

Changing the Social Relations of Research Production?

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ABSTRACT *This paper will argue that research on disability has had little influence on policy and made no contribution to improving the lives of disabled people. In fact, up to now the process of research production has been alienating both for disabled people and for researchers themselves. Neither positivist nor interpretive paradigms are immune from the characterisation of research as alienation, and hence it is suggested that the only way to produce unalienated research is to change the social relations of research production. This change will require the development of an emancipatory research paradigm and both the development of and agenda for such a paradigm are briefly considered.*

Introduction

Disability cannot be abstracted from the social world which produces it; it does not exist outside the social structures in which it is located and independent of the meanings given to it. In other words, disability is socially produced. In the past 100 years or so, industrial societies have produced disability first as a medical problem requiring medical intervention and second as a social problem requiring social provision. Research, on the whole, has operated within these frameworks and sought to classify, clarify, map and measure their dimensions.

The late twentieth century has seen a crisis develop in these productions of disability because disabled people have recognised the medical and individual ideologies underpinning them. What is more, having done so, they are now engaged in a struggle to produce disability as social oppression. As this struggle continues and disabled people grow in strength, the crisis in disability production will deepen and researchers will be forced to answer the question Howard Becker posed 30 years ago: whose side are you on? Such are the fundamentals with which we are now dealing.

Returning to the question Becker posed all those years ago is apt, for the book in which he posed it was called *Outsiders*. More recently and in another context Chambers (1983) talks about researchers as outsiders. He talks about the way academic researchers of all methodological persuasions have consistently misunder-

stood and distorted both the phenomenon of rural poverty and the experiences of the rural poor in the third world. His critique of what he calls 'rural development tourism' in many respects mirrors the critique of disability research provided by disabled people.

If research in two such disparate areas as rural poverty in the third world and disability in late capitalist society can be attacked on the same grounds, then the problems inherent in such research cannot be reduced to narrow methodological or technical issues. What is more, black people (Bourne, 1981) and women (Maguire, 1987) have provided similar critiques of race and gender research indicating that the problems inherent in such research are widespread.

It is to what can only be called the social relations of research production that the failures of such research can be attributed, and indeed, it is to these very social relations that attention must be focused if research, in whatever area, is to become more useful and relevant in the future than it has been in the past.

The social relations of research production provides the structure within which research is undertaken. These social relations are built upon a firm distinction between the researcher and the researched; upon the belief that it is the researchers who have specialist knowledge and skills; and that it is they who should decide what topics should be researched and be in control of the whole process of research production.

To leave these social relations of research production unchallenged is to leave the task of setting a research agenda for the 1990s in the hands of these experts. The very idea that small groups of 'experts' can get together and set a research agenda for disability is, again, fundamentally flawed. Such an idea is the product of a society which has a positivistic consciousness and a hierarchical social structure which accords experts an elite role. Agenda setting, whether it be in politics, policy-making or service provision, is part of a process of struggle and this is equally true of agenda setting in disability research.

Disability research should not be seen as a set of technical, objective procedures carried out by experts but part of the struggle by disabled people to challenge the oppression they currently experience in their daily lives. Hence the major issue on the research agenda for the 1990s should be; do researchers wish to join with disabled people and use their expertise and skills in their struggles against oppression or do they wish to continue to use these skills and expertise in ways in which disabled people find oppressive?

This leads to the final fundamental issue which will be addressed in this paper—the potential and significance of disability research under a different set of social relations of research production. In order to fully grasp this potential significance, my paper will locate the discussion historically, considering both the history of research generally and how disability research relates to this history, for any understanding that is not historically grounded can only be partial. The history of research will be discussed utilising a three stage historical schema as follows: the positivist stage, the interpretive stage and the emancipatory stage. This schema will then be used to discuss the history, development and future of disability research specifically.

Before discussing the history of research in any detail, however, it is necessary to provide some commentary on the contemporary 'state' of research in general and disability research in particular. There have been numerous attempts in recent years to consider the value and importance of social research (Bulmer, 1981; Kallen, 1982; Shotland & Mark, 1985; Finch, 1986; Heller, 1986; Wenger, 1987) with almost as many differing conclusions. For present purposes, in the following section, one such conclusion will be discussed; that of research as alienation.

