

**The lost bodies in sports, Taiwan: The history of
sports for individuals with physical disabilities
between 1945 and 2007**

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In memory of my father

Abstract

This thesis presents a history of sports for individuals with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1945 and 2007. A Foucauldian lens is adopted. Primary data was collected from personal archives of key informants who had lived experience with the developments during this period and with whom interviews were also conducted. Materials were organised using Foucauldian genealogy and analysis was conducted using the lens of biopower to investigate how the bodies of people with physical disabilities were organised in relation to power in the rehabilitation and sporting context. The research portrays how, between 1945 and 1971, the epidemics of poliomyelitis left a large number of children in Taiwan paralysed, and most of them were segregated in institutions. These children became a social problem, and in these institutions, rehabilitation was regarded as physical education and thus became the hallmark of the special education at this time. Development in sports for the disabled occurred between 1972 to 1992, as the authorities began to pay attention to sports for these individuals and it was employed as a tool to encourage them to contribute to the greater national good. Between 1993 and 2007, the status of individuals with physical disabilities entered a liminal state in which they were neither fully included nor excluded in the sports for the disabled in Taiwan. The thesis concludes by highlighting how the Taiwanese State's approach to individuals with physical disabilities targeted them as a social problem that needed to be managed, and sports were employed as techniques to fulfil this goal. The disabled body then becomes a pawn in the State's power game which transformed over time, and it was made docile through the techniques of normalisation that are central to engagement with rehabilitation, physical education and sport.

Keywords: Adaptive physical activity; disability sports; Foucault; history of sports; Paralympic sport; Taiwan

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Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|--|
| APA | Adaptive Physical Activity |
| AWDs | Athletes with Disabilities |
| CISS | Comité International des Sports des Sourds |
| CPC | Communist Party of China |
| CTPC | Chinese Taipei Paralympic Committee |
| CTSFD | Chinese Taipei Sports Federation for the Disabled |
| CTSOD | Chinese Taipei Sports Organization for the Disabled |
| CYC | The China Youth Corps |
| DPP | Democratic Progressive Party |
| FESPIC | Far East and South Pacific Games for the Disabled |
| ICC | International Co-ordination Committee of Sports Organisations for the Disabled |
| ICF | International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health |
| ICIDH | International Classification of Impairment Disabilities and Handicaps |
| IOC | International Olympic Committee |
| IPC | International Paralympic Committee |
| IPV | Inactivated poliovirus vaccine |
| ISMGF | International Stoke Mandeville Games Federation |
| ISMWSF | International Stoke Mandeville Wheelchair Sports Federation |
| ISOD | International Organisations of Sports for the Disabled |
| IWAS | International Wheelchair and Amputee Sports |
| KMT | Kuomintang |
| NPC | National Paralympic Committee |
| NT | New Taiwan dollars |
| NTNU | National Taiwan Normal University |
| NTU | National Taiwan University |
| NTUH | National Taiwan University Hospital |
| OPV | Oral polio vaccine |

| | |
|--------|--|
| PE | Physical Education |
| PRC | People's Republic of China |
| ROC | Republic of China |
| ROCSOD | Republic of China Sports Organization for the Disabled |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund |
| WHO | World Health Organization |

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Chapter 1. Introduction

A society reveals itself by the way in which it treats certain significant phenomena. The problem of disability is one such phenomenon. To speak at all pertinently of disabled people is to disclose a society's depths.

(Stiker 2009: 14)

To date, no comprehensive history of sports for people with disabilities focusing on the Sinophone¹ world has been portrayed. In terms of pure numbers, the Chinese-speaking region has the largest population of people with disabilities in the world, but little research has been devoted to this large disabled community. This study highlights the case of the history of sports for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan, and thus provide as a springboard for understanding the development of sports for the disabled in the Sinophone world. Research surrounding sports for the disabled has mostly been dominated by a Eurocentric perspective, that, as has been documented, is attributable to how the organisation of sports for individuals with disabilities was primarily a Western initiative (Howe, 2008). Within this status quo, this thesis aims to address a lacuna in this field of research by exploring the development of sport for the disabled in a distinctive non-western context.

Physical disability is a distinct type of disability. Although people with physical disabilities are restricted in terms of mobility by their impairments, nevertheless their auditory and visual senses as well as oral expression and cognitive competence are well-functioning, and these abilities helped them to react after receiving external information and stimuli. Of the different categories of people with physical disabilities, the physically disabled became the group that could be managed and disciplined. In other words, compared with other types of disabilities, they were easier to manipulate by the relations of power. Before medical treatment, assistive technology and special education were developed, visual, hearing and mental impairments could not be improved very easily, whereas the effects of rehabilitation and sports could be observed in people with physical impairments. Thus, the physically impaired body became a target which could be 'invested by mechanisms of power that seek to render it both docile and useful' (Foucault 2003: 193).

The phrase ‘people/individuals with disabilities’ is used in this research to highlight issues that are central to human rights. In the UK, the social model authorises the term ‘disabled people’ in order to emphasise that people with impairments are disabled by society, not by their bodies. The use of the term ‘people with disabilities’ may be criticised for adopting the perspective of the medical model. However, the ‘people-first’ language is the dominant terminology in the universal disability rights field and is the extensive and political choice of the United Nations as well as of most developed countries. It is important to note that several discriminatory and outdated terms that have been applied to people with disabilities, such as ‘cripple’, ‘handicap’, ‘deaf’ and ‘blind,’ appear in this thesis, as these are the terms which were used in the original empirical data found in the archives; and it is the authors' wish to be faithful to the authenticity of these historical texts.

Three types of methods are utilised to translate data from Chinese to English in this research and Taiwan: the Wade-Giles style, Tongyong Style and Hanyu Style. The Wade-Giles style is used to translate Chinese names on passports, and therefore in this study the Chinese names are translated using the Wade-Giles style. As for place names, because Hanyu Style is also employed by the PRC, some Taiwanese local governments adopt Tongyong Style in an attempt to show their distinction from the PRC. The divergence of translation makes the foreigner in Taiwan become easily confused with English translation in Taiwan ; for example, 中華路 is interpreted as ZhongHua Road in Taipei City and JhongHua Road in Kaohsiung City. In this research, we utilise the translated name on the official website.

According to the Foucault’s relations of power, the power observed in this study does not exhibit a top–down or bottom–up behaviour but develops in multiple directions. In other words, this study considers that power can be built up from the bottom or imposed from above (Foucault’s theories of power will be explored explicitly in section 3.2.1). Thus, we must inspect an intricate web of power relationships from a variety of viewpoints in the context of social formation.

This research has attempted to correct where society has mostly neglected approximately 10% of the world population. Individuals with disabilities have generally been ignored across all academic subject areas, and there is therefore much work that still needs to be done in this area. With more understanding of the disabled community, they will not suffer from the stigma of being seen as abnormal and marginalised by mainstream society. Ultimately, ‘Let the shameful walls of exclusion finally come tumbling down’(Bush, 1990).

Research methodology

Two crucial methodological intricacies were clarified in this study. The first is the philosophical approach of this study. This study followed a critical realist approach² to explore the bodies of people with physical disabilities in the history of sports, thus acknowledging that both external reality and social constructions shape the phenomena of the bodies. The stance of critical realism also echoes the disability model that we employed in this thesis. The model proposes that disability represents the interaction between individual factors and social structures. More specifically, each society has its interpretations of disability, and impairments exist within individuals with disabilities.

Another crucial methodological intricacy is the justification for employing the Foucauldian genealogical approach in this study. The genealogy advocated by Foucault seeks to contextualise the body in the context of the past to determine how a body is shaped, controlled, classified, and manipulated by the relations of power. Markula states that genealogy offers ‘a history of the development of dominant and marginalised knowledge that has influenced individuals’ understandings of themselves to help make people aware of how these truth games still exert contemporary influence’ (Markula and Pringle, 2006: 33–34). Thus, in this thesis, the Foucauldian genealogical analysis comes to prominence because we unveil how the relations of power shape the bodies of individuals with physical disabilities within the history of sports in Taiwan. Consequently, genealogy is undoubtedly the most suitable choice for this study.

Research aims

The overall aim of this study was to focus on the phenomena of the bodies of individuals with physical disabilities in sports from 1945 to 2007 in Taiwan. This goal was pursued through the methodological and genealogical directives of Foucault. Specifically, a Foucauldian lens was used to theoretically support an examination of people with physical disabilities in the history of sports. There existed three specific objectives within the aim of this study:

1. To understand the development of people with physical disabilities in the history of sports in Taiwan between 1945 and 2007.

2. To investigate how the bodies of individuals with physical disabilities were shaped in relation of power and to unpack the power as it has operated on the bodies of people with physical disabilities.

3. To disclose the phenomenon of the bodies in the past and determine how this phenomenon influences the shape of disabled bodies in the present day.

To achieve the aforementioned objectives, archive material related to disability in Taiwanese sport was obtained and people with direct experience in this field were interviewed. In summary, this thesis relates the relations of power articulated by Foucault with the historical context of sports for individuals with disabilities in Taiwan to explore the phenomena of the bodies in the context of sports in a society that has received limited academic attention.

Structure of research

Because the background, aims, and methodology of this study have been established, the chapters are presented in the following order. **Chapter 2** reviews the relevant literature from the fields of the social history of sports, disability sports, and disability because this thesis is essentially a study of disabled people in the history of sports. Moreover, the understanding of disability in Confucianism is discussed to contextualise the central theme of the thesis in relation to the Sinophone world. **Chapter 3** presents an account of how poststructuralism and the theories of Foucault were employed to investigate the historical sources drawn upon throughout this study. This thesis is heavily influenced by a Foucauldian lens. Thus, the theory should follow the review of social history. **Chapter 4** introduces underpinning philosophy and research methodology of this thesis. The chapter also describes the research methods used for data collection, which are crucial components that must be articulated after introducing the theories used in this thesis. **Chapter 5** explores the medical and social models dominant in academia. Moreover, the biosocial model of disability, which is used in this thesis, is a disability model that influences how bodies are understood in sports. The definition of disability determines how a body is regarded in this study. Thus, this definition must be clarified before the empirical section of the thesis. **Chapter 6** articulates information regarding people with physical disabilities in the history of sports between 1945 and 1971 and demonstrates the rise and decline of polio, which was the cause of most physical disabilities among Taiwanese children. Moreover, the chapter presents how Taiwanese

society segregated children impaired from polio and individuals with physical disabilities in the sports in which they participated. **Chapters 7 and 8** focus on the information pertaining to people with physical disabilities in the history of sports between 1972 and 1992. When Chiang Ching-Kuo began to oversee sports for the disabled in Taiwan, the situation pertaining to sports changed completely. Sport is divided into three spheres—physical education, national sports, and international sports. The ways by which the bodies of individuals with physical disabilities were affected by the relations of power are explicitly depicted here. **Chapter 9** presents the history of sports from 1993 to 2007 and highlights the history of physical education, national sports, and international sports for people with physical disabilities. After 1993, Taiwan followed the Paralympic classification system, and this transformed the landscape of sports for the disabled in the country. The disabled bodies at this stage were transformed into a new status between inclusion and exclusion. **Chapter 10** presents the concluding comments.

Considering the structure of this study, briefly articulating the historical background of Taiwan in the next section is essential to provide a clear background to the readers of this thesis.

Background: A brief history of Taiwan

In this research, I will use ‘Taiwan’ to replace the official name used in international organisations: ‘Republic of China’ (ROC), in order to avoid the potential confusion between the terms ‘Republic of China’ and ‘People’s Republic of China’ (PRC).

The account is divided into three stages: 1945~1971, 1972~1992 and 1993~2007 - in order to match the context of the thesis.

•1945~1971

Taiwan ceased to be under Japan’s colonial rule at the end of World War II and became part of the ROC. At the same time, the Chinese civil war began between the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Communist Party of China (CPC) in Mainland China. In 1949, the KMT lost the civil

war, and guided by its president, Chiang Kai-Shek,³ retreated to the island of Taiwan and continued the ROC on the island. Meanwhile, the CPC established the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Mainland China. After that, mainland China (PRC) and Taiwan (ROC) became two separate regimes. To recover Mainland China and stabilise the regime, Chiang Kai-shek promulgated the Order of Martial Law and started a dictatorship which was designed to strictly control people's thinking and behaviour. Retaking the power in Mainland China was the dictatorship's overarching objective at this stage.

Between the 1950s and 1960s, the Taiwanese economy was assisted by the US, which concentrated on the public sector and infrastructure. The KMT also established the land reform which implemented several programs on land redistribution, these programs increased agricultural productivity and transferred labour from the agricultural sector to the manufacturing one (Aspalter, 2001). In the late 1950s, the products of labour-intensive light industry replaced agricultural products which became mainly exporting items.

There was no social welfare for people with disabilities in this period. Individuals with disabilities were seen as undesirable in early Taiwan. Labelled as useless and generally feeling inferior, they experienced low education and high unemployment, lived in poverty and were seen as a social burden (The League for Persons with Disabilities, 2011). The disabled community relied on the support from religious and charitable organisations, and most disabled people were segregated in institutions, hospices and the family, lacked interaction with mainstream society, and could seldom receive an education. At that time, participation in sports was an extravagant hope for the disabled.

•1972~1992

The political and economic situation in Taiwan changed significantly in the 1970s, when due to failing health, Chiang Kai-Shek appointed his son, Chiang Ching-Kuo, as Premier in 1972 to govern Taiwan and continue his family's dictatorship. On a national level, Chiang Ching-Kuo did not follow the path of his father in concentrating on regaining power in mainland China. Instead, he focused on the internal affairs of Taiwan. Under Chiang Ching-Kuo's rule, Taiwan started the process of democratisation in which Martial Law was repealed and people could hold private meetings, publish speeches and form new political parties. At the international level, the PRC replaced Taiwan in the United Nations (UN), and soon after Taiwan left several other international organisations. Taiwan's international space continued

to shrink due to pressure from the PRC, and more and more countries cut ties with Taiwan. By 1979, the USA broke off diplomatic relations with Taiwan and stopped its military and financial support.

Taiwan's economy gradually shifted from the production of labour-intensive light industries towards a high value-added and capital-intensive production. Chiang Ching-Kuo decided to improve the basic construction, the infrastructures were established with the 'Ten Major Construction Projects' and 'The Twelve Constructions Projects'⁴. These policies successfully spurred the domestic demand, solved unemployment, and laid the groundwork for the development of the economy in the future. The economy of Taiwan underwent rapid industrialisation and economic growth and became famous for its 'Economic Miracle'.⁵

People with disabilities went through a different experience since the authorities no longer ignored their existence and attention was given to their discipline and management. As Foucault illuminates, authorities may use biopower in seeking to control a whole set of related economic and political problems which accompany the process of developing a modern state, and people with disabilities are regarded as one of these 'problems' (Tremain, 2012). Because of changes within the state, Chiang Ching-Kuo started to actively manage people with disabilities when he became the Premier of Taiwan. The implementation of the Well-off Campaign⁶ and the releasing of a public letter to the deaf and the blind students are the two best examples of managing people with disabilities. The Well-off Campaign was proposed by the Governor of the Taiwan province,⁷ Hsieh Tung-Min,⁸ in 1972 and aimed to 'increase wealth and eliminate poverty' (Hsieh, 1984). Individuals with disabilities were one of its target groups. Hsieh Tung-Min coined the slogan 'offer a caring hand, encourage an ameliorating heart'⁹ to encourage the public to give more attention to the lives and prospects of individuals with disabilities (Education Department of Taiwan Province, 1978). This development occurred because the campaign built hospices to remove the disabled from poverty, provided occupational training to transform the poor into productive workers, organised volunteers to assist people in need, and set up bank accounts to support disadvantaged groups. According to a report on the Well-off Campaign in Chiayi County, 91% of deprived people were 'eliminated', at least 23 disabled people relocated to hospices, and 46 obtained assistance, of whom three acquired wheelchairs, and 38 received treatment and underwent rehabilitation (Government of Chiayi County, 1978).

Chiang Ching-Kuo published a letter in the United Daily News for the deaf and blind students after visiting the Taipei School for Deaf and Blind in 1974. In his letter, Chiang Ching-Kuo wholeheartedly expressed his condolences to the students who suffered from visual and hearing impairments, and admired their patience. He also praised the compassion of the teachers at the school and went on to say that if the civil servants of Taiwan could follow their spirit, then Taiwan could make significant improvements. He stated:

...our government will enhance the environment and equipment of the five blind and deaf schools in Taiwan, we will also help the graduates to find jobs, give them better chances to be self-reliant, give them the arena to exercise their talents. And I hope everyone can make an effort to support and help the government support the students and graduates of the schools for the blind and deaf.

(United Daily News, 1974a)

Chiang Ching-Kuo's words reveal the intention to manage individuals with impairments in Taiwan. Rather than being a burden to society, people with disabilities could enhance their productivity and contribute to the state's economy through being employed. More importantly, the sentences in this letter were later highlighted by senior political figures as reasons for staging sport events for the disabled (Education Department of Taiwan Province, 1978).

Interestingly, the reaction to the letter of the teachers and students of the Taipei School for Deaf and Blind was published in the newspaper the next day. This letter stated that:

The cordial and sincere message of Chiang Ching-Kuo, the Premier, had the effect of making the Taipei School for Deaf and Blind feel excitement, gratitude and inspiration for the rest of the day. The teachers and students scrambled to snatch newspapers, with some blind students even moved to tears.

Those children who cannot speak and see expressed excitedly that they must make every effort to study, develop skills for independent living, and contribute their abilities to country and society in order to fulfil Premier Chiang's expectations.

(United Daily News, 1974b)

We cannot know for sure if the teachers and students felt this excited about Chiang Ching-Kuo's words, but what we do know is that this news report conveyed the ruler's intentions: all must contribute to the State.

Moreover, Chiang Ching-Kuo's visits were seen as the turning point for special education in Taiwan (Wu, 2014). After this visit, Chiang Ching-Kuo immediately instructed the Ministry of Education to pay more attention to special education and funding was allocated in this direction (Ministry of Education, 2011). The First and Second National Prevalence Surveys of School-Aged Children with disabilities were conducted in 1974 and 1990 respectively, and also echoed the Foucauldian idea that statistics relating to populations can be seen as ways of employing biopower. The Special Education Law was issued in 1984, and since then the rights of students with disabilities to education have had effective protection.

With the process of democratisation, individuals with disabilities and their relatives started to organise social and political groups and began to fight for their rights. Not until the issuing of the Handicapped Welfare Law in 1980 was there formal legislation regarding the fundamental rights of people with disabilities. However, the law was not able to protect the rights of the individuals with disabilities efficiently because it did not contain any punitive actions for people or organisations who acted against it (The League for Persons with Disabilities, 2011). In other words, it was a 'handicapped' law without clear regulations and policies (Chang, 2002).

•1992~2007

From 1990 onward, the political and economic situation in Taiwan changed significantly. In the political arena, Chiang Ching-Kuo passed away in 1988, ending his family's dictatorship. Chiang's successor, former vice-president Lee Teng-Hui¹⁰, became the first Taiwanese leader born in Taiwan.¹¹ Lee Teng-Hui continued to push for the democratisation of Taiwan, a process which involved the amending of the Constitution of Taiwan, direct presidential elections, active participation in international organisations and more interactions with the PRC. By 2000, the KMT was replaced in government by the Democratic Progressive Party¹² (DPP) in the first change of government in Taiwan's history. With the onset of democratisation, Taiwan became a free and open society, the public could participate in a political operation, and human rights also became protected.

In term of the economy, by 1991 Taiwan started to promote the Six Year Nation Building Projects¹³, which was regarded as the heir of the Ten Major Construction Projects, and attempted to improve the industry and environment, and the term construction covered infrastructure, medical insurance, culture and education. However, because of financial problems and criticism from the public, the Six Year Nation Building Projects was stopped in 1993. From 1990 onward Taiwan enjoyed stable economic growth and became famous for its electronics industry and exported mainly computers and electronics.

With the economic growth and political democratisation, several associations for people with disabilities were organised by disability activists, of whom most were people with disabilities and their relatives, in order to fight for their rights and interests. Zero-rejection became the overarching principle in special education, and people with disabilities could receive education from preschool to high school level. Several special education projects were launched after 1993 and the Special Education Law that was amended in 1997 led to a ‘boom’ in special education in Taiwan. The Disability Welfare Law was replaced by the People with Disabilities Protection Law, which gave people with disabilities more protection about employment, rights and welfare. With the intensive interaction in international society, more and more advanced ideas and concepts from the West spread into Taiwan, individuals with disabilities no longer passively received policies and arrangements from the State, and they started to rethink the situation actively and to stay and strive for their rights.

Chapter 2. Social history

...to bring the stories of those lives into consideration, making them visible, as a way of correcting the record of privilege and power that typically excluded them, a way of establishing agency in the present through identification with examples from the past.

(Scott 2007: 21)

During the past several decades, social history has become the fastest growing and most popular approach in the world of historical research. The proliferation of social history in the twentieth century stems from the conflict with the comparatively parochial focus of nineteenth-century historians on political and military history, and the chronicling of monarchs or battles. The antecedents of social history can be traced back to the development and change of economic history through reflections upon the Industrial Revolution. Historians began to investigate social issues, such as poverty and the lives of the working class, which were a product of industrialisation. As Johnson (2011) argues, social history is ‘the history of ordinary people – to historicize them, put them into the social structure and long-term trends that shape their lives, and at the same time resurrect what they said and did’(Johnson 2011: 380).

Cultural history, or ‘new’ social theory, has led to a growth of interests and periods of historical research. The cultural theory, mainly, applies to two crucial trends in European history: the first is the idea of total history which is adhered to by the scholars connected to the French *Annales* school, and the other is the approach of Marxist historians who stress the role of human agency and class struggle in their historiography. Historians highlight the landmark publication of E.P. Thompson (1980), which examined the English working class as the inspiration for the rise of cultural history from the 1960s onward. It stresses less Marxist ideology than the early social history and highlights the social lives and behaviour patterns of ordinary people (MacRaild and Taylor, 2004). The assertions and perspectives of social history have also been enriched by the challenge of poststructuralist interpretations in the past thirty years.

The debate around distinguishing between social history and historical sociology has been addressed by academics in the fields of history and sociology. In fact, there is no fundamental epistemological boundary between the two (Harvey, 1995). History is viewed as an idiographic discipline which concerns particular entities and specific individuals or incidents. Sometimes it attracts the critical comments of ‘lacking in generalisation’ or ‘disregards overlooking’. However, social history, as an intersection of history and sociology, should consider both disciplines. Fairburn points out that ‘[h]istorians do not study large aggregates; social scientists do. Social scientists treat large aggregates as undifferentiated masses; historians disaggregate them’ (Fairburn 1999: 16). Sometimes, sociology and history are like twins, in that it is impossible to avoid exploring the society of the past when researching sociology and that it is necessary to understand the social structures and conditions when constructing history. Neither social history nor historical sociology alone can completely answer the question of how sport emerged and developed within evolving societies. The relationship between history and sociology will increase in tandem with the cooperation and interaction of scholars in both disciplines (Mansfield and Malcolm, 2010).

The recent growth of social history is to be welcomed and has rejuvenated this discipline. Furthermore, social historians have involved themselves in an increasingly broader and more varied range of topics. The earlier focus on social phenomena and conditions has now given way to a growing diversity of subject matters, which cannot be comprehensively stated here. They are focused on topics such as race, insanity and deviance, sport and leisure, and gender. Social historians have become interested in recording the stories and experiences of several different social groups, not just those of different social classes, but also those of groups who have been regarded as ‘outcasts’ in mainstream society: for instance, the focus of my research – individuals with disabilities.

Before exploring the history of sport for the disabled, it is necessary for the following sections to discuss the two related sub-disciplines in social history: sports history and disability history.

2.1. The social history of sports

Sports history, as a sub-discipline in either sports academia or historical research, became institutionalised when sports scholars shifted their attention to the social phenomenon of sports over the past few decades, growing rapidly and multifariously. The trajectory of sports history research has shifted from full empirical work on class, ethnicity, gender and specific work to involvement in cultural and social components of history, correlated with disciplines such as sociology, anthropology and philosophy. Just as in other sub-disciplines of history, this relatively fledgling area of study has also struggled to prove itself as a distinct and valuable area with particular expertise and a self-evidently distinguishable topic of study (Stearns, 2010; Heggie, 2014). The role of the sport historian, indeed, is not just to put down sporting records, but, more crucially, to explain and interpret particular changes, moments and situations (Vamplew, 2015). In short, sports historians were not merely empirical, social, cultural, or post-modern scholars but unique conglomerations of each. They were even at times ‘all of the above’ (Linden, 2016: 68).

2.1.1. The development of sports history

The development of sports history followed the emergence of social history which focused on the approach of ‘history from below’ that unpacked the story of other formerly ignored subjects worthy of study (Pope and Nauright, 2010). The *Annales* school and history from below, in fact, did not create the academic field of sports history, but they promoted sports as a discipline worth exploring (Polley, 2007). Douglas Booth tries to divide the development of sports history into the dichotomy between social history and cultural history, which provides practical comprehension of the shift in approaches toward sports history, and of the epistemological basis underpinning the history of the discipline (Booth, 2014). Booth’s analytical framework does offer an overview of the development of sports history and explains sports historiography as we see it.

In the UK, Peter McIntosh could be regarded as the founding father and cornerstone of sports history. His book *Physical education in England since 1800* (McIntosh, 1968), beyond offering a detailed account of the development of physical education in England, interprets the notion of social control about the ideology of muscular Christianity in public schools (Johnes, 2010). The academic study of sports history in the UK mushroomed during the 1980s, with the British Society of Sport History and the *British Journal of Sports History*

being founded in 1982 and 1984 respectively. Owing to the influence of social and labour history, Sports historians in the UK have taken more interest in the sporting values of different classes, and the economics and identities of places are also popular issues which run through the field of sports history. Outside of the UK, influential sport historians have appeared across Europe, Asia, America and Africa, with many of them highlighting national sports history but with much work remaining to be done (Pope and Nauright, 2010).

