

Abstract

This article addresses embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging for disabled people in Aotearoa New Zealand. The concept of 'embodied belonging' is used to show that bodies, things, place and space intersect in complex ways to produce contradictory feeling of (not)belonging in 'disability spaces'. Disability spaces can offer a direct challenge to ableism and create feelings of belonging for disabled people. They can also, however, reinforce normative identities and ideologies within and beyond disability spaces. We draw upon qualitative data collected through individual and focus group interviews, and written responses from 12 disabled people and three family members of disabled people to show that disability spaces are not inherently more inclusive of disabled people but rather bodies, things, place and space combine in various ways to produce shifting exclusionary and/or enabling arrangements. A focus on lived, felt and spatial elements of belonging to and in disability spaces can deepen understandings of what it means for disabled people to feel in and out of place.

Keywords:

Embodied belonging, disability spaces, disabled people, emotions, more-than-human things

1: Introduction

To me, belonging isn't seen; rather it is the feeling, deep within my heart,
that it is right!

(Dave,¹ personal correspondence, 21 June 2019, 55-64 years old, blind, hard of hearing, limited mobility)²

As Dave explains, belonging is something that we feel within our bodies. Through his body, Dave knows when something, someone, or some place feels 'right.' Dave articulates a version of belonging that is embodied and emotive (Hall, 2010; Author et al., 2015; Parr, 2006; Wood and Waite, 2011). In this article we argue for the need to pay greater attention to the spatial concept of 'embodied belonging' when thinking about the relationship between bodies, identity, 'things',³ space and place for disabled people.⁴ Embodied and situated belonging is:

the desire for some sort of attachment, be it to other people, places or modes of being, and the ways in which individuals and groups are caught within wanting to belong, wanting to become, a process that is fuelled by yearning rather than the positing of identity as a stable state (Probyn 1996, p.19).

This article draws on material from a research project carried out by Disabled Persons Assembly Aotearoa New Zealand (DPA),⁵ Imagine Better⁶ and the University of Waikato.⁷ In-depth semi-structured individual and focus group interviews, as well as written responses, with 12 disabled people, and three families with disabled children, provide rich insights into

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

embodiment, feelings of (not)belonging, place, and the importance of other aspects of identity, such as age, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity. The concept of 'belonging' as it is lived, felt and experienced in relation to bodies, things and place has guided the research (Probyn, 1996; Parr, 2006, 2008). We argue the concept of embodied belonging can help move researchers and others beyond a simple critique of disabling socio-spatial power relations towards the construction of new knowledge that enhances understandings of disability, place and space. It can be used to examine interactions between people (disabled and non-disabled), things and places in ways that look for moments of enabling potential. A focus on embodied belonging can help broaden, and in some instances, deepen conversations about the medical and social models of disability, impairment and disability, inclusion and exclusion, and the lived geographies of disabled people. It can "capture the embodied and emotional experience of feeling 'secure' and 'in place', and the transformative way in which this occurs, as people seek out or 'yearn for' some form of 'insider' status— to be some one, to be some where, to be recognised as part of society" (Hall, 2013, p.245).

Belonging is used as a way to understand diverse identities and feelings in disability studies (Adams et al., 2019; Calder-Dawe et al., 2019; Gibson et al., 2017). Disabled people are often considered as not belonging or as being 'out of place' (Chouinard, 1999; Kitchin, 1998). Research continues to show that disabled people are marginalised in, or excluded from, everyday social, economic, and political processes and spaces (Hall, 2004; 2005; Milner and Kelly, 2009). Geographers have long critiqued the hegemony of ableism and the ways in which everyday space is designed to be inhabited and used by non-disabled people (Chouinard et al., 2010; Hansen and Philo, 2007). Disability spaces can represent a 'cripping'

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

of space, by identifying and subverting taken-for-granted and invisible able-body norms (Gahman, 2017; Kafer, 2013; McRuer, 2006).

There is a growing body of work that seeks to offer new ways of “doing disability geography” (Hall and Wilton, 2017, p.728). This scholarship considers disability beyond the biological/social divide and challenges the idea of a fixed disabled identity and predetermined disabling social spaces and practices. It draws upon theories which understand disability as an emergent, relational and recursive process between bodies, things, and places. Hall and Wilton (2017) usefully bring this literature together to argue that non-representational theory can advance understandings of geographies of disability as well as unsettle normative able-bodiedness. Our article builds upon this important scholarship through a focus on embodiment and emotion (see also Chouinard et al., 2010; Crooks and Chouinard, 2006; Gahman, 2017; Hall, 2000; Jokinen and Caretta. 2016; Author, forthcoming; Parr, 2006, 2008). We show that it is impossible to separate the material from the discursive. Belonging and / or not belonging for disabled people is always personal and social, embodied and structural, individual and collective, and private and public. We aim to think about bodies, things and spaces as interacting in various ways to produce shifting exclusionary and/or enabling arrangements. A focus on embodied belonging can help add nuance to what it means for disabled people to feel in and / or out of place by drawing attention to lived, felt and spatial elements.

We begin this article by first drawing upon work within feminist, embodied, and emotional geographies to articulate a lived, felt and spatial concept of belonging in relation to disabled people and places. Second, we reflect upon the methods used in the research. Third, we turn to the lived experiences of 12 disabled people and three families of disabled children to

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

show that belonging is a contested and emotional process that is intimately tied to bodies, things, place and space. We focus on the contradictory feeling of (not)belonging in 'disability spaces' Aotearoa New Zealand, and argue that we cannot presume certain spaces are more or less inclusive than others. Much previous geographic research on disabled people's experiences of place have focused on the ways in which they navigate 'mainstream' or ableist spaces (Chouinard, 1999). We conclude that rather than theorising some spaces as 'naturally' more inclusive of disabled people, geographers need to explore how disabled people understand, navigate, conform to or challenge relational networks between bodies, things and place to produce shifting feelings of (not)belonging.

2: Belonging as a lived, felt and spatial concept

Geographers have long drawn on the concept of 'belonging' to understand issues of identity, power, difference, and inequality. Wood and Waite (2011, p.201) explain:

belonging and 'longing to be' (...) are powerful and emotive imperatives that inform the ways in which lives are lived and futures made. They can shape politics, inspire caring communities and lead to social wellbeing; but, conversely, they can also create social divisions, encourage prejudice, and provoke violence.

