Assessing the impact of mainstream vocational training in developing capabilities of people with and without disabilities. A case of Danhiko Training Institution in Harare, Zimbabwe.

A Research Paper presented by:

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(Zimbabwe)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialization:

Work, Employment and Globalisation

(WEG)

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The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2012

Disclaimer:

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

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List of Acronyms

ALMPS	Active Labour Market Policies
CRPD	Convention for Rights of PWDs
ICF	International Classification of Functionings
ILO	International Labour Organisation
NAMACO	National Manpower Advisory Council
NASCOH	National Association of Societies for the Care of the Handicapped
PWDs	People with Disabilities
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZIMDEF	Zimbabwe Manpower Development Fund

Abstract

Disability issues have in the past been given less priority in development due to lack of supportive legal framework to encourage realistic intervention strategies. The development of the Convention of Rights for People with Disabilities places a demand on states to be more pro-active in inclusionary disability strategies. This paper tries to join in the middle of debate in literature on inclusion of people with disabilities through mainstream vocational training which is argued to be an effective way of developing economic and social capabilities for people with disabilities. Testimonies of students in disability mainstreaming learning at Danhiko Vocational Training Centre in Harare, Zimbabwe are analyzed using Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum's capability approach, to assess how skills development takes place as well as the capabilities accrued to the students' lives. This paper will argue that mainstream learning not only has human capital benefits for both students with and without disabilities but that it encourages the development of social capabilities through social interaction for both student categories. This social interaction changes attitudes and stereo-types that encourage exclusion, as students learn each other's capabilities and get to appreciate that they are differently able.

Relevance to Development Studies

This paper is inspired by the current debate in the disability discourse for inclusion of people with disabilities in development .It attempts to analyse how mainstream disability training can facilitate well-being and the inclusion of people with disabilities in development.

Keywords

Disability, Capabilities, Mainstream vocational training

Chapter 1 : Introduction

Disability is a complex phenomenon that exists in society across the developed and developing divide. Disability is generally associated with the exclusion of people with disabilities from the rest of society due to various cultural attitudes, perceptions and environmental factors. People with disabilities (hereafter referred to as PWDs) in Zimbabwe just as in most developing countries, are more vulnerable to exclusion because of the poor state of the economy. A disability scoping study done by DFID in Zimbabwe (2007) estimated that1.4 million people have disabilities.[1] They face exclusion from education, employment, cultural activities, festivals, sports, social events and are especially vulnerable to poverty, physical and sexual violence, lack of access to health care, emotional abuse and neglect. Only 33% of children with disabilities in Zimbabwe have access to education, compared with over 90% for the able-bodied populace. While it is estimated that the general unemployment rate in Zimbabwe is at least 80%, it is estimated that less than seven per cent of PWDs in Zimbabwe are in employment. [2] Article 27 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of People with Disabilities (CRPD) quoted in the World Health Organization (WHO) (2011:235) report recognizes

> the right of people with disabilities to work, on an equal basis with others; this includes the opportunity to gain a living by work freely chosen or accepted in a labour market and work environment that is open, inclusive and accessible to People with disabilities.

Mainstream training is key to ensuring PWDs get relevant skills which prepare them for integration into the mainstream economy or labor market. The 2011, World Disability Report acknowledges that," Vocational rehabilitation services develop or restore the capabilities of PWDs so they can participate in the competitive labour market. The services usually relate to job training, counselling, and placement" (WHO 2011:245).

This research, which specifically focuses on the impact of vocational training in enhancing the capabilities of PWDs to prepare them for participation in wider society, aims to use the voices of the able bodied students and students with disabilities at Danhiko vocational training centre in Harare to assess the impact of vocational training in enhancing the capabilities of PWDs to prepare them for participation in the wider society in Zimbabwe. This introductory chapter serves to introduce the problematic, research questions and discuss how data was collected.

1.1 Problem Statement

Disability according to Oliver (1996) quoted in Terzi (2005:201) is

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[1] http://www.prpzim.info/resources/DFID%20Disability%20Scoping%20Study.pdf

[2] http://www.nascoh.org.zw/?page_id=82 NASCOH is the umbrella body for disabled people's organizations in Zimbabwe. There is scarce information regarding to the statistics on disability in Zimbabwe.

the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organization which takes no or little account of people with impairments and thus excludes them from participation in the mainstream of social activities.

Failure by PWDs to access work due to, "[…] their lack of qualifications and discrimination from the employers" (Choruma 2007:17), is an issue of concern in Zimbabwe despite the establishment of a Disability Act in 1996. PWDs constitute 10% of the Zimbabwean population and less than 7% of this population has access to employment (NASCOH, 2012). In Zimbabwe just like many developing countries this is exacerbated by the high rates of unemployment which make the labour market much more competitive. Zimbabwe is also amongst the countries that have not ratified the CRPD. Mainstream training of PWDs becomes pertinent to empower them with the relevant skills needed to enter into the open labour market and participate in the wider society as well as to challenge society in dealing with stereo-types that lead to the exclusion of people with impairments.

1.2 Justification and Relevance

Existing literature on training as an active labour market strategy tends to exclude PWDs hence creating a gap in this area. A meta- analysis done in the advanced countries on the impact of training as an active labour market strategy shows that the focus is on, "direct assessment of the programme effect on welfare 'relevant' outcomes like earnings, employment or hours of work [as opposed to evaluating and comparing] the social returns to investment in alternative active labour market policies (ALMPs)" (Card et al 2010:476). This was concluded by Card et al (2010) in their analysis of 197 programme impacts from 97 studies conducted between 1995 and 2007. Similar studies such as that done by Greenberg et al (2003) on 31 evaluations of government sponsored training programmes for the disadvantaged in the United States between 1964-1998 which looked at the impact of training on earnings amongst women, men and youths, do not specifically focus on the impact of ALMPs on people with impairments thereby leaving a gap which requires to be filled through studies that assess both the social and the economic returns of training. This research paper is therefore an attempt in moving towards the anticipation by Card et al (2010) of a more substantive focus on assessing the impact of training which embraces PWDs who are mostly hidden among statistics in the studies.

Mainstream vocational training is acknowledged in literature as one of the strategies to enable human capabilities development of PWDs (Choruma 2007, O'Reily 2007, Barron and Ncube 2010, WHO 2011). Disabled people need to be provided with training to develop their unique capabilities to facilitate access to work and participate in the wider society. Dubois et al (2009) assert that, "mainstreaming disability is a progressive and sustainable way of redesigning society in order to be more inclusive of people with disabilities". Training ensures capability development and makes PWDs more eligible for productive employment which is also secure and protected. This also gives this research policy relevance in terms of extending the notion of decent work to the most vulnerable groups in society. Mainstream training could also changes perceptions amongst employers of PWDs as incapable. Excluding PWDs from educational and employment opportunities has high social and economic costs

hence there is the need for them to be empowered to become economic beings in their own right. Above all training enables them to build capabilities that enable them to make wider choices and move towards the life they aspire to live.

Issues on disability should continuously be put in the limelight to make society aware that PWDs just as every other human being want to pursue the lives they have reason to value and should be capacitated to do so. Reviewing experiences of both able bodied and impaired students in impairment mainstreaming training is critical in enlightening society of the need to gravitate towards the acceptance of PWDs as 'able' and thus lead to their inclusion in society.

This research is therefore an attempt to assess the impact of such training through the personal experiences of students at Danhiko Vocational Training Centre in Zimbabwe. It will also contribute in filling in the gap in literature on disability and capability development in Zimbabwe. If Danhiko project is a better practiced institution it could serve as an important reference point in transferring the experience to other areas or better still inform policy on improving the integration of PWDs in the mainstream economy or the societies they belong to.

1.3 Research Objective

The general objective of this paper is to find out if impairment mainstreaming vocational training is imparting relevant capabilities for PWDs that enable participation in wider society and the mainstream economy.

1.4 Main Research Question

To what extent does mainstream vocational training for persons with and without disabilities contribute towards development of their capabilities?

1.5 Sub Research Questions

    a)   What value has the experience at Danhiko added to the students' lives?

    b)   How does capability development occur within the Vocational Training Centre?

1.6 Methodology

The study aimed at investigating the extent to which mainstream vocational training for persons with and without impairments contributes towards increasing their capabilities within the vocational training centre as opposed to specialist institutions for people with specific impairments. Data for this research was mainly generated through qualitative methods.

1.6.1 Techniques for data generation

Life history interviews were carried out with twelve students who are at different stages of various programmes at Danhiko Vocational Training centre. Eight able bodied students and four impaired students were interviewed. Unstructured interviews were also carried out with a lecturer from Danhiko and an official from the National Association of Societies for the Care of the Handicapped (NASCOH) to get an informed view of how and what informs the way capabilities development occurs within the centre.

Life histories were chosen because they provide the possibility to capture the individual experiences of students over a long period of time as well as to note the capability changes before coming to the centre (pre-existing capabilities) to experiences in the centre (enhanced capability sets). Andyka and Cameron (2011:20) mention that

> to understand what a person or group of people perceives as their desires and potential for capability development needs sensitively collected testimony.

The interviewer also felt that life histories were instrumental in bringing out the hidden experiences of marginalized groups not already known to the public. Atkinson (1998:7) asserts that, "it is through story that we gain context and recognize meaning and story makes the hidden to be seen." It is through life histories that not so obvious information on respondents is elicited whilst at the same time giving them an opportunity to express their views freely about their experience at Danhiko. The researcher also felt that interviews were an important instrument if they were to access information about feelings, intentions and opinions of the students.

The interviews were conducted in Shona, a local language and English. All interviews were recorded using an audio recorder and later transcribed into text scripts. The researcher introduced herself and briefed the subjects on the intended use of the information and why their involvement was important before carrying out the interviews. The researcher also asked for permission to use their names in the research. O'Leary (2010) states that it is important to brief the subjects on purposes of the research as well as to properly introduce oneself as well as explain ethics by giving them, "assurances of confidentiality, the right to decline answering any particular questions and the right to end the interview upon request" (ibid: 203).The researcher undertook these steps in order to encourage openness of the subjects. An interview guide was also employed to give direction to the interviews in order to make sure the respective dimensions of the research were covered. Students with impairments stay at the centre as boarders during the school term which was an advantage in terms of planning for how the interviewees attended the interviews though most students had begun to leave because of the early closure of schools due to the National Population census. The interviews were conducted with an assistant who took notes.

The experiences narrated by the students will provide key information to know whether integrated training for students with disabilities encourages capabilities development relevant to mainstream employment or participation in their respective communities. To uphold the principle of confidentiality in

research the names of all respondents have been changed even though some of the students gave their consent to have their names used in the research.

