well, they're impressed by our professionalism. It sort of makes me giggle a little bit 'cus we wouldn't think of ourselves as anything else. I think there's maybe that idea that, if you're an inclusive company then you're more lax, or the standards don't have to be as high. And then they come and see us and they realise that's completely false!
>
> Emma: 'Actually. the standard has to be higher!'
>
> Hayley: 'Exactly! It's really interesting, you hear these sorts of things every so often, and then you sometimes are aware of people changing their perception after they've seen us.'[146]

However, Indepen-dance staff members often have experiences which remind them that there is more to be done in altering perceptions. For example, Karen remembers working with Indepen-dance 4 as part of the company's education and outreach programme:

> 'There's wee things that happen every now and again that make you realise that we've still got lessons to teach people. For instance, when we go into schools to work, and Adam and Neil who have Down Syndrome are teachers, and you get teachers in the schools questioning. 'Oh, are the boys teaching'!? So it's like 'yeah, that's because they can'! So I think we still have work to do with educating people, and it's more so people who are educated themselves who have some sort of misunderstanding… maybe it's because they've not had experience of being around disabled people and seeing what they can achieve.'[147]

Nevertheless, the important work Indepen-dance does through its public performances and outreach classes means that attitudes will continue to change for the better.

[145] Interview with Mairi Brackenridge, 13 June 2017.
[146] Interview with Indepen-dance 4, 22 June 2017.
[147] Interview with Karen Anderson, 8 June 2017.

Part 5 - The stories of Indepen-dance

Throughout the oral history interviews with staff, many wonderful stories were told. Here, some of the best stories about the impact Indepen-dance has had on people's lives have been recorded and preserved.

Karen Anderson - Yvonne's funeral

'Yvonne started with Indepen-dance when she was young, but sadly she passed away when she was young. Yvonne had no family… and she lived within a care environment. When Yvonne died I called the house and said 'we want to be part of the celebration of her life, what she contributed to life, so we would like to be part of her funeral, if it's possible.' ... so we did a tribute to her, we spoke about her at her funeral, and then afterwards we had a humanist ceremony in the Hidden Garden, we took her ashes. And every single one of those dancers [in the performance company] ... they went to a special place in the garden and placed her ashes and we said 'if you're ever wanting to think about Yvonne you know that she's there' she's with us every week.'

Mairi Brackenridge - How employees' lives have changed

'You can now see how some of those individuals have developed and grown over time. So Sean, whose mother describes as coming to Indepen-dance as a young boy, began to encourage him to be a bit more independent, so he didn't want her to take him into the dance class, he wanted to make his own way. Sean is now one of our employees. That ability to grow that kind of confidence and skill so that he now contributes back to the organisation is amazing actually. Uhm, there's a young girl who was very autistic, she didn't like noise and engagement, but in the film you see how she participates in the dance, she's very much on her own, uhm, last year in the preschool performance she was dancing along with people; you could see from her face that she was really enjoying the experience of it. Marco, who is our admin assistant said that he doesn't want to dance or answer the phone; now he is very engaged and does a lot of things and has covered the office once and has danced on some occasions. His experience previously of not being valued has been changed considerably by his involvement with Indepen-dance. Adam and Neil who are now dancing with IND4, and who are dancing at a huge level of expertise, dancing with other companies, have been abroad to dance, have had other opportunities that I don't think a few years ago them or their families would have thought possible. Taking the performance company to Spain, one of the young men had to get a passport for the first time in his life. The family realized if he gets a passport and they get a passport too they can go abroad…It's not just for the people who come and participate in Indepen-dance that there has been a difference, but also the parents and the carers, that ability to trust enough people to move on more independently.'

