

行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫 成果報告

障礙的社會存有論：障礙，治理與權利(I) 研究成果報告(精簡版)

計畫類別：個別型
計畫編號：NSC 99-2410-H-343-011-
執行期間：99年08月01日至100年07月31日
執行單位：南華大學教育社會學研究所

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報告附件：出席國際會議研究心得報告及發表論文

處理方式：本計畫可公開查詢

中華民國 100 年 09 月 10 日

障礙的社會存有論

障礙研究是一個廣泛的研究領域，其基本立論點在於障礙並非個人的問題，而是社會脈絡的產物，我們必須把個人損傷的狀態置於特定的社會脈絡，才可能探討障礙這一社會現象。依這樣的立論點，障礙研究包含廣泛的理論探討、經驗研究及實務等領域。障礙研究的基本立論點就在於所謂個人／醫療模式與社會模式的區別，以及障礙與損傷(disability vs. impairment)的概念區辨上。不將身體功能損傷與障礙劃上等號，不認為障礙的起因乃是個人身心因素，只能以醫療方式處置，在這種理論觀點下進行對障礙現象的分析，不論是社會學，文化研究，社會工作，教育學，心理學，諮商治療等學科的研究，都可算是障礙研究。

障礙研究並非孤立的發展，1960年代，諸多批判性的基進研究，都對障礙研究有重大的影響。比如女性主義，從「個人即政治」的概念出發，重新反省政治的定位，探討自我與社會文化的關係，「個人即政治」的概念影響障礙研究至鉅。再如民權運動，勞工運動，還有酷兒運動，探討少數族群或不利團體的社會處境及權利訴求，這些也都與障礙的發展息息相關。這些同時兼具學術研究與社會實踐的研究取向，從論述到制度實踐的脈絡中來分析相關的社會現象，批判主流的價值與意識型態，這也是障礙研究的取徑與實踐方向。

許久以來，障礙人士經歷制度、優生學甚至大屠殺的迫害，這促使許多人開始組織起來，對抗醫療、科學與專業控制的壓制(Barnes 1991; Gabel and Danforth, 2008; Longman and Umansky, 2001; Longman and Umansky, 2006; Wolfensberger, 1981)。1960年代以來，女性主義、酷兒運動、勞工運動與黑人民權運動等新社會運動的興起，促使障礙人士更為基進化(Boggs, 1996)，也都同樣形成科際整合的研究(Meekoasha, 2004: 724)。心智障礙者的自我倡議運動(self-advocacy movement)，是障礙者運動的先驅。走出療養院的患者抗議貼在他們身上的精神病患標籤(Sayce, 2000)。同時，障礙人士也開始揭露，隨著資本主義的擴張，障礙人士受到排斥的狀況日益加劇，其物質條件益形惡化(Oliver, 1990)，而規範化的社會又如何規訓著障礙人士(Morris, 1996)。傳統上，藉著為障礙人士而設的組織(organizations for disable people)，專業機構提供專門的設施、服務與諮商，以保護和慈善的方式照顧障礙人士。現在則是為障礙人士而設的經濟與議會組織(economics and parliamentarian for disable people)，他們遊說政府立法以保障障礙人士的權利。隨著行動主義主張的出現，開始出現障礙人士的組織(organizations of disable people)，訴求集體行動與意識的提升，更強化了政治遊說的壓力(Oliver, 1990)。隨著這類團體的成長，不論是在國內或是國際上，障礙人士的協同組織(co-ordinating organizations)也會跟著增加。不論是在國內或國際上，行動主義者與協同組織持續地推動障礙政治。他們在聯合國經濟與社會組織推動了許多障礙者權利法案。比如 1975 年的聯合國障礙者權利宣言(Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons)，1982 年聯合國世界障礙者行動綱領(Adoption of the World Program of Action on Disabled Persons)，1993 年障礙者與人權報告書，以及 2008 年障礙者權利公約(Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disability)等等，而世界各國也陸續推動各種反歧視以及保護障礙人士權利的立法。詳見如下，

由聯合國和關懷障礙者人權機構所推動法令政策

日期	法令政策
1948	國際人權宣言
1971	聯合國心智障礙者權利宣言
1975	聯合國障礙者權利宣言
1981	聯合國國際障礙年
1982	世界障礙者行動綱領
1983~92	聯合國障礙者世代宣言
1984	聯合國首次障礙特別議程報告
1993	保障少數及反歧視委員會特別報告書，與障礙者與人權
1998	聯合國人權委員會通過一系列決議，強調人權與障礙人士(公民身分)的關係。
2002	設置一個特別委員會，探討聯合國障礙者權利與尊嚴公約，首次會議。
2008	聯合國身心障礙者權利公約

障礙者運動改變了全球對障礙者的看法。我們應該重視障礙者個人的體驗，作為障礙研究的起點。但是在社會層次而非個人層次來探討身心障礙，強調只有社會政治的層次上，才能解決身心障礙的問題。障礙者運動將障礙問題政治化(Vehmas,2008)。不論是國際或國內的障礙者也都有助於障礙研究展開

1981年，在新加坡舉行了第一屆障礙者國際的世界會議(Disabled People International, DPI)。來自不同國家的組織一起推動全球性的障礙者政治的課題。這也促進各國對融合教育，以及障礙者等跨國議題的重視。自主生活中心的出現，不只為障礙人士提供服務，而且還跟他們一起奮鬥，爭取平等的待遇(Charlton,1998;Barnes and Mercer,2006)。而有些區域性組織，比如亞太障礙者發展中心，他們則關注貧窮國家障礙人士的具體問題，比如社區復健、家庭照護支持系統等。至於先進國家，比如像北歐、美加等地區，由心智障礙人士所推動的自我倡議運動，強烈影響障礙者運動的發展(Williams and Shoultz,1782)。在印度，聽障者組織發展蓬勃，他們強力推動反歧視立法(Chander,2008)。在英國，1960年代肢體障礙者反隔離聯盟(Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation)等組織興起，在政治上形成重大影響，並促成英國障礙協會(United Kingdom's Disabled People's Council)的成立，致力促進障礙人士的權利(Campbell and Oliver,1996)。在這基礎上，障礙者組織推動許多強調障礙平等的訓練課程，促成制度轉型，努力教育相關組織採取更為增能的哲學與實踐，這也促成對障礙者服務的新型態。

不論是新的障礙概念，新的障礙者組織或新型態的障礙服務措施，三者之間相互影響，也持續障礙研究的討論。「所有關於我們的事，我們都要參與。」(Nothing about us, without us)，這樣的訴求持續反思著障礙研究的主體是誰的問題(Charlton,1998)。在世界各地的障礙者組織，持續質疑各自國家福利體系的不足，缺乏完備的公民概念，各式各樣社會結構的壓抑，或是價值文化上的偏見，把障礙問題與其他社會--經濟不平等的現象放在一起討論，強調社會因素對構成障礙狀態的影響，是障礙者權利運動與障礙研究的主軸(Armstrong et al.,2002;Dwyer,2004;Watsin et al.,2003)。

個人模式的障礙觀

所謂個人模式的障礙觀(individual model of disability)是相對於社會模式的障礙觀，而個人模式的障礙主要分為兩種類型，傳統將障礙視為道德狀態(disability as a moral condition)，現在則視障礙為醫療狀態(disability as a medical condition)(Snyder and Mitchell,2001)。這兩種觀點都認為障礙是個人悲劇，而身心損傷(impairment)即為障礙，我們可以從意義，道德意涵，典型觀念，起源，介入目標，模式優點，負面效果等各個層面來比較其異同之處，其主要異同如下表(Goodley : 2011)。

