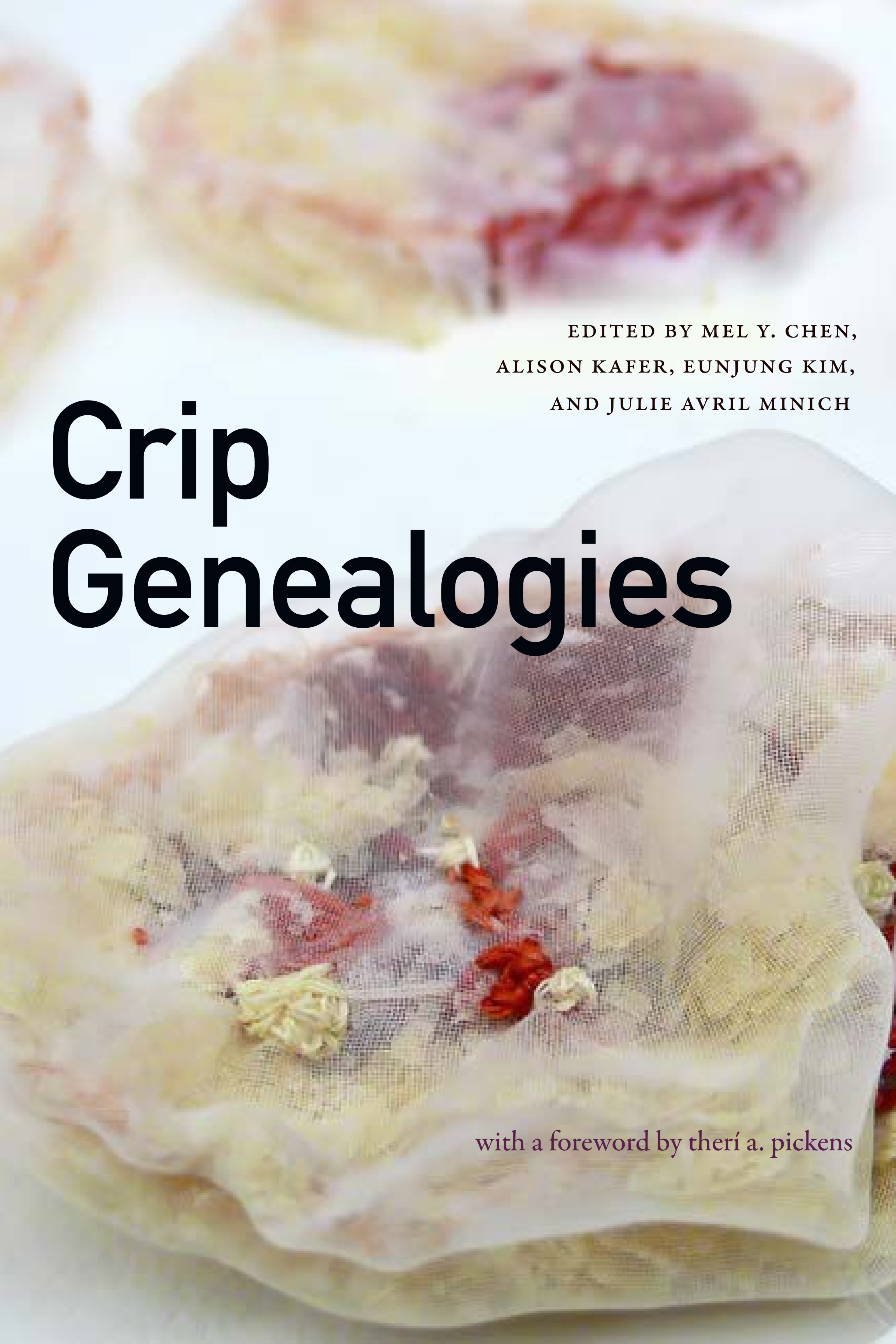

EDITED BY MEL Y. CHEN,
ALISON KAFER, EUNJUNG KIM,
AND JULIE AVRIL MINICH

Crip Genealogies

with a foreword by therí a. pickens

CRIP GENEALOGIES

ANIMA: Critical Race Studies Otherwise
A series edited by Mel Y. Chen, Ezekiel J. Dixon-Román, and Jasbir K. Puar

Duke University Press Durham and London 2023

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Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper ∞
Typeset in Garamond Premier Pro and Din by Westchester Publishing Services

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Names: Chen, Mel Y., [date] editor. | Kafer, Alison, editor. | Kim, Eunjung, [date] editor. | Minich, Julie Avril, [date] editor. | Pickens, Therí A., writer of foreword.
Title: Crip genealogies / edited by Mel Y. Chen, Alison Kafer, Eunjung Kim, and Julie Avril Minich ; with a foreword by Therí A. Pickens.
Other titles: ANIMA (Duke University Press)
Description: Durham : Duke University Press, 2023. | Series: Anima | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2022040977 (print)
LCCN 2022040978 (ebook)
ISBN 9781478019220 (paperback)
ISBN 9781478016588 (hardcover)
ISBN 9781478023852 (ebook)
ISBN 9781478093725 (ebook/other)
Subjects: LCSH: Disability studies. | Critical pedagogy. | Feminist criticism. | People with disabilities—Political activity. | People with disabilities in literature. | BISAC: SOCIAL SCIENCE / People with Disabilities | SOCIAL SCIENCE / Ethnic Studies / General
Classification: LCC HV1568.2 .C75 2023 (print) | LCC HV1568.2 (ebook) | DDC 362.4—dc23/eng/20230106
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022040977
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2022040978

COVER ART: Sandie Chun-Shan Yi, *Skinny*, 2014. Human skin flakes, silk organza, sewing thread, embroidery thread, and lotion. Made in collaboration with Rahnee Patrick. Courtesy of the artist.

Open access of this book was made possible by the support of the University of Texas at Austin, the University of California, Berkeley, and the College of Arts and Sciences at Syracuse University.

For Christopher M. Bell and Stacey Park Milbern

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Acknowledgments

This project has been nourished by the words and the work of too many people to name here, and we are grateful to all of them. We wish to recognize, in particular, Courtney Berger and Sandra Korn at Duke University Press, who believed in this project and also kept us accountable. We are deeply grateful to all of our contributors for trusting us with their work and believing in this project. We thank Therí A. Pickens and two anonymous readers for their labor of reviewing this manuscript during the pandemic and providing thoughtful suggestions and support. Finally, we send much love to our families.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COVER: The image on the cover is a detail of Sandie Chun-shan Yi's artwork titled *Skinny* (2014–2019), made in collaboration with Rahnee Patrick. The color photograph consists of a close-up view of two small sacs made with silk organza resting on a white background. One sac takes up the lower half of the image while the other sac appears to float above it. Both sacs contain pieces of human skin flakes and have clusters of embroidery stitches in dark red and ivory colors. The book title, *Crip Genealogies*, sits in between the sacs. The editors' names—Mel Y. Chen, Alison Kafer, Eunjung Kim, and Julie Avril Minich—appear in smaller font and in all capital letters above the book title, to the right. The bottom right corner features the text "with a foreword by therí a. pickens" in lowercase letters.

Foreword

When Being Reader #1 Is Awesome

THERÍ A. PICKENS

Sometimes being reader #1 is awesome. Reading this manuscript was one of those times. I received the call for papers (CFP) for *Crip Genealogies* in December 2016. At the time, I was working on what would become *Black Madness :: Mad Blackness*. I was also at the beginning of a prolonged crisis with myasthenia gravis that, when it was done, had resulted in the following: five hospital stays longer than three weeks, including a stint in a nursing home and rehabilitation center; six other hospital stays for recurring pancreatitis; three emergency surgeries and one preplanned surgery; several rounds of chemotherapy; and innumerable doctors' appointments. And that was just my medical life.

I disclose this information because I write in the tradition of Black feminists who believe my specific location influences my analysis. It matters that I am disabled and Black and woman and more. I also believe Anna Julia Cooper: to paraphrase, when and where I enter, others enter as well. In this case, I enter where the ramp is, usually at the back or on the side of a building, if it is there at all.

The editors of this volume (authors and luminaries each in their own right) understood the necessity of a collection that perturbs readers interested in the history of what the American academy calls "disability studies." Their call for papers read, "In this anthology, we want to push back against the expectation of a coherent narrative of disability studies, one without contradictions, and its limited and limiting approach to race. In its place, we want stories of a disability studies very much entwined with, and indebted to, the fields of feminist studies, queer studies, postcolonial studies, and race and ethnic studies. We want to think through alternative intellectual histories and genealogies. We suggest that offering critical genealogies, ones that recognize critical race theorists' and theory's contributions to disability studies, counters hegemonic genealogies and in so doing remakes the field."

Returning to the discipline (!) of English, I offer comments on form and function. Chen, Kafer, Kim, and Minich knew that this type of inquiry required a collection. You need a cacophony of voices to have this conversation, and an edited volume does the trick. Further, this type of inquiry—a usefully cranky one—pushes against the possibility of cohesion because it asks readers and writers to deliberately consider the places where the narrative refuses cohesion. In Matthew Salesses's work in *Craft in the Real World*, the accepted stories of a culture rely on forms of erasure. Salesses opines, "Any story relies on negative space, and a tradition relies on the negative space of history. . . . Some readers are asked to stay always, only, in the negative. To wield craft responsibly is to take responsibility for absence" (19). These editors asked, who is left out of a field that champions itself as the most marginalized? They curated the essays you now hold, which fill in the gaps and retell the dominant and, heretofore accepted, narratives about disability the world over. I would be remiss if I did not add that their introduction defies the formal expectations of an introduction by asking questions, being transparent, and opening up conversations rather than foreclosing them through forced cohesion.

When I received the first iteration of *Crip Genealogies*, I was thrilled to be reader #1. For those who are unfamiliar, publishers typically choose two experts in the field to read a manuscript and approve it or decline it for eventual publication. The running joke is that reader #2 tends to be the most irritable. I have no idea whether this is true for this volume, but I will say that irritability is rather a standard state for many academics. In my case, I felt negatively implicated by the reading—*Why had I not considered the issues raised here? What the hell was I doing, such that I could not answer the CFP?*—but also buoyed and represented by it. This emotional mélange of need and chagrin made music as it shivered up my spine.

In 2009, I saw Christopher Bell for the last time at the Rocky Mountain MLA conference in Snowbird, Utah. Michelle Jarman and I spoke with him about disability over sandwiches. We each had our own misgivings about the field: it did not feel wide enough for the people we were most interested in honoring. Characteristically, Chris abruptly ended the conversation and pushed Michelle and me into a picture. Now, when I see our faces smirking from the photo, I can only envision Mel Chen, Alison Kafer, Eunjung Kim, and Julie Avril Minich in the frame with us, Chris and other crip ancestors behind the lens, a different SOS, come in, wherever you are, urgent, calling you, calling all of us, come in, y'all, come on in.

INTRODUCTION

Crip Genealogies

MEL Y. CHEN, ALISON KAFER, EUNJUNG KIM,
AND JULIE AVRIL MINICH

We open with a feeling of welcome and generosity, eager for the company of others.

This book is for those of you

who have had your hearts broken after years of engaging with disability studies;
who keep returning to disability studies, even with a broken heart, even though it sometimes leaves you sharply wanting and exhausted;
who have wanted to engage with disability studies but haven't felt welcomed or supported in doing so;
who have left disability studies (but are still hopeful for the possibility of return);
who have dismissed disability studies altogether, assuming it is only white disability studies, or Western/Northern disability studies, or disability with a capital "D";
who seek affirmation that anti-ableist and antiracist theorizing is not separate and can coexist;
who are committed to finding knowledge away from traditional academic routes;
who labor in academic institutions and are committed to finding ways to make them livable;
who yearn for an opening that welcomes your presence in all of these endeavors;
and who seek company and crip camaraderie in doing so.

This book is our incomplete offering and our invitation.

Sticky Note: This introduction is much longer than is typical for a book like this. We have divided our introduction into mini-chapters for ease of reading, and we invite you to read in whatever way is accessible for you. Read out of order, pick and choose the sections you need now, go at your own pace.

—Crip Feelings
—Metaphors of Genealogies, Genealogies of Metaphors
—Methodically Crip: More Crip Feelings
—White Disability Studies and Access Exceptionalism
—Transnational Disability Studies

At the end of the introduction, we have included a brief overview of the book as well as some concluding thoughts.

The four of us—Alison, Eunjung, Julie, and Mel—first came together around shared feelings: a wish for histories and recognitions to be held differently; a love for movements and orientations seldom recognized as part of disability studies; a commitment to *crip* as a form of praxis; and a belief in the transformative possibilities of knowledge, regardless of whether it is part of an academically recognized field or discipline. All of these feelings inform what follows, including the decision to begin this introduction with a focus on *crip*—the word, its histories, and our shifting orientations to it—less a genealogy of crip than a mapping of its movement into, through, and against the academy (and us).

Crip Feelings

I love hearing this word, *crip*, come out of your mouths, in reference to us.

I'm writing about *crip* but feelings come in.

The praxis of crip is about being in relation to each other in such a way that risks a falling out with disability studies. In naming this anthology, we used the word "crip" instead of "disability studies" to signal our investment in disrupting the established histories and imagined futures of the field. If *crip* indexes a wide range of positions, orientations, subjects, and acts, not all of them academic, then *disability studies* hews more closely to notions of academic discipline. In the spirit of honoring more complex genealogies, we wanted to keep questions of institutionality and disciplinarity afloat.

Due in part to its distance from diagnosis and legal recognition, the term *crip* has the potential to remain open, allowing for disabilities and illnesses not yet marked as such; for traumas, health histories, and other “unwellness” that rarely register as “disability”; for nonnormative ways of being that have historical and contemporary resonances with “disability”; and for political orientations, affiliations, and solidarities still emerging.[1] *Crip* is less tethered to the structures of academia than *disability studies*, not yet defined or contained within university governance structures or funding cycles, and, unlike *disability*, it has not yet been incorporated into bureaucratic mechanisms of “inclusion” or “accommodation.” *Crip* instead can signal a refusal of social and bureaucratized systems of classification, and *crip theory* and *crip politics* tend to recognize the limitations and exclusions of rights-based claims on the state. As Aimi Hamraie reminds us, the goal of those kinds of initiatives, such as the Americans with Disabilities Act, “was not to foster crip culture but to reintegrate disabled [white] men into the realms of productive labor and consumption,” fostering “inclusion in exchange for contributions toward national productivity.”[2]

I was recently asked to weigh in on the disability language in a draft “Diversity and Inclusion Statement” at my university: “The university is dedicated to attracting highly qualified students, faculty and staff, of all races, ethnicities, peoples, nationalities, religious backgrounds, sexual orientations, gender identities/expressions, socioeconomic statuses, and regardless of disability, marital, parental, age, or veteran status.”

“Thank you for asking,” I responded, and then suggested that “moving ‘disability’ before the ‘regardless’ would send a stronger and more affirming message. In the current version, disability and disabled people might register more as something/someone that we are willing to tolerate but aren’t especially interested in attracting. Moving ‘disability’ to the list with ‘races, ethnicities’ also makes room for an acknowledgment of ableism in ways that the ‘regardless’ phrase does not. Adding ‘health’ is important, too, especially given the current state of things. So it could read something like: ‘The university is dedicated to attracting highly qualified students, faculty and staff, of all races, ethnicities, peoples, °nationalities, religious backgrounds, sexual orientations, gender identities/expressions, socioeconomic statuses, disabilities and health histories, and regardless of marital, parental, age, or veteran status.’”

