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Toward Engagement: Exploring the Prospects for an Integrated Anthropology of Disability

HEATHER BATTLES

ABSTRACT

Impairment and disability are fundamental human experiences across cultures, yet disability remains curiously under-studied and under-theorized within anthropology, particularly within physical anthropology and archaeology. Why is this the case and how might this change? This paper critically examines anthropology's varying detachment from and engagement with disability studies up to the present. It is suggested that a holistic approach which integrates data and insights from archaeology, physical anthropology, and sociocultural anthropology would offer the means for an important and distinctly anthropological contribution to the study of disability in the past and present. Direction is taken from previous anthropological work on women/gender and Indigenous peoples, particularly the use of a political-economic approach. It is argued that a focus on theoretically-situated bodies, increased inclusion of people with disabilities, and a demonstrated relevance to current disability issues will be essential aspects of an integrated anthropology of disability.

Introduction

> Disability is a vitally important human experience…. A failure to embrace disability as a core concern can only impoverish the discipline, both theoretically and empirically. [Gleeson 1999:1]

Gleeson was referring to the discipline of geography, but the statement holds true for anthropology as well, a discipline which he notes has "shown very little theoretical interest in the question of disability" (1999:15). However, substantial theoretical change is now occurring in the multidisciplinary field of disability studies (Shuttleworth and Kasnitz 2004). Disability scholars are seeking new models and concepts to fit a changing world (Gabel and Peters 2004:586). Disability studies appears more open today to new ideas and perspectives from previously marginalized disciplines, such as anthropology, in the hopes of expanding its influence (Gabel n.d.). The timing

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may now be right for anthropology to become more deeply and productively involved in this field. This paper offers compelling suggestions of ways in which the discipline of anthropology can begin on a path to seeing and studying disability "differently".[i]

I begin with a brief overview of the history of anthropology and disability studies, exploring where and why anthropological attention to disability has been lacking. I then discuss the links between the academic study of disability and efforts to advance disability rights, highlighting some ways by which people with disabilities have been marginalized within and excluded from the discipline of anthropology.[ii] I go on to suggest a number of directions for an integrated anthropology of disability. I argue that anthropological work on disability in the past must demonstrate its relevancy and usefulness to people today by challenging assumptions about the lives of people with disabilities in the past and denaturalizing the link between biological impairment and social disability. I also point out the potential utility of a political-economic approach. Finally, I propose that increased dialogue and integration among the subfields of anthropology would significantly advance the study of disability in the discipline and allow anthropology to make a greater connection with multidisciplinary disability studies. I recommend that theoretical work on "the body" be a central part of an integrated anthropology of disability. I argue that such an integrated approach to the study of disability would also have wider benefits for the discipline, expanding analytical capability and the impact of anthropological work.

Anthropology and Disability Studies

Disability has been under-studied in anthropology, both in comparison to topics such as race and gender and relative to the attention it has received in other disciplines. The bulk of the work which has been done, especially the growth in the last two decades, has been concentrated in sociocultural anthropology, particularly medical anthropology. Anthropology has played far less of a role in disability studies than it could, least of all the subfields of archaeology and physical anthropology. Here I provide a very brief (and thus, incomplete) overview of anthropology's engagement with the study of disability and explore some reasons why its impact on the field of disability studies has been limited.

Apart from isolated early studies such as those by Benedict (1934) and Hanks and Hanks (1948), a sustained anthropological interest in disability began to develop in the 1960s with Edgerton's (1963, 1967) ethnographic work with people labelled as "mentally retarded" in the United States (Shuttleworth and Kasnitz 2004). There was also the occasional article on disability in non-Western settings that came out of fieldwork with a different or more general focus (e.g. Dentan 1967, Edgerton 1970). Still, Groce and Scheer describe anthropological

references to disability before the early 1970s as "scattered and thin" and hypothesize that this was due to the assumption that individuals with disabilities did not survive in pre-industrial societies (1990:v).