Many of the struggles over belonging play out across the differences and intersections of embodied identities. Race, socioeconomic status, religion, sex, gender and disability directly influence the experience of belonging. Belonging is imbued with powerful and highly contested exclusionary politics at the same time as it helps create more inclusive ways of being in the world (Wright, 2015). Indeed, some people feel as though they belong to

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

particular groups or places more than others (Wood and Waite, 2011) and it is possible to belong or not belong in many different ways, at many different times and at different scales (Wright, 2015).

Geographers have turned their attention to the emotional imperatives and experiences of (not)belonging. They have shown that belonging is both attached to place – people feel an emotional attachment to, or yearning for, specific places (Antonsich, 2010; Author et al., 2015). Fields (2011, p.265) shows that there is emotional labour involved in belonging and that creating, maintaining and even avoiding a sense of belonging involves “effort”, “strain” “suffering” and can be “exhausting and isolating”.

Geographers have also focused on belonging and more-than-human things. Wright (2015) emphasizes the ways belonging is actively created through the practices of a wide range of human and more-than-human agents and highlights its relational and recursive nature:

rather than a background, they [more-than-human things] actively co-produce feelings of belonging, they sculpt and participate in practices and performances of belonging, and they materialize belonging in, through and with place.

Hall (2013) argues that, for people with learning disabilities, the experience of making art (the embodied and emotional engagement with objects and performances) and gifting art (the desire to reach out and present these to other people) can create feelings of belonging and possibilities for acceptance of difference and change within disability spaces and beyond.

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

Parr (2006, 2008) engages with art and environmental projects in the UK to examine geographies of belonging for people with mental-ill health. Embodied belonging is not an end state but it captures a desire to become something, or to have aspirations. As individuals participate in given cultural networks, "they negotiate belongings that remain striated with forces of inside and outside, forces that render people with mental health problems as different and yet also 'improvable'" (2006, p.163). Yearnings for 'insidership' and participation in 'insider' spaces engenders embodied emotions of belonging but simultaneously may provoke a sense of the 'outsidership' and of not belonging.

In this article we draw on the above geographers' research, alongside Probyn's (1996) conceptualisations of embodied belonging. In her *Outside Belongings* book Probyn (1996) traverses a range of spaces to argue against static notions of identity and proposes a fluid and dynamic sense of embodied belonging. Belongings are therefore dynamic, unstable and contingent but also fundamentally social and related to "what is possible at this time, in this place, with these people, things and ideas" (Probyn, 1996, p.156). It is the politics of bodies, feelings, relationality and place that we build on in this article.

3: Methodology: collaborating for positive change

This project came about through our shared interest in conducting research that challenges social, cultural and economic inequalities and leads to positive social change. Author and Author initially connected through their respective disability rights organisations and then spoke to Author and Author at the University of Waikato about the possibility of working together. The goal was a collaborative project that would be participant driven and create

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

space for disabled people to talk about the geographies and emotionalities of their everyday lives.

The idea to use 'belonging' as a platform from which to talk to disabled people about their experiences of space and place was a considered approach. Given the popular, but subjective, nature of belonging as a concept, it provided disabled people an opportunity to define for themselves what it felt like to be in and / or out of place. Disability research continues to be researcher-oriented, and based around the intentions and agendas of (non-disabled) researchers and funding agencies, rather than the subjects of the research (Kitchin, 2000; Priestly, et al., 2010). The knowledge of 'experts' continues to be privileged over disabled people's expert knowledge – embodied and emotional - about their own lives.

Disabled people and families were involved throughout all stages of the research, from development, data collection and analysis. This was a deliberate move to address unequal power relationships within the research process and acknowledge the expertise disabled people hold on their own lives and community needs (Chouinard, 1997; Kitchin, 1999).

During the planning phase, we worked with (disabled) members of the DPA National Executive Committee and Secretariat to collaboratively prepare the research approach and methodology. To ensure the aims of the research reflected the needs of DPA and community, Information Sheets and Consent Forms were prepared in consultation with DPA to ensure they communicated the correct information in plain English. Prior to data gathering, ethical approval was gained from the University of Waikato Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Human Research Ethics Committee.

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

Participants were recruited initially through DPA's membership list with 12 disabled people and three families in total agreeing to participate. The project is Wellington⁸ based, but as community heard of the research, other people across the country wanted to contribute. We did not want to turn anyone away, so welcomed their inclusion. Respondents come from a range of social and cultural backgrounds (Table 1 summarises participants' demographic information). Participants had the choice of being involved in small focus groups or individual interviews, or they could choose to write their responses. We wanted to ensure that participants could shape the direction of the conversation so we asked participants to talk broadly about places in which they felt like they belong and don't belong.

Name	Age	Sex/Gender	Sexuality	Relationship Status	Disability	Race/Ethnicity	Tenure	Income	Occupation
Mere	25-34	Female	Queer	Single	Blind	Pākehā	Own	25-30k	Volunteer coordination
Ginny									
Rebecca	25-34	Female	Straight	Single	Physical and mental health	Pākehā	Rent	Over 65k	Policy Advisor
Sophie	25-34	Female	Bisexual	Single	Cerebral Palsy	Pākehā	Rent	Over 65k	Public Servant
Joelene	25-35	Female/ Female	queer	I have a partner	Limited mobility and chronic pain/fatigue	Pākehā	Own	Less 25k	Unemployed
Dave	55-64	Male		Married	Blind, hard of hearing, limited mobility	New Zealand citizen acquired	Own	Less 25k	Accessibility specialist braille producer
Janiqua	25-34		Heterosexual	Married	Parent of child with Down syndrome	NZ European	Own	Over 65k	Registered nurse
Anna	25-34	Female		Defacto	Daughter 3 1/2 has Down Syndrome		Rent	Over 65k	Early Childhood Teacher
Maurice	65+	Male	Heterosexual	Married	Mobility/Strength - result of polio	Māori/NZ European	Own	25-30k	Musician and producer
Gretchen	55-64	Female		Married	Vision impairment. Mobility impairment.	NZ European	Own	Over 65k	Academic/Advocate/Activist
Stuart	45-54	Male	Heterosexual	Single	Intellectual Disability, Hearing Impairment, Mental illness (depression)	NZ European	Rent	Less 25k	Self Employed -Part time and earning the Disability Allowance
Bernadette	55-64	Woman	Staight-ish	Mother - married to a man	Family Member	Pākehā	Own	Less 25k	disability advocate, teacher educator, disability studies in education researcher, writer
Tony		Male			Family Member				
Laura									
Dwayne	55-64	Male		Single	Spinal Cord Injury	NZ-born Samoan	Rent	Over 65k	

Table 1: Participants’ demographic information

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

Individual and small focus group interviews were co-facilitated by Author and Author.

