



Working Paper No. 10

Artists as defenders: disability art as means to mobilise human rights

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The Human Rights Defender Hub Working Papers Series

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Executive summary

This paper analyses the work of contemporary disability artists in the United Kingdom and aims to demonstrate their ability to mobilise human rights for disabled people. This hinges on two observations: a) disability art enables the growth of rights consciousness among disabled people through the emergence of a positive disability identity and collective sensibility; b) disability art can encourage both disabled and non-disabled audiences to deconstruct their ideas of their own relation to disability. Drawing upon the affirmative model of disability, the paper argues that these factors are fundamental to the mobilisation of legal rights for disabled people. The discussion is built upon analysis of interviews with six disabled artists based in the UK. The paper also discusses the findings of the 2017 inquiry into the United Kingdom by the UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and the numerous barriers which inhibit access to justice for disabled people. In light of these observations, the paper argues that disability artists act as human rights defenders in their work to progress the enjoyment of human rights by disabled people.

Implications for practice

- **Legal professionals have a key part to play in reducing discrimination against disabled people and barriers to accessing justice. In turn, this facilitates the work of disabled artists to mobilise disability rights. Among the points of action identified by Beqiraj et al. (2017) for the legal profession are advocating for disabled people's rights to form a core principle of austerity-driven policies, utilising technology to enhance inclusion in the justice system, and providing disability training for judges, lawyers and law enforcement.**
- **Much of the arts industry remains inaccessible to disabled artists. Interviewees explained how opportunities in the mainstream art world, such as residencies or funding, often exclude disabled artists through a lack of reasonable accommodations that would enable them to participate. The creation of disability art is dependent upon such opportunities and effort must be made to address exclusionary practices.**
- **Accessibility and opportunity in the arts industry often revolves around the perceived worth of contributions made by disabled people. The marginalisation of disabled artists can result in the so-called 'ghettoisation' of disability arts, compounded by a lack of critical rigour towards the work they produce (Williamson, 2011; 2018). In order to encourage high standards and maintain serious critical engagement with disability arts, access to higher education and training for disabled artists must be expanded.**
- **Emerging research examining difficult or 'extreme' contexts for leadership may be harnessed for developing tools to assist human rights leaders and practitioners in their analyses of strategic contexts, planning action in complex settings, developing resilient organisations, and making critical decisions in times of stress and crisis;**

- Lessons from formal and informal social movements and other forms of collective action may be a source of insight for human rights organisations operating in heavily power-laden contexts, such as where civil and political freedoms are severely restricted. Leadership and organisational studies fields have rarely engaged with such contexts and seem an unlikely significant source of insight on this question for the time being.

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Acronyms

CESCR	Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
CRPD	Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
DDA	Disability Discrimination Act, 1995
DWP	Department for Workplace and Pensions
ECHR	European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms
ECtHR	European Court of Human Rights
HRC	Human Rights Council
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
UN	United Nations
UNCRPD	United Nations Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UPIAS	Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation

Introduction

This paper is based upon the premise that 'Legal awareness is the foundation for fighting injustice' (UNDP, 2004, p.10). The research asks how disabled people in the United Kingdom mobilise the strength of the disabled people's movement and wider disabled communities to address human rights violations.

The systemic injustice experienced by disabled people in the UK warranted an official UN inquiry, the first of its kind on disability (UNCRPD, 2017). Paradoxically, disabled activists and scholars in the UK are responsible for what appears to be one of the most revolutionary overhauls of political thought in contemporary history: the social model of disability (Shakespeare, 2013). Against this background it is argued that the expansion of legal awareness and disability rights consciousness among both disabled communities and wider society can meaningfully impact the various barriers and rights violations faced by disabled people in the UK.

Soon after its conception in the 1970s, the identity politics of the UK disabled people's movement were reflected, developed and challenged by a lively disability arts scene. Disability art, which is generally defined as any form of creative output by a disabled person with disability as a core theme, has been seen as a means of strengthening collective awareness through its affirmation of disabled people's identity (Black, 2017). This paper aims to identify the means by which human rights can be effectively mobilised by disabled people with the means available to them through disability art.

'Legal' or 'rights' mobilisation describes the transformation of a desire into a consciousness and assertion of rights, which facilitates individual participation in the enforcement of law (Zemans, 1983). It is also therefore theorised that disabled artists may be considered human rights defenders due to their contributions to rights consciousness among disabled people and society. It is argued that such contributions make active progress towards access to justice and enjoyment of human rights by disabled people. At present, there exists no distinct exploration of disability art from a human rights-based perspective, nor a conceptualisation of disabled artists as human rights defenders. This paper proposes that disabled artists be considered as such and suggests that further research be conducted on this premise.

1. Conceptual Framework and Methodology

Social research on disability has a troubling and problematic history. Oliver (1992) argued that disability research had failed disabled people by neglecting their opinions, failing to contribute to their emancipation and ultimately viewing disability as a medical or welfare issue rather than a political one.

A momentous shift in disability studies was initiated in the 1970s by the Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS, 1976). UPIAS, and later Oliver, pioneered a radical new 'social model,' which reimagines

disability as the social response to biological impairment, rather than inherent to the impairment itself (Oliver et al., 2012).¹ Artist-activist Liz Crow explains, 'the social model of disability has enabled me to confront, survive and even surmount countless situations of exclusion and discrimination' (1996, p.56). It was at least thirty years after its conception before the social model was officially recognised by the international human rights regime. The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD, 2006) was the first notable acknowledgement of disability as socially constructed.²

It is important to consider the relationship between the social model and disability art as a means to defend human rights. Distinctive to disability politics and encouraged by the social model is the inversion of impairment from a symbol of shame to one of value (Barnes, 2008). While this conceptual transition is neither simple nor undisputed, many artists ground their work upon its principles. As Sutherland explains:

I don't think disability arts would have been possible without disability politics coming along first. ... [Our politics] have taught us, not simply to value ourselves but to value ourselves as disabled people. That's why we can have disability art; because we realise that our disabilities give us something to make art about (1997, p.159).

For Sutherland and others, the recognition that impairment can add value to the creative process is rooted in disability politics. Therefore, disability art may be interpreted as a manifestation of the attitudinal shift instigated by the social model (later developed by the affirmative model). The UK disability arts industry hosts a diverse range of artists, some of whom engage less, or not at all, with disability politics. However, Sutherland implies that the widespread adoption of the social model is exactly what grants disabled artists the space to create art in which they exercise control over the (non-)politicisation of disability.