But the committee pushed back. If they agreed to move "disability" out of the list of things that the university will accept ("regardless of") and into the list of things the university wants to attract ("all races, ethnicities, sexual orientations"), then they wanted to replace "disabilities" with "abilities."

Note that the institution was fine with the language of disability when it came after "regardless," but once we moved from tolerance to desire, "disability" no longer worked. People "of all abilities" are welcome, but "disability" is not (well, people of "all" abilities are welcome as long as they are also "highly- qualified," which is another disavowal of disability). The rhetoric of "regardless of," common to antidiscrimination policies, builds on the presumption that each of the named conditions—disability, marital, parental, age, or veteran status—can only have a deleterious effect on one's performance, qualifications, and abilities. They can be accounted for—accommodated—but never desired.

Sticky Note: Throughout this introduction, we leave many stories, such as the one above, unattributed, although readers who know basic details about the four of us—like the names of the institutions where we work—might imagine that they know whose stories they are. In sharing these stories collectively, untethered to a particular person's experience or institution, we are accentuating the pervasiveness of these experiences, making clear their ongoing repetitiveness across multiple institutional locations.

Academia, ableist to its core, rejects *disability* in its love for *abilities* (read: merit, excellence, rigor, achievement, productivity, and so on), a preference so strong that disability is lost and, with it, sick and disabled people. Ableism dictates the very conditions under which diversity and inclusion are allowed into the university, with both increasingly framed and justified in terms of how they boost "performance" and increase "capacity." Disability is to be tamed through the expectation of "reasonable accommodations" as conceived within the narrow bounds of legislation like the ADA (Americans with Disabilities Act) and its amendments. The typical negative framing of disability—as aligned against, opposed to, and the absence of ability—reveals abledness as the liberal foundation of equality. But we also want to highlight how, as evidenced by the institution's quick recoil in the story above, *disability* is potentially no less radical than *crip*. If *crip* allows for expansiveness and openness, then *disability*'s force of negativity disavows any attachment to "abilities" and exceeds the limits of "reasonableness." It can and does disrupt, and has done so. We want these disruptions to continue.

Crip is not free of its own contradictions, and in choosing this term, we also commit to its ongoing examination. *Crip*'s political openness has long been complicated by its stronger association with mobility impairments than with chronic illnesses or mental and cognitive disabilities. As M. Remi Yergeau points out, "Crip histories largely elide the neurodivergent, privileging rhetors who are critically conversant and academically able, constructions that often silence those with cognitive disabilities."[3] Moreover, *crip* is a site of tension in its very refusal of rights and recognition, as it cannot capture or honor ways of engaging with disability that might include a demand for rights that have been denied. Some uses of *crip*—and some crips—are able to note the limitations of rights-based politics precisely because their critiques are issued from a position of legal security. For those whose documentable disabilities are accommodated within existing legal structures, or for those whose intersections of race, ethnicity, nationality, caste, gender conformity, and class position offer protection, challenging the limitations of rights-based policies might feel more possible because one's rights are not otherwise in jeopardy.

But other uses of *crip*–and other crips—situate themselves within a disability justice agenda that, in Jina B. Kim's words, "orients its politics around the most marginalized within disability communities," namely those "for whom legal rights are inaccessible."[4] As documented in *Skin, Tooth, and Bone: The Basis of Movement Is Our People*, a primer published by Bay Area (California, USA) arts organization Sins Invalid, the call for disability justice emerged out of frustration with the limitations of the mainstream disability rights movement. Building on prior and ongoing organizing by disabled people of color and/or queer and trans disabled people, activists developed a set of principles and practices for approaching disability organizing from a different center. Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha explains that the term *disability justice* was "coined by the Black, brown, queer, and trans members of the original Disability Justice Collective, founded in 2005 by Patty Berne, Mia Mingus, Leroy Moore, Eli Clare, and Sebastian Margaret."[5] While "disability justice work is largely done by individuals within their respective settings," groups such as Sins Invalid and the Disability Justice Collectives based in New York City, Seattle, and Vancouver have been and continue to be instrumental in shaping the movement.[6] The tenets of disability justice include challenging ableism as entangled with white supremacy, settler colonialism, racism, capitalism, and heteropatriarchy and emphasizing collectivity and solidarity in building sustainable movements for justice and liberation. Disability justice has pushed many progressive communities to challenge their own ableist assumptions about bodies, behaviors, and abilities, particularly insofar as they require productivity, speed, and efficiency in their activists. It also has pushed for disability studies and disability rights movements to abandon a single-issue approach to disability (one often centered only on particular physical disabilities) grounded in white liberal individualism. Such approaches, Sins Invalid explains, erase "the lives of disabled people of color, immigrants with disabilities, disabled people who practice marginalized religions (in particular those experiencing the violence of anti-Islamic beliefs and actions), queers with disabilities, trans and gender non-conforming people with disabilities, people with disabilities who are houseless, people with disabilities who are incarcerated, people with disabilities who have had their ancestral lands stolen, amongst others."[7] The leadership of queer and trans disabled people of color, disabled people of color, and queer and trans disabled people has been the consistent emphasis of disability justice theorizing and organizing.

Too often, however, mainstream white-majority disability organizations and those working in white disability studies have taken up the language of disability justice without actually transforming their leadership, frameworks, and agendas as would be required to address capitalism, racism, classism, heterosexism, and transphobia within disability communities or even to reckon with the exclusions and failures of rights-focused initiatives such as the ADA. Berne criticizes this trend of adding "the word 'justice' onto everything disability related—from disability services to advocacy to disability studies, . . . as if adding the word 'justice' brings work into alignment with disability justice. It doesn't."[8]

Mere citation does not accomplish it; neither does representational "coverage" as the measure of substantive engagement. Isolated moves to cite, publish, or invite-to-keynote more scholars of color, Indigenous scholars, or non-US-based scholars have not sufficiently dislodged a persistent white US/settler orientation in the field. Instead, such moves have resulted in a dynamic in which the same people are tasked with "representing," even as representation itself is substituted for meaningful reorientation. Prominent women of color with histories of disability and illness, such as Audre Lorde and Gloria Anzaldúa, are often cited in extractive and reductive ways, incorporating them into the bureaucratic and normative operations of disability rights/disability studies rather than fully engaging with the radical changes that their work and disability justice require.

Sticky Note: Our critique of reductive and extractive citational practices results in a challenge to the field that this volume, by itself, cannot fully answer. And our resistance to mere representation does not justify or excuse this volume's gaps, some of which we recognize and some of which we have yet to understand. While we hope that we are doing the work of reorientation—and making room for more important work to come—we nonetheless acknowledge this insufficiency.

One such change might be admitting the limits of exclusively defining *crip* as equivalent to *queer*.[9] While we continue to be moved by the frictions and reverberations between both terms, we also want to reaffirm the work of scholars and activists who have, both independently and collectively, worked to chart alternate genealogies for crip, not (only) via (white) queerness but through critical theories of race, ethnicity, and indigeneity, as well as Black feminism, Black music, and queer of color critique. Leroy Moore, of Sins Invalid and Krip-Hop Nation, aligns his use of the word *Krip* with Black music history: "We're also using it in a way that connects to history because there were a couple blues artists that named themselves 'Crippled.' So we're taking it, twisting it, and putting it back out there. . . . That's what I want to get out there: Dig deeper. Open your eyes and find out about black deaf history, black blind blues history. It's so rich."[10] For Moore, part of that richness is about linking disability culture and activism to histories of organizing for racial and economic justice, organizing that is less focused on making claims on the state. According to Jina B. Kim's formulation, a crip-of-color critique reveals how "the state, rather than protecting disabled people, in fact operates as an apparatus of racialized disablement, whether through criminalization and police brutality, or compromised public educational systems and welfare reform." Nirmala Erevelles makes similar moves, drawing on *crip* to interrogate the racist, ableist, and classist logics of the school-to-prison pipeline, as does Liat Ben-Moshe, who casts "crip/mad of color critique" as central to analyses of incarceration and decarceration. *Crip* in these formulations allows us, as Ben-Moshe puts it, to refuse "approaches that look at violence and discrimination as related to individual acts and instead focus, through an intersectional lens, on systemic issues and structural inequalities."[11]

Doing so might mean acknowledging another significant history of the term *crip*, namely its use in designating members of the gang/underground economic organization that first arose in Los Angeles. This connection is often dismissed as merely coincidental; yet Erevelles reminds us that the experiences of those who "becom[e] disabled as a result of gang violence and who are often also confined in incarcerated spaces like prisons" compel genealogical attention.[12] The possibilities, effects, costs, and implications of living with disabilities are deeply entangled with ongoing histories of racism, classism, disenfranchisement, violence, and geopolitics, suggesting that the link between Crips and *crip* is no mere coincidence. We do not want to repeat a sweep of *crip* that simply distances the word from the gang or acknowledges this history only to appropriate or romanticize it. Rather, we want to ensure that people whose lives have been most directly shaped by these histories—the development of gangs as well as social responses to them, both sites of potential violence—have a place in the investments of the field in their lived fullness: not as antagonists to *crip*, not as separable from *crip*, and not as mere metaphors for *crip*, because each of those moves renders affected lives and deaths tangential or disposable. This is particularly so at a moment when a humanitarian crisis facing Central American migrants at the US-Mexico border has been overdetermined by rhetoric that assumes the need to exclude gang-affiliated migrants and by questions about whether fear of gang violence constitutes political persecution.[13] Such exclusions are happening at the same time that disabled militia members and some disabled veterans are embracing ultranationalist politics and urging (para)military interventions.[14] How does the hypervisible criminality of gangs serve to obfuscate state, privatized military, and police operations by marking them as fundamentally different? We want to suggest that the proximity of *crip* to *crip* urges us neither to uphold the existing line of distinction between "cripplers" and the "crippled" nor to aim for a definitive or monolithic position in exploring the connections between violence and disabilities.[15]

Even within disability-centered communities, *crip* and *cripples* have not always been used with a consistent political or ideological orientation. As suggested by our brief gloss, and as evidenced by the work in this collection, activists and scholars draw on multiple origin stories for these words and use them toward different goals and to different effect. Moreover, reclaiming *crip* is neither the only option nor an isolated phenomenon: users of other languages have taken up other words typically considered outdated or derogatory in order to signal intimacy, nonconformity, and a political commitment to radical social transformation.

Disability justice foregrounds crip ways of thinking, feeling, doing, interacting, and loving, and it centers crip ways of resisting normativity, recognition, rights, and incorporation.[16] *Crip* also urges us to leave open the meanings of each of these terms, as well as notions of "justice," "community," and "sustainability." What are the historical, material, philosophical, cultural, and political origins, assumptions, and effects of such orientations? How might *crip* itself need to shift meanings in a political context in which identities are understood as community-based rather than as matters of self-determination? Or in situations in which ideals of collectivity have been based on romanticized histories or majoritarian understandings of liberation? Could *crip* shift meanings in such contexts, working in opposition to rigid understandings of community or expectations of collectivity? How might any of these frames limit our imaginations and transformations?

I started my first tenure-track job in 2008, at a time when disability studies was still difficult to explain to search committees (maybe it still is?). Then *crip* cleared a path for me that I wasn't entirely comfortable with. Colleagues who seemed to get anxious around the term *disability studies*—too stodgy, too mired in dated versions of identity politics—were suddenly receptive to crip theory. I was supposed to feel validated, I think, but I was terrified. At the time I still considered myself nondisabled, unaware of (or unwilling to acknowledge) my cognitive disabilities, and being attached to *crip* felt like posing, like appropriating, like stealing an insider term. Has my relationship to the word changed only because I no longer identify as "nondisabled"? Or is there something else in me, in the word, that makes me feel right using it now?

In the process of academic branding, at least in some scholarship produced in the United States, *crip* underwent an aestheticization that often took the form of a separation from—or a superficial gesture toward—ethical and political investments in anti-ableism. *Crip* and *cripping* as theory and method began to flourish in spaces where sick and disabled people could not. Rather than an intersectional and cross-movement analysis of how norms of achievement, productivity, competence, fairness, and development continue to function to surveil the boundaries of the academy, *cripping* too often came to focus narrowly on pushing the boundaries of interpretation and intervening at the level of the individual or interpersonal.

This dynamic is one in which our title participates, and we are writing from within US institutional locations that have often been eager to claim crip theory as their own. But what genealogies are erased or effaced in that appropriation? Claiming crip in ways aligned with disability justice would require grappling with the relentless consumption of ideas in the academy, namely the taking up of crip as a *more* aesthetic, *more* theoretical, *more* high, *more* edgy term (as well as the assumption that being *more* of any of these things is itself desirable). Such positioning, we argue, accentuates *crip*'s proprietary whiteness. Attaching itself to the concept of *crip* as a tool, white disability studies invests in carving out agendas concerned with disability alone and turns away from intersectional ways of being, from lives and communities that trouble access to insidiously class- and race-dependent expectations, such as "worth," "pride," "dignity," "rights," "privacy," and more. This amounts to a usage of *crip* that runs counter to its nominal purpose of troubling recognition and rights, instead reconsolidating whiteness and a proprietary relationship to ideas, rights, and power itself.

Note that as many "academics" insist that disability justice requires positioning crip not as an identity but only as an analytic or method, many disability justice "activists"—that is, the very group the academics are often name-checking—have long used and encouraged *crip* as identity. This disjuncture suggests the need for continued engagement with identity and identification, and we are reminded here of Cathy Cohen's call for the "destabilization, and not the destruction or abandonment, of identity categories."[17] In Cohen's reminder that only by "recognizing the many manifestations of power, across and within categories, can we truly begin to build a movement based on one's politics and not exclusively on one's identity," we find an important precursor to the kind of theory and praxis we yearn for.[18]

Like the four of us, the individual contributors to this volume make different choices about using the word *crip* and route it through different genealogies. Lezlie Frye uses a conceptualization of *crip pasts* to critique a "whitewashed, victorious narrative of disability rights as the apex of civil rights in the United States" that "conceals the presence and labor of disabled people of color, namely Black activists." In Frye's formulation, these crip pasts have the potential to disrupt established disability histories. Magda García's analysis of Noemi Martinez's zines positions both Martinez and her zines as crip in order to elaborate how a crip position illuminates logics of debilitation in the Rio Grande Valley. Natalia Duong uses *crip* in its verb form, describing a relational sense of chemical kinship tied to Agent Orange that "crips the transnational export of neoliberal legal and social discourses of disability in contemporary Vietnam." Suzanne Bost grapples with the implications of using the word to describe the interventions of a cultural worker (Aurora Levins Morales) who does not use the term herself, even as she acknowledges that "Levins Morales's contributions to the performance project Sins Invalid resonate with the radical disability pride associated with the term crip." Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha and Stacey Park Milbern use the term enthusiastically and extensively, in ways that capture the very multiplicity and complexity of the term that we explore here: to define themselves as crips, but even more as a way of marking radical forms of solidarity, community, resistance—being a crip elder, practicing crip wisdom, experiencing crip grief and bitterness. Translating the Korean word *bulgu* to *crip*, Tari Young-Jung Na explains that *crip politics* enables expansive solidarities among minorities without resorting to the very language of identity categories deployed by social institutions. Crip politics instead signals the potential for a unified abolition movement, one opposed to practices of institutionalization that encompass many different forms of segregation, isolation, and incarceration. Sony Coráñez Bolton raises a question about the meaning of *crip* in *supercrip*, arguing that the role taken up by an ill, disabled, colonized, Indigenous woman in a feminized national space—one where indigeneity is associated with disability—is that of a supercrip. Kateřina Kolářová positions crip as inseparable from and materialized with race and racialized understandings of ethnicity. Kolářová takes on the articulation of crip genealogies directly "from the point of homosexual, nonreproductive, non-straight, unwholesome, paid-for, virus-infected, across-the-borders sex acts" so that she does not reproduce whiteness through, in Sara Ahmed's terms, "good genealogical straight lines."[19]

Yet even as all of these authors offer more meaningful and sustaining uses of *crip*, we also want to suggest that this book as a whole seeks to let go of didactic obligations such as a drive for completion or definitiveness, even or perhaps especially around *crip*. As Jasbir K. Puar notes in her chapter, even though "crip theorizing about care webs, resisting productivity, and embracing the collectivization of slow life" is "capacious and frankly life-saving," we cannot ignore "the epistemological foreclosures of this lexicon in settler colonial contexts such as Palestine, where mass impairment is a predominating source of disability." Crip remains incomplete, as do any of its genealogies.