Claire Reda - Dancers going abroad for first time

'There was a story, I meant to say, about two dancers when we went away abroad, who had never been abroad before. And so those 2 dancers had never been on a plane, they'd never had a passport. Through us supporting them, 'cus their families were quite nervous, they were like 'well I've never taken them away, so how can you take them away?' So we had to make sure we spoke with the airline, the air hostess, to make sure everything was ok. But it was great that the families trusted us to take them abroad. So when we went to Italy it was amazing that two of our dancers, Kathy and Alan, had never experienced being on a plane. They were so excited; they just couldn't believe that they were going to another country. Kathy's no longer with us anymore, but Kathy always spoke about it when she came back to class. She was always like 'remember when I went there, remember when I went there!' But Alan, now because his family saw that he could go on a flight, they'd never been on a flight either, now Alan goes regular holidays every single year with family ... So now he's like all the time 'Well I'm going to the caravan, but also I'm going to Spain, and I'm going to Greece, and I'm going to Crete.' So we've helped enable the family by saying like 'we've taken him', and their phobia is now gone, they travel every year, which is great.'

Karen Anderson - ‘Four Last Songs’ performance

‘One of the milestones was making a piece of work that we toured to London, Belfast and Glasgow, and we created it with a choreographer called Royston Maldoom. And it's that thing of not giving up on something. We had this idea of creating a piece of work that we could then take to another group and show them what we’d done. And Royston had made a piece of work to Richard Strauss’ Four Last Songs ... it's the most beautiful piece of classical music… so we started the journey in Glasgow and we made the piece and we performed it at Tramway, then we went down to London, to Wolfgang’s company, and we did it there with his company, then we went to London and we did it in Belfast, and then the fourth time we did it we came back to Tramway and we were going to do it collectively… there was more than 80 performers! So I decided then that it would be beautiful to have live music played ... I contacted Scottish Opera and I asked the manager of the orchestra could we have the live music for this? And he said ‘of course Karen, and that would be a lovely project to do together.’ I ignorantly thought it was only a small orchestra, turns out you need 45 musicians to play this music! ... and we raised all the money we needed to do this project, and we were only a few weeks away from doing it and I got a phone call from the orchestra rehearsal director and he said ‘Karen are you sitting down?’, and I said ‘why, what's wrong?’ and he said ‘you can’t perform, you can’t dance to that music ... It’s forbidden.’ The Strauss family have forbidden anyone from ever choreographing a piece to this particular piece of music. Four Last Songs was the last four last songs Richard Strauss ever wrote in his life, and his family who oversee his estate had put this clause in that nobody will ever perform dance to this piece of work … So at the end of the day they would not allow us to play the music. So we’re only four weeks away from performing this piece, in a big theatre. So we had to very quickly come up with a solution to it. So the decision was made to play four last songs with the orchestra… we decided that we would put the choreography on with a different piece of music ... and the orchestra would still play that music but we would project images of the dancers creating the work … it was really beautiful. That was a big learn for me, don’t always think that everything’ll go your way.’

