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Abstract	One of the issues confronting higher education in India is iniquitous access to different social groups. Among the prominent disparities leading to inequity in higher education participation, disability does not figure in the collective consciousness of various institutions. In this chapter, I will propose that a clear delineation between the role and function of Enabling Units and Disability Studies Centres must be understood and respected since the genesis of the two ideas, namely, service and knowledge, traditionally follows different routes to achieve a common goal, that of improving the status of persons with disabilities in the society. However, an overlap in the nature of the products of the sectors is unavoidable and in fact not entirely unwelcome if disability studies were to act as the 'theoretical arm' of the disability rights movement. However, this ultimate situation need not obfuscate the difference in the origins of paths taken. Apart from seeking clarity of purpose in policy documents, this paper importantly raises the question of the contribution of knowledge to service (and vice versa) and proposes the notion of a subfield 'Disability Studies Extension', a thorough understanding of the nature of which is essential for identifying either service or knowledge.		
Keywords	0	ual opportunity - Higher education - Well-being - Oral history	

Chapter 7 Service and Knowledge: The Emergence of Disability Studies Extension



Tanmoy Bhattachary

Abstract One of the issues confronting higher education in India is iniquitous access 1 to different social groups. Among the prominent disparities leading to inequity in 2 higher education participation, disability does not figure in the collective conscious-3 ness of various institutions. In this chapter, I will propose that a clear delineation Δ between the role and function of Enabling Units and Disability Studies Centres must 5 be understood and respected since the genesis of the two ideas, namely, service and 6 knowledge, traditionally follows different routes to achieve a common goal, that of 7 improving the status of persons with disabilities in the society. However, an overlap in 8 the nature of the products of the sectors is unavoidable and in fact not entirely unwel-9 come if disability studies were to act as the 'theoretical arm' of the disability rights 10 movement. However, this ultimate situation need not obfuscate the difference in the 11 origins of paths taken. Apart from seeking clarity of purpose in policy documents, 12 this paper importantly raises the question of the contribution of knowledge to service 13 (and vice versa) and proposes the notion of a subfield 'Disability Studies Extension', 14 a thorough understanding of the nature of which is essential for identifying either 15 service or knowledge. 16

17 Keywords Disability studies · Equal opportunity · Higher education ·

18 Well-being · Oral history

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This is a revised version of a presentation titled 'Service and Knowledge: The Role of Disability in Higher Education' made at the 'Disability Studies in India: Reflections on Future' conference, 6–7 February 2015, held at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi. Parts of sections 1–3 of the present paper constitute a modified version of my submission to the University Grants Commission, New Delhi, as a convenor of the Expert Committee entitled on 'Review and Revise the Rules, Schemes and Provisions concerning the Disabled Students and Teachers' (July 2012–July 2014). Although there have been some changes since 2015, with a change in the central government, in the relevant policies (especially with the passing of *The Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016*, which was in making since at least 2012 during the previous Congress government regime), the ground realities have hardly altered—and in fact have become starker due to more elusive policy instruments, making all the arguments presented retain their relevance.

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19 Introduction

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Discrimination on the basis of caste, ethnicity, race, religion, gender, etc. leads to 20 exclusion at various levels in society. Such exclusionary practices are systematic and 21 directed against both individuals and groups. In our part of the world such stories 22 of social exclusion are encountered daily at both individual, anecdotal and national 23 narrative levels, the extent of oppression, and therefore exclusion, differing only 24 across regions, groups and cultures. Negative attitude and belief against a group 25 leads to prejudice and stereotyping, but discrimination is negative behaviour when 26 AQ3 27 a particular group/individual is denied rightful services and entitlements. The terms exclusion and discrimination may mean slightly different things but their effects are 28 similar (Thorat and Lee 2006). Five of the most common forms of discrimination 29 the world over are (i) unequal recognition before the law; (ii) unequal education; 30 (iii) unequal employment; (iv) unequal freedom of movement; and (v) lack of trans-31 portation (Shapiro 1999). It is hardly surprising therefore to find that persons with 32 disabilities are discriminated against in exactly these areas. 33

One of the issues confronting higher education (HE) in India, for example, as 34 per University Grants Commission's (UGC) XI Plan (UGC January 2011b),¹ is iniq-35 uitous access to different social groups. Among the prominent disparities leading 36 to inequity in higher education participation are rural-urban, interstate, inter-caste, 37 inter-religious group, gender, occupation, and poor-non-poor. It is therefore but 38 expected that even a plan document misses out on disability and thus no mention 39 can be found of the other, obvious dyad of disparity, namely, 'abled-disabled' in line 40 with the marginalised dyads. 41

The NITI-Aayog was established in January 2015 replacing the Planning Commission by the new government that came to power in 2014. As part of the so-called Sustainable Development Goals, one of the NITI-Aayog goals, Goal 10, is to reduce inequalities within and among countries, which makes gestures towards reducing inequality from the perspective of disability. Though the discourse on the surface has thus changed, there is no report or study to show that there is any change in the ground realities.

As will be pointed out soon, various schemes and provisions that by definition should ideally include disability within their ambit do not do so, leaving persons with disabilities without the benefit of availing such schemes or enjoying the provisions. It will also be pointed out, that this is not by design, going by the history of *accidentally* bypassing the disability agenda world over across a variety of sectors and provisions; in other words, disability simply does not figure in the collective consciousness of even well-meaning group of bodies.

In this paper, I will show that the process of policy formation at the national level is much to blame. More specifically, with reference to policies on disability in higher education, I will propose that a clear delineation between the role and function of two bodies, namely, enabling units and disability studies centres, must be understood and

¹However, the XII Plan (duration 2012–2017) did have a detailed mention of disability in chapters on education and social inclusion and had Articles 24.210 to 24.226 devoted solely to disability.

respected, not only to overcome unnecessary overlap of functions, thereby ensuring
 proper utilisation of funds, but also because the genesis of the two ideas, namely,
 service and knowledge, though meant to achieve a common goal, that of improving
 the status of person with disabilities in the society, traditionally follow different
 routes to that goal.