A number of scholars have expressed concern that the application of the social model can erase the experience of impairment in its imagining of disability as socially constructed (Crow, 1996; Morris, 1991). Shakespeare, among others, advocates for the 'acceptance of an external reality' that simultaneously 'gives weight to different causal levels in the complex disability experience,' including impairment-related factors (2013, p.73). Crow (2018) explains that 'disability happens at the interface between our bodies and society. So disability might be the barrier, but those barriers interact with our bodies.' Swain and French (2000) identified an emerging model of disability which built upon the foundations of the social model while addressing its critiques. They propose an 'affirmative model,' which 'encompasses positive social identities, both individual and collective, for disabled people grounded in the benefits of life style and life experience of being impaired and disabled' (ibid, p.569). They point to the disability arts movement as the most effective example of this. Cameron develops the affirmative model as a means by which impairment can be regarded as:

¹ 'Impairment' is understood to mean the biological fact of a body which does not fit the mould of 'normal,' such as an individual with an amputated leg or a condition such as MS. The category of 'impairment' is not universally agreed upon and presents a number of issues. For example, the diagnosis of impairment relies heavily on the medical model. See Davis, 2013.

² Language is integral to this conceptual shift. In accordance with the reconstruction of disability as a social process enacted upon the individual, identity-first language has become commonplace in the UK. Therefore, 'disabled people' is usually preferred to 'people with disabilities,' although the latter is commonly used in the US context and notably by the UN.

a valid human characteristic among other human characteristics. This does not involve a denial of the sometimes painful aspects of impairment, but neither does it regard these as marks of inferiority. ... [The affirmative model] establishes the rights of people with impairments to be recognised and valued as who they are (2010, p.256).

Cameron presents this model as a tool with which people with impairments can 'make sense of [the disabled] role as it is imposed within the minutiae of everyday life' (ibid, p.256). He also links the principles of the affirmative model to the foundation of the disability arts movement, which was premised upon 'strength and identity and the enriched sense of self that disabled people got from coming together' (Cameron, 2009). The affirmative model, alongside theories of the self and positive group identity, will provide the conceptual framework for the analysis of how disabled artists mobilise the law to engage disabled people with their human rights.

This paper is organised into four parts. The first section will examine three aspects of the 'disabled identity' and incorporate research from interviews with six disabled artists based in the UK. Two interviewees were male, three were female and one preferred not to say. Due to convenience sampling, my interviews did not include any disabled artists of colour, who are a recognised minority within disability arts.³ The first section will also introduce the concept of rights consciousness as understood through the lens of identity. Part 2 establishes the legal framework in which disabled people's rights exist, including access to justice and the concept of legal mobilisation. It also draws upon research findings from an interview with an anonymous human rights lawyer. Drawing upon interviews with disabled artists, part 3 analyses how disability art can address rights violations by advancing the social and political context in which they take place. Finally, part 4 makes the case that, in light of the research findings, disabled artists should be recognised as human rights defenders.

2. Arts, Identity, Rights

2.1 The disabled identity

Oliver (2009) conceptualises what it means to be disabled in three components: having an impairment; experiencing external barriers; self-identifying as a disabled person.

i. Having an impairment

The first aspect can be explored by investigating impairment through the lens of narrative identity. Edwards (1998) advocates that narrative identity, which imagines the self as a life story including relationships, places and experiences (McAdams, 2018), should include a constitutive role for the body alongside the mind. While essentialist readings of the disabled body have been targeted for simplistic claims that one's identity is rooted within solely the body (Davis, 2002), Mintz argues that bodily impairment (and society's reaction to it) is 'a constitutive but not diminishing feature of identity' (2007, p.17). Mintz's collection of life writing by disabled women features

³ For insight into the marginalisation of disabled people of colour and the intersection between racism and disability, see Frederick and Shifrer, 2019.

narratives which negotiate 'the knotty confluence of and contradictions between disability, gender, and sexuality [which] at once initiate the story of life and are disentangled by inventive narrative shaping' (ibid, p.18). Disability and the impaired body are one of multiple dimensions of identity which can be explored through the narration of a life story. Davis (2002) has argued against the idea of disability identity for the fact that the list of identities is non-exhaustive and will keep expanding until 'identity' is non-existent. Yet Mintz's collection demonstrates the potential of an art form to navigate the nuances of intersectional identities without reducing their individual relevancy.

Mintz features Hathaway's memoir *The Little Locksmith* (2000) as an example of how an impaired body can be integral to one's narrative while incorporating a feminist notion of the self, whereby the woman's identity is not rooted solely within her body. After being subjected as a child to physical 'treatment' which strapped her to a stretcher for ten years to straighten her spine, Hathaway 'presents writing as the corrective mechanism that leads to her self-discovery, self-expression, and self-recuperation' (Mintz, 2007, p.16). Writing her memoir is the realisation of the bodily freedom which Hathaway was denied, so much so that her desire to write becomes as an outlet for her 'sexual starvation' (ibid, p.189). Mintz locates this within the narrative form as a technique which 'works paradoxically to keep the unseemly impulses of that body ... squarely in readers' view,' while also criticising the social assumptions placed upon disabled women (ibid, p.15). Hathaway's use of the narrative form to construct an identity which focuses intently on bodily repression and desire demonstrates how the impaired body may be fundamental to one's narrative, while simultaneously emphasising that identity is comprised of more than impairment or disability alone.

ii. Experiencing external barriers

For disabled people, interactions with the external world are often hindered by both physical and social barriers. Edwards (1998) draws upon Merleau-Ponty (1962) to argue that the self is moulded by the social world and the interactions within it. Contact with various disabling barriers may therefore combine with the 'knotty confluence' of intersecting identities to influence conceptions of the self (Mintz, 2007, p.18).

Tina Leslie, who has visible facial scarring, explains how her sense of self is influenced by her experience of social barriers and stigma:

At home ... I'm allowed to be me, the real me ... I only cease to be the person I know I am when I walk down the street. Then I see the look in your eyes. I see your horror and your revulsion. It's like being cut in half (in Morris, 1991, p.25).

