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Settling in between mobility and isolation: A study of the care practices and labor of people with disabilities
(excerpt from master's thesis)

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Cover Sheet

This writing sample is an excerpt from my master's thesis, titled “Constructing ‘Disability Worlds’: A Study of the Practices of Disabled Workers During the Pandemic.” The complete thesis spans 82,000 words and examines how individuals with diverse disabilities construct their social existence through labor during the pandemic. It explores the creation of 'disability worlds' (Ginsburg & Rapp, 2013), encompassing the embodied spatio-temporal experiences of disabled individuals and the innovative social formations that arise from their labor practices.

This sample, extracted from Chapter 3, focuses on the intersection of disability, labor ethics, and industrial production during the pandemic. It demonstrates my ability to critically analyze concepts such as "crip time" (Kafer, 2013) and integrate them into an exploration of how disabled workers navigate and redefine time in industrial settings. Through nuanced ethnographic descriptions and theoretical engagement, the chapter reflects my capacity to apply key anthropological frameworks to contemporary issues, showcasing my academic abilities.

The research underpinning this thesis is based on eight months of fieldwork in East China, combining participant observation and in-depth interviews in two factories and the daily living environments of disabled workers. These experiences are woven into the thesis to reflect my methodological rigor, linguistic precision, and ability to present complex narratives of disability and labor.

Beyond this writing sample, the remaining chapters of my thesis provide a comprehensive exploration of the evolving identity of disabled workers, shifts in disability culture, and the transformation of welfare policies in post-reform China. The final two chapters highlight my ability to integrate theoretical insights with ethnographic observations, offering a detailed account of how disabled individuals and their support networks collectively construct frameworks for meaningful existence in the context of societal disruptions.

This writing sample illustrates my academic skills and commitment to advancing the anthropological understanding of care, labor, and social resilience in contemporary contexts.

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Writing Sample

Creating pauses: the encounter between industrial time and disability time

The alarm clock was activated at 6:30. I was in a state of heightened anxiety as I arose, performed my ablutions, and departed without delay. The factory gate was situated at distance of one kilometre from the workshop, so I had to plan the shortest route to avoid being late and getting scolded by the team leader. I proceeded at a similar, brisk pace as the other individuals, hastening to the workshop. I was required to arrive at the factory gate before 7:00. I had to input my access code at the factory gate, the workshop gate and the workshop door, with the machine recording the time of each input. Two key time points are of particular importance in the morning: ten o'clock and twelve o'clock. One may take a ten-minute break, while the other represents the time to go to eat. Furthermore, there are also two-time points in the afternoon: three o'clock and five o'clock. Additionally, a ten-minute break is permitted, followed by the designated time for departing the workshop and commencing the evening meal. I regard “five o'clock in the afternoon” as my time of liberation. It appears that the time of each day is defined by the arrival of each “five o'clock in the afternoon,” and my life also revolves around the arrival of these moments.

This is what I recorded immediately on the first day I worked with disabled workers at Factory B. E.P. Thompson conducted a comprehensive analysis of the changes in the concept of time under capitalist development. Prior to the rise of industrial production, work was task-oriented (2017). However, with the transformation of work into waged labor, our understanding and imagination of labor also underwent a transformation: human life and time seemed to become mutually occupying and plundering relationships. In this alienated relationship, life is forced to catch up with time, and both time and life itself become an external entity to be conquered (Ngai, 2005).

Historically, the concept of disability has its roots in the same chasm that gave rise to industrial capitalism. In an era characterised by communal labor, individuals were able to undertake a range of tasks regardless of their physical capabilities. However, industry and capital demanded a specific time machine and a competitive approach to work. People with disabilities were marginalised and excluded from the workforce as a group and excluded as a group unable to adapt to the discipline of the mechanised factory (Campbell & Oliver, 2013).

