

What the Silence Says: Advocating for Disability Studies in Ghanaian Music Education

Author

Godwin Paintsil 

Author's email: Godwin-paintsil@uiowa.edu

The University of Iowa, USA.

Cite this article in APA

Paintsil, G. (2026). What the silence says: Advocating for disability studies in Ghanaian music education. *Journal of education and learning*, 5(1), 102–115. <https://doi.org/10.51317/jel.v5i1.1162>



A publication of Editon
Consortium Publishing (online)

Article history

Received: 2026.07.08

Accepted: 2026.08.11

Published: 2026.09.09

Scan this QR to read the paper online



Copyright: ©2026 by the author(s).
This article is an Open Access article
distributed under the terms and
conditions of the Creative Commons
Attribution-NonCommercial-
ShareAlike 4.0 International License
(CC BY-NC-SA 4.0).



Abstract

This article examines how disability studies might contribute to Ghanaian music education scholarship, a field that has received limited attention to disability. Although existing studies address disability through inclusive education, teacher preparation, and music learning, disability studies has not emerged as a sustained critical perspective within the field. This theoretical essay draws on Simi Linton's *Claiming Disability* (1998), disability studies scholarship, and literature in music education and Ghanaian music education. Through theoretical and literature-based analysis, it explores how disability studies might extend existing discussions in the field. The analysis suggests that disability in Ghanaian music education has been approached primarily through inclusion and intervention-oriented frameworks. Disability studies offer additional tools for examining assumptions about musical ability, embodiment, participation, knowledge, and value. It encourages critical reflection on how music education constructs competence, normalcy, and musical worth. The article argues that disability studies can serve as an additional lens for examining culture, curriculum, identity, and educational practice in Ghanaian music education. Future research should investigate disability in music curricula, assessment practices, teacher education, musical participation, and Ghanaian understandings of ability and difference.

Key Terms: Disability and music, disability aesthetics, disability studies, Ghanaian music education, critical disability studies.

INTRODUCTION

Scholarship in Ghana documents the coexistence of spiritual, traditional, familial, religious, and biomedical understandings of disability. Kpobi and Swartz (2019), for example, demonstrate that traditional and faith healers draw on both spiritual and embodied explanations in interpreting intellectual disability, while Adom-Opare (2022) shows that culturally situated beliefs about pregnancy and food contribute to particular understandings of disability. These understandings shape how disabled people are positioned within families, communities, institutions, and the broader social order. Research in Ghana links conceptualisations of disability to stigma, family relations, social participation, and structural exclusion (Grishow et al., 2018; Mfoafo-M'Carthy et al., 2020, 2022). At the same time, scholarship on political citizenship and education demonstrates that these constructions have consequences for whose participation, knowledge, and presence are recognised within national and educational institutions (Ocran, 2019, 2023; Owoo, 2025). Disability in the Ghanaian context may therefore be approached as a site where competing ways of belonging and the determination of social value intersect.

As a theoretical essay, this article does not employ an empirical research design or provide a systematic review of Ghanaian disability-in-education scholarship. Instead, it draws on a targeted, non-exhaustive review of Ghanaian and international literature on disability, education, and music education, supplemented by citation tracing from key sources. The discussion is guided by two questions: why disability studies, as distinct from disability as a practical educational concern, has received limited attention in Ghanaian music education scholarship, and what disability studies might make visible about musical ability, embodiment, participation, and aesthetic value within the field.

Ghanaian Music Education as the Immediate Point of Entry

Ghanaian education scholars have engaged disability through work on inclusive education (Agbenyega, 2007; Agbenyega & Deku, 2011; Botts & Owusu, 2013; Dwamena, 2026; Ocloo & Subbey, 2008), inclusive teacher preparation (Kuyini et al., 2020), and special education (Ametepee & Anastasiou, 2015; Avoke, 2001;

Opoku et al., 2017). Collectively, this scholarship has documented the experiences of disabled learners and examined access, participation, equity, and educational implementation. By comparison, the Ghanaian music education literature addressing disability appears much smaller. Among the studies identified for this review, disability is discussed primarily in relation to inclusive practice, teacher preparation, musical participation, and access to music learning (Agbenyega, 2022, 2025; Agbenyega & Sam, 2021; Adelere, 2018). These studies make important contributions to understanding disability and music education in Ghana. However, among the literature reviewed, there has been comparatively little engagement with disability as a social, cultural, historical, or educational category of analysis. This gap between a broader Ghanaian disability scholarship and the more limited treatment of disability within music education provides the point of entry for the present discussion.

In this essay, disability studies is understood through Longmore and Umansky's (2001) definition of the field as an examination of "the intricate interaction among cultural values, societal arrangements, public policy, and professional practice regarding disability" (p. 12). Linton (1998) sharpens this definition by describing disability studies as a "field that interrogates the divisions societies draw between the normal and the pathological, the insider and the outsider, the competent citizen and the ward of the state" (p. 2). She traces the field's emergence to a challenge against the medicalisation of disability, though she is careful not to dismiss medicine's contributions outright: she acknowledges that medical understandings of disability have, in real ways, increased the well-being and vitality of many disabled people. Her concern is that these benefits can coexist with "enormous negative consequences" when human variation is understood through medicine alone as deviance, pathology, deficit, or personal tragedy (p. 11).

The move away from purely medical accounts resonates with the broader turn toward social models of disability within the field (Shakespeare, 2006), which relocate disability from individual impairment to socially constructed barriers and exclusions — though the social model, too, has been debated and refined rather than treated as a final or uncontested

framework (Shakespeare, 2006). Central to this reframing is the premise that disability is historically, socially, and culturally constructed (Straus, 2006). If disability is constructed in this way, then it becomes worth examining how assumptions about musical ability, music-making, musicians, music learner participation, musical competence, and the characteristics of a good music student have helped construct what disability means in the first place.