At this point however, it is important to emphasise that while much of the paper will be critical of research, it is nonetheless based upon the belief that social research has much to contribute to improving the quality of life for everyone in late capitalist society. That it has not done so, so far, is not because social research has little to offer, but because the social relations of research production have resulted in the production of distorted findings which have been irrelevant to the policy process. Changing the social relations of research production will, at least, offer the possibility of developing a social research enterprise which is relevant to, and significant in, the lives of those people who are the subjects of this enterprise.

Research as Alienation

The term alienation in its original Marxist sense referred to the process of labour whereby workers became estranged from the products they produced. In a powerful critique of most of what passes for social research, Rowan (1981) argues that alienation is the outcome of the process of this research. By this he meant

... treating people as fragments. This is usually done by putting a person into the role of 'research subject' and only then permitting a very restricted range of behaviour to be counted. This is alienating because it is using the person for someone else's ends—the person's actions do not belong to that individual, but to the researcher and the research plan. (Rowan, 1981, p. 93)

For him, almost all social research has been alienating and alienation in all the four forms suggested by Marx are usually present; from the product of research, from the process itself, from other research subjects and, finally, from self.

The recent history of disability research, in Great Britain at least, can certainly be seen in the terms that Rowan (1981) describes above. The national disability survey undertaken by the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys (OPCS) on behalf of the British Government is a good example of such alienation. Since the publication of the findings of this research (Martin *et al.*, 1988; Martin & White, 1988), despite promises to the contrary, the Government has failed to take any coherent policy initiatives based upon it. OPCS has not taken it further, considering that they have done what they were contracted to do. Disabled people and their organisations have either ignored it or disputed both its reliability and validity (DIG, 1988; Disability Alliance, 1988; Abberley, 1991).

Much of this was predictable in advance because of the alienation of disabled people from the process of research. They were not consulted about the research in

advance; what issues should be investigated, how the research should be carried out and so on. Because of this the questions asked in the survey clearly locate the 'problems' of disability within the individual. (See Table I for a sample of these questions.) It would have been equally possible to have asked questions which located the problems of disability elsewhere. (See Table II for a sample of alternative questions.)

TABLE I. Survey of disabled adults—OPCS, 1986

Can you tell me what is wrong with you?
What complaint causes your difficulty in holding, gripping or turning things?
Are your difficulties in understanding people mainly due to a hearing problem?
Do you have a scar, blemish or deformity which limits your daily activities?
Have you attended a special school because of a long-term health problem or disability?
Does your health problem/disability mean that you need to live with relatives or someone else who can help look after you?
Did you move here because of your health problem/disability?
How difficult is it for you to get about your immediate neighbourhood on your own?
Does your health problem/disability prevent you from going out as often or as far as you would like?
Does your health problem/disability make it difficult for you to travel by bus?
Does your health problem/disability affect your work in any way at present?

TABLE II. Alternative questions

Can you tell me what is wrong with society?
What defects in the design of everyday equipment like jars, bottles and tins cause you difficulty in holding, gripping or turning them?
Are your difficulties in understanding people mainly due to their inabilities to communicate with you?
Do other people's reactions to any scar, blemish or deformity you may have, limit your daily activities?
Have you attended a special school because of your education authority's policy of sending people with your health problem or disability to such places?
Are community services so poor that you need to rely on relatives or someone else to provide you with the right level of personal assistance?
What inadequacies in your housing caused you to move here?
What are the environmental constraints which make it difficult for you to get about in your immediate neighbourhood?
Are there any transport or financial problems which prevent you from going out as often or as far as you would like?
Do poorly-designed buses make it difficult for someone with your health problem/disability to use them?
Do you have problems at work because of the physical environment or the attitudes of others?

Further, in Rowan's terms, the researchers and the researched were alienated from each other in the way the research was carried out. Disabled people either

filled in a postal questionnaire or were interviewed, not by the principal OPCS workers but by part-time interviewers. Further, as I have pointed out elsewhere,

It is in the nature of the interview process that the interviewer presents as expert and the disabled person as an isolated individual inexperienced in research, and thus unable to reformulate the questions in a more appropriate way. It is hardly surprising that, by the end of the interview, the disabled person has come to believe that his or her problems are caused by their own health/disability problems rather than by the organisation of society. It is in this sense that the process of the interview is oppressive, reinforcing onto isolated, individual disabled people the idea that the problems they experience in everyday living are a direct result of their own personal inadequacies or functional limitations. (Oliver, 1990, p. 8)

Hence the research experience for all concerned was an isolating, individual one reinforcing the dominant idea of disability as an individual problem. Finally, according to Abberley (1991) it attempted to "depoliticise the unavoidably political, to examine the complex and subtle through crude and simplistic measures".