Observation as a research method was also minimally employed. It was done in order to take note of the physical environment at the vocational training centre whether it is disability friendly. It was also done in order to capture the interaction of the students within the centre versus what they say they do in the interviews. O'Leary (2010:209) states that , "the gulf between what people say they do and what they actually do can be far and wide" hence the need for verification through observation. The researcher also felt a description of the behaviour and physical setting of the centre will give the reader a picture of what goes on at Danhiko. The student interaction observations were done covertly and this was mainly during the period the researcher was trying to negotiate access to the centre. Observation was also used alongside interviewing to observe non-verbal cues when the students when responding to questions.

1.6.2 Selection of Research Location

Danhiko vocational training centre is located in Harare, the capital city of Zimbabwe. The researcher chose this location because the researcher resides in the same town. The researcher also chose this location because all the student respondents would be found at one location and therefore avoid travelling to different locations in the limited time of field work. The venue also provided the right environment to observe interaction of the able bodied and students with disabilities. All the interviews with the students and the lecturer were carried out at Danhiko in one of the classrooms in the Electrical Engineering Department and an in one of the offices at the centre. The interview with the official from NASCOH was held at the NASCOH offices in Greendale, Harare.

1.6.3 Description of sample

Twelve able bodied and disabled students at various stages of their programmes were interviewed. Eight students were able bodied, six female and two male. Four students with various impairments that included hearing, mobility and no arms were also interviewed. The students were aged between 21-33years of age. Though the sample size of students interviewed was smaller than planned, the idea was to keep the sample size small to ensure that in-depth quality data was collected from each student in order to trace the difference or change made by the experiences at the centre. The students were enrolled in the centre's five departments namely; Carpentry, Clothing Design and Technology, Electronic Service and Repairs, Information Technology and Garment Making. They were enrolled for National Foundation Certificate, National Certificate and Diploma programmes.

Purposive sampling was employed in the selection of respondents in order to get some sort of equal representation of the different type of impairments catered for at the centre. It was also to capture different experiences from students and to get the views of able bodied students. Random sampling could not be employed since there generally appeared to be a smaller population of students with disabilities which could bring out an even more unbalanced

sample with fewer students with disabilities; hence the need to choose respondents in order to have various disabilities represented. This choice was also further reinforced by the fact that interviews were carried out during a period when the institution was closing for early holiday because of the national population census, disabled students who happen to be borders at the institution were already leaving hence random sampling would have further reduced the chances of getting a balanced sample. The lecturer and official from NASCOH were chosen based on their functions.

1.6.4 Limitations to the study

Timing of the field work coincided with the carrying out of the 2012 Zimbabwe National Population Census. All schools and institutions using the national schools calendar closed a week earlier on the 1ˢᵗ of August 2012 to make way for the national census which was held during the period 18-28 August 2012. At the time of research the major learning activity at the centre for the term had already finished making observation of how students interact whist learning virtually impossible. Another challenge faced was that of gaining access to the centre. The authorities were initially reluctant citing ethical challenges of students with disabilities complaining that they were over researched, which constantly reminded them of their disability yet they did not benefit anything from such research. Access was however later granted since the study included both able bodied students and students with disabilities and also since it was not a large sample, students who did not previously participate in other research could be interviewed.

Observation as a research tool could not be used over a longer period during the research for purposes of monitoring student interaction whilst conducting lessons since the school term had ended and no lessons were being conducted at the time of field visit. However, even though the covert observed interaction of students done in the process of negotiating for access was done in a short period of time; it relayed their ordinary norm of interaction.

The small sample was not balanced enough to capture more voices from the students with disabilities. By the time the researcher got clearance to go ahead with the research at the centre, some students had already started leaving for holidays hence fewer interviews with impaired students were captured. The researcher tried to mitigate this by negotiating with the assistant used for taking notes in the interviews to carry out additional interviews when the institution opened for a new term but access was denied. Another challenge was transcribing and analyzing the data to identify emerging views, concepts, and recurring patterns which proved to be time consuming. It was also time consuming comparing notes with those of the assistant and the transcribed material. Some of the students interviewed gave short answers to questions asked.

1.7 Conclusion

The chapter gave an overview of the research under question by highlighting the problem statement and justification of this research. The research questions, methods of data collection and limitations were reviewed to enable the reader to have an appreciation of what the research will address and

how, when and where the data was sourced. The following chapter will discuss the major perspectives in the disability discourse and what existing literature provides in terms of disability and training. It will also present the capability approach as the major framework for analyzing data in this paper.

Chapter 2 : Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.1 Social model *vs.* medical model of disability

The existing debate in the literature concerning what constitutes of disability and how it should be treated, revolves around the medical and social models of disability. Koch (2001:370) propounds that

> The world of disability theory is currently divided between those who insist it reflects a physical fact affecting life quality and those who believe disability is defined by social prejudice.

The medical model commonly used in the health professions views disability as an abnormality caused by impairments hence requires rehabilitative care and help to get the body functioning normally as that of able bodied persons. Protagonists of the social model like Michael Oliver, disability activists and movements, argue that disability should be viewed as human diversity or difference which does not necessarily need to be corrected (Oliver 1996, Reindal 2009). They argue that physical, cultural and social barriers result in exclusion of PWDs from participating in the mainstream of social activities. It therefore stresses the need to effect technological and environmental adjustments to enable PWDs to participate in the wider world without any physical barriers. Sympathizers of the social model have rallied behind this celebration of disability as difference or diversity, in their quest to seek for the inclusion or participation of disabled people in the world of work based on their respective unique abilities (Terzi 2005).

The social model's quest for integration of PWDs into mainstream activities has influenced the shift of thinking around training of PWDs in specialized institutions which segregated them to mainstream training which allows for shared experiences with the non-impaired (Terzi 2005, Barron and Ncube 2010). Barnes et al quoted in (Terzi 2005:25) echo that

> Disabled people who were educated in special schools speak of the substantive 'deprivation' of 'normal' opportunities they suffered and the negative consequences on their lives as a whole.

Mainstream training not only enables acquiring skills relevant to the labour market but also social capabilities for integration into the mainstream economy as well as for participation in their respective communities. (Terzi 2005, Barron and Ncube 2010). Choruma (2007:17) argues that the process of curriculum development appears not to consider the learning needs of PWDs as they are expected to fit into what is available rather than institutions adapting the curriculum to meet the demands of PWDs. She also argues that certificates attained from these institutions are not generally accepted by employers.

For social model theorists

> […] it is the collective responsibility of society at large to make the environmental modifications necessary for the full participation of people with disabilities in all areas of social life. The issue is therefore an attitudinal or ideological one requiring social change […] (WHO 2001:20).

In the same vein of inclusive thinking by the social model perspective, Article 24 on Education in the United Nations Convention for Rights of PWDs (UNCRPD) addresses how state parties should ensure inclusive education. Section 3 states that, "State Parties shall enable people with disabilities to learn life and social development skills to facilitate their full and equal participation in education and as members of the community".[3]

Though the social model of disability has become popular for its drive towards inclusion of PWDs, it has also received criticism. Critiques of this school of thought argue that

> The Social Model fails to see the ambiguities and rhythms with which a person relates to their environment and the attendant choices concerning what to look for in the social setting that are central to appropriate design. Faced with the difficulties of deploying explanatory accounts in making design recommendations, we advocate an alternative approach for the understanding of disability, based on ethno methodologically informed ethnographic methods (Dewsbury et al.2004:155)

However the International Classification of Functioning (ICF) which tries to merge the ideas from the two perspectives of disability, refers to disability as

> an umbrella term for impairments, activity limitations and participation restrictions. It denotes the negative aspects of the interaction between an individual (with a health condition) and that individual's contextual factors (environmental and personal factors) (WHO 2001: 213).

The ICF definition tries to integrate the two models in order to have a holistic understanding of the different perspectives on disability, "from a biological, individual and social perspective" (WHO 2001:20).As the ICF suggests there is need to incorporate both models in devising effective strategies of meeting the needs of PWDs such as capabilities development through vocational training.

2.3 The capabilities approach towards disability

This study will make use of the capability approach in investigating whether vocational training offered adds on to the functionings of PWDs to participate in mainstream workspaces as well as participate actively in the wider society (Ward 2012). The capability approach as expounded by Amartya Sen, Martha Nussbaum and other protagonists explores the means and ways by which people assume well-being. The capability approach is argued by a number of authors as an innovative approach offering important resources for redefining impairment and disability, and designing inclusive social policies (Terzi 2005, Robeyns 2005, Robeyns 2006, Walker 2006 and Trani et al 2011).

According to Sen (1997), human capability refers to the 'ability of human beings to lead lives they have reason to value' therefore capabilities are

> Various combinations of functionings (beings and doings) that the person can achieve. Capability is thus, a set of vectors of functionings, reflecting the person's freedom to lead one type of life or another (Sen 1992:40).

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[3] http://www.un.org/disabilities/convention/conventionfull.shtml

Terzi (2005) adds to this definition that capabilities amount to the substantive freedoms a person has, or the real alternatives available to the person to achieve well-being, what some authors refer to as functionings (Sen 1992, Ward 2012, Robeyns 2005). Robeyns (2005) acknowledges that the capability approach is a broad normative framework for the evaluation and assessment of individual well-being and social arrangements, the design of policies, and proposals about social change in society. He also acknowledges that the core characteristic of the capability approach is its focus on what people are effectively able to do and to be; that is, on their capabilities.

The capability approach's normative outlook allows for assessment of different capabilities which are context specific as people have different needs. Sen's definition (1997) of human capability as the ability of human beings to lead lives they have reason to value alludes to the idea fact that people's values in life differ. These differing values cannot be adequately covered by Nussbaum's list of basic capabilities which are universally applicable. There are different capabilities that contribute to full personhood which include amongst others those summarized in the capability profile in Figure 1 below. This capability profile provides a useful list of capabilities which can be used to analyze the added capabilities to the students' profiles during their experiences at the training centre.