Though we are aware of the sneaky centering weight of US-based modes of thought, we note that this multiplicity of genealogies also hints at the impossibility of limiting crip to something that singularly originated in Anglo-American contexts. As authors of these chapters write across geopolitical contexts (what Keguro Macharia calls "the geohistories of location") about what crip can create and connect and how it may disrupt, crip begins to escape singularity in its origins and meanings. How might we read this escape in relation to the presumed portability of disability justice across borders, a portability that typically divorces the movement from its origins and even the principles attached to it.[20]

And so, while we find ourselves with some kinds of longing for more work to be included in this volume, and as we urge our readers to note the incomplete "coverage" of topics and geopolitical "sites" in this volume, we simultaneously urge detaching from the violence of such spatial models, particularly the ones inherited from area studies and its own inheritance of imperialist investments. We also point to the limited understanding of transnationality as only manifest when multiple locales are addressed. It is our view that geopolitical analysis of disability cannot be done only by looking at "flows" and "undoing borders" without attending to *how* borders have participated in ideas about specific locations, as well as their tangled histories of transnational power struggles and interactions. This lengthy introduction serves partly as our effort to extend that critique.

Metaphors of Genealogies, Genealogies of Metaphors

Scholarship, as a privileged form of currency among intellectuals, is a site through which power is articulated in ways that deeply impact genealogies.[21] Scholarship's normative praxis traditionally involves notions of canon, inheritance, filiality, gatekeeping, citation, property, credit, kinship, and more. It is further structured by affects, such as paternalism, indebtedness, and "aboutness": a training of the intuitive life of the academy in which a given field is understood—implicitly or explicitly—to be about a specific set of possible objects, methods, individuals, and geopolitical areas. Aboutness enables a distinctly arboreal genealogy in that it cuts off transversal affinities and rejects rather than welcomes uncommon archives, unexpected coalitions, tangential conversations, and mixed methods. It rejects muted, but crucial, presences.

Sticky Note: The notion of "aboutness" surfaces throughout this introduction. It is a concept from Kandice Chuh's essay "It's Not About Anything." Chuh writes, "I have for some time been attuned to my irritation with 'aboutness,' partly because of the regularity and normativity of the practices organized by and around it. . . . It seems to me that the determination of what something (a novel, a field of study, a lecture) is 'about' often is conducted as a way of avoiding engagement with difference, and especially with racialized difference. I'm pointing attention to how aboutness functions as an assessment of relevance, and within the racialized economy of academic knowledge (canonical knowledge reproducing whiteness continues to center the US academy and thus ensures that higher education maintain its long tradition of con-

> tributing to the reproduction of social inequality), preserves the (racist) epistemologies of (neo)liberalism through a reproductive logic that is utterly unqueer."[22]

As disability studies attracts more readers, researchers, activists, students, and teachers, a narrow account of its history and status has been gaining ground. According to this narrative, the field initially formed in alliance with disability rights movements in the United Kingdom and the United States, became more intersectional in its engagement with race, class, gender, and sexuality, and finally grew increasingly diversified and global. This account is reliant on a particular set of metaphors: after "emerging," the field has finally "arrived"; the "second wave" of the field is "flourishing" or even giving way to a newer "third wave."

But this celebratory rhetoric obscures the unevenness of the field's growth, as well as the conditions that promote it. What effects does this rhetoric have on our thinking? How are our conceptualizations of disability studies—and thus of disability itself—bound up in or even bound by the frameworks we use to describe it? How do the concepts and frameworks we use to describe the field orient our thinking in some directions but not others, or align the field with some projects rather than others?

Although these kinds of questions are urgent, they are not new. Narrations, articulations, theorizations, and enactments of a differently centered disability studies have long been and continue to be developed among communities of scholars and activists, some of which have circulated widely, others of which have remained more closely grounded. All of this scholarship contains provocations, interventions, and insights pertinent to all of our work, and we are learning much from the resonances and frictions we have found in scholarship calling for "transnational disability studies," "global disability studies," "southern disability studies," and more.[23] Part of what feels important to remember here, in this discussion of genealogies and lineages, is that the namings of "disability studies" found in this scholarship includes vital histories and overviews of "the field," including an identification of key tenets and developments, but that field is often described quite differently than in readers and textbooks edited by academics in the United States. Quite simply, other ways of naming, describing, and teaching disability studies—keywords and timelines emerging from different and multiple centers and margins—exist.[24]

Thus, one of our motivations for this anthology is to make apparent, to problematize, to interrogate, question, trouble, and disrupt the scholarly habits of the field. To note not only the whiteness of the field but also the ways in which it both stays white and perpetuates whiteness. Informed by the work of transnational feminism and women of color feminism, we want to suggest that among those mechanisms of whiteness is not only this language of "field development" but also the assumption that "development" (and thus also growth, expansion, institutionalization, and so on) is what we are all working toward.

The wave habit is a habit of whiteness. We are arguing for an installation of new habits, ones that refuse the law of coherence in order to make more pathways for present and future work.

Naming the existence of a prior "first wave" of disability studies gives the field a history and legacy, suggesting a legitimacy conferred by years of struggle. The "first wave" then serves as a repository, a location in the past for those theories that we have moved beyond, that have outlasted their usefulness, that are no longer relevant. As Therí A. Pickens notes, "to reach backward for intellectual forebears and trace a clear line of thought" positions whatever "theory emerges as not only useful, but inevitable."[25] The wave metaphor also signals that the field has a future: if we are in the second wave now, surely the third (or fourth) wave is coming. The wave model thus positions scholarship as linear, as progressing neatly from one wave to the next, with each wave constituting separate and discrete lines of thought. One manifestation of this way of thinking is the still common assertion in white disability studies and activism that it is disability's turn in the spotlight, that it is time for disability studies now that "we've done race/gender/sexuality." But as that example suggests, determining what counts as first or second wave, or which inquiries had to happen first and are now "over," is a political move, rife with assumptions about the field and its subjects of study. The wave model thus serves as a mechanism for canonizing white disability studies texts as foundational to whatever scholarship comes "next," insisting on the primacy of that scholarship (the "first wave") to more recent disability scholarship, even though the latter might be more attuned to work in ethnic studies, queer theory, or queer of color critique. As feminist theorists such as Michelle Rowley and Kimberly Springer have long noted, the wave metaphor is an assimilating logic, reserving legibility for those theories and movements framed in relation to white Western ideas and positions. It obscures the fact that theory outside of the white Anglo-American context, outside of white Anglophone imaginaries, has unfolded along different chronologies, temporalities, and taxonomies.[26]

But waves are not the only naturalistic metaphor to trouble, that trouble. Think of how trees have been drawn into the very discourses disability studies aims to resist: “Like a tree, eugenics draws its materials from many sources and organizes them into an harmonious entity,” reads the caption on an infamous eugenic tract below a line-drawing of a large, sprawling tree. Sociology, anthropology, history, and biology constitute some of the roots of this eugenics tree, right alongside mental testing and anthropometry.[27] “The self-direction of human evolution,” namely the upward thrust and spread of the tree, explicitly relies on disciplinary systems of knowledge-making. What crip work might we make of this investment in a single line of ownership going all the way back, much like the grab of universality? How do attempts to ground disability studies in disciplinary histories, to trace the lineages of our thoughts back to earlier sources, replicate this move to “draw materials from many sources and organize them into an harmonious entity”?

Feelings continue to swirl. If one is inspired to give “credit” where credit is due—one way to extend lines of recognition to genuine moments of inspiration and the people who made them possible—is it possible to disentangle gratitude from aligning with only and always genealogical gratitude? Is it enough to queer ancestry if the arboreal ancestry has been a violent heteropaternalism?

Even if genealogy can be revised to mean not only (an imagination of) arboreal descent but instead something having “no beginning and end” with “each point [a]s the center”—as in the videopoem in Natalia Duong’s essay in this volume—or something even more coincidentally generative and unconnected to evolutionary time, it is still worth asking the questions: To what extent is one still functioning in a settler colonial and imperial model of attribution, property, and personhood? What does one do when facing genealogy as a mode of obligational aboutness, which necessarily constitutes those who can arbitrate? Is it possible to continue in the face of a genealogy that legitimizes defensive acts of violence on individuals whose very work or presence would defang that genealogy? How does one manage to enact a metaphysics of presence, rather than absence, in order to be recognized as “doing the work” to “advance” a field, a contravening subfield, or a cause of some kind? Must one disengage, and how? Can we also imagine undoing, relinquishing, shrinking, and unsettling the field—or certain aspects of it—as opposed to doing, acquiring, expanding, and occupying it? If crip genealogies rely on disconnect and incomprehensibility as much as connection, translatability, and persistence, then what kinds of metaphor enable us to think about transversality or about coincidental happenings that bubble up in different places? What imaginations would allow us to presume the presence of multilingual expressions?

Alternative metaphors can sometimes be ones that attempt to re-naturalize nature; a famous one is Deleuze and Guattari's metaphor of the rhizome, a spatialization (and to some degree temporalization) of thought that is multilineal, multidirectional, and multiple rather than binaristic, and horizontal rather than strictly vertical. Rhizomatic entities, such as some fungi, are said to operate in mutualistic ways rather than unidirectional feeding, which would seem to liberate a more toxic rendering of labor. The affective rehearsal is seen over and over again in an exchange in the classroom: "Well, but what if we look at it outside of a linear model of inheritance? What about a rhizome?" followed by smiles of pleasure and relief. But the question must be asked: Does anyone really know how all kinds of rhizomes grow, and do they all simply evacuate dominance? What does horizontality actually mean? Horizontality can also be a site of violence and encroachment; horizontality can imply discreteness as much as connection. The rhizome doesn't eliminate the possibility of single-source growth from iconic, dubious schematic origins, and it does not remove the fantasy of territorial growth from its fantasy of distribution of knowledge. Even the rhizome can be colonial.

And metaphors of waves, trees, and even rhizomes can be tools not only of white disability studies, but also of settler and imperial disability studies. Let's add the notion of *field* itself to the mix. In its reliance on developmental models of scholarship, "field" inscribes colonial temporalities and spatialities into our conceptions of scholarship. Lineages are claimed; scholars and texts are flagged as belonging (or not belonging) to the field; borders are demarcated; pioneers of the field are named and celebrated. The "field" begins to resemble a sovereign nation-state in which one needs to be qualified as a citizen for legitimacy and presence. Within such logics, growing, expanding, and incorporating more territory into the field are largely unquestioned goals; so, too, is the institutionalization of disability studies itself into departments, programs, centers; curricula and degree requirements; budgets and governance structures.

We have encouraged or been part of some of these moves ourselves, urging the field to move in new directions or participating in initiatives to seed disability studies across our universities; this very introduction could be read in that light. Institutionalization can help make our research practices, theoretical insights, and pedagogies legible to funders, or hiring committees, or reviewers and evaluators. But we also want to trouble the move to institutionalize, making plain that the two different definitions of institutionalization—integrating a field of study into the structure of the university and confining people into highly restricted and surveilled spaces—are not as fully distinct as one might imagine. Confining knowledge, separating it from the communities most affected by it; using institutional power to sort, label, regulate, and surveil: naming such habits, technologies, and practices helps surface the disciplining power of the institution. What might it tell us about "disability studies" that it simultaneously offers deep critiques of the practice of institutionalization even as it argues for its own institutionalization within the academy?

Yet our feeling is that we cannot simply reject academic spaces and scholarship as a whole, even as we disavow their historical roots and continued investment in legacy building, settler colonialism, and white supremacy. Yearning brought us to the academy and to disability studies, and yearning keeps us there: yearning for the love of and connection to kindred thinkers; for the joy found in teaching and creating intellectual work; for the possibility of shared rebellion and transgression, however small it is; and for the hopefulness of what academic spaces might allow us to explore. We remember, too, that oppression and privilege are not monolithic: institutional legitimacy has not always been made available to disability studies, even as many declare that disability studies has "arrived." Students have difficulty finding curricula that speak to their experiences and often meet resistance from faculty when they propose projects, readings, and methods informed by disability/disability studies. Instructors face gatekeeping at multiple scales: curriculum committees refuse to allow *crip* in course titles and descriptions; committees approve disability courses only as electives or supplements to the "core" program; and institutions keep disability studies scholars / disabled scholars in contingent positions, allowed in only as visitors or adjuncts to the scholarly community. Sick and disabled faculty, staff, and students continue to face access barriers at every level of the institution, with one of the most stubborn of those barriers being the presumption that these are personal (and personnel) problems rather than structural ones.[28] Most people who want to learn and practice disability studies have to find their place in conventional disciplines with rigid methodologies and canons that undergird ableism, racism, sexism, and imperialism by default. The establishment of degree-granting programs in disability studies has been slow, and job opportunities in disability studies are limited, often requiring faculty to identify other "homes" for the purposes of tenure and promotion, "homes" that may be ignorant of or even hostile to the work of disability studies. And the place of disability studies in academic institutions is made even more precarious when other interdisciplinary critical studies, such as critical ethnic studies and gender and women's studies, have been subject to mergers, reductions, and closures under the strategic divestment plans of universities.

As the four of us worked on this project, other metaphors (about epistemology, knowledge organization, communities, and oppressions) arose in our conversations. Grids: a regulated, measured layout of intersecting axes that may potentially have centers. Networks. Assemblages. Webs: with and without centers and margins. Frequencies? Might they make room for simultaneity and concurrence, or asynchrony and disconnect, without linear notions of succession, causality, lineage, and connectivity?[29] We also thought about metaphors for aquatic life: the life underneath the waves, the beings that do not survive after emerging above water. What is the signal when something smells fishy and when we are on the same wavelength? Digestion, indigestion, and ingestion also came up: the notion of being forced to ingest certain ideas, the notion of being digested into the field, feeling sick.

We wonder: What are radically different ways of building crip space within, around, or across academia without reinforcing normative criteria for credentials, degrees, evaluation, pedagogy, methodology, and genealogy? What makes possible subversive existences undetected by the radar of the bureaucratic university, and how can they become more radically and transformatively crip? Our universities' perpetuation of violence and their insatiable investments in white supremacy, capitalism, and imperialism urge us to continue pursuing certain studies precisely because they have been marginalized and discredited as irrelevant, unreasonable, unuseful, and unpractical. Use value has long been used as a cudgel against minoritized knowledges and the people who produce them, both valued only insofar as they serve racial capitalism. How can we, together, rethink what is valued as knowledge, or dislodge the institution from the work produced within it?