Author is disabled, and Author is a parent to a young son with Down syndrome. Research shows that shared disability experience is important for creating safe space for conversation and self-reflection (Butler, et al. 2012; Tuffrey-Wijne and Butler, 2010). Author and Author contributed their experiences of (not)belonging to the conversations. Research relationships based on reciprocity and trust are encouraged by feminist researchers (England, 1994; McDowell, 1992). Where appropriate, Author's and Author's accounts are incorporated in to the research findings. Author's childhood and early adulthood in her parental home was structured around the everyday care of her mother who lived with chronic rheumatoid arthritis and many physical impairments. Neither Author or Author identify as disabled but both have for more than two decades researched individuals and groups who have been excluded or marginalised on account of some aspect(s) of their identity, whether it be gender, sexuality, ethnicity, body size or something else.

Because of our positions and experience we were able to connect with the Office of Disability Issues of the Ministry of Social Development (see the launch of our community-led research report: 'Spaces of Belonging' (Sepuloni, 2019)). Aotearoa New Zealand's Disability Strategy (Office of Disability Issues, 2019) states:

New Zealand is a non-disabling society - a place where disabled people have an equal opportunity to achieve their goals and aspirations, and all of New Zealand works together to make this happen.

The strategy has eight goals, centred on: education; employment and economic security; health and wellbeing; rights, protection and justice; accessibility; attitudes; choice and

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

control; leadership. The Office of Disability Issues (established in 2002) promotes action across government and monitors implementation and progress. In a country of not quite 5 million people (Statistics New Zealand, 2019), the Office has strong influence across many sectors.

Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed, resulting in over 130 pages of interview transcripts. During the analysis phase we were attentive to the difference each method made regarding people's lived and felt experiences. As noted, Authors 1 and 2 gathered empirical evidence. Their – and other participants' - 'embodied presence' (Hitchings and Latham, 2019) was recorded and discussed when all authors worked together on analysis. Thematic analysis was used to scrutinise data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). We familiarised ourselves with data, making notes about initial themes. Following this, we highlighted key recurring themes about the contested qualities of belonging in and to place. Key themes of the research were feelings, identities, places and spaces. The themes were compared with wider relations of social power which permeate the individual and focus group interviews. It allowed us to go deeper into themes in order to understand the wider social context – the underlying cultural politics of inclusion/exclusion – and how this frames experiences of disability belonging.

4: 'Disability spaces': embodied, discursive and material

Everyday ableism is part of structural sociocultural power relations, as well as "a profoundly personal relational and embodied experience" (Calder-Dawe et al., 2019, p.4). In the face of these experiences many disabled people, and the people who support them, have sought out or created spaces of allegiance and support specifically for disabled people. Participants

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

spoke a lot about these types of spaces and typically referred to them as 'disability spaces'.

These are the spaces and places in which participants' craved to belong in and to be recognized as insiders. Participants' "seriously situated senses of location, acceptance and safety" (Parr, 2006, p.151) was paramount for feelings of belonging.

The disability spaces that participants' discuss –for example, service provider offices, community centres, school learning support centres, disability conferences, university disability groups, sport and leisure spaces, local and national government and health spaces - can provide a space of refuge away from discriminatory socio-spatial relations and enable people to come together around shared experiences of disability and or a shared disabled identity, and feel part of disability communities and places. Disability spaces can be sites of resistance to ablest norms, relations and structures.

Variouly described as settings that are 'non-disabling', 'disability-friendly', 'accessible', 'inclusive', 'disability-positive', amongst others things, disability spaces are typically thought of as better suited and more welcoming of disabled people than other spaces. Some disability spaces are disabled-led, politically-driven and focus on disabled people's rights, like disabled person organizations or disabled youth activists' forums (Kelly and Carson 2012). Disability pride events, which are becoming more common-place, use parades, comedy shows and panel discussions to challenge ableism and stigmatizing definitions of disability (www.disabilityprideaotearoa.nz). Disability spaces might also be created through online communities, such as support groups (Bertilsdotter Rosqvist et al., 2013). The disability arts movement uses cabarets, festivals, exhibitions, performances and workshops to create social spaces in which disabled people come together to share and explore insights

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

and perspectives on situations that had previously only been experienced individually (Cameron, 2009; Parr 2006).

Some disability spaces are created and managed by social service and medical professionals. While contentious within disability communities because of non-disabled people holding decision-making power, resources and authority within these spaces, they can, for the disabled people involved, create opportunities for connection, belonging and collectivity. For example, sporting events like the Special Olympics offer a place for some disabled people to come together to enjoy and compete in sporting. Day programmes or vocational centres, which are 'segregated' service settings, are considered by some to be disability spaces because they can offer some disabled people a community where they are known and their needs unremarkable (Hall, 2004; Milner and Kelly, 2009).

While disability spaces can offer a direct challenge to ableism and create feelings of belonging, they may also – at the same time - reinforce normative identities and ideologies within and beyond disability spaces. Conversations within this research revealed that while many people sought out and found belonging in disability spaces, they were not always experienced by everyone in this way all the time. A focus on embodied belonging revealed that disability spaces are not inherently more inclusive of disabled people and embodied difference than other spaces. They too are subject to socio-spatial dynamics which position some disabled bodies as belonging more than others. Bodies, things, place and space are not pre-existing and static states but are in a constantly changing relationship with each other. This complexity is important because it offers a challenge to the idea that people's identities are fixed and therefore innately disabled. It also challenges the idea that spaces are either inclusive **or** exclusionary and that one feels they belong **or** do not-belong (Probyn,

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

1996). These binary and essentializing discourses are often used in disability policies (Goodfellow, 2012; Holt, 2010).