Figure 2.1
Capability profile
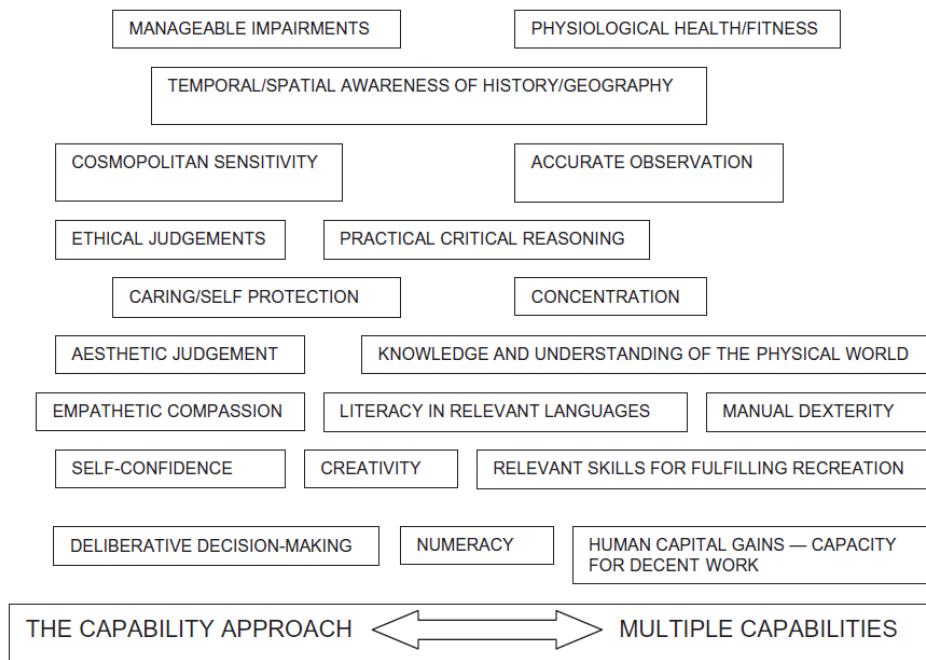
Source: ISS course 4224 lecture slides by John Cameron

Though Nussbaum's legalistic list of basic capabilities is not necessarily context specific in outlook, it is an important and relevant analytical angle to

examine the set of entitlements that pre-determine the build–up of personal conversion factors in an individual, that lead to development of pre-existing capability sets. Terzi (2005:212) also finds the relevance of Nussbaum's rights based approach to capabilities through his assertion that Nussbaum' conception of capabilities

> […] allows us to frame matters of justice for people with disabilities in the language of basic constitutional guarantees or inescapable demands on governments in securing the social bases of capabilities for their intervention.

In this research there is therefore need to analyze from a legalist angle, the existence and enforcement of instruments such as the constitution, acts ,by-laws, policies and programmes which create an enabling environment for the transformation of personal conversion factors into capabilities for PWDs.

Andyka and Cameron (2011:6) propound that

> conversion factors facilitate the development of capability by creating opportunities that convert a pre-existing set of entitlements and capability set into more valuable capability sets

This is illustrated in Figure 2. Personal conversion factors refer to the things that people think they can do within a given set of entitlements. However, Andyka and Cameron also propound that people often end up with adapted preferences of what they desire in life because of societal pressures thereby underestimating their personal conversion potential. This is also confirmed by Nussbaum(2000) who points out that people's subjective choices are distorted by public policies and society and she proposes to be cautious in how we interpret people's choices. This is often the case with the experiences of marginalized groups in society like PWDs. The lack of enforcements of specific rights of PWDs in the legal spaces influences the personal conversion factors of PWDs and also the social conversion factors both in terms of what the vocational institutions can deliver and how they deliver. It also has an impact on how communities accommodate participation of PWDs as well as how the market responds to granting access to work for PWDs.

Figure 2.2
Capability development process
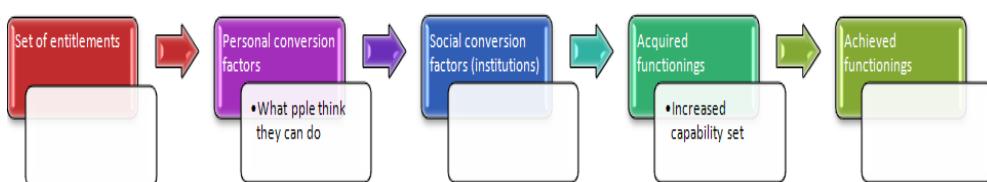
Source: Adapted from Robeyns (2005:98)

The capability approach blurs the frontier between learning that develops capabilities required for income generating work and that which enables social development to enable people to become active participants in their

communities. It enables the analysis of capabilities that enable full personhood development in an individual thereby allowing them to perform more functions or access the things they have reason to value. Robeyns (2006:72) postulates that the human capital model of education centers on a person's ability to generate income which has, "blocked out the cultural, social and non-material dimensions of life […]" whilst the human rights approach uses rights as a possible way to reach the goal of expanding people's capabilities (ibid). The capability approach goes beyond understanding education as building human capital, as Sen puts it, "we must go beyond the notion of human capital , after acknowledging its relevance and reach"(1997:1960). Social capabilities are capabilities that each individual acquires by interacting with others; it is through this interaction that the basis for self-respect and the absence of humiliation takes place. This approach when applied to the mainstream disability training allows for a holistic assessment in terms of non-tangible and tangible capabilities for the students, before coming to the institution and the life changing experiences they have had whilst at the institution.

Nussbaum's (2011) human development approach towards capability places emphasis on a life worthy of human dignity. She connotes that, the basic question to ask when assessing and comparing societies for their civility is

> What is each person able to do and be? [… it] takes each person as an end, asking not just about the total or average well-being but the opportunities presented to each person(2011:18).

Reindal (2009) also echoes the same sentiments as Nussbaum by putting across specific questions such as, "what kinds of life are [PWDs] able to live under present circumstances, do they have the ability to realize valued goals?" Hedge and MacKenzie (2012) also concur with Nussbaum's capability approach and suggest that it provides an analytical framework by which to gravitate towards inclusion and inclusive education for PWDs with particular respect to issues such as respect, dignity and what people are able to do and be. This is why the capability approach has received criticism for being too individualistic and paying minimal attention to groups and structures (Robeyn 2005). Despite this shortfall the researcher is of the view that the analysis of individual well-being by the capability approach goes beyond national indicators of growth and wellness such as the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) which obscure the inequalities and discrimination that take place at micro level. Comim (2012:442) also agrees that Nussbaum's human development approach to creating capabilities is, "less dedicated to quantitative targets, more committed to building capabilities and human dignity". The researcher suggests the capability approach as a useful analytical framework in analyzing how best less visible people in society like people with impairments can 'flourish' and have dignified lives.

Vocational training institutions act as social conversion factors that transform pre-existing capability sets into more useful capability sets through acquired functionings which enable well-being through access to work or participation in different activities in the wider society. Robeyns (2005) acknowledges that it is important to know the social determinants of the relevant capabilities, as only those determinants (social agencies and institutions) can be changed. Robeyns(ibid) argues that there is therefore potential to use the capability approach in analyzing the role of training institutions as means of ensuring well-being.

2.3.1 Human capital aspect of vocational training

It is worthwhile to reflect on the relevance of the skills imparted through vocational training on the labour market and whether they have potential to protect PWDs from poverty and destitution. Human capital according to Sen(1997) is "the agency of human beings through skill and knowledge as well as effort". Robeyns (2006) states that, "the instrumental personal economic role of education is that it can help a person to find a job, to be less vulnerable on the labour market […]".Human capital relates to how a person can be more economically productive through investing in training. It is a more neo-classical view of human beings as economic beings who achieve or lead a worthwhile life through productive enterprise. The human capital approach is embedded within the human capability approach as income generating work is but one of the means of achieving the lives people have reason to value (Sen, 1997). Human capital which as a concept will be used alongside the capability approach in this research, is important to analyze how skills acquired can be used to generate income through profitable work.

2.4 Conclusion

The capability approach is a useful analytical framework that allows for a comprehensive analysis of the process under which capabilities that enable PWDs to flourish in life, can be reviewed. It helps lay bare the social capability deficiencies which are often overshadowed by the pre-occupation with skills for economic pursuits and yet an essential part of full personhood as well as promoting inclusion. The capability approach amongst other concepts mentioned will be used to review the impact of mainstream disability vocational training in enhancing capabilities that the students have reason to value. The next chapter gives a brief outline of disability in Zimbabwe and the background of the case study under research.

Chapter 3 : Background of disability in Zimbabwe

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will briefly locate disability in the Zimbabwean context. It will review the prevalence, societal perceptions as well as treatment of disability in the legal provisions and national policies in general. Provisions made in laws and policies with respect to disability training will also be reviewed. It will also introduce the case study under review, Danhiko Vocational Training Centre.

3.2 Prevalence of disability in Zimbabwe

The definition of disability within the Zimbabwean context is not so different from the other definitions provided in wider literature. It is defined in the Disabled Persons Act of Zimbabwe as

> a person with a physical, mental or sensory disability, including a visual, hearing or speech functional disability, which gives rise to physical, cultural or social barriers inhibiting him [or her] from participating at an equal level with other members of society in activities, undertakings or fields of employment that are open to other members of society (Zimbabwe Government 1996:51).

Disability thus is contextualized as occurring where the impairment meets the environmental and social barriers. Most countries in Africa, Zimbabwe included, have carried out population censuses but information on PWDs is often rarely included (Eide et al., 2001). Zimbabwe lastly held a National Disability Survey with the assistance of UNICEF in 1981, a year after its national independence. The results of the census revealed that approximately 250,000 people were living with disability. It also revealed that 52% of PWDs in 1981 had never attended school and 1% had progressed beyond secondary school. Disability was also found to reduce dramatically chances of finding a job. The 1992 national population census did not address issues around the conditions of PWDs (Eide et al., 2001). The 2002 census revealed that 350,000 people were living with disability, a figure equating to 2.9% of the national population at the time (11, 634,663).

A poverty assessment study survey (PASS), done in 2003 revealed that 3% of the people were disabled with a higher percentage staying in the rural areas. The Ministry of Health and Child Welfare noted that major forms of disability identified in this survey were physical immobility and visual impairment. It was also estimated from the same survey findings that about 68% of PWDs, "were prevented from maintaining significant economic activity or going to school due to the disability"[4]. Currently available statistics indicate that there are approximately 1.4 million disabled people in Zimbabwe, according to a 2007 DFID scoping study on disability issues in Zimbabwe.[5]

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[4] http://www.mohcw.gov.zw/index.php/disability-and-rehabilitation
[5] http://www.prpzim.info/resources/DFID%20Disability%20Scoping%20Study.pdf

3.3 Legal provisions for PWDs in Zimbabwe

The government has tried to address the plight of PWDs by putting in place a non-discriminatory legislation in the form of the Disabled Persons Act (revised edition1996). A disability board was also established in terms of Section 4 of the Disabled Persons Act whose functions amongst others include formulating and developing measures and policies to

> secure the establishment of vocational rehabilitation centres, social employment centres and other institutions and services for the welfare and rehabilitation of disabled persons[6].