From Ghanaian Disability Scholarship to Disability Studies

Once disability has been established as a social, historical, cultural, institutional, and epistemic construct within the Ghanaian literature, disability studies become useful as a conversation partner. Disability studies, understood as a critical interdisciplinary field concerned with the cultural, social, political, and epistemological meanings of disability (Goodley, 2014, 2025; Linton, 1998; Meekosha & Shuttleworth, 2009; Ware, 2010), provides concepts for examining how disability may be understood, represented, and valued. The difference between disability studies and inclusive and special education should not be overstated. Whereas much inclusive and special education research focuses on how educational systems can better support disabled learners through attention to access, accommodation, teacher preparation, resources, and participation (Opoku et al., 2021; Opoku-Nkoom & Ackah-Jnr, 2023), disability studies extends this inquiry by examining how the categories and norms that organise educational responses to disability are themselves produced. Viewed in this way, inclusion is inseparable from the institutional processes that define and regulate ability, normalcy, competence, difference, and participation. (Campbell, 2009; Davis, 1995; Titchkosky, 2011). The distinction is between approaches that primarily ask how institutions can accommodate existing categories of difference and approaches that interrogate how those categories acquire meaning and authority in the first place.

This frame of reference has relevance for music education. Existing Ghanaian scholarship has advanced important discussions of access, participation, and inclusion, yet there has been comparatively little exploration of how music education itself constructs musical ability, competence, embodiment, and

aesthetic value. Disability studies offer a possible framework for pursuing such inquiries. Disability studies' contribution lies in expanding the analytical possibilities for examining music education, disability, and musical life in Ghana.

Why Disability Studies May Be Overlooked in Scholarship

The small body of Ghanaian music education scholarship identified for this review engages disability primarily through practical concerns such as inclusion, teacher preparation, intervention, and musical participation rather than through disability studies perspectives. Of the studies identified in this area, Agbenyo (2022, 2025) examines teacher preparation and inclusive education within music teacher education at the Presbyterian College of Education, Akropong-Akuapem; Agbenyo and Sam (2021) consider the musical experiences and practices of visually impaired students at Akropong School for the Blind; and Adelere (2018) approaches music and disability through the lenses of intervention, inclusion, or musical participation. Taken together, this small body of scholarship shares a consistent orientation: disability is engaged as a matter of access, accommodation, or practice, not as a category subjected to critical or cultural analysis.

This pattern in the Ghanaian literature is consistent with a broader critique developed outside Ghana. Longmore and Umansky (2001), writing about disability studies in the United States, argue that scholars have often neglected disability because they approach it “from a medical perspective” (p. 7), a framing they contend has “shaped modern policymaking, professional practice, and societal arrangements concerning people with disabilities” (p. 7) in that context. Ware (2001), similarly writing about the U.S. context, suggests that silence surrounding disability in educational discourse can reflect the normalisation of unexamined cultural assumptions about ability and disability as a binary. Whether the same mechanism — a medical framing actively suppressing critical engagement — is what produces the pattern observed in Ghana has not been empirically tested; the Longmore and Umansky (2001) and Ware (2001) arguments are offered here as a plausible interpretive lens for the Ghanaian pattern, not as evidence drawn from the Ghanaian context

itself. A parallel pattern has been documented in music education scholarship elsewhere: Dobbs (2012), analysing seventeen studies published in the *Journal of Research in Music Education* between 1990 and 2011, found that disability was largely understood through medical, functional, or deficit-based views, and Churchill and Laes (2020) argue that disability often remains invisible in mainstream music education discussions even where inclusion is presented as a central value. These findings, again, come from U.S. and international contexts and are cited here as points of comparison rather than as direct evidence about Ghana.

A second possible interpretation derives from Linton's (1998) observation that disability research has historically been concentrated in professional fields concerned with treatment, intervention, and support. The Ghanaian music education literature reviewed above similarly focuses on inclusion, teacher preparation, and practice-oriented concerns. While this evidence does not demonstrate that the same dynamic is operating in Ghana, it suggests a potentially useful lens through which to interpret the current shape of the literature.

A third possible explanation concerns the relationship between formal legal recognition and lived institutional practice. Bérubé (1998), writing specifically about resistance to disability as a category central to U.S. civil rights law, suggests that “the resistance to disability studies is a piece with a larger and more insidious cultural form of resistance whereby nondisabled people find it difficult or undesirable to imagine that disability is central to civil rights legislation” (p. x). This is a claim about the U.S. legal and cultural context, and no Ghanaian study has tested whether an equivalent form of resistance operates in Ghanaian institutions generally, let alone in Ghanaian music education specifically; the connection drawn below is therefore offered as an analogy, not a documented parallel. With that caveat, Ghana's own disability scholarship — outside music education — does document a comparable gap between formal recognition and lived reality. Ghanaian understandings and treatment of disability have been shaped by overlapping histories, including colonial-era rehabilitation policy (Grischow, 2011), religious and

cultural frameworks, and contemporary institutional arrangements (Avoke, 2001; Naami et al., 2012).

Although Ghana has established legal protections for persons with disabilities, scholarship in education, employment, and other areas of social life continues to document discrimination and structural barriers to participation (Naami, 2014; Ocran, 2019, 2022). It is important to note that this evidence base concerns disability broadly in Ghana; none of these studies examines music education specifically. Extending this pattern to music education, and to Bérubé's argument about resistance to disability as a critical category, is therefore a hypothesis this section proposes rather than a finding it reports. If the pattern does hold in music education, it would suggest that disability there, as elsewhere in Ghanaian institutional life, is shaped by broader dynamics of citizenship, participation, and power — but confirming this requires empirical research within music education itself, which does not yet exist. Among the studies identified for this review, a consistent pattern emerges: disability is engaged as a matter of access, accommodation, or practice rather than as a category subjected to critical or cultural analysis. The explanations proposed in this section should therefore be understood as theoretical interpretations rather than empirically verified causes.

The Ghanaian Context: Curriculum, Assessment, and Musical Competence

The Ghanaian Senior High School (SHS) curriculum's treatment of musical literacy provides one concrete site at which issues of participation, embodiment, ability, and musicianship become visible. In its foundational music-literacy expectations, the 2023 music curriculum identifies notation, durational values, scales, and solfège as foundational elements of music literacy and performance. Learners are expected to “identify and notate basic music symbols, including staff lines, clefs, and notes in different positions” (NaCCA, 2023, pp. 34–35). The curriculum further describes an activity in which learners listen to musical excerpts while “following along with sheet music to analyze clefs, note values and positions on the staff” (NaCCA, 2023, pp. 34–35). The concern is what happens when notation becomes the main measure of musicianship. From a disability studies perspective, reading and writing notation depends on specific visual, auditory, and motor skills. This highlights the

need to consider whether the curriculum clearly distinguishes musical understanding from the particular ways students are expected to demonstrate it.