Table: My daily schedule in the fields of Factory B

daily schedule	
6:30-7:00 am	Get up, wash up, buy breakfast on the way and eat while walking.
7:00-7:20 am	Go to the factory entrance, scan the first card
7:20-7:40 am	Go to the workshop entrance, change into work clothes and shoes, scan the second card
7:40-7:50 am	Enter the third-floor workshop, scan the third card, measure

	static electricity
8:00-10:00 am	Work on the assembly line
10:00-10:10 am	Rest, drink water, go to the toilet
10:10-12:00 am	Work on the assembly line
12：00-1:00 pm	Eat, take a nap on the table on the assembly line
1:00-3:00 pm	Work on the assembly line
3:00-3:10 pm	Rest, drink water, go to the toilet
3:10-5:00 pm	Work on the assembly line
5:00-6:00 pm	Eat
6:00-8:00 pm	Work overtime

Concurrently, industrial capital also gave rise to a new time ethic within the workplace. The observance of rest periods and even overtime in the factory became a tacit and habitual obligation for colleagues. On the initial day at Factory B, I elected to refrain from working overtime and was jokingly called a “vacationer” by my colleagues and team leader. In addition to the workplace, society as a whole was also forming a new value system over time. To illustrate, I was obliged to retire for the night at an earlier hour and set my alarm clock to 6:30 every day in order to adapt to the prescribed rhythm of life the next day. For people with disabilities, this is an entirely unfamiliar system of work and values. The majority of individuals with disabilities resided in families, communities, and towns, and their rhythms of life were outside of linear standard time. The majority of their initial employment was also care work within the family. It is evident that this type of work was also regarded by the industrial system as informal work without fixed patterns. In these situations, time becomes a vehicle of power, constructing the coordinates and expectations of life. It can also be argued that the defining characteristic of industrial capitalism is that it defines human value by rewriting time, and it has driven people with disabilities out of the possibility of participating in work and life.

“The production capacity on the assembly line at Factory B is 6,000 units a day, but now it's the off-season and orders aren't good, so the leaders are cutting our hours. Originally, we used to work 10 hours a day, but now we're told to do it in 8 hours, which allows the leaders to save on overtime pay. Since my arrival at this facility, both I and a disabled colleague of mine have caught colds very easily. The individual with a disability has been here for two months and has had a cold for two months. There is no recourse available to us in this situation. Our original pace of life was not like this, and our bodies are not used to it,” Yan, a female worker with a physical disability who works with me, lamented to me during a break.

Furthermore, I also accompanied a disabled woman who was unwell to the Factory B clinic. She was pale, with her back bent, covering her chest as she came to the doctor's appointment alone. She looked very young.

“I don't know why, but whenever I work the night shift, I feel like vomiting,” the woman said.

“Did the doctor tell you what the problem is?”

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“The infirmary just gave me some medicine. The factory infirmary doesn't have the conditions to carry out tests, and the doctor said that there are many diseases that cause this symptom, so they can't tell what it is,“ the girl replied.

“How are you feeling now?”

“I still feel bad... There's nothing I can do, this is what happens when you work night shifts. I asked my supervisor for leave before coming to the doctor's. I should go back, I can't take too long. Otherwise, my supervisor will say something again,” the girl replied promptly, turned on her heel and departed from the infirmary.

The integration of individuals with disabilities into industrial production inevitably gives rise to a discernible shift in the perception of time. And this change is borne by the bodies of people with disabilities to the greatest extent: illnesses and pains with no traceable cause, and the disabled body itself are all manifestations of this. In these sensitive bodies, industrial time encounters a paradoxical situation: the aggressive and seizure-inducing effects of time are ineffectual in the bodies of people with disabilities. Scholars examining the intersection of labor and gender have sought to elucidate this “displacement” from the perspective of time: women's time is cyclical time, such as menstruation and childbirth, which are important nodes that constitute the cycle and are also important experiences in a woman's life (Butler, 1988). This cyclical experience of time inevitably conflicts with the aggressive, masculine, linear temporality of industrial time (Ngai, 2005).