In keeping with this line of thought, the present paper is strongly guided by the 65 principle that Enabling Units must solely devote to the Services philosophy, to the 66 extent that such services lead to generation of knowledge, especially in the building 67 up of databases, leaving the space for interaction with agencies solely devoted to the 68 Knowledge philosophy to disability studies centres. This proposal is further discussed 69 in detail in section "Service and Knowledge Through Disability Studies Extension". 70 In the first half of the paper, that is, sections "Strategies to Address Inequity in 71 HE" and "Disability Studies Centres (DSCs)", I suggest that to ensure initiation 72 of a Disability Studies (DS) programme and research in HE in the country, a two-73 pronged strategy of (i) strengthening the existing UGC schemes/infrastructure and 74 (ii) proposing new schemes is required. As a background to this suggestion, I will take 75 up one of the older plan documents, namely, the 12th Five Year Plan (UGC 2011c), 76 for the purpose of illustration. It will be shown that among the three objectives of 77 access and expansion, equity and inclusion, and quality and excellence outlined as 78 priority areas for increasing access to HE, a consolidation of the existing schemes 70 and proposing of newer ones in the last two of these areas will considerably alter the 80 higher educational possibilities informed by a disability perspective. 81

82 Genesis of the Existing Schemes

83 Inequity in HE

Inequity in HE has been a concern, and UGC and Planning Commission—and by 84 extension, the present NITI-Aayog-have had specific recommendations to improve 85 the situation. For example, among the various recommendations made by the Plan-86 ning Commission, there were a few that were directed towards improving the quality 87 in HE. Under quality improvement, one of the schemes that was suggested in the X 88 Plan (2002–2007) was the 'Innovative Programmes' which encourages new ideas, 89 courses, etc. in interdisciplinary and emerging fields, that among other things, influ-90 ence societal growth. Disability Studies being clearly an interdisciplinary field of 91 studies-and emerging-it should find a natural home within this scheme. However, 92 the programme was discontinued through a notice dated 27 June 2013 by the UGC. 93 NITI-Aayog, which replaced the Planning Commission, has provided very little 94 cheer to the disability sector, and in fact, as a result of often ambiguous and unclear 95 framing of objectives, has made evaluating and critiquing the various strands difficult. 96 In addition, if we look at the list of initiatives taken by the NITI-Aayog so far, there 97 is nothing that comes within the purview of disability, where disability figures is in 98

one of the so-called 'verticals'—social justice and empowerment (SJ&E)—which is
 a nodal division of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Ministries of
 Tribal Affairs and Minority Affairs.

Within SJ&E, if we look at the achievements reported for the years 2017-18 and 102 2018–19, the concern for the disability sector is dismal. An analysis of the total 103 achievements for these two periods showed that disability-related proposals figure 104 in only one of the broad sub-areas listed under achievement, namely, SFC and EFC, 105 that is, Standing Finance Committee and Expenditure Finance Committee memo-106 randums to be taken note of by the nodal ministries. For both the periods, a total of 4 107 EFCs/SFCs each out of a total of 51 and 47 items listed under achievement for each 108 year, respectively, are listed that have anything to do with disability; this makes the 109 percentage a mere 8%. This is a very poor scale by any standard, and especially for a 110 government that has made very loud announcements for various schemes throughout 111 its tenure so far and have even given a new name to the community of disabled people 112 with a lot of fanfare and publicity (Bhattacharya 2016a, 2017). 113

114 Strategies to Address Inequity in HE

From the preceding discussion, it becomes clear that the newer ways of policy doc-115 umentation (where there are in fact very few actual policy 'documents' but very 116 flashy websites with ultramodern terminology, like 'tinkering labs', 'incubation cen-117 tre' and 'ideation', as in NITI-Aayog) is a clever way of abdicating responsibilities 118 and commitments to the disability sector. For this reason, I will take up for illustra-110 tion the various other schemes in the past policies where a Disability Studies (DS) 120 component or essential thrust area could have easily come under their ambit. Like the 121 Innovative Programme scheme (see section "Centres for Study of Social Exclusion 122 and Inclusion Policy (CSSEIP)"), there were at least three other UGC schemes that 123 offered this opportunity: 124

- (i) Centres for Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusion Policy (CSSEIP),
- 126 (ii) Human rights and
- 127 (iii) CPEP.
- Each of these will be discussed in turn.

129 Centres for Study of Social Exclusion and Inclusion Policy (CSSEIP)

This scheme falls within the area of value-based education that was emphasised in
the XI Plan (2007–2012) in order to instil values of equity, justice, human rights and
social inclusiveness in the learners; it was prosed as part of the XII Plan (2012–2017)
guidelines. To support research on the issue of Social Exclusion and inclusion which
has theoretical as well as policy importance, the UGC had established teachingcum-research centres in universities called 'Centres for Study of Social Exclusion

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and Inclusion Policy'. By March 2011, 35 centres were functioning in 35 universities.
 During 2010–11, a total grant of Rs. 3.41 crores (34.1 Million) was provided to eight
 centres.

The motivation behind setting up such centres is the belief that social exclusion encourages inequality and deprivation in society, apart from generating violence, tension and disruption. It is understood that Scheduled Caste (SC), Scheduled Tribe (ST) and religious minorities experience systemic exclusion in all spheres. It was felt that the institutions of higher learning need to address this issue.

It is very instructive to look at the objectives of these centres as mandated by the UGC:

- Conceptualising discrimination, exclusion and inclusion based on caste/ethnicity
 and/or religion.
- Developing understanding of the nature and dynamics of discrimination and
 exclusion.
- ¹⁵⁰ Contextualising and problematizing discrimination, exclusion and inclusion.
- ¹⁵¹ Developing an understanding of discrimination at an empirical level.
- Formulating policies for protecting the rights of these groups and eradicating the
 problem of exclusion and discrimination.

It is very clear that each one of these objectives also apply equally strongly to 154 persons with disabilities, sometimes differing in terms of the tools of oppression, 155 but historically the groups are subjected to similar oppression. The realisation that 156 disability is another such socially excluded and, therefore by definition, an oppressed 157 class, came slowly in the history of ideas and various movements. The sociopoliti-158 cal upheavals the world over in the late 60s, and early 70s also saw the beginning 159 of a rights-based movement within this sector. If we understand that feminism as a 160 movement is naturally sympathetic to oppressed classes of the society, it is surpris-161 ing to see that the movement did not consider the problems and issues of women 162 with disabilities for a long time. It is not very surprising then to see disability not 163 included in most of the schemes of the government in spite of this obvious con-164 nection. CSSEIP similarly does not include persons with disabilities as a group that 165 should automatically have been a part of such a scheme. 166

Similarly, if we take an excursion on a current equivalent of this point, yet another
'vertical' of the NITI-Aayog that deals with some aspect of disability is the Human
Resources Development (HRD) vertical which is a nodal division of the Ministry of
HRD. Among the four areas that come under this vertical's cover is area (c): areas
of special focus such as education for girls, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes,
Minorities and also *Children with Special Needs* (italics mine).