Assessment, Performance, and the Musical Body

The 2023 SHS music curriculum makes musical competence explicit in its assessment expectations for ensemble performance. Evidently, learners are expected to demonstrate the ability to perform while maintaining: “accurate intonation, steady tempo, rhythmic accuracy, appropriately-produced sound (timbre), clear diction, and correct posture” and to observe: “all expressive marks on a score for pieces assigned for the level” (NaCCA, 2023, pp. 76 –77). These expectations are supplemented by a more detailed account of what the curriculum identifies as “the five core musicianship skills”: “expression (including dynamics, tempo, posture, embouchure and phrasing), notation, rhythm, tonality, and creativity” (NaCCA, 2023, p. 76). The curriculum subsequently identifies elements of technique development that include: “Dexterity,” “Speed,” “Tone quality,” and “Blending” (NaCCA, 2023, p. 76).

These expectations reveal that music competence is demonstrated through coordinated sensory, auditory, visual, vocal, and motor performances. Learners are expected to hear particular musical relationships, maintain temporal precision, produce appropriate tone quality, read visual information from notation, and execute technical movements using their bodies. Disability studies invites music educators to examine the assumptions embedded within these expectations. The issue is what conception of the musical body becomes normalised when such capacities function as primary indicators of competence. This concern becomes critical when the curriculum states that “music education develops fine motor skills through practical engagement with instruments and performance” (NaCCA, 2023, p. 23). One may argue that bodily development is part of what music education itself seeks to cultivate. The disability studies intervention is to ask whether differences in movement, sensory processing, communication, or motor coordination should necessarily be interpreted as limitations in musical ability. Put differently, the concern lies in understanding how particular bodily

performances came to be constructed as recognisable evidence of musicianship.

Inclusion, UDL, and the Limits of Accommodation

The 2023 music curriculum makes a commitment to inclusion, which complicates any argument that simply characterises Ghanaian music education as ableist. The curriculum integrates Universal Design for Learning (UDL) to promote adaptable learning environments that address learners' varying abilities, needs, and preferences (NaCCA, 2023, p. 15). The curriculum also identifies physical disabilities among the issues relevant to music education and encourages differentiated participation. It further calls for “multiple means of engagement, representation, and action and expression” and instructs teachers to provide learners with options for how they demonstrate their learning. This means that the contemporary Ghanaian curriculum recognises learner differences and rejects the assumption that a single pedagogical route should be used for all learners. The curriculum also explicitly identifies “physical disabilities” among the environmental, sociocultural, physiological, and psychological issues relevant to music education (NaCCA, 2023, p. 20). The curriculum’s ensemble guidance similarly instructs teachers to ensure that all learners are involved in group performance and recommends: “Offering vocal, instrumental, and rhythmic parts suited to all learners’ abilities” as well as rotating roles such as lead singer, conductor, and instrumental leader among learners (NaCCA, 2023, pp. 116 –117). These provisions demonstrate a clear institutional commitment to expanding participation.

This essay distinguishes accommodation and transformation. Universal Design for Learning (UDL) can improve access by giving students different ways to engage with learning, but greater access may not necessarily challenge the assumptions built into curriculum content, assessment, or ideas of competence. This worry is reflected in some Ghanaian disability scholarship. For example, research in Ghana shows that policies supporting inclusive education do not always lead to meaningful participation for students with disabilities (Gyimah et al., 2025). In music education, Agbenyo (2025) also notes ongoing challenges in preparing teachers for inclusive classrooms. These studies suggest that inclusion

involves more than creating alternative ways to access the curriculum. It becomes important to note whether such changes also reshape how musical competence is defined and valued, or simply allow students with disabilities to fit into existing ideas of legitimate musical knowledge.

From Inclusion to the Question of the Standard

The Ghanaian music curriculum presents a more complex picture than simple inclusion or exclusion. While it promotes inclusion through UDL and support for different abilities, it also defines musical competence through specific skills such as notation, score reading, rhythmic accuracy, posture, and tone quality. This invites closer examination of the extent to which these standards reflect universal measures of musicianship or culturally and historically constructed notions of musical competence. This concern also connects to broader debates in Ghanaian music education about the continued dominance of Western musical knowledge and the need to value Ghanaian and African musical practices (Flolu, 1994)

Disability studies add a related but distinct eye view to these debates. While decolonial and postcolonial scholars ask whose musical knowledge is valued, disability studies asks whose bodies are assumed to fit accepted ideas of musicianship. A curriculum may include Ghanaian musical traditions while still assuming particular ways of hearing, seeing, moving, reading, or performing. Likewise, the curriculum may accommodate disabled learners without interrogating the standards that define musical competence. The Ghanaian context highlights how issues of culture, inclusion, assessment, teacher preparation, and ability intersect. The deeper issue is how assumptions about the ideal music learner produce the need for inclusion in the first place. From this slant, the goal is to critically examine existing standards of musical competence and consider how different ways of being and making music might broaden what counts as musicianship.

The Role of the Academy: Claiming Disability Studies in Ghanaian Music Education

Existing Ghanaian disability scholarship provides suggestive evidence that disability occupies a marginal position. Historically, disability policy was shaped in part through rehabilitation and welfare frameworks that positioned disabled people in relation to their

capacity to become productive workers and contributors to national development (Grischow, 2011). Naami et al. (2012) document significant employment barriers faced by disabled Ghanaian women, while Ocran (2019) identifies persistent disability stigma and structural discrimination across multiple areas of social life. Research on mobility disability further demonstrates that inaccessible transportation and built environments constrain disabled people's social participation in Accra (Naami & Mfoafo-M'Carthy, 2025). Taken together, this scholarship suggests that disability is not simply an individual condition addressed through rehabilitation or accommodation; it is also associated with broader patterns of exclusion that shape access to employment, public space, social participation, citizenship, and institutional life.