While there is relatively substantial body of scholarship that examines the ways in which disabled people experience and navigate 'mainstream' or ableist spaces (Calder-Dawe et al., 2019), there are few studies that explicitly focus on how disabled people create, experience and feel about 'disability spaces'. The remainder of the article highlights how (not)belonging is produced through the complex interplay of bodies, things and place in disability spaces.

5: Not belonging in disability spaces: politics of embodiment

Dwayne: I don't feel completely comfortable in any place I go to.

Author: Do you feel comfortable in disability spaces?

Dwayne: No, no I don't. No, I'm feeling less comfortable actually (Individual interview, 18 December 2018, 55-64 years old, spinal cord injury).

Dwayne is Samoan and was born in Aotearoa. He has an acute sense of the intersection of identities – as disabled and as non-white - when it comes to feeling in and out of place. He is uncomfortable in meetings with disability groups and service providers, asking:

Where are our people? I'm not actually there as a Pacific rep, I'm there as a [name of group] rep, which is quite different ... I have to manage my conflict, but still try and push for what my people need, in terms of having the Pacific voice (Individual interview, 18 December 2018, 55-64 years old, spinal cord injury).

Discriminatory practices exist within disability spaces which exclude particular disabled bodies based on other axes of embodied difference, such as age, ethnicity, and type of

impairment.. Several participants felt like they didn't belong in disability spaces and that they felt like they needed to justify their belonging, or as Sophie, who is aged 25-34 with cerebral palsy, describes "prove your disability credentials!" (Focus group, 16 August 2018). Rebecca, who is 25-34 years old with physical and mental health disabilities, talks about the ongoing struggle for acceptance within disability service provider spaces and how it affects her feelings of belonging:

Rebecca: I think it was a journey of belonging to the disability community, which doesn't accept you.

Author: That doesn't accept you? Because of having an invisible disability?

Rebecca: ... I have a really cool group of people my age who are all really accepting and never question. I say I'm disabled and people who know me, know my conditions and they know about the physical [disability] and they know about the OCD [obsessive compulsive disorder] and how that impacted me, not being able to leave the house. But people who are of a – what did you say, more mature generation in the disability sector – because I'm invisible and I look and I blend, I get questioned every time I try to be in this community to the point where you're just like, 'Why bother?' [Participant Agreement] I don't belong in my own community unless I'm with my fellow millennials or younger (Focus group, 18 August 2018).

Rebecca points to the ways in which some bodies are positioned as more authentically disabled than others. This everyday diagnostic exchange and judgement requires Rebecca to prove her disabilities (Calder-Dawe et al., 2019, p.12). A 'true' disabled body is often thought to somehow automatically belong in disability space, while disabled bodies that do

not have visibly recognisable markers of disability are deemed out of place. Rebecca is attuned to the difference that age makes, noting that younger disabled people are more likely than older disabled people to be accepting of people with diverse mind and body characteristics.

Laura, who is 35-45 with chronic illness and mental illness, similarly explains:

When people say disability, I feel like that doesn't include me ... in a disability space there's nothing that sort of signifies me. I feel like I'm interrupting this space ... and I think I'm just worried about being read the wrong way and ... people might not be welcoming in that sort of space ... It's sort of like with my mental health you can't see it; my physical health you can't see it because I look fine, and my sexuality you can't see it (Laura, Individual interview, 11 November 2018).

Laura talked about wanting to feel part of disability communities and spaces, yet felt like the specificities of her disabled embodiment, or apparent lack-there-of, means she can't legitimately claim a disabled identity nor claim belonging in disability spaces. She expressed concern that her body would be read as not disabled enough. Humphrey (2000) identifies similar disability bodily politics in her study with the disabled members' group UNISON. She found that as a result of the social model, disabled identity was reduced and reified to a disabled embodiment that was "physical, immutable, tangible and `severe'" (p.67). This narrow version of disability stopped people from claiming a disabled identity and belonging in disability communities and spaces. These examples draw attention to the complex ways in which power operates in and through spaces, bodies and the lack of 'things' (bodily impairment aids), showing that belonging somewhere is not simply a process of self-identification but also dependent on being recognised or accepted by others. Worth (2013)

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

similarly found students in her study, develop their experiences and understanding of what it is to have, and to not have, visual impairment through shifting social relations with peers and teachers in the context of specific educational settings.

For Sophie, her well-established sense of belonging within a disability space was severed when her body was deemed 'too functional' for a disabled sport:

When I was a teenager, I played Boccia,⁹ and I became quite good at it and reached the level where I was considered for New Zealand selection. But when I was officially classified, I had too much hand function to be considered disabled enough to play [Laughter]. It [playing Boccia] was a real sense of belonging for me for the longest time, 'cos I'd come to know this community of people and I used to compete against them and go to all these national competitions and I was finally kinda gonna be at the international level, and they were like, 'Nah, sorry. You're too functional for this.'

[Participant Agreement x 2] (Sophie, Focus group 18 August 2018).

Within elite disabled sport, athletes are assessed by 'experts' and grouped together for competition according to their 'functional ability' (Jones and David Howe, 2005). Disabled athlete and anthropologist, Howe (2008) talks about his experience of having his body classified for participation in the Paralympics: "It is an alienating experience as each time a different team of individuals determines whether your body fits into the textbook of carnal typology that is acceptable to those who govern the element of Paralympic sport that the athletes wish to be a part." This understanding of disability, which relies solely on medical and scientific definitions and measurements of bodies, creates feelings of 'outsiderness' (Probyn, 1996) based on what disabled bodies supposedly can and cannot do. It raises important questions about who decides who is disabled enough in disability spaces.

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

Mere, who is 25-35 and blind, spoke about how she found it difficult to find a sense of belonging both in 'mainstream' classes as well as the learning support centre at her school. Learning support centres are purpose-built sites in mainstream schools for disabled children with a range of learning support needs.

Mere: You could either be part of the learning support centre or you could be part of the mainstream school. There wasn't any other way to be or to identify. [Participant agreement]

Author: It was very segregated?

Mere: It was one or the other. [Participant Agreement]

Author: Did you feel more that you belonged in one or the other or neither or both?