The development of the academic field of sports history in Taiwan was heavily influenced by the dominant political ideology, which after the 1990s shifted from a China-based to a Taiwan-based sports history. After 1949, the KMT retreated to Taiwan, with its administration focused on sanitising Taiwan, previously colonised by Japan, in an attempt to construct the people who could be utilised to strike back in the fight with Mainland China. Sports historiography is no exception. The publications before 1990 focused on Chinese sports history and sports intellectual history or were translations of international sports history works (Fan, 1994; Lin, 1999; Wang, 2007). Wen-Chung Wu and Yi-Hsung Hsu are two scholars from this period, although Wu's works have been criticised for lack of depth (Fan, 1995). The Marxist ideology did not influence the academic study of sports history or mainstream history in Taiwan, because this theory was associated with the Communist Party of China, the adversary of KMT(Ou, 2010). With the ending of the period of Martial Law and the Period of Mobilization for the Suppression of the Communist Rebellion, the sports history academics also joined in the boom of Taiwan-focused research. Chen Hsiung Tsai and his students, Chuen-Yuan Fan, Chen-Tai Wang and Mei-Chun Lin, published and instructed several publications, and enriched the research in the field of sports history. Although the thought of the *Annales* school and the cultural turn was introduced into Taiwan from the 1970s, the academic field of sports history was influenced by the cultural turn until the 2000s (Ou, 2010). Research on the history of the sports of Taiwan started slowly, but it has still kept pace with the trend of historiography in the West.

2.1.2. The theories and methods of sports history

Theories serve as the framework for interpretations of history, and sports history is no different. Theory frames 'the questions practitioners ask, directs them to particular sources, organizes their evidence, and shapes their explanations' (Booth 2010: 12). There are several theories which are utilised in sports history research. Structural-functionalism, structuralism

and non-determinism are primarily employed in explaining the change in society whereas social construction, deconstruction and representation are mostly applied in cultural analysis. Structural-functionalists view human society as wholes or totalities and compare societies with organisms whose parts are required to maintain the stability of the being (Lloyd, 1988). The sports historians who adhere to structural functionalism believe that sports play the role of increasing the solidity and ensuring the balance of society. Commentators think that structural-functionalism ignores the panorama of history and fails to acknowledge the outsiders in historical accounts (Guttmann, 2001; Booth, 2010). The structuralist approach the theory in two ways, the so-called essentialist and constructionist approaches, respectively. The essentialist approach believes that a hidden reality decides action independent of the will of the human agents, and is heavily influenced by Marxism and criticised for its interest in proving this theory rather than presenting facts (Rader, 1979). The constructionist considers structures as arrangements stemming from human actions. More explicitly, sports historians investigate sports histories which are made by human agency within external restrictions that are unchangeable, such as rules, organisations, social class and race (Booth, 2010). The non-determinist theory is mostly used in sports history about economic structure. This theory believes that human motivation is complex and that it affects the interrelating of society and its human agency in a large structure. Thus, the dialectical relationship at all levels of society is not predetermined but depends upon different cases (Lloyd, 1988, 1993).

With the growth of the cultural paradigm since the 1990s, sports historians have shifted their focus to the analysis of the cultural meanings of sports history, rather than focusing on social theory (Booth and Falcou, 2015). In the usage of the historian, culture could be understood as the 'web of meanings which characterises a society and holds its members together' (Tosh 2010: 247), and its application has produced several theories in sports history. For social constructionist, culture is a product of social constructions built upon different societies or values. Thus, cultural phenomena would be fabricated under any number of circumstances such as the dialogue, conflict and negotiation between dominant and subordinate groups or some groups which wish to make their voices heard and place visible in society. The issues of race, gender or disability in sports history are the primary focuses of the social constructionist (Nussdorfer, 1993). The idea of deconstructionism which is applied by sports historians is the less nihilistic because it accepts that the past can be studied and known (Booth, 2010). In the deconstructionist's view, history is a system or structure of meaning that is produced by semiotic, social and cultural processes which

undergo various investigations and interpretations (Berkhofer, 1995). Three theories constitute the less nihilistic deconstructionism; they are discourse theory, textualism and narrative theory. The discourse theory is portrayed by Michel Foucault and regards the body as a product of discourse. Foucault thought that the modern discourse of the body was embroiled in a series operation of power and knowledge (as Foucault's theory of power is discussed in Chapter 3, it is given minimal attention here). As for the textualist, their research does not merely focus on literary materials, as non-literary phenomena such as sports spectacles, clothing and political rallies are also included in the research content. Narrative theorists focus on the personal experiences that impose prearranged meanings grounded in the social processes and changes in sports history. However, narratives are always criticised for how they cannot account for the general conditions, realities or stories which they cannot deliver. Representation theory fills the gap between social and cultural theory, as it features both social history's focus on deciphering the past in an organised and incontrovertible manner and cultural history's emphasis upon articulating history innovatively and inventively (Booth, 2010). Representation theorists fuse their ideologies within their research; mirroring the nature of their efforts to represent the past.

In Douglas Booth's book, *The Field: Truth and fiction in sport history (2005)*, he draws upon Munslow's three-fold typology – reconstructionism, constructionism and deconstructionism - to explore how sports historians conduct their work. From this book, we can understand how reconstructionists seek to rebuild the whole picture of the past and to construct the basis for historical knowledge, constructionists employ theoretical frameworks to underpin and establish the reality of the past, and deconstructionists follow the perspectives of postmodernism which distrust the grand narratives, ideologies and objective realities and seek multi-faceted discourses and interpretations of historical truths. Nevertheless it is not merely present the historical methods; the book also offers several explanatory paradigms with an attempt to present how scholars use different evidence to construct various types of historiography. Weaving into Booth's writing and illustration makes the complicated philosophical points and historical methods more accessible.

2.1.3. Sources of sport history

Sources are an integral part of creating sports history. If we compare history to a human being, the theory is a skeleton, and sources are the muscles and tissues that support this

framework. Two terms related to sources are evidence and fact. To sum up the connection of these three terms, it has been stated that ‘sources are useful only when they are processed like raw materials into the evidence from which historical facts are created’ (Munslow 2006: 92). Sources could be classified as either primary or secondary. Primary sources are those ‘with a direct link, in time and place, to the person, event, situation or culture under study’ (Booth 2005: 27), and secondary sources refer to those that ‘provide commentary on, or interpretations of, past events’ (Booth 2005: 27). In historical research, primary sources should be the priority because they are first-hand materials which are more dependable, original and authentic. Polley argues that:

We need primary evidence so that we know what happened in the past, and so that we can get an insight to what people thought was happening. Primary evidence not only takes us into the events of the past, but can also give us a sense of the feelings, perceptions, and ideas of the people who lived in the past, and how they interpreted and perceived events.

(Polley 2007: 78)

Thus, if we can gain access to the original materials, we can know more about the past.

Especially in my research on the case of sports history for the disabled in Taiwan, the sources need to be carefully analysed, interpreted and explained, because between 1949 and 1987 the publications were under the strict control of the authorities. At that time governments and associations in Taiwan examined the information within ‘a climate of confidentiality’ (Booth 2005: 86) and manipulated, managed, and filtered the information that they viewed as sensitive. A large number of my historical materials come from newspapers, magazines, reports and government and organisations’ records; thus in my analysis of attempts to construct the phenomena of sport for the disabled in the past I need to recognise ‘who created the sources, for what purpose and how they created them. This enables historians to ascertain the intention of the author/s of the source/s’ (Osmond & Phillips 2010: 36).

Looking into the future, sports history still needs to face more battles and challenges. Nauright (2014) observes two emerging tendencies in sports history; one is that of reflexive histories that connect with historians’ own experiences within a sport or place, another is trans-national sports histories that go beyond the boundaries which were built by national

level histories. Those points on the one hand reflect my research interest which originates from my experience as a special education teacher in Taiwan. On the other hand, they remind me of the necessity of learning and reviewing the history of sports for the disabled in other countries. In the next section, we will review the other important component of sports history for the disabled – disability history

2.2. The social history of disability

It is necessary to review the literature on disability history before researching the history of sports for the disabled. As Polley argues ‘...your reading must encompass more than sport. Sports history is all about linking play to context, and you need to do some contextual reading if you hope to pull this off ’ (Polley 2007: 137). Without the inclusion of detailed history, vital information will be omitted from the history of the sports of the disabled.

The growing interest in the history of the disabled stemmed from the ‘history from below’ approach which encouraged different historical studies of stigmatised, marginalised and segregated groups of society, including people with disabilities. The history of disability is critical to understanding the contemporary situation and yet this has been completely ignored (Oliver and Barnes, 2012). In the past, history for the disabled was ignored by the historian mainly because it was classified in the medical sphere (Simonsen, 2005) or because materials of disability were absent from mainstream records (Verstraete, 2012). Researching history for the disabled not only meant that history discovered people with impairments, but also that the individuals with disabilities themselves obtained a history of their own (Verstraete, 2007). Also, this coverage of disability history can be traced back to the 1980s, when researchers and activists claimed that disability studies should not be limited to isolated discussions of medical pathology, but instead as an interdisciplinary field which is investigated by historians or sociologists. Operating from the perspective of medical pathology makes disability history appear more passively and therefore become ignored and invisible. Oliver states that ‘on the experience of disability, history is largely silent, and when it is discussed at all, it is within the context of medical advances’ (Oliver 1990: xi). Only the exploration of disability history within social, cultural and political approaches will accord people with impairments an active role.

Generally, the development of historiography for the disabled can be distinguished into three approaches: hagiographical, materialistic and cultural approach (Borsay, 2002; Armstrong, 2007; Verstraete, 2012). In the hagiographical approach, people with impairments such as Helen Keller and Franklin D. Roosevelt are described as active actors, and this is because of their tendency towards progress in society or science. Marxist perspectives are employed to examine the oppression and marginalisation of people with disabilities in materialistic approaches. Capitalisation and industrialisation result in individuals with disabilities experiencing inequality and suppression which becomes 'normality'. The third avenue, the cultural approach, sees historians challenge the materialistic viewpoints of disability research and promote the concept that disability should be investigated through cultural and social lenses. People with disabilities are regarded as a marginalised and oppressed group that seeks to contend the dominant power that sees them described using terms such as 'abnormality', 'deviation' and 'aberration'.

Most histories of the disabled were written from a dominant Western perspective that ignored other cultures (Simonsen, 2005; Miles, 2008; Buckingham, 2011; Verstraete, 2012). In Taiwan, the comprehensive history of the disabled has not yet been written; the history remains a neglected topic and there are only a few articles and publications that have addressed the subject of the history of the disabled. Some of these publications describe only the development of disability history in Taiwan - which lacks methodologies and theories (Chang, 2002; Ministry of Education, 2011; The League for Persons with Disabilities, 2011). Others only focus on the historical trajectory of institutional policy changes (Kuo, 2007). However, these works do provide a preliminary understanding of the evolution of disability sport in Taiwan.

Studying disability history helps people with impairments to understand their identity, which is wrapped by medical discourse, capitalist operations and the cultural ideology of beauty and normality (Verstraete, 2012). Historians unpack how societal arrangement and construction have come to efface the existence and oppress the space of people with disabilities who do not reach the physical or intellectual standards established by a specific social order in history. What is more, disability should not construct or encourage new identities, but conversely it should lead to 'the dissociation of identities' (Verstraete 2012: 69). As stated by Borsay, 'since identities are rooted in the past as well as in the present, knowing where we have been helped us to know where we are and where we are going' (Borsay 2002: 114).

Writing disability history can also promote the inclusion between able-bodied people and disabled bodies. Although disability movements and studies have demonstrated and emancipated the oppressed situation of people with disabilities; regarding them as people with different needs, the gap between the disabled and non-disabled has still not been erased completely - some people, including activists with impairments, still hold viewpoints that distinguish between people on a dichotomous basis between the abled and disabled (Branfield, 1998). However, realising disability history can contribute to establishing more inclusive societies in the future (Bredberg, 1999; Longmore and Umansky, 2001; Verstraete, 2012). By referring to Borsay's words, disability history may 'encourage the inclusiveness necessary for effective political action, breaking down the artificial divisions between different types of disability' (Borsay 2005: 207-208).

Exploring the history of the disabled unmasks the power which has operated upon individuals with disabilities in the past (Kudlick, 2003). Classical thinkers such as Aristotle shaped a specific image of the perfect body, and people with impairments were viewed as deformed and deviant, falling outside this figure of the standard body. People with disabilities became living catastrophes who threatened the social order, hierarchies and production and were consequentially marginalised in society. The process of segregation and stigmatisation was clearly demonstrated by the history of disability. Also, people with impairments have to face negative social attitudes which are supported by dominant culture across political and economic spectra. Power produces knowledge, categorisation, and measuring instruments. More crucially, power also produces the ways which people with impairments regard the world and themselves. The centrality of the concepts of power, hierarchy and social order brings up an interesting debate that across different cultures, times and places 'disability' has held various definitions and meanings, and those are affected by the exercise of power.

In his landmark work *A History of Disability* (Stiker, 2009), the French philosopher and historical anthropologist Henri-Jacques Stiker provides an overarching explanation of how disability has been understood in Western culture from antiquity to the present day. Although Stiker does not directly reference Michel Foucault, his references to ideas such as disciplinary practices in relation to the disabled bodies and perspectives that are revealed 'between the lines' all reveal his Foucauldian approach in which 'an aberrancy within the corporeal order is an aberrancy in the social order (as in the moral order)' (Stiker 1999: 40). This book provides analyses of the Bible, Greek mythology, Plato, Dominican texts, works of St. Vincent de Paul, versions of various French constitutions, mission statements for blind

schools and the publications for rehabilitation institutions. From Stiker's investigation, the reader can learn how phrases like integration, inclusion and assimilation came to be so controversial in today's debate(s) about disability identity.

Several monographs employ a Foucauldian lens to articulate the history of the disabled (Atkinson et al. 2003; Brigham et al. 2000; Verstraete 2012; Stiker 1999; Branson & Miller 2002; some articles in Barsch et al. 2013 and Shelley Tremain 2012). Although Foucault asserts that he is 'not a historian' (Megill 1987: 117), his account of power, knowledge and the body undoubtedly contributes extensively to the research of the history of the disabled. Following Nietzsche, Foucault believes that the channel to history is through the impact of discourse usually constructed within a frame for the exercise of power. As we know, Foucault's notions of history should be comprehended as a language system which was socially constructed between words and things, and through this process we generate our own historical narratives. From his epistemological stance, Foucault suggests that historians should explore verbal or written discourse in order to understand the past as opposed to searching for the 'truth' or 'reality' in history. Following Foucault's empiricist approach, history is not objective because it has been affected by the epochs and cultural contexts in which historians have been situated, and linguistic power has generated the meaning in the past as opposed to the reality discovered by the practitioners. Historians should not claim to represent the truth of the past or hold empiricist-guaranteed objectivity in historiography; it is impossible to consider that somehow we can stand outside history. In other words, Foucault regards that history is a product of social construction.

Foucault also draws on the evidence of history, in a similar fashion to other traditional historians who search for the starting point and origin of the past. However, Foucault is different in that he rejects evidence correlated with the reality of what happened in history. In Foucault's perspective, historical sources or materials are considered as representatives of incidents, not the incidents themselves, and it goes along with that Foucault thinking that historical interpretation derives neither from the objective historical source nor from determining the intentionality of the author (Munslow, 2006). More specifically, the history which is organised by sources is not necessarily what actually happened, but an account of what a historical researcher tells us happened after they have shaped the data according to their own thinking.

In Foucault's terminology, he argues that the interpretation of historians will unavoidably be affected by the cultural context and epoch in which individual historians are situated. The moral judgement, presentation of evidence and ideological position that historians construct are not merely true reflections of the past, but rather they are the representations of the figurative encoding process we have cognitively perceived. These deconstructive notions in history diverge significantly from the traditional historical method in which sources and materials are investigated in order to write out and reproduce the facts and realities of the past. In *Madness and Civilization* (Foucault, 1988a), Foucault inspects in each of the four epistemes how the insane have been defined and treated in different ways. These diverse meanings of insanity resulted from how knowledge and culture were inextricably bound together in each historical context. Foucault calls on the idea that the failure of fully knowing the past should not stop historians from researching history. Instead, historical researchers should study the past reflectively, aware of the power to shape our discourses ideologically and understand that the historical narratives which individuals generally do not represent complete truths. As Munslow (2006) states 'we are all imprisoned in the present as we narrate the past. This is the historian's perennial double-bind' (Munslow 2006: 138).

In recent years, there has been a growing academic engagement with disability history. Writing the past for the disabled is 'not to reduce the other to the self, but to expose the self to the other' (Verstraete 2007: 62). History for the disabled is beyond specific histories; it can be understood as a tool to analyse the social processes of classification and how these are affected by knowledge, power, professionals and politics. As Kudlick argues, 'disability is so vast in its economic, social, political, cultural, religious, legal, philosophical, artistic, moral, and medical import that it can force historians to reconsider virtually every concept, every event, every "given" we have taken for granted' (Kudlick 2003:767). The field of disability history provides a variety of tastes for scholars who are interested in subjects as diverse as the body, sports, medicine, beauty, labour, and policy aesthetics. For sports historians, disability history suggests ways of investigating how bodies with impairments were constructed and influenced in the sports sphere, and how power operates on the body. This is why in the next section, we turn to the history of the sports of the disabled.

2.3. Social history of disability sport

2.3.1. The development of sports for the disabled

The development of sports for the disabled experienced different stages, namely rehabilitation, participation, and achievement. In the first stage, sports activities were employed as a tool to rehabilitate people with disabilities. In the second stage, the emphasis shifted to the sports-participation phase, in which a number of sports organisations for the disabled were formed to enable athletes with disabilities to participate in sports around the world. Third, sports activities for the disabled were recognised as another form of high-performance sport with the establishment of the International Paralympic Committee in 1989. This evolution is explicitly portrayed in the following subsection.

The beginning of the sports for the disabled

A series of sporting events and activities were conducted for people with hearing disabilities in Berlin in 1888. This is the first formally known event in which modern forms of sports for the disabled were conducted by Comité International des Sports des Sourds (CISS), which was a sports club for people with hearing disabilities and was founded by E. Rubens-Alcais in 1924 (Thomas and Smith, 2009; Brittain, 2010). The first International Silent Games were held in Paris in 1924, and athletes from nine countries participated. Currently, this event is called the Deaflympics, and it seeks to emulate the status of the Olympic Games. Moreover, several sports and leisure clubs for individuals with disabilities were recorded in the initial part of the 20th century. For example, in the United Kingdom, the British Society of One-Armed Golfers and the 'Disabled Drivers' Motor Club were founded in 1932 and 1922, respectively. The British Deaf Sports Council was founded in 1930 to conduct regional and national sports events for deaf people in the United Kingdom and to promote sports activities for deaf people around the world. These games and clubs that catered to sports activities for both non-disabled and disabled people and for only disabled people were the pioneers of organised sports for the disabled.

Due to medical advances, a large number of injured ex-servicemen survived World War II, whereas prior to this war, a vast majority of injured soldiers died within a few years from infections and other complications. However, the injured ex-servicemen were not accepted by

society because the prevailing societal attitudes viewed them as useless and worthless people (Brittain, 2010).

The first formally identified sporting activities specifically for individuals with physical disabilities were organised by Sir Ludwig Guttmann, a neurosurgeon at Stoke Mandeville Hospital in England, during the 1940s. Ludwig Guttmann was a German–Jewish neurologist who fled from Nazi Germany with his family in 1939 and eventually found a job at Oxford University. In September 1943, the British Government commissioned Guttmann as the Director of the National Spinal Injuries Centre at the Ministry of Pensions Hospital, Stoke Mandeville, Aylesbury. The main aim of Stoke Mandeville Hospital was to take care of the numerous ex-servicemen who were suffering from spinal injuries as a result of the war. These injured ex-servicemen were treated in separate wards because they were considered as a different type of medical patients. Guttmann accidentally saw a group of patients moving in their wheelchairs outside the dormitory blocks in excitement by using pucks and upside–down walking sticks. The scene inspired Guttmann to design adaptive sports to rehabilitate patients with spinal cord injuries in the hospital. Guttmann stated that the physical and psychological effects of sports for the disabled were as follows:

invaluable in restoring the disabled persons' physical fitness i.e.: his (sic) strength, coordination, speed and endurance . . . restoring that passion for playful activity and the desire to experience joy and pleasure in life . . . promoting that psychological equilibrium which enables the disabled to come to terms with his physical defect, to develop activity of mind, self confidence, self dignity, self discipline, competitive spirit, and comradeship, mental attitudes. . . to facilitate and accelerate his social re-integration and integration.

(Guttmann, 1976:12-13)

First, the patients played the sports of darts, snooker, punch-ball, and skittles. Later, wheelchair polo was introduced. However, the action of using a stick to propel the wheelchair in wheelchair polo was considered a dangerous action. Thus, wheelchair polo was replaced first with netball and then with basketball (Scruton, 1998).

The next sport to be introduced into the programme at Stoke Mandeville Hospital was archery. According to Guttmann, archery was of enormous value in strengthening the muscles of the upper limbs, shoulders, and trunk, on which a patient's well-balanced, upright

position depends. The rehabilitation results with archery were superior to those with medical therapy. In the 1940s, archery was one of the very few sports in which people with spinal cord injuries could compete on equal terms with their non-disabled counterparts. This fact was very helpful in breaking the barriers between sports for the disabled and non-disabled and reintegrating disabled patients into society (Brittain, 2010). As Guttmann argued:

When the body is shattered and thrown out of gear by a disaster of such magnitude as a spinal cord injury, it is inevitable that the mind, too, falls into chaos. The will to live, despite great physical handicap, has to be restored, and the patient's full cooperation has to be gained in order to win his mind and heart back to activity and useful work. The ultimate aim is to make him as independent as possible and to restore him to his rightful place in social life.

(quoted in Howe 2008: 18)

Thus, sports were utilised as a suitable rehabilitative vehicle to return the injured ex-servicemen to social life.

However, the ultimate aim of rehabilitative sports for the disabled was not only to treat the patients in Stoke Mandeville Hospital or to provide them a sense of self-worth but also to demonstrate that the injured ex-servicemen were not a burden to the society and could contribute to the economy of the nation, primarily by working (Anderson, 2003; Howe, 2008; Brittain, 2010). Guttmann stressed on the functions of sports by stating the following:

If there is any delay in providing the man with a job, or at least in giving him facilities for further vocational training, he may well soon not want to bother about work, will become inactive, and eventually deteriorate into a professional charity case.

(Guttmann 1948, quoted in Anderson, 2003: 469)

Sports activities were planned for the disabled to get the injured ex-servicemen back to work. Sports were regarded as a good vehicle to rehabilitate the impairments of the military personnel. At first glance, sports activities for the disabled marginally improved the economy of the nation. This improvement occurred because with the assistance of the rehabilitative effect of sports, the disabled people could gain self-esteem and perform functions that required body movement to contribute to society.

The successful experience of promoting sports in Stoke Mandeville Hospital not only brought new life to the wounded ex-servicemen but also demonstrated that sports is indispensable for the disabled. This result represented a new chapter in the development of sports activities for the disabled.

The spreading of the sports for the disabled

The first Stoke Mandeville Games began with an archery demonstration between the teams of Stoke Mandeville Hospital and the Star and Garter Home for Injured War Veterans at Richmond in Surrey. The date of the event was Thursday, 29 July, 1948, which was the same date as the opening ceremony of the 1948 Summer Olympics in London. Guttmann revealed the following intention:

I was somewhat carried away by the success of the Games that year and I dared to express the hope that the time might come when the event would be truly international and the Stoke Mandeville Games would achieve world fame as the disabled man and women's equivalent of the Olympic Games.

(quoted in Howe 2008: 19)

This presents Guttmann's vision. He intended the games for the disabled to be equivalent to the Olympics. The event was not only conducted to present a public performance but also to demonstrate to society that sports was not just for the 'normal' people (Brittain, 2010). An increasing number of spinal units from around the United Kingdom began to participate in the games in the following years. In 1952, a team from the Military Rehabilitation Centre, Aardenburg, the Netherlands, participated in the games. These sports activities became an international event, and the International Stoke Mandeville Games Federation (ISMGF) was established to conduct the games. Until 1956, 21 nations had participated in the games.

Brittain (2010) argued that there might be five mechanisms that could make the Stoke Mandeville Games attract additional participants from around the world:

1. In the early years much of the driving force for the growth appears to have been down to former patients of Dr Guttmann's who were transferred to other spinal units and took what they had learnt, and their enthusiasm for it, with them. Many of them returned year after year to take part in the Games. To a slightly lesser extent this is also true of the doctors and surgeons from all over the world who visited Stoke

Mandeville to train under Dr Guttman and then returned home and incorporated sport into their treatment programmes, such as Dr Ralph Spira from Israel.

2. In 1947 the very first edition of *The Cord* was published. This contained articles and advice of benefit to paraplegics everywhere and often gave space to reports on the sporting events at the hospital. Because practical information of assistance to paraplegics was in short supply, copies of this journal often got sent abroad to individuals and organisations carrying news of the Games and Dr Guttman's rehabilitation methods far and wide. The journal continued to be published up to 1983.

3. Dr Guttman himself was a major player in spreading the word about the Games. He would often travel abroad to conferences, to give lectures and even to give evidence in court cases and would take every opportunity to tell people about the Games and his use of sport as a rehabilitative tool. He would often challenge particular key individuals in other countries to bring a team to the Games the following year as was the case with Sir George Bedbrooke at the Royal Perth Hospital on a visit in 1956. Australia sent their first team to Stoke Mandeville the following year (Lockwood and Lockwood, 2007).