個人模式的障礙觀：視障礙為損傷

	障礙是道德狀態	障礙是醫療狀態
意義	障礙是道德狀態 障礙是道德墮落或罪所造成的缺陷 障礙乃是邪惡，或缺乏信仰的表徵	障礙是醫療狀態 將障礙和損傷混為一談 認為障礙是屬於個人層次的醫療問題，是生理系統上的缺陷，而這缺陷必然是異常或病態的。
道德意涵	譴責障礙者及其家庭 障礙者成為其家庭背德的證據	不再認為障礙是靈魂上的缺失，但仍然認為障礙是一種個人悲劇。
典型觀念	視障礙為天譴，是神懲罰的表徵。	以醫療術語來描述障礙狀態，視障礙人士為異常、變態或病態。
起源	最古老的障礙觀，但在現代社會仍廣為流傳。	自 19 世紀中葉以來，起於先進國家中的復健機構或復健學刊論述。
介入目標	了解身心受折磨的意涵，強化信仰，最終能為神靈所接受。	病人或案主由受過訓練的專家照料，希望能加以治療、復健或調適。
模式的優點	有時候，障礙會被視為是神所揀選者，是神靈降臨的證據。	障礙被標籤化，有其明確的病人角色，也強化對醫療介入的信心。在福利國家的服務設施上，醫療與科技上的進步確實也改善了障礙人士的生活。
負面效果	障礙者常被家庭所排斥，有很強的罪惡感。障礙必須掩蓋其障礙症狀，而家庭則隱藏其障礙成員。障礙成為家庭背德生活的表徵。	父權主義，推動慈善工作卻將障礙疾病化。不是與障礙人士站在一起，而是強加介入。由非障礙人士研究障礙並提供相關服務，而不是由障礙人士親自為之。

由上可知，道德模式的障礙觀將障礙視為某種罪惡，是上天的懲罰，可以因神靈的介入而得到救贖。醫療模式的障礙觀認為障礙是某種疾病狀態，是身體、感官或認識上

的缺陷致使病患成為障礙。在歐洲，道德模式又可分為三種形態，在古希臘時代，障礙反映了神所唾棄者，在中世紀，障礙是與神有緊密關係的證據，在文藝復興時代，障礙則是神對父母罪行的懲罰(Snyder and Mitchell,2001)。而醫療模式則是源自於現代社會，泛醫療專業主導了醫療模式的相關論述與實務，也獲利最多。隨著近代科學與資本主義的興起，二十世紀初優生學認為障礙者是有缺陷的，沒有生產力的個人，是社會的負擔。新生產科技的應用讓障礙者的價值更受到質疑，而有障礙的身體更為人們所排斥。Oliver認為，不論是道德模式，或是醫療模式的障礙觀，都是某種個人模式的障礙觀(individual model of disability)。這些模式將障礙問題化約為個人缺陷或悲劇，必須運用慈善團體或醫療照護專業的介入來處置(Oliver,1990)。在醫療模式下，所謂專業與障礙的關係密不可分，如此個人歸因的論述，也就形塑了一些錯誤的論述形式，諸如從生理病源學的角度出發，將障礙視為一種本質狀態；把障礙人士視為客體來處置，而不認為他們可以作為自己生命的主體；介入是以鎖定個人(person fixing)的方式，而非改變脈絡(context changing)的方式來進行；強調醫療及社服專業的權力，忽視障礙自身的主體性(Sherry,2006)。障礙人士的形像被兒童化，被形塑為無助且無性的生命。

然而醫療化的處理模式對障礙者處境的改善卻是相當有限，包括障礙人士在內，有愈來愈多的人對此提出批判(Greenop,2009)。他們指出是社會、文化、政治、經濟以及各種歷史因素讓障礙者成為障礙的，障礙並非自然而然的現象，障礙是社會建構而成的。1976年，UPIAS對於損傷與障礙的意義做了一個社會模式的定義，批判了個人模式的障礙觀，全面影響往後障礙研究及實務的發展。

損傷(impairment)：缺少某個肢體或某個肢體的部分，或者是身體上某個肢體、器官或機能是有所缺陷的。

障礙(disability)：當前社會組織對於身體損傷者行動的限制或損害，這些組織很少或未嘗顧及身體損傷者的狀況，致使他們無法參與主流的社會活動。(UPIAS,1976：3-4)

後來障礙人士國際組織(DPI)也採取類似的定義。

損傷：個人因為生理、心智或感官上缺損所造成的功能限制。

障礙：由於生理或社會的阻礙，致使人們在平等的基礎上參與社區正常生活的機會大受限制，甚至喪失。(DPI,1982)

這兩個定義都區別了損傷與障礙，並將障礙的概念政治化。損傷是在醫療脈絡所界定出來的身心差異，障礙則是社會對這些差異的負面回應(Sherry,2007)。是社會致使障礙人士障礙的，障礙是一種排斥的行為。Thomas 延伸這樣的概念來定義障礙偏見(disablism)。障礙偏見乃是一種社會壓迫的形式，社會對身心受損人士施加限制，致使他們的身心福祉遭受損害(Thomas,2007：73)。這讓我們能夠把障礙偏見與其他社會壓迫放在一起討論，並探討其社會、經濟、政治及文化上的成因(Abberley,1987)。因此障礙也是一個文化概念，是一個標籤，一個符號，意指一種身分認同範疇，標示著低劣與壓迫的情境。不只科學對於生理與心理狀態的研究持續在發展，社會政策、立法與政府的措施也隨著時代在改變，因此所謂損傷、障礙與偏見的意涵與經驗也會隨時空而轉變。所謂障礙偏見指的是某種環境與人們身心狀態的關係，這種關係排斥某些人，讓他們無法充分參與人際關係、社會、政治、經濟和文化生活，這種排斥的價值態度即是障礙偏見。

帶有障礙偏見的社會歧視障礙者，探討障礙必然要論及社會。當我們開始檢視障礙時，障礙的概念就不再必然為障礙偏見所扭曲。障礙偏見是負面的價值態度，但是障礙／損傷的概念區分卻有其正面意涵。障礙文化富含創意，而「不要憐憫」，「障礙且驕傲」，「人為優先」，這些解放障礙者的宣示則帶有傲然之氣。受損的身心仍是具有生產力及能力的，障礙研究的重要工作即在於倡議這種對障礙的正面理解，並同時檢視個人身心與社會的關係，研究政治、經濟、社會文化等因素如何致使障礙者成為障礙者。

隨著障礙研究的開展，世界各國的障礙研究組織與學術團體也陸續成立。1982年，美國的障礙研究學會(the Society for Disability Study)正式成立，隨後於1990年代，在現代語言學會(Modern Language Association, MLA)，美國人類學會(American Anthropological Association, AAA)，美國教育研究學會(American Educational Research Association)等學術團體下分別成立障礙研究的次團體。1997年，在丹麥成立北歐障礙研究社群網絡(the Nordic Network on Disability Research)，紐西蘭於1990年代中期，開始發行紐西蘭障礙研究期刊(New Zealand Journal of Disability Studies)。2004年，加拿大障礙研究學會(the Canadian Disability Studies Association)舉行第一次年會。日本障礙研究學會(the Japan Society for Disability Studies)於2003年成立，同年英國的障礙研究學會(Disability Studies Association)則召開第一次大會。這些學會的成立持續推動著障礙研究的聯繫與開展。

四個障礙研究的理論模式

Garland- Thomson 認為障礙研究是由多樣的理論，教學與實務所構成的群組，這個群組是多樣的觀點而非整合的理論(Garlan-Thomson, 2002; Oliver, 1996)，他們有各自的知識立論，不夠同樣都拒斥障礙偏見(Thomas, 2007)。不同的理論觀點往往跟國情差異有關，他們之間看似差異，卻又是互補的(Barnes, 2004; Thomas, 2007)。在這些不同的理論模式中，英國主要是社會模式(social model)，美加則是少數團體模式(minority group model)和文化模式(cultural model)，北歐則是關係模式(relational model)，我們分別可就意義、道德意涵、典型觀念、起源、介入目標，模式優點以及負面效果等層次表列比較各模式的特色。