Unlike its regional counterparts who have built policies around legislation on disability, Zimbabwe has not put in place a policy to enable the effective implementation of the Act. Section 23 (1) (2) (a) in the Constitution of Zimbabwe provides for protection of PWDs from all forms of discrimination[7]. Sections 4 (1), 4 (2) and 4 (5) of the Zimbabwe Education Act which cater for the fundamental rights to education in Zimbabwe do not give specific mention to PWDs[8]. Furthermore, the government has not ratified the 2006 Convention of Rights for PWDs which would put pressure on the state to set up strategies geared towards inclusion in development plans. Choruma(2007:21)reiterates that

> Existing legislation and policies which pertain to people with disabilities remain mere unenforceable tools. The Disability Board created by the Disabled Persons Act continues to be invisible and inaccessible to people with disabilities

These pieces of legislation only exist on paper as they are hardly enforced. Zimbabwe was one of the first countries in Africa to come up with a Disability Act but in the past decade the socio-economic crisis facing the nation has resulted in disability issues being given minimum priority. Results from the DFID study revealed that no evidence exists on mainstreaming disability in public services such as education, employment and health.

3.4 Cultural perceptions of disability

According to NASCOH

> persons with disabilities are still being viewed from a medical and welfare framework, identifying PWDs as ill, different from their non-disabled peers, and in need of care. As a result of the emphasis on the medical need, there is neglect of the wider political, social and economic needs of PWDs and their families[9].

This summarized perception of disability by NASCOH reveals that society still views PWDs as incapable and without potential of leading their own

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[6] http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/4c45b86b2.pdf
[7] http://aceproject.org/ero-en/regions/africa/ZW/Constitution%20of%20Zimbabwe%201980.pdf
[8] http://www.kubatana.net/docs/legisl/edu_act_041001.pdf
[9] http://www.nascoh.org.zw/?page_id=82

independent lives. A national study conducted between 2001-2006 in Zimbabwe on unmet needs for broad categories of services for PWDs indicated that 41.1% of people living with disabilities expressed their interest in vocational training whilst 22.7% expressed having received vocational training (WHO2011:42)showing that PWDs actually desire to live productive and independent lives. Disability education at independence was mostly left in the hands of missionaries and NGOs (Mpofu 2001). Despite government planning not prioritizing education of persons with disability, parental attitudes towards educating children with disabilities also contributed towards the exclusion of children with disabilities from learning spaces. Chimedza and Peters (2001) connote that children with disabilities were viewed as inferior and unworthy for an education. A research done by Chimhenga and Musarurwa(2011) investigating the attitude of parents with disabilities revealed that some parents who viewed disability as stemming from witchcraft or the presence of evil did not send their children to school[10]. In some cases, rituals and cleansing ceremonies were held to 'cure' or 'heal' the disabled person and dispel the evil spirits from the family, and all family members attended these functions in solidarity to solve a 'family problem' (Chimedza and Peters 2001).However, societal transformation over time with modernity has seen some shift in perceptions influenced by traditional belief systems (Choruma 2007, Avoke 2002: 771).

There are several specialized institutions in Zimbabwe that include amongst others: Jairos Jiri Centre which provides vocational training for persons with physical, visual, and hearing impairments. Kapota School of the Blind also specifically caters for the blind students. Leonard Cheshire Disability organization also has amongst its programmes vocational training programmes aiming to enable disabled people become economically independent. Leonard Cheshire Disability organization in Zimbabwe has observed that most donors in Zimbabwe (67%) indicate that they do not fund disability issues , at least those who do concentrate on advocacy and human rights but on a very small scale and the funding is limited and comes with conditions. Leonard Cheshire also observes that there are no donors targeting income-generating projects aimed at empowering PWDs[11]. In some social settings like rural areas, disabled people are invisible because generally the country's social amenities are not structured in a way that is inclusive (Choruma 2007). As such, disabled people are less likely to participate in most social and economic activities.

3.5 The history of Danhiko

Danhiko Project is a registered welfare nongovernmental organization, which consists of a secondary school and five vocational training units namely Carpentry, Clothing Design and Technology, Electronic Service and Repairs, Information Technology and Garment Making. The project also runs a sports club that coordinated sports for both students with and without disability. The

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[10] http://www.savap.org.pk/journals/ARInt./Vol.1%283%29/2011%281.3-11%29.pdf

[11] http://www.lcint.org/?lid=3555

sports club runs the biggest Annual Paralympic games in the country which attracts clubs nationwide as well as from other neighbouring countries.

'Danhiko' is a Shona word which means "steps", a ladder which the disabled, able-bodied and the underprivileged students or anyone else can climb from the ground to meet the summit of their aspirations and abilities. It is with this concept that the Danhiko Project was formed in 1981 after the liberation struggle and Zimbabwe's Independence in 1980. Danhiko was set up after the liberation struggle in order to provide training and education for ex-combatants and civilians who had sustained various disabilities during the war. Danhiko has since adapted and expanded itself to providing opportunities and facilities for various groups of children and young adults with disabilities and economically disadvantaged citizens in the Zimbabwean society.

Danhiko's mission and vision is centered firmly on the deliverance of quality education, training and production for PWDs and the disadvantaged within the society, for employment or self-employment. It aims to provide education and training for students to whom other avenues of schooling and training are not easily accessible. This target group includes men and women with disabilities either civilian or military. There is a quota system in place, 2/3 can be people with physical disabilities. Students are assessed by the resident nurse so that they are placed in a course where they can realise full potential. The disabilities range from injuries sustained during the liberation struggle, birth defects, diseases of various forms to accidents occurring at the workplace, home or road accidents. Danhiko does not cater for blind students and the mentally handicapped. Inclusive in this group are those whose age precludes them from gaining entrance into the formal mainstream educational institutions.

Danhiko also seeks to provide a conducive learning atmosphere to the able bodied and students with disabilities alike so as to ensure a mutually rewarding learning experience that prepares them for entrance into communities and the world of work. It also seeks to provide basic education and training, orientation, vocational or technical and professional information as well as skills to increase the possibility of PWDs to exercise their responsibilities and participate fully, actively and positively in their respective communities. Danhiko seeks to provide short term training courses and programmes in areas where there is potential for employment or the establishment of viable income generating projects and wherever possible such skills training has to be suitable and accessible to PWDs.

Danhiko also aims at promoting the employability of PWDs by promoting their working abilities through the elimination of psychological, physical and architectural barriers. It also seeks to gradually expand the educational facilities at Danhiko as well as continuously design and adapt the curriculum to ensure that students, particularly those with disabilities are equipped with the skills that will enable them to find jobs on the commercial, industrial and public sectors of the economy.

Danhiko Project receives a grant from government through the Zimbabwe Manpower Development Fund (ZIMDEF).ZIMDEF is a Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education fund established by Section 23 of the Manpower Planning and Development Act. Chapter 28:02 of the Act provides for all registered companies to contribute a monthly training levy of one

percent of their gross wage bill to the fund. Besides donations with no strings, the institution charges tuition and boarding fees for its students[12].

3.6 Danhiko Vocational Training Centre through the researcher's eyes

Danhiko is located in the eastern suburb of Masasa on the outskirts of the capital city, Harare. It's along the highway exiting Harare to the eastern part of Zimbabwe. Danhiko can be accessed from the city centre using public transport (commuter omnibuses) which will drop one off at the entrance of the centre. There is a tarred strip off the main road, from the entrance leading to the centre. There is network of paths around the centre wide enough and user friendly for wheel-chair users. The corridors have rails on the sides which they can hold on to; they also have ramps which allow for wheelchair access to sloppy areas. The hostels for boarding students are located strategically close to the learning area. There are no staircases and all buildings are built on the ground level. During the process of getting clearance to undertake the research, I observed students interacting near their hostels. I watched as the students communicated using sign language. As I continued to observe, I saw one boy who was previously signing talking to another boy in a separate conversation. I also witnessed a girl pushing a wheelchair bound fellow to the hostels. I was also personally greeted by one cheerful wheelchair bound fellow who went on to enquire if I had been assisted. Students who assist the wheelchair bound students do so out of their own goodwill and care otherwise the pathways were made in such a way to allow for ease of manoeuvre without assistance. I also witnessed one of the cleaning staff, an old lady with a hunch back performing her duties.

3.7 Conclusion

The chapter served to place disability in the Zimbabwean context as well as to introduce Danhiko to the reader. The following chapter will delve into the different told experiences of the students in the processing revealing their pre-existing capabilities before coming to the centre, what their expectations and capability needs were and what capabilities they have managed to acquire. It will also discuss how capability development occurs in the centre as well as what process guides the learning.

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[12] Sourced from a profile given to the researcher at the centre. The Principal for Danhiko confirmed its source of funding and some of the information was sourced from http://www.kubatana.net/html/sectors/dan001.asp?sector=DISAB&details=Tel&orgcode=dan001
http://www.zimdef.org.zw/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=8&Itemid=15

Chapter 4 : The students' testimonials

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will walk through the students' life stories in search for perceptions and feelings towards things they think they are able to do and how far they have come in meeting them. It will also discuss findings on the various factors that enable capability development and how it occurs within the vocational training centre.

Figure 4.1
Entrance to Danhiko

Source: Fieldwork Pictures - Masasa, Harare July 2012

4.2 The students' experiences at Danhiko

Henry is a 23 year old male student with a hearing impairment and also an impaired right hand. However Henry can lip-read and manages to communicate well. He can read and write, in cases where he failed to lip read he requested for questions to be written down before he could respond. He

first narrated how he acquired his right hand impairment through a dangerous snake bite. Henry first sat for his Ordinary level exams in 2007 and did not pass very well; he repeated in 2008- 2009 and passed and acquired his Ordinary level certificate. In 2010 he enrolled for a National Certificate in Information Technology at Danhiko which he is completing at the end of 2012. Hilary's face was bright and lively. He spoke with confidence and passion about his experiences at Danhiko.