This alienation from the most extensive and most expensive disability research ever carried out in Britain is not simply an isolated example but symptomatic of a wider crisis that exists between disabled people and the research community. As disabled people have increasingly analysed their segregation, inequality and poverty in terms of discrimination and oppression, research has been seen as part of the problem rather than as part of the solution (Oliver, 1987). Disabled people have come to see research as a violation of their experience, as irrelevant to their needs and as failing to improve their material circumstances and quality of life.

This wider crisis is not something which just affects disabled people for as Chambers (1983, p. 53) reflects in relation to research on rural poverty.

Much of the material remains unprocessed, or if processed, unanalyzed, or if analyzed, not written up, or if written up, not read, or if read, not remembered, or if remembered, not used or acted upon. Only a minuscule proportion, if any, of the findings affect policy and they are usually a few simple totals. The totals have often been identified early on through physical counting of questionnaires or coding sheets and communicated verbally, independently of the main processing.

Other (oppressed) groups feel exactly the same (Bourne, 1981; Roberts, 1981). Women, for example, have been advised by Finch (1986) to protect themselves from people like her and black people have been advised to tell researchers to 'fuck off' (Jenkins, 1971). Similarly, disabled people have been advised not to partake in research that does not fully involve them from the outset on the grounds of 'no participation without representation' (Finkelstein, 1985). Hence, in order to understand the crisis in disability research, it is necessary to understand the wider research crisis and how this has developed historically. This will be the subject of the next section.

History of Research

Up until now, there is no doubt that social research has been dominated by positivism. This positivist paradigm has built into a number of assumptions about the nature of the social world and appropriate methods for investigating it. These assumptions consist of the following; a belief that the social world can be studied in the same way as the natural world—that there is a unity of method between the natural and social sciences; that the study of the social world can be value-free; that, ultimately explanations of a causal nature can be provided; and that the knowledge obtained from such research is independent of the assumptions underpinning it and the methods used to obtain it.

Each and all of these assumptions have been questioned over the years, not just in the social sciences (Cicourel, 1964; Giddens, 1979; Hindness, 1980) but in the natural sciences as well (Kuhn, 1961, Popper, 1972). This has given rise to what is almost a new orthodoxy, within the social sciences at least, which suggests that all knowledge is socially constructed and a product of the particular historical context within which it is located. This view of knowledge has spawned a new social research paradigm often referred to as the interpretive or qualitative paradigm.

The assumptions underpinning this are very different from those of the positivist paradigm; that there can be no unity of method for the social world is a meaningful place, a world full of active subjects not passive objects; that research should attempt to understand the meaning of events, not their causes; and that research is a product of the values of researchers and cannot be independent of them.

This new paradigm, itself been subject to much criticism, naturally from positivist researchers but also from others; critical theorists, Marxists, methodological anarchists and most importantly, the active subjects of this research. There is not the space to reproduce the debates with positivists nor to repeat the snipings of a ragbag of remote theorists. However, when one of the classic works in interpretive research, Robert Edgerton's *The Cloak of Competence*, which influenced a whole generation, is accused of serving "to deny members of his sample a voice with which to speak authoritatively about their own situation" (Gerber, 1990, p. 3), clearly all is not well within the paradigm.

Far more important than academic disputes, however, is the critique which has emerged from active research subjects who have argued that while the interpretive paradigm has changed the rules, in reality it has not changed the game. Interpretive research still has a relatively small group of powerful experts doing work on a larger number of relatively powerless research subjects. To put the matter succinctly, interpretive research is just as alienating as positivist research because what might be called 'the social relations of research production' have not changed one iota.

Not only that but the defects of both positivist and interpretive approaches merely reinforce one another.