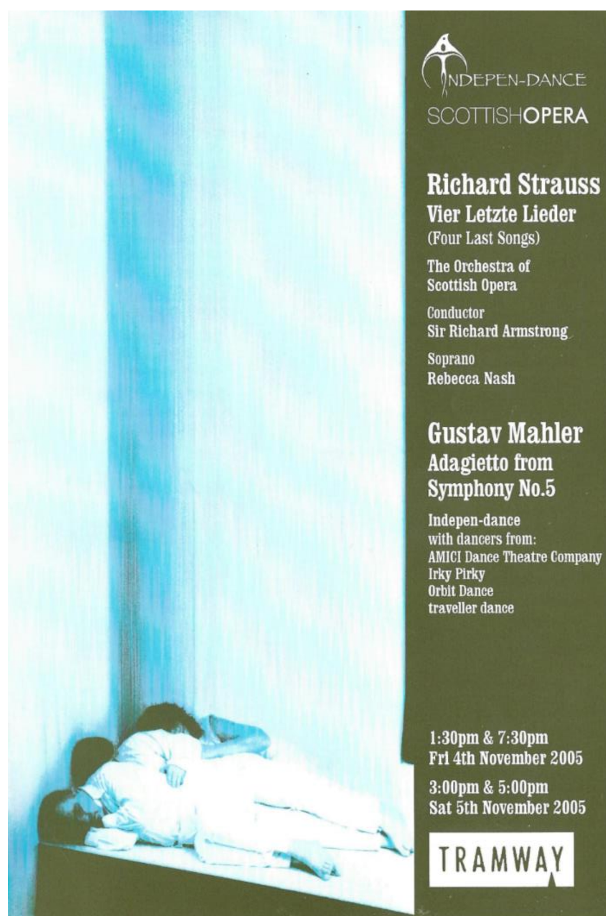


Figure 5.1 - Flyer for Vier Letzte Lieder, or Four Last Songs, first performed in 2005.[148]

Irene Tweedie - On her son's independence

'He isn't keen for either myself or any support worker to dance with him in class. He likes to dance on his own, he feels it's his activity, it's not mine, I'm not allowed in the dance class. And that's fine, that's great. He feels he owns it, it's his. That's where I think he gets the real buzz, the real benefit. From my perspective, all of those things apply as well. I particularly like the independence it gives him, he likes to do it himself, and I think that's really really positive. And it's the happiness and cheeriness that it brings ... I know they [Indepen-dance] will look after him well when he goes away, and I know that Andrew would prefer to go without me, because he sees it as his thing, and doesn't necessarily want me to be there. Which is right, he's a young man, he's 27, he should be going off and doing things. As he says 'I'll miss you mummy but I'm going to go and have fun with my own friends.' And that sums it up - it's with his own friends he's going off to have fun.'

Hayley Earlam - IND4 performance in a hall in Oban

Emma: 'What about the time you were in Oban? And you had to dance on a floor that had a sheepskin rug. I feel like we've come a long way!'

Hayley: 'It was past Oban, it was a little village, you had to put coins in a meter to keep the lights on. And the stage was made of sheepskin rug. Kelly said 'I can't do this', we kept dancing. *laughs* Do you remember that performance though? The whole village turned up. There was a mom who came, and she had a new-born baby, and the baby had Down Syndrome! I was like, that's the first show your baby has seen, after all that drama…you realise, yeah. That's why we're doing it!'

Adam Sloan and Neil Price - Commonwealth Games

Adam: 'The Commonwealth Games, I got to carry the baton. I had it in my home street, and people came… some of my friends and some of my neighbours from the past, it was great to be reunited again with all my old neighbours from my past. It was a good day actually, it's one of the proudest things, carrying the baton.'

Hayley: 'So Adam ran with the baton for the Commonwealth Games, and Neil performed for the closing ceremony.'

Neil: 'I did, yeah, in Delhi. In Delhi, I went with Kelly.'

Hayley: *laughs* 'Sorry, that rhymed!'

Neil: 'And when we were there, I was there for the closing ceremony, we had lots of different celebrities; we had Jackie Chan on stage! And it was really packed, being there. The hotel was packed, we got to travel from the hotel to the place we were rehearsing at, there was lots of security on the busses. We couldn't talk to them. But we could just talk to each other, 'cus we were really good friends as well, so we're all friends on Facebook now. It was just a really good event to do, because it was based on the Loch Ness Monster, it was like an inflatable thing, also it turned into the Armadillo down in Glasgow, and I got to

[148] Scanned item from the Indepen-dance Archive.

carry that with the others, and it was a really great experience to have done that as well. We did lots of rehearsing for it in Glasgow before that. And it was really really hot!'