Mere: Probably just neither. I felt a bit excluded from both. I could have tried really hard to be one or be the other, but it didn't feel accurate (Focus group 18 August 2018).

There is ongoing debate about the meanings and implications associated with learning support centres, with some considering them segregated learning spaces that are at odds with discourses of inclusion, while others considering them 'safe' spaces where children are able to have the social and academic needs met within schools which continue to be largely ableist spaces (Holt et al., 2012). Mere also talked about the problematic relationship she had with her white cane. Disability brings people into intimate relations with a range of more-than-human things. Socio-spatial relations with more-than-human things (in this case, a white cane) creates a range of exclusionary and/or enabling affects.

In terms of being a teenager and the process of using equipment or not – and for me, a white cane. At high school, I had that similar experience of really wanting to belong, just feeling very nerdy, and I didn't 'get' practically anyone else at school. And also about, yeah, not wanting to be 'out' in terms of being disabled and not wanting to use the cane because the perceptions I had of what people would perceive of me – which, since I have had to use a cane have been reasonably accurate – with people pulling you and talking to you really slowly and really loudly. [Laughter] All these things that I had preconceptions of and that made me a bit iffy about identifying as disabled (Mere, Focus group 18 August 2018).

In a study on the interplay between space, things and bodies for physically disabled children, Stephens et al (2015) found that accommodations and adaptations to enhance accessibility had different meanings for children in different environments. They explain that while assistive technologies and adaptations can increase opportunities for action, connection and involvement, their effectiveness cannot always be assumed and it's important to consider social meanings that are attached to such objects. This embodied fusion – Mere and her white cane - produced contradictory emotional experiences. While her cane was intended to assist her mobility and independence (Middleton and Byles, 2019) and enable her to move around school and be more 'like' her peers, it also marked her disabled body as 'different' and as not belonging at school. For Mere the way in which objects, bodies, and socio-spatial norms coalesced in school worked to highlight her embodied difference and make her feel like an 'outsider'.

Feelings of not belonging in disability spaces were also related to access needs. Some participants felt frustrated that some disability spaces did not address access and/or inclusion needs:

I can recall the recent Blind Citizens conference that I attended. There was a workshop that was very similar to what I've experienced with other groups where you have breakout sessions. Those were not as beneficial to me. I did not feel included at all in that experience because I felt like the people that were at my table did not hear me and whether any of them actually agreed with me or disagreed; I never actually knew (Dave, individual interview 5 November 2018).

Despite being at a conference organised by a disability organisation, Dave's access needs were not met. This meant that a disability space where he would normally feel a strong sense of belonging instead became a space where he felt excluded. Gretchen, who is aged 55-64 with vision and mobility impairment, similarly explains that disability organisations have failed to adequately support her and her children to participate in events:

I have encountered the most discrimination (toward my children) within disability organisations. For example, a day of activities planned for vision impaired children did not accommodate my son's needs due to other impairments ... I attended a three day conference about disability and they were not prepared to accommodate my disability related needs (Gretchen, written response 10 January 2019).

These examples clearly highlight the problems associated with assuming that disability spaces are naturally more inclusive of all disabled people. As Stephens et al explain (2015) material spaces, discursive meanings and embodied identities intersect to produce a range

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

of inclusionary and exclusionary affects in all environments, albeit with varying expectations and intensities. In the next section, we move to reflect upon the ways in which feeling and spaces of disability belonging can be created.

6: Feelings of belonging in disability spaces

Finding other disabled people and connecting through shared experience of difference was described as a particularly important aspect of disability spaces. Participants spoke of a shared understanding that came from having bodies that do not 'fit' into many 'ordinary' spaces (Parr, 2008). These conversations showed that people do not need to have the same embodied experience in order to feel connected. People can create and find spaces of belonging across embodied difference (such as a range of disabilities and bodily impairments, gender, age, sexuality and race). Garland-Thomson (2011, p.597) refers to the experience of disabled people connecting through difference as 'misfitting' where people with bodies that do not fit spatial and temporal norms share common experience:

it can foster intense awareness of social injustice and the formation of a community of misfits that can collaborate to achieve a more liberatory politics and praxis. Indeed, much of the disability rights movement grew from solidarity born of misfitting.

Parr (2006, p.161) uses the term 'differencing' to explain the places where "artists of serious and enduring mental health problems might be positively embraced in such communities of practice". Rebecca talked about finding a sense of belonging through shared experience of difference in a disability group for University students.

I went to university, used Disability Support Services there, joined [organisation], a rep[resentative] group for students with disabilities, did research into what disability was. I found my belonging that way, through finding people in the rep group and it was quite empowering to take ownership of yeah, I am going to have this for the rest of my life (Rebecca, Focus group 16 August 2018).

Rebecca explained that as a young person she did not view herself as disabled and it was not until she joined the disabled student representative group at her University that she connected with other disabled people, politicised her experience, and identified as disabled. In this group, she felt a sense of belonging. Dave similarly explained that, as a young man, connections he made with other blind people through ham radio¹⁰ were important for creating spaces and feelings of belonging. His belonging was not bound to a place but traversed geographical boundaries. Ham radio connected him to other blind people beyond his local community:

Author: Did you know or do you think that you connected with other disabled people or other blind people in ham radio?

Dave: Yes I did. One of the earliest contacts that I made on the air was with a guy that was in Chicago at the time. He was, I guess, impressed because I told him that I gave him my age. I told him that I was blind and he said, "Oh well I am too." He and I became very close. There was another whole group of us that get together. That's how I first learned about computers (Individual interview 5 November 2018).

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

Disability researchers have highlighted the value of the internet for enabling some disabled people to engage in spaces and communities previously not available to them (Valentine and Skelton, 2008). As a precursor to the internet, ham radio gave Dave similar opportunities for belonging. Dave's connection with a group of blind people involved in ham radio exposed him to new opportunities, such as learning how to use computer technology, which were not available to him locally. Dave's school teachers had used his blindness as a reason to not teach him about technology. Ham radio relationships also gave Dave the opportunity to discuss his personal experience of disability and understand it within wider disabling power structures.