Prior to the development of "disability studies" as an interdisciplinary field, there was an interest in applying social science perspectives to disability issues as the disability rights movement began in the wake of the return to the United States of veterans who had become disabled as a result of injuries sustained in the Vietnam War. In 1968, a conference was held in the United States on the topic of what anthropologists could contribute to studies of rehabilitation. It was suggested that there was a need for detailed ethnographic observations to understand the cultural context of disability, and also for the study of the culture of rehabilitation programs and the effectiveness of institutional changes (Chapple 1970). That same year, the first international conference on sociocultural aspects of mental retardation was also held, funded by the US National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH).[iii] Of the various recommendations and suggestions, mentioned above, which emerged from the 1968 conference, "not all of these topics have been adequately addressed in the over thirty [now forty] years since" (Hershenson 2000). Hershenson's (2000) literature review found few references to disability both overall and within the specific areas of the anthropology of deviance, anthropology of work, anthropology of careers, and medical anthropology.

Anthropological interest spiked during the 1980s with the publication of the *Disability and Culture* newsletter by Louise Duval (1986-88) as well as the International Year of Disabled Persons in 1981 and the following UN Decade of Disabled Persons from 1983 to 1992 (Ingstad 1995, 2001; Kasnitz and Shuttleworth 2001:4). It was at this time that the interdisciplinary field of disability studies emerged, with the Society for Disability Studies founded in 1982.[iv] However, Edgerton describes anthropological interest in intellectual disability as still "slight" in the 1980s, although at that time interest in mental illness and physical disability was increasing rapidly (1984:25). He attributes the lack of attention in anthropology to intellectual disability, as do Groce and Scheer (1990), to an assumption about non-industrial societies, which he refers to as "simple people for simple societies" (Edgerton 1970:526). That is, in comparison to the demands of a technologically complex society, people with mild intellectual impairments would not be "disabled" in "simple" societies and those with more serious impairments would not be allowed to live (Edgerton 1970, 1984:29). Groce and Scheer (1990:vi) speculate that much in the way examination of women's lives was neglected prior to the 1970s, anthropologists' own ethnocentric assumptions have prevented critical study of the social and cultural aspects of disability. The 1990s continued to see more anthropological work on disability, though the focus tended to be in Western society; see for example Angrosino (1992, 1997, 1998) on mental retardation/intellectual disability,

Krefting (1990, 1991), Krefting and Krefting (1990), and Hershenson (1992) on rehabilitation, and McDermott and Varenne (1998) on learning disability. *Disability and Culture* (Ingstad and Whyte 1995) and its successor *Disability in Local and Global Worlds* (Ingstad and Whyte 2007) have been rare volumes in which sociocultural anthropologists have examined the cultural construction of disability in non-Western settings. It is hoped that these represent the beginning of a sustained interest in cross-cultural research on disability in anthropology.

A significant proportion of anthropology's limited contribution to disability studies has been in its role of critiquing the social model of disability, which has dominated the field. The social model focuses on how disability is produced by societies constructed by and for the able-bodied. Under this model, disability is distinguished from impairment and defined by Oliver as "the socially imposed state of exclusion or constraint which physically impaired individuals may be forced to endure" (1990:11). One major critique echoed by a number of sociocultural anthropologists has been that the social model does not give enough importance to the individual lived experience of impairment/disability (see for example Fougeyrollas and Beauregard 2001, Klotz 2003, Battles and Manderson 2008).

Why else has disability been largely unexplored, most of all in the subfields of physical anthropology and archaeology? It is due in part to a simple lack of awareness. However, beyond that, it is the focus on the physical body through a largely medical lens (Fraser 2007:184) and the construction of disability as something that exists solely in problem bodies rather than in social space (Titchkosky 2007:44). Moreover, bodies in general tend to be marginalized in archaeology and separated from their context, walled off for the most part in the distinct sphere of osteology (Gowland and Knüsel 2006) and especially in medically-focused palaeopathology. Thus disability is doubly marginalized, as it is assumed to be located in individual (and impaired) bodies which are already marginalized in archaeology and separated into a subfield largely focused on their biological aspects. These bodies, and disability, are then not significantly socially theorized.