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There are numerous parallels between the female experience and that of disability. At the margins of the body, a novel temporality emerges, characterised by a “true moment that can never contain a lie” (Shuttle & Redgrove, 1978). This “expression of the true moment” is even more pronounced in the bodies of people with disabilities. For people with disabilities, this “expression” does not only appear at a certain moment but also pervades their entire daily life and their very existence.

The term "crip time" is used to describe the unique rhythms of life and work experienced by people with disabilities, which often diverge from the norms of the able-bodied world (Kafer, 2013). Crip time encompasses both flexible time standards and the “extra time needed to arrive or complete something”. For individuals with disabilities, this flexible additional time is a pervasive aspect of their lives. For instance, individuals with physical disabilities may experience longer commutes, while those with hearing impairments may communicate at a slower pace than average on the production line, even with the use of hearing aids. Similarly, individuals with intellectual and visual impairments may encounter both overt and covert barriers, such as bus drivers refusing to carry them or discrimination in employment. These are all part of the world of “crip time”. It makes individuals from different worlds realize that different physical and mental states will give rise to different expectations of time.

In the fields of Factory B, I took part in a training session for new employees with disabilities. Factory staff stood in front of the stage and proceeded to elucidate the operational procedures and regulations that govern the factory. Towards the end of the training, I saw a disabled worker who still wanted to raise his hand and ask a question. He raised his hand, and people handed him the microphone. The staff inclined their bodies slightly and directed their gazes towards the worker. But he kept turning the microphone with his hand, sometimes his hand trembled slightly, and his eyes looked away, as if he was thinking, but he hesitated to speak... After a long time, the sound of new recruits eating melon seeds and talking in low voices returned, and people's attention was no longer focused on him. The situation subsequently became increasingly unruly. In this tumultuous and unsettled atmosphere, he suddenly said something, but it was quickly drowned out by other voices. Subsequently, the group engaged in further inconsequential discourse while preparing to depart for the dormitory and the official workshop.

Training at Factory B

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For an individual with a disability, the act of “wanting to say something but stopping short and in the end not revealing anything” may appear to be a futile gesture to an observer. However, for this individual, such a gesture represents a significant act of self-determination within the context of their own personal "crip time". This is closely related to his physical and mental experience.

The concept of "crip time" is not only a footnote to the labor process, but also exists in the subtle details of everyday life. Yun is a female worker with a physical disability. As a consequence of stunted growth during childhood, her overall physical development was affected, and she is very light, only 1.3 meters tall. Upon commencing employment, Yun and I went to the factory dormitory together. Yun was confronted with numerous challenges in her daily life within the factory dormitory. One such challenge was the necessity to hang laundry, removed from the washing machine, at a fixed height on the clothesline. “Every time I climbed up the clothesline to hang the laundry, I was exhausted and had to climb slowly. The wet laundry was almost heavier than I was,” Yun said.

The drying rack and the wet clothes in the factory dormitory are ordinary aspects of daily life for the residents, yet they represent a significant challenge for Yun. Since the factory does not have special barrier-free facilities, Yun is compelled to utilise a stool every time she collects her clothes, stepping up one level at a time, and then using a hook to hang the clothes up. “I am not particularly amenable to having others perform these tasks on my behalf”, Yun said. “I am typically capable of performing tasks independently, and I am disinclined to accept assistance from others in a manner that suggests pity.”

Ming is one of a small number of employees with a mental disability who are employed on the production line. He is of a similar age to me and has been employed at Factory A for approximately a year, but still rarely interacts with his colleagues and trainers on the production line. In my life, I frequently attempt to chat with Ming, but he rarely responds. When working on the production line, Ming also has his own rhythm. When assembling the card slot base, the standard industrial process is to first hold the card slot with your right hand, insert the spacer held in your left hand into the card slot, and then place the assembled part in the circular fixture for inspection to verify that the part has been installed in place. However, Ming frequently exhibits a work pace that is three times slower than that of the other workers., Additionally, he often pauses during assembly, resuming the next step after a few tens of seconds, and on occasion, even abruptly ceases work and does not resume. On one occasion, when the factory trainer Lu saw Ming dozing off at his workstation, she proceeded to bring a timer and hold it facing Ming. “I'll time you for three minutes. During that time, you must remain awake and start working on this product,” Lu instructed Ming. As the three-minute countdown commenced, Ming's emotions became increasingly agitated. He stared at the second hand of the timer, growing increasingly agitated, and his expression seemed to alternate between anger and pain. As the timer counted down to two minutes remaining, Ming suddenly stood up and prepared to leave his workstation. His emotions became increasingly agitated than before, accompanied by a desire to move his body in a way that was not under his conscious control.