表三：

社會模式：障礙乃是社會阻礙（英國）	
意義	障礙是一種社會建構。身心損傷人士遭受社會壓迫致使成為障礙者(disabled people, DP)。基本的阻礙有歧視、社會隔離、經濟依賴、高失業率、缺乏住宅等。
道德意涵	社會設立各種阻礙，致使障礙者在生活各層面，包括工作、教育與休閒生活等，都無法被納入，得到相當的資源，這些壓迫使得障礙者陷入失敗狀態中。
典型觀念	障礙者政治，“與我們有關的事務，我們都要參與”，“不要憐憫”，“要公民權，不要施捨”，“為反歧視立法而戰”，“障礙者與驕傲”。
起源	二次大戰後，各個障礙者組織陸續出現，許多自身為障礙者的

	知識份子，從新左派唯物論的架構來探討障礙問題(Oliver, 1990; UPIAS, 1976)。
介入目標	政治、政策、經濟，教育與社會系統；增加可用的服務措施與場所；全面系統性改變；發展自主生活中心，提倡障礙者藝術，促進障礙者正面的自我形象。
模式優點	推動將障礙納入自我意象中。強調社會如何致使障礙者陷入不利情境中。促成障礙者社群的歸屬感，障礙者的驕傲。釐清社會阻礙（可以改變的）和損傷（難以改變的）。
負面效果	在面對政治和經濟阻力時，常會有無力感。需要強力的自我倡議技巧。關於損傷對日常生活的影響則太少研究。

表四：

少數團體模式：障礙是少數政治（美國和加拿大）	
意義	就像有色族群一樣，障礙者是處社會中少數者的位置，他們被低貶、污名化，遭受輕視且不被信任。障礙者缺乏公民權，未受平等對待與保護，因而成為少數團體。
道德意涵	社會低貶障礙者，且將之邊緣化為少數團體，障礙者因之成為社會邊緣人。
典型觀念	障礙者政治。“與我們有關的事務，我們都要參與”，“我們還在”，“現在就要”，“過去你們給我們廉價的同情，現在把我們的權利給我們”，“為反歧視而戰”，“障礙者與驕傲”。
起源	1975年，華府與舊金山的抗議大遊行，要求通過1973年復健法案。自身為障礙者的知識份子開始進行研究，受到Goffman與黑人民權運動的影響（Ckarlton, 1998; Goffman, 1963）。
介入目標	政治、政策、經濟，教育與社會系統；增加可用的服務措施與場所；增加可用的服務措施與場所；全面系統性改變；發展自主生活中心，提倡障礙者藝術，促進障礙者正面的自我形象。
模式優點	推動將障礙納入自我意象中。強調社會如何致使障礙者陷入不利情境中。促成障礙社群的歸屬感，障礙者的驕傲。
負面效果	在面對政治和經濟阻力時，常會有無力感。需要強力的自我倡議技巧。損傷與障礙的區別模糊。

表五：

文化模式：障礙是文化建構（美國與加拿大）	
意義	障礙是一種文化和生產方式的建構，其方式正好提供何謂“健常”(abled)一種隱喻式的支撐。只有對照於“常人”、常態與建常能力、偏見，我們才能掌握障礙的意義。
道德意涵	在構成健常人心態的霸權下，文化生產／再生產使得障礙成為

	意識型態與霸權的產物。
典型觀念	對於電影、小說與媒體的解構與意識型態批判。重建障礙的歷史，探討障礙的想像並提出不同的意象。
起源	1960 年代以後，少數團體模式與社會模式開始與文化研究、文學批評、女性主義、後殖民批判等研究領域展開對話，逐漸形成文化模式，主要學者有 Davis(1995)、 Garland-Thomson(1997)、以及 Mitchell 和 Snyder(1997)。
介入目標	把障礙／健全，不正常／正常的文化對比呈現出來，推動障礙者藝術與次文化，顛覆排斥障礙者形象的藝術。障礙抗拒的場域，對於所謂常人和健全人的意識型態批判。
模式優點	障礙者社群的歸屬感，障礙者的驕傲，推動對常人文化的批判機制，障礙化的過程並非只是社會結構的層次，而且文化價值的建構。
負面效果	在面對文化霸權時會有無力感。與行動主義者，專業實務和服務施送之間的關係模糊不清。過於強調文化建構，反而忽略了政治邊緣化的作用。

表六：

關係模式：障礙是一種關係（北歐）	
意義	藉由身／心與環境的動態關係，致使障礙者成形，障礙是經由三個關係過程所型塑的。(i) 個人／環境關係的錯落不和；(ii) 障礙是一種情境或脈絡中的現象；(iii) 障礙是一種關係性的建構。
道德意涵	由於期待，生理需求和環境機會之間銜接不良，障礙者無法參與社會，接受專業服務與照料。
典型觀念	主要訴求與實務為“現在就要增能”，“不要分隔雇用，而要以社區為主的工作場所”。
起源	起於 1960 年代的正常化原則（normolization principle），隨著福利型態的擴張發展，在體制外，重建安置障礙人士的社區，對於各國的障礙研究抱持開放的態度。
介入目標	政治、政策、經濟與社會系統；增加可用的服務措施與場所；全面系統性變遷；發展自主生活中心；正常化且納入社區生活，日常生活。
模式優點	障礙者社群的參與和歸屬感；障礙者的驕傲，推動增能的專業以及自我倡議的諮詢服務。
負面效果	未區分損傷與障礙，可能讓障礙者的身心又被以醫療化的觀點處置。過於強調專業實務與服務施送，缺乏與障礙者組織的緊密聯繫。

以上我們以 Goodley 的整理，從意義、道德意涵、典型觀念、起源、介入目標、模

式優點和負面效果等各層面比較社會模式、少數團體模式，文化模式和關係模式等四個主要障礙研究的理論觀點，其論述異同之處(Goodley, 2011:13~18)。以下則分別探討其發展。

社會模式的障礙研究

社會模式的障礙研究於 1970 年代出於英國，至今仍是主導英國障礙研究的理論模式。社會模式的起點是 UPIAS 於 1976 年對損傷與障礙的定義和區分，他們依此概念區分，展開對於導致障礙的社會阻礙因素進行分析。其核心概念如 Barnes 和 Mercer 所說的，障礙理論與實務的意義就在於，徹底挑戰個人-醫療模式的障礙觀。後者認定個人是因為其損傷而導致障礙的，但是社會模式的障礙觀卻翻轉這種因果關係，探討社會構成的阻礙如何使得身心損傷者變成障礙人士(Barnes and Mercer, 1997)。社會模式的經典之作是 Oliver 於 1990 年出版的「障礙的政治」(Politics of Disablement)，此外也發行「障礙與社會」(Disability and Society)期刊，這是障礙研究中最具影響力的國際期刊。社會模式的學者不再討論身心損傷的課題，而是關注社會、經濟、政治、文化及心理學等阻礙因素，如何對身心損傷者造成壓迫與排斥的情形，致使其成為障礙者(Barnes and Mercer, 1997; Barton, 2001; Oliver, 1990)。不論是在障礙者行動主義或是在學術圈內，社會模式都引發許多激烈的爭論。這些爭論不只激烈，甚至還有誇大、相互攻擊，帶有反擊性的論述出現，但這也呈現了社會模式對政治面的重視。雖然飽受爭議，但社會模式仍是英國障礙者運動的核心觀念，也是障礙研究的基本架構 (Hasler, 1993; Thomas, 2007)。

由社會模式開展出肯定模式(affirmation model)的研究取徑，建立於障礙者運動、障礙者藝術以及聽障文化上的肯定，宣揚障礙者社群的積極正面影響(Corker, 1998)，並延伸出進一步的經驗研究與理論反思。在美國，則有一群心理學家批判復健心理學的研究與作法，強調障礙者所呈現的身心機能限制，乃是環境沒有顧及障礙者的特質所致(Pledager, 2003)。而我們也可以看到，在社會模式的開展中，開始浮現第二波的研究者，並與不同的理論觀點及研究取徑互動，激發出更多樣的研究(Davis, 2006; Shakespeare, 2006)。