Finlay (1999), however, argues that archaeologists' dependence on material evidence does not bind them solely to the medical model, as the social model of disability looks to the role of the environment. Thus, it would be possible to move from the biological to the social by examining the physical environment of a skeleton with an identified impairment, looking for evidence of external disabling features such as possible barriers to mobility and access (Finlay 1999:17). Work in the field of geography on socio-spatial aspects of disability may be of use here, such as geographer Brendan Gleeson's (1999:32) historical materialist approach, which focuses on spatializing the social model of disability. This approach examines, for example, how assumptions about ability are

manifested in the built environment and can produce and perpetuate marginalization and oppression. By finding new ways to engage with a social model of disability, anthropology could increase its role in disability research and theory. Furthermore, Cross (1999:24) calls for archaeology to create its own model of disability. Increased dialogue and integration between the subfields of anthropology would facilitate that process.

Disability Studies and Disability Rights

The field of disability studies has long been linked to the disability rights movement. Inhorn frames the expanding study of disability in anthropology as also "part and parcel of the larger disability rights movement" (2004:132). Many sociocultural anthropologists researching disability issues (e.g. Joan Ablon, Gay Becker, Devva Kasnitz, and Russell Shuttleworth) have seen and continue to see themselves as disability activists or "allies" working for social justice. Ablon, whose career developed alongside the disability rights movement (Shuttleworth and Kasnitz 2004:146), made it "a personal goal to help demystify dwarfism for both health care professionals and the general public" (Inhorn 2004:133). Sociocultural anthropology need not be the only subfield with a connection to disability rights efforts. Cross (1999:22-23) argues that there also needs to be more dialogue and a more sustained connection between archaeologists (and, I would add, physical anthropologists) and those in the disability community. Whether or not researchers studying disability see themselves explicitly as activists for disability rights, improved communication and collaboration is important.

Attention to disability rights should begin within the discipline itself. The advancement of the study of disability in anthropology is unlikely without increased participation of people with disabilities. Anthropologists with disabilities often face accessibility issues which can impact their opportunities to contribute to the field. This problem has received increased attention in recent years. In the 1990s, the American Anthropological Association began a Commission on Disability to examine how anthropology could be made more accessible. Additionally, the 1995 and 2006 annual conferences of the UK-based Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) included sessions on "Disability and Archaeology", in which there were discussions on both academic approaches to disability in the archaeological record and practical issues of working as (and with) an archaeologist with one or more disabilities. The "Inclusive, Accessible, Archaeology" project funded by the Higher Education Funding Council of England (HEFCE) examines the attitudes towards disability in archaeological practice today and aims to change "the stereotype of archaeology as a field discipline which may exclude disabled participants" (2007). Looking towards

specific solutions, a recent doctoral dissertation advocates a more user-focused approach to reduce barriers in archaeological practice (Fraser 2007).

Many sociocultural anthropologists with disabilities were discouraged from studying disability as graduate students, warned that they should be studying the "other" and not "themselves" and that studying a group to which they belonged would not result in the expected experience of "culture shock" (Kasnitz and Shuttleworth 2001:6). As Ablon (2004:277) describes, prior to the 1970s sociocultural anthropologists were expected to present their research as objective observers without personal investment in the events described. Ablon encouraged her students, especially those with disabilities, to conduct anthropological work on disability, and many of her students have gone on to make significant contributions to the anthropology of disability (Shuttleworth and Kasnitz 2004). Today, disability is now likely to be studied most of all by anthropologists with disabilities (Kasnitz and Shuttleworth 2001:6), unlike sociocultural anthropology's traditional "outsider" perspective (Myerson 1994:26). Myerson (1994:26) cautions, however, that just as anthropologists without disabilities should not be dissuaded from studying disability, neither should anthropologists with disabilities be especially expected to do so.