Subsequently, the trainers discussed the situation together and changed their strategy. Another trainer, Zhang, believes that Ming's physical and mental characteristics prevent him from concentrating for long periods of time and that he needs to release the pent-up energy on the production line by walking, running and jumping. “I have previously employed timing and commands before, but then I found that these methods are useless for individuals with disabilities. It takes time to understand the personality of each of them, and punishment alone may have the opposite effect. If Ming is not willing to communicate with us, we should not force or command him, otherwise his (physical and mental) state will get worse,” Trainer Zhang told us.

During the interval, the trainer and I awaited Ming's return to calm down. Following a period, Ming's body became relaxed, his hands stopped shaking, his expression became less tense, and he slowly returned to the state he was in at the beginning of the work. At this juncture, the two trainers initiated a redirective intervention, guiding Ming to operate his left and right hands in concert and to maintain hand-eye coordination when the two hands cooperated. “As long as he doesn't turn his head and his eyes don't look to the side, and he maintains a state of hand-eye coordination during the work, he will not be so distracted,” Zhang informed us of her past experience. With the assistance of the trainer, Ming slowly regained the sense of coordination he had when working, stopped looking around nervously, and gradually began to work at his own pace. Although we all knew that Ming would pause again next time.

A more authentic sense of time is flexible and adaptable to the specific people needs of individuals. This flexible sense of time is intrinsic to the bodies of people with disabilities and is perceived by the trainer during the work process, thereby enabling both parties to enter a new disability time together. However, the disabled person's body also plays a role in the “paralysis” of industrial time. In the new body and time narrative, the trainer has to re-evaluate their own expectations of time and work rhythm together with the disabled worker, so that the disabled worker can exist as a person with needs and desires, and not just be a machine that produces capital (Samuels, 2017) . In this sense, crip time has the potential to create a “time horizon”, a temporal construct that is accessible to individuals with and without disabilities alike. This "time horizon" challenges the notion that everyone is close to a mechanized clock. This “closeness” creates a fissure in the rigid timeline, allowing workers with different disabilities to participate in the negotiation and construction of time.

The reconstruction of care and intimacy for disabled workers

Behind the obscured image is the knowledge produced by disabled workers when participating in the world that is being concealed. Despite being subjected to systematic discrimination during the pandemic, disabled workers and their families have been collectively engaged in the construction of their own knowledge and the realisation of their status as active participants in their own daily lives. Such knowledge is produced in the hidden every day, which is challenging to capture in a comprehensive narrative framework. Additionally, it is intricate and complex, responding to the dual stigma of "disability" and "labour." In this section, I will draw on the concept of “disability expertise” (2020) developed by scholar Cassandra Hartblay to try to outline the common knowledge field created by people with disabilities and others outside of work. It can be argued that disability expertise is the special knowledge developed by disabled workers through the interaction between the self, the body and the world in specific contexts. Disabled workers and their family members are intimately involved in the process of constructing this knowledge and therefore possess a nuanced understanding of its transformation and utilisation.