4. Dr Guttman also appears to have been very astute when it comes to politics and what it takes to get an event noticed. Right from the very first Games in 1948 he made sure that high ranking political and social figures and later sports stars and celebrities were present at the Games in order to attract profile and media attention.

5. The final mechanism used by Dr Guttman to cement the importance of the Games in people's minds, despite the lukewarm response it received when he first suggested it, was his constant comparisons to the Olympic Games. Its effect and design appears to have been two-fold. First, to give his patients something tangible to aim for and to give them a feeling of self-worth and, second, to capture the attention of the media and people and organisations involved with paraplegics worldwide.

(Brittain 2010:10-11)

As the Stoke Mandeville Games received increasing attention from the public, the Fearnley Cup was awarded to the games in 1956 for outstanding achievement in promoting Olympic ideals. This was the first time the prize had ever been awarded to a British organisation or any

type of disability sport organisation (Brittain, 2010). The winning of the Fearnley Cup motivated Guttman to dream that athletes with disabilities could participate in the Olympic Games. Although Guttman's dream did not come true, the 1960 Stoke Mandeville Games took place in Rome, and this event is now officially recognised as the first Paralympic Games.

In addition to the ISMGF, in 1964, an International Working Group on Sports for the Disabled was formed under the aegis of the World Veterans Federation to evaluate and establish an International Sports Organisation for the Disabled (ISOD). In 1966, Sir Ludwig Guttman became the President of both the ISMGF and ISOD. This dual role brought the two disability groups together in one event.

The birth of the high performance Paralympics

The Paralympic Games are currently organised by the International Paralympic Committee (IPC). The IPC was established to transform sports for the disabled into achievement sports (Howe, 2008). The IPC acts as an umbrella body to coordinate between Paralympic sports at both the Paralympic Games and the IPC multi-disability World Championship level. World championships for sports specific to a particular disability organisation are held by the relevant sporting federation for the disabled.

The prefix 'para' within the word 'paralympic' implies 'alongside'. As declared by the IPC website, 'The word "Paralympic" is derived from the Greek preposition "para" (beside or alongside) and the word "Olympic". Its meaning is that Paralympics are the parallel Games to the Olympics and illustrates how the two movements exist side-by-side' (International Paralympic Committee). Although the first Paralympic Games was conducted in Rome in 1960, the term 'Paralympic' was not used until the 1964 Tokyo Games.

With the close working relationship between the ISOD and IOC, the IOC agreed to provide financial assistance and allow the use of the Olympic rings in the logo of the Paralympic Games. The 1988 Summer Paralympics, Seoul, was the turning point of the Paralympic movement because thereafter the Paralympic athletes could use the same sporting facilities, village, and venues as the Olympic athletes. The 1988 Summer Paralympics also represented the beginning of the shift from the participation-based model of sports for the disabled to the high-performance model of today (Howe, 2008). The number of countries participating in the Paralympic Games has increased rapidly since the 1988 Summer Paralympics. The number of

nations participating in the 2008 Summer Paralympics, Beijing, increased by 150% compared with the number participating in the 1988 Summer Paralympics, Seoul (Brittain, 2010).

With the growth of the Paralympic Games, Paralympism, which is an ideology celebrated by the IPC to establish an international ethos, was reorganised universally. The public awareness of Paralympism as a philosophical concept has increased both transnationally and transculturally (Howe and Jones, 2006). Although the status of the Paralympic Games is not equal to that of the Olympic Games, the Paralympic movement can still create its own rituals and mottos.

Although the form of Paralympism that focuses on high-performance sport has developed considerably since its initial phase as a rehabilitative tool at Stoke Mandeville Hospital in the United Kingdom, rehabilitation still continues to be a feature of contemporary sports for the disabled (Howe, 2008). The development of sports for the disabled began from the influence of medical establishments and then evolved into the participation model, whose aim is for individuals with disabilities to enjoy sports participation. Since the establishment of the IPC, the dictum *Empower, Inspire, and Achieve* has become a goal that has been pursued for sports activities for the disabled. Currently, sports activities for the disabled have become high-performance achievement activities.

2.3.2. Research about the history of sports for the disabled

Sports for the disabled are still a fledging subject in the history of sports. Most of the studies are focused on the history of the Paralympic Games (Anderson, 2003; Bailey, 2008; Cashman and Darcy, 2008; Howe, 2008; Brittain, 2010). In Steve Bailey's publication titled *Athlete First: A history of the Paralympic movement*, he provides an overall picture and a broad context to help the reader understand the labyrinthine origins of disability and Paralympic sport. Moreover, he charts the transformations and transitions of the Paralympic movement from its initial phase since the end of World War II while paying particular attention to the related developments in 2004. The account in *Athlete First: A history of the Paralympic movement* focuses on organisational and sports government debates regarding the progression towards a single international organisational body for athletes with impairments. However, this book overemphasises the work of the Paralympic organisation. The voices of athletes with disabilities were absent in this study, with a lack of perspectives and theories present in

its analysis. However, it remains a useful tool for understanding the development of the Paralympic Games.

Anderson (2003, 2016) utilised the Foucauldian lens of biopower in her studies to explore the emergence of sport for disabled ex-servicemen and women in Stoke Mandeville's Spinal Unit. The modern Paralympic movement is commonly believed to have originated from the rehabilitation programme in Stoke Mandeville Hospital and to have been inspired by Dr Ludwig Guttmann's ambition to promote the Stoke Mandeville Games. However, Anderson indicated that the benefits of physical activities were not merely limited to rehabilitative treatments. The UK government hoped to return the injured veterans back to the workforce, decrease the cost of welfare, and ultimately turn these patients into taxpayers. Sports for the disabled became an apparatus to improve the economics of society. This observation of Anderson provides Taiwan with excellent reference points for the development of special education and sports for the disabled.

Leenen (2013) provided remarkable insights into how biopower was employed for Cripple Welfare in Germany. In *Governing the Cripple(s)* (2013), Leenen argued that individuals with disabilities are not only seen as a social burden to the welfare and economy of the state but also as a danger to the goods and values of the society. For the financial benefit of society, people with disabilities must be healed. Moreover, he stated that because of the impairments of their bodies, these people have been labelled as deviant and incapable of functioning in society. Cripple Welfare 'de-crippled' the people with impairments by rehabilitating them into work to promote society's welfare and reduce the perceived uncontrollable threat to the state. Leenen presented the resistant discourse regarding people with impairments that accompanied the Cripple Welfare. The discourse completely reflected the exercise of power in this welfare policy. However, for a historical article, it is unfortunate that the figures of the Cripple Welfare, which operated in Germany, were unclear.

Very few studies have explored the history of sport for the disabled in Taiwan (Hsu, 2009; Huang, 2010; Huang and Lin, 2010). All the studies conducted on this topic have highlighted the history of physical education for disabled schoolchildren, chronicling the outline of this history in different stages of education. These studies did not examine the history of sport with any insightful theory and methodology, were without profound explanation and interpretation, and only included organisations of the sources and archives and presented the files as accurately as possible.

The situations of individuals with disabilities are also heavily influenced by their societal contexts. Thus, in the following section, we discuss the philosophy of Confucianism that significantly shapes Chinese society.

2.4. Disability in Confucianism

In Taiwan, Confucianism has played a fundamental role in both the public and private realms (Dawson, 1981; Ma and Smith, 1992; Miller and Yang, 1997; Dean, 2001; Kang, Lovett and Haring, 2002; Walker and Wong, 2005; Wong, Shaw and Ng, 2010; Chen *et al.*, 2013; Liu, Meng and Wang, 2014) , as well as in terms of the body (Tsai 2006; Junwei Yu & Bairner 2011). Although the Western medical notion of disability had already been introduced into Taiwanese society during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945), in 1886 the emperor of Japan, Meiji, started to reform the politics and society of Japan. Western skills and viewpoints were introduced into Japan to accelerate its industrialisation and modernisation. Confucianism's understanding of disability still coexists with the Western medical disability notion (Chen, 2003; Huang, 2005).

Confucianism is an ethical and philosophical system which was developed from the teachings of the Chinese philosopher Confucius, 551-479 BC. During the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, also known as the *ChunQiuZhanGuo* period, which was between 771 BC and 221 BC, the Zhou dynasty held power but lost its control to dukes, who were at war with each other, which created both political and social turbulence situations. A divergence of doctrines had also mushroomed during this period, one of which was Confucianism. Confucius travelled from state to state accompanied by some of his disciples trying to put his doctrines, which emphasised personal and governmental morality, the correctness of social relationships, justice and sincerity into practice. However, he did not receive any recognition during his lifetime (Dawson, 1981). Despite being developed between 771 BC and 221 BC, it was not until 2 BC when the Han Emperor Wu declared Confucianism as an official state orthodoxy. From this point onwards Confucianism endured as the foundation that guided rulers and maintained order in China until the end of the Qing dynasty in 1911 (Yu & Bairner, 2011; Stone, 1998).

In general, Confucianism could be used to accurately represent the imperial China which fused and coincided with wide cosmology range of philosophical approaches - Taoism, Buddhism, myriad folk beliefs and local cults (Stone, 1998). In this section the focus is on

the direct relevant discussions linked to Confucianism and the intention is not to discuss Confucian idealism in general, how the conception of the body was constructed in neither Confucianism nor the distinction of Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism¹⁴. The emphasis is therefore upon how disability is placed in the Confucian cosmology framework. This is presented in two sections: ‘order and disability’ and ‘family and disability’.

2.4.1. Confucianism: order and disability

Order is the overarching principle of Confucianism (Weber, 1964; Unschuld, 1980; Dawson, 1981; Stone, 1998; Kim and Park, 2000; Dean, 2001; Park and Chesla, 2007; Huang, Ph and Gove, 2012). Created in a period of uncertainty and war, Confucianism essentially emphasised how to lead humanity out of a state of chaos and into a state of order. From order were derived several concepts such as yin-yang¹⁵ dualism, Ch’i¹⁶ and blood, heat and cold and the Five Elements¹⁷. Furthermore, the following order is the reason why Confucianism was officially sanctioned for such a long period of time. There existed various local conditions and customs around every Chinese empire's territories, and the question of how to obtain social order and control was the crucial objective of each regime. Moreover, by following Confucianism, the ruler is closer to accomplishing this target.

As opposed to mess or chaos, the concept of order in Confucianism focuses on balance, benevolence, harmony and maintaining social order. Stone (1998) also argued that order epitomised the ideal state in all facets of cosmos – from family to state. The best-known example of order is in how Confucianism highlights the five principal relations: government and citizen, parents and children, husband and wife, the elderly and the young and between friends. The Five Relations regulated people’s roles and relationships in society and provided the foundation for social order. Also, Confucius also mentioned: ‘Let the ruler be ruler, the subject be subject, the father be father, and the son be son’ (Confucius 1983, cited in Park & Chesla 2007: 305). This means that everyone, from ruler to citizen, should stay in their position and play their role well. The goal of adhering to social order is to assure that society is a rigid, stable and hierarchical system (Unschuld, 1980; Stone, 1998; Kim and Park, 2000; Park and Chesla, 2007; Huang, Ph and Gove, 2012).

In Confucianism, individuals with disabilities were considered as an emblem of disorder (Kleinman, 1975; Furth, 1987; Leung, 1987; Yang and Wang, 1994; Park and Chesla, 2007). Disability was regarded as a breakdown in the harmony of the body (Kleinman, 1975;

Unschuld, 1980; Stone, 1998). The causes of disability were linked to supernatural forces, such as evil, ghosts, ancestral displeasure, and the fox fairy¹⁸(Veith, no date; Kleinman, 1975; Unschuld, 1980, 2010; Furth, 1987; Meng-Deng, Poon-Mcbrayer and Farnsworth, 2001; Wong, Shaw and Ng, 2010) or karmic retribution for wrongdoing in previous lives or in the present one. The beliefs of supernatural and karmic retribution were not from the Confucian ideology but were derived from Buddhism, Taoism, local cults, and folk beliefs. People would tend to use folk healing to treat people with disabilities (Kleinman, 1975; Lin and Lin, 1981; Kang, Lovett and Haring, 2002; Huang, 2005). People with disabilities were regarded as a form of chaos in Chinese society.

2.4.2. Confucianism: family and disability

In contrast to the West, where the family is the fundamental unit in society; in Confucianism, family cohesion sustains the order of society and that of the state, the state could be regarded as an extension of the family unit (Kim and Park, 2000; Park and Chesla, 2007; Bockover, 2012; Huang, Ph and Gove, 2012). In Confucius' treatise the Great Learning, known as DaXue, he writes:

The ancients who wanted to manifest their bright virtue to all in the World first governed well their own states. Wanting to govern well their states, they first harmonized their own clans...

(Confucius, 2013)

This excerpt, again, points out that family is the bedrock of the state. One who leads their life by the ideas of Confucianism is not independent and his values depend on how he carries out his duties within his family. Of the Five Relations, three belong to the realm of the family, and the other two are based upon the family. Also, the family offers its members help and refuge from the outside world. As a whole, the families would add to the lineage of the same ancestor and surname, to form a clan and increase their influence in society.

Affected by Confucianism, filial piety, known as Xiao, become a very significant quality in the Chinese family (Baker 1979; Huang et al. 2012; Junwei Yu & Bairner 2011). Although filial piety seemingly reflects the relationship between the elderly and the young, it conceals the order and hierarchical structure of the family. Descendants were obliged to follow their parents' willing such as in arranged marriages, job expectations, and ancestor worship (Baker

1979). Disobeying the filial piety would mean losing protection from the family and receive karmic retribution.

Those with disabilities are outcasts in Confucianism's family units. Owing to the belief in genetic transmission and the inheritance of karmic retribution, the disabled were prohibited from marriage (Kleinman, 1975; Lin and Lin, 1981; Stone, 1998). People who were unmarried or childless were considered as non-contributors to the family and were rejected from the ancestral worship (Lu & Needham 1967; Baker 1979). Disabled children would also affect their parents' status in the family (Lin and Lin, 1981). Even more seriously, those born with congenital diseases would suffer infanticide (Stone 1996).

Beyond infanticide, there still exist different ways in which to treat disability in a Chinese family. Because of the shame and guilt of karma, parents who have disabled children would not seek outside help and tend to shelter them in the family (Lin and Lin, 1981; Kang, Lovett and Haring, 2002) Interestingly, despite the way that individuals with disabilities were marginalised in Confucianism, Confucius's elder brother had a disability and Confucius even arranged his daughter's marriage (Lau 1979; cited in Stone 1998).

Disability was regarded as a form of deviance in Confucianism, as Confucianism celebrated order and viewed disorder as a symbol of negativity. Moreover, in the state's epitome—family, individuals with disabilities were segregated from family ancestor worship because for being spouseless and childless. Because of the issues stated above combined, the disabled had low social status (Meng-Deng, Poon-Mcbrayer and Farnsworth, 2001) and were seen as undesirable in Chinese culture (Stone, 1998). Having established how people with disabilities were situated historically in Chinese culture, in the following part I present a brief overview of the history of APA in Taiwan.

Summary

Today social history has shifted to the cultural approach which is informed by anthropological, sociological and historical lenses and touches on wider and various ranges of topics. The sub-disciplines of social history, sports history and disability history were

affected by the trend of the cultural turn and the 'history from below' approach which gradually received attention. The sports history for the disabled, the intersection of sports history and disability history, is still in its primary stage and requires more scholars and historians to devote themselves to this area. Sports history for the disabled is an essential component of social history because it embraces the heart of social history which is history from below and represents an increasingly influential group in sports. The voices of people with impairments are typically ignored in the historical documents (Fairburn, 1999; Vamplew, 2015). We should strive to include all the accounts and discourses of individuals with disabilities belonging to the collective. An absent sub-section, undoubtedly, will interfere with historians' abilities to piece together an overall picture of the complete history.

Chapter 3. Theory: Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism is a set of experiments on texts, ideas and concepts that show how the limits of knowledge can be crossed and turned into disruptive relations.

(Williams 2005: 22)

The utility of his work is to help us see the world against a new different horizon and in ways we might not have thought of otherwise. In pursuing a history of the present he is perhaps justified in telling “lies” about the past to deliver many of the taken-for-granted practices from the shadow in order to open people’s eyes to the present

(Ryan 1991: 118)

This chapter presents the theories, Foucauldian lens, we utilised in this thesis. The school of poststructuralism is discussed first, next turns to the ideas of Foucault, then the combinations of Foucault’s thought and disability are explored.

3.1. Poststructuralism

Poststructuralism is a philosophical movement that originated in the 1960s, could be seen as an umbrella term that is applied to a range of theoretical and methodological ideas which challenge the prevalence of approaches such as structuralism, Marxism and existentialism, not merely in philosophy, but across a broader set of fields including history, sociology, feminism, politics, literature and disability studies. Thinkers such as Jacques Derrida, Gilles Deleuze and Michel Foucault all made significant contributions to poststructuralism. Poststructuralists show their interests in the relationship between human agencies and how the world is continually interpreted and reinterpreted interpretations (Belsey, 2002). Rather than seeing subjects as autonomous creators of themselves, poststructuralist scholars believe that subjects interact in an intricate network of social relations. It is impossible to separate poststructuralism and postmodernism because there are a substantial overlap and connection

between the two perspectives (Rail 2002). Poststructuralism works, however, are often criticised for raising more questions than they answer, or for being unclear and hard to read. Some scholars have reacted to the call for clarity (Britzman, 1995; St.Pierre, 2000) because clarity is ‘always a distinction made through positions of power both to sanction what is legitimate’ (Popkewitz 1997: 18). Without clarity, poststructural ideas will be limited as theoretical debates in elite circles of academia are not easy to access for most readers and therefore hard to put into practice.

Rather than asserting that secure knowledge exists through portraying of differences within the structure, poststructuralists believe that the limits of knowledge must be acknowledged. In other words, knowledge cannot avoid its limits. As Derrida argues, knowledge ‘is not surrounded, but traversed by its limit, marked in its inside by the multiple furrows of its margin’ (Derrida 1982: 24). For structuralists, the aim is to seek secure understandings of patterns and knowledge change should be accompanied by perceived structural change. Even though there may be some deviations in the patterns within the structure, these could be regarded as exceptions to the norm. On the contrary, the poststructuralist accepts that any knowledge or truth is limited, and that is impossible for any truth or knowledge to reject these limits. Furthermore, the limit of knowledge is not something identifiable, as it only can be traced through its effects (Williams, 2005). Although each poststructural scholar has different accounts of the core of limits, they roughly agree that limits are open and intangible; they can only be traced in its expression of knowledge.

Disruption is another characteristic of poststructuralism and should be seen as a positive word in poststructuralism because disruption helps poststructuralists to examine the real facts, question the settled truths and everything that is taken for granted in the structure. For example, these assumptions could include the marginalisation and classification of people with disabilities or the inequality and segregation of minority groups through categories such as gender and ethnicity. Rather than thinking that disruption destroys or decomposes the facts that we know, we should believe that disruption can fight against settled values and hopes to make them better. So, disruption must not be seen as negative.

Language plays a crucial role in poststructuralism, because social meaning, individual consciousness and power are constituted by language. In Weedon’s words, ‘Language is the place where actual and possible forms of social organization and their likely social and political consequences are defined and contested’ (Weedon 1997: 21). Moreover, language is

an indispensable component in understanding a human subject. People with impairments, for example, can narrate bodily sensations to express their feelings or voice their unequal arrangements. Without language, people could not articulate impairments/disabilities or the bodily sensations that embody them (Hughes and Paterson, 1997). Discourse, fabricated by Michel Foucault, could be seen as a form of language which connects the relationship of subjectivity and power.

The term deconstruction is central to the poststructuralist theory and commonly linked with Jacques Derrida, the French philosopher. Saul Newman sees deconstructionism as producing philosophical texts ‘with the intention of making these texts question themselves, forcing them to take account of their own contradictions, and exposing the antagonisms they have ignored or repressed’ (Newman 2005: 84). In other words, deconstruction is an on-going process of interrogation that acknowledges that there might be alternative perspectives and understandings of the truth and system in existence. For decades, deconstruction has been extensively employed by poststructuralists in investigating authoritarian structures, dismantling hierarchical relationships and unmasking the identities we take for granted.

Sometimes poststructuralism has been misunderstood as anti-science or anti-technology. In fact, poststructuralism does not reject sciences at all; rather, it rejects the dominance and orthodoxy of the sciences and resists the assumption that science is the central arbiter of truth and principal paradigm. Poststructuralists believe that the thoughts and values of human beings should not entirely follow the sciences, as some crucial elements of a full sense of life such as thoughts, acts and desires have a precious value which influences the operation of science. In order to show the different truths and methodologies within the sciences, poststructuralists shift their attention to works which link with politics, history, philosophy or literature. Poststructuralists see the realm that cannot be explained within the sciences.

In the following sections, I will briefly introduce the intersections of poststructuralism and the disciplines which highly related to my research: history, sport and disability.

3.1.1. Poststructuralism and history

Poststructuralists, such as Michel Foucault, provide us with new ways of thinking about history which challenge many of the assumptions which underpinned previous historiographies (Armstrong, 2003). According to Kari Dehli, ‘poststructuralist writers urge

us not to look for an essence “behind” the texts we investigate, but rather to consider how textural structures and linguistic practices construct the phenomena and events historians investigate, with a range of possible meanings and interpretations’ (Dehli 1993: 28). Poststructuralists believe that history is a discontinuity, and thus its hold on human beings is limited and fragmentary. This loose and flexible view of history gives opportunities for openness, creation and variation. As Foucault states, continuous history ‘is murdering history whenever, in a historical analysis – and especially if it is concerned with thought, ideas or knowledge – one is seen to be using in too obvious a way notions of threshold, rupture and transformation, the description of series and limits’ (Foucault 1989: 15). In other words, continuous history traces the variations of history back to conservative chains of events and accounts and restricts the openness, plurality and difference of development of the past. Moreover, poststructuralists reject the authorised interpretation of history, as they think that there should be divergent accounts in historiography, and these different explanations vary in terms of the historians’ backgrounds. Poststructuralist thinkers question the single explanation and orthodoxy discourse in historical writing and attempt to provide alternative lenses to understand the past we ‘know’. However, Poster reminds us of the drawback of using poststructuralism in history, stating that ‘historical writing is rooted in the inward investigation of limits; its strategy of outward investigation of social domination may therefore lack systematicity, lack a grasp of the general structures that work to determine the contingency of the individual’ (Poster 1987: 114). Therefore, historiography should not conceive of stable and unchanging structures. Although poststructuralists’ theories are marginalised by mainstream historians (Coloma, 2011), their impact still heavily influences developments in the discipline of history.

3.1.2. Poststructuralism and sport

In recent decades, poststructuralism has come to have a significant influence on the humanities of sports, blurring the sport texts which have long been structured and restricted by modern, positivist, heterosexist and racist boundaries as well as challenging sport scholars to acknowledge the role of factors such as ethnicity, class, gender, race, age, dis/ability, wellness and sexuality biases in cultural construction (Rail 2002; Rail 1998). Especially in the social science of sports, the body has become the central focus of interest. As Frank comments, ‘bodies are in, in academia and popular culture’ (Frank 1990: 131). For poststructural scholars, the body does not merely refer to soma, but can also be understood as

a text of culture, or a vehicle of discourse which can be controlled, manipulated, produced, constructed and disciplined. In other words, the modernised body as investigated by poststructuralists is always considered in its cultural context (Pronger, 1998). Michel Foucault is perhaps the founding father of this thriving research approach; his theories are useful to explore how body was 'made' by power culturally. Numerous works in the sociology of sports have been inspired by Foucauldian ideas (Andrews 1993; Theberge 1991; Rail and Harvey 1995; Maguire 2002; Miller 2009; Markula and Pringle 2006). Theberge (1991) describes how poststructuralism has affected sports research:

The first is the body as the site of power or the locus of domination. Second is a focus on local and intimate operations of power rather than on larger institutional formulations such as the power of the state. Third is the emphasis on the crucial role of discourse in producing and sustaining power. Fourth is a critique of Western humanism's privileging the experience and accounts of a Western masculine elite.

(Theberge 1991: 126)

According to the above quotation, poststructuralism is helpful in analysing the relevance of power, knowledge, discourse and the body, as it uncovers the relations of power which act on the body, and questions the knowledge we take for granted regarding the field of sport. Turner has criticised the bodily discourse of poststructural scholars, and particularly that of Foucault in particular, for lacking 'an adequate phenomenology of the body and abandons the idea of the body as sensuous potentiality' (Turner 2008: 211), and potentially confusing researchers who seek neatly articulated answers about contemporary sport (King, 2015).

3.1.3. Poststructuralism and disability

There is a growing tendency to employ poststructuralism to explore the studying of disablement in recent decades. Poststructural insights can enrich disability studies and support the theoretical deficit of disability research. On the one hand, poststructural work can emancipate people with impairments oppressed within the individual and medical models in modernism; on the other hand, it provides a strong theoretical base for the social model to remain in mainstream social theory (Corker and Shakespeare 2006; Hughes and Paterson 1997; Tremain 2002). In terms of against the medical domination, poststructuralists challenge

the pathological authority and classification which only focus on the physical and mental restriction which easily regards people as mechanically structure filled with specific functions. In addition to the result of impairments or diseases, poststructural thinkers assert that age, gender, ethnicity, family, society, social class, policy, criterion, culture, and environment may be caused that lead to disability. With regard to enhancing the social model, it aligns with materialism in its thoughts and emphasis on environmental barriers and social oppression in privileging social issues over personal experience. Poststructuralism not only has the materialist understandings which resist the disability identity attached on and refuse the social discrimination upon people with impairments but also includes the notions of embodiment, identity, discourse and cultural analysis which flesh out social understandings of impairments. As Goodley and Roets state in relation to poststructuralism, disabled activists are able to ‘untangle universal, unchanging categories of the human subject and its attributes, and let biological foundations of human character explode in a multiplicity of cross-fertilisations and becomings’ (Goodley and Roets 2008: 250). Foucault’s idea, biopower, is most often referenced in poststructural research on disability. The concept of deconstruction could also be used to explore the historical emergence of the notion of disability (Davis, 1995; Shakespeare, 2014). Although investigating disability research via poststructuralism has been criticised as lacking political value and sensitivity to the circumstances of individuals with disabilities (Goodley and Rapley, 2006; Barnes, 2012; Whitburn, 2016), it still opens up an alternative avenue to help consider what disability is.