The positivist approach, by ignoring how... problems are always pre-interpreted, effectively eliminates their... character; the interpretive approach, by insulating the self-understanding of practitioners from direct,

concrete and practical criticism, effectively eliminates their problematic character. (Carr & Kemmis, 1986, p. 215)

As a consequence of this situation, there have been calls to develop another paradigm for social research—what has variously been called critical enquiry, praxis or emancipatory research.

This, even newer paradigm has a very different view of knowledge (theory) which must

...illuminate the lived experiences of progressive social groups; it must also be illuminated by their struggles. Theory adequate to the task of changing the world must be open-ended, nondogmatic, informing, and grounded in the circumstances of everyday life. (Lather, 1987, p. 262)

Not only that but the social relations of research production also must fundamentally change so that both researcher and researched become changers and changed (Lather, 1987). Finally, of course, the methodology of research must also change building upon trust and respect and building in participation and reciprocity.

It is possible to see the development of positivist, interpretive and emancipatory research paradigms as a historically located sequence and the next section will discuss disability research in precisely this way. It is also possible to provide models which link these paradigms to the policy making process; engineering, enlightenment and struggle approaches. Finally each of these paradigms and their linked policy models are underpinned by particular views of the nature of disability; as an individual, a social and a political problem (see Fig. 1).

However, it should be pointed out that this historically located sequence is not a fixed and absolute series of developmental stages but rather a set of trends. All three paradigms, their related policy models and their views of disability may exist at any one time and currently do; the dominance of the positivist paradigm has been challenged by the interpretive one in the last twenty years with emancipatory research currently emerging if not to challenge, then at least to question some of the assumptions of the other two.

Disability Research

The history of research on disability is undoubtedly one that has been dominated by the positivist research paradigm both in terms of the research undertaken (Harris, 1971; Martin *et al.*, 1988), and the assumptions underpinning it (Wood, 1980). There are two major problems with this domination; first that the experience of disability has been profoundly distorted; and secondly, the links between research and social change have been seen as relatively simplistic and rational, adopting a social engineering approach to the policy making process. These have caused major problems which need further discussion.

Unfortunately disability research has been unable to shake off the methodological individualism inherent in positivist social research of all kinds, which has been defined as follows:

Methodological individualism is a doctrine about explanation which asserts that all attempts to explain social (or individual) phenomena are to be