Never forget the knowledge that does not emerge to the sight of institutional knowledge management, that escapes its notice. The knowledge that has to be hidden for survival. Theory in the flesh.[30]

As part of our collective writing exercises, we each wrote short reflections on our own intellectual histories and genealogies, tracing the multiple and idiosyncratic paths that continue to inform our approaches to, understandings of, hopes for, and feelings about our investments in disability studies. In our conversations that followed, Mel shared a toad gesture, or "something about honoring and remembering what is here and has been here." Eunjung told the story of an "immigration bag" in which she carried books from Seoul to Chicago to study disability studies, a bag that had to be dragged through airports because its wheels stopped turning. What might we learn about crip genealogies in their moves? This question is partly one of citation practice and formatting: How do the structures and conventions of academic "style" assume that our scholarly influences are contained in—and limited to—texts? Can we think instead about recognizing the hold, the pull, the influence of objects or entities or feelings? In asking this question, in making room in citation practices for toads, gestures, bags and baggage, we affirm other ways to connect to crip that are not bound up with humanness, with the idea of a recognizable self, or stabilized as an expected positionality or vow. We feel resonances here between these kinds of intellectual moves and the tension between a relationally identifiable crip (like "a queer," perhaps) and the simultaneous desire for an incoherent sense of self unbound by that nominalization.

Claiming ancestors is hard, or rather, having claimed ancestors is hard (which is necessary for someone to write what ancestors they "have"). It requires, to me, turning to human ancestors implicitly (I know not everyone will take it this way), and perhaps also being human. It takes something that many folks don't quite have or necessarily even want. Ancestor is an essentially natalist, heterosexualist concept that to me can't be fully queered (maybe because it relies on generations implicitly—elders doesn't cause the same conniption), and so, fending with diaspora, queerness, my own adoption-rich family, inhumanness, I lose power rather than gain it. But I fully acknowledge: this is also about me, and how difficult it is to claim things, identities, lineages, groups, and the like.

Methodically Crip: More Crip Feelings

It is incumbent on those of us thinking about crip genealogies to address one means of mapping genealogy: through mappings of method; tracing how things are thought, how things are done. (As in, a mode of thinking is preserved because one can trace lines of thinking *in a particular way* through history.) How is thinking and theorizing done? What are its objects, and what is supposed to happen to those objects in the shifts of knowledge that constitute study? How is disability made use of as a meaningful category?

Sticky Note: As a collective of disabled authors with different access needs, our writing together has, of necessity, involved explicit attention to the process of writing: working across different modalities (writing both synchronously and asynchronously, blending typing with dictation, translating spoken ideas and stories into written sentences), different locations (meeting both online and in extended in-person writing sessions), and shifting temporalities (typing and thinking both fast and slow). Over time, we have learned how to write directly into each other's sentences, finishing each other's thoughts, sharing words and ideas and feelings. Writing collectively became a deeply speculative experience, a form of time travel, in which we always ended up in places we hadn't foreseen. Together.

We understand method as a kind of doing. And to the extent that one can refer to "a" method, it is a kind of package of doing, a script for action. At the same time, we note that a given method can also constitute an undoing. That is, method can easily work, against evidence, to undo what is already there: relation, coalition, possibility, care. (This is why something called "queer method" has developed, as a way to refuse the willed perceptions and exclusions of standard perspectives and lines of connection.) "Rigor"—the demand for a "rigorous" method—can thus double as violence as it undoes other relations than those canonized or already known to be consequential, linear, within reason.

Thus, the four of us found the method of our work always and necessarily informed not only by the scholarship that preceded us but also by the feelings that brought us to do this work, separately and together. That is to say: Articulating, naming, thinking through "crip genealogies" is not just a mode of *doing* but also a mode of *feeling*. The kind of work we are hoping to see, the methods and orientations and moves we want and desire, are both about doing and about feeling.

This work radiates out: we want to do "disability studies" (for lack of a better term at this moment) in particular ways, and we feel particular ways about that doing; we feel particular ways about other people's doing of disability studies and want to do things about their doings; we think that other people's doings of disability studies is also about their feelings; and we are frustrated (a feeling!) by being asked or expected to do disability studies in particular ways as a way of protecting other people's feelings about disability studies.

We want to acknowledge and learn from all of these feelings. One reason among many would be a recognition (a queer recognition, a feminist recognition) that scholarship affects us—scholarship is about incorporation, or an expectation of incorporation, and we have feelings about that (expectation of) incorporation.

I don't want to read those people because I don't have the digestive system to ingest those kinds of words.

Much of our work together on this volume required us to voice our feelings (gut feelings) about whom to read, about which words to take in. This crip genealogical project does therefore attend to "the politics of citation," but it recognizes that such politics is not merely about refusing canons and citing sources. It is also about recognizing that who and what we cite shifts us, changes us, feeds us, depletes us, isolates us, situates us, makes expectations on us. (And yes, our citation practice both determines who the "us" is and who that "us" becomes.)

Who are we becoming in relation to what we don't read, or in relation to those whom we turn away and turn away from? Turning toward, turning away, turning away from: all are meaningful.

We are thinking not only of recognizing and practicing feelings as a kind of method, but of attending to, paying attention to, how a method will be felt and by whom. That construction—how will X be felt—acknowledges that methodologies have effects (and affects) and pushes us toward being more responsible along those lines. It has the potential to trouble a move toward instrumentalism.

In this spirit, we offer you some of the feelings that guide our method:

Crankiness

X makes me cranky.
—JULIE/EUNJUNG/MEL/ALISON, often and repeatedly, at different moments of our work together, with the value of X shifting and changing.

Crankiness about the field, about experiences we have all had in the field, with people in the field, with descriptions of and orientations to and away from the field. Might crankiness be a crip method? What if the cranky feeling is a sentry? A way to feel navigation, a repulsion away from something about which we have to decide whether to tell it, "I don't want you, you have done wrong" first?

In naming our crankiness, we remember Audre Lorde's "The Uses of Anger." Anger and crankiness are not identical, yet much in that essay feels related to the feelings we expressed to each other under the name of crankiness: "I cannot hide my anger to spare you guilt, nor hurt feelings, nor answering anger; for to do so insults and trivializes all our efforts," Lorde writes. And later adds, "When we turn from anger we turn from insight, saying we will accept only the designs already known, deadly and safely familiar. I have tried to learn my anger's usefulness to me, as well as its limitations." Our method in this volume—the feelings we bring to this volume—led us away from the "designs already known," at once both deadly and safe.[31]

As four people thinking together, part of what makes us cranky is the drive to *complete*: the drive to turn disability into a kind of totalizing narrative ("master trope"), the drive to make "disability" always the central category that illuminates everything about all the other categories, the drive to have answers at the ready for all the questions we want to pose and with which we want to linger. The imperative to *do something* leaves unchallenged the notion that the only thing that matters is action, that one's impulse to act, to do, to answer, is a good one. One might do the wrong thing, but that can be fixed. There's a melding of doing and intention here, so that neither doing nor intending are questioned in and of themselves; both are often tools of ableist white supremacy. But/and we can therefore think of a methodological undoing as a move away from this assertion of completion, of closure, of successor narratives, of universality, of "application," of comprehension, of achievement, of intervention, of correction, of omniscience, of action.

NOTICE: **these are all words of white ableist productivity.**

Sticky Note: The idea of the master trope appears in a number of widely cited disability theory texts. It refers to the idea—one that troubles us, that we hope to trouble—that disability functions as a sort of guiding principle of oppression, that social hierarchies of all kinds are at root hierarchies of ability.

As much as crankiness is pointing outward, it is also entangled with our commitment to being where we are, the place where disability does not just appear in passing or in the "etc." Crankiness is yearning for more.

Obligation/disloyalty

The feeling of "having to" cite someone. The sense that certain people "have to" be cited for work to be legible as disability studies. The sense that we need to perform certain kinds of gratitude to those in the field who preceded us. Wanting to name names. Wanting to *not* name names.

Responsibility

To whom do we feel responsible?

Responsibility as method. Responsibility as accountability, as recognizing the people and stories we want to hold in this volume.

Responsibility as responsiveness. Responsiveness to the voices we want to center/amplify/lift, responsiveness to pervasive problems/injustices in the world at large as well as in the field.

Natalia Duong's essay in this book offers *dance* as one possible model for the kind of responsibility/responsiveness we feel and want to enact. "For in dance," Duong writes, "the weight exchange between bodies molds force into something to be received and traded rather than unidirectionally imposed. Each body is responsible, and enabled to respond. Perhaps the threat of unpredictability looms; however, it is mediated by the premise that every action is always already being received by another, new, consequent action."

Joy

Our love for each other is generative for our work. Feeling good about the work we know is happening out there and in this book, feeling good about the work because we feel good about the people, in this volume and elsewhere, doing the work. The four of us feeling good about each other, about coming to this work together.

Expansiveness

The feeling that so many possibilities for disability studies—for what the field can be and do—keep getting shut down because of narrow ideas of "what disability is," "what disability studies is," who gets to "be" disability studies and who gets to "speak for" disability studies. The feeling of expansiveness when those possibilities are welcomed and nourished instead of shut down.

> When disability studies scholars expand our understanding of what constitutes disability politics, understanding that disability politics can be enacted by those who might never call their work disability activism or identify themselves as disabled, then we can begin to build a stronger understanding of how disability activism and anti-ableist thinking has occurred historically within a wide range of activist and community spaces, especially among racialized and other oppressed groups.
> —SAMI SCHALK, in this volume

Complicity

The work of compiling this volume and cowriting this introduction has forced us to grapple intensely with how aligned with whiteness the field of disability studies is and has been.

I am part of this field too. I can't disavow my role in perpetuating its whiteness.

I am complicit not only in the field's whiteness, but also in the institution's (and the field's) ableism.

Desire

Are all "good" feelings ones that promote desire, or align desire? What are the dangers of desiring disability, as much as uttering those words can be, and promote, good feelings? Is it also hard to allow ourselves to do precisely and only what we desire, given the configurations of labor and power that position us and that provide an interpretive framework for our actions? In other words, does the formation of a network of desire *for* disability studies (both in the sense of *within* and in the sense of *what is being served*) make desire itself suspect? Or, as with any discourse of aboutness, does such a network of desire presume, require, and consolidate desirable centers and undesirable margins?

What is understood as "goodness" can be ambiguous between how a body feels and the value system that has told us what is good and what is bad. (Hence, the desirability for "bad subjects" among Foucauldians.) Forms of violation, whiteness, master moves, helping others, are made to feel good/desirable in ways that feel undeniable and verifiable in the body's experience of the feeling.

Lezlie Frye's contribution to this volume uses the phrase "desirable discord" to trouble a well-established narrative that treats the US-based disability rights movement as an extension or outgrowth of the Black civil rights movement. Here Frye aligns desire not with "feeling good" but with tension, contradiction, dissent. Desire becomes not an affirmation of what is already presumed good but a mechanism for opposing a narrative that, as Frye argues, both "maintains the whiteness of disability studies" and "haunts contemporary social justice movements predicated on coalition work." Might Frye's use of *desire* orient us away from desiring disability even as it moves us into the terrain of crip desire?

The Unnamable, Uncategorizable Feelings

Some feelings, like the pain in my back that I know is there but that I cannot quite feel, are not quite nameable: they require periphrastic language, or they simply make us feel "off." What of those?

"Yikes!" is another feeling!
—MEL

Nonalignment/disidentification

Developed by Latinx queer theorist José Esteban Muñoz, *disidentification* is a term now widely associated with queer method—a way of *doing* that acts both within and against available theoretical currents. Yet, as Sami Schalk points out in her essay "Coming to Claim Crip," disidentification is also a *feeling*: "I find myself, a minoritarian subject, disidentifying with disability studies, a minoritarian field of research, because although the field's resistance to the pathologization of non-normative bodies appeals to me as a nondisabled, fat, black, queer woman, the shortage of substantive race analysis within the field and the relatively minor attention given to issues of class and sexuality trouble me deeply and disallow me any direct Good Subject identification. . . . Despite the disjuncture I experience in the field as it currently exists, I still have a deeply personal, *emotional* affinity with disability studies scholar and activist communities."[32]

Using this term—disidentification—puts us in a queer genealogy that starts with Muñoz and flows through Schalk. To describe our relationship with disability studies as *disidentification* means coming to disability not via the usual paths but via queer of color critique and a Black feminist disability theorist. And yet, as Schalk herself reminds us, "Disidentification is not, however, the only useful minoritarian political strategy and may not be appropriate or effective for all subjects or situations." Disidentification is one way to structure the feelings that animate the crip genealogy we seek to trace, but there are others.

Another way to describe our relationship to or feelings about disability studies comes to us via—and note, enforcers of aboutness, this turn is neither unusual nor "flighty"—the Non-Aligned Movement of African and Asian countries in 1961, which understood nonalignment as an anti-Western/Northern, anti-imperialist, and interdependent practice of refusal.[33] We take both the gesture of nonalignment and the history of people turning away from Western/Northern dominance and toward each other as meaningful to this project. Nonalignment immediately calls to mind thoughts of bodies, minds, and bodyminds that don't "align." But rather than misalignment, which suggests a mistake that can perhaps be fixed, nonalignment points to a refusal of the norm altogether.

And yet: there are things, bodies, presences, entities, theories, orientations, movements, and gestures toward which or even with which we do want to align, no? Nor can we disavow the ways in which the word *align* associates with perfect matches and straight lines; the ways in which nonalignment itself associates with a Cold

War history in which a nation-state is forced to choose one of the two superpowers to survive or the countries who have created an alliance based on not aligning themselves with the superpowers. We note our ambivalence about nonalignment as a way of marking that no descriptor is without its potential problems and pitfalls.

What the term *nonalignment* gives us, via the history of the Non-Aligned Movement, is a way to speak to the need for affiliating differently, for developing practices of anticoloniality, collectivity, copresence, and touch that can make nonalignment with power possible. Here we invoke Jina B. Kim's proposal for a reading practice that looks for patterns and practices of care and support rather than assertions of resistance: "Rather than reading for evidence of self-ownership or resistance," Kim suggests reading "for relations of social, material, and prosthetic support—that is, the various means through which lives are enriched, enabled, and made possible."[34] Might this be a way of decentering not just disability studies but canon and field-defining work in general, as well as assumptions of geographic consolidation in the West? Can we think of ways of naming nonalignment and disidentification not as forms of resistance (because resistance implies against or to something, such that the orienting object remains *white disability studies*, for example), but as forms of support, care, and relation that instead *take no heed* of existing consolidations of majoritarian power?

There are years that ask questions and years that answer.
—ZORA NEALE HURSTON, *Their Eyes Were Watching God*

Incomplete

We have questions. In many cases, we are offering questions without offering answers. This, too, is a method: a way toward incompleteness. Centering questions can be a way of shifting energies: *not this but that*. Centering questions might also require shifts: we must think differently for a question to register as a question. One of our early readers noted that we are offering "questions and challenges in [our] introduction that the volume seems unable to address in some contexts." We agree! As the four of us worked together on this introduction, we succumbed more and more (individually at times and collectively at others) to bouts of concern that we were raising too many questions and challenges for which we did not have immediate answers. We found ourselves persistently thinking through what a question is asking of us, what it is asking us to do. We became more committed to the challenges even as adequate answers seemed increasingly elusive. Our questions—leaving them in some cases unanswered—are a crucial aspect of our intervention. We invite you to continue asking, thinking, and feeling—incompletely—with us.