少數團體模式

如果說主導英國障礙研究的是社會模式，那麼主導美國障礙研究的則是少數團體模式，那是在不同社會文化下發展出來的理論觀點與研究取徑。1960 年代以來，黑人民權運動興起，酷兒政治風起雲湧，要求提升他們的社會地位，而為數眾多的越戰退伍軍人開始主張障礙者的權利。在這樣的社會背景下，有一些學者與障礙者團體（諸如美國公民與障礙者協會，我們還在協會），開始訴求一種正面的少數團體認同。少數團體模式的立論起點乃是對健全能力偏見(ablism)的挑戰，所謂健全能力偏見指的是一種社會偏見，就如種族主義偏或性別主義偏見一樣。健全能力偏見認為某些人的身體機能運作異於正常人的身體，在這些偏見下，衍生出一些想法與作為乃對障礙者形成歧視與壓迫，並建構出障礙者的負面形象(Gabel, 2002; Wendell, 1996)。傳統美國社會認同的是個人與

成就取向的價值，而少數團體模式正是批判北美社會這種「割喉式的個人主義」(cutthroat individualism)，主張要從人本精神出發，因此他們使用「people with disabilities」(PWD)，而非「disable people」(DP)，強調把人(people)放在最前面，而非其障礙形容詞，只是在中文翻譯上，不論是 PWD 或 DP 都只能譯為障礙者或障礙人士，難以區別其在文化用詞上的苦心。英國社會模式以新馬克思主義為其架構，批判社會結構的阻礙因素，北美少數團體模式則鮮少論及新馬克思主義，在社會結構構成障礙的因素上，特別凸顯族群因素。美國有許多少數族群，諸如美洲原住民、西裔美人、非裔美人等，障礙者和他們一樣被污名化、邊緣化，受到不平等的對待，因此少數團體模式強調要從受壓迫的身體經驗出發，開展出新的行動模式，爭取參與社會，公平待遇。

由此可見，不論是社會模式或少數團體模式，他們都以批判個人模式的障礙觀為其立論點，他們不認為個人損傷即構成障礙，而主張社會、政治、文化、經濟上的排斥與壓迫才使得身心損傷者成為障礙者。這般主張不只是學術研究取徑，也是障礙者社會運動的方向。由此可知，障礙研究並非單純的學院研究，障礙研究從一開始就深受障礙者運動所啟發，也同時影響障礙者運動的方向。

文化模式

北美地區的障礙研究不只是強調社會結構因素的少數團體模式，更是跨越社會與人文學科的科際研究，把文化與文學分析也帶入障礙研究的領域中(Davis, 2002; Tremain, 2002)，人文學者的加入促成了文化模式的障礙研究。Garland-Thomson 主張障礙事關文化修辭與社群歷史，身體與社會論述的物質性會被用來詮釋身體與認知上的差異性，因此我們有必要探討這些物質性的構成(Garland-Thomson, 1997)。文化模式的學者主張生物與文化因素是相互影響的，因為也不認為損傷與障礙的概念是可以截然劃分的。一方面拒斥醫療模式生物決定論的障礙觀，但另一方面，他們認為不論是損傷或是身體都有其文化意涵，其意義並非只是生理性。障礙在各個文化層面更是處處可見，我們可以將各種文化產品視為文化事件加以分析，比如小說、戲劇、電影、藝術以及流行文化等等。各種文化產品生產障礙與損傷的表徵(representation)，用以定位障礙者意象，而我們可以解構這些文本，對意識形態進行批判分析(Snyder and Mitchell, 2006)。在流行文化裡，障礙常常成為一種隱喻，成為罪惡、背德、邪惡、匱乏，被神遺棄的象徵。障礙者的表徵是負面的，用以影射映出“正常”的意象。

障礙意象的形塑有其文化生產模式，文化批判分析正式要探討這些文化生產的模式。在主流社會的價值裡，“障礙／異常身體”(disable/ abnormal body)這組意象，正對照於“健常／正常身體”這組意象，文化分析指出，所謂“正常社會”乃是藉由低貶障礙的身體，以宣揚其正常的意象。正常／異常，健常／障礙是由文化所建構生產出來，並非自然而然的東西，所謂“常人文化”(normate culture)的持續跟如何定位障礙者的意象息息相關。社會模式與少數團體模式都強調障礙是社會建構而成的，在社會建構論引進文化層面，文化分析探討文化產品與體制如何構作障礙者意象及其效應，文化模式擴展了障礙研究的理論視野。

關係模式

瑞典、丹麥、芬蘭、挪威和冰島等北歐諸國是典型的福利國家，他們的障礙者福利與服務也是世界最好的，在如此不同的政治、經濟與社會脈絡下，他們也開展出與英美不同的障礙研究，所謂關係模式的障礙研究。跟英美社會模式或少數團體模式不同，關係模式的障礙研究跟障礙者運動沒什麼關係，反而是在福利體制下發展出來的，展現專業與福利措施對障礙者生活的正面效果，其主要的理論乃是正常化原則(the principles of normalization)。正常化原則的目標在於，促進障礙者能參與社區生活，提供可行的日常生活模式，儘可能貼近平常社會的生活情境，使得障礙者與一般人一樣，可以在社會共同生活(Stromstad, 2004)。正常化原則最早源自於障礙者的自我倡議運動，現在仍是北歐障礙者行動主義的核心理念。正常化原則不只是一種服務技術，更是一份主導哲學，其論點在於重視福利政策與專業對於障礙者的價值。晚近，正常化又被稱為社會角色穩定化(social role valorisation)。作為主導哲學，正常化原則也可以是一套評量方法，用以評量福利措施，專業實務和社會政策的影響。比如，冰島 1979 年的智力障礙者支持法案，就能強化智障者的權利，有效將智障者納入社會中，過著正常生活。此外，因為強調社區參與，反而使得北歐學者更歡迎女性主義的討論。北歐各國文學不同，關係模式也就沒有清楚的損傷／障礙概念區分，而其障礙研究乃是基於三個主要前提。(1)障礙是個人－環境間錯置不和(mismatch)；(2)障礙是情境性或脈絡性的；(3)障礙是關係性的建構(Tossebro, 2004)。在關係模式中，障礙乃是社會組織如何構作障礙與損傷，而這兩者之間的互動關係所形成的(Campbell, 2009)。

晚近發展與 ICF 模式

上述四個理論模式的互動日益頻繁，也進一步激發障礙研究的多樣性。像美國學者 Linton 早先被歸類於少數團體模式陣營，晚近其研究加入更多社會模式的要素(Linton, 2006)。而像 Charlton 和 Wendell 也是(Charlton, 2006; Wendell, 1996)。而 Mallett 和 Yoshida 則兼採少數團體模式和文化模式，反之，文化模式學者 Mitchell 和 Snyder，則在分析文化建構因素之外，凸顯少數團體的結構位置所形成的壓迫與不公(Mitchell and Snyder, 2006)。越來越多的研究選集是不受特定理論觀點限制，並且跨越國家脈絡的討論。除非英美、北歐地區以外，非西方世界也開始出現各種障礙研究的討論，反映出其時空的特殊性。此時，2001 年世界衛生組織(WHO)「國際機能，障礙與健康分類表」(International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health, ICF)的提出，雖未必能成為大家都接受的普遍定義，卻是一要重要的參照點。