It is also crucial to mention in the context of our discussion here (that is of the current updates of the Plan policies) that 'during 2018–19, the HRD vertical actually participated in activities related to 12th Plan schemes²'. This makes the comparison of the Plan schemes and their current updates relevant and instructive.

²See https://www.niti.gov.in/index.php/verticals/human-resource-development/achievements-in-the-year-2018-19 (accessed August 2019).

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As far as achievements of this vertical are concerned, not surprisingly, there is no mention of any disability-related issues in either of the 2017–18 or 2018–19 reports. Thus, exactly as the analysis in this section shows, in spite of obvious connections to disability (and in this particular case, in spite of literally stating that the HRD vertical covers among other areas the area of children with special needs), concerns of disability are simply bypassed.

In my analysis of the then current situation in my submission in 2012 to the UGC 183 (see note 1) with respect to a representative sample of the 35 existing centres, set up 184 under the XII Plan, reveals that although 30% of them had a disability-related objec-185 tive, none of them have any research output, activity (seminar, conferences, work-186 shops and special lectures) or degrees in disability. Only one of them had a research 187 associate specialising in a disability-related field. Thus, although disability falls 188 within the ambit of social exclusion in almost exactly the same lines as other forms 189 of exclusion, disability as a sector/oppressed group is simply forgotten/bypassed in 190 this context of higher education. 191

In a notice dated 18 October 2017 by the UGC, CSSEIP scheme was extended up to 30 March 2019; it is not clear what the current status of the centres in different universities is.

195 Human Rights and Value Education (HRVE)

In order to promote human rights teaching and research at all levels of education, UGC 196 prepared a blueprint in 1985, which contained proposals for restructuring of existing 197 syllabi, and the introduction of new courses and/or foundation courses in human 108 rights. Introduction of undergraduate, postgraduate degrees/diplomas and certificate 199 courses, as well as holding seminars, symposia and workshops on Human Rights 200 and Duties Education, was encouraged with the goal of spreading awareness among 201 the teachers, students and public. During 2010–11, 493 proposals from universities 202 and colleges were approved by the Commission on the recommendations of the 203 Expert Committee. An amount of Rs. 7.58 crores (75.8 million) was released to the 204 Universities and Colleges during the year. 205

This scheme had two components: (i) Human Rights and Values in Education and 206 (ii) Promotion of Ethics and Human Values. These basic objectives of the scheme 207 included, among other things, sensitisation of citizens so that the norms and values 208 of human rights and value in the education programme are realised in addition to 209 encouraging research studies concerning the relationship between human rights and 210 values in education and international humanitarian law. Furthermore, in the XI Plan, 211 there were three components of the Human Rights Education scheme: (i) Human 212 Rights and Duties; (ii) Human Rights and Values; and (iii) Human Rights and Human 213 Development. Under these, it was believed that the violation of rights could be 214 corrected only when the privileged persons are reminded of their duties towards the 215 marginalised sections, and marginalised sections are gradually empowered through 216 rights education. It is further mentioned that human rights education would extend 217

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to such areas as gender equity, caste and community relations, majority–minority
 conflicts, 'forward–backward' dilemma and North–South power relations.

Clearly, again, human rights education fell just short of legitimately and rightfully
 including the disability sector. The scheme finds no mention in the XII Plan guidelines
 although the 60th Annual Report does talk about it without giving any financial
 details.

224 Centre for Potential for Excellence in a Particular Area (CPEP)

During XI Plan (2007–2012), the Commission continued with the 12 Centres with 225 Potential for Excellence in various universities approved in 2002 at the end of the IX 226 Plan (1997-2002) with an objective to encourage and facilitate the chosen depart-227 ments to work together and to be able to jointly launch new innovative academic 228 research programmes. These Centres started functioning during IX Plan under a 220 scheme which was a precursor of CPEP (UGC 2011b). During the XI Plan, a Stand-230 ing Committee shortlisted 16 more proposals of 12 universities for the final stage of 231 selection. Under this scheme, it is mentioned that 'While there will be no preference 232 on the subject areas to be identified and/or taken up under the Scheme, it is necessary 233 that each one has to be of the inter- and/or multi-disciplinary type and be in the 234 emerging, frontier or cutting edge subject areas of regional, national and/or interna-235 tional importance. It is expected that two or more Departments at the University will 236 be able to jointly launch these programmes'. 237

By looking at the 'Area of specialisation to be developed' in the 12 universities 238 granted the programme in 2002, as per the XI Plan in the Annual Report of UGC 230 2010–2011 (UGC 2011a: 164), it is clear that disability is not in anybody's mind 240 as disability does not find a mention in any of them. Details of the new proposals 241 approved on 28 February 2011 tell almost a similar story (p. 168). Among various 242 proposed activities, launching new and innovative programmes/activities in inter-243 and/or multidisciplinary areas is encouraged that serve as a repository of available 244 knowledge in the country in the particular area identified for the University. 245

Again, it is clear that in this thrust area of Quality and Excellence, a DS programme will easily fit into it by being new, innovative and multidisciplinary that will add to the repository of available knowledge about human condition.

On 29 April 2016, thus during the present government's regime, UGC notified 249 nine new centres under the CPEPA scheme, valid until 2021, therefore clearly imply-250 ing that the scheme continues to the present day in some manner. However, the same 251 pattern seems to repeat, that is, out of the nine centres, only in one of them, Devi 252 Ahilya Vishwavidyalaya, Indore, the focus area approved comes anywhere near a dis-253 ability theme, namely, 'Inclusive growth and sustainable development in tribal areas 254 of Indore'. However, this area is exclusively devoted to the growth and development 255 of the tribal population of Indore, especially Malwa and Nimar tribes. 256

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Disability Studies Centres (DSCs)

Higher Education and Research Bill, 2011 (HERB) drafted by the National Commission for Higher Education and Research (Rajya Sabha Secretariat 2012) and
presented to the Parliament for consideration include, among others, the following
functions:

promotion of a curriculum framework with specific reference to *emerging or interdisciplinary* fields of knowledge and

- taking measures to enhance *access and inclusion* in higher education.