For people with intellectual disabilities, there is no established language or paradigm for describing their life trajectory after adulthood (Rapp & Ginsburg, 2001). This lack of a standardized framework makes it particularly challenging for this group of people with disabilities to secure employment. Ming was diagnosed with mild autism at the age of three. At that time, his mother Hong experienced a profound sense of despair. Hong frequently found herself alone in the evenings, weeping. After graduating from elementary school, Ming remained at home, and in order to take care of him every day, his mother Hong found a job close to home. During this period, Hong divorced, thereby relieving her of the responsibility of supporting Ming, who has a mental disability and fell entirely on the woman. As Ming matured, he gradually grew taller, and his idiosyncrasies gradually became more pronounced: Ming needed to release his energy by jumping constantly, and he sometimes made self-amusing noises with his mouth. In a world that is ableist and production-oriented, the obvious disabilities of a person often result in a change in the way others perceive and respond (Garland-Thomson, 1997). This can lead to feelings of fear, pity, surprise and rejection among non-disabled people. Hong and Ming both experience the same thing every day: being looked at differently and judged by others. Before Ming started working in the factory, Hong felt that Ming's chances of going out to work were slim. She underwent a long process of psychological transformation. "When Ming was still at school and no one knew he had autism, many of his classmates were willing to play with him. But after Ming's parents explained the situation to them, many parents warned their children to stay away from Ming," says Hong.

After graduating from primary school, Ming remained at home until he secured employment in a manufacturing facility at the age of 18. Hong's attitude did not change until Ming commenced employment. Hong had always wanted to protect Ming and hide him away, thinking that it was embarrassing for him to be seen by others. When Ming and Hong both went out of the house because of their work experience, Hong underwent a new vision for life: "I always wanted to hide him away, thinking that it was embarrassing for him to be seen by others. After my child started working, I came to understand that the sole means of acceptance is to be open and honest. The more you hide it, the more discrimination there is. I don't want sympathy, I just want more people to understand that a child like this can also live on his own, earn his own salary through his own labor, and support himself."

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During the pandemic, Hong and Ming were required to scan a QR code with their mobile phones and present a health certificate on a daily basis in order to gain access. This is the “identity mark” set by the local government during the pandemic to allow entry and exit to public places. Following the aforementioned psychological transformation, Hong began to directly explain the characteristics of her child to the security guard: “My child has autism, and I am still teaching him how to scan the code, so his movements will be a bit slow.” The security guard was able to comprehend Hong's explanation and no longer directly asked Hong and Ming to stay away from the factory gate as they used to do. Instead, they waited for Ming's time and movements. However, such acceptance is not universal: “There are still some people who are not accepting, and they will gradually refuse to have anything to do with us,” Hong said.

Hong's experience has also led to the formation of significant expertise in the field of disability: the capacity to repair relationships with others and even mobilise attention through the process of her own "mental transformation." When Ming entered the factory and Hong encountered unfamiliar stares, her coping strategies began to change. This process also coincided with Ming's adoption of a more expansive perspective on life following his transition to full-time employment. “After he started working, many people who originally looked down on us around him changed their minds about us. Now he also goes home and shares with us the relationships he has formed with his colleagues at the factory and who have made a deeper impression on him.”

When Ming received his first salary, he purchased a modest cake for himself and his mother. The incident was recalled by Hong for a long time. After Ming entered a wider world through his work, the previously hidden experiences of Hong and Ming were transformed into more room for expression. They were able to identify further opportunities to mobilize and transform the understanding of strangers about disability and care work. To some extent, this knowledge and these skills can be a double-edged sword. When using disability expertise to open up their own knowledge to unfamiliar others, they may receive more understanding and acceptance, but also the possibility of being hurt more (Butler, 2004).