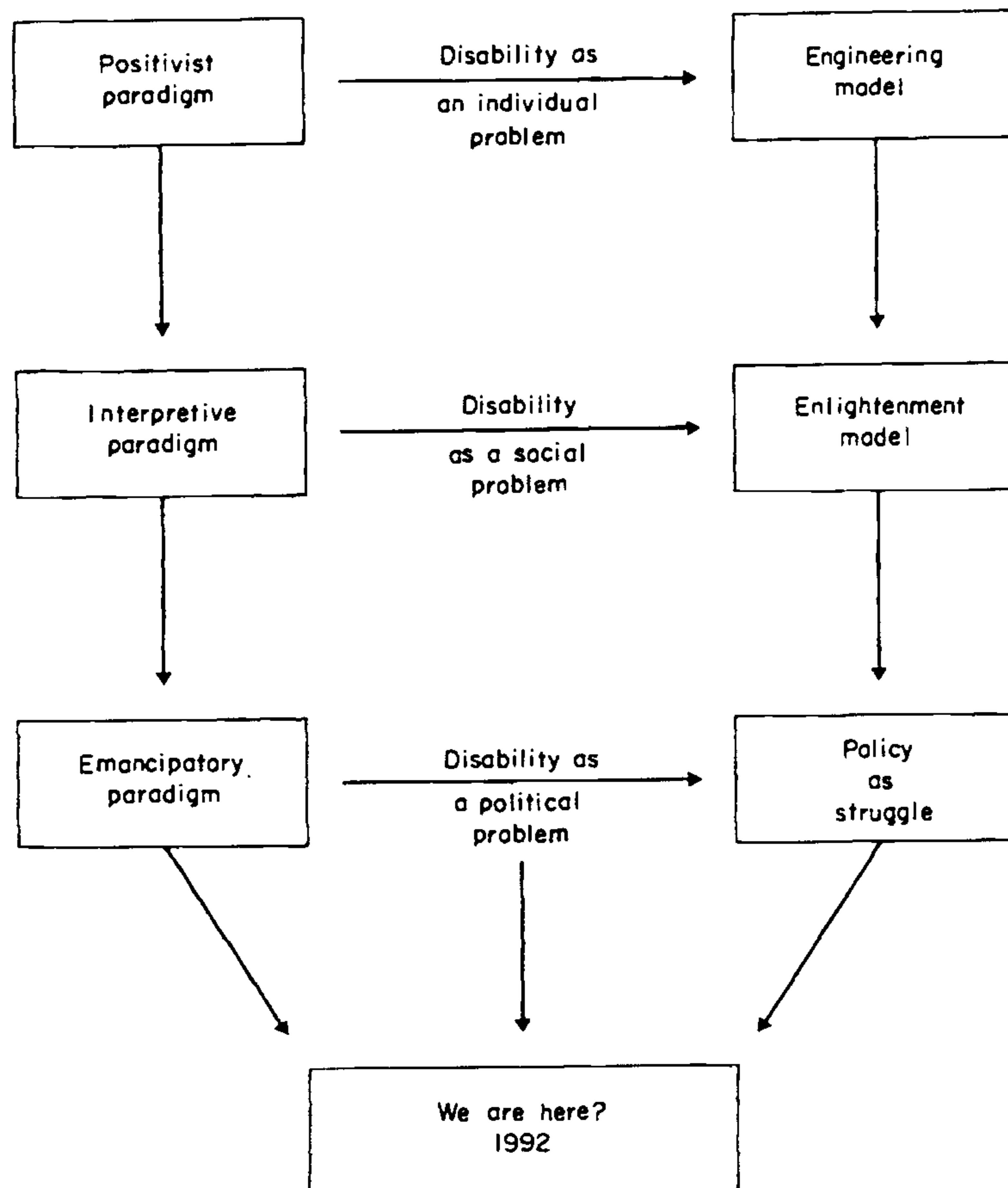


FIG. 1. Social research and social policy.

rejected (or, according to a current, more sophisticated version, rejected as 'rock-bottom' explanations) unless they are couched wholly in terms of facts about individuals. (Lukes, 1972, p. 110)

Disability research, therefore, has reinforced the individual model of disability (Oliver, 1983) seeing the problems that disabled people face as being caused by their individual impairments.

These rock-bottom explanations not only see disability as an individual problem but in so doing they reject other possible explanations.

Methodological individualism is thus an exclusivist, prescriptive doctrine about what explanations are to look like... it excludes explanations which appeal to social forces, structural features of society, institutional factors and so on. (Lukes, 1972, p. 122)

Hence they fail to accord with disabled people's own explanations of the problems of disability which argue that these are caused by society; by the social restrictions it

imposes and by its failure to acknowledge, let alone attempt to meet, the self-defined needs of disabled people (UPIAS, 1975).

The second problem that positivist research poses is that it assumes that the relationship between research findings and policy change is non-problematic. Given the facts, government will act and changes will occur for the better. This has been called 'the social engineering approach' and has been widely criticised both for its epistemological assumptions and for its failure to produce social change in the manner prescribed (Bulmer, 1981; Finch, 1986). Again this is certainly true of the lack of effect that this approach has had in the area of disability policy (Borsay, 1986a; Oliver, 1986).

For example, a sustained and extensive campaign for a national disability income over the last twenty years (DIG, 1989; Disability Alliance, 1989) has been based precisely on this approach;—countless studies have demonstrated the numbers and extent of poverty amongst disabled people to the point where everyone, including the Government, agrees with the evidence. Yet a national disability income is no nearer than it was when the campaign began over 20 years ago. This failure then, can only be explained in terms of the inappropriateness of the social engineering model as an explanation of policy change in general and disability policy in particular (Oliver & Zarb, 1989).

There have been some attempts in recent years to undertake disability research within the interpretive paradigm (Blaxter, 1980; Borsay, 1986b; Oliver *et al.*, 1988) and while this has attempted to take the meaning of disability for disabled people themselves seriously, it has still been subject to criticisms. These criticisms centre, in the main, around the failure of this kind of work also to have any serious effect on services for disabled people and their quality of life.