Any new scheme proposing establishing a DS programme, therefore, would have clearly followed the mandates of the HERB, whatever turned out to be the final fate of the said Bill.³ My recommendations to the UGC in 2014 (see note 1) for setting up DSCs in higher education institutions of the country were based on the following set of objectives, which should be of interest to any such future proposal:

Disability being located clearly at an interdisciplinary juncture, it is to be studied
 in its social, political and cultural aspects, highlighting the 'contexts' that give rise
 to exclusion and discrimination.

- Research in disability is to be seen as a contribution and insight into methods in
 the research itself and therefore must form a crucial core of a DSC.
- Lived experiences (including experience of impairment and the surrounding contexts) as constituting a major thrust area within such a centre.
- DS to act as a repository of knowledge vis-à-vis disability and how best to use that
 knowledge to bring about a 'disability-centric' view of academia in general.

In this respect, as indicated in section "Inequity in HE", a clear delineation between the role and function of EOCs/EUs and DSCs must be understood and respected.

Genesis of Equal Opportunity Cells (EOCs)

In order to make available general development grant/assistance covering aspects, 282 such as (i) enhancing access, and (ii) ensuring equity as the two top priorities, the 283 UGC recommended both setting up of Equal Opportunity Centres/Cells (EOC) and 284 facilities for persons with disabilities (PwDs) (UGC 2011d). The objectives for EOCs 285 read as 'To enhance the employability and success of deprived groups by emphasising 286 on learning and creating an opportunity for them in the mainstream', and for the latter 287 (facilities for PwDs) as 'To help visually challenged permanent teachers to pursue 288 teaching and research with the help of a reader by providing teaching and learning 289 aids'. 290

The arbitrariness and the overlapping nature of these schemes are quite clear whereas the objectives of setting up of an EOC may, by definition, include PwDs, on

³As of 24 September 2014, the then current government withdrew this bill from the Parliament.

Table 7.1 Remedial coaching scheme	Remedial coaching for SC/ST/OBC (non-creamy layer) and minorities
	In order to enable students belonging to SC/ST/OBC (non-creamy layer)/Minority communities, who need remedial coaching to come up to the Level necessary for pursuing higher studies efficiently and to reduce their failure and drop-out rate, the UGC will provide financial assistance for conducting special classes outside the regular timetable during the XI Plan

the other hand, facilities for PwDs is changed from a scheme for PwDs to persons
with blindness or low-vision teachers only.

The overlap pointed out here is not a stray example; there are several cases of such overlaps that can be observed across various schemes. For example, there were other schemes which do not specifically mention PwDs in their titles, nonetheless include them in description (see Table 7.1).

Under the guidelines, this scheme was geared towards improving various skills and knowledge base of students belonging to different groups to bring them at par with other students in pursuing higher education (as part of XII Plan, 2012–2017). However, when talking about the fees, it is stated that disabled students (the term used by the UGC is 'physically challenged students') will be exempted from paying the fee, implying thereby that disabled students are also included in the scheme—perhaps under the heading 'Minorities'.

³⁰⁶ If this logic is acceptable, then by extension, students with disability should find ³⁰⁷ a place under the other related schemes like the following:

- Coaching for NET/SET for SC/ST/OBC (non-creamy layer) and Minorities and

Coaching Classes for entry in services for SC/ST/OBC (Other Backward Classes)
 (non-creamy layer) and Minorities.

The former with an eye to help students from disadvantaged groups to clear National Eligibility Test (NET) exams in order to be able to be employed in teaching positions at colleges and universities, and the latter to get jobs in Services A, B and C. However, rather arbitrarily again, students with disabilities are not even mentioned here in the description.

However, in order to run these various coaching classes, some centre is required, 316 and UGC envisaged this as a major motivation for setting up of EOCs. As stated 317 earlier, under the merged schemes, setting up of EOCs in colleges and universities 318 was recommended in the XI Plan, and an order was notified towards this effect. It 319 was mandated that EOC will be in charge of laying emphasis to the deprived groups 320 for learning and creating space for them to mainstream themselves, which will run 321 specific schemes of coaching for SCs, STs, OBCs (non-creamy layer) and Minorities 322 in order to enhance the employability and success. A one-time grant of Rs. 2,00,000 323 for establishing office of EOC may be provided under the scheme. 324

Although EOCs were to be set up to oversee implementation of schemes for enhancing employability and success of disadvantaged groups (including PwDs and

- 332 Running Coaching Schemes,
- ³³³ Implementation of Policies and Programmes,
- Guidance and Counselling (academic, cocial, financial and Other) and

335 – Sensitising.

However, the meagre sum of Rs. 2,00,000 one-time grant for setting up the EOCs
 was never deemed enough to conduct so many programmes for a variety of groups,
 let alone persons with disabilities. The schemes, therefore, remained ineffective to a
 large extent as far as students with disabilities were concerned.

340 A Question of Nomenclature

Having looked at the existing schemes and their drawbacks, it can be observed that IX Plan onwards there is scope for some confusion with regards to the reach, function and nomenclature of various schemes for persons with disabilities recommended by the UGC. To see this clearly, consider the possibility that within Higher Education for Persons with Special Needs (HEPSN), there is one specific component which recommends the establishment of Enabling Units (EU) for persons with disabilities in the colleges of the country (see Table 7.2).

The various functions of the EUs listed in the XI Plan document of the UGC 348 overlapped with overt, and sometimes covert, functions/roles of other schemes. In 349 effect, the UGC recommendation makes it possible for a college to set up both 350 an EOC and an EU, in fact, in practice, this situation has led to a certain degree 351 of confusion and the resulting absence of implementation of various provisions in 352 favour of students and teachers with disabilities at colleges and universities. The 353 HEPSN scheme continues to this day, as the then union minister of HRD announced 354 in a written reply to a Rajya Sabha question on this matter in December 2014 under 355 the present government. 356

Table 7.2	Component 1	l of HEPSN
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Component 1					
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Establishment of Enabling Units for 'differently-abled' persons

In order to develop awareness in the higher education system and also to provide necessary guidance and counselling to differently-abled persons, it is proposed to establish resource units in colleges in the country, which will be called Enabling Units

It is suggested that the confusion with respect to nomenclature and overlapping of duties and responsibilities can be avoided if there is one Centre/Unit in the colleges/universities to oversee *all* disability-related services and effective implementation of provisions. It is recommended therefore that only the 'Enabling Units' will be responsible for disability-related issues in colleges and universities.