Her account demonstrates how the gaze upon the disabled body can be 'an act of violence' which creates pain (Elkins, 1996, p.27). Carving an identity from interactions between the self and an external world which disparages the disabled body may therefore be difficult and painful. The gaze does not always signify pain or violence, however. Wheelchair user John Belluso found it a positive affirmation of identity: 'There are times when it's fantastic to perform your disability, it's joyful, and it's powerful. Like when I enter on the bus, I love it. I really feel like it's an entrance' (in Sandahl and Auslander, 2005, p.2).

Similarly, by presenting their body on their own terms, disabled performance artists can harness stares from the audience to create 'a medium for positive identity politics' (Garland-Thomson, 2000, p.335). In one performance, artist Mary Duffy, who was born without arms, presents her naked body on stage in a visual parallel to the classical Venus de Milo statue (Snyder and Mitchell, 1995 in Millett-Gallant, 2010). Cultural templates are 'inadequate' to make sense of Duffy's paradoxical body, explains Garland-Thomson; the audience's sense of order is 'in ruins' (2000, p.336). By confronting the audience with an image of the disabled body as one of classical beauty, Duffy subverts potential objectification and instead negotiates 'positive identity politics' (ibid, p.335).

iii. Self-identification as a disabled person

Research has found that many disabled people do not wish to see themselves as such and resist associating with the disabled people's movement (Thompson et al., 2010). As Cameron explains,

It is possible ... or even likely, that when one identity among several is regarded as signifying inferiority, it will become an identity given less emphasis in a person's self-conception or projection, or even avoided completely. Thus, for many people with impairments it can be said that they have no disability identity (2010, p.12).

'I was in this kind of nowhere-zone,' says Crow (2018) of her own experience coming to terms with disability, 'which was very lonely.' Through research with disabled participants, Shakespeare concludes that many disabled people prefer to identify as 'normal,' 'refusing to allow their health condition, or responses to it, to dominate their lives' (2013, p.99). He believes that disability identity politics has a 'generalised tendency to stress the victimhood of disabled people' in its assertion that disability is socially constructed, arguing that activism based on collective identification and mobilisation is 'over-optimistic' (ibid, p.104, 99). Cameron rebuts this assertion, proposing that a rejection of disability identity is an attempt to minimise aspects of the self which appear 'abnormal.' Drawing upon ideas of narrative identity, he explains:

If identity is a storyline we use to comprehend and negotiate our place in the world and to reflexively determine our own experience of the world as it is given to us, rejection of disability identity involves deprivation (whether self-willed or through unawareness of its existence or purpose) of a valuable sense-making tool (2010, p.48).

Self-identification as a disabled person was a theme which commonly arose in interviews with disability artists for this paper. Interviewees linked identity with issues surrounding mainstream representation of disability as well as community and isolation. 'So much of society tells us that we are wrong,' explains Crow (2018), which exacerbates isolation among disabled people. Participants spoke of symbolic exclusion evident in media and culture: 'disabled people are very rarely seen in galleries ... going to the theatre, you don't see anything representative or reflective of your own experience' (Moesby, 2018). The development of the disabled people's movement in the 1980s was a turning point:

[The movement] was very much seen as a way of recognising a culture of disability ... it communicated to us so we created representations of ourselves, constructed a community, claimed our own identities, connected to each other, suddenly through these representations of ourselves that hadn't been there before (Crow, 2018).

Because the experience of disability frequently takes place in isolation, recognising commonality of experience can give individuals a greater understanding of their lives and identities (Wendell, 1996). In *Bedding Out*, Crow recreated her 'bed life' in public spaces and encouraged passersby to have conversations with her about austerity and disability (Roaring Girl Productions, 2012). The performance was active on social media and facilitated discussion between disabled people living their 'bed lives' at home, which was 'very powerful and moving' (Crow, 2018). Because performance art and social media can be 'ephemeral,' explains Crow (2018), 'people carry it around in themselves after they've encountered it.' The social connections and sense of community this facilitated can therefore outlive the duration of the piece.

Artist Aaron Williamson highlights the role that collective disability identity played in his own identity affirmation as a disabled person:⁴

Many disabled people, due to school or family backgrounds, begin with the idea that [disability] is something terrible that is happening to them and that disability is the end. I suffered from a lot of insecurity as a kid because I knew I was going deaf and it wasn't 'normal' ... I joined up with a load of other punks who said, we don't give a fuck about the future anyway. Consequently ... I started to reclaim my own self-image and my perception of self-value (2018).

Williamson began to identify with the disabled people's movement and 'realised that that process of adjusting from trauma and self-doubt; all of it was actually really valuable and was a big part of my identity' (2018). He curated *Art of the Lived Experiment*, an exhibition which grew from this idea (see Williamson, 2014). The exhibition consisted of pieces from disabled artists which 'reflected upon how they've come to find some value in their existence in the face of social disapprobation' (Williamson, 2018). Williamson's approach is similar to that of the participants in Shakespeare's research, in that both parties resist the expectations placed upon them due to their impairments. The difference, however, is that Williamson subverts the idea of impairment as 'less than' and embraces the disability identity. The disabled people in Shakespeare's study 'downplay the significance of their impairments' and 'wish to be ordinary, not different' (2013, p.99, 104). Another notable difference is that Williamson attributes the foundation of his positive disability identity to the power of the collective, whereas Shakespeare's participants 'resist seeing themselves as part of the disability movement' (2013, p.99).

Performance artist Claire Cunningham also uses art to explore notions of value within impairment. In her performances, Cunningham chooses not to emulate 'classical ideas of virtuosity' or use traditional dance techniques which are 'very specifically made for a non-disabled body' (Cunningham,

⁴ Many deaf people do not consider themselves disabled at all, but members of a subculture. The distinction is usually made through capitalisation of 'Deaf' to refer to those who identify with the community, as opposed to 'deaf' (see Atherton, 2012).