3.2. Foucauldian thought/theory

Paul-Michel Foucault was born in Poitiers in 1926 and died of AIDS in Paris in 1984. He is viewed as one of the most influential thinkers of recent decades. Foucault’s work has crossed and influenced the disciplines of communications, history, literary criticism, political science, sociology and a large subset of interdisciplinary studies (Cole et al. 2004: 208). His theories, doctrines, conceptions, frameworks, approaches, analyses and perspectives have been significantly influential in academia, and the sphere of sport is no exception (Andrews, 1993; Lupton, 1995; Rail and Harvey, 1995; Cole, Giardina and Andrews, 2004; Markula and Pringle, 2006).

Regarding Foucault’s prominent achievements, Habermas (1989) described how ‘Within the circle of the philosophers of my generation who diagnose our times, Foucault has most

lastingly influenced the *Zeitgeist*' (Habermas 1989: 107). What is more, professor of Princeton, Clifford Geertz, said that Foucault should be thought as 'a nonhistorical historian, an anti-humanist human scientist, and a counter-structuralist structuralist' (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1986: XIV). The above descriptions can help us appreciate the multiple facets of Foucault's work.

In Foucault's various conceptions, his framework of power relations were extensively applied in social contexts. His research interest turned towards the operation of power because of the May rebellion of 1968 in Paris (Markula and Pringle, 2006). The power that Foucault mentioned 'is a type of relation in which one person or group of people acts upon the existing or possible future actions of another person or group of people' (Drinkwater 2005: 235). More explicitly, his concern is how an individual can be constructed as a particular object within the exercising of power, and what processes make the individual become a subject. According to the power operation which was mentioned above, the body undoubtedly becomes an important component in the power relation, because the body is considered as a manipulated vehicle and exposes the outcome of the exercise of power.

Although Foucault did not regard himself as a historian, his ideas still contribute significantly to the field of the history of the disabled (Barsch, Klein and Verstraete, 2013). In the scope of my research, the sports history for the disabled in Taiwan, notions of Foucault could be utilised to explore the development of sport for the disabled. He places the body at the centre of his work (Turner, 2012), criticises the medical dominance of the bodies and charts the parameters of how bodies are constructed by power. In the light of this, employing the ideas of Foucault can help us to examine how 'regimes of truth about impaired bodies have been central to their governance and control' (Hughes & Paterson 1997: 332).

However, the concepts of neoliberal governmentality and empowerment are not discussed in this study because no evidence could be found to support idea that the concepts fit the development of sports activities for individuals with physical disabilities in the history of sports in Taiwan. As stated by Binkley, neoliberal governmentality means '... subjects are governed as market agents, encouraged to cultivate themselves as autonomous, self-interested individuals, and ...' (Binkley, 2009: 62). In this thesis, Foucault's theories of power and biopower were utilised to explain the phenomena of sports for the disabled in Taiwan. However, evidence that the authorities desired to employ technologies to make the disabled people in Taiwan a self-governed population could not be found in the archives.

Empowerment is ‘to give power to’ (Chaudhuri, 2016), and this concept is extensively applied in race, feminist, and disability research. Individuals with disabilities experience a sense of empowerment by participating in sports (Ashton-Shaeffer, Gibson, Holt, & Willming, 2001; Castelnuovo & Guthrie, 1998; Guthrie & Castelnuovo, 2001). Moreover, sports participation shapes their identity, helps them gain self-confidence, enables them to gain a sense of accomplishment and motivation, helps them in creating new friends, gives them a scope to travel, provides them with improved health, makes them fit, and gives them a purpose in life. Involvement in sport can empower people with disabilities to resist societal stereotypes of disability. However, until 2007, there existed no proof in the reference sources that participating in sports makes individuals with disabilities in Taiwan feel sufficiently empowered to change their identity or societal stereotypes of disability. Consequently, the concepts of neoliberal governmentality and empowerment were not reviewed in this study.

Within Foucault’s understanding of power relations, several associated notions were provided and employed in academic research, such as discipline and the docile body, biopower and governmentality, panopticism and surveillance, and new avenues were opened for the sociology of sport studies (Rail and Harvey, 1995). In the following sections, I will explore Foucault’s ideas of power first, and then turn to each of the specific notions mentioned above.

3.2.1. Power

Briefly speaking, power concerns the relations between people. In Foucault’s definition of power, he states that: ‘I hardly ever use the word “power” and if I do sometimes, it is always a short cut to the expression I always use: the relationships of power’(Foucault 1988: 11). The conception of power which was portrayed by Foucault is different from the understanding of the power which is deeply rooted in the history of the West; he terms this traditional notion as juridico-discursive in which the operation of power was reduced to one model – the law, the taboo, the state or the sovereign. However, instead of limiting the mechanisms of power as oppression, it is better thought of as a purely juridical conception of power. Foucault considers power as a productive network which pervades the whole social body which power itself traverses things, induces pleasure, forms knowledge and establishes discourses (Foucault, 1980e). This is to say, rather than investigating what power is, he is

more interested in the effect it produces, what processes it is involved in and how functional it may be. Thus he asserts:

In reality, power is in its exercise goes much further. Passes through much finer channels, and is much more ambiguous, since each individual has at his disposal a certain power, and for that very reason can also act as the vehicle for transmitting a wider power. The reproduction of the relations of production is not the only function served by power. The systems of domination and the circuits of exploitation certainly interact, intersect and support each other, but they do not coincide.

(Foucault 1980b: 72)

By clarifying the misunderstanding of power, Foucault suggests that power is neither something which can be possessed, seized or shared nor a group of institutions that ensure the subservience of the nationals of a given state (Foucault, 1998). However, Foucault claimed: ‘...power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization ... in this sphere of force relations that we must try to analyse the mechanisms of power’ (Foucault 1998: 92-97). He emphasises the power relation at the micro-level, observing the interplay of local relation - such as in the individual’s reaction and choices - rather than at the macro-level of domination and sovereign. More explicitly, Foucault’s inspection starts from ‘individuals’ behaviours and interactions, to see how larger patterns, and eventually national norms or regulations, grow out of them’ (Lynch 2013: 19). Thus, we have to realise what these force relations are in terms of the basis of power. In the mechanisms of power, there are numerous types of force relations, which may have different influences upon our social interaction. For example, the clothing we wear and the accessories we use are deeply affected by the intersecting force relations that exist within our society. Besides, force relations exist as an incorporeal form in our community, like the relationship between members of a family, in that you cannot see it, touch it, but you can feel it and know that it does exist. Therefore ‘power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere’(Foucault 1998: 93).

With regard to the feature of power: ‘where there is power, there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power’

(Foucault 1998:95), Lynch (2013) notes that it can encapsulate all the propositions in understanding of power, he argues that:

Power is exercised in the very interplay of force and resistance; this interplay is present in all social interactions; force and resistance are manifest even in micro-interactions between individuals as well as states; and while each person may choose to apply force or resist, the ultimate outcome of the regulation cannot be controlled by one party.

(Lynch 2013: 24)

This is to say, power emerges in relations and interactions, and is utilised rather than processed; its operation is intrinsic to the relationships between objects. We cannot just inspect power from below or above, but instead one must look at the complicated webs of interwoven relationships; and all individuals in the relation of power are free. Foucault's understanding of power exercised from a variety of points in the context of social formation rather than something which could be acquired, seized or shared (Smart 2004). In other words, the power is neither imposed from the top nor raised from the bottom; rather, it is adopted in a capillary form disclosed in individuals' 'concrete knowledge, dispositions, interactions, and relations' (Harvey & Sparks 1991: 166). As a result, power is rather like a colour dye diffused through the entire social structure and is embedded in daily practices (Turner 2000: XII).

Foucault believes that the investment on the body by power must be 'heavy, ponderous, meticulous and constant' (Foucault 1980a: 58), and the power of disciplinary regimes is revealed in arenas, schools, families, hospitals, gyms, factories and barracks. Nevertheless, the existence of strategies of power does not necessarily correspond with the successful exertion of power, and the intended outcomes often fail to materialise because disciplinary strategies break down or fail. He argues that:

[O]nce power produces this effect, there inevitably emerge the responding claims and affirmations, those of one's own body against power, of health against the economic system, of pleasure against the moral norms of sexuality, marriage, decency. Suddenly, what had made power strong becomes used to attack it. Power, after investing itself in the body, finds itself exposed to a counterattack in that same body.

(Foucault 1980a: 56)

Freedom and subjectivity are both crucial components in the definition of the exercise of power; they are not opposed to, but rather interconnected with power relations (D.Taylor, 2013). Power is not just merely limited in relation to the government of people by other people. Foucault asserted that ‘power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar they are free’ (Foucault 1986:221) and ‘there cannot be relations of power unless the subjects are free’ (Foucault 1988:12). Power and freedom are mutually constitutive; people who are involved in the power operation can respond to and affect each other’s actions, in doing so, different ways of thinking and connection of power would be derived.

The correlation between subjectivity and power is also perceived by Foucault. He believes that people are subjects that are incriminated in power relationships. A definition of subjectivity is given, produced, capped, and attached to the subject. For example, a human being may be categorised as sexually deviant or distinguished as being normal or abnormal. Furthermore, Foucault also mentions that subjectivity is not just foisted externally; one can still construct one’s own new identity and subjectivity. That is why Foucault reminded us ‘maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are, but to refuse what we are’ (Foucault 1986: 216).

As Foucault mentioned, we must analyse power with ‘the moving substrate of force relations which, by their inequality, constantly engender states of power’ (Foucault 1998: 93). His investigation of power is observed from the micro-level to look at the local and peripheral effects on individuals, through the matrix and network of which persons’ interaction fabricates, to their large-scale phenomena in the state and law. He did not elaborate upon the relations of power as inherently negative or positive, rather he believed that escaping relations of power in society was a utopian fantasy. After articulating the idea of power, we will turn to other multiple forms of power in which Foucault established in his theory of power.

3.2.2. Discipline and the docile bodies

The emergence of disciplinary power was linked to the decreasing in the severity of corporal punishment and the booming of humanism. Discipline originated from the changing of criminal punishment. In medieval times, a ruler or sovereign power used physical punishment on bodies, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the growth of human rights,

severe physical punishment like torture or execution had started to disappear in most civilised societies. Some groups or people created docile or well-disciplined bodies through exerting and employing techniques and technologies on the bodies.

Foucault's idea of disciplinary power deals with individuals. In his words 'discipline 'makes' individuals; it is the specific techniques of a power that regards individuals as objects and as instruments of its exercise' (Foucault 1991: 170), and we can see that disciplinary power constructs individuals as its objectives and instruments, '[t]hus discipline produces subjected and practised bodies, "docile" bodies' (*ibid.*: 138). More explicitly, the target of disciplinary power is bodies, and the endeavour to make the body 'more obedient as it becomes more useful, and conversely' (*ibid.*: 138) docile bodies. This form of power aroused from the resistance of bodies which links to the aptitudes and capacities of individuality, with the attempt to solve the problem of the resistance.

How does disciplinary power operate? It begins by building a cellular form of individuality through ordering individuals in space, Foucault referred to it as 'the art of distribution'. This art code is a space with specific functions to make it as helpful as possible, of which Foucault mentioned the Oberkampf manufactory produced printing fabrics as an example. In this workshop the printers, the handlers, the colourists, the engravers and the dryers were assigned specific duties in the producing process, and then a cellular individuality was created (*ibid.*: 145). In the next stage of the power operation, the activities of each individual were scheduled and arranged by the use of a timetable which was divided into minutes and seconds. Moreover, the control of bodily activities also disassembles the movements into actions and moves, establishing the normal positions or gestures of the individuals' bodies. After the agent-controlled activities, disciplinary power will continue to act on the individuals towards an optimal end. Lastly, the totalities of bodies which are composed by each individual body will maximise the forces that operate on the disciplinary power more efficiently.

Foucault refers to the success of disciplinary power via the employment of three techniques: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and the examination. Through hierarchical observation, disciplinary power makes individuals visible to construct their behaviours. Furthermore, it is not easy for observers to gaze on the movements of all individuals involved in power relations, hence the implementation of surveillance needed a group of watchers to contribute to it perpetually. For example, in sports for the disabled a

coach may give a mission or target for a wheelchair basketball player in a game, and spectators, referee, camera and participants are all involved in this process as the technique of hierarchical observation. Foucault contends that normalisation is one of the great instruments of power, as it ‘imposes homogeneity; but it individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to determine levels, to fix specialities and to render the differences useful by fitting them on to another’ (*ibid.*: 184). In other words, establishing a norm as a standard of behaviour in disciplinary power allows behaviours to be judged as normal or abnormal. Furthermore, judgement is always accompanied by punishment with the attempt to encourage individuals to be normal. Eventually the pattern of the norm shapes a principle of coercion for the pattern of the abnormal. Within examinations, Foucault asserted that discipline’s mechanism is highly ritualised (*ibid.*: 184). The examination classifies, measures, records and qualifies individuality through an administrative form without a dense layer of documents. Continuing with the same example, as far as sports for the disabled are concerned, the prevailing fitness test or sporting records can be regarded as the examination.

By practising regulatory techniques on the body, an authority not only sets up a system of control but also awakens new desires and formulates a new normativity (Shildrick and Price, 1996). Asylums, schools, hospitals, workshops, politicians and businesses have all become sites in which disciplinary power can be dispersed or pervaded in attempts to manipulate the body’s movements, actions and stances. The political investment in the body and disciplinary and punitive mechanisms serves to provide both a productive body and a subjected body for economic use (Foucault, 1991a). Thus, the body must be involved in the production circle, a pattern ought to be formed, skills need to be trained and schedules and space must be arranged. In much the same way, disciplinary or sovereign power is reinterpreted not as opposite forms of power but as different technologies of government (Lemke 2002: 53). As a result, Foucault concludes that disciplinary power is one of the great inventions of bourgeois society (Foucault, 1991a).

Disciplinary power, in short, inscribed the body with meaning, rendered it manageable and constituted the body which may be subjected, used, transformed and improved (Foucault, 1991a). In the next part, we will describe another form of power which strengthens the effects of disciplinary power: panopticism and surveillance.

3.2.3. Panopticism and surveillance

The Panopticon is described as herculean strength which provides ‘the greatest intensity, the best distribution and the most accurate focus to the force of power’ (Foucault 2006: 74). The panopticism provided the formula for the generalised exercising of disciplinary power (Hoffman, 2013). As Foucault pointed out, panopticism is a ‘technological invention in the order, comparable with the steam engine in the order of power...people learn how to establish dossiers, a system of marking and classifying, the integrated accountancy of individual records’ (Foucault 1980b: 71). To exhibit how modern power functioned, Foucault invoked the 18th century Jeremy Bentham’s design for a prison. In the centre of the prison, there was a guard tower with windows looking down on the peripheral building divided into specific cells and rooms. The prisoners who lived in the ward firmly believed that they were under the constant gaze. The inmate does not know if the guardian is in the tower or not, and therefore he must act as if supervision is still constant, unending, and total. ‘The architectural perfection is such that even if there is no guardian present the apparatus of power is still operative’ (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1986:189). The outcome of panopticism is to lead each captive to ‘utilize a disciplinary power based on a system of surveillance that is internalized to such an extent that each person now becomes his or her own overseer ’ (Rail & Harvey 1995: 166). In other words, the primary effect of the Panopticon was to bring about in each inmate ‘a state of consciousness and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power’ (Foucault 1991: 200) by spatial arrangements, and the employment of this power mechanism means there is no need to rely on violence or ostentatious shows of force. The disciplinary techniques of panopticism can be seen to broadly exert an omnipresent effect in our society, e.g. in schools, gyms, the media, and sports fields. Within the workings of panoptic power, individuals become their own disciplinarians, and authority no longer requires an institutionalised and expensive system of supervisors (Markula and Pringle, 2006). In short, the design of panopticism illuminates the essential principles which the organisations adopt and proves to be efficient in administering the behaviours of individuals.

Surveillance contributes to the success of the disciplinary power (Hoffman, 2013). It makes individuals observable with the overall effect of influencing their actions. By supervising within the panoptic architecture, it induces individuals ‘to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them’ (Foucault 1991: 172). Furthermore, Foucault states that

surveillance will operate in a multi-dimensional and ubiquitous manner, not only from top to bottom, but to a certain extent; the power even acts upon the supervisors themselves, and so the supervisors are ‘perpetually supervised’ (*ibid.*: 177).

The mechanism of panopticism does not only apply to the construction of buildings but is also exercised ‘in a diffused, multiple, polyvalent way throughout the whole social body’ (*ibid.*: 208-209). Dreyfus & Rabinow (1986) suggested that:

An important distinction must be made here. This is not so much an architectural model which represents or embodies power, but a means for the operation of power in space. It is the technique for the use of the structure, more than the architecture itself, that allows for an efficient expansion of power.

(Dreyfus & Rabinow 1986:189-190)

By connecting with the mushrooming of disciplinary institutions (workshops, schools), the de-institutionalisation of disciplinary methods (CCTV cameras) and technologies is controlled by the state (policies), we all live in a disciplinary society (Markula and Pringle, 2006).

Foucault declares that panopticism brings together knowledge, advocates specific standards and notions, then sets individuals or populations within the grid of domination. ‘Power is collective at its centre, but it is always individual at the point where it arrives’ (Foucault 2006: 75). For example, the ideal lifestyle is promoted to citizens by the government via the media, in which people need to exercise at least three times per week according to scientific research and pay attention to their BMI index, etc. By installing these notions into individuals’ minds and changing their behaviours, people are exposed to the panoptic gaze of ‘corrective customs’, which will remind them to keep living this way at all times, and thus the people become their own disciplinarians. Furthermore, the considerable costs which are incurred by the sovereign to control citizens can therefore be saved, because the individuals are involved in the self-supervised condition. Panopticism ‘observes the mind set of each one involved, it is in a better position to make the individual a point of articulation for power: both an effect of power and a point from which power was exercised’ (Armstrong 1983: 70).

Panopticism and surveillance offer us a clear connection between the control of bodies, knowledge and structure. In a footnote on the subject Foucault stated: ‘One doesn’t have here

a power which is wholly in the hands of one person who can exercise it alone and totally over the others. It's a machine in which everyone is caught, those who exercise power just as much as those over whom it is exercised' (Foucault 1980c: 156). Nobody can leave behind the mechanism of panopticism and surveillance. Next, the discussions of the forms of power which are employed on a much broader scale: biopower and governmentality.

3.2.4. Biopower and governmentality

Biopower, or biopolitics, is the power exercised over bios and life, its target may be controlled on both an individual and a group basis. Foucault points out that biopower designates what brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge-power an agent of the transformation of human life (Foucault 1998: 143). He deems that biopower could be traced from the shift of power where sovereigns exercised the right to take life or let live and to foster life or reject it to the point of death (Foucault, 1998). In the past, administrators used execution or physical punishment to manage citizens, but modern issues which accompany the growth of capitalism and industrialism such as birth-rates, public health, life expectancy and longevity cannot be controlled by such simple means. Capitalism needs educated, healthy and high-skilled but also docile labourers in order to maintain a productive workforce and an efficient economy, and thus the mechanism of biopower is employed towards these goals. Biopower is not also a set of mechanisms that guarantees control of citizens by the state (Foucault 1990:92) but rather a subtle, constant and ubiquitous power over life. The principal reasons why biopower is accessible are that 'it functions through norms rather than laws, because it is internalized by subjects rather than exercised from above through acts or threats of violence, and because it is dispersed throughout society rather than located in a single individual or government body' (C. Taylor 2013: 43).

Biopower and disciplinary power function on two different levels, as whereas discipline is exercised in disciplinary institutions such as schools, hospitals, barracks and workshops and is aimed at individual bodies, biopower concerns the mechanisms of norms or policies at the level of the state. As Foucault perceptively points out:

[Biopower] over life evolved in two basic forms; these two forms were not antithetical, however; they constituted rather two poles of development linked

together by a whole intermediary cluster of relations. One of these poles – the first to be formed, it seems – centred on the body as a machine: its disciplining, the optimization of its capabilities, the extortion of its forces, the parallel increase of its usefulness and its docility, its integration into systems of efficient and economic controls, all this was ensured by the procedures of power that characterized the disciplines: *an anatomo-politics of the human body*. The second, formed somewhat later, focused on the species body, the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary. Their supervision was effected through an entire series of intervention and *regulatory control: a bio-politics of the population*.

(Foucault 1998: 139)

Thus, we can perceive the relationship between disciplinary power and biopower as intersected and intertwined, or we can say that disciplinary power may be regarded as biopower that is exercised on a single body. Moreover, discipline can be understood as the micro-technology and biopolitics as the macro-technology of the same power over life (C. Taylor 2013: 45-46).

Biopower revolves around two distinct poles. Firstly, biological issues (e.g. sex and population) become the objects of political attention and intervention. Rather than concerns such as the protection of territory, governments devote significant attention to the populations to ensure individuals' quality and security in terms of their resources, health and productivity. Secondly, the operation of biopower combined with knowledge (fitness, health, hygiene) is applied to the body (Rabinow, 1984).

Foucault believed that the notion of governmentality was highly relevant to the exercise of bio-power at the level of the population (Lupton 1995). He defined governmentality as the 'contract' between technologies of power which can 'determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination' (Foucault 1988a: 18). Foucault presented the notion of governmentality when he delivered thirteen lectures at the College de France between 1970 and 1984 (Gordon, 1991). In order to manage a population, discipline is more valorised in the concept of governmentality. Foucault argues that governmentality was an 'ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations

and tactics, that allow the exercise of this particular albeit complex form of power... ’ (Foucault 1979: 20). In a broader sense, ‘governing people is not a way to force people to do what the governor wants; it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementarity and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed or modified by himself’ (Foucault 1993: 203-4). This is to say, the ultimate target of governmentality is to deploy strategies of power which Foucault calls pastoral power and implant detailed knowledge of the mental and physical into subjects.

Governmentality plays a vital role in the development of state, as the success or the collapse of a state is connected to the construction – or not - of high quality citizen via exercising biopower. At first sight, the measurements which are employed by biopower to promote the quality and longevity of life seem positive and optimistic. However, Foucault indicates the dark side of this mechanism:

Wars are no longer in the name of a sovereign who must be defended; they are waged on behalf of the existence of everyone; entire populations are mobilized for the purpose of wholesale slaughter in the name of life necessity: massacres have become vital. It is as managers of life and survival, of bodies and the race, that so many regimes have been able to wage so many wars, causing so many men to be killed ... The atomic situation is now at the end point of this process: the power to expose a whole population to death is the underside of the power to guarantee an individual’s continued existence.

(Foucault 1998: 137)

3.3. Foucault & disability

The exploration of Foucault’s ideas opens a new avenue for disability research. In the UK, academia uses the social model to investigate disability. The social model constructs power as a repressive phenomenon that is possessed by authority and then passed down to individuals with disabilities. On the contrary, Tremain (2012) argues Foucault’s power theory to be “in stark contrast to the ‘juridico-discursive’ ... conceptions of power that much disability theory takes for granted” (Tremain 2012: 9). For Foucault, individuals’ ideas of power, conduct, behaviours, and reactions are always changing and transforming in relation to interactions with others, and people with disabilities are no exception. In other words, the

research of disability no longer merely adheres to the idea of oppression; Foucault's notions offer an alternative opportunity to explore this sphere.

Despite the fact that in his work, Foucault never explicitly addressed disability nor impairment, Foucault's theory is still increasingly used as a 'tool kit' with which to analyse the formation and productivity of specific knowledge. Helen Meekosha and Russell Shuttleworth claimed that Foucault's notions of power could benefit disability research because of how they 'perform a radical de-familiarisation of modern institutions and practices as caring and benevolent and reveal technologies and procedures that classify, normalise, manage and control anomalous body-subjects' (Meekosha & Shuttleworth 2009: 57). Foucault's notions of power provide multiple viewpoints on disability research. These ideas draw on the justifications given for disciplinary practices, the subjects which were constituted therein, and offer an overture to a 'historical ontology of ourselves' about fields of power (Carlson, 2012). Also, it is crucial to explore how contemporary standards and practices influence definitions of 'disability' and draw the boundaries between disability and non-disability. A more in-depth examination of non-disability or normal identity may help establish a theoretical framework which uncovers the power relations that work to fabricate people with disabilities as subjects who impact and are impacted on in numerous contexts and spheres, e.g. medicine, pedagogy or sports.

Since the late 1990s, disability scholars have started to apply Foucault's ideas in studying of the issues of individuals with disabilities (Allan, 1996; Meekosha and Shuttleworth, 2009). Tremain's landmark works (2001, 2002, 2012) utilised Foucault's notion to investigate the impairment/disability binary in an attempt to emphasise the distinction between its understanding of impairment and disability and that of the social modelist. Moreover, rather than the prevailing disabilities studies, the social model, inclined to regard power as an oppressive and a juridico-discursive concept which exercises down upon the people with impairments, Tremain argued that Foucault's ideas offer an entirely new avenue to investigate how disability is constructed in specific power relations. She stated:

For during the past two centuries, in particular, a vast apparatus, erected to secure the well-being of the general population, has caused the contemporary disabled subject to emerge into discourse and social existence ... These (and a host of other) practices, procedures, and policies have created, classified, codified, managed, and controlled social anomalies through which some people have been

divided from others and objectivized as (for instance) physically impaired, insane, handicapped, mentally ill, retarded, and deaf.