In this regard, Linton's (1998) discussion of disability studies offers a useful starting point. Writing primarily about the U.S. academy, Linton argues that advocates of disability studies must demonstrate that disabled people occupy subordinate positions in important social and economic domains and that their histories and contributions have often been neglected or erased. The Ghanaian literature reviewed above provides sufficient evidence to suggest that similar issues deserve investigation in the Ghanaian context. More importantly, the relevance of Linton's work for Ghanaian music education lies in the critical lens disability studies brings to knowledge production, representation, participation, and institutional power. Although no Ghanaian music education study has yet examined disability through an explicit disability studies framework, the field has already demonstrated a willingness to interrogate broader issues of culture, curriculum, identity, and knowledge. Disability studies therefore extends these existing critical conversations by drawing attention to how disability is constructed, understood, and negotiated within music education.

In her chapter *Divided Curriculum*, Linton (1998) identifies three areas requiring examination: the nature of inquiry into disability, the structure of the curriculum and its role in organising information and representing versions of the world, and the content of the curriculum. This essay focuses on the first, the nature of inquiry into disability. Linton asks scholars to consider how disability becomes an object of academic

inquiry. How has the absence of disabled people from academic positions shaped research agendas? How do the structure and focus of research reproduce ableist understandings of disability? What questions get asked about disability, from what assumptions, and within which intellectual traditions?

These questions matter because the intellectual traditions through which disability is studied shape the kinds of knowledge that can be produced about it. When medical, rehabilitative, or special-education frameworks dominate, inquiry tends to concentrate on diagnosis, treatment, accommodation, and intervention. This is not to suggest that such frameworks are incapable of critical engagement. Rather, the concern is that their institutional prominence has, in practice, left other questions comparatively unexplored. Linton instead calls for approaches that treat disability as a cultural, social, political, and intellectual phenomenon rather than confining inquiry to the management of impairment. Goodley (2014) similarly positions disability studies as a critical field concerned with the cultural and political production of disability and with the normative assumptions through which disability is understood.

This shift involves more than simply adding disability to existing research agendas. It asks what disability might make visible about the fields that study it. Garland-Thomson (2002) conceptualises disability as a critical lens through which scholars can examine cultural assumptions and structures that might otherwise remain unexamined. Linton (1998) makes a related argument about the humanities and arts, observing that disability has rarely served as a vantage point for uncovering “hidden themes, images, metaphors, and problematic elements” within disciplinary traditions (p. 110). The question thus shifts from what institutions should do for disabled people to what disability might reveal about the institutions themselves, including assumptions concerning normalcy, ability, embodiment, participation, pleasure, and value.

Dolmage (2017) argues that academic institutions are structured around assumptions about normative bodies, capacities, and forms of participation, extending Linton’s concern that disability inquiry should attend both to the representation of disability

within academic knowledge and to the institutional arrangements through which that knowledge is produced and authorised. Baglieri et al. (2011) argue that educational practices actively produce ideas of normalcy by organising schooling around assumptions about the typical or average student, while Whitburn (2017) cautions against reducing inclusive education to technical solutions for the problem of disability and instead advocates examining the normative discourses through which inclusion and disability are understood.

These interventions matter for music education because inclusion alone may not require educators to interrogate the assumptions about ability that organise musical participation. As already noted, Dobbs’s (2012) analysis of disability discourse in the *Journal of Research in Music Education* found a medical or deficit model prevailing across the studies reviewed, while Churchill and Laes (2020) argue that disability often remains invisible within music education discourse even where inclusion is presented as a central value. Both point toward the same conclusion: that music education, like education more broadly, stands to benefit from moving beyond deficit- and intervention-based approaches to disability.

The role of music educators carries particular significance here. Music education is concerned with the transmission of musical skills and knowledge (Elliott & Silverman, 2015), the construction of musical identity (Campbell, 2002; Hargreaves et al., 2018; Wanjala & Kebaya, 2016), aesthetic experience (Gaston, 1963; Panaiotidi, 2003), and knowledge production (Burnard, 2016; Elliott, 1991). Each of these discourses rests on assumptions that disability can bring into question: Who is imagined as a musical participant? What forms of embodiment are valued or taken for granted? What counts as musical knowledge and competence? Which forms of musical participation are recognised as legitimate? Whose musical experiences and capacities remain less visible? These questions make music education a productive site for disability inquiry.

Ghanaian music education scholarship already asks comparable questions about knowledge, culture, curriculum, and identity. Akrofi and Flolu (2007) trace how colonial legacies were imposed upon an already musically vibrant Ghanaian context, producing

tensions that continue to shape curriculum debates. Otchere (2015) documents the marginalisation of African music-making within university music curricula despite longstanding calls to centre indigenous musical knowledge (Flolu & Amuah, 2003). This body of work shows that Ghanaian music education is already equipped to interrogate whose knowledge counts, whose traditions are centred, and whose are pushed to the margins. What has been largely absent from these conversations is disability as a critical category through which issues of exclusion, representation, participation, and power might also be examined.

Disability studies can therefore enter an existing critical tradition rather than stand apart from it as a specialised concern. The relevance of this project to Ghana rests on the observation that Ghanaian disability scholarship has already documented enduring concerns related to exclusion, representation, participation, and power. Disability studies provide a framework for examining how these concerns are manifested, negotiated, and reproduced within music education. If disability functions as a critical perspective within the humanities and arts (Garland-Thomson, 2002; Linton, 1998), it can likewise examine the assumptions through which Ghanaian music educators organise musical knowledge, ability, participation, embodiment, and value.

Two questions follow: How can music education include disabled students? And what might disability ask music educators to reconsider about the field itself? The first concerns inclusion; the second opens a broader inquiry into the epistemological, cultural, and institutional assumptions that shape music education. This essay foregrounds the second. This is where the value of claiming disability studies in Ghanaian music education lies: expanding access and providing a critical direction through which educators can examine the assumptions underlying their own practices.

What Might Disability Studies Invite Ghanaian Music Educators to Reconsider?