I started my primary education staying with my grandparents in Chivhu. In 2007, I sat for my ordinary level exams and passed only one subject, I repeated my form 4 studies again in 2008-2009 and passed four subjects. Whilst still a child, I was bitten by a snake and I had to undergo surgery at Murambinda mission hospital for my arm which had been badly damaged by the snake's venom. I almost got my hand amputated but I got professional help to rehabilitate my hand. I then joined Danhiko in 2010 and enrolled for a National Certificate in Information Technology (IT). I want to enrol for a diploma in Electronic Engineering which runs for two years when I finish IT. I was inspired to enrol at Danhiko because there are boarding facilities for students with disabilities. *Pano pane vanhu vakaremara vendudzi dzose, vanhu vakaremara vanobatwa zvakanaka vachidzidza zvakanaka pano* (People with different disabilities are well catered for here). My guardians also saw Danhiko as a suitable institution for me to acquire training. I am looking forward to be a learned and enlightened person who is successful in life. I aim to break the barrier that PWDs are not able to contribute productively towards national development and their communities. It doesn't mean that if one has a disability they are not capable of doing anything. When I graduate, I am hoping to get a job in the Electrical or Information Technology industry so that I can take care of my parents and also have my own family. Disabled people can be respectable people in society when they are independent and not beggars. Ever since I enrolled at Danhiko, I now understand a lot of things about life, and I have since learnt that when you are learned you earn respect in life, you also have a choice to a decent life than illegal jobs like selling airtime or vending. When I fail to understand particular issues in class, teachers accommodate my disability explaining further to me in a way that I best understand. We get along quite well with the able-bodied students who appreciate us for whom we are. We are open with each other, if I'm not happy with the treatment i get from someone, I tell them that I'm not happy with this. *Tirimastudents tese, takangofanana, of the same level tinokwanisa kubatsirana pane paasingazivi nepandinozivawo.* We teach each other sign language*, mangwana kana paine chaanoda kutaura, anosvikotaura nesign language, totoseka tese* (We are all students, equal and sharing the same knowledge, we consult each other and teach each other sign language and communicate well). Our lecturers encourage us to be hardworking and courageous in our schoolwork in preparation for the wider world; we also interact well with them and teach them sign language. In my current class there are four out of eleven students with impairments. I have since learnt that success in life comes to those who dare to act *nevanokwanisa kushanda vachizvimiririra vega nesimba, vasingamirire kugara hazvibatsiri*" (and those who work hard for themselves and not just sit and give up on life which is not helpful at all) (Henry 2012, Personal Interview).

Tinevimbo is a 24 year old male student who is unimpaired. He attained his Ordinary level certificate in 2004 at Churchill boys high in Harare and thereafter started an apprenticeship with a renowned stone carving artist, Dominic Benhura who has his own studio.

I am an artist, I'm into sculpting, the reason I came here is because I wanted to add more certificates. I started doing art in high school at Churchill where we used to do painting but I loved to venture into stone carving. After finishing my 'O' levels, I went on to do a stone sculpting apprenticeship with Dominic Benhura a renowned artist. I came to Danhiko and enrolled for a program in Woodwork because I realised that I was lacking in skill. A customer gave me an order which required me to join stone slabs with the wood and I had no idea how to do so. I am currently at National Certificate level doing a programme called Cabinet Making in Joinery. The programme lasts for three years. I now know a lot of things especially practical experience on how to handle some of the machinery used in industry and safety precautions. My time at Danhiko has helped me to appreciate PWDs. Having spent so many years being among them, now I am able to understand their sign language. Initially when I came, I would use the older guys who knew how to sign but the hearing impaired can read lips so they would know what you are trying to say and write down for you, when we look at them, we don't look at them as though they are disabled, we are all the same, so they are happy, when chatting or arguing with them I argue as though I am arguing with you. I am now able to sign and I have made friends with other disabled students. My current class has nine disabled and eight able bodied students. I am satisfied that my needs are being well addressed in the courses which I am learning; the course addresses my needs well. I think impaired students excelled better than able bodied students the last year. However, some disabled students do not have a positive attitude towards school, it seems as though they are pushed to come to school by their parents (Tinevimbo 2012, Personal Interview).

Sheunesu is a 22 year old male student who is unimpaired. He is currently enrolled for a National Foundation Certificate in Electrical Engineering.

I live with my parents and I did my high school at Kuwadzana High and Mbare High but I failed my Ordinary level exams. I started to supplement my studies and after about 6 years that is when I decided to come to here. I was inspired to enrol at Danhiko by some former students who informed me that Danhiko is better recognized in the industry than other colleges because here there is more practical work than theory. One of my friends who referred me to Danhiko is now working at a leading mobile service provider, NET-ONE. I am currently enrolled for a National Foundation Certificate (NFC) in Electrical Engineering. My brother went to do an electrical installation programme at Speciss College and they did not have much practical, when he finished there, he came here to do Electrical Engineering and he is currently doing his National Certificate in Engineering. When he came here, I noticed the changes in his life because he was able to carry out installations even at home, then I

realised that such things as designing a power supply at NFC level are not there at other colleges. I have already gained some meaningful experience; I can now carry out installations, do repairs, even designing power supplies. Right now there is a house we are installing electricity and that's earning me a bit of cash. Interacting with disabled students is not a problem for me because I have a sister who is disabled; therefore, the care I give my sister is the same that I give to my fellow students. In my class there are three disabled students out of a total of seventeen, one was involved in an accident and injured his leg, as for the other two guys, I am not sure whether it's a mental problem or what because every time we write tests they always fail. We work together well and have discussions together with students with disabilities even those two guys, we sometimes have discussions with them but they are improving. What I have seen here judging from students who graduated last year, some of them were already taken by employers even before they graduated (Sheunesu 2012, Personal Interview).

Tinotenda is a female student who was born without both arms. She was not comfortable to disclose her age. She attained her Ordinary Level Certificate in 1996 and stayed for four years idle before coming to Danhiko in 2010. She is enrolled for an Information Technology Diploma. She decided to enrol at Danhiko because she liked its integration policy. Tinotenda also has previous experience of integrated learning at primary school and high school which integrated students with and without impairments. She is currently on attachment at Danhiko and the interview was held in the office she is working in. She looked composed and assertive of her space.

I learnt at Berejena high school in 1996. I came to Danhiko in 2010. I came from a very strong rural background and I was actually so desperate to do something positive with my life by the time I got the opportunity to enrol at Danhiko, *ndakanga ndatonetseka zvekuti ndanga ndatoshaya kuti ndoenda kupi saka pandakazouya pano ndakabva ndatsvagirwa* course *yaienderana nezvandaikwanisa kuita*. (I was hopeless with life and desperate before I came here and I was given a course suitable for me). A medical nurse assessed me to see if I was fit to enrol. I am currently working on attachment here doing my Diploma in Information Technology. I like the integration system here at Danhiko, it's just the same as where I learnt in high school, we were united *pasina zvekuti uyu ane* disability (regardless of disability), so I did not have problems integrating here. Initially when I came to Danhiko I was even scared to look at the computer. I now feel confident working with the computer. I use my legs to type, the keyboard is the same normal one that everybody else uses, it's just that I place it under my desk for accessibility with my legs. I could have shown you how it works if my machine was working properly today. I am currently on attachment and doing so at Danhiko working in this office. I now have a lot of friends and enjoy good interaction with both able bodied and disabled students. In my current class we are six students out of fifteen with disabilities. When I graduate I want to start my own business selling IT software as well as offering typing, printing and photocopying services (Tinotenda, 2012, Personal Interview).

Maureen is a 30 year old female student who is unimpaired. She attained her Ordinary level certificate in 2000. She is currently enrolled for a National Certificate in Electrical Engineering. Before enrolling at Danhiko she worked in the electrical field in various companies for ten years which sparked her interest for the electrical field even though she was working in the accounting department.

I finished my Ordinary level in 2000. I then started working from 2002 and I worked in the electrical field from 2002-2010 for two different companies, before coming here at Danhiko in 2012. My experience working in the electrical field grew my interest in electrical engineering so I wanted to know more about electrical stuff though I was stationed in the accounting department. I have gained a greater appreciation and ability of maths and physics through this programme. I was scared of 'O' level mathematics but now I'm doing even more challenging mathematics and physics. I have learnt quite a lot, I now understand electrical components and devices. *"Ndakatomaka zvekugadzira maradio netv, handidi kunyepa...ndoona senge ndanyanya kudzikisirwa"* (I am not interested in focusing on small components repairs like radios and televisions, I feel like it is too low for my standards).We interact well with the deaf and we also help the wheelchair bound students in getting around the school. When I came to Danhiko, I had difficulties at first adjusting to an environment with impaired people, *"zvakatombondinetsa ndichitanga kusvika...handisati ndambogara nemunhu ari disabled..."* (It was difficult for me when I got here; I had never stayed with someone disabled people). I never saw anywhere written or taught on how to handle PWDs, I did not even ask how to communicate with them but it just happened naturally. I now appreciate PWDs as people in their own right even though at times I was not sure how to interact with them. The electronics department does not usually take in deaf students because they want to minimise chances of them being exposed to accidents when they cannot be easily alerted in case of danger because of the hearing impediments. Only one student in our class is handicapped. Danhiko gives a lot of practical learning compared to other colleges, were students can leave without exposure of some of the industrial equipment we are exposed to here (Maureen 2012, Personal Interview).

Tariro is a 21 year old female student who is unimpaired. She attained her Ordinary level certificate in 2009. She stayed at home doing nothing till she enrolled at Danhiko. She tried to apply for an Electrical Engineering programme at Harare Polytechnic but did not manage to secure a place because she did not have a good pass in mathematics. She enrolled at Danhiko in 2012 for a National Certificate in Electrical Engineering and she currently is in her first year.

I did my Ordinary level at Svibe High school in Gokwe and completed in 2009.Thereafter I came to Harare and I supplemented my English which I had failed. I stay with my sister and her husband. After supplementing my English, I was idle for a while before coming to Danhiko. I came here because they

accept people without mathematics, so I came here and started Electrical Engineering and I am in my first year. Actually I didn't know about Danhiko's vocational training, I just thought it was only for disabled people. I only found out when I came to look for a place for my cousin who is disabled at Danhiko's secondary school. I then enquired which courses they offer and I saw that they offer Electrical Engineering and it's the course I had intended to apply for at Harare Polytechnic because I have always had an interest in the science subjects since high school. I believe the courses at Danhiko are better than those at other colleges. Danhiko offers more practical experience than other colleges. The things that I am able to do practically now are more than what other students doing their National Certificate at Harare Polytechnic can do, "*zvimwe zvandinokwanisa havatozvikwanisi saka ndirikutoona kuti nepandiri* at the end *ndinenge nditori pari nane.*" (they are not able to do some of the things that I can do now, so by the time I finish the programme I will be better off in experience) *"Nyangwe ndikaenda panezvinoitwa zvemagetsi ndotokwanisawo kugadzirawo"* (Even if I am given some familiar tasks to do in the electrical field, I can handle them now).My uncle is a fitter and turner, so I sometimes help him in carrying out certain tasks which also adds to my experience. I also heard that the electrical field pays well. When I got here initially it used to worry me seeing PWDs, others using sign language which I did not understand but I learnt to have this love that we are all the same and interacting with them makes them feel that we are appreciated. People here at Danhiko relate well with one another regardless of disability, "*vanhu varipano vakabatana vane* one love, *vanodanana...tinowirirana, tinenge tichitotamba tese...tavekutokwanisawo kutaura* sign language". We assist the wheelchair bound, even push them along to their hostels (the people at Danhiko are united, have one love and get along quite well...we are even now able to use sign language) (Tariro 2012, Personal Interview).