2018). Instead, she works with crutches to demonstrate 'the subtlety and nuance of what is actually going on in [disabled] bodies, [using] techniques that are really not as recognised' (ibid). 'What I'm interested in,' she explains, 'is trying to reposition what society has considered valuable about bodies.' *Guide Gods*, a performed exploration of the relationship between faith and disability, questions conventional assumptions about value (Cunningham, 2014). In an extract entitled *A Crip Life is a Life Worth Living*,⁵ Cunningham explores the concept of religious ceremonies designed to 'heal' impairments. She explains that such ceremonies centre on the 'very ableist perspective' that 'surely all Deaf must want to hear ... and surely all visually impaired people must want to see' (ibid). *Guide Gods* creates a platform through which disabled and non-disabled people alike are encouraged to question such assumptions regarding worth and impairment.

An understanding of the value of the impaired body and its often-unconventional existence may enhance self-identification as a disabled person among those who resist associating with this identity (Cameron, 2010). The affirmative model interprets impairment as one human characteristic which exists among many, the value of which is not diminished by the potential for pain or discomfort (ibid). The disability arts scene has historically facilitated individuals to find a positive identity within the collective by promoting these principles (Swain and French, 2000). Even among those for whom inclusion in the disabled people's movement is a secondary or non-existent feature of their identity, these principles may still be definitive features of their lives. The self, the collective and the validity of impairment are core to *The Weight of Coming Home*, a poetry collection by Jennifer McGowan (2015) which explores ideas of home. McGowan (2018) explains that 'my concept of home is formed possibly because this place is not circumscribed by disability.' For her, 'home' is a place in which impairment is regarded by others with 'a certain amount of matter-of-factness,' which may reflect the sentiments of the disabled people interviewed by Shakespeare (2013). McGowan's approach is distinctive, however, due to her participation in a collective of both disabled and non-disabled people in which she feels less 'circumscribed by disability' and which she therefore identifies as her home (2018). In her work, McGowan acknowledges the discomfort and pain frequently associated with impairment while also 'try[ing] to write about it matter-of-factly.' This is reflected in her construction of 'home,' defined as such through a community of people who show 'an acceptance that this is how I am, and that's fine, that's just me' (2018).

These excerpts demonstrate that the collective disability identity need not define itself solely through the existence of external, oppressive barriers, nor does it involve 'building identity on victimhood' (Shakespeare, 2013, p.104). It is evident that a positive identity may be found in the response to such barriers, which is strengthened and reinforced by the affirmative power of the collective - whether it be the disabled people's movement or an intimate circle of 'chosen family' (McGowan, 2018). This is not to dismiss the reality of 'bodies which sometimes hurt' (Shakespeare, 2013, p.73), but to reiterate the concept of identity as articulated by Mintz in her analysis of disabled women's life writing: 'It is not that they equate "self" with disability

⁵ *A Crip Life is a Life Worth Living* is an extract from a series of podcasts which were built upon the research interviews conducted for *Guide Gods*.

or physical dysfunction ... [They treat] disability not as personal affliction but rather as a fact of life that becomes meaningful within a set of conflicting cultural narratives ...' (2007, pp.17-18).

The growth of a positive disability identity is enhanced when an individual can recognise their own experience represented through disability art. This is of immense worth for disabled people defining their own life stories and sense of themselves (Gilson et al., 1997). As Cameron explains, the disability identity provides an alternative for individuals 'trying to shoulder the weight of disabling structural relations, as if the resolution of these is to be found within the self'; instead, 'these can be addressed collectively' (2010, p.255). The question which then arises is how disabled people can collectively address discrimination, oppression and rights-violations through a collective.

2.2 Identity and rights consciousness

Closely linked to the assertion of self-value as a disabled person is a recognition of oneself as a rights-holder. When one identifies as part of a group with commonality of experience and collective sensibility, it may give rise to 'a claim to recognition as a social group that is systematically disadvantaged' (Cameron, 2010, p.29). Not only can a collective disability identity address, in a literal sense, a number of the concerns around social isolation highlighted in the UNCRPD inquiry (2017),⁶ it also enables disabled people to 'place themselves in a changed relationship to the social and cultural processes of disablement' (Cameron, 2010, p.255).

The process of understanding oneself as a rights-holder within a social group which is denied equality can be defined as a form of rights consciousness. Engel and Munger's (2003) study of disabled Americans offers a guide on how to explore rights consciousness in the context of disability. They contend that 'rights consciousness hinge[s] on the sense of identity that is reflected in the ever-changing life story narratives of individuals with disabilities' (2003, p.10). Rights consciousness may therefore be enhanced through mechanisms which encourage disabled people to positively recognise themselves as such. Participants in this study demonstrate that disability art, and wider disabled collectives, can be a gateway to such affirmations of identity and value.

Identity and rights consciousness are bound in a cycle of reciprocity, meaning that the augmentation of self-worth can facilitate knowledge and confidence to assert human rights (ibid). Thus, disabled artists who navigate positive identity politics may be conceptualised as human rights defenders who act to promote or protect human rights. This process may also be defined as oppositional consciousness, whereby members of a socially disadvantaged group 'claim their previously subordinate identity as a positive identification' in order to make demands for social, economic or policy change (Mansbridge, 2001, p.1).

Recognition of disability-centric human rights is critical in light of UNCRPD observations that the implementation of recent UK welfare policies neglected to consider disabled people as rights-holders, and that media and political rhetoric frequently portrays them as overly dependent on the welfare system (2017). In fact, the implication of heightened rights

⁶ Isolation and marginalisation among disabled people were highlighted by the Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities as concerning consequences of article 19 violations (the right to live independently and be included in the community) (CRPD, 2006). Enabling social collectives is therefore paramount for disabled people to enjoy the right to be included in the community, which is one of the most wide-ranging and intersectional CRPD provisions (it may be helpful to recall Harpur's [2012] analysis of the indivisibility and interdependence of all CRPD rights.) The disabled people's movement demonstrates how inclusion in a community further enables participation in political, public and cultural life (arts. 29, 30 of CRPD, 2006) (Crow, 2018).

consciousness among a disadvantaged social group is an increase in demands for social and economic equality. While rights consciousness can explain how actors engage with and interpret the law to give meanings to their experiences, it also establishes that these meanings are part of a reciprocal process by which they become adopted and institutionalised over time (Silbey, 2009). The following section will examine how rights consciousness can be a foundation for legal mobilisation, which disabled people have historically engaged with to initiate political and social change. It will also explore the role of disability art to enable progress to this end.