However, an overlap in the nature of the products of the sectors is unavoidable and in fact not entirely unwelcome. This is so because for Disability Studies to act as the 'theoretical arm' of the disability rights movement, an overlap in the nature of the products of the two sectors is necessary. However, this ultimate situation need not obfuscate the difference in the origins of paths taken. This necessary separation has not been understood in any of the previous documents on this issue.

Keeping this in mind, a typical DSC will engage in teaching, research and docu-368 mentation, and consultancy and advocacy. However, for a countrywide policy to take 369 effect, a proposal for DSCs should be tempered with other schemes which address 370 marginally differing target groups, like a scheme for refresher courses in Social 371 Sciences and Humanities, and some in Sciences (like Basic Sciences, Behavioural 372 Sciences, Health Sciences, Medical/Physical Sciences, ICT Applications, Genetics 373 and Research Methodology) may integrate papers from DS in line with the existing 374 UGC frame for refresher courses. 375

One of the five components in an Orientation Courses run for in-service new teachers laid down by the UGC is to develop awareness for linkages between Society, Environment, Development and Education. However, without an awareness of the interlocking effect of disability in each of these, and the role they play in the life of a person with disability, the knowledge about the linkages remain incomplete; this is so especially in the background of Equality and Human Rights being two of the suggestive topics to be taught under this component.

Similarly, with the recognition of the need to include more students with disabil-383 ities in higher education with access to the general curriculum (Humanities, Social 384 Sciences and Sciences), there is need to incorporate more discussion about disabili-385 ties in such curricula in order for all to develop an understanding of the meaning and 386 experience of disability. Given that discrimination in many cases arise also from lack 387 of understanding of presence and participation of persons with disabilities in society, 388 and the history of exclusion causing such discrimination, a curriculum infused with 389 disability will go a long way in building a more equal society. 390

³⁹¹ Service and Knowledge Through Disability Studies Extension

Having looked at some of the disability and higher education policies of the government of India, I return to the main theme of the paper, namely, the question of the connection between service and knowledge. This connection will be examined from the point of view of the nature of the 'traffic' between the two; in particular, I would like to believe that a knowledge of such a traffic aids in a better understanding of both a disability studies framework and the nature of service provisions.



12



DISABILITY STUDIES EXTENSION

As was pointed out in the last section, while discussing various overlaps in roles 398 and functions of many agencies informed by disability-related policies, in particular, 399 of EUs (section "A Question of Nomenclature") and EOCs (section "Genesis of 400 Equal Opportunity Cells (EOCs)"), that although their origins may have been guided 401 by different philosophies (of service and knowledge, respectively), and overlap of 402 their mutual spaces of operation is not entirely unwelcome. Such minimal overlap is 403 desirable because disability rights-based services feed into disability knowledge or 404 DS, and vice versa. 405

In order to better understand this concept, let us concretise it by way of the diagrammatic representation of the essential idea as in Fig. 7.1.

The arrows in the above figure indicate the traffic between service and knowl-408 edge, as can be seen, they tell their own stories. The intersection or the shaded area 409 in between indicating Disability Studies Extension (DSE), on the other hand, is lit-410 erally at the centre of the present proposal; it is through an understanding of DSE 411 that disability studies can be better framed and provisions can be most effectively 412 administered. Coming back to the arrows, it can be seen that the traffic to (rather than 413 from) service is a stronger connection of the two; the other way round is most often 414 a chance happening, for example, in case of an EU or an EOC, with their dominant 415 mandate of service, engages in disability studies related activities merely due to the 416 presence of team members who believe in the disability studies enterprise.⁴ In cer-417 tain cases, years of experience of dealing with some case studies may help develop 418 insights that inform disability studies (see below for a specific example of dyslexia). 419 However, most often, people engaged in the service sector are seldom interested in 420 disability studies (at least that seems to be the case in India), and as pointed out 421 in Bhattacharya (2013, 2018), in extreme cases, a certain 'politics of estrangement' 422 needs to be instituted by keeping service-infused activism at abeyance. The direction 423 of traffic is therefore almost unidirectional. 424

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⁴This was the case for the EOC of the University of Delhi set up in 2006, which was one of the first such organisations in the country, where until 2010 five short-term courses that I initiated were run each semester that focused on both skill and knowledge, the latter clearly in the course titled 'Disability and Human Rights'.

The interaction between service and knowledge, with the accompanying emergence of DSE, gives rise to three possible contexts, which are listed below along with some typical exemplars for each:

428 (i) Exclusive to each domain:

- Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) (Disability Studies)
- 430 Assistive Devices (AT) (Disability Service)
- 431 (ii) Common to both (Awareness) and
- 432 (iii) Disability Prevarications (International Classification of Functioning, Dis-
- 433 ability and Health (ICF), National Institute for Urban School Improvement
- 434 (NIUSI), etc.)

The following subsections deal with each of these in order.

436 **Domain Exclusive Experiences**

It is not the job of the service sector to define disability or to question who is or is 437 not a disabled person. However, case studies and/or rights-based activism within an 438 institution may contribute towards defining disability, at least from the perspective of 430 classification. For example, dyslexia is a disability which was not recognised as such 440 in the then operative disability act of the country, namely, the Person with Disabilities 441 (Equal Opportunities, Protection of Rights, and Full Participation) Act, 1995. At the 442 EOC of the University of Delhi, from 2007 onwards, soon after the cell was set up, we 443 had to deal with students with dyslexia seeking admission and we at the EOC were 111 able to convince the university authorities that such students should be considered 445 for admission to our programmes. Thus, such cases provided us an entry point to 446 the classificational debate initiated by rights-based attempts to include dyslexia as a 447 disability. 448

However, this is a very organisation-specific example; it was possible at the EOC
of the University of Delhi because of the vision that we had brought into the workings
of a primarily service-oriented organisation; it was an exception rather than the rule.
And since service organisations like EOCs should work within the framework of
some legality, it is obvious that in most cases they will work with official definitions,
rather than attempt a redefinition.

Thankfully, much later, dyslexia was recognised as a disability in the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016 as part of specific learning disabilities.