Julius is a 25 year old male student who is wheelchair bound. He was born with the physical handicap. He attained his Ordinary Level certificate in 2004 and enrolled at Danhiko in 2009. He enrolled at Danhiko because it's the only institution which offers decent boarding facilities for PWDs. Initially when he came to Danhiko he wanted to enrol in a Human Resources programme but enrolled for an Information Technology programme. He is currently enrolled in a National Diploma in Information Technology in his third year. He is currently on attachment learning at Danhiko. He put on a bright face and spoke with confidence.

I attained my Ordinary Level certificate in 2004 and enrolled at Danhiko in 2009. I enrolled at Danhiko because it's the only institution which offers decent boarding facilities for PWDs. Initially when I came to Danhiko, I wanted to enrol in a Human Resources programme but I later enrolled for an Information Technology programme. I am currently enrolled in a National Diploma in Information Technology in my third year. I am currently on attachment here at Danhiko. My experience here at Danhiko has helped me become a respectable person in society. I have acquired substantial knowledge so far in Information Technology. I have no problems in relating with other students; actually it was easy for me to merge with other students because of

my previous educational experience in an integrated environment. There are four impaired students in my class out of a total of twenty-eight students. I feel a lot still needs to be done to enable a disability friendly environment and enhance access to work for PWDs. So that we do not have problems accessing work with our papers. Also Information Technology changes all the time therefore a lot of things need to be constantly revamped at Danhiko so that students are kept up to date with current trends in the industry. I am hoping to start my own enterprise selling computer software one day (Julius 2012, Personal Interview).

Janice is a 21 year old female student who is unimpaired. She attained her advanced level certificate in 2010 and enrolled at Danhiko in 2012. She wanted to enrol at another tertiary institution, Harare Polytechnic College and failed to secure a place there and therefore ended up enrolling at Danhiko because Danhiko did not have tighter requirements. She is currently in the first year of her diploma in Electrical Engineering which is a two year programme.

I stay with my parents. I finished my 'A' in 2010 and thereafter I was just idle waiting to get college placement. I had applied for college placement at Harare polytechnic as my first preference then I failed to secure a place. I did not know initially that Danhiko caters for both students with and without disabilities; I thought it catered specifically for students with disabilities. I then came here this year and I am enrolled for a diploma in Electrical engineering. My experience at Danhiko has been gainful so far because there is more practical learning here compared to other colleges which focus more on theory. I appreciate the fact that the disabled are not limited and are capable of carrying out tasks that able bodied people do, they just need to be recognized and to be heard. I have since learnt that disability is not inability. I have seen students in the Information Technology department without arms operating a computer keyboard using their legs. The lecturers here are good; to me they are more like teachers and not lecturers because they attend to each person's student's needs on a one on one basis, reviewing your problems. There is one student with a leg disability in my class who seems an average student. I think he may have trouble in carrying out electrical installations since there is need to climb ladders. (Janice 2012, Personal Interview).

Fatima is a 23 year old female student who is unimpaired. She attained her Advanced level certificate in 2008 and did temporary teaching for 3 years before enrolling at Danhiko in 2012. She is currently in her first year enrolled for a Diploma in Electrical Engineering.

I completed my Advanced level in 2008 and went on to do temporary teaching for three years. By the time I came to Danhiko , I was desperate to go to school, I did not want to keep teaching anymore. A friend of mine who is also learning here, told me about Danhiko and the courses offered, she also told me that it was cheaper here than other colleges;we pay US$150 per term. I have learnt quite a lot of practical things so far, *"ndogona kugadzira zvinhu*

> *zvakaita kunge DVD kana kugadzira anything zvichibva from scratch like power supplies"* (i can repair electrical gadgets like DVD players or make new components from scratch like power supplies). Personally I was worried and a bit disturbed when I arrived here, when I saw the impaired students, *"zvaitombondinetsa kuti unovabatasei, ndaitonyatsonzwa kurwadziwa but ndakazodzidza kuti vanhu vanototaurika navo, kunyangwe zvandinenge ndichiita takangofanana"* (I was pained and had difficulty trying to figure out how I could connect with them but later realised we are just the same and we can relate as equals). There is one student in my class with a disability he is naturally a quiet person but we relate quite well. (Fatima 2012, Personal Interview).

Thapelo is a 33 year old male student with a physical disability. He was born crippled and walks with crutches. He attained his Ordinary level certificate in 2001 and enrolled at Danhiko in 2010. His desire to further his studies motivated him to enrol at Danhiko. He was referred to Danhiko by his brother. He did not have a specific programme in mind when he joined Danhiko. He initially enrolled for a programme in garment making but changed because the machine was too heavy for his legs. He later transferred to a programme in Information Technology but he is now in the electronics department. He looked a bit tense and withdrawn and did not talk much.

> I was born crippled and when I was growing up children used to imitate how I used to walk. I attained my Ordinary level certificate in 2001 and enrolled at Danhiko in 2010. I enrolled at Danhiko because I desired to further my studies. My brother referred me to Danhiko. I did not have a specific programme in mind when I joined Danhiko. I chose the program I initially enrolled for when I got here. I initially enrolled for a programme in garment making but I later changed because the machine was too heavy for my legs. I later transferred to a programme in Information Technology and now I am enrolled for a program in electronics. I have gained some useful skills from the Information Technology. I am now able to undertake fault finding and do repairs of electrical components. I have also come to the realisation that I am competent enough to fend for myself despite my disability. I enjoy good relationships with other students. I am the only one out of fourteen students in my class with a disability. The course I am currently enrolled in covers my needs and expectations so far (Thapelo, 2012, Personal Interview).

Ropafadzo is a 23 year old female student who is unimpaired. She attained her Ordinary level certificate and enrolled at Danhiko. She initially enrolled for a National Foundation Certificate in Industrial Designing, Clothing and Technology for two years. Ropafadzo is currently enrolled for a National Certificate in Industrial Designing, Clothing and Technology which runs for one year.

> I'm currently staying with my father and brother while my mother is late. I undertook my secondary education at Montrose Girls High and Drienfontein High School up to form 4. After my high school I came straight to Danhiko, I

started off with a National Foundation Certificate in Industrial Designing, Clothing and Technology for two years. I'm currently enrolled for a National Certificate in Industrial Clothing and Designing Technology. The clothing designs inspired me to come to Danhiko because I would like to make my own tomorrow. I am looking forward to enrolling for a National Diploma in Industrial Clothing and Designing Technology. I went on attachment whilst doing my National Certificate for about 2 months and it was really beneficial because I now possess some practical sewing skills. We get on quiet well with the students with disabilities here and I have made friends with some of them. Whilst doing my National Foundation Level certificate there was only one disabled student out of a class of eighteen he had problems walking around school and he was later given a wheelchair. I noticed that at the beginning of the course impaired students usually have difficulties sewing. During my high school period there was a girl who was disabled at my school and some other students used to look down upon her but the teachers were quite accommodative (Ropafadzo 2012, Personal Interview).

Lynn is a 22 year old able-bodied female student undertaking a National Diploma in Information Technology. The programme runs for four years and she is currently in her second year. Lynn attained her Ordinary level at Mukaro Girls High and Advanced level at Nyakwipa High School. She did not say much about her experience and she only gave short answers.

I stay with both my parents. I learnt my Ordinary level education at Mukaro Girls High and Advanced level at Nyakwipa High School. I enrolled at Danhiko soon after completing my 'A' level. I chose to enrol at Danhiko because I am comfortable learning and interacting with PWDs. I have noticed that the disabled students get angry when able bodied students laugh at them but they laugh at each other. I also had friends with disabilities before enrolling at Danhiko so I know how to relate with them. There were three disabled students in my class at National Certificate level. My interaction with PWDs is perfectly normal though they don't like to be mocked by the able bodied. All the same students are able to tolerate each other. I have realised that students with disabilities share similar job aspirations with the able bodied. When I graduate, I hope to find a job in Information Technology (Lynn 2012, Personal Interview).

4.3 Students' values in life

When asked the question, "What are the things that are important to you in order to achieve your well-being?[13]Most students indicated their aspirations for qualifications in order to get employment. However, Henry (one of the impaired students) mentioned in his responses that he wishes to, "take care of my parents and also have my own family" and also mentions that, "disabled

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[13] Questions which the students were asked are available in the interview guide ,in the appendices

people can be respectable people in society when they are independent and not beggars" (2012,personal interview).

4.4 Student social interaction

The above experiences from the student reveal how students have gained various capabilities they did not previously possess before coming to Danhiko showing the mutually rewarding effect of mainstream learning for students. This confirms Terzi's argument that mainstream learning for students with disabilities allows them to build capabilities they would have not had an opportunity to gain whilst in segregated learning systems (2005). When asked the question, "What gainful experiences have you encountered at Danhiko?" The students with disabilities expressed that they have managed to build new friends even though in the beginning it was difficult to relate and communicate at the same level. Fatima, an unimpaired student for instance commented that, "*zvaitombondinetsa kuti unovabatasei, ndaitonyatsonzwa kurwadziwa but ndakazodzidza kuti vanhu vanototaurika navo, kunyangwe zvandinenge ndichiita takangofanana*".[14] (2012, personal interview)These initial difficulties in communicating and relating with impaired students were a common feature amongst the responses of the students without impairments.

Sentiments that, 'we are all equal' were also constantly repeated by the interviewees showing a transition from initial difficulties in relating with one another and change in previous biases of impaired students as unable overtime because of their shared learning experiences. Tinotenda's testimony also revealed the fears she had before coming to Danhiko and how her experience at the centre has made her confident and made new friends; she narrated that

> Initially when I came to Danhiko I was even scared to look at the computer. I now feel confident working with the computer. I use my legs to type, the keyboard is the same normal one that everybody else uses, its jut that I place it under my desk for accessibility with my legs (2012, personal interview).

These experiences also point to the reality that it is not only the people with disability that need to be integrated into 'normal' society but the able bodied also need to be integrated into understanding how PWDs operate and how best to relate with them for instance by learning sign language and also developing emotional intelligence and know what to say at the right time and not be mistaken for discrimination.

The students with disabilities interviewed except one, all exhibited confidence, free-spirited and positive attitudes which are essential values in the wider world thereby also confirming Baron and Ncube's (2010) sentiments that PWDs benefit more when put in mainstream learning. The students' experiences also pointed out to the environmental barriers that still inhibit them to them mainstream workspaces even when they have acquired the necessary qualifications.

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[14] I was pained and had difficulties figuring out how I could connect with them but later realised we are just the same and can relate as equals

4.5 Relevance of curricula to labour market and wider world

The students spoke quite highly of Danhiko in comparison with other institutions offering similar programmes. Sheunesu commented that, "Students from Danhiko get recruited by companies even before they graduate" (2012, personal interview), whilst Tariro commented that

> I believe the curriculum at Danhiko is better than that of other colleges. Danhiko offers more practical experience than other colleges. The things that I am able to do practically now are more than what other National Certificate students doing the same programme in other institutions can do (2012, personal interview).