3. Legal Framework for the Protection of Rights of Disabled People

Legal mobilisation, by which is meant the invocation of legal norms to influence policy, behaviour or to assert rights (Vanhala, 2018; Zemans, 1983), is a crucial step towards the fulfilment of rights for disabled people. Fundamentally, legal mobilisation is premised upon 'the idea that law has the potential to be an effective instrument for political and social change' (Vanhala, 2010, p.6; see also Manfredi, 2004). Examples identified by Vanhala (2010) include advancing rights consciousness within particular social groups or the public, lobbying for law reform and advocating for greater access to justice.

The context in which legal mobilisation takes place is important. Barriers to justice for disabled people can hinder the impact of the engagement and rights consciousness which legal mobilisation requires. There are four overarching barriers to justice for disabled people: societal, legal, financial, and accessibility barriers (Beqiraj et al., 2017; Human Rights Council, 2017). Societal dehumanisation of disabled people encourages discriminatory attitudes which create *de facto* barriers to the justice system, including prejudice from the police or legal counsel (Beqiraj et al., 2017).⁷ Legal barriers may constitute limited access to legal information and understanding of rights, which can be compounded through social segregation and information in inaccessible formats (ibid).⁸ Other legal issues include the presumption of innocence with regards to disabled people (Human Rights Council, 2017). Given the disproportionate numbers of disabled households in poverty,⁹ disabled people often encounter financial barriers which prevent them from pursuing legal justice, exacerbated by a lack of suitable legal aid (Beqiraj et al., 2017; Human Rights Council, 2017). Accessibility barriers include the physical inaccessibility of buildings in which law is practiced and a lack of reasonable accommodations in courtrooms (Human Rights Council, 2017).

The challenges posed by these barriers are numerous and significant. However, the historic involvement of disabled activists and scholars in legal mobilisation demonstrates the role of the human rights defender in making progress towards justice in this context. The reciprocal relationship between the law, social movements and defenders is demonstrated by the disability rights protests which took place in the 1990s.¹⁰ At that time, discrimination on grounds of disability was not illegal: 'We were the only group of people

⁷ Article 13(2) of the CRPD (2006) requires States to ensure appropriate training for professionals involved in the legal system.

⁸ Beqiraj et al. (2017) specify that CRPD article 13 on access to justice, article 9 on accessibility and article 5(3) on reasonable accommodation should be read together in order to address issues arising from legal barriers to access to justice.

⁹ 30 percent of households with a disabled family member live in poverty, compared to 19 percent with no disabled family members (DWP, 2020).

¹⁰ Protests were sparked in response to patronising and objectifying images of disabled people broadcast during an ITV fundraising Telethon. See Rose, 2015.

in Britain who still had no basic rights in law,' one campaigner explains (in Ryan, 2015). The Disability Discrimination Act 1995 (DDA) was born from months of civil unrest by disabled activists who engaged in legal mobilisation to the effect of furthering disability rights consciousness and recognition under the law.¹¹

The redefinition of disability under the social model can be interpreted as another example of legal mobilisation by disabled human rights defenders. Social and affirmative model principles require a rearticulation of human rights in consideration of the disability-specific barriers which prevent equal access to rights. The CRPD (2006) significantly developed and, in some areas, reimaged human rights for disabled people in light of these principles. An analysis of the contemporary international human rights regime, and the UK's adherence to it, is helpful in order to comprehend the impact of the CRPD and the extent to which disabled people in the UK have access to and enjoyment of their rights.

3.1 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1966)

Although the ICESCR lacks a provision specific to disabled people, the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) has interpreted the Covenant with a view to improving disabled people's enjoyment of its provisions (CESCR, 1994). In General Comment No. 5, the Committee identifies obligations upon States to ensure the protection of disabled people's rights. Accessibility is a common thread: rights cannot be enjoyed, and therefore States cannot fulfil their obligations, if the access requirements of disabled people are not met (ibid).¹²

The UK's latest periodic reporting cycle under CESCR raised serious concerns regarding disabled people. Civil society argued that welfare reforms have excluded disabled people from rights to social security and an adequate standard of living by reducing benefits and forcing many to live in institutions (Sisters of Frida, 2016). It was highlighted that Universal Credit may constitute regressive measures contradictory to article 2(1) (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2017).¹³ Other critical areas included insufficient provision of healthcare services and funding which affects the right to the highest attainable standard of health (ibid).

A principal concern identified by the Committee in response to these submissions was the lack of justiciability of Covenant rights in the UK (CESCR, 2016). Due to the UK's dualist system, international law is not directly applicable at the domestic level and access to legal remedies may be limited.¹⁴ Lack of justiciability is a grave issue considering the 'disproportionate, adverse impact' of austerity measures on marginalised groups (CESCR, 2016, p.4).¹⁵ The limited capacity of disabled people to hold the State accountable may therefore compound existing barriers to accessing justice.

¹¹ Many disabled people felt that the DDA was inadequate in its protection of disabled people's rights. Aaron Williamson created a satirical performance piece in 2017 in which he sang the legalese of the DDA as a busker on the street in Folkestone (see Williamson, 2017). The DDA was replaced by the Equality Act 2010.

¹² For example, the right to the highest attainable standard of health is framed in terms of accessibility: article 12 'implies the right to have access to, and to benefit from, those medical and social services ... which enable persons with disabilities to become independent, prevent further disabilities and support their social integration' (CESCR, 1994, 34). Access to this right is seen as a prerequisite for enjoyment of other rights and freedoms, and much of General Comment No. 5 is framed similarly (CESCR, 1994). Other General Comments provide further guidance. For example, to implement article 12, States should ensure that public health facilities are *available, of an acceptable standard, good quality, and accessible to everyone without discrimination* (CESCR, 2000). There entails four further components of *accessibility*: non-discrimination, information, physical and economic accessibility (ibid). Other General Comments expand the concept of accessibility according to the requirements of a given right, such as General Comment No. 19 on the right to social security (CESCR, 2008).

¹³ Article 2(1) ICESCR establishes the standard of progressive realisation of economic, social and cultural rights.

¹⁴ Dualist systems require the translation of international law into domestic legislation, unlike monist systems into which international law is automatically incorporated. For further discussion on the UK's dualist system, see Fitzpatrick, 1999.