(Tremain 2012: 5-6)

Tremain holds that categories of impairment are discursively constructed; power plays a crucial role in the process of the fabrication of power relations. Especially in *Foucault and the Government of Disability* where sixteen articles were collected over an extensive area of Foucault's theories and ideas. Although only Carolyn Anne Anderson's (2012) essay examined the governmentality of space for the disabled in U.S.A.'s sports arenas, the other articles also applied Foucauldian ideas such as subjectivity, biopower and governmentality to in investigating the experiences of people with disabilities.

Using Foucault does not equate to ignoring or neglecting the existence of diseases. Some disability researchers who adhere to social constructionism have focused on the embodiment of the impaired body, apprehension of the cultural illusory and on probing the binary classification insist that impairments are social constructs. In the social constructionist's view, disabilities are not natural but are historically and culturally contingent. Still, in the history of humanity, ways of understanding diseases, illnesses and impairments varied as they developed over time; some impairments and diseases had different names, definitions and implications at different stages of history such as Down Syndrome or muscular dystrophy, and some knowledge of them even existed before their discovery by modern medical science (Shakespeare, 2014). Down Syndrome, for example, was discovered in medical science in 1866. This syndrome is a genetic disorder caused by having three copies of chromosome 21 that result in mental impairment. Simo Vehmas stated that 'the human world is an interpreted, constructed world. Yet it would be intellectually and politically disastrous to conclude that impairments are not primarily or even secondarily physical facts and that nothing exists until it is spoken of or written about' (Vehmas 2012: 299). The idea of impairments is a social construct, but some impairments are not (Hacking 1999).

In particular, as Tom Shakespeare goes on to say, the suspicion of power associated with a Foucauldian lens sometimes seemed exaggerated. He argued that despite how Foucauldian scholars regarded the intention behind some measurements, treatments and policies from institutions and professionals in health, the welfare and educational services are not as positive or progressive as they initially claimed. Those measurements, treatments and policies indeed greatly improved the quality of lives of individuals with disabilities. That is to say,

many professionals and services have enriched the lives of people with impairments and boosted their quality of life. Thus, 'power may be inescapable, but sometimes it is developed with positive effects'(Shakespeare 2014: 66).

The Foucauldian approach of genealogy provides a basis of a critical examination for disability research. Foucault argues that:

Three domains of genealogy are possible. First, a historical ontology of ourselves in relation to truth through which we constitute ourselves as subjects of knowledge; second, a historical ontology of ourselves are subjects acting on others; third, a historical ontology in relation to ethics through which we constitute ourselves as moral agents.

(Foucault 1997:262)

According to the above quotation, three domains of genealogy are related to the inspection of individuals with disabilities. These are the epistemological transference and underlying tensions within the subject of disability, the permeabilised demarcation, such as the medical gaze and institutionalisation which divide people into normal and abnormal, and the multiple discourses which construct the image of disability. This shows how Foucault's genealogical analysis could be used to investigate people with disabilities as subjects of knowledge.

Foucault's appeal to constitute ourselves as moral agents were crucial to exploring philosophical work on disability. It is necessary to explore current issues and phenomena, which we regard as unproblematic or take for granted. There is often a difference and juxtaposition in relation to issues of disability which have been addressed historically. Philosophical questions such as 'What is disability?', 'Is body impairment a necessary condition of disability?' and 'Do people with disabilities need body movements?' bear the marks of a history which must be discussed and inspected.

In many of Foucault's ideas, the importance of biopower, normalisation, the carceral network and the subjectivity of analysing disability cannot be overstated. They help us to unravel the ways that the disabled are constituted as subjects due to their impairments. This is especially true in the current thesis, in which the importance of Foucault's significant ideas of subjectivity and biopower is emphasised. As Leenen (2013) claimed:

Regarding the history of the disabled body, both poles are important: the impairment of the body is a limitation or a loss of some of its functions. It often appeared to be deficient, then, in its capacity. Hence, it seems to be a body whose force were in particular need of strengthening and optimisation. But disability has also been interpreted as a problem regarding the well-being of the population.

(Leenen 2013: 98)

For centuries, people with disabilities have been seen as anomalies and aberrations owing to their physical and mental impairments, and simultaneously they became targets who need to be transformed. In the following sections the two critical components of Foucault's ideas will be explored separately.

3.3.1. Foucauldian subjectivity & disability

Foucault's explanation of the origin of social problems or particular identities comes from the interpreter who is defining and forcing the knowledge upon themselves and upon others. He stated that knowledge of the human being is a form of power that 'categorises the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him' (Foucault 1986: 212). The knowledge, for example, results in people with impairments being disqualified and branded as useless and becoming bound to a disability identity. Foucault's main political concern is to investigate how this form of power and various associated techniques lead to human beings becoming subjects. There are two definitions of the "subject", according to Foucault: 'subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge' (Foucault 1986: 212). In other words, the meaning of the subject is 'the possibility of being a certain kind of person' (Heyes 2014: 159). More specifically, subjectivity is an activity which imposes norms or regulations on the subject (agent) and is performed within the context of limitation and constraint. These terms were set out by Foucault in his publications, *Discipline and Punish* (1991) and *The History of Sexuality, Volume I* (1998), in an attempt to elaborate upon the theoretical-historical account of the disclosure of the modern subject. In these two texts, Foucault unveiled how power disciplines agents as subjects, by redefining architectural space, controlling an individual's activity, organising time schedules and incorporating the mechanisms of hierarchical observation, and normalising judgement and examination, all to consolidate modern

subjectivity. Heyes argues that ‘disciplines create a subject who is self-monitoring, developmental, the object at the intersection of numerous vectors of management and coercion and, most of all, useful, productive’ (Heyes 2014: 162).

There are three modes which construct and transform human beings into subjects: scientific classification, dividing practices and subjectivation (Foucault 1986; Markula & Pringle 2006; Peers 2012a). In the first mode of objectification, Foucault is interested in how human science objectivises people as subjects through specific forms of recognition. Subjects are statistically scrutinised via scientific processes and medical procedures in order to be classified or labelled into select groups. The intelligence quotient (IQ) test, ICIDH and medical diagnosis are all salient examples. I have frequently found during my research that medical diagnosis is a double-edged sword for individuals with impairments. On the one hand, diagnosis can lead to a better understanding of the difficulties, enabling an individual to obtain suitable supports. On the other hand, it can also produce a stigma that marks them for life. As Areheart states:

Diagnosis is a core element for structuring and understanding disability. Indeed, without diagnoses, many disabilities would not be understood as such by either the person diagnosed or by others. ... in short, impairments understood as the traits associated with disabilities seem little more than diagnoses.

(Areheart 2012: 362)

Thus, impairments are reduced to diagnosis. In short, diagnosis becomes a unique way to declare and understand what a disability is.

The second mode is dividing practices. In this mode, subjects are further divided into sub-categories and isolated into different institutions such as schools, hospitals and barracks. Subjects are simultaneously labelled as ‘mad’ or ‘sane’, ‘diseased’ or ‘healthy’, and ‘normal’ or ‘abnormal’. The knowledge of dividing practices constructs the social and spatial divisions, and the confinement of the population (Markula and Pringle, 2006). Galvin criticises the dichotomy between normal and abnormal which ‘by claiming an identity which has been created through the processes of hierarchical differentiation and exclusion, subjugated peoples reinforces their own oppression and restrict their hopes to the belief that they can demonstrate how positive it is to be identified as such’ (Galvin 2003: 682-683). In

sport for the disabled, classification can be regarded as the dividing practice which categorises athletes into specific classes based on their functional capacities (Peers, 2012a).

Foucault called his third interest of objectification subjectivation. In short, subjectivation is ‘the way a human being turns him – or herself into a subject’ (Foucault 1986: 208). There are two-fold processes in subjectivation: First, it makes the human being become a subject to someone else by constraint and reliance, and second it ties one in one’s own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Foucault argues that subjectivation stemming from the authority applies bio-power on the population to govern individuals and controls people through specific institutions and the production of knowledge (Foucault, 1998). Under governmentality, one problematizes one’s self ceaselessly and creates one’s own identity. Foucault calls this constant involvement in self-interpretation the ‘hermeneutics of the self’. For subjectivation, Campbell claims that ‘Inscribing certain bodies in terms of deficiency and essential inadequacy privileges a particular understanding of normalcy that is commensurate with the interests of dominant groups (and the assumed interests of subordinated groups)’ (Campbell 2009: 11). The exercise of subjectivation therefore involves inserting oneself into a specific identity, through the governmentality and hermeneutics of the self (Markula and Pringle, 2006). For example, people with disabilities blame themselves for their body impairments and lock themselves into a disability identity. To the end, individuals with disabilities are ‘no longer simply declared disabled, but where one is also willing and able to truthfully confess to one’s own disability’ (Peers 2012a: 178).

The mechanism of subjectivation seems ingrained in any culture and hard to deconstruct because it is produced rigorously and becomes naturalised (Markula and Pringle, 2006). However, Dianna Taylor provides an alternative angle from which to observe the apparatus of subjectivation. She states:

Subjectivity is not a matter of uncovering our ‘true self’, a process which requires us to adhere to some pre-given, external definition of who and what we are; rather, it is a matter of calling into question such as an understanding of what it means to be a subject, of investigating the effects that such a notion has on our relationship to ourselves and others, and of exploring possible ways of thinking and acting differently.

(Taylor 2014: 180)

Thus, rather than resisting or escaping from the apparatus, the most important thing is how we think, judge and react appropriately when immersed in the subjectivity.

A number of intellectuals have drawn on Foucault's concepts to discuss subjectivity in relation to disability. However, only Danielle Peers's (2012a; 2012b) articles highlight how individuals with disabilities are subjugated within sports in particular. In *Interrogating disability: the (de)composition of a recovering Paralympian* (Peers 2012a), she presents her autobiographical stories of medical diagnosis, sports classification, wheelchair basketball games, media interviews, daily conversation, internal struggle and attempts at resistance in order to analyse how she has been subjugated as a Paralympian. Peers's narratives provide the insights in my research about how individuals with impairments were made into subjects and tied to the identity of disability in sports for the disabled.

In another article, entitled *Patients, athletes, freaks: Paralympism and the reproduction of disability* (Peers 2012b), Peers analysed fourteen texts about Paralympic histories through a Foucauldian lens with the intention of elucidating the shift of discourse in four specific stages. These four stages are divided and represented respectively by the particular celebrated Paralympic institutional formations: Stoke Mandeville (Stoke), the International Organisations of Sport for People with Disability (IOSDs), the International Coordinating Committee (ICC), and the International Paralympic Committee (IPC). In the Stoke Mandeville stage, she expressed that the biomedical model, economic usefulness and the 'freak show' discourse flooded Ludwig Guttman's Paralympic movement. In addition to the three discourses mentioned above, the recreational sport discourses and the subject of Athletes with Disabilities (AWDs) are also produced within the IOSDs stage. Moreover, objectification of the disability, the difference of AWDs and new disabled subjects were also constructed via the emergence of classification. The ICC endeavoured to ally itself with the able-bodied counterparts of the Olympics in the third stage. The discourses of the IPC stage not only shifted to elite sport and spectatorship but gained notable traction through 'enfreakment'. Although some points, such as the 'freak show' discourse, seem exaggerated and some details of discourse were not explored explicitly, this article still inspires one to think how people with disabilities were subjected in the sphere of sport.

Verstraete suggests that 'Power produces knowledge, it produces classifications, it produces measuring-instruments and, more importantly, it might also have produced ways of looking at the world and the self' (Verstraete 2007: 59). After individuals with impairments

recognise themselves as having disabilities, they become an issue which needs to be corrected and changed, and it is to this that the next section, on bio-power, now turns.

3.3.2. Foucauldian biopower & disability

Biopower is crucial to any Foucauldian analysis of disability (Tremain 2012). Biopower concerns the exercise of power over human beings. This biopower, or bio-politics, stems from the control of the whole set of economic and political problems related to the emergence of capitalism since the late eighteenth century. Owing to the impairments and limitations of their bodies, people with disabilities were subjugated as social problems or a threat to the well-being of the population, and as people who needed to be improved and optimised. By employing the techniques of biopower upon individuals with disabilities, in time, they would be turned into disciplined governable bodies who could contribute to the economy of the state. Leenen (2013) claimed that people with disabilities are 'submitted to practices of bio-power designed to transform their behaviour into a more predictable, useful, and controllable one. Ungovernable and thus potentially dangerous individuals were remodelled into a normalised and governable group in order to ensure the well-being and security of the population' (Leenen 2013: 110). The expansive apparatus of bio-power upon the people with disabilities include asylums, medical insurance, special education programs, eugenics screening, schemes of rehabilitation and treatment, prostheses, sheltered workshops, charity homes and home care systems. These policies and applications have either directly or indirectly categorised, classified and labelled people with disabilities as physically impaired, mentally impaired, deaf and so forth, and caused them to come to understand themselves scientifically.

Governmentality can be regarded as the extension of bio-power exercised on human beings and refers to a form of activity that intends to influence, construct or direct the conduct of some person or people, in short, the conduct of conduct. In the publications which intersect disability and governmentality, Howe (2008) employed Foucault's governmentality to investigate the processes of Paralympic classifications. He argued that with the rapid movement of Paralympic sports from a foundation based on rehabilitation into the realm of achievement sports, classification had already become a showcase of governmentality, both the IPC and the IOSDs are able to utilise the structure of classification to control the political landscape of the Paralympic Games and the bodies of the impaired athletes. Howe used his

first classification experience in Seoul's Paralympic games as an example, to articulate the conditions of classification and the same author also advised on an equitable system of classification, which needed further developments. In addition, Peers (2012b) also interrogated the fairness of the Paralympic classifications, highlighting that the disability sports experts on classification are still employing bodily examination as a way to apply power within the expert-patient-style power relations. Due to administrative concerns, the lower classification, in which are athletes who are deemed to have more severe disabilities, and the athletes who did not conform the aesthetics of the ideal athlete are also excluded by the classification. Using the words of the IPC chief medical officer, Michael Riding:

Functional or integrated classification should not lead to a multiplication of events or individuals competing, nor should the process reduce the competitive or aesthetic impact of the Paralympic Games for the spectators... the 'pursuit of excellence cannot always be fair, or equitable.'

(cited in Bailey 2008: 106)

In other words, the classification system used for the Paralympic Games has already lost its original meaning - to create fair competitions for the participants in the games - and turned to produce profitable, efficient and well-managed disability sports games.

In her pioneering theoretical article, Shogan (1998) mentioned the social construction of disability and discussed the normality created by statistical discourse and Foucault's notion of disciplinary technologies. She holds the perspectives that APA could be regarded as a measure to divide participants into categories of normal and abnormal, natural and unnatural. She underlined that functional classification 'has the potential to undermine any arbitrariness in demarcating ability and disability' (Shogan 1998: 272).

Summary

After almost half-century poststructuralism was first introduced, poststructural thoughts remain a crucial influence on disciplines of feminism, sociology, history, politics, and so on. Poststructuralists, Foucault in particular, produce the ideas of power and knowledge which enriches the culturally bodily research could be applied in history, sociology of sport and disability studies. Even if poststructural thoughts are often criticized as wordy or not clarity,

it still provides brilliant ideas to modern issues and illumination to the understandings of meanings and truth. As Samantha King affirms that ‘Poststructuralist truths, like all truths, are contingent and multiple, proliferating new problems to address, ideas with which to wrestle, and political possibility to assess’ (King 2015: 102).

Foucault articulates his studies, relations of power, begin at a micro-level, in the local relationships of the interplay between individuals. People’s manners, behaviours, reactions and interactions become the crucial ingredients in the inspection of power relations. As Foucault argues ‘the totality of a social body begins to appear as the site where power is applied to itself. Power arises from a body on which it is exercised’ (Foucault 2013: 160). The exercise of power comes from everywhere, not from above to below, but from below to above, and there is always resistance to the power. Most importantly, the exercising of power does not necessarily result in the intended outcome. With the onset of modernisation and industrialisation, employment of power has changed from physical punishments to disciplinary technologies, such as surveillance, panopticism, biopower and governmentality. These skills which are accompanied with knowledge are not just limited in a single body but are extended to groups of people with the attempt to produce the ideal bodies that would contribute to the economics of state. By utilising Foucault’s idea of power in understanding the history of the sports for the disabled in Taiwan, we investigate how the impaired bodies are disciplined, constructed, and shaped in the spatial and temporal contexts.

The influence of Foucault’s work on disability research cannot be overstated. His concepts help us to understand and identify the imbrication in the power relation of disabilities and how people with disabilities ‘are gradually, progressively, really and materially constituted through a multiplicity of organisms, forces, energies, materials, desires, thoughts etc.’ (Foucault 1980b: 97). The ideas of subjectivity and biopower are particularly notable in the current research. As for subjectivity, individuals with impairments have imposed upon them the knowledge that they are abnormal, anomalous, and thus they ultimately ‘confess’ to their own disability. Due to their impairments, people with disabilities are regarded as social and economic problems which need to be solved and optimised. The historical development of the disabled in Taiwan was launched in this two –fold dimension. In short, the Foucauldian approach has helped us to challenge the interpretation of disability, the categorisation of ab/normal, and the practices which we use upon people with impairments, especially in unpacking weak voices which are implicit in the operation of the current power relations.

Chapter 4. Research methodologies and methods

By using a critical realist model... also enables us to better understand and analyse external barriers and impairments, and the interplay between them.

(Danermark & Gellerstedt 2004: 350)

The purpose of history, guided by genealogy, is not to discover the roots of our identity but to commit itself to its dissipation.

(Foucault 1977: 162)

In this chapter I present the research methodology and method we employed in this thesis. Firstly, the methodology and philosophy stance adopted are portrayed, and secondly the research methods of semi-structured interviews and document analysis, are introduced, as well as the genealogy approach which was developed by Foucault to explore 'body' in history, in the end the semi-structured interview and interviewee selection are introduced.

4.1. Ontological and epistemological stance

In this section we present the blueprint of the ontological and epistemological assumptions and identifications which underpin my research. Realising my research approach is crucial because this shapes how one progresses with their work and later influences the outcomes which they reach. In our research we follow critical realism as the philosophical approach, and here we provide a brief explanation on both the reason behind this and then express the philosophical position on which we stand.

Ontological and epistemological approaches, undoubtedly, are significant to research in the sociology of sport. The reasons are as follows: First, 'the existence of an array of divergent approaches and strategies for social enquiry poses the problem of choice for social researcher' (Blaikie 1995: 201). Second, as Furlong and Marsh (2010) suggest, each sociologist's orientations shape their ontological and epistemological positions and all researchers should recognise their positions and defend them. Furthermore, Mason notes that 'in formulating your own intellectual puzzle, you must ensure that you have thought through

what these are, and be confident that they are consistent—that is, that your puzzle is ontologically meaningful, and explainable or workable’ (Mason 2012: 18).

An ontology, to be precise, is a theory of being and indicates what is perceived as the very nature of social reality (Furlong and Marsh, 2010). In light of Bryman’s (2012) account, the core of ontological questions concerns ‘whether social entities can and should be considered objective entities that have a reality external to social actors, or whether they can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors’ (Bryman 2012: 32).

There are, in general, two broadly opposing ontological positions within social science, namely objectivism and constructivism. An objectivist scholar regards social phenomena or reality as being composed of observable facts which are separated from observers and social actors. This is to say, there exists an actual truth that cannot be influenced by individuals, and if the researchers apply the correct approach, they will be able to discover the actual truths (Furlong and Marsh, 2010). On the contrary, a constructivist argues that the actual truth does not exist independently without people’s recognition of it. Social phenomena and their meanings are constantly being shaped by social actors; hence, heterogeneous realities would be elaborated upon by various perspectives and interpretations (Bryman, 2012).

Epistemology can be best understood as a theory of knowledge (Furlong and Marsh, 2010; Mason, 2012). The crux of accounts of epistemology is ‘what is the nature of the relationship between the knower and what can be known?’ (Furlong & Marsh 2010: 185). There are various classifications and less agreement of the epistemological approaches. There are, roughly, three broad epistemological approaches – positivism, interpretivism and realism.

Positivist researchers affirm that true facts exist independently of people’s knowledge and interpretations. Through a systematic method and objective observation, it is possible to examine theories, make judgements and explore law-like patterns. In other words, only the phenomena which are perceived by the senses can be viewed as knowledge (Bryman, 2012). As for the interpretivist stance, it is asserted that there is no objective truth or social phenomena. The reality that we know is socially constructed by people’s behaviour and interactions (Furlong and Marsh, 2010). Accordingly, ‘social scientists must use qualitative research to understand the reality constructed by the group studied, rather than claiming to discover the truth about a group’ (Cruickshank 2003: 1). Furthermore, social researchers have

to grasp the subjective meaning of the social context and utilise strategies to respect the divergence between individuals and the object of the natural sciences (Bryman, 2012).

The third approach – realism, and more specifically, critical realism – occupies an intermediate theoretical position between positivism and interpretivism. Critical realism shares an ontological position with positivism, but in epistemological terms, it has much more in common with interpretivism (Furlong and Marsh, 2010). A critical realist believes that there is a world which exists independently of our knowledge and in which social structure is significant, but that not everything in this world is directly observable (Furlong and Marsh, 2010). Since our interpretation or understanding of social phenomena will influence their outcomes, we need to consider both the external reality and the social construction of that reality to illustrate the relationships between social phenomena. Hence, a critical realist ‘provides a set of perspectives on society and on how to understand them’ (Bhaskar 1989: 3).

Following a critical realist approach is consistent with the models of disability in which ‘disability is always an interaction between individual and structural factors’. (Shakespeare 2006: 55). Critical realism means the acceptance of the external reality of individuals with disabilities and promotes that there are objects which exist independently outside of knowledge. In other words, despite different cultures with different interpretations, perspectives, reactions or attitudes to disability, impairment has always existed and has its own experience of reality (Shakespeare, 2006). Furthermore, as Williams (1999) observes, a critical realist’s approach offers several benefits to disability research:

(i) [it brings] the biological body, impaired or otherwise, ‘back in’; (ii) [it relates] the individual to society in a challenging, non-conflationary or non ‘uni-directional’ way, and; (iii) [it rethinks] questions of identity, difference and the ethics of care through a commitment to real bodies and real selves, real lives and real words.

(Williams 1999: 812)

Critical realism, in this sense, can be considered as being sensitive to both the interior and exterior interactions of the individuals with impairment and provides a preferable stance for the bio/social model of disability and its philosophical interpretations. By following a critical realist approach, we endeavour to collect historical materials and to consider both internal

and external factors as an attempt to portray the social history as accurately as we possibly can.

A critical realist position is also consistent with the research method – genealogy, which I employ in this research. Critical realists regard emergency (*Entstehung*), an essential component of genealogy, as the product of complicated interactions between heterogeneous powers and mechanisms (Elder-Vass, 2005; Hardy, 2010). Issues such as health, madness, discipline, surveillance, sexuality and governmentality, which are probed by the genealogist, are what a critical realist infers from the social phenomena which display the interactions and interrelations between various social collectives that together construct the totality of a world. Therefore, adhering to a critical realist stance allows my research to utilise genealogy to unpack the ‘facts’ which are imbricated in the different layers of the relations of power.

This study holds the philosophical stance of critical realism but employs Foucault’s theories to interpret the phenomena of sports for the disabled in Taiwan. In this thesis, we discuss the poststructuralist theories of Michel Foucault and the philosophical stance of critical realism. These two standpoints have many divergent perspectives (Fox, 2013). Therefore, we must clarify the contradiction between critical realism and poststructuralism. Critical realism was applied in this thesis because it could fit the biosocial model of disability and genealogy which were followed in this study. However, we selected Foucault’s theories of power to explain how and why sports for the disabled developed in Taiwan. In summary, this thesis adopts critical realism as its underlying philosophical position and employs Foucault’s theories to gain particular insights into the history of sports for the disabled in Taiwan.

Each of the ontological and epistemological approaches has its own adherents and approaches to interpreting and explaining the world. However, in this research I will hold critical realism as my philosophical approach because critical realism could aid in rethinking the biological natures and social constructions of disability. It has been argued that critical realism really provides ‘a good basis on which to elaborate a workable understanding of disability’ (Shakespeare 2006: 55). In section 4.2, we will shift the focal point to the research method I will utilise in my research, genealogy.

4.2. Research methods

In this section, we explore the methods of genealogy, documentary analysis, and semi-structured interviewing utilised in this study. Genealogy is the tool developed by Foucault to determine how power had shaped bodies in the past. This thesis draws upon Foucault's theories of power to explore how the bodies of individuals with physical disabilities were shaped between 1945 and 2007 in Taiwan. Therefore, genealogy is the most suitable method that could be utilised in this thesis.

This thesis belongs to the field of social history research, and documents play an important role in historical research. A document is a monument to the past that tells us more about the social, political, and economic relations in those days and establishes matters of relevance and connections between events. As May argues:

Documents, read as the sedimentations of social practices, have the potential to inform and structure the decisions which people make on a daily and long-term basis; they also constitute particular readings of social events. They tell us about the aspirations and intentions of the periods to which they refer and describe places and social relationships at a time when we may not have been born, or were simply not present.

(May, 2011:191-2)

By analysing documents through Foucault's genealogical lens, we can unveil how the bodies of individuals with disabilities were shaped in the past. However, on an instrumental level, the method of documentary research has its limitations because there exist some gaps in the literature on the history of sports for the disabled in Taiwan. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were conducted to obtain a clear picture of this history, and the literature related to the semi-structured interviews is reviewed in the following section.

4.2.1. Genealogy

Genealogy, derived from Nietzsche, is a crucial interpretive approach that Michel Foucault adopted in his research. In his essay, *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History* (Foucault, 1977), he summarises Nietzsche's viewpoints of genealogy and the progress of work which he followed; all the seeds of Foucault's work were sown in this essay. In brief, genealogy is an exploration of the interaction between history, discourse, bodies and power that attempts to understand the operation of social practices and objects of knowledge (Markula and Pringle,

2006). Through a genealogical lens, the question of how the body is culturally, historically and socially modified and imprinted by the power at particular historical moments can be unravelled using discourses of the past (During, 1992). Genealogists seek to find discontinuities, superficial overviews, small details, minor shifts, and subtle contours of an event rather than the continuous development and depth of its historical development. More explicitly, genealogy can be described as a desire to ‘disrupt the taken-for-grantedness of the present by searching for the historical turning points and the ruptures where new meanings are created’ (Galvin 2006: 500).