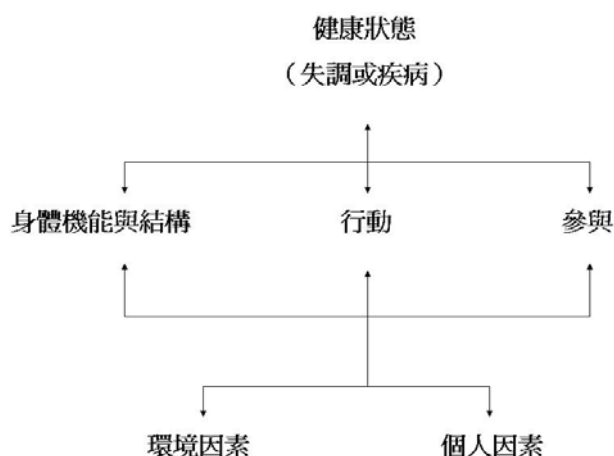
WHO 於 2001 年第五十四屆大會時，簽署發佈了 ICF 取代了原先的 ICIDH，希望提供一個架構，同時在個人與整體人口的層次，來測量健康與障礙的情況。ICF 不再採原先 ICIDH 對於損傷，障礙與不利的概念區分，而以一种觀點來處理“健康”與“障礙”的觀念。因此，也不再將障礙視為是個人身心損傷所直接導致的狀態。就如 WHO 在 ICF 的宗旨上所說的，ICF 是關於健康及其相關領域的分類，ICF 同時從身體、個人和社會

的層面，並以雙向表列的方式來分類這些領域。一份表列的是身體的功能與結構，另一份表列的則是活動與參與的領域。鑑於個人的功能與障礙必然是在脈絡中進行的，因此 ICF 也包括一份環境因素的表列。

WHO 主張 ICF 以一種新視野來看待“健康”與“障礙”概念，ICF 認識到每個人都會有健康日漸耗弱的經驗，因此都會體驗到某種程度的障礙。障礙並不是只有少數人才會有的狀況。因此，ICF，認為障礙經驗是一種主流經驗（mainstream），而且是普遍的人類經驗。ICF 關注的焦點不再是原因，而是影響，這樣就把所有的健康狀態（health conditions）置於平等的立足點上，如此一來，我們就能以共通的尺度（健康與障礙的準則）來比較這些狀態。ICF 不再認為障礙只是“醫療”或“生理”上的失能，並進一步將障礙的社會層面納入考量。把脈絡因素納入考量後，ICF 就能表列出環境因素，也就可以紀錄環境對個人機能的影響（WHO，2001）。

由此可見，ICF 不再採取 ICIDH 中醫療模式的障礙觀，而試圖將社會模式的架構，發展出兼顧身心社會因素的模式。不再用損傷的概念，而代之以身體的結構與功能（body functions and structure），另一方面不再使用“不利”（handicap）一詞，而以行動（activity）和參與（participation）來衡量社會因素的影響。最重要的是不再視個人身心損傷是障礙唯一的成因，障礙並不只是個人身心因素所導致的狀態。此外，不再將障礙視為一種存有上（ontology）的例外狀態，而是一種普遍狀態，是一種普遍的人類經驗（universal human experience）。

ICF 模式的障礙觀，其架構就如下圖：



許多學者批評，ICF 試圖界定一個普遍性的障礙概念，建構一個無所不包的模型，卻可能忽視了諸如損傷、障礙、健全能力偏見等概念，往往有其特定的社會文化脈絡與義涵，也忽略了障礙者組織所提出的定義。然而就像社會模式、少數團體模式、文化模式和關係模式各自有其特定的社會文化、政治背景，也有其限制一樣，ICF 模式的定義雖有其限制，卻也是現今障礙研究一個重要的參照架構。而我們必須在這些不同的理論

模式中，探討障礙者的公民身分、權利、人格、多樣性等課題，反思障礙與社會的關係，整合障礙研究的理論、方法論、實務與政治。

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The Representations of Disabled People in Elementary School Textbooks in Post-War Taiwan

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Abstract

Many research studies have investigated the representations of class, gender, ethnicity, and sexuality in textbooks. However, few studies focus on the representation of disability in the education system. This paper uses content analysis to explore the frequencies, categories, naming and portrayal of disabled people in elementary school textbooks in Taiwan, from 1952 to 2003. From a disability studies' viewpoint, we explore the ableism ideology in the textbooks. First, disabled people are underrepresented in the textbook. The disabled people represented in the textbooks were mostly people with physical disabilities; people with mental illnesses were ignored. Second, the naming of people with disabilities change from "the handicapped" (cán fèi) to "the disabled people"(zhàng ài zhě). Third, people with disabilities were usually viewed as "the other," who needed to be helped or who inspired "normal" people. Fourth, disability was defined as an individual problem instead of a social problem. Finally, disabled people represented in textbooks were mostly voiceless. There was no discussion on the world view of disabled people or disability, and there were very few discussions addressing the diversity and multiculturalism of disabled people.

Keywords: disability studies, content analysis, textbooks, social model of disability, ableism

Introduction

In terms of sociological perspectives, disability is regarded as a physical-medical state, as well as a social condition. What is at stake within the dominant frame of social values, disability is assumed as individual tragedy and incomplete personality. From this ideological bias, the related issues of disabilities as social problems give rise to the importance of social welfare (Fine & Asch 1988a; Oliver 1990; Helldin 2000; Barnes & Mercer 2003). The rights movement of disability and critical disability studies- develops recently have challenged against with the ideologies of disability as individual tragedy and the misunderstanding of bodily damage as ability differences. Within the perspectives of social model of disability, and the appeal to the conception of the individual physically or mental functional limitation is not equal to the limitation of individual ability, some researchers suggests that disability is not physical or mental problem, rather than is deeply affected by ableism and disabling social context, which leads to individual physical-mental ability is restricted (Oliver 1990; Barnes, Oliver, & Barton 2002; Barnes & Mercer 2003). By the suggestions of social model of disability, disability researchers are further to study the significances of social construction, culture, representation and social connotation (Zola 1993; Shakespeare 1994, 1999; Davis 1997; Hevey 1997; Robillard 1999; Snyder & Mitchell 2001, 2002; Brown 2003, 2004).

In Taiwan society, the cotemporary discourses, even public policies, frequently ignore the heterogeneity of disabled people. The disabled people are identification with people unable to manage their daily lives and need to be helped. It is prevailing mode of thinking. With the framework of ideologies, the state has defined the support system of disabled people as private sphere -the responsibility of family. Further, some Medias use the otherness discourse to describe the disabled people as inhuman categories. The social discrimination frequently excluded the disabled people from mainstream society; alienated in the school, rejected in the community, even distorted their identity.

The disabled people right consciousness is increasingly awakening in Taiwan, media discourses, the relevant prejudiced law and regulations have been continually amended. By contrast, the stereotype and discrimination on the disabled people still obviously find in the daily practice, speech and writings etc., the related sociological analyses on the social realities and construction of disability are very rare. Thus, in terms of historical analysis, critically examination on the public discourse and the process of cultural production of related disability is the significant sociological issues.

Education is one of the noticeable processes of socialization; it is also the hegemonic machine of state. In the light of hegemonic project, the textbook is not value-free media of teaching; it is strongly impacted and shaped by political, social, cultural and economic contexts. Through textbook transmitting, school becomes as a site of reproducing state hegemony and consolidating the existing power relation. Concerning the critically exploration on inequality of gender, ethnic relation, class in Taiwanese textbook, has achieved fruitful results. Several studies have indicated that, special education has become one kind of significant social machine of producing inequality (Tomlinson 1982; Slee 1997; Powell 2003). However, the reflectively critical studies on disability images in textbook are so rare. The notion of special education needs reconceptualizing.

Adopting the disability studies, I investigate the problems of representation and interpretation of disabled people in the textbook of Taiwanese elementary school. Is the disability presupposed as individual problem? In which the images of disabled people are represented pitiful or inspirational person? Is it deviation behavior or is inclined to criminal easily? Through the analytic reflection on the textbook, I will outline the constructed image of disabled people and the ideological definition of healthy and normal ability in the textbook of Taiwanese elementary school.