A lecturer within the Clothing Design and Technology Department at Danhiko was interviewed to assess the sensitivity of the curricula to the labour market as well as to understand how Danhiko functions in ensuring that it delivers skills relevant to the market.

The lecturer who has been at Danhiko since the year 2002, explained that there have been a number of changes to the curricula in 2009 which has resulted in more practical learning than theory. He narrated that before those changes, the curriculum was actually more hands-on in terms of industrial requirements and relevance but the National Manpower Advisory Council (NAMACO) felt that more theory should be incorporated in the curricula. He is Danhiko's representative at NAMACO. He explained that NAMACO holds meetings with industrialists, lecturers and the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education. That is the platform through which Danhiko contributes towards curriculum adjustment.

The lecturer also explained that approximately 100 students graduate each year at Danhiko. Danhiko has good relations with industry and often gets employers who are willing to employ students with disabilities, he commented that, "we have got very good relationships with industries, we have employers who come here and say we need such a number of candidates with disabilities". Some employers take impaired students for internships and training. He also explained that Danhiko has a good relationship with other specialised institutions for people with impairments for sustainability purposes. These institutions also at times send their students to Danhiko, for instance "SOS institutions send their students to Danhiko for training" (Lecturer 2012, interview). He also explained that in terms of enrolment, Danhiko emphasizes what is minimally required for the particular programme of enrolment. The National Foundation Certificate is more or less like the Ordinary level Certificate therefore it gives students an opportunity to enrol with lesser points starting at the NFC level and work their way up.

The lecturer explained that Danhiko has no special quotas for students with disabilities; enrolment is on a first come first serve basis. He narrated that lecturing staff encourages all students to work as one without segregating students with impairments. The students are given equal treatment and lecturers try as much as possible to avoid circumstances were students with impairments take advantage of their impairments to seek special attention. He mentioned in his own words that at Danhiko they teach the students that "we are all able". Staff undergoes training programmes for sign language tailor-

made to help them communicate with the hearing impaired students as there are no specific training programmes at tertiary training colleges. Experience at the institution also helps staff in dealing with impaired students.

The interview with the official from NASCOH revealed that most people with hearing and visual impairments are greatly disadvantaged in enrolling in vocational training in Zimbabwe. He commented that there is lack of capacity for training institutions in dealing with students with impairments both in terms of professionally trained staff and facilities. More-so it becomes a double tragedy as they are excluded from certain types of jobs in industry which require fitness tests they cannot meet, and discriminated in those jobs which they are capable of performing. He also commented that the attitude of government towards disability issues also affects the delivery of training services for PWDs. He explained that there is no policy on disability which can be used to design programmes and projects that would ensure more training facilities for PWDs. The official's sentiments confirm Choruma's (2007: 5) comments that in the past decade due to the socio-economic crisis in Zimbabwe "[…]the national development agenda has shifted towards tackling HIV and AIDS[…] it left many other social ills unattended to. Among these, the disability sector was greatly overlooked and it became almost non-existent".

4.6 Conclusion

The students' shared experiences gave a more informed position on how mainstream disability training contributes towards their lives from their point of view. The testimonies indicated the capability deficits and how they have been overcome through the learning experience. The chapter also revealed the process informing curricula development and how the centre delivers its mandate. The following chapter will analyze how mainstream disability ensures skills development using the capability approach.

Chapter 5 : How does capability development occur?

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will analyze the external and internal factors influencing capability development for students at the centre using the capability approach as well as what the students' experience in the centre mean in as far as development of their capabilities is concerned from the lens of the capability approach.

5.2 Set of entitlements enabling development of personal and social conversion factors

Robeyns (2005:99) supports Sen's and Nussbaum's view that

The capability approach not only advocates an evaluation of people's capability sets, but insists also that we need to scrutinize the context in which economic production and social interactions take place, and whether the circumstances in which people choose from their opportunity sets are enabling and just.

People's aspirations of what they aspire to do in life are inspired by the set of entitlements made available to them, what they are able to access as a platform to pursue the things they value. Such entitlements are provided through policies, and laws which accord rights of access. As seen earlier on in chapter 2 in terms of legal provisions for disability issues in Zimbabwe from a rights perspective, PWDs are not well covered by those set of provisioning which restricts their access to particular resources thereby creating capability deficits. Other factors such as family and the physical environment itself would also matter for PWDs in determining their goals and aspirations.

The pre-existing capability sets of PWDs in societies with discriminatory tendencies towards them often lack the relational and deliberative skills that contribute towards full personhood. Robeyns (ibid) also purports that other people's behavior and characteristics have an influence on the build-up of individual conversion factors such as lack of self-confidence, fear and shame. Thapelo, a student born crippled who uses crutches narrated his experience whilst he was growing up when he used to travel from home to school, he said that it was a nasty experience having children jeer at him and imitate the way he walked. Tinotenda (born without arms)'s experience also shows that the lack of entitlements in an environment also affects one's personal conversion factors. She mentions that before coming to Danhiko, life was very difficult for her; she spent four years stuck in the rural areas[15] doing nothing after completing her Ordinary level. She commented that

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[15] These are the remote areas in Zimbabwe were access to social amenities and infrastructure development is poor

ndakanga ndatonetseka zvekuti ndanga ndatoshaya kuti ndoenda kupi saka pandakazouya pano ndakabva ndatsvagirwa course yaienderana nezvandaikwanisa kuita[16](2012,personal interview).

It is not always the students' personal values that lead them to make the choice of coming to Danhiko, at times they are adapted preferences. Tinevimbo, an able-bodied student commented that some of the students show no enthusiasm with school and behave as though their parents or guardians paying tuition for them forced them to come. This is indicative of the idea that agency is not always exercised in making choices on the things they value.

5.3 What value has the experience at Danhiko added to the students' lives?

Danhiko as a vocational training institution plays an essential role of converting the students' personal aspirations or adapted preferences into achieved functionings that ensure more meaningful capability profiles which enable students with disabilities to pursue dignified lives and appear in public without shame.

5.3.1 Human capital development

Human capital is the major focus of the education system. The Smithian thinking of human beings as profit seeking beings has mainly directed the focus of learning on the ability of people to become economically empowered which is commendable in order to prevent people from living in poverty especially for vulnerable groups like PWDs. Robeyns (2006:72) commented that

> Especially in the context of people living in severe poverty, this is very important, as having some basic skill or having a decent education can make all the difference between starving and surviving, and between merely surviving and having a decent life.

PWDs need the technical skills to empower them to lead economically independent lives. All the students with disabilities interviewed expressed that they were looking forward to be empowered with skills recognized in industry to access formal jobs or at least run their own enterprises. In terms of human capital development this paper does not go as far as assessing the conversion of acquired functionings to achieved functionings through the experiences of the students after leaving the centre. However the fame of Danhiko as a competitive institution in imparting market driven skills was echoed amongst the students interviewed when asked what gainful experiences they had encountered at the centre. The students praised the learning approach as more 'practical' which encouraged direct transfer of applicable skills to the labour market. This confirms Choruma's (2007) observation that Danhiko certificates are recognized in industry and students from the institution are more likely to get access to employment.

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[16] I was hopeless with life and desperate before I came here and I was given a course manageable with my impairment

5.3.2 Social capability development

Social capability development is an essential part of building complete personhood. Protagonists who have done work on the capability approach to disability and education propound that social relational skills are an essential part of the learning process as it enables full participation in society (Nussbaum 2011, Sen 1997, Robeyns 2006). Social interaction in mainstream learning enables the building up relational capabilities for both students with and without impairments. Walker (2006:169) comments that

> In the context of schooling such social relations might take the form of an institutional culture, supportive teachers, care from and to peers in learning arrangements.

The lecturer commented that staff learns through their teaching experience at the centre how to deal with students with impairments and also undergo sign language training arranged by the centre. He also indicated that they encourage students to interact and appreciate each other as "equally able". This phrase "we are all able" was constantly repeated by students interviewed showing a culture of acceptance of each other's respective capabilities despite disability.

For effective social capabilities development to take place in disability mainstreaming institutions there is need for adoption of formal policies that guide the integration of students but this is often overlooked by pre-occupation with technical skills training for the labour market hence most learning institutions do not have proper structures supporting social capabilities development. Andyka and Cameron (2011:12) comment that

> public policy agencies with the task of facilitating relationship development that might be useful to people with impairments seeking to develop their capabilities in a discriminatory environment are rarely present globally [...] [hence institutions offering training lack] people trained professionally in developing relational and deliberative capabilities

The Principal of Danhiko confirmed that the Danhiko project does not have its own social development policy but it has adopted stipulations of the Draft National Disability Policy by NASCOH. They have also adopted ILO Convention number 159 on Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment of PWDs on equality of opportunity for PWDs, a demand for mainstreaming or integrated vocational skills training opportunities. They also claim to observe stipulations of the UNCRPD.

Social integration at Danhiko mainly takes place through informal interaction of students at the centre. Most students hinted that they have managed to make new friends and hold discussions together and help each other in their school work. The researcher also observed that this build-up of social relations extends beyond the learning environment as both unimpaired and impaired students also interact through social networks on the internet. This is an indication that relational capabilities are built through the students' own personal interactions within and out of the centre. When asked how they interact with students with impairments, Tinevimbo, an unimpaired student said

> Having spent so many years being among them, now I am able to understand their sign language. Initially when I came, I would use the older guys who knew how to sign but the hearing impaired can read lips so they

would know what you are trying to say and write down for you, when we look at them, we don't look at them as though they are disabled, we are all the same, so they are happy, when chatting or arguing with them I argue as though I am arguing with you. I am now able to sign and I have made friends with other disabled students (2012, personal interview).

Even though there is no formal social skills learning provided within the centre, the environment of mixed learning enable the students to acquire psychological, emotional and relational capabilities and learn other languages. When asked the question, "What gainful experiences have you encountered at Danhiko?" some of the students with disabilities like Henry expressed that

Disabled people can be respectable people in society when they are independent and not beggars. Ever since I enrolled at Danhiko, I now understand a lot of things about life, and I have since learnt that when you are learned you earn respect in life, you also have a choice to a decent life than illegal jobs like selling airtime or vending (2012,personal interview)

Julius also expressed the same sentiments that the experience has helped him earn respect and confidence in society because he is now educated. Mainstream learning encourages acceptance and change in attitude towards each other of both students with impairments and those without impairments which is gravitation towards inclusion.