One possible contribution of disability studies to Ghanaian music education might be to encourage a more critical examination of the concept of ability itself. Music can be experienced and understood through multiple forms of embodied engagement, as

perception, bodily movement, action, and interaction with the musical environment contribute to the formation of musical meaning (Godøy & Leman, 2010; Leman, 2008). Music education has historically privileged conceptions of musical ability, talent, skill, and performance as measures of musical competence and achievement, often establishing normative hierarchies of who is recognised as musically capable (Jaap & Patrick, 2015; Laes & Westerlund, 2018; Lubet, 2009). As Straus (2006) suggests, the history of disability provides an important site for examining the emergence of concepts such as normal and abnormal. Davis (1995) similarly argues that normalcy is a historically constructed standard against which difference is measured and organised. Garland-Thomson's (1997) concept of the *normate* further describes the unmarked identity position against which disabled bodies and other forms of embodied difference are rendered different. Siebers (2008) describes the broader logic underlying such categorisation as an "ideology of ability," an often-unrecognised preference for able-bodiedness that establishes a particular configuration of body and mind as the measure of human capacity (p. 273).

Bringing these ideas into music education highlights the need to examine how musical ability is defined. Activities such as singing, dancing, playing instruments, and sight-reading rely on different sensory, cognitive, and physical skills. The issue, from a disability studies viewpoint, is what happens when one set of abilities becomes the standard measure of musicianship, and other ways of being musical are viewed as lacking. When curricula define what students should know and do, what abilities are assumed to be normal or expected? What forms of hearing, seeing, moving, remembering, and performing are taken for granted in assessment? And when musical excellence is celebrated, are different ways of making music recognised as equally valid, or only accommodated within existing standards?

For Ghanaian music education, this line of inquiry connects to work already underway in the field. Much of the field's engagement with musical knowledge has appropriately asked whose music is taught, whose musical traditions are valued, and whose knowledge is marginalised. Disability studies extend this critical inquiry to the body by examining whose body is

imagined when music is taught and learned. Disability studies invite Ghanaian music educators to consider what kinds of bodies and capacities are presumed capable of making music, alongside the longstanding concern of which musical traditions are regarded as worthy of teaching. In this sense, disability studies can contribute to expanding the field's understanding of what music-making is, who can make music, and the different ways in which music-making can be done.

Disability Aesthetics and Possibilities for Musical Excellence

Disability studies offer another possible entry point into music education through the concept of *disability aesthetics*. Before applying this concept, it is worth distinguishing disability studies from two related but different ideas with which it may easily be confused. *Disability representation* concerns how disability is portrayed within artistic and cultural works, including questions of visibility, authenticity, narrative framing, and the reproduction or disruption of stereotypes (Garland-Thomson, 2005; Snyder & Mitchell, 2001). By contrast, *inclusive aesthetics*, particularly in arts education and accessibility scholarship, focuses on ensuring that disabled people can access and participate in artistic experiences and cultural institutions through accommodations, universal design, and other access-oriented practices (Reviere & Hanouille, 2023; Grabowski et al., 2024).

While both concepts are important, neither directly addresses the central claim of disability aesthetics: that disability can reshape aesthetic values themselves and generate alternative understandings of beauty, embodiment, artistic excellence, and creative practice (Siebers, 2010). Siebers (2010) argues that disability is a factor that has actively shaped the formal properties long prized in art — irregularity, asymmetry, disruption of expected form — and that consequently structures aesthetic judgment itself, including judgments about what counts as beautiful, skilled, or excellent. On this account, disability is implicated in the very criteria by which beauty, harmony, and skill are judged (Harris, 2019; Siebers, 2010).

Disability can be understood as an aesthetic phenomenon in this sense because bodily, cognitive, and linguistic differences are encountered not only as social and cultural differences but also through the

ways bodies and minds appear, are represented, and are experienced (Edvardson & Gjærum, 2021). Artistic practices can consequently reproduce cultural understandings of disability while also creating spaces in which those understandings can be challenged and reimagined (Edvardson & Gjærum, 2021). Disability aesthetics, therefore, asks scholars to reconsider the aesthetic norms by which bodies, forms, and expressions are judged. As Siebers (2010) argues, and as Kim et al. (2021) extend in their work on Siebers's legacy, disability is not simply an object of artistic representation; it is also integral to the formation of aesthetic judgments and can challenge conventional understandings of beauty, harmony, and bodily integrity.

For music education, disability aesthetics may open an important line of inquiry given that disability has itself been represented and theorised within musical practices and histories (Howe et al., 2016). Cultural conventions associated with music-making, particularly Western concert music, can operate as powerful enforcers of conformity, privileging uniformity and penalising divergence (Howe et al., 2016). Disability aesthetics thus challenges music educators to probe whether established ideals of musical performance and excellence necessarily represent neutral aesthetic standards or privilege particular ways of sensing, moving, communicating, and performing. As Howe et al. (2016) opine, disability provides an important standpoint for examining the embodied nature of music-making, the ways different bodies and minds perform music, and the ways music itself can construct and contest understandings of the body.

This essay does not argue that disability aesthetics offers a universal explanation of Ghanaian music-making or that disability automatically creates new or better forms of musical knowledge. Instead, disability aesthetics provides a way of dismantling common ideas about musical aesthetics, excellence, and value as natural and universal as they often seem. For Ghanaian music education, this essay opens an important but largely unexplored conversation about who defines musical excellence, what kinds of bodies are assumed in those definitions, and what new possibilities might emerge when those assumptions are challenged. This essay also highlights the

possibility that the communal and participatory nature of many Ghanaian musical traditions, where musical roles are shared across a group rather than centred on a single expert performer, may offer alternative understandings of musical ability and excellence. This possibility, however, remains an area for future research.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Conclusion: This essay began with an observation: disability studies has received limited, fragmented, and predominantly applied attention within Ghanaian music education scholarship to date. This is not an argument that this pattern reflects a deficiency in existing scholarship, nor that disability studies offers Ghanaian music education a framework it currently lacks. What the essay has tried to show is narrower and, it is hoped, more useful: that Linton's (1998) reclaiming of disability as a humanities category, Davis's (1995) and Garland-Thomson's (1997) accounts of normalcy, and Siebers's (2010) Disability studies and disability aesthetics together offer opinions that Ghanaian music education scholarship has not yet needed to consider. Whether these standpoints are useful in a Ghanaian context, and in what revised form, is not something this essay can settle from the outside. That is precisely the difficulty raised in the preceding section: any use of Euro-American disability studies risks becoming another import, another lens brought from elsewhere and applied. That difficulty does mean the inquiry cannot end here, with a single essay proposing what disability studies might offer. It can only end with an invitation — to Ghanaian music education scholars, disabled and nondisabled, to determine for themselves what, if anything, in this conversation is worth keeping, and with a concrete research agenda for testing it.