Hayley Earlam - Scottish Ballet visit

'My favourite memory is from when we worked with the Scottish Ballet. It wasn't just like, oh we're performing with them, it was, we were with the company for a number of weeks. For me it showed that we have the standard to perform along with the national ballet company. And we were working alongside choreographer Mike Brew ... The way the company integrated us in their company was amazing, they were really open about it. And the process was particularly creative, so they looked to us to help them, Neil was working with a group of dancers, Adam was working with a group of dancers, I was working with a group of dancers. It was how it should be. I mean, the facilities were amazing, it was very good to come in and have a sauna! Me and Neil were coming early to do that ... . Just the way that the ballet company were receptive to us. And then taking all of that and standing on stage with them, it was fantastic. And people coming saying 'I couldn't tell if it was an Indepen-dance dancer or a ballet dancer.' It was really satisfying. Reaching that moment: we did it!'

Figure 5.2 - Indepen-dance 4 working with dancers and choreographers from Scottish Ballet in 2015.[149]

Neil Price - John Partridge visit

[149] Photograph from the Indepen-dance archive.

Neil: 'I think the thing I'm proudest of would be, Ruth brought an actor to Indepen-dance - John Partridge, from EastEnders. That would be my proudest moment ever, 'cus I do love EastEnders! And it was really nice meeting him, he was a really nice person to talk to.'

Hayley: 'He's a patron, he became a patron of Indepen-dance last year, and that's why Karen brought him to come and meet everybody - you were so excited!'

Neil: 'I was! I was like a small child being first in line for a concert, kinda thing!'

Emma: 'I felt really bad, 'cus you were telling me about it and I was like 'I don't know who that is!' I'm so sorry that I can't live this excitement with you!' [laughs]

Neil: 'He plays this character who is part of the Beale family in EastEnders, and I was really proud just meeting him. You could see that in my face - Adam could see it in my face as well. When he got there he didn't know he was going to be there, so I told him. He was happy to see him too, but I was the most excited of all. I couldn't stop smiling; I couldn't stop jumping about with happiness.'

Figure 5.3 - John Partridge, shown here with Adam Sloan and Neil Price from Indepen-dance 4.[150]

Adam Sloan – Personal achievements

'For me one of the proudest things was carrying the baton for the Commonwealth Games, and also being in the Royal Society of Arts and SCLD fellowship to create my own work. So those two ones have been the biggest. Also

[150] Photograph from the Indepen-dance archive.

leaving my parents behind, going away with the company, because I feel like I get more independent. Also I'm leaving home for my very very first ever time. And I'm proud of my independence and my freedom. I'm proud that I get to do what I want before going home. And also I'm really excited to see my piece of work, my fellowship that I've been awarded.'

Discussion and Conclusion

Throughout this report, it can be seen that the value of the work carried out by Indepen-dance becomes even more clear when viewed in historical context. For example, the seemingly basic detail that disabled dancers at Indepen-dance are allowed to wear their own clothing becomes suddenly interesting when you note that the vast majority of young people in 20th century institutions had regulation uniforms and haircuts. That male and female dancers perform together seems unusual in the context of gender segregation which existed for over a century. Moreover, the fact that dancers with learning difficulties are encouraged to mix with the wider community would have been unthinkable not too long ago. It is only by looking at the history of disability that we can appreciate how far we have come. That integration, not segregation, is now the norm for most people with learning disabilities is a huge achievement.

However, there are areas where Indepen-dance can look to make improvements to its service. One such area is ensuring that participants have physical access to classes. A lack of accessible transport was found to be a major issue in the Scottish Government's 2013 report *The Keys to Life*, [151] and in Goodley and Moore's study of disability arts organisations.[152] Members of Indepen-dance staff frequently ferry people to and from class in their personal vehicles - a situation which is not sustainable.

> 'We now support some people to even get to class ... we actually physically pick them up from their home to get to class because they can't afford for a carer to bring them. So that's quite major. And even our Artistic Director picks people up [laughs], and that's not the norm, but she doesn't want people to miss out… because their families don't have enough money to pay for a carer.'[153]

This problem is a downside of the post-institutional world, as families and not institutions are responsible for transporting people with learning difficulties. It is difficult to know whether this situation will improve over time. The Scottish Government has committed to further training and infrastructure to ensure busses and trains are accessible to all.[154] In the meantime, there is little that Indepen-dance can do to aid this situation. However, one important factor in accessibility is ensuring consistency in time and place of classes.[155] Although this is easier said than done, as last-minute timetable alterations often have to be made.