¹⁵ For example, the Committee (2016) noted that unemployment was disproportionately affecting disabled people; cuts to social benefits and entitlements were impacting upon disabled people's enjoyment of rights to social security and an adequate standard of living; and that disabled people were particularly affected by or at increased risk of poverty.

3.2 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966)

Among the rights enshrined in the ICCPR are associational and political rights, which are particularly significant for human rights defenders.¹⁶ Disabled people's freedom to exercise these rights in the UK is threatened by a myriad of social forces, particularly inaccessibility. Crow describes the impact this had on the disability rights movement in the 1980s:

[We] couldn't find a public building to meet in. Coming together is particularly profound for disabled people because we've either been physically segregated, or we've been physically kept apart. Once you realise that you need to start coming together and building a community, there's no place you can physically meet ... so how do you actually get a movement going? (2018)

Disabled defenders in the UK and elsewhere have made historic progress towards equality by exercising their right to peaceful assembly. The Human Rights Committee (HRC, 1996) recognises that the right to participate in public affairs can give rise to claims under the first Optional Protocol, which has been used to create jurisprudence on disability rights. The HRC has also affirmed disability-related obligations with regards to this right (ibid).

Principal concerns raised by the HRC (2015) during the UK's most recent completed reporting cycle under the ICCPR included the first Optional Protocol, which the UK has not signed, and the lack of direct applicability of Covenant rights in domestic legislation. The Committee has received numerous civil society submissions for the UK's ongoing 2020 reporting cycle, which highlight issues including the impact of court reforms on disabled people's access to justice, abuse of disabled people in care homes, and the disproportionate impact of detention under the Mental Health Act on Black disabled people (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2020; D4D, 2020; Mind, 2020).

3.3 European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (ECHR, 1950)

The ECHR has typically been regarded as 'illusory and hypothetical' in the lives of disabled people (Clements and Read, 2003, xiii). Jurisprudence on disability has historically been 'underdeveloped and quite backwards,' and the focus on negative obligations is often unsuitable for disability rights (anonymous human rights lawyer, 2018).¹⁷ One former member of the European Court of Human Rights believes that the Court is hesitant to draw positive obligations relating to disability rights and cites States' economic limitations as the reason (Loucaides, 2007). For the most part, the Court remains reluctant to set precedent on disability rights (ibid), an issue somewhat compounded by its use of the margin of appreciation.¹⁸ A significant area of litigation in this realm is persuading the Court to incorporate elements of the CRPD into its judgments (human rights lawyer, 2018). It is hoped that this would encourage the Court to consider positive obligations with regard to disabled people's rights.¹⁹

¹⁶ Degener (2002) categorises civil and political rights into rights of human existence, liberty rights, associational rights and political rights.

¹⁷ For example, Protocol 1 to the ECHR (1954) derives only a negative obligation for States to respect the right to education through non-interference. In comparison, the CRPD (2006) derives from the same right numerous positive obligations including reasonable accommodation and specialist support (see article 24).

¹⁸ For example, the Court has avoided using article 8 on private and family life to oblige States to create a physically accessible environment for wheelchair users (Botta v. Italy, 1998; Zehnalová and Zehnal v. the Czech Republic, 2002).

¹⁹ N. v. Romania (2017) was among the first cases to find an obligation to provide community-based services under the ECHR.

3.4 The Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD, 2006)

The CRPD was adopted after years of campaigning from disability rights activists and was the legally binding culmination of the UN's soft law instruments on disability (Sabatello, 2014; see UNGA, 1975, 1981, 1982, 1984, 1994). The CRPD is unique in that it produces direct obligations for States parties towards disabled people.²⁰

It is helpful to examine the CRPD's interpretation of disability in light of the social model and the affirmative model. CRPD Chairperson Degener explains that while the social model served as a 'philosophical basis' (2017, p.33), the Convention employs a human rights-based approach which values impairment as part of human diversity (evident in the wording of article 3).²¹ The CRPD simultaneously acknowledges impairment-related needs,²² promotes the 'inherent dignity' of disabled people by right,²³ and obliges States to reduce external barriers to accessibility.²⁴ In many ways, it enshrines into law the essence of the affirmative model, which

does not involve a denial of the sometimes painful aspects of impairment, but neither does it regard these as marks of inferiority. ... [it] establishes the rights of people with impairments to be recognised and valued as who they are (Cameron, 2010, p.256).

The rights in the CRPD appear to reflect aspects of the multi-faceted disabled identity, understood by Oliver (2009) to comprise having an impairment, experiencing external barriers and self-identification as a disabled person. The CRPD also asserts that not only should the complexity of the disabled experience be recognised in States parties' obligations, but it should be valued as a distinguishing and unique element of human diversity.

The UK was the first State party into which the Committee conducted a formal inquiry (UNCRPD, 2017). It concluded that there had been grave and systematic violations of disabled people's rights in three principle areas: the right to live independently and be included in the community, the right to an adequate standard of living and social protection, and the right to work and employment (ibid). The Committee drew particular attention to welfare reforms which began in 2012.²⁵ It also highlighted that the restriction of legal aid to challenge decisions regarding benefits negatively affects disabled people and recommended that the State provide legal support for those seeking to redress rights violations (ibid).

Furthermore, the inquiry highlighted that disabled people were more commonly perceived as recipients of support than rights-holders, reflected in the lack of consideration of disabled people's views during consultations for welfare reforms. It was found that the Care Act 2014 neglects the autonomy, control and choice of disabled people, which are intrinsic to the right to live independently and be included in the community. Assessments for benefits entitlement failed to consider the adjustments which would enable a disabled person to perform at work. Assessors for Employment and Support Allowance displayed a 'persisting lack of awareness and limited knowledge of disability rights' (2017, 103). In consultations for welfare reforms, it was predicted that a large number of disabled people would be negatively impacted and yet this was disregarded (ibid).

²⁰ The CRPD reflects a shift in the human rights paradigm, which was instigated with the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (UNGA, 1993). See also Harpur, 2012 and Sabatello, 2014. The Declaration laid the groundwork for the participation of disabled people's organisations (DPOs) in CRPD negotiations (Lord and Stein, 2008; Leibowitz, 2014). The paradigm shift can be seen in the obligations upon States to include and consult DPOs in the implementation and monitoring of the CRPD (arts. 29, 32, 33, 34).