Similarly, stereotypes about archaeology affect recruitment and how people choose to specialize within the discipline (Holtorf 2005). Fraser (2007) addresses the "Indiana Jones" image of archaeologists as white, male, and able-bodied and the perception of archaeology as primarily about excavation, noting that such stereotypes create expectations which can affect the participation of certain people in archaeology. Advertisements for archaeological field schools routinely emphasize the importance of physical fitness and ability to endure long days of difficult work. Such expectations create barriers to entry into the discipline. Nevertheless, many people with disabilities do practice archaeology.

While increased inclusion of people with disabilities would likely contribute to advancing method and theory in the study of disability in the past, just as the increased participation of women has contributed to the study of gender, it is an important goal in its own right. As Wendell notes, "As with women's 'special knowledge', there is a danger of sentimentalizing disabled people's knowledge and abilities and keeping us 'other' by doing so" (1989:121). Care must be taken to avoid falling into the trap of assuming people with disabilities will necessarily study disability or do anthropology differently (Fraser 2007:viii). Yet the discipline is surely enriched by the inclusion of people with a wider range of experiences and abilities. Snyder and Mitchell argue that as people with disabilities become active producers of knowledge, "their visible entry into the discourse of their bodies makes all speaking positions in the field shift, becoming necessarily self-conscious and increasingly self-reflexive" (2006:203). Ultimately, reducing barriers to and within the discipline benefits everyone, as all

people will experience changes in ability throughout their lives (Fraser 2007), a fact evoked by the use of the term "Temporarily Able-Bodied" ("TAB") to refer to people without disabilities (Davis 2002:36). As we become more aware of these issues in practice, we may also more readily consider them in our research.

Future Directions for an Integrated Anthropology of Disability

There are a number of important ways in which the anthropological study of disability in the past could make significant contributions to present struggles for social change, a major concern of disability studies. Here I discuss the potential benefits of denaturalizing the link between impairment and social disadvantage and discrimination and of the use of a political-economic perspective. I argue for the value of an approach which integrates multiple subfields of anthropology and for the central role of the body in this integration. I suggest that an integrated approach to the study of disability in anthropology could contribute to social change by challenging assumptions about disability, building lines of communication among the subfields and across disciplines, and ultimately enriching anthropological theory and analysis more broadly.

There is value for today's society in investigating disability in the more distant past. Many contemporary views are based on assumptions about disability in the past, such as that "they" (people with disabilities) would not have survived under more harsh, "natural" circumstances. A central concern of disability studies is to reveal human differences as important elements in a continuum of human variation and "a feature of biological elasticity" rather than undesirable aberrations and defects (Snyder and Mitchell 2006:70). Physical anthropology in particular could aid in demonstrating such "disabilities" as "valued aspect[s] of the human biological continuum" (Snyder and Mitchell 2006:121). Furthermore, anthropology could play an important role in challenging the perception of disability as "an inevitable consequence of physiology" (Gleeson 1999:53). Gleeson observes,

> The limited historiography of disability studies has burdened the field with a number of highly questionable orthodoxies about the social context of impairment in previous societies. The most pernicious of these orthodoxies naturalises disabled people's contemporary social marginality and poverty by depicting them as fixed, historical conditions that have been present in most, even all, past human societies. [1999:23]

Anthropological investigations could refute these orthodoxies and contribute to denaturalizing the relationship between impairment and social disadvantage, inequality, and dependency. Gleeson (1990:31) argues that this effort to reveal

disability as "a socio-historical construct" is essential for the political struggle for disability rights and therefore a significant responsibility of researchers.