Another area where Indepen-dance still has work to do is in the area of changing attitudes. Attitudes towards disability are slowly changing over time, and Indepen-dance's public performances and community work are vital in this process. Almost everyone who sees the company in action recognises its importance, so it is vital that this work reaches a greater audience. As activist Jo Verrent argues, this is an issue throughout disability dance:

> 'Within the arts, the profile of dance is low. Within dance, the profile of disability dance is low. Within the general population, the profile of disability dance is non-existent, unless there is a family relationship to someone directly involved in the scene. The profile of dance and disability work needs to be raised.' [156]

[151] Scottish Government, *The keys to life,* p.64.
[152] Goodley & Moore, *Disability Arts Against Exclusion*, pp.71-72.
[153] Interview with Claire Reda, 29 June 2017.
[154] Scottish Government, *The keys to life,* p.64.
[155] Morris et al., 'Developing and Sustaining an Inclusive Dance Program', p.127.
[156] Verrent, *Dance and disability in Scotland,* p.19.

It can be difficult to know how to raise the profile of disability dance. One possibility is to leverage social media. At the time of writing, Indepen-dance has almost 2000 followers on Facebook, and a presence across various online platforms. This can be used to get the word out about performances, build a larger audience, and ensure that their good work does not go unnoticed.

Finally, that Indepen-dance is based in Greater Glasgow limits its impact. There are currently no disability dance companies outside of Scotland's central belt,[157] meaning that many Scots are still unable to access inclusive dance. Although there are outreach classes as far east as Grangemouth and as far west as Kilmarnock, there are no regular classes outside of the central belt. Perhaps as Indepen-dance look to expand further in the coming years, allowing people in more remote communities to benefit from inclusive dance should be an aim. Indeed, Indepen-dance already works with partners throughout the country, so it can build on these partnerships to expand its impact.[158]

Overall, Indepen-dance has continued to expand over the past 21 years, and interviews have revealed that staff are optimistic about its future. Indeed, a sense of pride ran throughout all of our interviews, perhaps best exemplified by this quote from Karen Anderson:

> ‘We have certainly changed people's lives, there’s no doubt about that’.[159]

[157] Verrent, *Dance and disability in Scotland,* p.12.
[158] Anderson, *Indepen-dance Business Plan*¸ p.12.
[159] Interview with Karen Anderson, 8 June 2017.

Bibliography

Abbott, Pamela & Sapsford, R. J., *Community Care for Mentally Handicapped People* (Open University Press, 1987)

Albright, A.C., 'Strategic Abilities: Negotiating the Disabled Body in Dance' in *Moving History/Dance Cultures: A Dance History Reader*. ed. by A. Dils and A.C. Albright. (Wesleyan UP, 2001), pp.56–66

Anderson, Karen, *Indepen-dance Business Plan* (2017)

Anderson, Karen. *Indepen-dance Company CV* (2017)

Barnes, Colin, 'Effecting Change; Disability, Culture and Art?' paper presented at the *Finding the Spotlight Conference* (Liverpool Institute for the Performing Arts, 2003), online at http://disability-studies.leeds.ac.uk/files/library/Barnes-Effecting-Change.pdf

Bogdan, Robert, 'The social construction of freaks' *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body*, ed. by R.G. Thomson (Columbia University Press, 1996), pp.23-37

Brennan, Mary, 'Fate, fortune and love of the dance' *The Herald* (3rd November 2000), online at http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/12150511.Fate__fortune_and_love_of_the_dance_Royston_Maldoom_is_determined_to_give_young_people_the_chance_he_never_had/