Literature review, Research method and Data Collection

In the inspiration of deconstructionism, feminism and new social movement, disability studies are committed to focus on the issues of cultural representation and social construction. Liggett (1988) points out that, social mode of disability and historical analysis of social construction of disability put the emphasis on the production of disability as the process of classification, not the interpretation of social-cultural significance of disability. As far as the cultural representation of disabled people concerned, Shakespeare (1994) recognizes, the social bias and discrimination of disabled people need to be deconstructed.

Using content analysis in American TV programs, Zola (1985) finds that, in the mainstream media, disabled people neither exist, nor play trivial role. The role played by disabled people is one-sided-dependent, without productive force, or need to be take care. The same analysis in British TV programs carried by Barnes (1992), he argues that the images represent in media can be classified into some types: pitiful, a victim, specific style, super-cripple, mock-cripple, and few normal disabled people (Barnes 1992; Barnes & Mercer 2003).

Johnson (2006) and Johnson and Nieto (2007) adapt content analysis to examine special education textbooks as well as multi-culture textbooks, for them, normal

people is represented in the textbooks, and lack of deaf culture as well as mutil-culture viewpoint of disabled people as subject. Erevelles (2005) indicates argues that, most arguments about disable people lack of the viewpoint of disability studies are scarcely surprising.

Fine & Asch (1988b) consider that exuberant sexual desire or naive, without the sexual desire, the polarized image of female disabled people are usually represented in the literatures. Because of disability, female characters are constrained. In the analysis of film texts, Snyder and Mitchell (2001) have indicated that, disabled people are frequently treated as the deviant and social potential treat. In some films and photos, disabled people are accordance with inhuman, pseudo-animal, such as *The Elephant Man* (Hevey 1997; Drake 1994; Shakespeare 1999). In terms of the text analysis of pop photos, Thomson (2001) indicates that, the images of disabled people are displayed as queer, impatient, weird or realistic. The queer image makes the viewers keeping a distance of them. The impatient image makes the viewers showing sympathy to them. The weird image make the viewers to regards them as the other. The realistic image makes the viewers inspecting the difference with them. The representation of images of disabled people in the films and photos constructs the social impression of disabled people.

Several discourse analyses of disabled studies have argued, disabled people is regards as deviant in public media, literatures and films. Shakespeare (1994) indicates that, the works of charitable enterprises make disabled people like the pitiful other, and encourage 'normal people' to give a donation to them. On the other hand, the donation to the 'pitiful other' become the way to manifest the superiority of ordinary people. By the way of donation, disabled people become the other; normal people construct the identity and superiority of normal people. That is, people with the sound mind and body by the way of donation to do good and merciful thing. By degrading disabled people, normal people construct their hegemonic status. Similarly, the developed countries donate contribution to the developing countries, as the same time, strengthen the colonialism and imperialism of core countries. In the word, the social constructed image of disabled people, are frequently acknowledged as the pitiful, piteous, horrible or deviant. By the 1990s, several approaches of disabled studies emerged, begin to promote the disabled culture and advance the new social movement of disabled identity. The disabled culture approach has suggested that, disabled people have experienced with various social oppression, the promotion of disabled culture can provide the opportunities for disabled people to organize the disabled communities. The disabled people can not be excluded socially and become the object of bestowment-giving, they need to be recognizing as social diversity and one of the multiculturalism (Gilson and Depoy 2000; Jakubowicz & Meekosha 2002; Brown

2003, 2004; Pfeiffer 2004).

In conventional social sciences, disabled people are classified in the relevant domain of medical, social sciences and special education professions. The pioneer of disabled studies, Oliver (1997) has challenged against with the significances of production of objective scientific knowledge, and address new disabled paradigm. He suggests that disabled studies have to reconsider the relationship between researcher and the researched, and to liberate the disabled. Barnes, Oliver and Barton (2002) indicates further, like race/ethnic studies, feminism, queer theory, disabled studies is a new social and political movement, the disabled is the problematic of social, cultural and political, not medical and medical. In other word, disabled studies are to challenge against with hegemonic status of normal ability, and to liberate the disabled.

The theoretical and methodological inspiration for this case study is the disabled studies. As such, I collect the textbooks of Taiwanese elementary school from 1951 to 2003, edited by National Institution for Compilation and Translation (NICT). The textbooks can be sort out into nine editions (eight revised editions and one new edition). Each edition as one research unit, I collect three kids of textbook, including Chinese, Living and Ethics and Social Studies. As to the analytic method of data, I attempt to analyze the represented images of the disabled people in those subjects of nine editions. Are the images represented as the characteristics of pity, determination, personal problems, deviant or criminalization? In the light of evidences, I attempt to discuss with the hegemonic ideologies of normal ability and cultural implications of the disabled people in the Taiwanese textbooks.

.The Cultural Implication of the Images of the Disabled in the Elementary School Textbooks

Analyzing the implicit contents of the textbooks concerning the disabled suggests that the disabled are viewed as ‘the other’. The way that they describe treats the disabled as ‘the other’. The image of the disabled usually displayed in two types: First, the disabled students are ‘poor’ and ‘in need of help’, and the students are encouraged to help them; second, the disabled are shown as examples of inspirational stories for the students to learn. The stories usually tell us how the disabled overcome their obstacles to be able to lift up their life. The ways that the stories were told are how ‘normal people’ can learn to help the disabled or the disabled can be our example.

a. The Poor and Help-Needed Image of the Disabled

Before the enactment of 1980 ‘The Law of the Welfare of the Disabled’, the textbooks

of elementary school commonly showed that the disabled were in need of help. A picture in the 1975 textbooks illustrated ‘students help a disabled students with walking stick’ (國立編譯館 1979: 8) For example, a story, ‘the words from a father’, in the Lesson 21 of the 1952 national textbooks, showed a father’s teaching to a son with vernacular language by the conception derived from *The Book of Rites*, ‘widows and widowers, orphans, the old and childless as well as the sick and disabled are all well taken care of’ and expecting the son can help the weak. The father said:

Jianhua! You shall not forget to help the elder, the poor, the disabled, the person carrying heavy loads, mourner, and women with kids, and always yields them if you are on their way. For them, we all have to show our sympathy and express our kindness. (國立編譯館 1961: 54)

Similarly, the story of ‘Accompanying a Blind Home’ basically assumes that the people who can’t walk needs help to back home safely. (國立編譯館 1967: 66) It reveals an image of the disabled is helpless, and their impairment is a tragedy. The damage of their body represents they are lack of capability and in need of help. The ‘normal’ people shall be sympathetic to them and help them. The end of the stories always leads to a moral teaching to the ‘normal students’.

After 1968, beside of the Mandarin curriculum, the new compiled Health Education textbook started to concern with the disabled. For example, in the Lesson 16 ‘the Social Welfare Institutions’ of the Health Education curriculum textbook of the sixth grade was having a picture of the disabled. The picture showed an old lady helped a kid with walking stick. The kid was taken care of by a social welfare institution (國立編譯館 1970: 35-36). In other words, the disabled were isolated outside the normal schools. The content coincided with the situation before the enactment of 1984 ‘The Special Education Law,’ that the school could easily reject the disabled from school entrance.

Elementary education was major mechanism reflecting the mainstream value in socialization. The critique of ‘sympathy’ ideology of the disability researches indicates that the construction of the ‘sympathy’ discourses is for the establishment of the middle-class ideological value of ‘ableism’ by helping ‘the other’, the disabled. (Shakespeare 1994; Longmore 1997) In other words, behind the ‘poor’ and ‘needed’ images of the disabled, the textbooks implicitly show the inferior status of the disabled with the bias of the help-needed disabled.

B. Inspirational Image of the Disabled

Until 1975, the poor and needed images of the disabled in the elementary school textbook have been changed. The story of Liu Hsia in new edited textbook changed the image of the disabled to be more positive and inspirational. The story showed how Liu Hsia fought the barriers of her disability with a strong will and healthy mind to become a successful writer and social activist. In the textbook, it was said: 'In despite of the disability, her mind is healthy and strong. Reading her works can inspire the lazy, encourage the depressed, strong the weak, and lift the fallen. This is a good book worth reading.' (國立編譯館 1983: 31-33) Moreover, the story also showed that Liu can overcome her disability and help others.