Again it is possible to identify two main reasons for this; firstly, such research does not fundamentally alter the social relations of research production and not for nothing has this kind of research been called in another context "the rape model of research" (Reinharz, 1985) in that researchers have benefitted by taking the experience of disability, rendering a faithful account of it and then moving on to better things while the disabled subjects remain in exactly the same social situation they did before the research began.

A second criticism stems from the model of the policy making process that the interpretive paradigm presupposes; what is usually called the enlightenment model. This argues that there is no direct and explicit link between research and policy making but what research does instead is that it informs the policy making process; it provides a backdrop against which policy makers make decisions; it helps them to decide what questions to ask rather than to provide specific answers; and so on. This is all very well but it offers little in the way of immediate improvements in the material conditions of life for the disabled research subjects and again raises the issue of whether or not to participate in such research.

This disillusion with both the positivist and interpretive research paradigms has raised the issue of developing an emancipatory paradigm in order to make disability research more relevant to the lives of disabled people. The next section will consider what such a paradigm might look like in general before discussing its potential for disabled people.

Emancipatory Research—another new paradigm?

The development of such a paradigm stems from the gradual rejection of the positivist view of social research as the pursuit of absolute knowledge through the scientific method and the gradual disillusionment with the interpretive view of such research as the generation of socially useful knowledge within particular historical and social contexts. The emancipatory paradigm, as the name implies, is about the facilitating of a politics of the possible by confronting social oppression at whatever levels it occurs.

Central to the project is a recognition of and confrontation with power which structures the social relations of research production. To put it bluntly, research has been and essentially still is, an activity carried out by those who have power upon those who do not. Some 30 years ago much sociological research was criticised for its underdog mentality (Gouldner, 1975) and caricatured as being the “sociology of nuts, sluts and perverts” (Liazos, 1972).

Such criticisms apply with equal force today; people who are poor, unemployed, mentally ill, women, black people, disabled people and children are all frequently studied. In comparison research has uncovered little about the lives and activities of psychiatrists, bank managers, policemen, politicians, policy makers, political terrorists, captains of industry or even researchers themselves. As one policy researcher has put it

...the powerful are so rarely studied because they have the resources to protect themselves from scrutiny. (Taylor, 1985, p. 152)

However the importance of the emancipatory research paradigm is not attempts it might make to study the other end of existing power relations but to attempts it might make to challenge them. Such challenges are unlikely to be funded by institutions located within existing power structures and one suggested solution is to take money for studying one thing but then to shift the focus once the research has begun “from victim to victimiser, from the powerless to the powerful” (Jenkins, quoted in Wenger, 1987, p. 157).

Not all researchers, even those committed to developing an emancipatory paradigm, would find such an approach acceptable arguing that taking money for one thing and then doing something else is not only unethical but dangerous in the consequences it may have for the researcher, the discipline, the institution and the research community. For example, it is debateable whether the benefits and practical implications of the research by Cohen & Taylor (1972) on long-term imprisonment outweighed the damage done to relations between the Home Office and the research community because of the deceitful basis on which they gathered their data.

However, the development of an emancipatory paradigm is not simply about confrontation with or accommodation to the power structures which fund and resource research production; it is also about the demystification of the ideological structures within which these power relations are located. According to Giroux, researchers, along with other transformative intellectuals,

...need to understand how subjectivities are produced and regulated through historically produced social forms and how these forms carry and

embody particular interests. At the core of this position is the need to develop modes of enquiry that not only investigate how experience is shaped, lived and endured within particular social forms...but also how certain apparatuses of power produced forms of knowledge that legitimate a particular kind of truth and way of life. (Quoted in Sherman & Webb, 1988, p. 196)

Feminist research has probably made most progress in the demystification of existing ideological structures in that

When feminist epistemologies are proposed, they not only set out to legitimise a new field of inquiry; often they also question the entire nature of the 'scientific project' and its underlying metaphysics. (Halberg, 1989, p. 3)

These epistemologies (and according to Harding [1987], there are at least two, feminist empiricism and feminist standpoint research) have also made progress in developing methodological strategies commensurate with the emancipatory paradigm.