457 Americans with Disabilities Act, 1990 (ADA)

On the other hand, the three parts of the ADA encapsulate nuances of an order in
the definition of disability that cannot be practically handled by a service sector.
The relevant point about ADA being a disability studies exclusive theme is with
respect to Part (C) of the Act. Both Part (B) and (C) deal with reactions of others

to an impairment or to a *perceived* impairment; both are considered as a disability and not impairment. This perspective lends an angle to the Act that addresses the discriminatory practices based on the misclassified or mistakenly perceived notions of limitations of individuals with disabilities. The Part (C) of the Act includes the following in its purview:

(i) persons who have impairments that do not substantially limit major life activ ities but are treated by service providers⁵ as constituting substantially limiting
 impairments,

470 (ii) persons whose impairments are substantially limiting only as the result of the
 471 attitudes of others toward the impairment and

472 (iii) persons who have no impairments but nonetheless are treated as having
 473 substantially limiting impairments.

Part (C) of the ADA achieves something which no other acts do, namely, it 474 acknowledges that the general bias against persons with disability creates as much 475 hindrance as the physical 'limitations' that result from actual impairment. This new 476 perspective on the definition of the term disability is designed to protect against 477 stereotypes and other attitudinal barriers in general about disability. Common attitu-478 dinal barriers include 'concerns about productivity, safety, insurance, liability, atten-479 dance, cost of accommodation and accessibility, and acceptance by co-workers and 480 customer' (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission 1995). Part (C) is directed 481 at the employer and not the individual alleging discrimination, thus, the existence of 482 an actual disability/impairment is not important. 483

As we can see, the concept of perceived disability is an advanced theoretical idea, which in its wake informs the field of disability studies in meaningful ways, consolidating the definition of disability.

487 Assistive Devices as Transhumanising Ability

The notion of Assistive Devices (ATs) on the other hand exclusively addresses the 488 concerns of disability services. Since the origin of ATs lies firmly in the sphere of 489 rehabilitation sciences, providing these facilities to persons with disabilities carries 490 with it the concept of medicalisation of disability. Disability Studies positions itself as 491 a counter to rehabilitation and special education which individualises disability, fash-492 ioning a curriculum propagating the idea that disability is an individual's or family's 493 problem (Linton 1998). However, according to Campbell (2009), a disabled body 494 poses a challenge to the purification divide as outlined in Latour (1993) between what 495 he calls 'translation' and 'purification' since such a body in using assistive/adaptive 496 devices challenges the normative category, whereas the project of purification would 497 prefer to hold on to the divide between uncontrolled (disabled) and controlled (abled) 498 bodies. On the other hand, a medicalised, rehabilitative, conceptualisation of ATs 499

⁵The technical term used in the Act is 'covered entity', which includes employer, employment agency, labour organisation or joint labour management committee.

Although the preceding discussion of ATs, especially, with reference to work by Campbell and Wolbring does provide a possible entry to disability studies related theoretical concerns vis-à-vis the place of ATs in disability studies, given that the notion of ATs has a primarily rehabilitative genesis, the topic may be viewed as falling exclusively within the domain of disability services.

509 Awareness as a Common Theme

Awareness-raising exercises, on the first impression, seem like a disability service 510 related activity, if not for persons with disabilities themselves, at least for the per-511 sonnel in charge of dispensing services targeted towards them. For example, while 512 coordinating various activities in the EOC of the University of Delhi, we ran 60 513 awareness-raising workshops in 2 years during 2010-11. These workshops were 514 conducted sometimes on the premises of the target group or on the premises of the 515 EOC building. Among the various groups in the university, workshops were con-516 ducted for a variety of target groups like the engineering department, the security 517 services and the library staff. However, a majority of the workshops were conducted 518 at different affiliated undergraduate colleges of the university. 519

Awareness is also a theme in disability studies proper. For example, awareness-520 raising exercises involve dispelling certain prejudices and stereotypes about dis-521 ability, or more importantly, discrimination that results from such stereotypes. For 522 example, as a result of the Rehabilitation Council of India (RCI) strictly controlling 523 approval of any disability-related courses that run anywhere in the country, such 524 courses have churned out thousands of armies of people trained and qualified in 525 so-called special education. A negative, medicalised attitude is a direct result of the 526 institutionalised 'special education' programmes of the country. 527

For example, the course outline for B.Ed. (Special Education, Hearing Impairment 528 (HI)) has modules such as teaching language, communication and school subject, 529 audiology and aural rehabilitation, listening devices and speech teaching to the HI. 530 Furthermore, in the earlier syllabus for the course, there was one paper that had a 531 60 h credit unit on 'Facilitating Language, Communication in Children with Hear-532 ing Impairment'. However, the words 'language' and 'communication', contrary to 533 their expectation, suggest oral, aural, oral-aural, auditory-verbal, cued speech, fin-534 gerspelling, oralism, total communication, etc. Not surprisingly, only 2 out of those 535 60 h, that is, 3% of the time is devoted to Sign Language. Among the suggested 536 readings include books on speech (lip) reading, hearing aids, cochlear implants, 537

⁶Disability-Adjusted Life Years (DALY), years of healthy life lost due to disability, was a concept developed by the World Bank in (1993) and adopted by World Health Organisation (WHO) in the 1996.

assistive devices and aural rehabilitation but none on Sign Language (as pointed out
in Bhattacharya 2011). In a later update of the syllabus (in 2015), the RCI split this
paper into a few units across two new papers, 'Technology and Disability' and 'Intervention and teaching Strategy', however with no update at all in the list of books,
which still do not include any book on Sign language.