Sticky Note: Lists appear throughout this introduction. Although we did not originally intend to keep these lists (they initially appeared only as drafts, as places in the text to return and expand our thinking), their repetition and recurrence as a form finally made us take notice. We came to see them not only as a form of access, allowing readers to pick up ideas in a different format, but also as a way of marking some of our influences. While Christopher Bell's "Modest Proposal" is widely cited for its argument about the whiteness of disability studies, a key element of its structure—the top ten list of "do nots"—is rarely mentioned. We felt its echoes as we created our own lists of how white disability studies works and of scholarly habits to avoid. But inspired, too, by the more recent work of Angel L. Miles, Akemi Nishida, and Anjali J. Forber-Pratt, we have also included lists of habits to cultivate: lists of feelings, orientations, and practices that help us think DS otherwise.

Can lists also resist completion? Is there something about their form that makes more allowance for incompleteness because other points can be added without requiring significant revision to what came before . . . or might lists, especially lists of do's and do not's, generate the dangerous expectation of prescriptions as a way out?

White Disability Studies and Access Exceptionalism

As many of us know, there are those who have left and continue to leave SDS [the Society for Disability Studies] and disability studies because they feel the effects of racism—they feel unsafe, even as others continue to name SDS as the only place they feel safe, feel home; multiple affective responses circulate. Part of being in relation is to acknowledge these affective ruptures and not paper over them; to not insist on a single story or experience of disability studies but rather to see all of these orientations and affects as part of the genealogy of disability studies, as determining what disability studies and its gatherings like SDS can become. Attention to affect and archive, in our view, might inform an alternate law of cohesion—one more fleshed out than a sheer

cynical application of "intersectionality" in which race can be "done." We know this is no panacea; and yet, race is not done, and no one has arrived. This might be a bad feeling worth working for.
—MEL AND ALISON, Critical Ethnic Studies Association Conference, 2013

We begin this section with questions not of "whether," but of "how." *How* does a mandate for coherence in disability studies serve whiteness, white supremacy, and forms of cultural or intellectual imperialism? *How* does the insistence on a single, coherent narrative of disability studies (and perhaps of disability itself) allow, above and beyond mere disciplinarity, the whitewashing of disability studies, of disability histories, and of histories of disability studies in classrooms and bibliography sections and beyond? *How* do we challenge the persistent impulse to deny the fact that disability has primarily been politicized in terms of whiteness (at least in white-dominant societies), which has fostered the proliferation of analogies between disability and nonwhite racial formations? *How* might we begin to recognize the capacious and generative possibilities of a disability studies that is less interested in "incorporating" race and more interested in engaging deeply with the fields, practices, and knowledges of critical race and ethnic studies and related areas? *How* do metaphors restrain and open up these endeavors?

Whiteness is constituted through various enactments of the power to declare that what is understood as *race* exists only in nonwhite bodies. If whiteness is exceptional to or "free of" racialization, it is thought to reveal the impact of disability more clearly, rather than showing how whiteness and figures of disability work together. "Single-issue politics"—say, accounts of disability that are thought "simpler" from the perspective of white narration—are actually masked intersections of privilege and oppression (white disabled people) that don't receive as much attention as marked intersections of minoritization or disadvantage (disabled people of color). One of the manifestations of this constitution is that whiteness confers on itself the sole ability, capacity, or right to talk about, comprehend, and define both whiteness/white people and "everyone else." Whiteness comes to function as consumption, incorporation, omniscience, omnipotence. Whiteness has a global currency (global white supremacy) in which white people hold the power to legitimize and evaluate someone or something's quality. Whiteness and light skin color as a currency is at work even in nonwhite majority nation-states that view nonwhite people as the default group of citizenship, yet still seek white approval of their sovereignty and performance. Whiteness has enabled access to material resources and cultural and identitarian representations as well as grievances and legal reparations.

And yet: as late capitalist austerity measures continue to threaten the survival of people with disabilities, many white disabled people seem to assume that white privilege and ableist precarity cannot coexist, as if living under one threat means you cannot simultaneously be protected from others. It is this refusal to acknowledge whiteness as a shield that allows one to separate disability-based oppression from other systems of oppression. By calling attention to these dynamics, we are not arguing for a denial or minimization of the measures that threaten the survival of disabled people, but rather for being more attentive to the differential effects and impacts of these threats.

Moreover, naming the whiteness of disability studies can be a way of effectively preserving that whiteness; to begin and end with a statement about dominance, as do opening disclaimers about limited authority on the basis of one's positioning as white—only to go on with a limited perspective of a white genealogy of scholarship—further obscures the work that has always been there, albeit ignored by a proprietary genealogy of whiteness. Are there not moments when we might best be served by assuming that the field has *not* always been already and only white, because it might push us to expand our notions of what counts as disability studies?

White disability studies, the term coined by Christopher Bell, has become a frequently invoked term, used to distinguish one's intellectual work from work that does not attend to whiteness (even when engaging with nonwhiteness). We note, then, the need to distinguish *white disability studies* from the claim that "disability studies is white." In an effort to take this distinction seriously, we have decided to examine "white disability studies" in an effort to provincialize it, to assert that white disability studies is not and never has been the only disability studies, to make plain that one can do disability studies without doing white disability studies.

Sticky Note: Chris Bell's essay was first published in the second edition of the *Disability Studies Reader* (edited by Lennard Davis, 2006). It was retitled in the third and fifth editions of the reader (2010, 2017), after Bell's death in 2009. The essay was omitted from the fourth edition (2013) when it was mistakenly thought that the essay's call was no longer needed.

> "Introducing White Disability Studies: A Modest Proposal."
> 2nd edition, 2006

“Is Disability Studies Actually White Disability Studies?” 3rd edition, 2010

4th edition, 2013

“Is Disability Studies Actually White Disability Studies?” 5th edition, 2017

What are some of the attributes of white disability studies? We offer an incomplete list here, and we do so noting that the “moves” named below are ones in which we have participated; we are not seeking to claim our own innocence or disavow our own involvement in white disability studies.

—Aiming to have disability recognized as a valuable human difference (as a self-sufficient abstraction) without attending to how other forms of difference fundamentally reconfigure binaries of disability/ability and reshape human/nonhuman relations. Do we really want to use “human being” as the central mode of political thought, as if the human itself is “a natural organism”?[35] Or to deploy a sweeping register of “diversity” centralized around the human figure? Cripping can also mean recognizing nonhumanity as a posture and as an intervention.

—Instrumentalization. Disability scholars are often deeply attentive to the ways in which disabled people, positions, materials, and archives—as well as the enterprise of “crip theory”—have become instruments for others’ theorizations and arguments. But in what ways have we as disability scholars participated in the instrumentalization of others’ knowledge (and “other” knowledges)? Can we know in advance the difference between instrumentalism and mutual or complex engagement? How have we (“we” as a field, as well as “we” as the scholars who have put this anthology together) failed to be self-critical as regards our own desire to engage with other/different/“exotic” knowledges?[36]

—Rhetorical surveillance. In their theorization of a Black feminist disability studies framework, Moya Bailey and Izetta Autumn Mobley highlight issues of language and rhetoric as an urgent site of analysis, noting that “Black people are often singled out and critiqued for the use of ableist language” without more nuanced attention to the ways in which “Black cultural production is often rearranging the original meaning and use of words for specific anti-racist purposes.”[37] Hershini Bhana Young’s work similarly reveals the nuanced depictions of illness, disability, and "differential movement" present in African diasporic cultural production that are lost to scholars who refuse to engage with performances of disability by artists "without" disabilities. Indeed, an extensive archive of art and activism by disabled cultural workers of color has been excluded from analysis by disability scholars because the language it deploys to explore disability experience does not conform to that used by white disability activists.

—Access washing. Stacey Park Milbern warns us about *access washing*, when institutions and dominant groups "leverag[e] 'accessibility' as justification to harm communities of color and poor & working class communities," such as when counties in Georgia moved to close polling places in majority Black neighborhoods by claiming they were inaccessible to disabled voters.[38] Other examples include policies that increase gentrification and displacement; Milbern mentions a "city government implementing anti-homeless measures under the guise of making streets more accessible to people with disabilities, with no consideration that those most harmed by this—houseless community members losing access to public space without alternative safety nets—are people [with] disabilities themselves."[39] Laura Jaffee offers a transnational conceptualization of access washing, with a focus on US and Israeli settler colonialisms. She defines access washing as "rhetoric and practices that render visible and valuable to the state particular, relatively privileged (namely white, settler, straight, cis-male) disabled people while leaving unmoved a state structure premised on the production of disability injustice (in particular, through settler-colonialism and imperialism)."[40] Her concern resonates with Aimi Hamraie's interrogatory approach to access: access for whom, access to what?[41] Jaffee turns these questions to an event that provided "access" but violated the Palestinian-led movement for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) against Israel. Access—as "indexed by the provision of ASL and CART—was a mechanism to recruit a larger audience to an event that normalized Israeli settler-colonialism and violated an international call for academic boycott by Palestinian people."[42]

Milbern and Jaffee's *access washing* often conspires with a practice we are calling *access exceptionalism,* or the prioritizing of access above all other dimensions of justice, thereby narrowing down what constitutes access itself.

—Access exceptionalism: the use of access as a tool of exerting whiteness and severing disability access from broader social justice. In discussing access exceptionalism, we are hoping to open a conversation about the ways in which (a dominant and dominating understanding of) “access” operates as a tool of whiteness and white supremacy. When “access” is understood in individualized ways, as something with which to comply, it frequently functions as a deployment of whiteness; conversely, access understood in this way can be deployed in service of white supremacy. Access washing is a prime example of such deployment of whiteness, by highlighting access provisions in a way that aids and hides injustice against nonwhite communities. Exceptionalizing access manifests in calling out what is *perceived* as access failure, particularly “failures” by people of color or others living at or aware of lives at the intersections. The idea that certain accommodations, often those institutionally funded, must first be implemented in a prioritized, efficient, and seamless way—above other measures that might allow for intersectional approaches and solidarities—enables aggressions against BIPOC as the easy target in grievances of access failures. In other words, in both access washing and access exceptionalism, access is used as a tool of violence against people of color.

The center I direct at Berkeley, the Center for the Study of Sexual Culture, was set to host Sami Schalk for a talk on the Black Panther Party’s involvement in disability activism. As we prepared for the event, we set up disability access standards, including scent access, that are considered standard for disability studies events, but we added nourishing food as our own internal standard for providing for economically imperiled participants. This was in recognition of the undeniable fact that uc Berkeley has been rocked by dynamic and growing precarities: costs of living that have become unsustainable and labor practices that fob off questions of food, housing, and employment security to individuals ill equipped to manage.

Six days in advance we learned that on the day of Schalk’s scheduled talk, a uc-wide one-day strike had been scheduled by the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (afscme), which at the uc includes 24,000 service workers, half of whom are Latinx and a supermajority of whom are people of color. They were being pushed out of what meager measures of security they had because the uc was looking to hire lower-wage private contractors in their stead. In solidarity with the strike, and understanding the entanglement of service work with occupational disability, as well as disability with poverty (though those “content” relations are not necessary to act on supporting workers of any kind), we immediately moved to find a location off campus. The Labor Center, already off the central campus, was itself counted as a strike location; we kept looking. Then I recalled a privately owned café that had once warmly welcomed my class when it sought an off-campus location when helicopters flew overhead during the campus’s militarized, backpack-searching, gun-wielding defense of the free speech of alt-right speakers. It was owned by the Muslim brother of an important Berkeley scholar of Islamophobia. I contacted him about using the café as an alternative location; he asked about the content of the talk as what I imagined would be a protective measure for the café; he offered a low rental cost; and I decided that cssc would buy a generous amount of Middle Eastern food for attendees to increase our monetary gratitude.

There were so many ways in which this move "felt right," felt like solidarity, felt like a symbolically meaningful intervention in the congealing of race, class, nation, and disability in ways that facilitate harmful and life-threatening combinations of oppression. Only later did I realize, with a start, that there was no elevator to provide access from the event down the stairs to the bathroom. In a panic, we sent out a quick announcement that we were working out the details for access to the bathroom and would offer more information as soon as possible. We got immediate feedback. The center's only other staff, a wonderful graduate student researcher, told me that someone on the mailing list for the event had written an immediate response even before we sent out a relieved email an hour later that there was a ramp external to the café by which one could easily reenter at the bathroom level. The indignant, angry email read, *Shame on you! The BPP would never do this!*

I told the graduate student researcher I didn't want to know who it was, that this was a form of community that was painful to experience. I felt a moment of shame, but then I felt anger. I did want to know whether the student could identify the person as white, given the kind of relationship I had observed—remarkably consistent—between a certain form of hostile surveillance "on behalf of people of color" and whiteness. Indeed, she confirmed that the person was white. I still don't know who it is, and I can't bear to know. I had been steeled, in my introduction, to publicly say, "I'm just going to give your shame politics right back to you," if the person again came forward. This is wasted and harmful energy.

What kinds of access come first—the most institutional, the most templatic, the most "obvious" to those with established power (at the very least, that power endowed by whiteness, not necessarily class) within a community? What does it mean when someone with power—myself, as director of a unit nevertheless run on a shoestring—perceives and supports one institutionally suppressed form of access before the other, conventional one, in spite of my institutional and neoliberal training?

Needless to say, Schalk's story of the Black Panther Party was one with complexity and negotiation about disability—at the very least, it was not a story of "nevers."

Which bodies are made available for blaming and shaming for structural access failures, and which bodies are shielded from blame/shame? What are the ways in which calls for access or, especially, criticisms of inaccessibility, have been used to assert white privilege and dominance? Who surveils access perfection before any conversation about racism can occur? We are describing structures of privilege and affect that involve a kind of "muscularity" associated with white and Western settler supremacy.

Aimi Hamraie notes that the notion of barrier-free design—a core component of access—emerged from the US polio epidemic in the late 1940s, when "legible polio outbreaks in predominantly white communities led to the creation of new architectural and urban spaces, premised upon the right of (white) citizens to access public space"; the first access guidelines in the United States were developed on the campus of a university (the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) where only 0.01 percent of students were African American. Hamraie thus concludes, reviewing this history, that barrier-free design as a measure of access comes into existence "against the backdrop of systemic racial exclusion and violence in the Jim Crow era."[43] An examination of the logic of "but for," deployed by well-resourced, well-positioned people with recourse to recognition, is telling: "but for this access barrier, I would be able to access the power, recognition, and resources afforded me and to which I am entitled by my white skin/citizenship/gender normativity."[44] Removing that one narrowly described access barrier thus becomes the apex of disability politics (and the point of origin extended metonymically from the individual to the entire disability movement, since *this* individual is a proper representation of that movement and entitled to take that role).