Foucault utilised archaeology as a methodology in his early works. In *Discipline and Punish* (Foucault, 1991a) and *The History of Sexuality* (Foucault, 1998), the genealogical analysis takes precedence over an archaeological approach, because genealogy has a broader extension than archaeology. As opposed to an archaeological focus on the formulation and transformation of discursive practices, genealogy concentrates on the connective relations of power, knowledge and the body to discursive practices (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1986; Davidson, 1989). In this sense, genealogy could be seen as ‘a study of how archaeology is brought into play in everyday practices’ (Stevenson and Cutcliffe 2006: 715). Koopman argues that ‘the archaeologist asks about what has existed in the past. They do not concern themselves with how that which existed came into being...The genealogist wants to know how that which existed came into existence in the first place’ (Koopman 2008: 354). In fact, archaeology was not abandoned by Foucault, and still played the role of scrutinising discourse in a fashion complementary to genealogy (Foucault, 1980f).

There are two critical components of the genealogical approach that need to be highlighted: the investigation of descent (*Herkunft*) and the analysis of emergence (*Entstehung*). Of the descent, Foucault asserted that genealogists do not search for the origin, but rather, they seek to catch moments of the dissension of other effects. The task of descent is to ‘identify the accidents, the minute deviations – or conversely, the complete reversals – the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us’ (Foucault 1977; 146). In other words, genealogy refuses to emphasise the undisturbed continuities and steady patterns that have been of extensive concern in traditional historical research. Instead, genealogy focuses on exposing the essence of events, ‘dispersion, disparity and difference, and the play of dominations’ (Smart 2004: 59). Furthermore, the scrutiny of descent attempt to ‘expose a body totally imprinted by history and the process of history’s deconstruction of the body’ (Foucault 1977:

148). The aim of descent is to explore how the body was constructed by the relations of power in the historical process. In short, the exploration of descent is to examine if the subject matter was accidentally and/or mistakenly falsified in a particular historical moment.

The concept of emergence aims to explore ‘the moment of arising’ (Foucault 1977: 148). More clearly, emergence is used regarding the contingency of sudden happenings in what is understood as the set or rigid history. Rather than concentrating on a single particular event or present stages of historical development, the analysis of emergence attempts to explore the mechanisms that have operated over time and to examine ‘the historical working, shifts and junctures of relations of power between people’ (Markula & Pringle 2006: 33). Foucault believes that not all voices are easily heard in the interaction of relations of power. Therefore, the task of analysing emergency is to disclose the discourses of domination and subordination, revealing authority’s desire to control and to unpack how human beings are transformed into objects and subjects of knowledge. In Foucault’s words, emergence not only rebuilds ‘the anticipatory power of meaning, but the hazardous play of dominations’ (Foucault 1977: 148).

Foucault opposes the traditional history because he thinks the traditional history is:

the violent and surreptitious appropriation of a system of rules, which in itself has no essential meaning, in order to impose a direction, to bend it to a new will, to force its participation in a different game, and to subject it to secondary rules, then the development of humanity is a series of interpretations.

(Foucault 1977: 151~152)

The traditional historical method seeks a totalised history, presence of uninterrupted continuities, and realisation of ourselves in a consistent way, as well as the reassurance of historical movements. However, genealogists seek an effective history which ‘stands as a distinct and critical counterpoise to orthodox historiography’ (Andrews 1993: 155), and that can ‘record the singularity of events outside of any monotonous finality’ (Foucault 1977: 139). Foucault repudiated the relevance and constancy in totalising histories ‘in order to reveal the complexity, fragility and contingency surrounding historical events’ (Smart 2004: 56). He put all the things in historical motion in order to challenge the constant stability and existing firmness in traditional history and to capture the appearance and dynamics of these political technologies upon the body. Foucault noted that ‘Nothing in man –not even his

body—is sufficiently stable to serve as the basis for self-recognition or for understanding other men’ (Foucault 1977: 153). Foucault’s genealogical approach, therefore, offers a history which makes people understand themselves and to be more aware of how truth exerts contemporary influences. More generally, genealogy generates the history of the present, and lets ‘histories tell their own stories’ (Hoy 1989: 7).

How can one utilise genealogical methods in the studies of the history of sports as related to disability? Nine years after Foucault’s death, Andrews (1993) advocated that the sociology of sports should pay more attention to Foucault’s perspectives and meticulously highlighted how genealogy could be operated in the field. Although Andrews’ account lacked the genealogy of genealogy, his arguments can still remind sports academics that genealogy also enables sports to be viewed as an object of discourse (Harvey and Sparks, 1991; Andrews, 1993). The humanities of sports should pay more attention to the discourses of how individuals of different ethnicities, genders, impairments, social classes and ages are constructed in the sporting realm. There are already several researchers who have employed genealogy in sociology of sport (Harvey and Sparks, 1991; Theberge, 1991; Hargreaves, 1995; Markula and Pringle, 2006; Corrigan *et al.*, 2010) and in disability research (Allan 1996; Hughes 1999; Corker & Shakespeare 2006; Tremain 2008; Mitchell & Snyder 1997; Davis 1995). By embracing Foucault’s genealogy, we can investigate and understand how bodies with disabilities have been modelled and shaped by sports in the past. Furthermore, the roles played by the institutions of medicine and the rehabilitation clinics, as well as the effects of physical and special education, can guide an investigation of the influences upon the Paralympics and sports/games for the disabled. Through exploring the discourses of the individuals with disabilities and their dominant powers, the disabled sporting bodies can tell us ‘something about what it means to be human, and about the relationship between bodies, selves and worlds ’(Diedrich 2005: 658).

Genealogy is an analytical tool which Foucault applied in his research, and is described to ‘cultivate[s] the details and accidents that accompany every beginning’ (Kurzweil 1986: 647). As opposed to the traditional historical approach, the characteristics of the genealogical method highlight the elements of chance, incidence and accident in the historical process. Genealogy does target singular episodes and/or individuals, and also searches to understand changes and nexuses of power and individuals. As Davidson argued, genealogy ‘shows rather than the origin of what we take to be rational, the bearer of truth, is rooted in domination, subjugation, the relationship of forces – in a word, power’ (Davidson 1989: 225).

Undoubtedly, genealogy opens up interpretive avenues for understanding the history of the sports for the disabled and empowers the bodies of the disabled in the sports fields to be viewed as an object of discourses.

Having presented the selected research method of genealogy, the next section will explore the way that the documents and archives collected for this research were analysed.

4.2.2 Document analysis

There exist various types of documents, such as policies, statutes, statistics, diaries, laws, declarations, mass media, novels, books, speeches, newspapers, government records, photos, internet articles, and biographies. The most common mistake is to consider documentary research ‘as ready to use research data whereas they usually require more preparation, care and effort than an equivalent analysis of research data set’ (Hakim, 1993: 141). A researcher who employs this method should analyse various archives that have no common format and appear to be developed without sufficient empirical evidence (Appleton and Cowley, 1997). In general, documents can be defined as physically embodied texts, as Scott (1990) states:

...a document in its most general sense is a writing text ...the invention of magnetic and electronic means of storing and displaying text should encourage us to regard ‘files’ and ‘documents’ contained in computers and word processors as true documents. From this point of view, therefore, documents may be regarded as physically embodied texts, where the containment of the text is the primary purpose of the physical medium.

(Scott, 1990:12-3)

Documents are generated by individuals or organisations for purposes other than academic research but can be employed by researchers for academic purposes.

Documents can be divided into three main groups (Scott, 1990; Prior, 2003; May, 2011). The first group involves primary, secondary, and tertiary documents; the second group involves public and private documents; and the third group involves unsolicited and solicited archives. Primary materials refer to the documents recorded or collected by people who observed the incidents that the documents narrate. In other words, primary sources represent

knowledge by acquaintances. For this reason, primary documents are supposed to be exact representations of the occurrences in terms of the memory of both time and space (May, 2011). Secondary materials are recorded after the occurrence of an incident that the writer has not personally observed, and a researcher who would like to employ such sources must be conscious of the potential problems in the production of this data. Checking the reliability and truthfulness of the secondary sources is essential. Tertiary sources allow us to locate other references, 'they are even bibliographies to help us find bibliographies' (Calvert, 1991:120). All the archives utilised in this study are secondary and tertiary sources (see appendix 1). These documents were written by authors who directly or indirectly participated in sports for the disabled in Taiwan. Thus, cross-comparing these accounts with archives and interviews are crucial to access the history of sports for the disabled in Taiwan.

The second group includes public and private documents. A large number of public documents are produced by the national and local governments, and some of them are protected by the national government. The existence of a source does not guarantee that a scholar may gain access to the documents. Most of the sources employed in this thesis are public documents. These documents are open-published and thus are easy to access in specific libraries (see appendix 1). However, most of the essential archives are stored in the Library of the Department of Special Education and the Library of Department of Physical Education of National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU). Because the records of sport for people with disabilities were marginalised from the mainstream, abundant sources for this study could only be found in these specific libraries. The other documents are private archives, and all of this data were acquired from the pioneer of physical education (PE) for students with physical disabilities, Chu Ming-Chin. These private documents were well-preserved by Mr Chu and enabled the researcher to portray the development of sport for individuals with physical disabilities in Taiwan.

Finally, the third group includes solicited and unsolicited documents. The difference between solicited and unsolicited sources is that some archives may have been generated for a special purpose, whereas others may have been created for personal use. Nevertheless, even if the archives are intended for personal use and are reachable to a researcher, they are still published to address an audience or expressed narrative identity (May, 2011). Some memoirs were referenced in this study (see appendix 1), and these memoirs are from an open-published book that is accessible to any reader or researcher. Being aware of author identity is vital.

In the modern world, the World Wide Web helps researchers to find sources and archives for studies; however, differentiating between valuable and no valuable information for a study is essential. As Peters (1998) argues ‘...a researcher, once you have discovered how to locate information rapidly, you may even begin to depend on the Web, saving yourself time that might otherwise have been spent trawling through more traditional sources’ (Peters, 1998: 1). The Internet is like a double-edged sword. A researcher must know how to use the Internet optimally rather than being controlled by the Internet. Therefore, maintaining a balance between online sources and physical archives is essential.

Poststructuralists such as Michel Foucault tend to approach documents by using the approach of problematisation:

doesn’t mean the representation of a pre-existent object, nor the creation through discourse of an object that doesn’t exist. It’s the set of discursive or non-discursive practices that makes something enter into the play of the true and false, and constitutes it as an object for thought (whether under the form of moral reflection, scientific knowledge, political analysis, etc.).

(Foucault, 1996: 456-7)

Foucault’s study does not establish the relationship between the author and the archives but links a document to the present scenario as historical writings linked for contemporary use (May, 2011). Debates still exist that sources do not mention anything beyond themselves and do not reveal the intentions of the author. In this study, it is acknowledged that documents must be understood in terms of both the intentions of their authors and the social circumstances in which they were generated.

Documents are regarded as an expression of social power and may indicate the ‘marginalization of particular groups of people and the social characterization of others’ (May, 2011: 200). Therefore, documents not only reflect the social, political, and economic situation of an author but also construct the social reality that an author intended to convey. As Said (2004) states:

You should always assume that officials representing a position, administrators, people who have authority and power over others, et cetera, are all involved in keeping their places and their authority intact. It is therefore the role of the intellectual, at least I see it, to keep challenging them, to name names and cite facts.

(Said, 2004: 420-1)

Some of the documents and archives used in this thesis were produced during the KMT's dictatorship and thus were intended to conceal the real intentions of the authorities. This implies that the documents in that period were not neutral artefacts. Therefore, we must search for the meanings hidden between the lines to unveil the aims of the ruling party.

Four principles can be utilised to assess the quality of evidence acquired from documents—authenticity, credibility, representativeness, and meaning (Scott 1990). The source's authenticity heavily influences documentary research, and comprehensive research requires a review of the genre, stylistics, and archive context. Platt offers several recommendations for assessing the authenticity of documents. First, the document does not make any sense or have clear errors. Second, different versions of the same archives exist. Third, the document has internal inconsistencies. Fourth, the document has been transmitted through many copyists. Fifth, the correct version of the document has been passed through someone. Sixth, the document originated from a suspected secondary source. Seventh, the document is inconsistent regarding another similar archive. Finally, the document represents a certain group of archives (Platt, 1981a).

The credibility indicates 'the extent to which the evidence is undistorted and sincere, free from error and evasion' (Scott 1990: 7). Ensuring the sincerity of the document and determining why its author chose to produce it are essential tasks. In my study, a large number of government documents were utilised. However, some of them were based on political interests in presenting an authority's view or justifying a specific choice of action. We must discreetly determine the interests of the authors of the documents for unveiling prejudices that may lead us to adopt a sympathetic or antipathic attitude towards the group and events reported.

For the representativeness of a document, survival and availability are the two aspects that should be considered. The related publications pertaining to people with disabilities were easily lost due to accidental destruction or loss because these articles were not related to the mainstream issues in the Taiwanese society and thus the potential value of the archives was ignored. Furthermore, not all surviving sources are available to researchers. Thus, we must have an idea of where the particular documents might have been stored.

There exist two levels of implications—literal and interpretative understanding. Literal understanding is the first step to reach interpretative understanding. The literal meaning of the terms in a document refers to the raw materials that only provide the face value meaning, and the real significance of the archives must be reconstructed. The interpretative meaning is the end-product formed to assess the meaning of the document (Scott 1990). How a concept is defined and applied in studies changes over time and place. For example, the definition of disability varies in different cultures, and each society has its own understanding of disability. In this study, we discovered and understood as much as possible about the variations in the definition of disability. Grasping the frame of the meaning is not an easy task because no researcher can distance themselves from the concepts and assumptions of their own frame of meaning. The interpretation of a piece of text is validated by relating it to the intentions of the author and uncovering the objective meanings beyond these intentions.

Documentary analysis is an important part of documentary research. The analysis highlights the frequency with which particular words or specific phrases are presented in the text in terms of their characteristics. According to Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, ‘analysis is about the search for explanation and understanding, in the course of which concepts and theories are likely to be advanced, considered and developed’ (Blaxter, Hughes and Tight, 1996: 185). There exist three phases in data analysis—data reduction, data display, and drawing and verification of conclusions. Data reduction is the transformation of information from one form into another. Data display is the procedure of presenting and analysing the data. By reducing and displaying data, conclusions can be drawn (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Ahmed, 2010). By analysing documents, we can determine the significant messages that author intend to convey within documents. Researchers should focus on the intended meaning of the document author and the message given to the potential audience. ‘A document’s meaning cannot be understood unless one knows what genre it belongs to, and what this implies for its interpretation’ (Platt, 1981: 53). To some extent, documentary analysis regards the author as a self-conscious actor talking to an audience under a specific situation. Moreover, an analyst must understand the context of the generated sources because a ‘... analyst picks out what is relevant for analysis and pieces it together to create tendencies, sequences, patterns and orders. The process of deconstruction, interpretation, and reconstruction breaks down many of the assumptions dear to quantitative analysts’ (Ericson, Baranek and Chan, 1991: 55). Although associating documents with their authors is vital, the circumstances when creating the documents must also be considered.

Some advantages of document analysis are as follows. As stated by Corbetta (2003), documents are not subject to possible distortion because the interactions between a researcher and archive are nonreactive and a person is more likely to be truthful when writing private diaries or letters. As Bailey states, ‘the data collection methods itself generally does not change the data being collected’ (Bailey, 1982: 303).

Chart 1 The advantages and disadvantages of the documentary research method

| Advantages | Disadvantages |
|---|--|
| 1. Data readily available. | 1. Limited by the availability of data |
| 2. Inexpensive and economical form of data. | 2. Inaccuracies in original material |
| 3. Saves time. | 3. Bias- ‘selective deposit’ |
| 4. ‘Non-reactivity’- records unbiased by data collection process. | 4. Bias-‘selective survival’ - missing/incomplete. |
| 5. Researcher does not have to be present during data collection. | 5. Total document or part of document? |
| 6. Useful for hypothesis/problem formulation | 6. Data studied out of context. |
| | 7. Preparation before analysis. |

Source of materials: Appleton and Cowley (1997), Analysing clinical practice guidelines. A method of documentary analysis.

Documentary analysis also has certain drawbacks. For example, when dealing with documents, a researcher must be content with the information provided without enquiring further questions even if documents cannot match the cognitive objectives proposed (Corbetta 2003). Within the influence of positivistic methodologists and the abstract theory, documents may be dismissed as impressionistic or nothing more than crude empiricism (May, 2011). Documentary analysis is not regarded as a clear-cut and well-recognised

method, ‘since to say that one will use document is to say nothing about how one will use them’ (Platt, 1981: 31). May (2011) also reminds us that researchers must be aware of the bias in documents and the selectivity of documentary analysis. We should not assume that archives and sources are directly neutral artefacts from the past, especially in historical research. ‘History itself and our understanding of it can be informed by a selective reading of documents or those documents themselves may also be selective’ (May 2011: 215).

Certain arguments and measurements can deal with the potential problems of documentary analysis. Positivism is considered as a limited notion of science that cannot bear the examination of scientific inquiry and that contains social biases (May, 2011). The issues of relevance, scope, and relations between incidents should be clarified to make documentary analysis an accurate research method (May 2011).

Despite the fact that there exist some criticisms of the documentary research method, the strengths of the method outweigh its weaknesses. Documentary research offers ‘a source of data, which is permanent and available in a form that can be checked by others. The data are open to public scrutiny’ (Denscombe, 1998: 169). Furthermore, documentary analysis is extensively applied in historical research and is still the best method to investigate incidents from the past. As Foucault argues:

...that history, in its traditional form, undertook to ‘memorize’ the monuments of the past, transform them into documents, and lend speech to those traces which, in themselves, are often not verbal, or which say in silence something other than what they actually say; in our time, history is that which transforms documents into monuments.

(Foucault, 1989a: 7)

McGrath asserts that there is no perfect methodological research strategy (McGrath, 1982). As much effort as possible should be made to avoid the influence of the bias of sources. Therefore, we present the details of using semi-structured interviews in the following section because this method can fill the gaps of documentary research. The following section presents the ways in which the discourse of individuals with disabilities can be captured through semi-structured interviews.

4.2.3 Semi-structured interviews and selection of interviewees

Semi-structured interviews

According to the philosophical stance of this study, critical realists believe that certain facts exist independent of our knowledge, these facts cannot be observed directly, and our interpretation affects the construction of these facts. This statement implies that the generation of data from subjective aspirations, feelings, opinions, knowledge, values, attitudes, thoughts, beliefs, intentions, experiences, and perceptions of social actors through an interview is crucial to explore social structures and phenomena. Thus, an interview is a suitable method to verify the philosophical and theoretical basis of the study. According to Patton, the purpose of interviewing is to find what is in the interviewee's mind; determine their story; and capture meaningful, insightful, and explicit perspectives (Patton 2002: 278).

In general, four types of interviews are utilised in social research—structured, semi-structured, unstructured, and group interviews. In the current thesis, semi-structured interviews were employed because semi-structured interviews are informally an interactional exchange of conversation with interviewees. Questions in the interview are usually specified; however, the interviewer is free to probe beyond the answer (May, 2011). This method enables the interviewer 'to develop a sense of time and history rather than providing a series of 'static' responses' (Gratton and Ian, 2004: 143). The key to a successful interview is to encourage an interviewee to provide increased information (Bernard, 2013). Semi-structured interviews allow participants to provide their insightful perspectives on the topics and fill the gaps between archives and documents. This aspect is especially suitable for this study because individuals with disabilities find that their story is often excluded from the mainstream. In semi-structured interviews, one does not have to be restricted to formal questions and formatted answers (Gibson and Brown, 2009). Instead, a flexible approach can be used to design the interview for capturing the deep experiences and life stories of individuals with disabilities. By discussing the issues, topics, themes, and points that the interviewer wishes to cover, semi-structured interviews permit both interviewees and researchers to develop and bring about unexpected outcomes.

The understanding of the facts was constructed through the selected philosophical stance of critical realism. The mission of the semi-structured interviews was to ensure that the relevant contexts were brought into focus and that knowledge was produced according to this

viewpoint, thus allowing meaning and understanding to be established through dialogic interactions during the interviews (May, 2011; Mason, 2012). As Mason states:

The idea that interviewees may be ‘answering’ questions other than those we are asking them, and making sense of the social world in ways we had not thought of, lies behind many qualitative interview strategies. The logic that we should be receptive to what interviewees say, and to their ways of understanding, underpins much of the ‘qualitative’ critique of structured survey interview methods.

(Mason, 2002: 231)

Thus, the semi-structured interview is a useful tool to explore the lives of individuals with disabilities. In this study, the interview method helped in understanding the meanings that individuals with disabilities generated in their lives.

In semi-structured interviews, a researcher must have a reasonable amount of knowledge regarding the topic but not sufficient knowledge to anticipate the interviewee’s responses (Morse, 2012). The effectiveness of semi-structured interviews depends on the ability of the researcher to conduct the interviewing processes. The interviewer has to make judgements ‘in the heat of the moment’ about ‘what counts as relevant’ (Gibson and Brown, 2009: 88). Each participant has their own response and opinion. The use of semi-structured interviews may provide different types of information in each interview. As Gerson and Horowitz argue:

No single interview, however revealing, can offer more than limited insights into general social forces and processes. Only by comparing a series of interviews can the significance of any one of them be fully understood. And, in the long run, each interview will add to the final story.

(Gerson and Horowitz, 2002: 211)

Hence, understanding the content and context of the topic is essential to obtain the complete picture of the study.

Using Burgess’s words, ‘access is negotiated and re-negotiated throughout the research process’ (Burgess, 1991: 43). The assessment of interviewees tends to involve the following tasks: culling lists, reviewing the available literature, and creating contacts. However, the interpersonal networks of the interviewee group also play a pivotal role in research interviews (Odendahl and Shaw, 2001). For example, each community has influential actors behind the

scenes, and the key informant could provide connections to other interviewees. In this study, M4 (see Chart 2) is the gatekeeper of the field of sports for the disabled. Thus, M4 could provide access to individuals for the interviews. With the support of the gatekeeper, the other interviewees in this study could be interviewed with more ease. The other interviewees were contacted via email or telephone to arrange face-to-face interviews.

The success of interviews is predicated upon on the researcher's overall knowledge of the interviewees' culture under study (Odendahl and Shaw, 2001). The researcher requires extensive preparation on the research subject. Also, luck plays a role (Mcdowell, 1998). The location of the interviews in nearly all cases was selected according to the interviewee's convenience. The researcher should make the most of the interview time allotted for each participant. In this study, I read the related literature and information about each interviewee before approaching the interview, arrived on time at the location selected by the interviewee, and provided the interviewee with the questions of my study. After the interviews, verbatim transcripts were produced to be referenced in the thesis.

Interviewing sample

I divided my interview targets into three categories—scholars and experts of the sports for the disabled, governmental agencies and the interest groups, and people with disabilities who have participated in sports—to obtain a comprehensive perspective. For the first group, I interviewed scholars and experts who teach PE in schools at all levels. The scholars and experts who teach PE were prospective interviewees who had relatively comprehensive perspectives on the development of sports for the disabled in Taiwan (see Chart 2).

The second category included the governmental agencies and interest groups. The Chinese Taipei Paralympic Committee (CTPC) and the Ministry of Education play crucial roles in international and domestic disability sports events. Thus, the successive presidents of the CTPC and officials of governmental agencies were interviewed to provide key materials and deep insights into the development of disability sports in Taiwan (see Chart 2).

For the third category, I interviewed Taiwanese athletes who participated in the Paralympic Games as well as other disabled people with experience in sport participation. Through the interviews, the discourses and perspectives of the persons with disabilities were obtained regarding the reality of the developments in disability sport in Taiwan (see Chart 2).

By conducting semi-structured interviews with various groups in this study, my intention was to obtain additional material and data regarding the existing reality of disability sports in Taiwan and to conduct the type of research that ‘can seek both clarification and elaboration on the answers given ... enables the interviewer to have more latitude to probe beyond the answers’ (May 2011: 134).

Chart 2 Interview Sample List

| Alias | Field | Characteristics |
|--------------|--|--|
| M1 | Expert on sports for the disabled | Mr. M1 is the first PE teacher who organised adapted physical education in Taiwan. In 1972, he started to teach students with polio, and still participates in the operation of the CTPC now. |
| M2 | Expert on sports for the disabled | Prof. M2 was a retired professor from the National Changhua Normal University. He taught APA in university and also plays an active role in the CTPC. |
| M3 | Expert on sports for the disabled | Mr. M3 was the PE teacher and sports coach of Ren-Ai School. He has participated in sports for the disabled for more than 40 years. |
| M4 | Expert on sports for the disabled / Governmental agency | Mr. M4 is the physical therapist of Cheng-Hsin Hospital, and was the vice-president of the CTPC and the President of Taipei Sports Association for the Physically Disabled. Mr. M4 has participated in sports for the disabled for more than 40 years. |
| M5 | Governmental agency | Prof. M5 was the Minister of education between 1993 and 1996. He attended Fames events for the disabled in Taiwan several times, and was the best supporter of policies of the sport for the |

| | | |
|----|--|--|
| | | disabled. |
| M6 | Governmental agency | Dr. M6 was an athlete of the Taiwan Paralympic team, and is now the president of the CTPC. |
| M7 | Individual impaired from contracting polio who have experience of the sports | Mr. M7 was an athlete with physical disability. He represented Taiwan several times in wheelchair basketball and weightlifting in international competitions. |
| F1 | Individual impaired from contracting polio who has experience of the sports | Prof. F1 was a student of Cheng-Hsin Hospital and Changhua Special School for Students with Physical Impairments, and has published a lot of articles and books about disability |

Ethics

This study was approved by the Ethical Committee of Loughborough University to ensure that all the research participants were treated with dignity and respect. All the details of the study, such as the purpose, process, and future uses were provided to the participants. All the participants were notified of their rights to withdraw themselves and any collected data from the research at any point without the need for explanation. The interviewees were asked to sign the university's consent form to reveal that they knowingly agreed to participate in the study and acknowledged all the information of the study.