The experiences of the students at Danhiko from the lenses of the capability approach, trace the process of how technical and social skills relevant for the world of work and participation in the wider world are acquired. The experiences lay bare how the vocational training centre acts as a social conversion factor to transform students' personal conversion factors into achieved functioning which enable them to make wider choices in realizing the lives they have reason to value when they leave the institution it also enables the development of psychological, emotional and relational capabilities not previously possessed between both students with and without impairments.

Relating to the value added to the students' capability profiles (as shown in Fig 2, in chapter 2), the students' related experiences indicate added functionings to their pre-existing capability profiles. Literacy in relevant languages such as sign language was an added capability to unimpaired students for effective communication with the students with hearing and speech impediments. Capabilities such as self-confidence and human capital gains were added functioning to capability profiles of the impaired students. The students also indicated in their various encounters the relevance of what they are learning in so far as creating potential for them to access decent work or self-employment is concerned. Social capabilities development is hardly visible in studies on mainstream disability training in even in the advanced countries, the focus is largely on human capability gains for PWDs.

5.4 Conclusion

From the capability approach lens, it can be concluded in this chapter that the choices of what people think they value in life at times cannot be easily judged as stemming from their own subjective choices but a whole array of external factors influence their expectations and things they think they are able to do. Economic pursuits still remain the major drivers of the type of learning

offered though learning is not just about economic flourishing but for acquirement of social development skills which give dignity, respect and identity. This stems from social interaction which helps change attitudes and stereotypes that encourage exclusion of PWDs. The comprehensiveness of the capability approach helps in analyzing the effect of mainstream learning in developing relational capabilities and deliberative skills which are so often hidden away from the core values of training. This analysis also revealed that social capability benefits accrue to both students with and without impairments in mainstream and not just for students with disabilities alone. The social acceptance tendencies elicited by non-impaired students towards students with disabilities is central to the debate on inclusion by the social model theorists which they argue is inhibited by social or cultural attitudes.

Chapter 6 : Conclusion

"Dignity has no price and cannot be traded for an equivalent item such as a skill for no equivalent exists" (Hedge and MacKenzie 2012:330).

This research paper began by asking the question, "To what extent does mainstream vocational training for persons with and without disabilities contributes towards development of their capabilities?" This paper sought to investigate this mainly through examining the external and internal factors that contribute towards capability development through mainstream learning and examining the capability profiles of both students with and without impairments at Danhiko Vocational Training Centre in Harare, Zimbabwe through their shared testimonies. It can be concluded from the lens of the capability approach that disability mainstreaming training is indeed a sure way of enhancing the development of capabilities for either students to enable them to flourish in different areas of their lives, if there are enabling entitlements. Other than mainstream vocational training enabling human capital benefits it also provides a conducive environment for relational and deliberative capabilities to be acquired. These capabilities build a culture of acceptance, respect and inclusion of PWDs as differently able.

Onto the question, "What value has the experience at Danhiko added to the students' lives?" It can be concluded that mainstream training does not only add onto capabilities sets of students with disabilities to enable integration into wider society but it also enables the able bodied students to also develop social capabilities and attitudes that help break stereo-types of PWDs as incapable and second class citizens. For PWDs, training is not always about economic pursuit but to get respect and the ability to relate and participate freely in society. It can also be concluded that it is not always obvious whether the things that PWDs have reason to value are their subjective personal aspirations or they are adapted preferences forced upon them by societal expectations or the set of entitlements at their disposal. To make a clear judgment of this would thus require collection of personal testimonies.

Relating to the sub-question, "How does capability development occur within the Vocational Training Centre?", it can be concluded in terms of external factors influencing capability development for students at the centre that, a conducive regulatory framework is key to the development of capabilities for PWDs. Ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of PWDs (CRPD) by the Zimbabwe government and its adoption into law followed by formulation of policy on disability and subsequent programmes, for starters will provide the basis for provision of basic entitlements for PWDs. Without aggressive efforts by the state to institute necessary conversion factors that facilitate the aforementioned, acceptance and inclusion of people with impairments to participate in society as the colourful billboard at the entrance of Danhiko reads, "differently able", remains far from reality to the rest of society. The mixed learning environment provides ground for informal interaction enabling social skills development. Social skills development could even be better if there was a formal social development policy. This case study serves to show room for social capability development through mainstream learning if priority is given to training professionals who

work specifically in the area of developing relational and deliberative capabilities in such type of learning.

As mentioned in the introduction not so many studies of this nature exist in literature that assess what marginalized groups in society like PWDs, can do and can be, which can be used to inform policies and strategies sensitive to the things they value enabling them to pursue better lives. There is therefore, a need for more comprehensive studies on mainstream disability training in order to inform integrated disability strategies.

This kind of research will also add to literature on social capabilities development through mainstream vocational training which is often not the focus in literature on mainstreaming disability. Most literature in this area focuses on creating specialist facilities that remove the environmental or physical barriers towards inclusion of PWDs. Space needs to be devoted towards research on the interaction of people with impairments and those without in mainstream learning as it is an important indicator of change in societal attitudes towards inclusion of PWDs. Ethnographic studies of mainstream disability vocational learning would be ideal in evaluating the development of relational and emotional capabilities.

Since the research was not able to cover how functionings are turned into achieved functionings through employment, this researcher is proposing further research to evaluate how PWDs fair ex-post training whilst also taking into consideration the policy and legal provisioning supporting integration into mainstream economy. Societal or cultural attitudes also need to be taken into consideration in reviewing the integration of PWDs, it is not adequate to focus on the specialist services or facilities required to enhance access of PWDs' participation in wider society.

The experience in carrying out this research raised the researcher's interest in the language used in the disability discourse. The language used in making reference to PWDs tends to be more exclusionary and disabling rather than inclusionary; constant reference to PWDs as 'disabled' defeats the whole notion of inclusion. Danhiko Project can therefore serve as an example at least of mainstream training that can be replicated in other areas in the development of capabilities of both people with and without disabilities.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 : Interview Guide

Respondent	What I want to know	What I am going to ask	Interpretation of qns in shona	Responses	Other comments
Current students and those completed training	-Their ex-ante profiles in order to have a clear picture of lives lived before coming to Danhiko	Can you narrate your past on what were you doing in life before enrolling at Danhiko? *(expect info on education up to what level, participation at home society, existing skills)*	Mungade kundiudzawo zvamaiita muupenyu hwenyu musati mauya paDanhiko?		
		What inspired you to enroll at Danhiko? *(expect info on expectations like acquiring soft and hard skills)*	Chii chakakukurudzirai kuti mufunge zvekuuya paDanhiko?		
	-Their view of the ideal life they have reason to value.	-What are the things that are important to you in order to achieve your well-being *(given the necessary resources to do so)?*	Ndezvipi zvamunoona zvakakosha muhupenyu hwenyu zvamungade kuita kuti murarame hupenyu hwamungagutsikane nahwo?		

	-Change that has occurred in their lives due to experiences at the centre	What gainful experiences have you encountered at Danhiko? *(expect info on building connections/relationships, tangible practical experience)*	Ndezvipi zvamurikudzidza kana zvamakasangana nazvo zvamunotarisira kuti zvinogona kukubatsirai muhupenyu?		
	Development of relational or affiliation capabilities	How does your interaction with other trainees (disabled and able bodied) add to your ability to pursue your aspirations in the wider world? *(work and participation in society)*	Kudzidza kwamurikuita pano nevanhu vakasiyana siyana kurikukubatsirai sei pakukwanisa kuzoita zvamunoshuvira muhupenyu?		
Lecturers	Awareness by trainers of expectations of trainees and whether they succeed in helping them meet those expectations	What is your opinion about the effectiveness of the training offered to empower trainees to pursue a life that they have reason to value?	Munofungei nedzidziso inopihwa kune vadzidzi pano, inovabatsira sei pakuzokwanisa kuita zvavanoshuvira muhupenyu?		
	Development of relational capabilities from the trainers	How do the able-bodied trainees and those with disabilities interact,	Vadzidzi vanofambidzana sei, vanorarama nehurema		

	point of view	in and out of class?	nevasina?		
Officials at Danhiko	Life history of Danhiko	Can you take me through Danhiko's history, its objectives, successes and challenges? *(expect info on the programmes offered, certificates, diplomas e.t.c, length of study)*			
	Relevance of curricula to needs of trainees and wider society	What process informs the institution's curricula? Have the programmes been reviewed before and why? (stakeholders, employers, disability organizations)			
		How are students selected for enrolment? *(expect info on gender distribution)*			
	Development of relational capabilities and hard skills	What is your opinion about the effectiveness of integrated learning at Danhiko?			
		What role do you play in job			

	Better practice which can be transferred to other organizations	placements and collaboration with different employers? How does Danhiko network or interact with other institutions?			

Appendix 2 : Respondents to Life History Interview

Date of Interview	Name of person and Location	Current study programme	With or without impairment	Age	Experiences before coming to Danhiko
July 2012	Ropafadzo- Danhiko	National Certificate in Industrial Designing, Clothing and Technology	unimpaired	23years	Ordinary level[17]
July 2012	Tinevimbo- Danhiko	National Certificate in Cabinet Making in Joinery	unimpaired	24years	Ordinary level and stone carving
July 2012	Lynn-Danhiko	National Diploma in Information Technology	unimpaired	22years	Advanced level[18]
July 2012	Sheunesu-Danhiko	National Foundation Certificate in Electrical Engineering	unimpaired	22years	Ordinary level

[17] Four years of secondary education leading to a certificate that qualifies one for advanced level schooling

[18] Two years after secondary education leading to a certificate that qualifies one for university placement

July 2012	Tariro- Danhiko	National Certificate in Electrical Engineering	unimpaired	21years	Ordinary level
July 2012	Maureen- Danhiko	National Certificate in Electrical Engineering	unimpaired	30years	Ordinary level, worked 8 years in accounting for two electrical firms
July 2012	Janice- Danhiko	Diploma in Electrical Engineering	unimpaired	21years	Advanced level
July 2012	Fatima- Danhiko	Diploma in Electrical Engineering	unimpaired	23years	Advanced level, temporary teaching for 3 years
July 2012	Henry- Danhiko	National Certificate in Information Technology	Hearing impairment and injured arm	23years	Ordinary level
July 2012	Tinotenda-Danhiko	Diploma in Information Technology	No arms		Ordinary level
July 2012	Thapelo- Danhiko	Electrical Engineering	crippled	33years	Ordinary level
July 2012	Julius- Danhiko	National Diploma in Information Technology	Wheel-chair bound	25years	Ordinary level

Appendix 3 : Key Informants

Date of Interview	Designation	Organisation
	Principal	Danhiko Vocational Training centre
July 2012	Lecture	Danhiko Vocational Training centre
August 2012	Official	NASCOH