Similarly, one of the most popular topics of awareness-raising exercises is the 543 language of disability, especially, the usages 'disabled persons' and 'persons with 544 disabilities'. An elaboration of the history behind these two usages, for example, 545 the first usage as a direct result of the historic struggles of the Union of Physically 546 Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS) in the 1970s in the UK and the resultant 547 initiation of the social model of disability, lands one into the heart of disability studies 548 themes. Furthermore, within the Indian context, as pointed in Bhattacharya (2016b), 549 the relative struggles behind the person-first and disability-first language do not hold 550 much meaning for languages which do not lend themselves to any equivalence of the 551 post-nominal genitive order of words as 'persons with disabilities' and only allow an 552 adjective followed by noun order (therefore the equivalence of 'disabled persons'). 553 Similarly, a discussion about the usage of Deaf/deaf brings us to the core of Deaf 554 Studies issues about the place of sign language in a Deaf person's life. 555

556 Disability Prevarications⁷

This constitutes the major area in trying to understand the nature of the Disability 557 Studies Extension (DSE) component; in other words, the creation of a transgression 558 or evasion of disability in theory and practice form the chunk of what is construed as 550 part of DSE. By 'extensions', I do mean areas of research and policymaking that were 560 obtained as a direct result of some of the social and political phenomena of the 1980s. 561 The decade of the 80s saw a change in the economic structure from the universal to the 562 diverse and different, and within social theory, the grand narratives fell out of favour. 563 Consequently, class identity was rejected in favour of a more pluralistic, political 564 and cultural identity. Thus, the new social theory laid emphasis on identity based on 565 factors that lay outside of the class structure. In a famous article, Williams (1992) 566 calls this 'fragmentations', which placed more and more emphasis on subjectivity 567 rather than deterministic structures. This led to the subjective well-being paradigm, 568 which emphasised personal satisfaction and power. 569

570 Characteristics of a Disability Paradigm

The characteristics of an emerging disability paradigm reflected this change in the social and economic structure of the society. For example, Schalock (2004) lists

⁷The English word 'prevarication' is interestingly derived from the Latin *prævāricāri* 'to straddle something' of which the stem itself is derived from *vārus* 'bow-legged'.

Activities of Daily Living (ADL)	Instrumental Activities of Daily Living (IADL)	Physical Limitations (PLIMs)
Bathe, dress, transfer, toilet and eat	Heavy/light housework, shop, meals, money and phone	Walk, bend, stand, steps, lift, reach, grasp and held

 Table 7.3
 Commonly used functional measure (adapted from Verbrugge and Yang 2002)

the following four main characteristics of a newer disability paradigm: (a) the con-573 cept of functional limitation, (b) personal well-being, (c) individualised support and 574 (d) personal competence and adaptation. Note that each of these characteristics point 575 towards an individualised conception, in fact, three of the four characteristics contain 576 the word 'personal' or 'individual'. Furthermore, words like 'limitation', 'support' 577 and 'adaptation' indicate negative stereotyping and hint towards a lack or an absence. 578 Similarly, a focus on individuality in terms of individualised assessment of needs, 579 though internationally adopted in the spirit of DSM IV (APA 1994), also leaves 580 open the possibility of a neo-liberalised view of need-support. Although the earlier 581 classification by the American Association on Mental Retardation (AAMR) of clas-582 sifying MR according to IQ, where 50-55 to 70 being mild to below 20-25 being 583 severe and others falling in between, gave way to their 1992 classification based on 584 intensity of support services, where intermittent, limited, extensive and pervasive 585 are the categories bringing about a shift from intelligence to functioning, the new 586 definitions of MR still had to depend on terms like support in communication, social 587 skills and self-direction. The overt use of certain concepts employed in the three 588 steps in diagnosis where step 1 brought back the IQ scores, step 2 had to rely on 589 physical health and aetiology (among other things) and step 3 variously dealt with 590 health, environment, adaptability and psychological needs are indicators of the latent 591 semantics of dependency that continue to inform the discourse of 'needing help' or 592 charity. Apart from this, as pointed out earlier, the focus on individual assessment 593 of needs leaves open the possibility for a customisability and therefore amenable to 594 market forces in a free economy. 595

Furthermore, a codification of functional measures further objectifies disability in terms of a limited set of functions which help conjure a limited individuality of a person with disabilities. This can be examined in Table 7.3.

599 ICF: The Agentless Body

Similar negative interpretation of disability can be gleaned in the well-known inter-600 national sources for theories and policies on disability in general, like the World 601 Health Organisation's (WHO) famous formulation called the 'International Classifi-602 cation of Functionality, Disability and Health (ICF)' (WHO 2001), where disability 603 is defined in terms of 'impairments in body function and structure', participation 604 'restrictions' and activity 'limitations'; primarily these are the factors that constitute 605 what the WHO calls 'Health Condition (disease or disorder)'. It is clear that the 606 outwardly neutral term 'health condition' cannot be left to the vagaries of a possible 607

positive interpretation and is forced to be read as either disease or disorder. This is not an isolated instance, as mentioned earlier, this document became the fountainhead for several branches of specialisation that dealt apparently with disability but invariably in terms of codes that essentially retain the medicalised understanding of disability that several disability organisations started to mobilise sentiments against as early as the 1960s.

The following excerpt is a more common view of disability as a disease. In one of the online forums of the United Nations (UN), from 23 November 2009 to 25 January 2010, the WHO moderated a discussion where the topic for Week 8 was 'Non-Communicable diseases and Women – Subtheme –Disability', which among other things had the following opening statement:

Generally non-communicable diseases (NCD) are those diseases/conditions which are not
 infectious in nature. These have also sometimes been called 'Chronic diseases' although not
 all chronic diseases are non-communicable. The NCD that will be highlighted for discussion
 on this forum include cardiovascular conditions, cancers, mental, neurological and substance
 use (MNS) disorders and associated disabilities.

It was clear that disability, or at least certain disabilities, is/are here clubbed together with disease. Not surprisingly, therefore, quite soon, one of the participants made the following response:

627 Hello.

I got surprised that the discussion about Non-Communicable Diseases and Women is
 including women with disability as a subject of those Non-Communicable Diseases. Many
 women and men around the world are fighting against that idea of being considered subjects
 of the medical environment! I am proud of being a woman, ...; but I am also proud of being
 'disabled' because in my conception, being disabled is another way of being in the world!
 Not a disease, the problem is when because of being a disabled woman I am discriminated
 against. ...

635 Regards,

636 Marita Iglesias.⁸

The three places of experience for human functioning in ICF mentioned above typically focus on the body and its responsibilities towards a functioning, without any cognitive ascription. For example, the first experience is body function and structures which is a body without any agency, whereas the second and third factors, namely, activities and participation, are about the body's location and performance among other bodies and against things; in short, an objectification of the body. With this, the ICF makes sure that disability is firmly ensconced in the body.

644 Well-Being and Quality of Life

The second characteristics of emerging disability (i.e. personal well-being) (Schalock (2004) section "Characteristics of a Disability Paradigm") is also defined by trends of

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⁸List members could access the original posting and this reply from 12 January 2010 at https://knowledge-gateway.org/womenandhealth/discussions/kwrncssm.