For some respondents, this research project itself created an opportunity for them to be part of disability space:

I was looking forward to being in a room with you all, because I don't hang out with people with disabilities very much and particularly not people my age, and how I crave that. Because most of the time, you spend your life in a world with people – or in rooms – with people that don't have disabilities and it can be quite an isolating feeling. [Participant Agreement x 2] I knew that the people that were gonna be here would be pretty – because Author had organised it [laughs] – I knew it would probably be people that were, like you say, accepting (Jolene, 25-34, limited mobility and chronic pain/fatigue, Focus group 16 August 2018).

Historically, disability research has often objectified and othered disabled people. As researchers concerned with the power politics of the research process, we were relieved to hear that some participants were able to find some enjoyment and a sense of belonging in a

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

disability space through the research process. Jolene was glad to have the opportunity to be gathered together with other disabled people, something she notes, doesn't happen that often. It gave her an opportunity to feel in place and part of disability space and community.

For some participants, the sense of belonging they felt through shared experience of difference was viscerally felt through their bodies (Author et al., 2009). It is a type of understanding between people where no explanation or justification is required. Anna, a 25-34 year old mother to a three and half year old daughter with Down syndrome, spoke about relating differently to people with experience of caring for a disabled child:

Yeah, just having people you can relate to on a different level, isn't it? They get it, yeah. If you're having a bad day or something is frustrating, you don't have to hold it in and pretend (Anna, Focus group 15 October 2018).

Likewise, Bernadette, a 55-64 year old mother to an adult daughter who has learning disabilities, talked about the huge sense of relief she felt when she arrived at a sporting event organised specifically for disabled young people:

When our daughter was little we didn't really have a lot to do with other disabled people. Then when she was about eight or nine [years old], I took her to the Independence Games which is like the South Island Special Olympics. It was a long way from our house; it was about an hour's drive every Sunday. But, the first time I drove there, even before I got out of the car I started crying. I was so relieved. I could see all these people – *strange* looking people just like us with all sorts of mobility issues and all the rest of it [laughter]. All these adults around them helping them and

stuff. You didn't have to explain anything; just completely accepted! (Bernadette, Focus group 10 November 2018).

Organised disability sporting events, such as the Independence Games referred to by Bernadette, can be understood as a response to the marginalisation of disabled people in ordinary 'mainstream' sporting events. While there is wide ranging debate about the value of 'segregated' recreational events and settings for disabled people, as disability spaces, they provide disabled people, and their families, opportunities for belonging that are absent elsewhere. For Bernadette, belonging at this event emerged through proximity, being 'in place' and connecting with other bodies that were 'different' as well as connecting parents of disabled children. Bernadette found her place at the Games, along with other mothers and parents of disabled children.

Previous research into people with learning disabilities experiences of 'mainstream' and 'segregated' spaces shows that: "being in a place where bodily difference and support needs were unremarkable and anticipated added to people's sense of personal safety" (Milner and Kelly, 2009, p.54). Stewart, who is 45-54 years old with intellectual disability, hearing impairment and mental illness (depression), explained that he "feels quite chuffed about being accepted in my community groups" as well as "safer and happier" in disability spaces (Stewart, Written responses, 27 November 2018). It was similarly noted by other participants that disability spaces sometimes help create feelings of safety and strength. Sometimes it was the presence of other disabled people in general community spaces that helped people feel more comfortable:

Author: Sometimes I do feel like, I don't know if I belong in spaces more, but I do feel more comfortable in spaces sometimes when there's another disabled person there.

[Participant agreement]

Sophie: Is that a safety in numbers?

Author: Yeah, I think so, kind of.

Jolene: And also just an understanding.

Author: Yeah. I feel like if something goes wrong, if something happens, you can at least have a shared experience of that. [Participant agreement x 2] That's quite good (Focus group, 16 August 2018).

Some participants also talked of finding fleeting moments of belonging, where they might not otherwise have felt it, when out and about in general community spaces.

We came across a guy in the park the other day and he was kicking a ball around ... and then we noticed he had Down syndrome ... we were like, "Hey" ... It was a really nice interaction. So, generally, we kind of almost feel like we might smile, even if [our daughter] is not with us ... [we felt] like we're part of that; we're part of your community (Anna, Focus group 15 October 2018).

Fleeting moments of belonging create disability space, albeit of a temporary and transitional nature. Probyn (1996, p.5) uses examples of everyday 'banal' human geographies of the city in which: "various forms of belonging are articulated, how individuals conjugate difference into manners of being and how desires to become are played out in everyday circumstances." The participants in this research articulate themselves and their desire to be

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

'an insider' in various banal, and sometimes fleeting, ways. These fleeting moments of encounter between people is often seen as of less value than relationships that are more established and involve regular contact (Bigby and Wiesel, 2019). However, these momentary interactions and the feelings of belonging they produce contain political potential for a broader challenge to societal norms and expectations. When people feel fleeting moments of belonging as they move through different spaces – such as the park - they produce and experience moments of enabling potential that disrupt able-bodied space.

Some participants talked about the ways in which more-than-human things produced feeling of belonging. Dave talked about the importance of objects for facilitating his belonging when he attends events to hear people speak:

Also in that setting in that meeting there were things that were being passed around for us to examine ourselves ... There are presentations there that I've attended and I listen to those as carefully as I do anywhere that I go. But the difference is that in those presentations there's always actually something to see but hardly ever is there ever anything for me to touch myself or experience myself (Dave, Individual interview 5 November 2018).

Dave notes that at most speaking events he attends, the speakers rely on visual aids, which do little to facilitate his involvement. Having objects to touch, hold and feel, in addition to hearing people talk, creates an enabling environment for Dave. In these moments, Dave feels like he belongs. The more-than-human, bodies, and space relationship worked in enabling ways that helps Dave feel 'in place'.

7: Conclusion: embodied belonging, connectivity and disability spaces

In this article we have drawn upon the lived experiences of 12 disabled people and three families of disabled children to show that a focus on embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging can further our understanding of what it means for disabled people to feel in **and** out of place. Running through this article is an understanding that belonging to any group, community or place is a highly contested process. While disabled people are often considered as 'not belonging' in most everyday places, there is a presumption that disabled people do belong and feel 'in place' within 'disability spaces'. Disability spaces take many forms, but in general they are intended as welcoming and safe spaces for disabled people to gather together, share experiences, and through this, feel a sense of belonging. We have highlighted particular meanings of embodied belonging for participants as related to feelings of – and a yearning for - connectivity within a variety of disability spaces and places. There has been limited geographical attention paid to the embodied and emotional spaces created by and for disabled people. We extend this literature by considering situated feelings of belonging (Probyn, 1996; Hall, 2010; Parr, 2006, 2008).