Yan is a female worker from Guizhou province in southwestern China. During her childhood, a disease of the back affected her growth and development, resulting in a shorter stature than the norm. Yan relocated to Shanghai to work after getting married and has been here for more than ten years. Yan lived in a rural area on the outskirts of Shanghai for 18 years. When she first moved here with her husband and daughter from their hometown in the countryside of Southwest China, Yan encountered a period during which the city rigorously scrutinized temporary residence permits for the migrant population. “In the past, temporary residence permits were strictly checked...Sometimes they came once a month and checked house by house. Later, it became less strict, and we have been living here ever since.” The residence that Yan occupies is an old house that has not been demolished. The door panels and beams are all in the style of rural buildings from the last century, and every time the door is closed, it makes a loud noise due to disrepair. The rental fee is only 300 yuan per month. Several tenants share a courtyard, which is used to dry clothes and, for the rare tenants who have them, to grow plants and vegetables. The house has no bathroom, so to go to the public bathroom, you have to go out of the courtyard and walk down a 500-meter-long street. Yan is of diminutive stature, and her gait is correspondingly slight. If you measure time by Yan's pace, it takes about 10 minutes to walk to the village's public bathroom.

Yan's family home covers a total area of 40 square meters. When they first rented it, Yan searched everywhere to find almost every piece of furniture. Yan's daughter went back to her hometown to study after junior high school in Shanghai. When she was studying in Shanghai, Yan borrowed an unused iron bunk bed from a neighbor to use as a bed for her daughter to sleep at home every weekend.

The remaining issue was the absence of a kitchen and washing facilities in the unoccupied residence. Yan's husband worked at a nearby construction site, and every time he came home, his clothes and body were covered in rust and dust. Yan's daughter and she required a place to eat when they came home on vacation. Yan used the empty space in the courtyard in front of the house to set up a stove, surrounded it with doors, and connected it to a gas tank to cook. When it was time to wash the dishes, she would draw water from the water tap in the courtyard and rinse the pots and pans back and forth a few times. The remaining water is stored in a receptacle and some of it is heated in a kettle used when a bath is required. Yan has converted the abandoned balcony outside the house into a makeshift bathing space. When a bath is required, she pushes aside the simple screen outside the balcony, and before the water is brought in, she pours hot water from the bucket over her body with a large ladle. This is how Yan takes a proper bath at home.

Yan's family home

Yan's home in the suburbs of Shanghai

The most frequently observed item in her home was the quilt. Following her relocation to Factory B, she lived in the dormitory on weekdays because her home was far away and she didn't get off work until 8:00 p.m. She only returned to her home in the village during the weekend. Upon my initial visit to Yan's home, she showed me the thick quilts piled up next to the bed and closet: “My friends in the dormitory gave them to me when they moved out.” Yan frequently relocated to different dormitories, sometimes as often as once a month. Because workers were highly mobile, sometimes friends who had been hard to make would leave the job after just a few days. These quilts were the souvenirs left by Yan's disabled friends she had met by chance.

Prior to her departure, Yan told me that should I need bedding for the winter when I lived alone, I was at liberty to select whatever I liked from her. Due to the quilts being bulky and not easy to carry from home, and because the temperature difference between morning and evening in Shanghai is huge, on the first day at the factory, workers always need to buy a new quilt locally. In response to this demand, numerous retail outlets offer bedding around the factory, and the average price of a quilt and sheets is about 50 yuan. Nearby labor agencies also use “quilts for free when you start work” as a promotional slogan to attract workers to the factory. Bedding is a necessity for workers at Factory B when they first arrive at the factory. Furthermore, it has also become a metaphor for the rapid mobility and lack of stability of workers in industrial production. Factory B features an area dedicated to the disposal of unwanted bedding, which the workers have humorously designated as the "bedding dump."

Yan and her family reside in a precarious environment, both as outsiders and as people with disabilities. They lack a local identity and a conventional domicile, and their environment is inaccessible. For Yan, the crucial aspect is not the physical accessibility of the space, but rather the transformation of the spatial order through her own actions. Yan constantly tries to use the accessible environmental materials around her to make the space where the family of three lives more habitable: transforming the bed, moving and creating space for washing and resting. At the same time, she has repurposed the discarded bedding, which is easily discarded in the mobility of workers, into her own use, and also preserved the emotional connection with the departing workers through these objects. For individuals with disabilities, accessibility and inaccessibility are not fixed and unchanging results, but rather a dynamic process of negotiating relationships with their surrounding environment (Moser & Law, 1999). In the process of negotiation and deliberation, people with disabilities gain a deeper and intangible expertise than ordinary people.