Table 7.4 Core quality of life domains and commonly used	Core domains of QoL	Commonly used indicators of QoL	
indicators (extracted from Schalock and Verdugo 2002)	Emotional well-being	Contentment, self-concept, lack of stress	
•	Material well-being	Finance, employment, housing	
	Physical well-being	Health, activities of daily living, leisure	
	Self-determination	Autonomy/control, goals and values, choices	
	Social inclusion	Community integration/participation/roles, social support	
	Rights	Human, legal	

what Williams (1992) called 'fragmentation' and is reflected in social policies emanating in the 80s, whether it is due to re-emphasis on welfare state in the UK/Europe or the effects of civil rights movement in the US. This new emphasis on subjectivity and identity rather on deterministic structures is also due to what has come to be known as the 'Postmodern Condition' of the post-60s period. Along with the emergence of identity-based politics of the 80s, 'personal well-being' became a factor fuelling the renewed interest in the personal.

The key concepts that in turn determine 'personal well-being' are positive psychology and Quality of Life (QoL). While the former mainly concerns with positive experiences, the latter is related to human potential in many different ways. One way to determine QoL is through core domains and indicators, as in Table 7.4 extracted from Schalock and Verdugo (2002).

Thus, a disabled life is determined by this limited set of universal domains and particular/unique indicators. Apart from this restricted definition of a disabled life, there are other aspects of QoL that establish the entire gamut of such research as confirmed candidates for disability prevarication.

For example, Buntinx and Schalock (2010) consider QoL to be facilitating com-663 munication between different clinical disciplines and policymakers so that they can 664 arrive at a correct estimation of individualised support. There are at least two things 665 wrong with this approach. First, this is what represents the modern face of study 666 of disability, rather than disability studies—a distinction made in Schwartz et al. 667 (2006)—where the former sees disabled persons as clients and research objects. 668 This is also an example of alienated research (Stanley 1990) where a disabled person 669 holds the interest of the researcher as long as that person signifies 'enhancement of 670 human functioning and a life of quality' as a result of individualised support. This 671 carries the implication that a disabled life is of lesser quality, needing enhancement, 672 or non-functional, requiring support. Secondly, as pointed out earlier, the notion of 673 individualised support by denying any role of the state leaves the person with dis-674 ability at the mercy of the market. It is interesting to note that these models almost 675

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exclusively focus on intellectual disability (ID), that is because it is much easier to treat persons with ID as a voiceless research mass.

The trend of QoL-based research is to halt the force of international sociopolitical conventions applicable at macro levels by focusing exclusively on individual desire and needs; the efforts to integrate the latter in a systemic fashion which addresses the importance of empowerment for persons with disabilities has not taken root, the veneer of a person-centred approach in this context is only that.

683 The Oral History Project: Disability as an Artefact

Another 1980s phenomenon that too belongs to DSE is the oral history project. 684 Ferguson (2006) lists 17 ways to 'Infuse Disabilities into Curriculum Across Age 685 Levels' in the National Institute for Urban School Improvement programme in the 686 US, most of which are based on the oral history project which depends upon human 687 memory and the spoken word to bring out people's testimony about their own expe-688 riences. For example, one of the activities is to have adults come to class to talk about 689 their lives and history in the local community, including adults with disabilities. As 690 long as this is supposed to impart the acknowledgement on the part of students that 691 disabled persons are part of the society, it serves its purpose. However, a disabled 602 person's life is not going to be like other lives. What happens if the person starts talk-693 ing about the problems that they face every day of their lives in the community? Will 694 the school be prepared for this? Will they be willing to accept it? Given the general 695 trend of oral history projects, it is likely that discordant voices will be supressed. 696

Furthermore, the document (p. 5) also suggests having children do an oral history 607 interview with a family member or friend who has a disability or a family member or 698 friend who has a relative with a disability. As Shopes (2012) notes, interviews within 699 the oral history paradigm often include nothing about the workings of local power 700 even as they constitute the welcome shift towards the understanding of the everyday 701 lives of ordinary people. Thus, 'community-based oral history projects, often seeking 702 to enhance feelings of local identity and pride, tend to sidestep more difficult and 703 controversial aspects of a community's history, as interviewer and narrator collude 704 to present the community's best face' (p. 11). 705

Another activity asks teachers to 'have students do "accessibility surveys" and 706 maps of neighbourhoods, schools and communities that identify various barriers and 707 accommodations—not just ramps and curb cuts, but also Braille, graphics, visual 708 cues and so on' (Ferguson 2006: 5). Note that these only talk about the objectifi-709 cation of disability, the paraphernalia associated with disability can be considered 710 as instrumentalisation of disability; again, the cognitive ascription of feelings or 711 thoughts is absent, almost as if persons with disabilities are objects themselves with 712 no feelings. Most of the other activities achieve exactly this, create just a disabled 713 body, for example, activities like showing students videos of history of eugenics, 714 having students to do 'accessibility surveys' of neighbourhood, discussing stories 715 with characters with disability, having students learn 20 words [sic] of American 716 Sign Language and having students learn the alphabet in Braille. Finally, the guide 717

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- 7 Service and Knowledge: The Emergence of Disability ...
- also talks about taking students to a museum and looking for things about disability.
- The cycle now seems to be complete—disability has now become a frozen artefact
- 720 in a museum.

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Chapter 7

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AQ3	Please check the sentence "Negative attitude and belief against a group" for clarity and correct if necessary.	
AQ4	Please check for the usage of the term "Disability Studies" used with inconsistent casing in the entire chapter.	
AQ5	Please check the sentence "In addition, if we look at the list of initiatives taken by the …" for clarity and correct if necessary.	
AQ6	Please check the sentence "During XI Plan (2007–2012), the Commission" for clarity and correct if necessary.	
AQ7	Please check the sentence "By looking at the 'Area of specialisa- tion" for clarity and correct if necessary.	
AQ8	Please check the sentence "As was pointed out in the last section, while discussing" for clarity and correct if necessary.	
AQ9	Please check the sentence "The intersection or the shaded area in between indicating" for clarity and correct if necessary.	
AQ10	Please check for the usage of the phrase "'Non-Communicable diseases and Women - Subtheme –Disability'" in the sentence "In one of the online forums of the United Nations (UN), …" for punctuation and correct if necessary.	
AQ11	Please confirm if the section headings identified are correct.	
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Reduce space between	between characters or	
characters or words	words affected	