Shifting connections between people (disabled and non-disabled), things (bodily impairment aids) and place show that disabled bodies and 'disability spaces' have no fixed ontological status apart from the various relational interactions that constitute them. We must not devalue spaces that disabled people create for themselves outside of 'mainstream' space, but nor should we reify such spaces as paradigmatic spaces of inclusion and assume that such spaces work for all disabled people, all the time. Following Probyn (1996) we have drawn attention to the inclusionary and exclusionary embodied politics that mark some

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

disabled bodies as belonging more than others in disability spaces. Understanding how people feel in disability spaces gives new insight into the shifting and evolving positions of insider and outsider, belonging and not belonging. We have also highlighted the ways in which bodies, things, and place combine in positive ways to create moments of enabling potential and opportunities for belonging.

The article has shown how when one focuses on disability spaces participants articulate themselves and their desire to belong (Parr, 2006). As participants negotiate disability spaces they also negotiate belongings that remain striated with forces of inside and outside. Probyn (1996, p.13) maintains that the desire to belong, and the processes of becoming that accompany it, "propels, even as it rearranges, the (social) relations to which it intervenes', and that this 'sets into motion different possibilities" (1996, 13) constituting the social, material, and spatial.

We hope that this article might encourage researchers interested in collaborating for change to shift their "attention to the nature of, and potential for, political alliances between disabled people and diverse human and non-human others in the pursuit of more enabling and inclusive social formations" (Hall and Wilton, 2017, p.739). Central to this endeavour would be a focus on lived, felt and spatial elements. Such an approach would be beneficial for exploring a whole range of shifting power relations that exist between disabled people, family members, support workers, assistive devices, advocacy organizations, labour unions, state institutions and other bodies and things shaping the conditions and spaces of disabled people's everyday lives.

8: Notes

[1] Some people chose to use pseudonyms and other people chose to use their name.

[2] Throughout the article we use participant's words to describe their particular impairments. We do this as a way to challenge the invisibility of the body in some disability research, and how different bodily experiences of impairment affect our experience of a disabling world.

[3] By 'things' we mean more-than-human material objects.

[4] We use the term 'disabled people' to situate our work within a social model of disability theoretical language, where people are disabled by society. However, we acknowledge that being 'disabled by society' is not the only experience of disability. Impairments can play a significant role in the experience of disability – although the specificities and materialities of bodies are filtered through conceptions of 'normality', this physicality is nonetheless frequently a central experience of 'being disabled'. Impairment and disability are not easily separated. As Shakespeare and Watson (2001 17) explain "People are disabled both by social barriers and by their bodies."

[5] DPA is a Disabled Persons' Organisation (DPO). It provides an active, independent voice of disabled people, that reflects the aspirations, concerns, and rights of all New Zealanders who identify as having a disability. DPA works with government, service providers, the media and the general public to ensure that disabled people are actively involved and contribute to decision-making processes on issues that affect them.

[6] Imagine Better is a collective of disability activists, advocates and allies working to be a nationally influential thought leader, trainer, research and advocacy organisation supporting

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

the growth and effectiveness of the disability rights, visibility and justice movements.

Imagine Better is also a partner in the Family and Whānau Leadership Alliance.

[7] The University of Waikato's mission is: "To combine the creation of new knowledge

through research, scholarship and creative works with the dissemination of knowledge

through teaching, publication and performance, for the benefit of society"

([https://www.waikato.ac.nz/odw/onboarding-and-induction/information-guide/about-](https://www.waikato.ac.nz/odw/onboarding-and-induction/information-guide/about-uow)

[uow](https://www.waikato.ac.nz/odw/onboarding-and-induction/information-guide/about-uow)). This includes for the benefit of disabled people. Creating inclusive spaces and an

inclusive society that values disabled people as active, full and equal participants is a

focus for much research at the University.

[8] Wellington is at the south-western tip of the North Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. It

has a population of approximately 496,000 and is the capital city. DPA and Imagine Better

are based in Wellington but work throughout the country.

[9] <http://www.paralympics.org.nz/Para-sport/Summer-Para-sports/Boccia>

[10] [Amateur radio is often home built and uses non-commercial frequencies to exchange messages.](#)

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

Acknowledgements

References

- Abrams, T., Setchell, J., Thille, P., Mistry, B., Gibson, B. E., 2019. Affect, intensity, and moral assemblage in rehabilitation practice. *BioSocieties* 14 (1), 23-45.
- Antonsich, M., 2010. Searching for belonging – an analytical framework. *Geography Compass* 4 (6), 644-659.
- Bertilsdotter Rosqvist, H., Brownlow, C., O'Dell, L., 2013. Mapping the social geographies of autism – online and off-line narratives of neuro-shared and separate spaces. *Disability and Society* 28 (3), 367-379.
- Bigby, C., Wiesel, I., 2019. Using the concept of encounter to further the social inclusion of people with intellectual disabilities: what has been learned? *Research and Practice in Intellectual and Developmental Disabilities* 6 (1), 39-51.
- Braun, V., Clarke, V., 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology* 3 (2), 77-101.
- Calder-Dawe, O., Witten, K., Carroll, P., 2019. Being the body in question: young people's accounts of everyday ableism, visibility and disability, *Disability and Society* DOI: 10.1080/09687599.2019.1621742
- Cameron, C., 2009. Tragic but brave or just crips with chips? Songs and their lyrics in the disability arts movement in Britain. *Popular Music* 28 (3), 381-396.
- Chouinard, V., 1999. Life at the margins: disabled women's explorations of ableist spaces. In: Teather, E.K. (Ed.), *Embodied Geographies: Spaces, Bodies and Rites of Passages*. London: Routledge, pp. 142-156.

- Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>
- Chouinard, V., Hall, E., Wilton, R., 2010. Towards enabling geographies: 'disabled' bodies and minds in society and space. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Crooks, V.A., Chouinard, V., 2006. An embodied geography of disablement: chronically ill women's struggles for enabling places in spaces of health care and daily life. *Health and Place* 12 (3), 345-352.
- Fields, D., 2011. Emotional refuge? Dynamics of place and belonging among formerly homeless individuals with mental illness. *Emotion, Space and Society* 4 (4), 258-267.
- Gahman, L., 2017. Crip theory and country boys: masculinity, dis/ability, and place in rural Southeast Kansas. *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 107 (3), 700-715.
- Garland-Thomson, R., 2011. Misfits: a feminist materialist disability concept. *Hypatia* 26 (3), 591-609.
- Gibson, B. E., King, G., Teachman, G., Mistry, B., Hamdani, Y., 2017. Assembling activity/setting participation with disabled young people. *Sociology of Health and Illness* 39 (4), 497-512.
- Goodfellow, A., 2012. Looking through the learning disability lens: inclusive education and the learning disability environment. *Children's Geographies* 10 (1), 67-81.
- Hall, E., 2000. 'Blood, brain and bones': taking the body seriously in the geography of health and impairment. *Area* 32 (1), 21-29.
- Hall, E., 2004. Social geographies of learning disability: narratives of exclusion and inclusion. *Area* 36 (3), 298-306.

Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>

Hall, E., 2010. Spaces of social inclusion and belonging for people with intellectual disabilities. *Journal of Intellectual Disability Research* 54 (1), 48-57.

Hall, E., 2013. Making and gifting belonging: creative arts and people with learning disabilities. *Environment and Planning A: Society and Space* 45, 244-262.

Hall, E., Wilton, R., 2017. Towards a relational geography of disability. *Progress in Human Geography* 41 (6), 727-744.

Hansen, N., Philo, C., 2007. The normality of doing things differently: bodies, spaces and disability geography. *Tijdschrift Voor Economische En Sociale Geografie* 98 (4), 493-506.

Hitchings, R., Latham, A., 2019. Qualitative methods I: on current conventions in interview research. *Progress in Human Geography* 1-10: DOI: 10.1177/0309132519856412.

Holt, L., 2010. Young people with socio-emotional differences: theorizing disability and destabilizing socio-emotional norms. In: Chouinard, V., Hall, E., Wilton, R., (Eds.), *Towards Enabling Geographies: 'Disabled' Bodies and Minds in Society and Space*. Farnham: Ashgate, pp. 15-164.

Holt, L., Lea, J., Bowlby, S., 2012. Special units for young people on the autistic spectrum in mainstream schools: sites of normalisation, abnormalisation, inclusion, and exclusion. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 44 (9), 2191-2206.

Howe, P.D., 2008. The tail is wagging the dog: body culture, classification and the paralympic movement. *Ethnography* 9 (4), 499-517.

Humphrey, J.C., 2000. Researching disability politics, or, some problems with the social model in practice. *Disability and Society* 15 (1), 63-86.

Author et al., 2015. [details removed for peer review].

- Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>
- Jokinen, J.C., Caretta, M.A., 2016. When bodies do not fit: an analysis of postgraduate fieldwork. *Gender, Place and Culture* 23 (12), 1665-1676.
- Jones, C., David Howe, P., 2005. The conceptual boundaries of sport for the disabled: classification and athletic performance. *Journal of the Philosophy of Sport* 32 (2), 133-146.
- Kafer, A., 2013. *Feminist, queer, crip*. Bloomington and Indianaeopolis: Indiana University Press.
- Kelly, C., Carson, E., 2012. The youth activist forum: forging a rare, disability-positive space that empowers youth. *Journal of Youth Studies* 15 (8), 1089-1106.
- Kitchin, R., 1998. 'Out of place', 'knowing one's place': space, power and the exclusion of disabled people. *Disability and Society* 13 (3), 343-356.
- Author et al., 2009. [details removed for peer review].
- McRuer, R., 2006. *Crip theory: cultural signs of queerness and disability*. New York: New York University Press.
- Mee, K., 2009. A space to care, a space of care: public housing, belonging, and care in inner Newcastle, Australia. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 41 (4), 842-858.
- Middleton, J., Byles, H., 2019. Interdependent temporalities and the everyday mobilities of visually impaired young people. *Geoforum* 102, 76-85.
- Milner, P., Kelly, B., 2009. Community participation and inclusion: people with disabilities defining their place. *Disability and Society* 24 (1), 47-62.
- Author forthcoming [details removed for peer review]

- Morrison, CA. Woodbury, E. **Johnston, L.** and Longhurst, R. 2020: Disabled people's embodied and emotional geographies of (not)belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Health and Place* Online first: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.healthplace.2020.102283>
- Office of Disability Issues 2019. New Zealand Disability Strategy 2016 - 2026. Available online: [//www.odi.govt.nz/nz-disability-strategy/](http://www.odi.govt.nz/nz-disability-strategy/) Accessed 6 December 2019.
- Parr, H., 2006. Mental health, the arts and belongings. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 31, 150–166.
- Parr, H., 2008. *Mental Health and Social Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Probyn, E., 1996. *Outside Belongings*. London: Routledge.
- Sepuloni, C., 2019. Launch of community-led research report: 'Spaces of Belonging' by Minister of Disability Issues, Honorable Carmel Sepuloni's Speech, 23 July 2019. Available online: <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/launch-community-led-research-report-%E2%80%99spaces-belonging%E2%80%99> Accessed 9 December 2019.
- Statistics NZ., 2019. Population. Available online: <https://www.stats.govt.nz/topics/population> Accessed 10 December 2019.
- Stephens, L., Ruddick, S., McKeever, P., 2015. Disability and Deleuze: an exploration of becoming and embodiment in children's everyday environments. *Body and Society* 21 (2), 194-220.
- Valentine, G., Skelton, T., 2008. Changing spaces: the role of the internet in shaping Deaf geographies. *Social and Cultural Geography* 9 (5), 469-485.
- Wood, N., Waite, L., 2011. Editorial: scales of belonging. *Emotion, Space and Society* 4 (4), 201-202.
- Worth, N., 2013. Making friends and fitting in: a social-relational understanding of disability at school. *Social and Cultural Geography* 14 (1), 103-123.
- Wright, S., 2015. More-than-human, emergent belongings: a weak theory approach. *Progress in Human Geography* 39 (4), 391-411.