²¹ The principles of the Convention include: 'Respect for difference and acceptance of persons with disabilities as part of human diversity and humanity' (CRPD, 2017).

²² The Preamble recognises the diversity of impairment experience, acknowledging the heightened need to protect the rights of those who require intensive support.

²³ See article 1, CRPD.

²⁴ See article 9, CRPD on Accessibility.

²⁵ The Welfare Reform Act 2012 introduced Personal Independence Payments to replace Disability Living Allowance, Universal Credit for working-age claimants, a benefit cap, the spare room tax and more. The inquiry found that as part of these reforms, disabled people have often been portrayed as fraudulent and a burden to society, resulting in increasing hostility towards them. Despite this, there was no evidence to support allegations of benefit fraud (UNCRPD, 2017).

In response to these findings, the UK government claimed that it was proud of its record in supporting disabled people and that its practices fulfil CRPD obligations (United Kingdom Government, 2017). It disputed all of the Committee's findings and recommendations. While the adoption of the CRPD is a further indication of successful legal mobilisation by disabled defenders, the lack of meaningful engagement from the State begs the question to what extent the CRPD offers genuine protection to disabled people.

In light of these observations, the following section will offer an analysis of how disability art may address certain rights violations and advance the social and political context in which disabled people live.

4. Rights consciousness and awareness raising

It has been demonstrated that the recognition of collective sensibility among disabled people can help counter isolation and marginalisation. Based on the research findings below, this section proposes that the potential for disability art to engage disabled people with their rights forms part of a process whereby the wider consciousness of society may also be enhanced and expanded. The reciprocity of legal consciousness means that mobilisation of disability rights can influence the meaning-making and institutionalisation of these rights over time. The role of the disabled artist in this process may be that of a human rights defender who, through advocacy and education, mobilises public awareness to the effect of furthering access to and enjoyment of human rights for disabled people. The artists interviewed for this project interacted with their audience's awareness of disability rights in diverse ways. For some, there was a personal 'moral imperative' to improve 'the social conditions under which people with impairments are expected to live' (anonymous, 2018). The artist aims to 'remind the audience of their complicity' in the structures which perpetuate disability and considers that 'growth is only going to come through challenging people, making them uncomfortable.'

This approach may be a practical example of what Cameron (2010) contends is the most effective way to secure lasting equality for disabled people. Drawing upon Markell (2003), he argues that social justice premised solely upon mainstream recognition of the disabled identity is limited. Furthermore, if disabled people seek only equality with non-disabled people, 'injustice will not be addressed but merely reproduced in a slightly different form' (2010, p.31). As he explains, 'Disability is the ontological price paid by people with impairments for the relative security and comfort of people able to occupy the normate position' (ibid, p.33).²⁶ Therefore a more meaningful approach may lie 'not in the non-disabled changing their attitudes towards disabled people, but in addressing their own understanding of themselves' (ibid, p.31). The work of the aforementioned artist may speak to this effort by 'shining the spotlight on [the audience] and their behaviour' (anonymous, 2018).

Other artists navigated similar territory with different methods. Cunningham (2018) acknowledges that 'part of the joy of art' is about 'trying to find ways to allow people to meet the work as individuals.' She therefore creates space for a non-disabled audience to find personal meaning and connections

²⁶ The 'normate' is a term coined by Rosemarie Garland-Thomson to describe 'the constructed identity of those who, by way of the bodily configurations and cultural capital they assume, can step into a position of authority and wield the power it grants them' (1997, p.8).

with the work. Crow (2018) echoes this approach, recognising that 'people come to [the work] in all sorts of ways.' She consciously departs from more traditional activism in which 'the urge is to tell people what to think,' and instead 'aims to work *with* the people that I'm trying to influence.' *Resistance on the Plinth* (2011) saw her ascend to a plinth in Trafalgar Square dressed in Nazi uniform as part of a project to commemorate the disabled people killed in Aktion T4.²⁷ In response, a discussion erupted on Twitter: 'What was so exciting,' Crow explains, was that 'people created the answers for themselves.' She emphasises why this is necessary:

... if somebody goes through that process, then the answer they reach is inside them. It's not superficial knowledge anymore; it's actually embedded, so the message they take away is much deeper and it carries on doing its work after the performance itself is over (2018).

Thus, art may be a means to impact non-disabled people by working with them and including their responses as valued aspects of the work. Visual artist Aidan Moesby uses this idea to help his audiences better understand their own position in relation to disability. He describes his work as 'a catalyst for conversations' in which he uses weather as a metaphor to initiate discussion of wellbeing and mental health (2018). Pieces such as *Between Stillness and Storm* (2017a), which repurposes weather-sensing equipment in outdoor art installations, intend to spark conversations as a 'gateway drug' or 'catalyst to action' against the stigma surrounding mental health and disability. The visual metaphors 'allow people to make connections for themselves,' while encouraging them 'to slow down, engage and listen' (Moesby, 2018). As he explains: 'The art piece is a beginning ... the real work occurs when conversations take place, when they're in public arenas.' Audience recognition that mental health is a shared, universal trait, alongside the facilitation of conversation and awareness through art, may enable a non-disabled audience to address their understanding of disability as well as their own understanding of themselves (Cameron, 2010).

Williamson toys with audience expectations and uses their reactions as a fundamental part of his work. He uses satire to see 'how far you can plumb the depths of people's credulity once disability is part of the mix' (2018). *Assisted Passage (Disabled Avant Garde, 2007)* was a social experiment with artist Katherine Araniello, in which she sat in her wheelchair alongside a street petition which asked the public to support her mission to undergo assisted suicide - 'people were quite happy to sign,' explains Williamson, and 37 of them did without debate or question. *Inspiration Archives* (2019) was an exhibition which satirises the public's expectations of disabled people by celebrating a series of fictional disabled artists. It comments on the 'historic contribution that we've been allowed to make to society' by encouraging the audience to believe in the depth of disability history - when in reality, 'it's all fake.' Williamson explains why satire is an effective tool: 'when the proverbial penny drops, it's that moment of clarity; the mirror turns round in front of you.' He intends not to expose a 'personal, individual slight,' rather to demonstrate to the audience their own role within wider social mechanisms. It can be argued that in doing so, Williamson disrupts the 'relative security and comfort of people able to occupy the normate

²⁷ Aktion T4 was a clandestine Nazi euthanasia programme which murdered around 270,000 disabled adults and children. See Bryant, 2005.

position,' thus encouraging them to re-examine their own position in relation to disability (Cameron, 2010, p.31).