The volume *Madness, Disability, and Social Exclusion: The Archaeology and Anthropology of 'Difference'* (Hubert 2000) combines both perspectives to examine the "other", a concept central to anthropology. It shows what a holistic anthropology of disability could look like. Hubert states that the book aims "to be relevant to the contemporary world" (2000:2), something essential for the politically-oriented field of disability studies. Shakespeare (1999) expresses a similar sentiment, arguing that archaeological work on disability will become useful to disability studies when it can demonstrate that the study of disability in the past is relevant to people with disabilities in the present and to their hopes for the future. The contributions of historians in this area have grown significantly in recent years (Jennings 2008). Archaeologists, and anthropologists in general, will now need to show that they can offer important and relevant insights into disability in the past.

One way in which anthropology might demonstrate its relevance is through a political-economic perspective. Gleeson notes that so far, disability histories have focused on "past cultural representations of disability" while past "political-economic constructions" have been neglected (1999:24). A central concern of a political-economic perspective is examination of the "*processes that produce difference*" (Smith and Thomas 1998:465). As Smith and Thomas (1998) argue that a political-economic approach can go beyond issues of socioeconomic class to encompass ethnicity and gender, so can it too be extended to disability (see Albrecht and Bury 2001 for a comprehensive discussion of the political economy of disability). Albrecht and Bury call for political-economic analyses to be used to develop "culturally sensitive, effective social policies" for people with disabilities (2001:605), a call which anthropology is well equipped to answer. A political-economic approach in anthropology could also seek to understand the relationship between disability and poverty at the local and global levels. Under a biocultural model in physical or medical anthropology, a political-economic approach to disability would trace the political, economic, and social forces which produce and define disability and examine the consequences for human health and wellbeing. Goodman and Leatherman note that "a political-economic perspective is particularly useful for physical anthropology because it addresses our attention to problems people must confront and their capacity to cope, both of which are conditioned by available material and social resources" (1998:22). Speaking in regards to bioarchaeology's relationship with Native Americans, Martin argues that a "political-economic perspective enriches and expands studies utilizing archaeological remains and serves to link studies of the past with concerns of people in the present" (1998:171). Such a perspective calls for participation of "related" people in the research process (Martin 1998). In this case, people with

disabilities should be included. With the resulting potential for "collaborative knowledge and solutions", biocultural research is made "more complex, more interesting, and more exciting" (Goodman and Leatherman 1998:14).

Increased integration of sociocultural and physical anthropological viewpoints could contribute to bioarchaeological studies which would be more compatible with the current social focus of disability studies. Sabloff (2006) suggests that anthropological archaeology take as the model for its growth in the 21st century the life and works of Susan Kent (medical anthropologist, archaeologist, and ethnoarchaeologist). He singles out six aspects of Kent's work: (1) an emphasis on theory-building, (2) the importance of a cross-cultural approach, (3) rejection of mono-causality, (4) openness to interdisciplinary research, (5) a perspective of archaeology as an inextricable part of the broader anthropological discipline, and (6) a commitment to making research relevant to people living today (Sabloff 2006). These are all elements needed for a productive and meaningful anthropological archaeology of disability, as part of a greater anthropology of disability.