The three key fundamentals on which such a paradigm must be based are reciprocity, gain and empowerment (Gollop, 1989). These fundamentals can be built in by encouraging self-reflection and a deeper understanding of the research situation by the research subjects (Lather, 1987). Unfortunately such a view can be criticised on precisely the same grounds as the previous two paradigms; the social relations of research production may not necessarily be changed at all. Instead of research achieving social change (transformation) through engineering or enlightenment approaches to policy, it will achieve it through the empowerment of research subjects and the main technique for empowerment will be the encouragement of reciprocity.

While reciprocity is a worthwhile aim, claims to have achieved it (Oakley, 1981) have recently been called into question and it has been argued that within existing social relations of research production, researchers never reveal as much about themselves as they expect to be revealed (Ribbens, 1990). Further empowerment does not exist as the gift of few who have it to be delivered to those who do not; people can only empower themselves (Freire, 1972).

The issue then for the emancipatory research paradigm is not how to empower people but, once people have decided to empower themselves, precisely what research can then do to facilitate this process. This does then mean that the social relations of research production do have to be fundamentally changed; researchers have to learn how to put their knowledge and skills at the disposal of their research subjects, for them to use in whatever ways they choose. The task for emancipatory research is not, as is sometimes implied, to help the researched to understand themselves better, but to develop its own understanding of the lived experiences of these very subjects. This is, of course, a dialectical process in which research can play a significant part.

The importance of emancipatory research, therefore,

...is in establishing a dialogue between research workers and the grass-roots people with whom they work, in order to discover and realise the practical and cultural needs of those people. Research here becomes one part of a developmental process including also education and political action. (Reason, 1988, p. 2)

Hence such research can challenge the social relations of research production, it can be about the self-understanding of researchers as well as researched and it need not be separated from wider processes of education and politics.

Empowerment through self-understanding is a process through which many oppressed groups are beginning to pass and emancipatory research can have a role to play in this. Such self-understanding is an essential pre-requisite to providing a re-definition of 'the real nature of the problem'. This process has been succinctly captured in a commentary on research on black issues.

It was not black people who should be examined, but white society; it was not a case of educating blacks and whites for integration, but of fighting institutional racism; it was not race relations that was the field for study, but racism. (Bourne, 1981, p. 339)

This quote, 10 years later applies exactly to the 'state' of disability research; it is not disabled people who need to be examined but able-bodied society; it is not a case of educating disabled and able-bodied people for integration, but of fighting institutional disablism (Oliver, 1990); it is not disability relations which should be the field for study but disablism.

So, at last we can begin to identify a research agenda for emancipatory disability research; not the disabled people of the positivist and interpretive research paradigms but the disablism ingrained in the individualistic consciousness and institutionalised practices of what is, ultimately, a disablist society. These are the issues that disabled people have placed on the research agenda: the key issue for the research community is whether or not they can respond.

Bourne (1981) suggests three ways in which this new research paradigm can make a contribution to the combating of racism: (i) a description of experience in the face of "academics who abstract and distort black experience (however, unwittingly)"; (ii) a re-definition of the problem; and (iii) a challenge to the ideology and methodology of dominant research paradigms. To that list written more than 10 years ago, disabled people would want to add the following: (iv) the development of a methodology and set of techniques commensurate with the emancipatory research paradigm; (v) a description of collective experience in the face of academics who are unaware or ignore the existence of the disability movement; and (vi) a monitoring and evaluation of services that are established, controlled and operated by disabled people themselves.

Conclusions—the way ahead

The argument presented here has suggested that existing research paradigms have proved inadequate and hence, will not be useful in trying to construct a disability research agenda for the future. Issues highlighted by disabled people have been identified and it has been suggested that they can only be tackled by building a new research paradigm which fundamentally changes the existing social relations of research production.

Finally, this new paradigm must throw off the shackles of methodological individualism with its inadequate and abstracted view of the individual for emancipatory research can only be really accomplished

...on the basis of a view of unabstracted individuals in their concrete social specificity, who in virtue of being persons, all require to be treated and to live in a social order which treats them as possessing dignity, as capable of exercising and increasing their autonomy, of engaging in valued activities within a private space, and of developing their several potentialities. (Lukes, 1973, pp. 152–153)

Thus the transcending of methodological individualism produces a vision of society exactly the same as the one for which disabled people are currently struggling. The struggle to produce just such a social order is not one for disabled people alone and Howard Becker's question is revealed as false; we are all on each other's side.

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