McGowan's poetry is not expressly political, but she too hopes for a 'penny-drop' moment; for example, a poem about a one-night stand 'never explicitly says look, disabled people have sex! But if all of a sudden, that occurs to [the reader], then that is a successful poem' (2018). As another interviewee explained, art that works with its audience to 'ask people to take a look at themselves' and expose 'the limitations of one's own perspective' (anonymous, 2018) enables the knowledge acquired through the experience of the piece to become embedded within one's consciousness. Thus, its ability to encourage the audience to question their understanding of themselves may continue long after the duration of the work (Crow, 2018).

5. The artist as human rights defender: Conclusion

Legal mobilisation can be initiated with the affirmation of entitlement to rights as a disabled person and the formation of a disability community. It has been seen that disability art can be a foundational gateway to such affirmation by negotiating positive identity politics and facilitating collective sensibility. Vanhala notes that community has provided 'an important normative foundation where rights legislation and its enforcement became the primary goal of addressing the issues of disabled persons' (2010, p.199). Although some disability art may not embrace the goal of rights legislation, non-political art can too contribute to raising social consciousness regarding disability rights and ultimately influence the social context in which disability is maintained. The work of disability artists to engage their audiences with deconstructing ideas of themselves as well as their ideas of disability can contribute to influencing social consciousness around disability rights issues. It is by these means that disability artists should be recognised as human rights defenders.

A return to Engel and Munger's study highlights the reciprocity between social context and law or policy: 'Law is one of the elements that constitute the categories and routines of everyday life; and, in turn, these very categories and routines – and the individuals who participate in them – give form and meaning to the law' (2003, p.11). Legal consciousness therefore not only explains how actors interpret the law, but also establishes that the meanings ascribed by actors to their world through engagement with law are correlative with their gradual adoption and institutionalisation (Silbey, 2009). Thus, individuals can 'give form and meaning to the law' which becomes 'part of the material and discursive systems that limit and constrain future meaning making.' (Engel and Munger, 2003, p.11; Ewick and Silbey, 1998, p.34). Mainstream consciousness of disability rights can therefore influence the deconstruction of the social forces which perpetuate disability and which can, in turn, improve enjoyment of human rights by disabled people. However, the success of the disabled people's movement to

achieve this is almost impossible to measure; 'very little activism has a direct effect,' Crow (2018) points out, 'Society is a very complex structure in which change happens in increments, through influence and pressure.'

The capacity to mobilise rights also depends on access to justice. As has been discussed, disabled people in the UK may struggle to achieve justice due to a plethora of barriers, both structural and social. However, Vanhala (2010) believes that UK courts have begun a tangible shift towards a rights-based framework of disability law. For example, in June 2018, the first legal challenge against Universal Credit found that the UK government had unlawfully discriminated against two disabled men under article 14 of the ECHR read with article 1 of the First Protocol to the ECHR.²⁸

Reflections and future implications

i. Arts industry

A number of interviewees highlighted ways in which the arts environment could be improved in order to facilitate disability art. Accessibility was a significant issue. Moesby (2018) explained how the way that opportunities in the mainstream art world are constructed often render them inaccessible for disabled artists. Residencies may fail to consider reasonable accommodations, such as suitable timelines for those needing disability-related time off, which can perpetuate the idea that 'disabled people don't deliver' (Moesby, 2018). Additionally, the mainstream curatorial environment is too often 'exclusive, elevated' and unapproachable for disabled artists, who are 'invisible' in the conversations which take place between the artist, the audience and the institution (ibid). Another interviewee spoke about the inaccessibility of the funding process, particularly for those with learning disabilities, describing the Arts Council's online system as 'impenetrable' (anonymous artist, 2018).

Accessibility in the art world often revolves around disabled people's perceived worth. As an artist who originally existed in the mainstream and subsequently became vocal about mental health, Moesby found that 'the phone stopped ringing and I wouldn't get so many jobs. ... Once you're out, you can't go back in' (2018). The marginalisation of disabled artists results in the so-called 'ghettoisation' of disability arts (see Williamson, 2011), compounded by what Williamson identifies as a lack of critical rigour towards the work and the prevalence of 'Boswell's Dog Syndrome.'²⁹ Access to higher education was also highlighted as a problem by numerous interviewees, who emphasised this as a crucial means to continue the disability arts movement.

ii. Implications for legal practice

Clearly, a disabled artist's role in the process of legal mobilisation can only extend so far. It is crucial that their efforts are supported and strengthened by the legal practice, which has a key part to play in the mobilisation of disability rights. In addition to facilitating strategic or test case litigation, there are a number of ways in which the legal practice can address discrimination against disabled people and barriers to accessing justice. Some of those identified by Beqiraj et al. (2017) are repeated here:

- Advocating for disabled people's rights to form a core principle of any policies which are driven by austerity measures. This may involve improved collection of data to inform policy reform;

²⁸ R (TP and AR) and Secretary of State for Work and Pensions (2018)

²⁹ The Boswell's Dog Syndrome analogy is used in this context to describe how some disability art is perceived similarly to 'a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all' (Boswell, 1960, p.327). Williamson (2018) uses this expression to explain how some disability art, as well as elements of the Paralympic Games, adopt traditions which were designed for exclusively non-disabled participation and thus continue to perpetuate ableist practices or frameworks without attempting to invent new ones.

- Integrating psychological analysis into legal research and practice, including specialised training of judges, lawyers and law enforcement;
- Creating a more coherent statutory code of practice regarding treatment of and communication with disabled people during judicial proceedings;
- Utilising appropriate technology to enhance inclusion of disabled people in the justice system (Beqiraj et al, 2017, pp.6-7)

iii. Future research

Others have criticised disability studies for its lack of diversity and inclusiveness, an issue which is prevalent in this research (Shakespeare, 2013). It is crucial that the voices of disabled people of colour are at the forefront of work which aims to address the marginalisation and discrimination against disabled people.

A suggested area for future research involves the impact of discrimination and/or austerity measures on the capacity of disabled human rights defenders, particularly concerning issues such as individual wellbeing and livelihood.

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