The lack of dialogue among the subfields of anthropology is, of course, not specific to the issue of disability; Gowland and Knüsel (2006) cite an overall gap between the science and social theory "camps" within the discipline. This is despite anthropology's much-touted tradition (especially in North America) of a holistic perspective. Increased integration and communication on disability could demonstrate the utility of a truly holistic perspective for other areas of anthropological inquiry. To accomplish this, archaeologists and physical anthropologists will need to reach across the subfields. Just as Stone and Walrath have argued in regards to gender research, the development of fuller "anthropological frameworks" for disability research requires that information from skeletal material be combined with archaeological and ethnographic work (2006:176). Schacht notes that anthropological engagement with disability is "at its best when it draws on more than one branch of anthropology in describing and analyzing the data" (2001:28). He further states that the largest gap lies between cultural and linguistic anthropology on one side and physical anthropology and archaeology on the other (Schacht 2001:28-29). Shakespeare (1999) proposes triangulation among sources (historical, ethnographic, etc.). I suggest that triangulation among the subfields may be a useful way of conceptualizing a holistic anthropology of disability (see Figure 1).
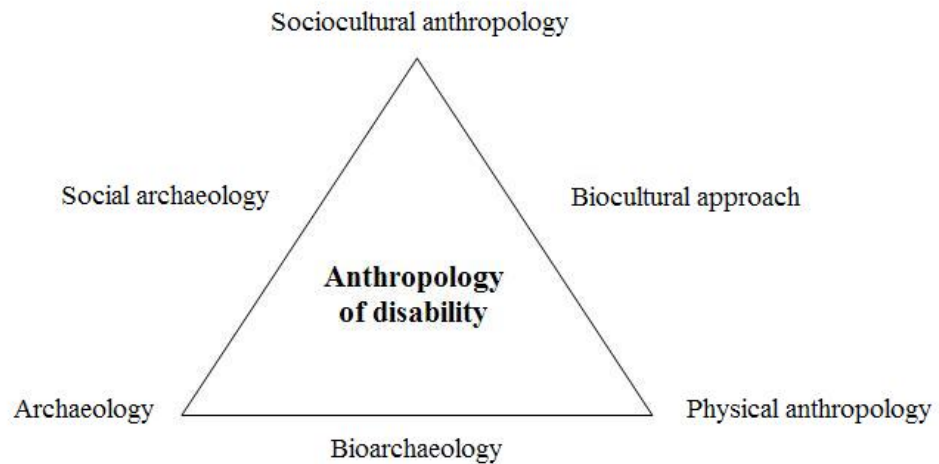
Figure 1. Conceptual diagram of the triangulation of the subfields of anthropology towards a holistic approach to the anthropology of disability.

Stone and Walrath (2006) make a number of recommendations for a unified approach to the study of the relationship between gender identity and the physical body which also apply well to disability. They too argue for linkage of ethnographic, skeletal, and archaeological data within a biocultural, bioarchaeological framework, and they critique the way physical anthropologists and bioarchaeologists have relied on biomedical understandings of reproduction as if these perspectives did not have a cultural dimension (Stone and Walrath 2006). In other words, a "medical model" of childbirth has been employed in the form of the "obstetrical hazard" model (Stone and Walrath 2006). Stone and Walrath (2006) discuss in detail how this has been problematic in terms of reducing differential female mortality risk to the dangers of reproduction, primarily due to supposed inadequacy of their pelvic dimensions rather than the result of social inequality. The parallels to how disability has been addressed in these subdisciplines are striking. Just as gendered, medicalized interpretations perpetuate misconceptions and interfere with understanding childbirth in the past (Stone and Walrath 2006), so do (dis)ableist, medicalized interpretations interfere with understanding disability. Thus Stone and Walrath's call for attention to "the complex interplay between biology and culture" is deeply relevant here (2006:171).

Bodies are central to this integration. Following earlier theoretical work on the body in other fields (e.g. Foucault 1975, Turner 1984, Butler 1993), including sociocultural anthropology (e.g. Douglas 1970, Scheper-Hughes and Lock 1987,

Lock 1993, Martin 1994), theoretical consideration of the body has been growing recently in archaeology (Hamilakis, Pluciennik, and Tarlow 2002a:1; e.g. Yates 1993, Rautman 2000, Hamilakis, Pluciennik, and Tarlow 2002b, Sofaer 2006, Tilley 2008; see Joyce 2005 for a literature review), especially in terms of studies of gender (Meskell 1998:140; e.g. Yates and Nordbladh 1990; Marcus 1993; Danielsson 2002). This is not to say that bodies were previously missing from archaeological analyses, but rather that after work from outside the discipline, especially feminist critiques, there is now more engagement with such issues (Sofaer 2006:13). A biocultural approach to disability would be instrumental in examining how social processes shape human biology (Stone and Walrath 2006:175). Yet it is equally important to move beyond bodies (in the sense of human remains), especially as not all impairments/disabilities leave obvious skeletal evidence. The investigation of disability in the past in terms of theoretical consideration of the body should be possible regardless of whether or not human remains are discovered at a site (Fraser 2007:184), and whether or not those remains show evidence of impairments.