In terms of the ethical consideration, this study was not harmful to any participant in any aspect. None of the participants were recognised as being vulnerable. Each participant recognised that their interview was being recorded. The recordings and transcripts were placed into a password-protected web storage system.

Summary

Critical realism was used as the philosophical stance of this study because it fits the research method and the model of disability that was employed. This position acknowledges both the biological basis and social constructions of disability and underpins the selected disability model. Moreover, critical realism is consistent with the crucial element of genealogy. Emergency allows the study to examine the reality imbricated in the complicated layers of power.

Genealogy is the tool employed by Foucault to unveil how bodies were shaped by power in history. This thesis draws upon Foucault's theories of power to investigate how the bodies of individuals with physical disabilities were shaped between 1945 and 2007 in Taiwan. Therefore, genealogy is the most suitable method that can be utilised in this thesis. This study belongs to the field of social history research, in which sources such as documents and archives are pivotal. A document is a record of the past that allow us to establish matters of relevance and establish the relationships between events. However, the method of documentary research still has its limitations because there still exist some gaps in the available sources on sports for the disabled in Taiwan. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were utilised in this study to provide a clear picture of the history of this topic.

Chapter 5. The model of disability

The long-term physically impaired are neither sick nor well, neither dead nor fully alive, neither out of society nor wholly in it. They are human beings but their bodies are warped or malfunctioning, leaving their fully humanity in double...the disabled spend a lifetime in a similar suspended state.

(Murphy 1987: 131)

In this opening section, I examine the models of disability which later will be used to study the people with whom I have interacted. The definition of disability upon which this research is constructed that presented in Shakespeare's bio/social model of disability (Shakespeare 2006). In his account, 'disability is always an interaction between individual and structural factors' (Shakespeare 2006: 55). Before I elaborate on the bio/social model, which I expand upon in the following sections, it is necessary to review both the medical model and the social model which are extensively employed in this field.

What is a model? A model is a way of translating ideas into practice. Crucially, models affect the perspectives and interpretations which I draw upon to investigate and examine the interactions of people with impairments have with society, particularly about the sports spectacle. Bickenbach (2012) provided a more explicit interpretation of 'model':

Models are recommended structures for making sense of complex phenomena, which then can be used to collect information and organize out thinking for a variety of applications: creating historical explanations of social reactions to people with disabilities; generating hypotheses about the nature and dynamics of disability experiences; explaining how people think about, and response to, people with disabilities; creating statistical representations of prevalence and incidence of disability; providing testable accounts of causes and longitudinal trajectories of living with disabilities and so on (to the limits of our intellectual imaginations).

(Bickenbach 2012: 52-53)

Thus, I will expound on the mainstream disabled model: the medical model and the social model, then turn to challenge the dichotomy between the medical model and the social model and finish with the model which I use here: the bio/social model.

Regarding the use of terminology in this research, I utilise the phrase ‘people with disabilities’. In the UK, the social model uses the term ‘disabled people’ in order to emphasise that people with impairments are disabled by society, not by their bodies. The use of the term ‘people with disabilities’ is seen as being in line with the perspective of the medical model. However, the ‘people-first’ language is the dominant terminology in the universal disability rights field and is the official choice of the United Nations (UN) as well as of several other developed countries. With regards to the support of human rights and to follow the universal tendency, the current work employs the term ‘individuals with disabilities’.

The terms medical model and social model were conceptualised by Michael Oliver in 1981, who noted the binary distinction between what he called the individual and the social models (Oliver, 1981). Oliver (2009) later further confessed in his book, *Understanding Disability: from theory to practice*, that ‘there is no such thing as the medical model of disability, there is instead, an individual model of disability of which medicalization is one significant component’ (Oliver 1996: 31). Oliver seldom uses the phrases ‘the medical model’ and ‘the social model’. Instead, he separates them as personal tragedy theory and social oppression theory, stating that a sufficient social theory of disability as a social limitation must ‘reject the categories based on medical or social scientific construction and divorced from the direct experience of disabled people’ (Oliver & Barnes 2012: 6).

5.1. The medical model

The medical model of disability, also known as the individual model, states that illness and disability are the results of physical conditions which are intrinsic to the individual and which may decrease the individual’s quality of life, cause limitations and restrictions as well as other disadvantages. People tend to be classified into different categories: impairments, diseases, symptoms and conditions. For example, people who have spinal injuries need to use wheelchairs and are therefore unable to walk or dress, and thus their functional incapacity will be classified as invalid. Once people are labelled as disabled, their defining characteristic

and incapacity also become generalised (Barnes, Mercer and Shakespeare, 1999). In this model, the medical professionals who embrace the clinical perspectives believe that individuals with impairments that stem from functional restrictions and abnormal bodies need to be cured by treatments and improve their functioning in order to return to normality. As in the words of the Union of The Physical Impaired Against Segregation's (UPIAS) policy statement, this view 'rejects entirely any idea of medical or other experts having the right to tell us how we should live, or withholding information from us, or taking decisions behind our back' (UPIAS, 1976). In short, the medical model means that the definition and expression of disability are dominated by 'the power of medical gaze'(Arney & Bergen 1983: 19).

The approaches adopted by the medical specialists stem from the culture of the medical field as applied to people with impairments. As Harrison (1993) perceptively pointed out:

Medical students learn to distinguish 'acute', which means something of recent onset, from 'chronic', which means a condition which has lasted and will probably continue for a substantial time. Doctors are essentially interventionists, trained to diagnose, treat and either cure or admit defeat...and rarely see patients outside hospital buildings. Interpersonal skills are usually expected to develop without formal training, or are just taken for granted.

(Harrison 1993: 211)

Thus, under these training and development processes, medical practitioners become inclined to use terms such as 'disease', 'sick', 'impairment' or 'illness' in the centre of medicalisation, rather than the person. Using the words of Brisenden (1986):

Medical people tend to see all difficulties solely from the perspectives of proposed treatment for a 'patient', without recognising that the individual has to weigh up whether this treatment fits into the overall economy of their life. In the past especially, doctors have been too willing to suggest medical treatment and hospitalisation, even when this would not necessarily improve the quality of life for the person concerned. Indeed, questions about the quality of life have sometimes been portrayed as something of an intrusion upon the purely medical equation.

(Brisenden 1986: 176)

In this perspective, the interactions between medical experts and their patients, individuals with impairment, could be shaped, investigated and employed (Lupton, 1994).

What is the problem with the medical model? Although the model offers ‘a conceptual framework within which disability can be understood, assessed, experienced, planned for and justified’ (Swain et al. 2003: 22), the definition of disability in the medical model draws attention to physical and mental restrictions being consequences of an uncontrollable nature and misfortune which thus ignores important factors such as age, gender, ethnicity, family, society, social class, policy, culture, and environment.

The medical power, moreover, has cast individuals with disabilities as the antithesis of ‘normal people’, and created the inequality and segregation that work against people with impairments (Oliver and Barnes, 2012). The partial and limited idea behind the medical model is that of a personal tragedy; this is to say, individuals with disability will be treated as if they are the victims of some tragic happening or condition, or as people who are in need of care and treatment, and need to rely on others. In the process of identification and classification by the professional authorities, the issues of people with disabilities are tied to the individual’s problems as functional limitations. Impairment is perceived as a disorder that is unreliable and undesirable, and therefore persons with impairments must make a greater effort to prove their value to their families or society (Oliver and Barnes, 2012). With the emergence of industrialisation and urbanisation, the regular, fast and timekeeping factory-based production norms have replaced the agricultural society, and people with disabilities do not fit the requirements of this modern production process. Able-bodied workers have consequently been categorised as incapable and unfit, which has then seen them excluded from mainstream society. Finally, people with disabilities can be led to poverty, unemployment and oppression.

In the UK, the terminological debate around the use of the social or the medical model has become a distinguishing characteristic of disability studies and a litmus test of their worth. In reality, no authors have ever clearly affiliated themselves with the perspectives associated with the medical model. But the motif of the medical model is still recognised by the disability activist, and in specific accounts and descriptions of authors in disability studies. The representation of the medical model is the *International Classification of Impairment Disabilities and Handicaps* (ICIDH). Growing interest at an international level gave rise to a universal definition of disability which was first attempted by the World Health Organisation

(WHO). The first version of the ICDH was published by the WHO in 1980. The development work on the ICDH was carried out by Philip Wood, Mike Bury and Elizabeth Badley; Philip Wood was in charge of all of the main taxonomic work on the classification while Mike Bury and Elizabeth Badley established the conceptual framework of clarifying and elaborating the classifications (Bury, 2000). The ICDH adopts a threefold typology; ‘impairment’, ‘disability’ and ‘handicap’:

Impairment: In the context of health experience, an impairment is any loss or abnormality of psychological, physiological or anatomical structure or function.

Disability: In the context of health experience, a disability is any restriction or lack (resulting from an impairment) of ability to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for a human being.

Handicap: In the context of health experience, a handicap is a disadvantage for a given individual, resulting from an impairment or a disability that limits or prevent the fulfilment of a role that is normal (depending on age, sex, social and cultural factors) for that individual.

(WHO 1980: 27-29)

The ICDH was widely applied in dozens of contexts for a variety of purposes. For example, these included the basis of population surveys of disability which were carried out by the Office of Population, Census and Survey during the 1980s, the settings of health care such as the development of the London Handicap scale, codifying health information, vocational assessment, social policy formulating, rehabilitative measurement and academic research.

Bury (2000) insisted that he does not intend to discriminate and marginalise the individuals with disabilities, arguing that:

Our aim, it will be remembered, was to challenge the medical model and assumptions about disablement. Most importantly, our aim was to bring handicap onto the healthcare agenda. That is, we were pressing for greater recognition of (what came to be called) social exclusion in response to disablement.

(Bury 2000: 1074)

Some disability activists and allies, however, consider the ICIDH not to be so helpful for classifying individuals with disabilities, especially given that it was developed on the narrow set of western values and presumptions of normality (Oliver and Barnes, 2012). The scheme was censured based on able-bodied assumptions of disability and definite impairments as the deciding factor to explain disability and numerous deprivations related to it (Oliver, 1993, 2009). Also, disability activists argue that it is hard to sustain handicaps as the consequences of disability and impairment. For example, some skin scarring and hair loss will not have an impact on the individual's physical and intellectual capacity (Barnes, 2012).

Bickenbach et al. (1999) proclaimed that the ICIDH does consider the aspect of social environment elements, but admit that:

Although identified as a classification of 'circumstances in which disabled people are likely to find themselves', there is never any reference in the handicap to features of the social world that create those circumstances. It is a classification of limitations of people's abilities.

(Bickenbach et al. 1999: 1175)

Except for the criticism of the ICIDH, Shakespeare (2006) also addressed the polarised and reified phenomenon and argued that the medical model should not be just recognised as ICIDH. He contended that:

It has become a proxy for all that it is wrong with traditional attitudes to disability. It stands for research and practice developed by non-disabled people, without the participation of disabled people. It stands for the dominance of professionals. It stands for the idea that disabled people are defined by their physical or intellectual deficits. It stands for medicalisation. The concept of the medical model has become a powerful symbol, but when closely analysed, it is nothing but a straw person.

(Shakespeare 2006: 18)

With the emergence of the social model and following the criticism from the people with disabilities, the WHO published a revised version of ICIDH, the ICIDH2 (*International Classification of Impairment Activities and Participation*) in 1997. The new scheme abandoned the terms 'disability' and 'handicap' and replaced them with 'activities' and

‘participation’. In order to avoid terminological confusion, the ICIDH2 substituted ‘activities’ for ‘disability’, in some countries the term ‘people with disabilities’ is used, while in the UK and elsewhere the phrase ‘disabled people’ is preferred. On the other hand, the word ‘disabled’ in everyday settings connotes someone who is not abled-bodied. Similar concern also arose with the word handicap, which was criticised for suggesting a potential stigma to individuals with disabilities. The revised scheme advised that participation may cause impairments, and thus create a causal loop back to the beginning (Bury, 2000).

With several years of revision, the *International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health* (ICF) (WHO, 2002) was endorsed by the WHO in May 2001 to solve the argument which was generated by the ICIDH2. Reacting to the criticisms of the ICIDH, the WHO launched several international and incorporative revision exercises with hundreds of medical experts, epidemiologists, health statisticians and members of the disability movement group to make sure that it would be an intercultural application. The ICF, in short, served to ‘provide an international language to describe functioning and disability from the perspective of health’ (Bickenbach 2012:56).

Within the ICF’s framework, disability is regarded as a continuous approach. In other words, it assumes that everyone at some point of their lifespan, more or less, not yes or no, will acquire some degree of disability. The definition of disability is that:

...functioning are viewed as outcomes of interactions between health conditions (diseases, disorders and injuries) and contextual factors.

Among contextual factors are external environmental factors (for example, social attitudes, architectural characteristics, legal and social structures as well as climate, terrain and so forth), and internal personal factors, which include gender, age, coping styles, social background, education, profession, past and current experience, overall behaviour pattern, character and other factors that influence how disability is experienced by individual.

(WHO 2002: 10)

Advocates assert that the ICF both acknowledges the social environment and physical impairment and can be seen as an advancement than the ICIDH2 (Hurst, 2000). In spite of that, in the ICF the tools to measure the environmental factors are still limited (Oliver &

Barnes 2012) and the usage of the ICF is doubted by academia. Employing the words of ICF's principal creator, Bickenbach:

...As a multi-domain, multi-dimensional, interactive and continuous phenomenon (as it is characterized in the ICF), we must specify which impairment domains quality, to which degree of severity. Different prevalence rates flow from different decisions. If we are interested in any impairment domain, to any degree of severity, then prevalence is roughly universal – a conclusion of no use to policy makers whatsoever. If we restrict our scope to specific domains and severity levels, then our prevalence levels will differ accordingly. But these decisions cannot be made conceptually or scientifically, they are political. The scientific approach in a word, does not solve the problem the policy analyst needs to solve.

(Bickenbach 2009: 120)

Despite some doubts associated with the medical model which arose from individuals with disability and activists (Bickenbach, 2012), the ICF is currently still the popular and prevalent scheme and tool for classifying and categorising people with disabilities. It can be utilised to portray some aspects of people's with disabilities' interactions with the world. There are many surveys, reports, research projects and policy statements which are based on the ICF's definitions.

The medical model only diagnoses individuals with impairment based on medical knowledge, and the focus is on anomaly and deficiency of the bodies. In this view it is easy to see the individuals as 'a myriad of sets of mechanically juxtaposed structures each of which fulfilled specific functions'(Arney & Bergen 1983: 3). Impairment became the authoritative description for what had happened in the lives of people with disabilities, who easily fell into the philosophy of victim-blaming, linking their physical and mental impairments to individual problems, and finally result in exclusion and inequality. In order to break down the explanation of disability as entirely a medical problem, we need to find an alternative avenue to deconstruct the medical model. This alternative is known as the social model and is elaborated upon in the next section.

5.2. The social model

The social model has been thought of as ‘the big idea’ in the disability movement (Hasler 1993). Yet the social model itself is a basic and concise announcement which turns the traditional definition of disability on its head. As the Fundamental Principles of Disability by the UPIAS advocate asserts: ‘In our view, it is society which disables physically impaired people. Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments, by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society’ (UPIAS 1976: 3-4). Further, Oliver suggests that ‘the social model was a way of getting us all to think about the things we had in common, and the barriers that we all faced’ (Oliver 2004: 28).

From the 1960s onwards, there arose critiques of the orthodox medicalisation, from the 1960s onwards, proponents challenged and subverted the power of the medical profession, arguing that social life had become more and more medicalised, and that their central idea is that people’s autonomy should not be compelled by the more powerful ‘others’ (Lupton, 2000). Undoubtedly, disability research was also involved in this stream of thought. Several sociologists (Goffman, 1963; Szasz, 1974; Illich, 1976; Zola, 1977) assailed the application of medicalisation and professionalism to people with impairments. In *Stigma: Some notes on the management of spoiled identity*, Goffman used the concept of stigma which derived from the ancient Greeks to illustrate how people with impairments and other minority groups interact with society. Today people with impairments still struggle to manage their spoiled identity (Shearer, 1981). However, Finkelstein (1980) had argued that Goffman’s stigma lacked the understanding of oppression which implies those who are considered disabled perpetually play a dependent role in society. Also, Barnes (1988) then criticised the book for ignoring the surrounding and social limitations faced by individuals with disabilities, as well as the running of organisations and politicisation of disability. Goffman’s insights are still extensively used in academia today (Birrell and Donnelly, 2004).

The beginning of the social model was the publication of the UPIAS (Oliver 2004). In 1974, the key activists in UK’s disabled people’s movement, Paul Hunt, Vic Finkelstein and Ken Davis, instituted the UPIAS, which unequivocally became the most influential organisation in the history of social model thinking (Barnes, 2012). For the first couple of years, the matrix of the UPIAS concentrated on discussion and debate in order to formulate a political ideology of disability (Shakespeare, 2014). Their elemental concepts were to censure organisations controlled by non-disabled experts to erect the various restrictions and barriers

which saw individuals with disabilities excluded from mainstream economic and social events (UPIAS, 1976). These statements have influenced the social movement and disability theorising in the UK (Oliver, 2009).

The official definition of disability, based on the individual model of disability with its medicalisation of one's own experience and its welfare implications, were increasingly condemned by social activists and their organisations (Oliver and Barnes, 2012). The UPIAS published a quite clear definition to differentiate between impairment and disability:

Impairment: impairment as lacking part of o all of a limb, or having a defective limb, organ or mechanism of the body

Disability: disability as the disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organisation which takes no or little account of people who have physical impairment and thus excludes them from participation in the mainstream of social activities.

(UPIAS 1976: 14)

This condition whether the impairment, both congenital and required, has a greater or lesser degree of negative impact on the physical and mental aspects. Also, impairment-specific labels may have relevance when approaching to medical services and social supports, but those are 'usually imposed rather than chosen and therefore socially and politically divisive' (Barnes 2012: 14).

According to the socio-political distinction produced by the UPIAS between impairment and disability, they consider physical impairment to be referred to both physiologically and psychologically, inherited and acquired damaged bodily function, and disability denotes the barriers and impediments faced by impaired people in the social environments. Thus, the redefinition of the disability which generated the starting point which is known as the social model of disability is:

..., the social model of disability is about nothing more complicated than a clear focus on the economic, environmental and cultural barriers encountered by people who are viewed by others as having some form of impairment – whether physical, sensory or intellectual.

(Oliver 2004: 21)

The social model transferred the emphasis from the view of disability as exclusively an individual medical problem or personal tragedy in Western culture, to an idea of disability as ‘the outcome of an oppressive relationship between people with impairments and the rest of society’(Finkelstein 1980: 47). As Michailakis has claimed ‘the distinctive feature of the individual-centred approach to handicap is the disregard for the constraining force of values and social structure’ (Michailakis 1997: 22). The social model highlights the lack of opportunities for people with impairments to engage in mainstream economic and social activities, as a result they suffer from oppression and exclusion; thus, individuals with impairments should seek to remove barriers and eliminate restriction through social change and political action. In other words, the restrictions which persons with impairments face in terms of education, housing, work and mobility are not the outcomes of their physical impairments, but social factors such as segregation and stereotypical images about their abilities and needs. People with disabilities do not need to be changed or pitied, but rather they should demand civil rights protection assured in law, representation in the political development and the full combination of disablement topics with social policy (Barnes, 1994). More explicitly, if a person with impairment in a wheelchair cannot access the sporting stadium or sports facilities in one’s city because of a lack of ramps or elevators, the supposition of the social model will pinpoint the design and structure of the building, not an individual’s impairment.

The social model is vital to the disability movement for identifying a political strategy, removing barriers and for the people with disabilities themselves (Shakespeare, 2006). In terms of removing barriers, the priority of the social model is to dismantle the social barriers in order to improve the inclusion of people with disabilities. It is more desirable to pursue social transformation as opposed to medical treatment and rehabilitation, and the ultimate solution of legislation. Secondly, substituting an understanding of social oppression for a traditional deficit approach emancipates the individuals with disabilities. People with disabilities can come to recognise that it was society which should be faulted instead of themselves; they do not have to feel sorry for themselves; they do not need to change, rather than the society. Thus, ‘disabled people began to think of themselves in a new way, and to become empowered to mobilise for equal citizenship’ (Shakespeare 2006: 30).

The merit of the social model is that it offers people with disabilities to different insights and perspectives—regarding the realisation and recognition of the term ‘disability’. It allows the persons with disabilities a ground on which to discover themselves:

Using the social model as a basis for explanation, disabled people have been drawing attention to the real problems of disability: the barriers they face; the patronizing attitude they have to deal with; the low expectations that are invested in them; and the limited options available to them

(Swain et al. 2003: 24)

Furthermore, the social model should not just be thought of as a social theory; it should be regarded as a fundamental alternative to a very different set of research questions being asked (Oliver and Barnes, 2012). In academia, the social model has had a significant influence, as Shakespeare notes:

Whereas the medical sociology of disability had traditionally investigated issues such as individual adjustment to impairment and explored the consequences of impairment for identity, the social model inspired researchers in a new field of disability studies to turn their attention to topics such as discrimination, the relationship between disability and industrial capitalism, or the varying cultural processes.

(Shakespeare 2006: 30)

To summarise, the social model is a tool with which to offer ‘insights into the disabling tendencies of modern society in order to generate policies and practices to facilitate their eradication’ (Barnes 2012: 18).

The effect of rehabilitation is cast under suspicion by the social model, due to the cultural bias which still seeks to segregate people with impairments; thus, medical practices are still unavoidably locked into person-centred approaches (Barnes, 2003). Social modelists argue that ‘in term of returning people with acquired impairments such as spinal cord injury, for example, to their former status, it has little or no relevance or meaning for people born with congenital conditions such as blindness or deafness other than to enforce their sense of inadequacy and difference’ (Oliver & Barnes 2012: 42).

The social model’s advocates tend to hold that impairment and disability are dichotomous. The activists of the social model deny any relevance of the body when they are out campaigning. They think that individuals with disabilities share the common experience of oppression, regardless of the impairment. That is to say; disability is interpreted as entirely

caused by social arrangements and nothing whatsoever to do with one's biological impairment or damage. However, in reaction to the condemnation of the materialist social model, the adherents to the social model have sought to deal with the issues of impairment in the model. Many authors have begun to accept the role of impairment in their articulation (Oliver, 2004, 2009; Barnes, 2012; Oliver and Barnes, 2012) that 'a social model of impairment is needed alongside the social model of disability' (Oliver 1996: 42).

With the publication of the renowned 'The New Politics of Disablement' (Oliver 2012), the social model of disability was pushed to the forefront of social thinking. In this text, Oliver attempted to develop a broader structure for the social model of disability; Oliver employed Gramsci's perspectives to interpret the situation of the individuals with disabilities in capitalist society. In his materialist account, before the industrial revolution most people with impairments were integrated into the community and suffered oppression and prejudice. With the arrival of industrialisation and urbanisation, as well as ideologies such as eugenics, medicalisation and social Darwinism, the working and living pattern changed, which provided justification for discrimination and oppression and caused the systematic segregation of people with impairments from mainstream society. This trend was significantly affected by a large number of civilians and soldiers injured during the war and an unprecedented rise in the number of disabled and elderly people due to increased affluence and technological improvements. All of these factors converged and spurred the politicisation and upheaval of people with disabilities. However, Oliver over-emphasised the social construction of disability which was then interfering with the development of the social model and his theory then became a full-scale theory on its own with little attention paid to other subjects, such as sports (Howe, 2008).

The social model not only hugely affects the politics and society in the UK but also influences the statements and documents published at an international level. For instance, the ICF was practised by WHO in 2001, the *Standard Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunity for People with Disabilities* in 2003 and the Optional Protocol of Rights of Persons with Disabilities in 2006 were adopted by UN, and the Action Plan was sanctioned by the EU in 2003 (Barnes, 2012). They all incorporated the thinking of the social model into their establishment.

The social model successfully shifted the attention of individuals with impairments from biomedical deviance to social oppression and restriction. People with disabilities are no

longer categorised as functional or abnormal, and society has started to pay attention to the different needs of individuals with disabilities. However, in the series of actions in which the social modelists fought for the equalities and rights of persons of impairments, these activists were criticised for overstating and disregarding the importance of impairment and the body. Using the words of Oliver (2004), 'If we imagine that throughout human history the carpenters and builder of the world had spent their time talking about whether the hammer was an adequate tool for the purpose of building house, we would still be living in caves or roaming the plains'(Oliver 2004: 30). We can therefore understand why the adherents of the social model are so eager to change the situations and treatment of people with impairments.

After reviewing the medical model and the social model, it has been shown how their one-dimensional accounts can be seen to have led to the incomplete interpretation of the spectrum of sports for the disabled. In order to make sense of the spectacle of sports for the disabled, the following section will centre on the bio/social model.

5.3. The bio/social model

Having explored both the medical model and the social model, we argue that they are incomplete and therefore inadequate to apply to the realm of sports for the disabled. I think that the bio/social model is a more suitable model to explain the sphere of sports for the disabled. It considers both sides; the biological angle and social angle of individuals with disabilities, which I will explicitly contend in this section.