Once she had finished eating, Yan prepared to wash her hair at home before returning to the factory before nightfall. On weekdays, washing her hair at home necessitates the use of one hand to pour water from the bucket and the other hand to support her head. However, due to her back and hand impairments, Yan is unable to complete this action of washing her hair alone. On weekdays, after the hot water is boiled at home, her husband or daughter will help. That day, her husband had not yet returned home from the construction site, so only Yan and I were at home. Yan naturally approached to offer assistance with her hair washing, thereby avoiding any awkwardness or embarrassment on my part. Step by step, she told me how to mix hot and cold water to the temperature she liked, how to pour the water onto her hair little by little with the bucket, and how long to keep pouring. She demonstrated the optimal angle for tilting the bucket to facilitate the pouring of water onto the front portion of her hair.

As I observed Yan's fully saturated hair, I was struck by a sudden realisation. Yan guided me to do all this naturally and calmly, as if she were treating a family member, without any expectation of being pitied. In China, disabled people often appear in a passive, mainstream charity discourse that treats them as objects of charity. However, Yan's disability expertise reshapes the order of experience: disabled people themselves are the experts in their own lives. By establishing relationships with the people in their environment, they develop techniques that facilitate the transformation of the previously inaccessible into the reachable, thereby extending invitations to ordinary people into their diverse “disabled worlds”. In the context of disability justice advocate Mia Mingus posits that this process enables people with disabilities to leverage their disability expertise to facilitate “accessible intimacy” with themselves (Mingus, 2011). The intimacy that resulted from a spontaneous action facilitated a re-evaluation of my understanding of relationships. It became evident that individuals cannot rely on themselves to be entirely independent, and that relationships between people are inherently interdependent. While helping Yan wash her hair, I felt that I had established a closer connection with Yan. This connection was achieved by our collaboration in removing the obstacles in our daily lives, and it also enabled a relationship of interdependence and care between the actors(Halwani, 2003).

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Conclusion

In summary, the initial industrial capital redefined the value of humans by rewriting time, expelling the possibility of people with disabilities participating in work and life. During the period of mobility and epidemic isolation, I attempted to highlight the fact that people with disabilities inhabit a different time situation, that is, “crip time.” It not only implies the slowness and flexibility of time but also represents the intertwining of disability time with the life course of the person concerned, thus forming their unique perspective on the course of life, particularly with regard to the narratives of the “present” and “future”. We can extract a wealth of meaning from disability time: it is detached from the rigid socio-economic time structure, providing the person concerned with more possibilities for choice and enabling people to connect with each other in new ways. Nevertheless, this kind of unencumbered and constructive experience is not always readily accessible, and crip time is also a manifestation of physical and mental restrictions. How might we utilize the concept of "crip time" as a means of challenging the pervasive assumption that a healthy body is a prerequisite for industrial capital and recognize the diverse forms of embodiment that exist within the disability community, where vulnerability is shared and supported as individuals navigate time and space?

When anthropological perspectives can be applied to the daily lives of people with disabilities, it is essential to explore the common sense of life of people with disabilities as subjects. For some people with disabilities and their relatives, the first step towards the wider world is to deal with the “stares” around them. However, it would be erroneous to assume that people with disabilities and their relatives are not passive recipients of exclusionary and discriminatory stares. Conversely, they have the ability to mobilize the stares of others after prolonged immersion in the experience of disability for many years. Such abilities must also need to be constantly nurtured through concrete relationships. Another layer of “disability expertise” arises from the mutual struggle between people with disabilities and the barriers in their environment. In the event of inaccessibility in the surrounding environment, it has been observed that individuals with disabilities have devised methods to render the inaccessible accessible and have facilitated the participation of non-disabled individuals. In the process of being guided by people with disabilities, the guide and the guided work together to create a unique “accessible intimacy,” which makes the interdependence of people visible in these moments.

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