The 1985 revised edition of the textbook went further to the story of US President Franklin Roosevelt with poliomyelitis. It showed that the poliomyelitis is remediable if diagnosed earlier (國立編譯館 1988: 61-65). In other words, poliomyelitis was not only can be prevented but also the society has to accept the people effected by poliomyelitis and treated them as normal person. The disabled is treated as enable person begin to be appeared in the textbooks.

Having drawn more attention to the media by the appeal of the welfare of the disabled people, the government started to recognize the legal status of the disabled. After 1989, the elementary school textbooks had more 'aspiring' stories rather than 'poor' stories of the disabled. In the curriculum of 'Life and Ethics', Cheng Feng-hsi's *A Lone Boat in the Vast Ocean* as the model story to be the example of the replacement of the 'poor' stories. In the story, the disabled, Cheng Feng-hsi, became 'the people from whom we can learn for their courage to overcome the disability.' (國立編譯館 1991: 14-21) The images of poor and help-needed 'the other' are disappeared in that time of textbooks. The disabled are no longer the target object to be helped in the society.

If we go further to analyze the implicit propositions of these inspiring stories, we can ask: why can a story of overcoming a person's disability be inspiring for 'normal people? Brown (2006) analyzes the inspiring stories and criticizes by questioning the implication of why a disabled do things that normal people can do become 'inspiring' in the discourses of the public culture. The idea behind these stories is that the disabled are inferior and assumed that they can't do the things that the normal people do. If the disabled do the things like normal people, it will be regarded as an achievement. In other words, if the disabled can do these things, so can the normal people.

Therefore, the successful stories of the disabled always become inspiring stories. Overcoming the disabilities is the model that we can learn from. That's why the textbooks showed Cheng Feng-hi getting into the school and eventually becoming a teacher is inspiring and, similarly, a mouth and foot painter is inspiring. (康軒版 1998: 66-67) These imply that the disabled can't achieve normal things unless they do something extraordinary. When they go to school, become a writer or painter, and graduate from colleges, their stories inspire people.

In these stories, the disabled are 'the other' to the normal people. The way that the disabled are represented in the textbooks suggested the bias of ableism. It assumes that the school students are able-bodied individuals and the disabled are 'the other'. This bias hasn't been changed until that the textbooks were allowed to have other compilations by the private publishers; we started to see that some of the illustrations of the textbooks 'naturally' displayed the disabled with normal students as part of the school life and discourses about the disabled are 'normalized' as well.

3. Disability as a Personal Problem

The stories about the disabled in the elementary school textbooks regarded disabilities as personal problems. In the contents of the earlier edition of the textbooks, the disabled were considered as objects to be helped. After the 1989 with the appearance of inspiring stories, the meaning of disabilities was turned over, but the disability is still being seen as a personal problem. The substantive restriction of the social environment and cultural biases are the personal problems that the disabled have to deal with. That's why overcoming these personal problems become inspiring stories.

In these 'inspiring stories of the disabled', the impairment of the functions of body are always seen as a personal problem without revealing the true 'impairments' of the social institutions and structure put upon the disabled. Cheng Feng-hsi's *A Lone Boat in the Vast Ocean* is a good example to show how the disability be regarded as a personal problem. In the story, the disability of Cheng Feng-hsi was emphasized. With his diligence and help from others, he went through all the challenges and difficulties to become a teacher. What we were told was that Cheng 'was eager to go to school. Because he can't walk and school is too far away from home, he can do nothing about it.' (國立編譯館 1991: 15)

The discourses like this show that the disabilities were regarded as a personal problem. Hence, the schools used various ways to reject the disabled of their entrance to the

school, the public spaces were less concerned about the improvement to the facilities, and the state institutions did not provide the needed environments for the disabled (for example, barrier free spaces for the disabled and subsidies for the transportation). The protection of the educational right of the disabled was omitted in these discourses; Cheng's outcry of injustice of the restriction of the system and social bias is not mentioned. The original book title, *A Broken Boat in the Vast Ocean* meaning how dangerous environments is to the disabled, was suggested to be changed to *A Boat in the Vast Ocean* for serving the purpose of being inspirational to normal people.

Moreover, the success of the disabled in these stories is mainly due to the help of other benevolent people. In Chang's story, 'the teacher was surprised by his strong will and encouraged him to register the school' (國立編譯館 1991: 16). The right to education for the disabled became merely as a matter of a personal charity. In the Helen Keller story, her success was by 'the care and love of the teacher to help her overcome the deafblind and to be able to go to the university.' (康軒版 1999: 57) The substantive impairment of the disabled and how the disabled faced the challenges of the body and social restriction were not been mentioned in the textbooks.

4. Normalization of the Image of the disabled

Along with the rights of the disabled being proposed and the textbooks opening up to the private publishers, the textbooks became normalized on the images of the disabled. It began to incorporate the disabled to the normal school life rather than excludes them as handicapped who needs help and care. In textbook of the Society curriculum, 'normalization' appears in the texts. The eleventh lesson of the third grades in the first semester, 'Respecting Others', shows a girl in a wheelchair in a normal presence with other students. The image of disability is appearing but without any pity or help-needed implications. It seems that she is a normal part of the students (國立編譯館 1998: 76). In other words, while activists for the disability right urge the communitization, incorporation and normalization of the disabled people, the elementary textbooks concurrently reflect the relevant discourses; as in this example, the disabled in wheelchair is the normal part of school life of the students.

1993 was the year that governments lift the ban for private publishers to compile textbooks for elementary students. Due to the variety of compilations of the textbooks, we take two most popular editions, 康軒 and 南一, and last edition of national textbooks for comparison. Due to the disabled rarely appears in the textbooks and any comparison in numbers are not practical, we can still notice that the 康軒 and 南一 textbooks have more description in length about the disabled than the last national

compilation. In terms of contents, we also can find out the subtle differences: 康軒 uses ‘handicapped’ to name the disabled and the contents are more on the ‘overcome of the disability’ while 南一 is more on the independence of the disabled (for example, the self-support of the intellectual disabilities) (南一 2002: 46-49), and acceptance of their disabilities (‘The Chess Master with Red Face’) (南一版 2001: 90-92). Comparing to the last national edition, both 康軒 and 南一 textbooks have more description on the disabled and design several activities for incorporating and normalizing the disabled in the school. For example, the activities of 南一 textbooks have included role playing for the normal students in order to let them to experience the challenges of the disabled in their everyday life. (南一版 1998 : 13-15)。

After 2000, the textbooks of elementary school were open to private publishers and national textbook was ended. In 南一 and 康軒 textbooks, the appearances of the disabled in the texts are more diversified. For example, 南一 textbook includes the self-reported experiences of the disabled (南一版 2003: 46-49, 南一版 2004: 38-41). In the 2000 compilation of the textbooks for Society curriculum, eight different types of roles of the disabled have been presented through out the textbooks. It is the very example of the ‘normalization’ and ‘mainstream’ concurrence of the changes on the image of the disability. On the contrary, 康軒 textbooks remain in the old-fashioned inspiring stories on helping the disabled or overcoming the disability; It is lack of viewpoints of normalization and multicultural diversity.

5. Lack of the Voices and Worldviews of the Disabled

Lastly, the textbooks discourses about the disabled are almost without the voice and worldview of the disabled. The disabled in the textbooks appear to be voiceless. Whether are they the object to be helped or a character to inspire people, there are no viewpoints from the disabled concerning the society and the disability for that the disabled shall be the subject in the textbooks. How do the disabled think about their disability and impairment? How do they realize the world full of the bias of ableism? These are the questions that haven’t seen in the current textbooks. Moreover, the textbooks are lack of the reflection and discussion on the cultural barrier put upon the disabled, and the ideas that sees the disabled as a subject and the disability as a part of our multicultural society.