These access aggressions are also about the reassertion of economic dominance. The structure of a combined intersectional economic-ethnic privilege of "white people of modest means" is (ironically) taken to reassert a supremacy in relation to other intersectional positions. The need to prioritize access for white people of modest means—who have, moreover, earned the entitlement because it is they who "carry disability studies forward"—*before* imagining significant shifts in who does the scholarship, who can populate the conference, who can work in the university, or who can attend the meeting exemplifies an ableist quantification of access in which some kinds of access are just "too much": unreasonable not only under the law but also to the good disabled subject and well-meaning ally. Here we mean the "other kinds of access," those outside of the realm of ADA definability, including chemical sensitivity, often resulting from labor-related chemical injury, and economic access: we first ensure that those with ADA-recognized disabilities are served *before* ensuring that those from economically racially suppressed communities subject to environmental injustices have any opportunity for remedy or reparation, or access to affordable food, as if there are no overlaps between these groups, as if providing one type of access necessarily forecloses another—access as zero-sum game. Note that these entitlements are secured often by the very same people who will pronounce the interest of the field in "diversity and inclusion." And the emphasis on reinforcing via whiteness, rather than via broadening, access to such "resources" as land (redlining), buildings, conferences and events (scholarship, knowledge forms), and jobs (ADA) suggests a lurking stability to a history of the *settler* assertion of "whiteness as property," a phrase made vividly palpable by the legal scholar Cheryl Harris.[45] Whiteness functions as property, Harris demonstrates, and in so doing consolidates the legal imagination of property securely with whiteness. Understood as a particular lens on the securing and expansion of property, ownership, and capital, then, the fact that access exceptionalism bears essential marks of whiteness in the examples we observe should not be a surprise, but an expectation.

In conjunction with the above forms of prioritized *securing* of continued or increased access for some, there are both outwardly hostile and liberally mild forms of *refusal* for others. The hostile form marks particular bodies as too loud ("distracting"), as too "smelly"—such that inaccessibility becomes something that sticks to particular kinds of racialized (and classed, lending an irony to the "modesty" of the white bodies above) bodies. Those bodies, because they are racialized, can't by definition be disabled in the entitled sense above. At best, they can occupy incommensurable, unrecognizable, abject forms of debility and wrongness and thus fall outside of the anointed zone of rehabilitatability or reclaimability for disability pride. They can then in turn never have their own access needs or requests, can never face their own access barriers ("about disability" or otherwise) because they are by definition themselves inaccessible. The liberal form of refusal isn't a sheer "no," but is experienced as the effect of a "soft no," a shrug, "sorry, try next time," or the echo of a civil rights "wait, we will get to you if you wait," or "keep coming and maybe we'll consider you next time," when it's clear that this time has already foretold the structuring failure of that future. Hostile or liberal, the aggressive surveillance of these targeted (in every sense) accusations of inaccessibility is what allows for the larger structures of inaccessibility and exclusion (*including ableism*) to go unchallenged. Access as a tool of whiteness links to the facile marking of disability as diversity. The consolidation of a "charmed circle" (to use Gayle Rubin's term in a distinct, if overlapping, context) of access is directly linked to the removal, erasure, and whitewashing of all other histories and structures as either invisible or subordinate to this one.[46]

In sum: if we quantify access in certain preferential ways, not only will legal mechanisms like the ADA (and those recognized in its language) continue to mark (and limit) the horizon of our politics, but in addition, a continuous population of white disability studies scholars of modest (and perhaps increasing) means is guaranteed. It is possible then to understand how access can be used as a litmus test. If X movement/event doesn't meet a particular version of access, then it isn't worth engaging. A particular form of community is maintained *against* other forms of community-making, which renders the idea of disability community into a kind of selective lie. And yet, at the same time, intersectionality—the idea of living at multiple intersections on the "underside" of difference—can be used to shut down the conversation: if attention to racialized policing is rejected as legitimate disability studies, it's because the injury occurs at an intersection of race and disability that doesn't minimally and essentially include white disabled people of modest means. Access vigilance is thus also a mode of field-defining and boundary making, another iteration of "aboutness." Aboutness materializes in the regulation not only of what counts as "access" and inaccessibility, but of what counts as a legitimate access claim, of who is seen as able to make access claims.

We want disability studies to be a place for developing language that can help us navigate, challenge, and refuse this whole operation of access surveillance. Disability studies should be a site where access is constantly imagined and reimagined, with the goal of making access as radically comprehensive and transformational as possible—not one where compliance with the minimum standards of the ADA is "the best we can do" and therefore all we strive for and imagine. Puar (this volume) prompts such a transformational reimagining of access as she juxtaposes how the term is deployed by US disability rights advocates against its meanings in Palestine: "For example," she writes, "bus and taxis drivers are conjuring constantly shifting 'access maps' through monitoring and assessing impromptu checkpoints, divided highways, the violence of the Israeli occupation forces, the presence of settlers, increasing drone surveillance, unexplained road closures, protest and mass demonstrations, spontaneous parades that welcome released prisoners, and house demolitions." Access in this framing, of necessity, "foregrounds the intermeshed matrices of settler colonialism, empire, and infrastructures of disablement that cut across otherwise self-apparent geographies."

Is *access exceptionalism* the right term for the aggression we describe? What do we seek instead? We reproduce here notes from our discussion of this question. We want to keep thinking.

Access exceptionalism
Access supremacy
Supreme access
Access as the most important marker
. . . for the largest minority / the most marginalized
. . . the last/next/best/most timely group

Unsettling access
Collective access[47]
Access intimacy[48]
Radical collective care
Access indignation
Access crankiness
Access incompleteness
Access animacies
Access reciprocity
Access grace
Access solidarity

Access exceptionalism hinders relationality and solidarity; it renders all encounters antagonistic and competitive. In fall 2019, Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha joined an academic conference by Zoom for access reasons. The conference had allowed this only after insisting Zoom was too complicated, if anyone Zoomed then everyone would, and the Hilton conference center might not "be able to handle" Zoom. Pre-pandemic, video conference technologies frequently used by disabled organizers were regularly disallowed by institutions as a mode of access. Technology problems occurred at the event, and the chair of the panel apologized repeatedly, to the degree that Piepzna-Samarasinha began to feel unwelcome, as if their participation had become a burden. In stark contrast, they explain, disabled BIPOC communities anticipate technological glitches and access gaps, providing room for mistakes. When access is approached from this position, such that failures become opportunities for improvisation and negotiation, then access can be a means toward greater solidarity, community, and relationality, rather than obligation, competition, and requirement.

We navigate clashing access needs every day in our lives and relationships. We find cooperative solutions that could never be dreamed in abled imaginations.
—STACY PARK MILBERN

Transnational Disability Studies

Deciding to have a separate section on "the transnational" and "transnational disability studies" was not a decision we made lightly, and it remains a source of unease and ambivalence. Structurally, it continues the very habits we are trying to undo, namely assuming (always unmarked) English-language, US-based, white disability studies to be universally applicable while "transnational disability studies" is an optional add-on, a "new" or "emerging" subfield, a specialty relevant only in particular (always marked) contexts and only to particular (always marked) locales, people, and "populations," the subject of special issues and conference tracks tangential to the larger trajectories of the field.[49] "Disability studies" thereby remains intact and fully separable from this Other mode of engagement, such that the decision not to engage with transnational scholarship (or not to contextualize one's own scholarship in a specific location) is itself removed from analysis. But if we are really attempting to provincialize "disability studies"—perhaps in part by naming it not only as white, but also as Anglophone, Western, Global Northern, US/Canadian/British, or settler—then why have a separate section titled "Transnational"?

Our concern is that, in much white/Anglophone/Western/imperial/settler colonial/Northern disability studies, race and nation are often discussed in tandem, with little attempt to disentangle them or map their relations, while ethnicity and nationality disappear. As a result, "whiteness" often comes to stand in for all forms of domination, flattening out and obfuscating other forms of power and other genealogies of dominance. Scholars can then condemn "white disability studies" without attending to the ways in which their/our analyses continue to assume unmarked geopolitically situated perspectives. The field's origins in British and US empires are obscured.

Disabled communities in the United States—and especially "the disabled community" in the United States—continue to be described in and through nationalist imaginations. For example, in another iteration of the "but for" dynamic, the experience of being disabled in an ableist society is sometimes framed as the denial of citizenship to an otherwise entitled citizen. Although there are systematic barriers to exercising citizenship for people with disabilities, framing citizenship as the prerequisite for rights suggests that our concerns about these barriers are limited only to those people with legal citizenship status rather than advocating for the removal of those barriers for all. Similarly, anti-ableist politics is sometimes expressed in nationalist terms, as a yearning for a disability nation or for a recognition of disability as a kind of ethnicity. Think, for example, of one of the iconic photographs of the US disability rights movement, in which a disability activist holds a flag of the United States, but with the stars aligned in the shape of a person in a wheelchair. This realignment signals a clear desire for disabled people (or those disabled people legible within the wheelchair icon) to have access to the power of the nation-state, for a disabled person (or at least a wheelchair user) to be imaginable as the national subject. But the easy reliance on and recourse to the flag, especially its symbology of incorporated Indigenous territories into one unified shape, reveals how an imagination of the disabled community as a nation with a shared culture and identity depends on the logics of settler colonialism: territorial access, renaming and replacing, and possession.[50]

How might we instead acknowledge the harms and hazards of collapsing disability into nationality and cultural difference, while still recognizing the desire for collectivity? Can we forge transnational connections that are not simply subsumed under nationalism? Or that aren't subsumed under post- and anticolonial resistances that also wield hegemonic and majoritarian violence, erasing internal hierarchies, dissents, differences, and disabilities? What would such spaces of connection—beyond meetings at the UN and international conference gatherings—look, feel, sound, or smell like? What do we want to see instead of these assumptions that collectivity can take only the form of the nation with its attendant exclusions based on citizenship and documented belonging?

Simple references to ableist nationalism and imperialism too often fail to address the sub-empires that serve as brokers or mediators between empires and sites of exploitation. Sub-empires seek approval from white empires and aspire to join their rank by expanding the network of military and capitalist alliances to maximize their expropriation and exploitation. Moreover, provincializing white/imperial/settler colonial/Western/Northern disability studies—a move against unmarked generalization and monopolization of disability studies—also requires grounding it within the spaces of Anglo-American settler colonial societies. Doing so allows for the exploration of ableism's entanglements not only with racism but also with settler colonialism. It is problematic, in other words, to challenge the whiteness of disability studies without reckoning with the field's own attachments to settler futurities (e.g., claiming access only for disabled citizens within the US nation-state, assuming access to territory is an uncomplicated good and national right, and so on).[51] Finally, we are interested in tracking the field's global traffic outward from the imperial centers and the effects of its passing as universal. Decentering and dethroning whiteness is not necessarily sufficient in challenging this selective geopolitical positioning, especially if "whiteness" and "nonwhiteness" are defined solely through US/UK histories and parameters.

What are the costs to our theories and practices of not questioning nation-states as independent self-contained entities, as if they can exist outside of transnational rubrics of relationality? Or, to put it differently, as scholars continue to flesh out methodologies of disability studies and disability studies as methodology, what does a transnational disability studies make possible, what does it do, what are its orientations and investments and aims? What does an attention to disability as more than mere consequence of injustice reveal about settler colonialism, neocolonialism, ethnicism, racism, colorism, casteism, and nationalism? These oppressions have taken shape differently and interactively through transnational constructions of global white abledness as a normative entity and its supplemental hierarchies, materialities, and ideological manifestations—all of which are typically unmarked. Being more precise about the historical contexts of cooperations and oppositions, rather than blurring them all together or listing them in one breath, will also help us theorize disability differently, without simplifying and homogenizing the meanings of disabled lives. What has happened/happens/will happen to bodies that have become/are becoming/will become disabled? What do disabled lives need? What do disabled people desire?

By forwarding these questions we are calling for critiques that are reciprocal and multidirectional. For flows of knowledge that do not move only one way. For theories that do not announce themselves as universally applicable. For scholarship that does not presume a concept that works in one context will work in another context without attending to the specificities of its emergence. For scholars who recognize that permission to speak in universal terms has always only been available to some. Tari Young-Jung Na's essay in this volume offers a generative model here, as it focuses explicitly on questions that have emerged in South Korean contexts (and as it recognizes that "South Korean contexts" are not monolithic, singular, or contained within national borders) in order to respond to urgent questions of deinstitutionalization but without aiming to write a generalized and generalizable theory. Yet, through its careful and grounded accounting, Na's analysis does have resonance in other locations in its expansive conceptualization of what constitutes an institutionalized life. Offering other transnational approaches, Natalia Duong's and Sony Coráñez Bolton's essays generate knowledge from (by grounding their stories in) colonial legacies that are ongoing. By transposing and defamiliarizing disability critiques of individual rights and supercrips, they generate, in Bolton's terms, transnational understandings of disability "located within the historical and cultural detritus of the colonial." In so doing, they offer potential responses to Adria L. Imada's question, "How might decolonization projects differ in their relationship to disability?"[52]

Is "transnational disability studies" just an Anglophone knowledge-making project about the rest of the world? Or is the question of cripping transnationalism even the right question, given how *crip* is considered to be grounded in US theoretical practices, activist histories, and knowledge bases? How does a research project on disability in the United States with a transnational approach differ from one that doesn't engage with transnational dynamics in which the United States richly partakes? Transnationality seems to recognize borders and nations as products of geopolitical histories and their differences, yet it aims not to be delimited by borders in other ways, such as understanding the connectedness of human and nonhuman beings. It also aims to acknowledge the struggles to have borders and nationhood be recognized by international entities.

Academic conferences—and not only in the United States and United Kingdom—are commonly held exclusively in English, a commonplace that often goes unmarked, unmentioned, and assumed. Associations, their boards, and their members too often overlook the discrepancy between their desire for "more" international participants or "more" transnational analysis and their unquestioned assumption that everything will transpire in English. Other languages may be "welcomed," but only through participants' own labor, networks, and time, or cordoned off into "social" time. (Sign language users will undoubtedly recognize these logics at work in the hegemony of spoken and written language in the academy, as conferences and institutions continue to provide access to sign language only on a limited basis, if at all.)

> Please note: English and ASL are the two main languages in use at SDS; if you have other language needs, please indicate such on your proposal and we will try to assist you in obtaining accommodations.
> —CALL FOR PAPERS, Society for Disability Studies, "Cosmopolitan? Disability Studies Crips the City," 2008

The Society for Disability Studies' Call for Papers for its conference in New York City demonstrated some awareness of the linguistic dominance of English and ASL and the existence of other language needs. But such recognition can often serve only to defend and reinforce current linguistic practices. In its willingness to assist "in obtaining accommodations," SDS transferred its responsibility to the individual, obscuring what assistance could be provided and the process by which accommodations could be obtained. Yet we also want to highlight how its acknowledgment of language needs as a whole, without separating them based on proximity to disability, suggests a broader crip praxis of language justice, potentially allowing multiple linguistic practices to coexist alongside other kinds of access practices.

To enable broad transnational communications and to share scholarship and activist works, translation services are necessary. Thinking of translation services as different from sign language interpreter services ignores the entanglement of the colonial erasure of spoken languages with the ableist/audist erasure of sign languages. Centuries of linguistic imperialism establishing and enforcing the hegemony of English have made most scholars who work only in English fully unaware of scholarship and activism that don't take place in English or the other frequently translated European languages. This unawareness and assumed absence allows these scholars to claim an idea as unprecedented and prevents them from noticing the wide range of anti-ableist consciousness and practices already / long happening outside of the privileged locations of the United States/North/West. And this unawareness often means that when such scholars do engage other locations, they recognize only violence, or debilitation, or ableism, and not the histories, presents, and futures of resistance, art, lifeways, and cultures. It is also worth noting in this context that, to the extent it is provided at all, ASL too can occupy a hegemonic position; rarely do academic conferences in the United States offer interpreters for signed languages other than ASL. It too is assumed that ASL would be accessible by and to all deaf people and sign users.[53] This linguistic hegemony intersects with temporal and phonetic norms that marginalize nonverbal communication, machine- and people-assisted communication, speech marked as slow or fast, consecutive interpretation, and nondominant accents.