Brignell, Victoria, 'The eugenics movement Britain wants to forget' *New Statesman* (9 December 2010), online at http://www.newstatesman.com/society/2010/12/british-eugenics-disabled

Brignell, Victoria, 'When the disabled were segregated' *New Statesman* (15 December 2010), online at http://www.newstatesman.com/society/2010/12/disabled-children-british

Campbell, Fiona, 'Re-constructing the image of the disabled performer' *Animated* (Spring 2009), pp.26-29

Christie, James (ed.), *The medical institutions of Glasgow: a handbook prepared for the annual meeting of the British Medical Association held in Glasgow* (James Maclehose & Sons, 1888)

Creative Scotland. *Review of Dance in Scotland* (2012), online at http://www.creativescotland.com/__data/assets/pdf_file/0018/21474/Dance-Sector-Review-Report.pdf

Curtice, Lisa, *'How's it Going? A survey of what matters most to people with learning disabilities in Scotland today* (SCLD, 2006)

Dalrymple, John, et al., *Self-Directed Support: Your Choice, Your Right: A Discussion Paper from the Centre for Welfare Reform* (In Control Scotland, 2017), online at http://www.centreforwelfarereform.org/uploads/attachment/579/selfdirected-support-your-choice-your-right.pdf

Davis, L.J., 'Constructing Normalcy: The Bell Curve, the Novel, and the Invention of the Disabled Body in the Nineteenth Century' in *The Disability Studies Reader, Second Edition* (Routledge, 2006), pp.3-16

Davis, L. J., *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness, and the Body* (Verso, 1995), p.13.

Durbach, Nadja, *Spectacle of Deformity: Freak Shows and Modern British Culture* (University of California Press, 2010)

Egan, Matt, *The `Manufacture' of Mental Defectives in Late 19th and Early 20th Century Scotland* (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2001), online at http://theses.gla.ac.uk/1040/1/2001eganphd.pdf

Hall, Edward, 'Making and gifting belonging: creative arts and people with learning disabilities' *Environment and Planning* A, 45 (2013), pp.244-262

Harmon, S.H.E., et al. 'Disabled Dance: Grounding the Practice in the Law of 'Cultural Heritage'', European Journal of Current Legal Issues 20,3, (2014) online at http://webjcli.org/article/view/370/472

Hermans, Carolien, 'Differences in Itself: Redefining Disability through Dance' *Social Inclusion* 4, 4 (2016), pp.160–167

Horvitz, L.A.. 'Biography of Hilde Holger' *Hildeholger.com* (2005), online at http://hildeholger.com/biography/

Humphrey, Roland, 'Thoughts on Disability Arts' in *Framed: Interrogating Disability in the Media*, ed. by Pointon & Davies (British Film Institute, 1997), pp.173-175

Humphries, Steve & Gordon, Pamela. *Out Of Sight: The Experience of Disability 1900-1950* (Northcote House, 1992)

Hutchison, Iain, 'Voices from the past: early institutional experience of children with disabilities - the case of Scotland' *Pediatric Rehabilitation* 8, 1 (2005), pp.67–77

Jennings, Luke, 'Amici Dance Theatre Company: Tightrope' *The Guardian* (27 June 2010)

Johnston, Kirsty, *Disability Theatre and Modern Drama: Recasting Modernism* (Bloomsbury, 2016)

Kimmins, Grace, *Heritage Craft Schools and Hospitals, Chailey, 1903-1948: Being an Account of the Pioneer Work for Crippled Children* (Baynard, 1948)

King, Elspeth, 'Popular Culture in Glasgow' in *The Working Class in Glasgow 1750-1914* ed. by R.A. Cage (Crook Helm, 1987)

Kochhar-Lindgren, Kanta, 'Disability' in *Keywords For American Cultural Studies* (NYU Press, 2007), online at http://keywords.nyupress.org/american-cultural-studies/essay/disability/

Koven, Seth, 'Remembering and Dismemberment: Crippled Children, Wounded Soldiers, and the Great War in Great Britain' *The American Historical Review* 99: 4 (1994), pp.1167-1202