Recommendations: The preceding discussion has argued that disability studies can open new lines of inquiry in Ghanaian music education by drawing attention to assumptions about musical ability, embodiment, participation, and value. Building on this argument, several areas warrant further investigation. First, research could examine how disability is represented, if at all, within Ghanaian music curricula, policy documents, and assessment frameworks. Such studies might explore how musical ability is defined, what forms of participation are valued, and whether

existing assessment practices privilege particular bodies, capacities, or modes of musical engagement.

Second, researchers could investigate how music teachers, student teachers, and teacher educators understand disability in practice. While existing studies have addressed inclusion and teacher preparation, less is known about how educators conceptualise musical ability, difference, competence, and participation, or how these assumptions influence pedagogical decision-making. Third, there is a need for studies that foreground the experiences and perspectives of disabled musicians, music students, and community music participants in Ghana. Such work could provide insight into how disabled people navigate musical spaces and how they understand music-making, learning, creativity, and participation within their own cultural contexts. Fourth, future research should explore how disability is understood within Ghanaian cultural, religious, and musical traditions. Concepts and frameworks developed within Euro-American disability studies may not fully capture local understandings of the body, personhood, difference, and social participation. Research in this area could contribute not only to Ghanaian music education but also to broader efforts to diversify disability studies scholarship.

Finally, comparative and theoretical studies could examine how disability intersects with Ghanaian music education research, including curriculum, identity, indigeneity, coloniality, and knowledge production. Such work would build on existing scholarship that interrogates whose knowledge is centred, whose experiences are valued, and which musical practices are legitimised within educational settings. These directions are not intended to prescribe a single research agenda for the field. Rather, they suggest ways in which disability might become part of ongoing conversations about culture, knowledge, and educational practice in Ghanaian music education. At the same time, any engagement with disability studies must remain attentive to critiques from the Global South (Grech, 2011; Meekosha & Soldatic, 2011), which caution against uncritically applying theories developed in Euro-American contexts. The challenge, therefore, is to place disability in dialogue with Ghanaian histories, cultures, and musical practices so that new inquiry and insights can emerge.

REFERENCES

- Adelere, A. Z. (2018). Music education: A panacea for the handicapped children. *African Musicology Online*, 8(2), 25–35. <https://doi.org/10.58721/amo.v8i2.8>
- Adom-Opare, F. (2022). Cultural etiologies of disability in Ghana: A case of food taboos in pregnancy. *Review of Disability Studies: An International Journal*, 18(1 & 2), 1–26. <https://www.rdsjournal.org/index.php/journal/article/view/1141>
- Agbenyega, J. A., & Deku, P. K. (2011). Building new identities in teacher preparation for inclusive education in Ghana. *Current Issues in Education*, 14(1), 1–36. <https://cie.asu.edu/ojs/index.php/cieatasu/article/view/554>
- Agbenyega, J. S. (2007). Examining teachers' concerns and attitudes to inclusive education in Ghana. *International Journal of Whole Schooling*, 3(1), 41–56. <https://www.wholeschooling.net/journal/IJWS/article/3/1/pii/S%2825%2900175-0>
- Agbenyo, S. (2022). *Inclusive music teacher preparation in the Presbyterian College of Education at Akropong-Akuapem, Ghana* [Doctoral dissertation, The University of Mississippi]. University of Mississippi eGrove. <https://egrove.olemiss.edu/etd/2189/>
- Agbenyo, S. (2025). Music teacher preparation for the inclusive classroom: The case of Presbyterian College of Education, Akropong-Akuapem. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science*, 9(3), 537–550. <https://doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2025.90300042>
- Agbenyo, S., & Sam, G. (2021). The sonic brain: A musical subculture in Akropong School for the Blind, Ghana. *American Journal of Multidisciplinary Research & Development*, 3(7), 32–39. <https://www.ajmrd.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/F373239.pdf>
- Akrofi, E., & Flolu, J. (2007). The colonial influence on music education in Ghana and South Africa. In E. Akrofi, M. Smit, & S.-M. Thorsén (Eds.), *Music and identity: Transformation and negotiation* (pp. 143–157). SUN Press. <https://doi.org/10.18820/9781919980973>
- Ametepe, L. K., & Anastasiou, D. (2015). Special and inclusive education in Ghana: Status and progress, challenges and implications. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 41, 143–152. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2015.02.007>
- Avoke, M. (2001). Some historical perspectives in the development of special education in Ghana. *European Journal of Special Needs Education*, 16(1), 29–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08856250150501789>
- Baglieri, S., Valle, J. W., Connor, D. J., & Gallagher, D. J. (2011). Disability studies in education: The need for a plurality of perspectives on disability. *Remedial and Special Education*, 32(4), 267–278. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0741932510362200>
- Bérubé, M. (1998). Foreword: Pressing the claim. In S. Linton, *Claiming disability: Knowledge and identity* (pp. vii–xii). New York University Press.
- Botts, B. H., & Owusu, N. A. (2013). The state of inclusive education in Ghana, West Africa. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth*, 57(3), 135–143. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1045988X.2013.798776>
- Burnard, P. (2016). Problematizing what counts as knowledge and the production of knowledges in music. In E. Georgii-Hemming, P. Burnard, & S.-E. Holgersen (Eds.), *Professional knowledge in music teacher education* (pp. 97–110). Routledge.
- Campbell, F. K. (2009). Internalised ableism: The tyranny within. In *Contours of ableism: The production of disability and abledness* (pp. 16–29). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230245181_2
- Campbell, P. S. (2002). Music education in a time of cultural transformation. *Music Educators Journal*, 89(1), 27–32. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3399881>
- Churchill, W. N., & Laes, T. (2020). Made in/visible: Erasing disability in music education. In A. A. Kallio (Ed.), *Difference and division in music education* (pp. 131–143). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429278525-12>
- Davis, L. J. (1995). *Enforcing normalcy: Disability, deafness, and the body*. Verso.