What we are suggesting, then, is that conversations about accessibility be broadened to include language and communication. We know that we are moving far beyond what counts as a "disability" in legal terms (and we are most definitely not arguing that an inability or unwillingness to use English constitutes a disability), but that is precisely our point. The unquestioned assumption of access to English testifies to a continued reliance on rights- and accommodation-based models in the United States, even among many of those scholars who critique them. Falling back on the legal requirements of the ADA without addressing their limitations, or adhering to the constraints disability law places on what an entity must legally provide, means that we can bracket language use as not a disability issue and therefore not an access issue. Deaf people's advocacy of sign language as a minority language similarly supports such an expansion of access to include language use; they are calling for solidarity among minority language users in a given space without legally privileging one over the other.

At the same time, by framing language translation as a matter of access, we don't mean to suggest that it is not also, simultaneously, a matter of language justice; we aren't arguing for a universalizing model of access in which all issues of inequity or redistribution become subsumed under notions of accessibility, thereby flattening out the workings of imperial, settler disability studies. Language justice, as an approach, might also make room for thinking through the ramifications of communications among people who have no common empirical and cultural backgrounds; translation alone cannot ensure access in a context of unquestioned ethnocentrism.[54]

We also want to recognize the vibrant and ongoing activisms that can occur at the site of such failures, the meaningful engagements that can happen via the improvised efforts that often animate transnational encounters. When a request for language accommodation is denied, for example, improvised peer-to-peer access labor often erupts. How, then, have moments of incomplete access often led to moments of connection? These moments too are an important part of crip genealogies. What kinds of access experiences, including access failures, catalyze or animate relationality? And can those failures be responded to with creativity, solidarity, and grace? What possibilities for unexpected connection are lost when we focus solely on institutionally funded professional services and architectural designs? If "the revolution will not be funded," as INCITE! teaches us, what (re)imaginations are required in building access animacies into the revolutionary work?[55] Through improvisation and direct engagement, access animacies both generate and rely on the embodied knowledges that are crucial to broader changes.

Transnational disability studies exceeds the parameters set for it, and we yearn for the radical (or potential) possibilities of encounters toward transnational crip/disability solidarity, frictions, and transnational crip/disability activism. At the same time, it is not about simply transcending borders and passing through borderlands, but also about dwelling in historical specificities and spaces demarcated by the complex imperial effects of fragmentations and partitionings.

Sticky Note: In many parts of this introduction, pronouns fail us. "I" am writing to myself, reminding myself to do and think differently, while "you" are writing to me, modeling other ways of thinking. "We" are a collective of writers, thinkers, and editors, but "we" are not equally positioned or equally situated in relation to the questions and the lists that appear in this introduction. Some of "our" work ("my" work) could be used to illustrate the DO NOT list below, while other ones of "us" are creating scholarship and engaging in world-making practices that move the DOs into being. Or, to put it differently: what violences and erasures am "I" enacting by writing as if "my" understanding of these insights predated learning them from "you"?

Habits of thinking, ways of orienting, practices of feeling, modes of practice to undo—or, what we don't want to do:

- Proceeding from the assumption that "we" are bringing or teaching or extending disability rights to the Global South, thereby
    - obscuring the leadership of those in the Global South in international disability rights work within the human rights frame (e.g., the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities)
    - ignoring how "disability rights" has different histories, functions, roles, and meanings in different contexts
    - re-centering the Global North even in/under the cover of "transnational analysis"
- Treating transnational analysis as only a matter of addition and citation, such that the fundamental arguments and assumptions of the work and the field remain unchanged by the work newly incorporated (digested, consumed, commodified) into it
- Reducing transnational scholarship to a matter of mere "coverage": adding scholars from X location (or who "work on" Y region) to the panel/keynote/anthology without considering the geopolitics of the panel/keynote/anthology itself
- Treating *intersectional analysis* and *transnational analysis* as fully separate and separable, or as if "intersectional" is for work "within" the United States and "transnational" for work "outside" of it[56]

- “Translating” the work of disability activists and theorists in the Global South into concepts and terms created by theorists working in Anglophone white settler societies
    - as if the ideas are the “same”
    - as if the ideas, though the same, nonetheless work better once expressed in terms more familiar to Anglophone white settler scholars
- Using the work of disability activists and scholars from the Global South while simultaneously apologizing for their “failure” to use the “correct” terminology, to cite the “canonical” sources, to engage in “properly rigorous” modes of scholarship; and for their “awkward” syntax, which is then attributed to their use of English as a “second language”
- Cordoning “transnational analysis” away from accounts of disability, debility, and ableism *within* imperial centers
- Reifying the value of independent living without considering the transnational labor market that makes independent living available
- Defining “ablenationalism” only as a subset of ableism, obscuring the complicity of disability studies and disability rights in nationalist projects and imaginaries
- Conflating colonialism, settler colonialism, and imperialism (and transnational, postcolonial, and decolonial)
- Approaching transnational disability studies as a mode of extraction, mining the intellectual/political/emotional/material labor of disability activists and scholars in the Global South for “answers” to problems in the Global North
    - as if that work were important only to the extent that it addresses questions generated in and by those in the Global North, or
    - as if that work can only shape the trajectory of the field if first vetted by scholars working in English from within the Global North
- Celebrating “disability pride” without considering questions of health care access, vulnerability to violence, labor conditions, or different cultural connotations of pride and the individual
    - more: mandating forms and expressions of “disability pride” easily recognizable as such by white Western observers
    - more: illustrating or defining “disability pride” only through recourse to the nation
    - more: using “disability pride” as an indication of a movement’s health, stage of development, consciousness, criticality, or progress

        - as if health, developmental stages, and progress were not themselves concepts deeply steeped in ableism (and targets of disability critique in other contexts)
- Urging the activists and scholars in the Global North to "pay attention" to the realities of disabled people in the Global South in the name of human rights and to save them from their cultural and social practices that are considered "barbaric" and "unthinkable in the Global North," thereby concealing the violence and abuse of disabled people in the Global North
- Using colonialism and imperialism as metaphors for white disability experiences in the ableist world, unaware of and disinterested in the histories, experiences, and existence of disabled people under colonial and imperial exploitation
- Assuming disability justice, critical race theories, critical ethnic studies, queer theories, and feminist theories have the same or similar resonances across all locations
- Assuming the same disability yields the same experiences and solidarity across the globe
- Supporting and participating in imperialist knowledge projects that legitimize and justify military intervention and economic exploitation in the name of disability inclusion, accessibility, human rights, or humanitarianism

Habits of thinking, ways of orienting, practices of feeling, modes of practice we want to cultivate—or, what we want to do:

This list is a lot harder to write and that means something . . .

- Acknowledging complicity in settler colonialism, imperialism, nationalism, war, and state violence
    - examining how "disability rights" is deployed in the service of these phenomena
    - recognizing that having a disability or identifying as disabled does not necessarily preclude support for these phenomena
- Reading, rereading, seeking, translating, and citing disability activists and scholars who are not based in the United States/Canada/United Kingdom and/or whose work wasn't originally written in English
- Recognizing that models of disability activism grounded in liberal principles (such as independence, individuality, and rights) are not the only models and do not have universal meanings and manifestations

- Understanding differences as sites of and for ingenuity and creativity
- Being open to terms, feelings, orientations, and priorities that you/I/we don't recognize, or feel comfortable with, or feel hailed by
- Sharing frameworks and strategies of disability resistance that arise in different places
- Collaborating to formulate transnational agendas and solidarities, even if they may not have "disability" at the forefront of their agenda
- Acknowledging the presence of power dynamics and the persistence of assumptions about gender, culture, nation, religion, race, ethnicity, and indigeneity in inter- and intranational encounters
- Attending to geopolitics and entangled histories
    - recognizing that international policies and diplomatic practices shape disabled people's lives
    - exploring the parts of the world too often skipped over or homogenized, those occupying an ambiguous middle between the Global North and the Global South (e.g., Northeast Asia, Eastern Europe, Middle East)
- Holding governments, militaries, corporations, and supranational organizations in the Global North accountable for systematic injustice, exploitation, and violence
- Seeking feedback from the people who are studied and portrayed in the research, bringing the research back to them, and making it accessible and accountable to all
- Attending to the effects of maps, photos, and journalistic descriptions of scenes that are unfamiliar to targeted readers
- Critically engaging with representations of disability that are presented as and assumed to "be" signs of suffering and that give no attention to strategies of survival, resistance, and solidarity
- Being equally critical of disability representations that romanticize conditions of community with no acknowledgment of structural hierarchies and conflicts.

We note that everything in this section is much more easily said than done. For example, as we revised this introduction, we frequently found ourselves asking whether we had cited robustly enough from beyond the US academy, and the answer was always an emphatic no. How then might we resist the temptation of attempting to remedy the limitations of our analysis through mere strategic citation? What does it reveal about the concept of "the transnational" that many of the "transnational

> disability scholars" recommended to us—and that we ourselves have recommended to others—have PhDs from and/or jobs at US, Canadian, Australian, or UK institutions? Is it possible to ever fully know the difference between citing amply and citing tokenistically?
>
> We keep these lists open, incomplete, and ongoing; we continue to ask questions.

Although these two lists are not the only ones contained in this introduction or even in this volume, we are uneasy about our turn to the form in this particular section. We know that even as lists can make content accessible and declarative (lists are how some of us think), they can also reduce, freeze, and leap. The genre of the list has played a prominent role in global disability studies scholarship, which often features long litanies of "realities"—implicitly and explicitly contrasted to "theories"—such as war, displacement, malnutrition, detention and incarceration, environmental degradation, and absent or inadequate resources. These descriptions are frequently accompanied by statistics broken down by nation-states or regions. All of this data is necessary and vital, and too little of it has been recognized or addressed by white imperial disability studies. Yet when offered in the form of lists—without careful explanations of historical and geopolitical intricacies, without reference to the multiple analyses generated from *within* those contexts—then those lists serve to simplify entire nations and regions. Lists often fail to convey internal hierarchies and differences; they obscure the stories of community, pleasure, relationality, and creativity that exist alongside and beyond suffering, loss, and survival. They can serve the colonial project by offering imagery of the "rampant sufferings in the third-world" that need to be alleviated by external intervention. All the nuances, textures, desires, experiences, imaginations, and resistances that emerge from disability and illness experiences disappear in those "sobering" realities of "war-torn" countries filled with suffering and wounded bodies. Transnational feminist scholars have long criticized this materializing trope of the Third World that fuels the very white saviorism that produces and justifies further (disabling and debilitating) "interventions." Details about the material conditions of the Global South can serve to conceal and abstract as much as they reveal.

Overview of the Book

The essays collected in this volume do not all accumulate to a singular argument about the field; their authors do not share a single relationship to it. Just as we committed to incompleteness in the introduction, we did not strive to select essays that would tell a singular narrative or that would collectively add up to a "complete" perspective. At the same time, the contributors to the volume do share an interest in the overlapping themes and ideas described here. Authors take up related questions, draw on the same sources, use similar words. We hope you will find the resonances and gaps within and across texts illuminating in thinking through your own crip genealogies.

Another point of generative friction among the essays is the question of style, or the recognition of different audiences. Many of the pieces anticipate readers familiar with debates within academic disability studies, while others are more closely conversant with the work of disability activists or scholars immersed in other fields. Some authors lean heavily into the terminological and methodological habits of their disciplines and areas of study, and some have chosen to write more broadly, to share a conversation, or to tell stories. We hesitate to use the language of accessibility, marking some chapters as more accessible or readable than others, because such attributions often mark deep assumptions about inside/outside and academic/activist; they can also be used to reify narrow understandings of neurodiversity, neuroqueerness, communication, and cognition. A mandate to write "accessibly"—especially if the histories, contexts, and meanings of "accessible writing" are left unspoken or unexplored—can serve as yet another taken-for-granted expectation that serves to mark some texts as inappropriate, or incorrect, or unworthy, thereby further constraining the kinds of voices present in the academy. Given that any one kind of writing is never accessible to all, we welcomed writers with varying degrees of, approaches to, and modes of accessibility to find their readers, leaving open questions of what constitutes an accessible text (accessible to whom? accessible for what?). To put it differently: some chapters will speak more directly, or more clearly, or more urgently, to you than others, but part of the work of this volume is to trouble the suggestion that we can know in advance (not to mention claim on your behalf) which chapters those are. Texts become accessible and inaccessible to various readers—and writers—in unexpected ways, ways not limited to one's location in (or distance from) the academy or one's experiential and cultural knowledges.[57]

Rather than attempt to represent all possible subject positions and experiences of marginalization, the volume overall includes an effort to lend particular specificity to the modes of disability attendant to Asian and Asian American lives, particularly given a legacy of the racialization of Asians as subject to, or people of, illness and disease.[58] Several chapters thus focus on the experiences of Asian subjects living with illnesses and disabilities (produced) under capitalist, colonial, and imperial dominations.

Part I, **Mobilization and Coalition**, examines how disability justice activists move and work in concert with other social justice projects. **Tari Young-Jung Na** explores how the deinstitutionalization movement in South Korea can offer a radical vision for liberation. From a postcolonial perspective, Na reconsiders the problem of institutionalization, which became full-fledged in South Korean society with the birth of the modern state, searching for an epistemology of deinstitutionalization at the intersections of the disability liberation movement, feminist movement, and queer movement in South Korea. **Lezlie Frye** traces the legacy of US disability rights through and against Black civil rights and Black power. Combining close readings of interviews, ephemera, and activist and scholarly articles and monographs, Frye critically reorients the presumed origins of this social movement, focusing instead on the racial dimensions of the political trajectory it has pursued. Through conversation, **Stacey Park Milbern and Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha** discuss what they call "crip doulaship," or the process of coming into disabled identity and awareness through caring, mentoring, and modeling community relationships. The crip lineages they outline, which include forms of relation such as "being closer to the dead than the living," attune to the particularities of QTBIPOC lives and histories, allow for grief and longing, and assert the primary importance of intersectional forms of liberation. **Jasbir K. Puar** outlines the different issues that arise when studying disability in the Global South, suggesting that a diversification of critical disability studies winds up reinforcing the US boundaries of the field, while relegating southern disability studies as an Other that gestures toward a transnational and global frame.

Part II, **Crip Ecologies and Senses**, considers crip environments. **Natalia Duong** examines how dance can articulate a different relational experience of disability. She highlights an ethics of care and kinship through her analysis of the dancefilm *Rhizophora,* which disrupts the trope of other documentary portrayals of Agent Orange by depicting a community of people who come together through their relationship with disability. **Suzanne Bost** stages a dialogue between posthumanist theory and the writings of Aurora Levins Morales, a Latina feminist whose recent works examine the social and environmental dimensions of chronic illness and disability. Bost proposes an other-than-humanist approach to disability ethics that is not derived from the lineages of Western thought. **Magda García** elaborates how the cultural worker and zinester Noemi Martinez has expansively contributed to discussions of queerness, sexuality, and illness over the course of two decades. Her essay focuses on Martinez's *South Texas Experience Zine Project* (2005) and *South Texas Experience: Love Letters* (2015), which present a sensual and affective encounter and confrontation with the geopolitical location that is South Texas and its colonial markings.