Kuppers, Petra, *Community Performance, an Introduction* (Routledge, 2007)

Leadbetter, Clare & O'Connor, Niamh, *Healthy Attendance? The Impact of Cultural Engagement and Sports Participation on Health and Satisfaction with Life in Scotland* (Scottish Government Social Research, 2013), online at http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0043/00430649.pdf

Liberty, 'Liberty honours human rights heroes in annual awards ceremony' (22 November 2013), online at https://www.liberty-human-rights.org.uk/news/press-releases/liberty-honours-human-rights-heroes-annual-awards-ceremony

McMillan, Ian, 'Step Change' *Nursing Standard* 26, 38 (2012), pp.19-20

Miller, Howard, 'Artistic ability vs. developmental disability' *Impact* 10 (1997), pp.2-4

Morris, M.L., et al., ‘Developing and Sustaining an Inclusive Dance Program: Strategic Tools and Methods’, *Journal of Dance Education* 15, 3 (2015), pp.122-129

Morrison, K. & Finkelstein, V. ‘Culture as struggle: access to power’ in *Disability Arts and Culture*

Papers (Shape, 1992), online at http://disability-studies.leeds.ac.uk/files/library/Lees- arts-and-culture.pdf

Nielsen, E.M., ‘Origins of the Folk Dance Movement’ in *Folk Dancing* (Greenwood, 2011), p.53

OpenLearn, *Lennox Castle Hospital* (Open University, 2016), online at http://www.open.edu/openlearn/health-sports-psychology/social-care/lennox-castle-hospital/altformat-printable

Parry, Jann, ‘All about Amici and its director Wolfgang Stange’ *DanceTabs* (2015), online at http://dancetabs.com/2015/08/all-about-amici-and-its-director-wolfgang-stange/

Paxton, Steve, ‘A Definition’, *Contact Quarterly* (Winter 1979), p.26

Ross, K. A., *The locational history of Scotland's district lunatic asylums, 1857-1913*. (PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2014), online at http://theses.gla.ac.uk/5320/

Sandahl, Carrie & Auslander. Philip, ‘Introduction’ in *Bodies in commotion: disability & performance* (University of Michigan Press, 2005), pp.1-12

Scottish Government, *The keys to life: Improving quality of life for people with learning disabilities* (2013), online at http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0042/00424389.pdf

Scottish Government, *The same as you? A review of services for people with learning disabilities* (2000), online at http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/1095/0001661.pdf

Shaw, Tom, *Historical Abuse Systemic Review: Residential Schools and Children’s Homes in Scotland 1950 to 1995* (Scottish Government, 2007), online at http://www.gov.scot/Resource/Doc/203922/0054353.pdf

Smith, Owen, ‘Shifting Apollo’s Frame: Challenging the Body Aesthetic in Theatre Dance’ in *Bodies in commotion: disability & performance,* ed. by Sandahl & Auslander (University of Michigan Press, 2005), pp.73-85

Sutherland, Allan, ‘Disability arts, disability politics’ in *Framed: Interrogating Disability in the Media*, ed. by Pointon & Davies (British Film Institute, 1997), p159

Thomson, G.O.B., ‘Legislation and Provision for the Mentally Handicapped Child in Scotland since 1906’ *Oxford Review of Education* 9, 3 (1983), pp.233-240

Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation. ‘Fundamental Principles of Disability’ (UPIAS, 1976), online at http://disability-studies.leeds.ac.uk/files/library/UPIAS-fundamental-principles.pdf

Verrent, Jo, *Dance and disability in Scotland* (Scottish Arts Council, 2007), online at http://www.scottisharts.org.uk/resources/publications/Dance/pdf/Dance%20and%20disability%20ed.pdf

Wheelchair Dance Association, *Festivals* (2017), online at http://www.wheelchairdanceassociation.org/festivals