- Dobbs, T. L. (2012). A critical analysis of disabilities discourse in the *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 1990–2011. *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education*, (194), 7–30. <https://doi.org/10.5406/bulcoursmusedu.194.0007>
- Dolmage, J. T. (2017). *Academic ableism: Disability and higher education*. University of Michigan Press. <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.9708722>
- Dwamena, F. A. (2026). *Promoting inclusive education in Ghana: A Ghanaian stakeholder experience* [Master's thesis, Åbo Akademi University]. Doria. <https://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe2026041026369>
- Edvardsen, N. K., & Gjørsum, R. G. (2021). The aesthetic model of disability. In P. Janse van Vuuren, B. Rasmussen, & A. Khala (Eds.), *Theatre and democracy: Building democracy in post-war and post-democratic contexts* (pp. 193–215). Cappelen Damm Akademisk. <https://doi.org/10.23865/noasp.135>
- Elliott, D. J. (1991). Music as knowledge. *The Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 25(3), 21–40. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3332993>
- Elliott, D. J., & Silverman, M. (2015). *Music matters: A philosophy of music education* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Flolu, E. J. (1994). *Re-tuning music education in Ghana: A study of cultural influences and musical development, and of the dilemma confronting Ghanaian school music teachers* [Doctoral dissertation, University of York]. White Rose eTheses Online. <https://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/id/eprint/14045/>
- Flolu, J., & Amuah, I. R. (2003). *An introduction to music education in Ghana for universities and colleges*. Black Mask Limited.
- Garland-Thomson, R. (1997). *Extraordinary bodies: Figuring physical disability in American culture and literature*. Columbia University Press.
- Garland-Thomson, R. (2002). Integrating disability, transforming feminist theory. *NWSA Journal*, 14(3), 1–32. <https://doi.org/10.2979/NWS.2002.14.3.1>
- Garland-Thomson, R. (2005). Disability and representation. *PMLA*, 120(2), 522–527. <https://doi.org/10.1632/S0030812900167835>
- Gaston, E. T. (1963). Aesthetic experience in music. *Music Educators Journal*, 49(6), 25–26, 62–64. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3389905>
- Godøy, R. I., & Leman, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Musical gestures: Sound, movement, and meaning*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203863411>
- Goodley, D. (2014). *Disability studies: Theorising disablism and ableism*. Routledge.
- Goodley, D. (2025). *Disability studies*. SAGE Publications.
- Grabowski, S., Darcy, S., Maxwell, H., & Onyx, J. (2024). Inclusive practice and comparative social impact of disability arts: A qualitative and abductive approach. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 23, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069231225370>
- Grech, S. (2011). Recolonising debates or perpetuated coloniality? Decentring the spaces of disability, development and community in the global South. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 15(1), 87–100. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2010.496198>
- Grischow, J. D. (2011). Kwame Nkrumah, disability, and rehabilitation in Ghana, 1957–66. *The Journal of African History*, 52(2), 179–199. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853711000260>
- Grischow, J., Mfoafo-M'Carthy, M., Vermeyden, A., & Cammaert, J. (2018). Physical disability, rights and stigma in Ghana: A review of literature. *Disability, CBR & Inclusive Development*, 29(4), 5–24. <https://doi.org/10.5463/dcid.v29i4.752>
- Gyimah, E. M., Dassah, E., Opoku, M. P., Nketsia, W., & Mensah, P. A. (2025). 'I prefer to be alone than to be among them': In-school experiences of learners with disabilities and their caregivers in inclusive schools in Ghana. *British Journal of Special Education*, 52(2), 126–136. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8578.12572>
- Hargreaves, D. J., MacDonald, R., & Miell, D. (2012). Musical identities mediate musical development. In G. E. McPherson & G. F. Welch (Eds.), *The Oxford handbook of music education* (Vol. 1, pp. 125–142). Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199730810.013.0008>