Conclusion

In terms of disabled studies, the damaged body is no longer the main factor that hinders disabled people to participate social activities. In contemporary society, disabled people not only have confronted with the hindrance of social institutions and circumstance, but also cultural discrimination and bias. In the present education of the disabled people in Taiwan, mainstreaming education, inclusion education, and even accessible design, is highest standards followed by special education experts and initiators of the disabled people right. However, in practice, it is easily to find that the disabled students are more or less discriminated and prejudged by government, school principle, students' parents, students and even teachers themselves. Besides of the deficiency of government' budgets and the unsuitable measures, the fundamental reason is that the recognition and treatment of disabled people in Taiwan society. From policy maker, teacher or ordinary people, they exclude the disabled people from the members of mainstream society. This underlying problematic provokes me to investigate critically the elementary school textbook.

Elementary education is the significant mechanism of socialization. The textbook reflects the dominant ideology of society, and plays the significant role of reproduction of ideology. I investigate the kinds of textbooks, one is edited by NICT since 1993 and the other edited by 南一 publication Co. and 康軒 Group after 1993. Firstly, in the light of the implicit content, we can find that the disabled people appear in the textbook is rare. Later, the related content has increased; it focuses on physical disability, hearing disability and the visual impaired, not mental disorders. It is lack of the discourse on the heterogeneity of disability. While the policy about disability changes, the denotation of disability has changed from a cripple, the handicapped to 'the disabled'.

Further, the implicit images of the disabled people frequently represent as the otherness in the mainstream society. By 1975, the disabled people are acknowledged as pitiful and need to be helped object. After 1989, the teaching materials are intended to edit the stories of disabled people as the main way to inspire normal students. The normalized disabled people actually appeared since 1993. In the case of the discourse of the disabled people as the deviant and the criminal that found in western public culture are not found in elementary teaching materials.

Finally, I investigate the ideology in the textbook based on the disability studies. The disabled people is defined as the otherness, that is common feature that can be found in the textbook since 1951. The functional limitation of body is regards as individual problem, which ignore the social assistance and discrimination. Meanwhile, the content is lack of the disabled' stance, even at that time, the right of the disabled is

become as the centre of the law and in the official discourse. The discourse of the disabled in the elementary textbook still regards the disabled as the individual problem. The disabled is a person who accepts helpless, the disabled people's voice is silence.

In the social mode of disabled theory, disability is conceived as the social limitation, the hindrance of circumstance to the disabled people. Recently, this viewpoint has been challenged by cultural approach of disability. The cultural approach argues that the social bias and discrimination is main factors of social exclusion of the disabled people. This approach makes me to reflect and challenge the conception of normal ability in the hegemonic culture. If we inspect the content of the Disability Protection Law in Taiwan, it is necessary to remove some of the ineffective and unsuitable law. However, the change and amendment of laws, institutions can really liberate the disabled people. We have to deconstruct the cultural bias and discrimination, so that the transformation of the social bias and discrimination is possible. Through continually criticize the teaching materials in the textbooks; the cultural bias implicated in the hegemonic ideologies in the state apparatus can be deconstructed. Perhaps change is necessary to remove the cultural bias and the liberation of the disabled people is possible.

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國科會補助計畫衍生研發成果推廣資料表

日期:2011/07/25

國科會補助計畫	計畫名稱: 障礙的社會存有論: 障礙, 治理與權利(I)
	計畫主持人: 蘇峰山
	計畫編號: 99-2410-H-343-011- 學門領域: 教育有關專門領域
無研發成果推廣資料	

99 年度專題研究計畫研究成果彙整表

計畫主持人：蘇峰山		計畫編號：99-2410-H-343-011-					
計畫名稱：障礙的社會存有論：障礙，治理與權利(I)							
成果項目		量化			單位	備註（質化說明：如數個計畫共同成果、成果列為該期刊之封面故事...等）	
		實際已達成數（被接受或已發表）	預期總達成數(含實際已達成數)	本計畫實際貢獻百分比			
國內	論文著作	期刊論文	0	1	100%	篇	
		研究報告/技術報告	1	1	100%		
		研討會論文	1	1	100%		
		專書	1	1	100%		
	專利	申請中件數	0	0	100%	件	
		已獲得件數	0	0	100%		
	技術移轉	件數	0	0	100%	件	
		權利金	0	0	100%	千元	
	參與計畫人力 (本國籍)	碩士生	3	3	100%	人次	
		博士生	0	0	100%		
		博士後研究員	0	0	100%		
		專任助理	0	0	100%		
國外	論文著作	期刊論文	0	0	100%	篇	
		研究報告/技術報告	0	0	100%		
		研討會論文	1	1	100%		
		專書	0	0	100%		章/本
	專利	申請中件數	0	0	100%	件	
		已獲得件數	0	0	100%		
	技術移轉	件數	0	0	100%	件	
		權利金	0	0	100%	千元	
	參與計畫人力 (外國籍)	碩士生	0	0	100%	人次	
		博士生	0	0	100%		
		博士後研究員	0	0	100%		
		專任助理	0	0	100%		

<p style="text-align: center;">其他成果</p> <p>(無法以量化表達之成果如辦理學術活動、獲得獎項、重要國際合作、研究成果國際影響力及其他協助產業技術發展之具體效益事項等，請以文字敘述填列。)</p>	無
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	成果項目	量化	名稱或內容性質簡述
科 教 處 計 畫 加 填 項 目	測驗工具(含質性與量性)	0	
	課程/模組	0	
	電腦及網路系統或工具	0	
	教材	0	
	舉辦之活動/競賽	0	
	研討會/工作坊	0	
	電子報、網站	0	
	計畫成果推廣之參與(閱聽)人數	0	

國科會補助專題研究計畫成果報告自評表

請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況、研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）、是否適合在學術期刊發表或申請專利、主要發現或其他有關價值等，作一綜合評估。

1. 請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況作一綜合評估

達成目標

未達成目標（請說明，以 100 字為限）

實驗失敗

因故實驗中斷

其他原因

說明：

2. 研究成果在學術期刊發表或申請專利等情形：

論文： 已發表 未發表之文稿 撰寫中 無

專利： 已獲得 申請中 無

技轉： 已技轉 洽談中 無

其他：（以 100 字為限）

本研究第一年的規劃在於了解歐美社會障礙研究發展的社會背景，以及不同障礙研究理論模式的發展及其異同之處。就此而言，本研究已初步釐清這些問題，並給予有系統的說明及解釋。

3. 請依學術成就、技術創新、社會影響等方面，評估研究成果之學術或應用價值（簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性）（以 500 字為限）

雖然障礙者權利運動，以及障礙者權利相關法規的修訂，在台灣已有二十多年的發展，相對而言，障礙研究在台灣幾乎尚未成形。在學術研究領域上，障礙相關議題的探討主要還是集中在醫療處置、特殊教育、社會福利施送以及社會工作服務等領域中，其主要理論觀點還是側重個人——醫療模式，鮮少論及社會——權利模式的障礙研究。本研究計畫分為三年，希望分別從不同理論模式的釐清、公民身分與權利、現代社會與治理問題三個層面來思考社會——權利模式的障礙研究之意涵，以及其對台灣障礙研究和障礙者權利運動的意義。第一年的研究已初步釐清社會模式，少數團體模式，文化模式以及關係模式等四個主要理論模式，其開展的社會背景因素、文化差異、制度上的差別以及論述異同之所在。只是這些討論尚限於引介釐清不同理論模式的異同，還未能做進一步的理論對話與批判，但這也是本研究所要面對的現實課題。正如上所言，以往台灣的障礙研究過於側重個人——醫療模式，障礙者運動雖訴求障礙者權利，卻未有深入的公民身份及權力理論的反省。本研究需先與這些現實對話，其理論對話及批判才有其意義。