However, where there are human remains, Sofaer (2006) views the diseased or disabled body as especially valuable within both osteoarchaeology and interpretive archaeology as powerful evidence of the physical and social conditions of the society which produced it. She argues for a reassessment of the role of the skeletal body in archaeological practice, viewing the archaeological body as both material remains to be studied scientifically and as something which is socially constructed and situated within social theory (Sofaer 2006). In this theoretical framework, the body is "the nexus between biology and culture" (Sofaer 2006:9, 30). Once again there is a parallel to studies of sex/gender; if the skeleton is where sex (biology) and gender (culture) are united (Sofaer 2006:116), it is also where impairment (biology) and disability (culture) intersect and meld. This is important as dichotomous concepts such as sex and gender can be viewed as problematic (Meskell 1998).

As the role of the archaeological body is reimagined, perhaps the bioarchaeology of disability will take on greater significance within both archaeology and physical anthropology and a broader anthropology of disability (Battles 2009). In the same vein, Shakespeare argues that "archaeology has the capacity to revisit and problematise issues of the human body in time, and to connect the physical to the socio-cultural" (1999:99). Linking the physical and medical to the cultural and social is an important way in which anthropology can contribute to disability studies, especially as that field re-engages with ideas of embodiment (Snyder and Mitchell 2001). In return, anthropology has much to gain from work on the body in disability studies (e.g. Davis 1995, Wendell 1996, Mitchell and Snyder 1997, Thompson 1997).

This discussion speaks to a larger issue, which is the lack of dialogue and integration among the subdisciplines of anthropology. Curtin acknowledges that while "overspecialization is probably inevitable", it can be extremely limiting as it precludes the kind of breadth of knowledge from which important new questions emerge and also prevents anthropologists from moving across subdisciplinary borders to address such questions (2002:604). As Curtin (2002:604) points out, there are questions which cannot be adequately answered within any one discipline or subdiscipline. We need to "cut across the tight and ever-narrowing disciplinary bounds" (Curtin 2002:608), and nowhere is this more evident than in the study of disability.

Conclusion

To summarize, I have presented a brief overview of anthropology's thus-far limited engagement with disability studies and suggested several explanations for this. I have briefly explored the relationship between the study of disability and the disability rights movement and examined the role of people with disabilities in anthropology. I have presented a vision of an integrated approach to disability, which I believe offers a means of creating an important anthropological contribution to the study of disability in the past, with relevance to the present. Finally, I have argued that an integrated approach to the body is central to this process.

Anthropological engagement with disability does not only have the potential to enrich disability studies; it also contributes to the discipline of anthropology. The use of an integrated approach as suggested in this paper would help to open up lines of dialogue across disciplines and subdisciplines and to advance anthropological work on the body. Furthermore, how disability is produced and constructed in a particular time and place can illuminate much about that culture and society. Much like Gleeson (1990) declared geography impoverished by an absence of engagement with disability, Jakubowicz and Meekosha (2002) argue that social analysis is seriously constrained when research neglects to engage with disability theory and to take into account different bodies and how they are experienced. From this perspective, anthropology – in all its subfields – cannot afford to allow disability to remain at the margins.

[i] A note about the definition of "disability": it is a term not easily defined and each definition carries political implications. Gleeson suggests that weak theoretical development in disability studies may be the reason for this "definitional complexity" and confusion (1999:18). For the purposes of this paper I will note that for disability studies, "disability" goes far beyond a physical or

mental condition of impairment to encompass and emphasize social marginalization.

ii I use "people with disabilities" (as opposed to "disabled persons") in accordance with People First Language.

iii The proceedings of this conference were published as an edited volume (Haywood 1970).

iv It was first called the Section for the Study of Chronic Illness, Impairment, and Disability, changing its name to the Society for Disability Studies in 1986.

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