Part III, **Genealogies**, considers what it means to refuse concepts of lineal descent. **Faith Njahîra Wangarî** narrates the process of growing into disability and learning to trust her body. In telling her story, she shows that there are no neat lines; we can honor the experiences, the people, and the places without seeking hierarchical and professional validations of any form. **Kateřina Kolářová** turns to the postsocialist geopolitical and temporal context of Eastern Europe, and specifically to Czechoslovakia/Czech Republic, as a location that bears witness to the complex and complicated transnational translations of disability theory. She thinks with the cinematographic oeuvre of Wiktor Grodecki, a US-based Polish émigré who was drawn back to Eastern Europe in the mid-1990s by the subject of MSM sex work. **Sami Schalk** argues that the Black Panther Party's material and ideological solidarity with 504 activists can be read as a genealogical precursor to disability justice today. By connecting concepts in disability justice to the BPP, Schalk argues that disability studies must not only expand our understanding of what constitutes disability politics today, but also what constituted disability politics in the past, especially within Black and other oppressed populations.

Part IV, **Institutional Undoing**, broadly rejects assimilatory urges toward institutional coherency, recognizing the implicit violences they comprise. **James Kyung-Jin Lee** explores the characteristics of recent Asian American illness memoirs, such as Paul Kalanithi's *When Breath Becomes Air*, evidencing, cynically, "a new structure of feeling in watching model minorities get sick and sometimes die." He ultimately arrives at the possibility of unique, iconoclastic Asian American memoir, rejecting the contiguity of model minoritarianism and all it engenders. **Sony Coráñez Bolton** recuperates the figure of the "Filipina supercrip," reading mestizo Filipino author José Reyes's *Novela de la Vida Real* (1930) to catalogue the ways that representations of illness, impairment, and disability are aligned to consolidate the power of an elite literary culture through the rehabilitation of Filipino Indigenous subjects. **Mel Y. Chen** considers the widespread unmarked of racialized disability within the bounds of the university, and the ways that it takes an integral part in a broad, emergent counterforce, not necessarily intellected or composed, that Chen calls "agitation." Chen explores a recent installation by Australian-Badtjala artist Fiona Foley in relation to what Snaza and Singh call the necessary potency of "educational undergrowth," showing that agitations work across the physical-mental divide and move against the disciplining forces of entangled educational, security, and medical systems.[59]

Conclusion

Although this introduction focuses on the promises and failures of disability studies and crip theory, we have each spent most if not all of our academic careers in feminist/women's/gender/sexuality studies departments and programs in the United States, and everything that we say here has been influenced by those locations. In marking that trace, we mean to acknowledge our intellectual, political, and psychic ties to feminist, queer, and trans scholarship and activism, particularly queer of color critique, transnational feminism, and women of color feminisms. But we also want to acknowledge the ableism of some of that work, and to underscore that many of the critiques detailed above have also been and continue to be directed to feminist and queer scholarship and activism (we have learned much from those critiques). Or, to put it differently, part of the work of crip genealogies is to read the oppressive and liberatory practices of one field in relation to others, rather than simply determining one field as better or worse than another. Disability studies, in other words, is not a singularly oppressive field any more than disability is a singularly oppressed condition.

Although those two attributions—disability studies as most oppressive, disabled people as most oppressed—seem to run counter to each other, they both share a removal of disability from larger historical contexts, an assumption that the problem of disability/disability studies can be discussed in isolation. But as the COVID-19 pandemic continues to unfold and decimate, it is ever more vital to write against these removals and not just in terms of white/nonwhite dyads. The conjunction of anti-Black racism, ableism, and sanism in the extrajudicial murders of Black men, women, nonbinary folks, and children (adding to the judicial forms of death and slow death within the prison industrial complex); the marking of sick, disabled, and old people, of people confined in institutions, and/or of Black, Indigenous, Pacific Islander, and Latinx people as "high-risk" and therefore inevitable or acceptable losses to COVID-19; the cynical use of "preexisting conditions" as a cover for the deadly effects of policing and a racially and economically stratified health-care system; the insistence on "reopening" economies on the backs of low-income service workers, most of whom are immigrants and/or people of color; the attacks on Asian people as presumptively sick *and* contagious, which makes impossible to imagine the vulnerabilities faced by certain intersectionalities within the disaggregated API populace: all of these must be viewed as integral rather than incidental to the questions we pose around crip genealogies.

We began writing together, in various forms and to different ends, in 2013; some of that writing appears here. During the intervening years, and especially in the time period when work on this collection began in earnest, different configurations of us have experienced intensifications of illness, changing relationships to mental and cognitive disabilities (and diagnoses), "high-risk" pregnancy, inadequate and discriminatory health care, cancer and other "scares," pain and fatigue of unknown etiology, illnesses and deaths of family members, shifting work accommodations and access failures, along with the stress of keeping pace with changing policy in the universities where we do much of our work. These experiences of ableism and healthism are also entangled with racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, and anti-immigrant vitriol, and occurred both beyond and within the borders of the universities where we nevertheless have a limited if precious form of security of employment. Continuing to learn about the workings of these forces, and in particular making sense of them in collaboration, lent fire to this project, and also gave us opportunities to find new forms of wisdom, fury, peace, and dedication. If it's obvious that our experiences have not been the "same," what is critically important in this context is that there have been resonances across and through them: temporal, embodied, emotional, intellectual, and political, the navigation of which potentiates, as we understand it, crip being. In the midst of these lives, and in sharing them, we have drawn great sustenance from each other and from doing this work together. Perhaps we could even say that the crip time of curating and assembling this project had to do with love as much as any hardship. All of this is part of our crip genealogies.

So, too, are you.

NOTES

1 Mimi Khúc has developed a pedagogy of "unwellness" that "starts with the radical recognition that we are all differentially unwell." Khúc explains, "I not only teach about unwellness—mental health, race+racism, structural violence—I teach with the assumption that we are all shaped by structural unwellness and that the purpose of the classroom space is to learn the contours of that unwellness and discover how to live through it." https://www.mimikhuc.com/teaching.

2 Hamraie, "Mapping Access," 461.

3 Yergeau, *Authoring Autism*, 84.

4 Kim, "Disability in an Age of Fascism," 267.

5 Piepzna-Samarasinha also mentions "disabled queer Black and brown writers and activists" Stacey Park Milbern, Aurora Levins Morales, and Billie Rain as integral to this work. Piepzna-Samarasinha, *Care Work*, 15.

6 Sins Invalid, "What Is Disability Justice?," in *Skin, Tooth, and Bone*, 15. This chapter was adapted from Patty Berne's 2015 essay, "Disability Justice: A Working Draft."

7 Sins Invalid, "What Is Disability Justice?," 15.

8 Sins Invalid, "What Is Disability Justice?," 10. This kind of appropriative move is all too common in the academy, as many feminists of color have long noted. The Cite Black Women project, for example, arose out of a frustration with the erasure of Black women's voices and a claiming of their ideas by (white, male) others without appropriation or acknowledgment. Sins Invalid and Cite Black Women are both, in different ways, challenging the extractive approach of the academy to the intellectual labor of BIPOC activists and scholars. https://www.citeblackwomencollective.org/.

9 The move to use *crip* and *queer* interchangeably can point to important coalitional impulses within crip and queer activism and theory. However, it can also—as Ellen Samuels notes in a different context—risk reifying single-issue politics: "What we risk losing sight of when we substitute one term for the other in our analytical framework is the necessary evolution of those frameworks beyond a single-term approach." Samuels, "Critical Divides," 65.

10 Lisa Hix, "Interview with Leroy Moore."

11 Kim, "Toward a Crip-of-Color Critique"; Erevelles, "Crippin' Jim Crow"; Ben-Moshe, *Decarcerating Disability*, 28.

12 Erevelles, "Crippin' Jim Crow," 81. Erevelles notes that her analysis builds on that of Robert McRuer; consult his *Crip Theory*, 65–70.

13 For example, consult Saldaña-Portillo, "Violence of Citizenship," 1–21.

14 For example, consult Aciksoz, *Sacrificial Limbs*.

15 With thanks to Hershini Bhana Young for the notion of "cripplers."

16 Sins Invalid, *Skin, Tooth, and Bone*; consult also Clare, *Brilliant Imperfection*; and Stacey Park Milbern and Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha, "Crip Lineages, Crip Futures: A Conversation," in this volume.

17 Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens," 479.

18 Cohen, "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens," 479.

19 Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology*, 121.

20 Macharia, "On Being Area-Studied," 184.

21 Alexander, *Pedagogies of Crossing*.

22 Chuh, "It's Not about Anything," 127.

23 Consult, for example, Nguyen, "Critical Disability Studies," 2–25. Nguyen and the Decolonial Disability Studies Collective center an "alternative body of knowledge, theory, and praxis that aims to unsettle hegemonic forms of knowledge production in Western disability studies."

24 Journals such as *Disability in the Global South* and the new *Indian Journal of Critical Disability Studies* offer deep dives into more expansive disability studies, but we are thinking especially here of recent anthologies and the important work their introductions and tables of contents do in framing the field. Consult, for example, edited volumes by Falola and Hamel, *Disability in Africa*; Soldatic and Johnson, *Global Perspectives on Disability Activism*; Chappell and de Beer, *Diverse Voices*; and Grech and Soldatic, *Disability in the Global South*. For an earlier influential collection, consult Parekh's "Intersecting Gender and Disability Perspectives."

25 Pickens, "Blue Blackness, Black Blueness," 95.

26 Rowley, “The Idea of Ancestry”; Springer, “Third Wave Black Feminism?” Springer’s text feels especially important to highlight here, given that one of her critiques of feminist texts that rely on wave metaphors is that they fail to account for disability.

27 https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Image/IM101667.

28 All of these are means by which academic institutions, as Moya Bailey reminds us, “play a critical role in the exacerbation and creation of disability and delimiting of life.” Bailey, “Ethics of Pace,” 288 (cf. Bailey 2017).

29 We are thinking alongside José Esteban Muñoz here, and his evocation of “the receptors we use to hear each other and the frequencies on which certain subalterns speak and are heard or, more importantly, felt.” Muñoz, “Feeling Brown, Feeling Down,” 677.

30 Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldúa define a “theory in the flesh” as “one where the physical realities of our lives—our skin color, the land or concrete we grew up on, our sexual longings—all fuse to create a politic born out of necessity.” *This Bridge Called My Back*, 19.

31 Lorde, *Sister Outsider*, 130, 131.

32 Schalk, “Coming to Claim Crip,” np (emphasis added).

33 Established in 1961, the Non-Aligned Movement arose out of the 1955 Bandung (Indonesia) Conference, where Asian and African states refused to align with imperial powers and formed an independent Third World alliance focused on peace and disarmament, economic development, and social justice. Prashad, *Darker Nations*. For a theorization of Indigenous practices of refusal, consult, for example, Simpson, “On Ethnographic Refusal,” 67–80.

34 Kim, “Toward a Crip-of-Color Critique.”

35 Consult Wynter, “‘No Humans Involved.’”

36 Pickens, *Black Madness :: Mad Blackness*.

37 Bailey and Mobley, “Work in the Intersections,” 30.

38 Milbern, “Notes on ‘Access Washing.’” Also consult National Disability Rights Network, “Blocking the Ballot Box: Ending Misuse of the ADA to Close Polling Places,” 2020, https://www.ndrn.org/resource/blocking-the-ballot-box/.

39 Milbern, “Notes on ‘Access Washing.’”

40 Laura Jaffee, “Access Washing,” 15.

41 Hamraie, *Building Access*.

42 Jaffee, “Access Washing,” 15–16.

43 Hamraie, *Building Access*, 72.

44 Kimberlé Crenshaw writes about the implicit grounding of white femaleness in the “doctrinal conceptualization of sex discrimination. For white women, claiming sex discrimination is simply a statement that *but for* gender, they would not have been disadvantaged.” “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex,” 144 (emphasis added).

45 Harris, “Whiteness as Property,” 1707–91.

46 Rubin, “Thinking Sex.”

47 Mia Mingus, “Reflections on an Opening: Disability Justice and Creating Collective Access in Detroit,” *Leaving Evidence* (blog), August 23, 2010, https://

leavingevidence.wordpress.com/2010/08/23/reflections-on-an-opening-disability-justice-and-creating-collective-access-in-detroit/.

48 Mia Mingus, "Access Intimacy, Interdependence and Disability Justice," *Leaving Evidence* (blog), April 12, 2017, https://leavingevidence.wordpress.com/2017/04/12/access-intimacy-interdependence-and-disability-justice/.

49 For those scholars tempted to assume that transnational perspectives on or approaches to disability are "new" or part of "the next wave" of disability studies, it might be helpful to remember that disability activists around the world have spent decades building transnational collaborations in order to pressure governments to enact policies and legislations upholding the human rights of disabled people.

50 Laura Jaffee and Kelsey John importantly state, "Indigenous struggles for national sovereignty challenge the uncritically assumed desirability of access/inclusion and suggest that decolonial disability justice necessitates that Indigenous peoples' land ought to be inaccessible to or non-inclusive of (disabled and nondisabled) settlers." "Disabling Bodies of/and Land," 1418.

51 For a range of analyses of ableism in relation to settler colonialism, including attention to the deep relations between bodies and lands, consult Larkin-Gilmore, Callow, and Burch, "Indigeneity and Disability."

52 Imada, "Decolonial Disability Studies?"

53 Other sign languages in use in North America include BASL (Black American Sign Language), LSM (Lengua de Señas Mexicana), and LSQ (Langue des signes québécoise).

54 Sins Invalid's recent articulation of language justice as integral to disability justice marks a similar concern, noting that "language justice isn't *just* about access" but also requires a commitment to "flatten hierarchies." Sins Invalid, "La justicia de lenguaje."

55 INCITE!, *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded*.

56 Jennifer C. Nash challenges this kind of bifurcation in her careful exploration of the rifts, ruptures, and possibilities of Black feminist theory. Nash, *Black Feminism Reimagined*.

57 Our thinking about the importance of naming access practices and specifying how they affect one's scholarship has been informed by a wide range of disability studies scholars and disability activists and cultural workers, many of whom are cited here. As Lydia X. Z. Brown notes, questions of style are never only or purely stylistic: "Forced conformity to arbitrary standards of 'better' language usage has a violent and oppressive history, especially targeting poor people, those for whom English is not a first language, cognitively disabled people, and uneducated people (which is often related to class, race, and disability)" ("A Note on Process," ix). For another generative example of such an access statement, one that recognizes financial cost and lack of library access as forms of inaccessibility, consult Burch, *Committed*.

58 For additional theorizations of illness, disability, and Asian America, consult James Kyung-Jin Lee's special issue of *Amerasia*, "The State of Illness and Disability in Asian America"; Lee's *Pedagogies of Woundedness*; Mimi Khúc's curation of "Open in Emergency: A Special Issue on Asian American Mental Health," *Asian American Literary Review*; as well as the work of The Asian Americans with Disabilities Initia-

tive, https://www.aadinitiative.org/. There is extensive scholarship on disability in Asian contexts, including a continued and necessary caution against homogenizing approaches that create a monolithic "Asia" (or, for that matter, "South Asia," "East Asia," and so on). As Fiona Kumari Campbell explains, for example, "South Asian disability studies is not a monolith of equal partnerships; instead, there is the dominance of a regionalised Indian disability studies and relatively little disability studies research and conceptual development produced in other countries, especially in English, such as in Bhutan, the Maldives and Sri Lanka." Campbell, "Indian Contributions," 23.

59 Snaza and Singh, "Introduction," 1.