- Harris, J. E. (2019). The aesthetics of disability. *Columbia Law Review*, 119(4), 895–972. https://www.columbialawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Harris-THE_AESTHETICS_OF_DISABILITY-1.pdf
- Hess, J. (2021). Music education and the colonial project: Stumbling toward anti-colonial music education. In R. Wright, G. Johansen, P. A. Kanellopoulos, & P. Schmidt (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook to sociology of music education* (pp. 23–39). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429504631-1-5>
- Howe, B., Jensen-Moulton, S., Straus, J. N., Iverson, J., Holmes, J. A., Bakan, M. B., Dell'Antonio, A., & Grace, E. J. (2016). On the disability aesthetics of music. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 69(2), 525–563. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2016.69.2.525>
- Jaap, A., & Patrick, F. (2015). Teachers' concepts of musical talent and nurturing musical ability: Music learning as exclusive or as opportunity for all? *Music Education Research*, 17(3), 262–277. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14613808.2014.950559>
- Kim, J. B., Kupetz, J., Lie, C. Y., & Wu, C. (Eds.). (2021). *Sex, identity, aesthetics: The work of Tobin Siebers and disability studies*. University of Michigan Press. <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.11769364>
- Kpobi, L., & Swartz, L. (2019). Ghanaian traditional and faith healers' explanatory models of intellectual disability. *Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities*, 32(1), 43–50. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jar.12500>
- Kuyini, A. B., Desai, I., & Sharma, U. (2020). Teachers' self-efficacy beliefs, attitudes and concerns about implementing inclusive education in Ghana. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 24(14), 1509–1526. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2018.1544298>
- Laes, T., & Westerlund, H. (2018). Performing disability in music teacher education: Moving beyond inclusion through expanded professionalism. *International Journal of Music Education*, 36(1), 34–46. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0255761417703782>
- Leman, M. (2008). *Embodied music cognition and mediation technology*. MIT Press.
- Linton, S. (1998). *Claiming disability: Knowledge and identity*. New York University Press.
- Longmore, P. K., & Umansky, L. (Eds.). (2001). *The new disability history: American perspectives* (Vol. 6). New York University Press.
- Lubet, A. (2009). The inclusion of music/the music of inclusion. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 13(7), 727–739. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603110903046010>
- Mfoafo-M'Carthy, M., Grischow, J. D., & Stocco, N. (2020). Cloak of invisibility: A literature review of physical disability in Ghana. *SAGE Open*, 10(1), 2158244019900567. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244019900567>
- Mfoafo-M'Carthy, M., & Grischow, J. (2022). Hierarchy and inequality in research: Navigating the challenges of research in Ghana. *Qualitative Research*, 22(5), 729–742. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14687941221098927>
- Meekosha, H., & Shuttleworth, R. (2009). What's so 'critical' about critical disability studies? *Australian Journal of Human Rights*, 15(1), 47–75. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1323238X.2009.11910861>
- Meekosha, H., & Soldatic, K. (2011). Human rights and the Global South: The case of disability. *Third World Quarterly*, 32(8), 1383–1397. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2011.614800>
- National Council for Curriculum and Assessment. (2023). *Music curriculum for secondary education (SHS 1–3)*. <https://curriculumresources.edu.gh/wp-content/uploads/2025/07/Music-Curriculum.pdf>
- Naami, A. (2014). Breaking the barriers: Ghanaians' perspectives about the social model. *Disability, CBR & Inclusive Development*, 25(1), 21–39. <https://doi.org/10.5463/DCID.v25i1.294>
- Naami, A., Hayashi, R., & Liese, H. (2012). The unemployment of women with physical disabilities in Ghana: Issues and recommendations. *Disability & Society*, 27(2), 191–204. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2011.644930>
- Naami, A., & Mfoafo-M'Carthy, M. (2025). Barriers to social participation of persons with mobility disabilities in the city of Accra, Ghana. *Disability, CBR & Inclusive Development*, 36(3), 49–63. <https://doi.org/10.20372/dcidj.739>

- Ocloo, M. A., & Subbey, M. (2008). Perception of basic education school teachers towards inclusive education in the Hohoe District of Ghana. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 12(5–6), 639–650. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13603110802377680>
- Ocran, J. (2019). Disability in the media: Examining stigma and identity. *Disability & Society*, 34(3), 505–508. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09687599.2018.1563987>
- Ocran, J. (2022). “There is something like a barrier”: Disability stigma, structural discrimination and middle-class persons with disability in Ghana. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 8(1), 2084893. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2084893>
- Ocran, J. (2023). “Am I disabled?”: Disability and identity management among middle-class persons with disability in Ghana. *Cogent Psychology*, 10(1), 2190634. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311908.2023.2190634>
- Opoku, M. P., Agbenyega, J., J-F, Mprah, W. K., McKenzie, J., & Badu, E. (2017). Decade of inclusive education in Ghana: Perspectives of educators. *Journal of Social Inclusion*, 8(1), 4–20. <https://doi.org/10.36251/josi.114>
- Opoku, M. P., Cuskelly, M., Pedersen, S. J., & Rayner, C. S. (2021). Attitudes and self-efficacy as significant predictors of intention of secondary school teachers towards the implementation of inclusive education in Ghana. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*, 36(3), 673–691. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10212-020-00490-5>
- Opoku-Nkoom, I., & Ackah-Jnr, F. R. (2023). Investigating inclusive education in primary schools in Ghana: What inclusive cultures, environment, and practices support implementation? *Support for Learning*, 38(1), 17–36. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9604.12435>
- Otchere, E. D. (2015). Music teaching and the process of enculturation: A cultural dilemma. *British Journal of Music Education*, 32(3), 291–297. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0265051715000352>
- Owoo, N. S. (2025). Disability and education in Ghana: Intersections with sex and location. *Population and Development Review*, 51(2), 797–827. <https://doi.org/10.1111/padr.70003>
- Panaiotidi, E. (2003). What is music? Aesthetic experience versus musical practice. *Philosophy of Music Education Review*, 11(1), 71–89. <https://doi.org/10.2979/pme.2003.11.1.71>
- Reviere, N., & Hanouille, S. (2023). Aesthetics and participation in accessible art experiences: Reflections on an action research project of an audio guide. *Journal of Audiovisual Translation*, 6(2), 99–121. <https://doi.org/10.47476/jat.v6i2.2023.277>
- Shakespeare, T. (2006). The social model of disability. In L. J. Davis (Ed.), *The disability studies reader* (2nd ed., pp. 197–204). Routledge.
- Siebers, T. (2008). *Disability theory*. University of Michigan Press.
- Siebers, T. (2010). *Disability aesthetics* (Vol. 1). University of Michigan Press.
- Snyder, S. L., & Mitchell, D. T. (2001). Re-engaging the body: Disability studies and the resistance to embodiment. *Public Culture*, 13(3), 367–389. <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-13-3-367>
- Straus, J. N. (2006). Normalizing the abnormal: Disability in music and music theory. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 59(1), 113–184. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jams.2006.59.1.113>
- Titchkosky, T. (2011). *The question of access: Disability, space, meaning*. University of Toronto Press.
- Wanjala, H., & Kebaya, C. (2016). Popular music and identity formation among Kenyan youth. *Muziki*, 13(2), 20–35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/18125980.2016.1249159>
- Ware, L. (2001). Writing, identity, and the other: Dare we do disability studies? *Journal of Teacher Education*, 52(2), 107–123. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487101052002003>
- Ware, L. (2010). Disability studies in education. In S. Tozer, B. P. Gallegos, A. Henry, M. B. Greiner, & P. G. Price (Eds.), *The handbook of research in the social foundations of education* (pp. 244–259). Routledge.
- Whitburn, B. (2017). The subjectivities of ‘included’ students with disabilities in schools. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 38(4), 485–497. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2015.1105787>