The biomedical facet is a vital component of sports for the disabled, especially in the medical classification which takes place before sports events for the disabled. The classification system decisions are not only based on diagnosis and medical evaluation, but also on how much the impairments of the athlete impact sports performances and grades. The purpose of categories for sports for the disabled is to allow for fair competition and equality of opportunity (Jones and Howe, 2005; Howe and Jones, 2006; Tweedy and Vanlandewijck, 2011). As Sherrill (1999) claims, 'the basic goal of classification is to ensure the winning or losing an event depends on talent, training, skill, fitness and motivation rather than unevenness among competitors on disability-related variables (e.g., spasticity, paralysis, absence of limb segments).' A classification will dictate that, for example, visually impaired people will not compete with a person with a spinal cord injury in the same level and event.

Unquestionably, medical classification cannot be absent in the operation of sports for the disabled. This is the reason why we must consider the biological aspect when investigating the applicability of models of disability in the sporting sphere.

As the social model became an unmistakable trend, one cannot help but ask the question: Are there any other methods which illustrate the operation of the disability in society? The answer, in fact, is that there are still other models such as the normalisation theory, the minority group model, the bio/social model and the Nordic relational model which all coexist with the social model in academia (Shakespeare, 2006). The normalisation theory was established by non-disabled academics to remove labelling, prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination, segregation, oppression and institutionalisation from the lives of individuals with disabilities, and of making the experience of people with intellectual impairments as close as possible to that of the regular circumstances.

The minority group model was developed by North American disability activists with the guiding assumption that persons with disabilities represent a minority group which suffers from prejudice and discrimination and that only through civil rights legislation will individual rights be certified. The minority group model shares with the social model the same notion that defines disability as a form of social oppression, but not in the strict terms of the social model. Regarding the Nordic relational model, disability is considered as a mismatch between the individual and the environment, and people with impairments not only expect the environment to adapt to them, but also ask themselves to adapt to the environment. However, the Nordic theory is overly reliant on medical diagnoses and lacks in accounting for oppression and discrimination (Shakespeare, 2006). As a consequence, the social model is not the only position from which to study individuals with disabilities, and there are many narratives for persons with impairments which co-exist in academia.

There are still many problems within the social model which need to be solved. First, the social model has the political dangers of becoming narrowly rigid and ideological. It rejects the impairment-specific approach to the people with disabilities and expels the role of rehabilitation in their articulation. As noted in *The New Politics of Disablement*:

Clearly the concept of rehabilitation is laden with normative assumptions clustered around an able-bodied/mind ideal. And, despite its limitations in terms of returning people with acquired impairments such as spinal cord injury, for example, to their former status, it has little or no relevance or meaning for people

born with congenital conditions such as blindness or deafness other than to enforce their sense of inadequacy and difference.

(Oliver & Barnes 2012: 42)

Furthermore, if the disability is only discussed to debates around social exclusion, we have not met people with impairments' special needs and those of the survey disability population and other groups. In short, undergoing a wider structural transformation does not necessarily disavow medical exploration and clinical treatment.

Second, the strengths of the social model are also its weakness. Although the definition: disabled by society, not by our bodies and the spotlights need to be changed: barriers, prejudices and discriminations of social model are unequivocal, it still firmly sticks to its fundamental doctrines without adapting to different interpretations of the need to respond to the change of circumstances as the environment evolves with time. Simply endorsing the perspective of the social model is not enough, as the role of impairments in contributing to social limitation should also be acknowledged (Thomas, 1999; Wendell, 2001; Reeve, 2012).

Third, it is hard to separate impairment and disability. The social model is inclined to regard disability and impairment independently; disability as a social creation, and impairment as a biological situation. However, disability and impairment are inseparable. As impairment itself generates pain and discomfort, it is hard to ignore the physical restrictions of individuals with disabilities (Morris, 1991). Without acknowledging a link between disability and impairment, the concept of 'disability' will become a much wider and vaguer term that extends to any form of socially enforced limitation. The account provided by the social model has difficulties in emphasising the distinction between impairment and disability (Lester and Tritter, 2005; Lock *et al.*, 2005).

Fourth, facing impairment squarely is crucial for individuals with disabilities. Can we inspect if the medical system meets disabled people's needs? Can we know if the treatment is effective or causes other side effects to persons with impairments? How can we prevent and minimise the impact of impairment on people with impairments? How can we improve the quality of life of people with impairments? How can we deal with the additional impairments caused by social restriction such as poverty and unemployment? For many, impairment is not neutral but refers to intrinsic disadvantages. Furthermore, people with impairments have higher unmet needs in health than non-disabled people (Shakespeare, 2014). By only trying

to confront the impairments of individuals of disabilities, it is possible to solve the problems which are caused by impairments.

Lastly, the barrier-free environment which is proposed by the social model is impractical. Underpinning the idea of a barrier-free world is an attempt to suggest that impairments can be irrelevant to people with disabilities. In the ideal barrier-free surroundings, everything is designed to be accessible for persons with disabilities, but in practice it is an impossible goal to be achieved. It is not possible to change natural environments such as snow-covered ground or rugged mountains for people with disabilities. Besides, different impairments have different needs, and it is impossible to fit the individual needs of every person. Overly emphasising barrier-free settings would increase the economic burden and affect budgets for other areas (Shakespeare, 2006). Sometimes, segregated space can be a more appropriate arrangement for people with disabilities, for example, autism. Even a barrier-free world would not remove limitations and mean worse conditions for people with disabilities (French, 1993).

I find Shakespeare's (2006) perspectives on interpreting the bio/social model of disability to be the most helpful and straightforward model of disability. He argues that the experience of a person with a disability results from the relationship between factors intrinsic to the individual (nature and severity of impairment, their own attitude, abilities, personality) and the extrinsic factors (attitudes and reaction to others, environment, cultural, social, and economic issues) arising from the wider context in which one finds oneself. This model emphasises both medical perspectives and social constructions in sports for the disabled spectacle particularly, medical categorisation and social approaches both shape the phenomena of the sporting field.

Distinguishing the approach of the bio/social model from the social model which emphasises disability's relationship with social barriers and oppression, the interactional approach of the bio/social model indeed enables us to consider of the influence of both external and internal factors relating to disability. Undoubtedly, some individuals with disabilities are suffering from physical and psychological problems. Obviously, pain or inconvenience accompanies individuals with disability continuously, and it is impossible to examine a model of disability without accepting the role of impairment. Impairments undeniably make life harder and become a burden for living, and as a result limit the lives of people with disabilities. As MacIntyre (1999) perceptively points out, regarding very severely

impaired individuals: They can never be more than passive members of the community, not recognising, not speaking or not speaking intelligibly, suffering, but not acting (MacIntyre 1999: 127). Indeed, impairments of individuals with disabilities can become restrictions on freedom and can interfere with the realisation of their wider potential. It is impossible to ignore the existence of such impairments when exploring the social condition of people with disabilities.

To dismiss the social model does not equate to advocating a return to the previous era of medicalisation and the eminence of the individual model before the UPIAS uprising. In a different situation, especially in the academic study of sports for the disabled, there must be other, more suitable, ways of conceptualising it.

The differences between the bio/social model and the medical model are that physical and mental impairments are not the determining judgement in explaining the concept of disability. When exploring disability, impairment is required but not the sufficient element in the compound interaction of matters that engenders disability. It is undeniable that impairment does play some role in the lives of people with disabilities, even though the problems of social limitation, restriction and exclusion have already been minimised or removed. As Shildrick (2012) mentions:

Perhaps if there were more recognition that there is no single acceptable mode of embodiment, and that all bodies are unstable and vulnerable, then rather than being labelled as deficient, the bodies that are further from normative standards would be revalued as simply different.

(Shildrick 2012: 40)

Summary

In the model of disability, the medical model is criticised for only drawing attention to the impairments or functional abnormalities of individuals with disabilities whereas the social model focuses more on the social oppression and limitations experienced by people with impairments. Because the medical components cannot be absent from the sports for the disabled and impairment and disability are inseparable, people with impairments have been constructed by social interplay and interaction. As a result, my work follows the bio/social

model to explore how sports for the disabled engage with the body impairments and social interpretation. Studies of sports for the disabled would be better off following the bio/social model, as it allows both pathological and social interactions to be discussed on its merits. Purely adapting the medical model and the social model will fall back into fatally undermined contradictions and inadequacies.

Chapter6. The forgotten body: the history of sport for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1945 and 1971

Imagine yourself running on all fours like a dog or scooting along, always at people's feet. Then to be able to stand up and walk, however slowly, like others around you! No longer so different, head proudly erect, able to look others straight in the eye! One boy keeps saying, 'Oh, I am so happy! I am so happy' I am, too! Aren't you?

(McMillan 2005: 79)

Rehabilitation certainly participates in the powerful action of maintenance that is social action, but here, however, the primary concern was to efface.

(Stiker 2009: 129)

Living in Taiwan with physical disabilities between 1945 and 1973 was distressing. The attitude of Taiwanese society toward people with physical disabilities led to their isolation and segregation. They were regarded as useless and deprived of love, education, employment and almost all social interaction. They were intentionally forgotten. As a nurse of the Pingtung Christian Hospital described:

Dr. Bjørgaas¹⁹ like a 'ragpicker'; he used to take a lot of unknown sick kids to the sanatorium every now and then. He would walk down streets, spot ill or crawling child, and then bring the child to the sanatorium. He did so before notifying the parents.

(Good TV 2003: 53)

From this quotation, we can understand that individuals with physical disabilities were treated as debris and that no one, not even their parents, cared what happened to them. The realm of the sport was no exception; people with physical disabilities were excluded from participating in sports as their impairments became a stigma which able-bodied people thought made exercise impractical and unnecessary. Although news of the Stoke Mandeville

Games was reported in newspapers (*United Daily News*, 1962c), the right of individuals with physical disabilities to take part in sport still had not been accepted, and this group can be seen as a 'forgotten body' in Taiwanese society.

After 50 years of Japanese rule, individuals with disabilities were marginalised in Taiwanese society. A few people with visual and hearing disabilities could receive education and participate in society (Ministry of Education, 2011; Chiu, 2015). Until 1945, there existed two public schools for individuals with visual and hearing disabilities: the Tainan School for the Visually and Orally Impaired (organised by the British missionary William Campbell in 1891 and transferred to the Japanese government in 1922) and the Taipei School for the Visually and Orally Impaired (Organised by Kingo Kimura in 1917 and transferred to the Japanese government in 1928). Simultaneously, there existed more than 10,000 people with disabilities in Taiwan. However, only a few hundreds of them could receive education and take up jobs as physical therapists and fortune tellers, and the others became beggars. In summary, in 1945, individuals with disabilities were excluded from mainstream society, and special education was provided by private charity organisations, a phenomenon that was reflected across the ROC (Yang and Inamori, 1996).

In this period, the individuals with disabilities were not involved in the fight between the KMT and CPC. The primary aim of Chiang Kai-shek was to retake the power in Mainland China. Thus, every measure enforced by the government was aimed at achieving this goal. In the constitution, the men in Taiwan had to compulsorily take part in military service from the age of 18. However, people with disabilities were exempt from the Military Service Law because of their impairments (Republic of China, 1946). Consequently, individuals with disabilities were regarded as useless and were not included in such an important national affair. People did not expect that disabled people could contribute to society. Therefore, the impaired people were not recruited in the army of the nation and the fight across the Taiwan Strait.

Inevitably, there were thousands of seriously injured and permanently disabled servicemen in Taiwan after the WW II. In order to resettle these disabled servicemen, several veteran homes were built across Taiwan. Unfortunately, sports did not become seen as an option for their rehabilitation, but they were known to take some exercise in the veteran homes (Lo, 1963). Owing to the lack of official records, this research is not able to know the condition of

these activities; thus the sports for the ex-serviceman with physical disabilities will not be discussed in this research.

This chapter begins with an introduction on the Poliomyelitis (polio) epidemic in the world and Taiwan, then turns to the measures which the society imposed on the institutionalisation of people impaired from contracting polio and ends by discussing sports for people with physical disabilities. It is necessary to mention polio, which led to a large number of children becoming paralysed in the early period of Taiwan's history. According to the school-age student estimate by Kaohsiung city, between 1965 and 1970 there were 1541 students with physical disabilities, and 94% of them, 1450 students, were polio survivors (Li, 1972). Only in the institutions we can discover the emergence of sports, or what in the Chinese language is directly translated to 'bodily movement' in this chapter, because in institutions people can find companions with similar disabilities and they can use alternative equipment or rules to exercise together. In the next section, the Foucauldian lens will be utilised to investigate the phenomena of sports for physical disabilities in Taiwan.

6.1. Polio, impairments and braces

Poliomyelitis (polio), comes from the Greek terms *polios*, meaning 'grey', and *myelos*, meaning 'matter'; the word refers to the grey matter of the spinal cord and has a long history which dates back to ancient Egypt, around 1500 BC (Drutz and Ligon, 2000). Polio is a highly infectious disease; it spreads through person-to-person transmission via the faecal-oral route and contaminated water or food. The initial symptoms of the sufferers are fever, fatigue, headache, vomiting, stiffness of the neck and pain in the limbs. The polio virus destroys the motor neurons within the spinal cord and brain stem and leads to 0.5% of survivors suffering permanent paralysis in the legs. Among those paralysed, 5% to 10% die when their breathing system becomes immobilised (World Health Organization, 2017).

Polio-fearing parents of children under five years old saw the plague strike in the summer and sweep through settlements every few years. In the early part of the twentieth century polio was little known by people; the epidemics sometimes caused hysterical reactions among parents, administrators and medical practitioners. For example, the 1916 outbreak in New York resulted in thousands moving to suburban areas and social gatherings were all shunned (Gould 1995; Melnick 1996). Developing a vaccine at that time was 'somewhat like a Stone

Age man trying to invent an automobile' (Blume 2005: 162). The most serious outbreak of polio occurred in the 1940s and 1950s, with 2720 deaths and 42173 cases reported in the United States during the 1949 epidemic (Infoplease, 2017) while Canada and the UK were also affected (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1993). The watershed moment came in 1949, when John Enders, Thomas Weller and Frederick Robbins found the propagation of the poliovirus and opened the avenue to the vaccine of polio. Two vaccines were developed to combat poliovirus; the first of which was invented by Jonas Salk, who, in 1952, used dead poliovirus to develop inactivated poliovirus vaccine (IPV). After giving the injection on children, they can successfully prevent the disease, and the cases of polio also reduced dramatically. Eight years after Salk's breakthrough, a more efficient oral polio (OPV) vaccine which used a living but weakened form of the virus was developed by Albert Sabin. OPV achieved almost total dominance and led to a further decrease in the 1960s and 1970s, and by 1984 only 4 cases of polio were reported in the United States (Drutz and Ligon, 2000). With the progress of the vaccine and the promotion of injection, polio has been eradicated in most countries in the world, and most parents no longer fear the risk of polio.

Taiwan was not immune to the epidemics of polio. Before 1955, polio had not yet been ruled as a regulated infection, and so hospitals did not report cases of polio to the government. According to the statistics of National Taiwan University Hospital (NTUH), between 1947 and 1952 there were around 30 fatal cases of polio, and therefore, NTUH estimated that the cases of polio might be around 700, but this figure was just limited to NTUH cases (*United Daily News*, 1955). After polio became a regulated infection in 1955, the government started to monitor it and the first official statistics were recorded. This development to polio meant that the emphasis shifted from exclusion to observation (Foucault, 2003a). Chart 1 highlights that from 1955 hundreds of children were infected by polio and this epidemic caused a large number of deaths and physical disability among survivors. However, the actual number of polio cases was higher than was recorded in the official statistics. According to the estimate of Dr. Chen Chiung-Lin²⁰, the epidemics in Taiwan were more severe than those in Western countries, and the number of actual cases should be 6840 - significantly higher than the 4200 recorded in the official governmental statistics: 4200 (Chen, 2002).

In the 1950s, Taiwanese people lived in widespread poverty and the national public health system was not well-developed. The ruler, Chiang Kai-Shek, focussed on a policy to 'Recover Mainland China', and 70% of the government budget was spent on military and

little was spent on public health, beyond the costs of employing personnel in the health sector (Chang, 2013). From the middle of the 1950s, the polio epidemic often appeared in newspapers and the sequela of polio caused fear and panic among parents. Parents were most worried about their children having a constant fever because these symptoms were associated with polio or Japanese encephalitis. At that time, medical resources were not easy to access, people in general did not have proper medical knowledge, and people often resigned themselves to fate if they got sick. The government attitude toward the polio was passive, just advising that people should not feel scared, keep the environment clean, have hygienic food and clean water, and keep children away from public spaces (*United Daily News*, 1956a). There were also insufficient spaces in hospitals for polio patients. For example, in Taipei city only two hospitals had a total of seven beds between them for polio patients (*United Daily News*, 1956b). From 1958 onwards, Taiwan successively imported polio vaccines from the United States. Some of these vaccines were ordered by private medical institutions as the cost of immunisation was not affordable for the general public, and only the rich could get injections; other vaccines were donated from overseas, but the total number of vaccines were not enough for the populace (Lin, 2002). Besides using Western treatment, in the fifties and the sixties people in Taiwan still turned to Chinese medicine and mediums. Chinese medicine included the application of techniques such as massage, acupuncture, medical herbs and heat therapy. Medium refers to a Chinese witch doctor, who was believed to cast a spell on the polio patient in order to send the ghosts and spirits away, or who could provide Fu-Shui²¹, grigri juju to heal the patient (Liu, 1965). People believed the symptoms of polio came from ghosts and spirits' affections. However, neither Chinese medicine nor medium can cure polio.

Some missionaries, as well as medical doctors, were not satisfied with the government policy and could not bear to see how parents and children were suffering in the epidemics, and so solicited polio vaccine overseas. Before and after 1960, the United States intended to replace Salk's vaccine with Sabin's. Noordhoff²², the president of Mackay Memorial Hospital, thought it is a golden opportunity to acquire the polio vaccine, so he received the help of the Church World Service and successfully imported the vaccine to Taiwan. Owing to the limitation of the polio vaccine, the injection was only used on children under two years old who lived in five major cities: Taipei, Taichung, Chaiyi, Tainan and Kaohsiung (Liang, 2000). Another example is the Norwegian missionary, Dr. Bjørngaas²³, who tried to explain the emergence of the polio vaccine to the authorities concerned of the Pingtung County Government, but did not receive any response. Then Bjørngaas turned to the branch of WTO

in Taipei, which responded that it was not necessary to do immunisation because their surveys showed that school-age children produced antibodies to polio, and because the vaccination was not under WHO's jurisdiction. There was no help from the government and the WHO, so Dr. Bjørngaas had to collect the polio vaccine from Japan and the U.S. Navy, but these vaccines could only scratch the surface of what was required (Sørheim-Queseth *et al.*, 2013).

The importing of vaccines even resulted in a controversial incident in 1965. The Director of Health Affairs of the Taiwan Provincial Government, Hsu Tzu-Chiu²⁴, often employed international personal relations to obtain the polio vaccine from overseas. Dr. Hsu often said that 'polio not only affects a child but also affects his family throughout his life, it is very bad' (Lin 2002: 11). At the beginning of 1965, however, Dr. Hsu was impeached for collecting a group of expired polio vaccines from Japan, and these vaccines had received a lot of criticism. Some people thought that they were being treated as lab rats, some people were afraid these expired vaccines would damage the human body, and some people holding anti-Japanese attitudes even claimed that Hsu Tzu-Chiu should not have received vaccines from Japan²⁵. However, Hsu Tzu-Chiu's diligent and dutiful attitude to public health enabled him to establish vital relationships; several prominent Taiwanese and Japanese medical experts issued statements to support the efficacy of the vaccine. After undergoing testing, the efficacies of the vaccines were established to be still very good. Furthermore, according to the regulation of WHO, the expiration date of the vaccine was two years, but Japan imposed a more stringent regulation of one year on the same vaccines, and thus the vaccines were safe and secure (Chang, 2012). In the end, with the investigation report and medical experts' endorsements, the expired vaccine dispute was settled satisfactorily. This expiry vaccine event reflected the urgent need of polio vaccine, as even when the vaccines were going to be overdue, Taiwan still tried to collect them.

By 1964, the government officially started to buy polio vaccines and promote vaccination programs for children. In Chart 1, the number of vaccines was estimated at 264,797, overtimes higher than a year earlier. The next year, Hsu Tzu-Chiu presented the 'Health Construction Ten Years Plan of Taiwan Province', in which the full polio vaccination was organised. In the first year of the plan, children under four years old had to take the OPV vaccine twice, and around 1.2 million children would benefit from this plan. In order to carry out the Ten Years Plan, Taiwan applied to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) for a subsidy for the polio vaccine, and UNICEF agreed to support the expenses of polio vaccine

for five years from 1966. As a result, from 1967 the cases of polio plummeted to 46 (see chart 1) (*United Daily News*, 1966c). From 1971 onwards, Taiwan began to budget for the cost of polio vaccination. With the immunisation, polio no longer threatened children's health during the 1970s.

The plague which had been silent for several years quietly came back in 1982. Although these developments from 1982 onward are beyond the period with which this chapter is concerned, these incidents still need to be articulated in order to provide a full picture of the polio epidemics in Taiwan. The resurgence of polio violently swept across Taiwan from the north to the south, then to the east; from urban areas to the country. A total of 1043 cases of the disease of which 98 children died were reported (see chart 1). The reason for the 1982 Outbreak was that the vaccination had not been carried out. At that time, when each local health centre would implement vaccination, they would check children's household registration, and sometimes they did not welcome children who had different household registrations. For example, the health centres in Taipei did not like to perform injections for the children who had Taichung household registrations. Industrialisation in Taiwan had just started during the 1970s and 1980s, and increased migration saw a large number of parents bring their children with them as they moved to work in urban areas. These parents often did not re-register their census registration, so their children became invisible and ignored by vaccination programmes (Zhang, 1984; Lin, 2003). Following the experience of the 1982 Epidemic, the Agency of Health changed the immunisation requirement from three times to five times and started to promote the personal Vaccination Record Card in an attempt to prevent polio from returning (Chen, 2002).

Owing to the complete implementation of polio vaccination, no case of the disease was reported by the year of 1991. In 2000, WHO announced that polio was eradicated from Taiwan. Officially, paralytic polio was wiped off the face of Taiwan. The rise and fall of polio are seen as a prime example of the success of public health policies in Taiwan. With the efforts of government officials, medical experts and residences, parents no longer need to worry about the nightmare that made many children physically disabled.

Chart 3: Number of polio cases and deaths caused in Taiwan between 1955 and 1985.

| Year | Number of patients | Number of deaths from polio | Number of vaccinations |
|------|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1955 | 478 | 37 | n/a |
| 1956 | 198 | 40 | n/a |
| 1957 | 332 | 87 | n/a |
| 1958 | 760 | 196 | 769 |
| 1959 | 748 | 247 | 1,625 |
| 1960 | 567 | 263 | 14,433 |
| 1961 | 508 | 283 | 20,467 |
| 1962 | 666 | 325 | 23,040 |
| 1963 | 402 | 144 | 21,654 |
| 1964 | 410 | 209 | 264,797 |
| 1965 | 563 | 255 | 1,290,353 |
| 1966 | 392 | 249 | 974,520 |
| 1967 | 46 | 31 | 1,583,786 |
| 1968 | 188 | 97 | 886,041 |
| 1969 | 67 | 26 | 835,097 |
| 1970 | 192 | 86 | 413,614 |
| 1971 | 126 | 45 | 39,363 |
| 1972 | 154 | 40 | 393,817 |
| 1973 | 24 | 4 | 381,242 |
| 1974 | 14 | 2 | 359,808 |
| 1975 | 7 | 1 | 404,321 |
| 1976 | 8 | 3 | 685,309 |
| 1977 | 4 | 1 | 701,747 |
| 1978 | 1 | 0 | 294,459 |
| 1979 | 3 | 0 | 572,038 |
| 1980 | 2 | 0 | 483,105 |
| 1981 | 0 | 0 | 468,133 |

| | | | |
|------|-------|----|-----------|
| 1982 | 1,043 | 98 | 4,367,193 |
| 1983 | 10 | 1 | 735,181 |
| 1984 | 4 | 0 | 539,917 |
| 1985 | 1 | 0 | 502,533 |

Source of materials: Chang, S.C.(2013) Rehabilitation, Assistive Devices and Life Experience of Poliomyelitis Patients in Taiwan (1950s-1970s).

The influence of polio was not merely on its medical side with survivors suffering from physical disabilities for their entire life. Polio also had the social consequence of its sufferers being excluded from society. In the words of Herzlich & Pierret, ‘polio diminishes the individual... It’s the problem of putting an individual back into a world where he no longer has a place, of being someone who is rejected or pitied’ (Herzlich & Pierret 1987: 42). Without exception, the society of Taiwan also imposes social metaphor upon polio survivors. The primary metaphor which people will link with disease is punishment when people lack knowledge about medicine, and even today the punitive notion is still held by some people. As Sontag states

Punitive notions of disease have a long history ... Nothing is more punitive than to give a disease a meaning – that meaning being invariably a moralistic one. Any important disease whose causality is murky, and for which treatment is ineffectual, tends to be awash in significance. First, the subjects of deepest dread (corruption, decay, pollution, anomie, weakness) are identified with the disease. The disease becomes a metaphor. Then, in the name of the disease (that is, using it as a metaphor), that horror is imposed on other things. The disease becomes adjectival. Something is said to be disease-like, meaning that it is disgusting or ugly.

(Sontag 2002: 59-60)

The impairments of polio survivors or we can say the disabled, were associated with the retribution of their family. People believed that the faults or crimes of ancestors, parents or relatives in their previous and present lives lead to people with disabilities being punished by spirits. Therefore, individuals with disabilities were considered as the shame of families.

This negative image was also projected onto people impaired from contracting polio, leading to the perception that they represented a threat to the balance of Taiwanese society. The society of Taiwan, a Confucian culture, used to advocate a social order in which each member is well-situated, and society is organised in order to prevent chaos and disorder. However, the paralyzed bodies were seen to represent an imbalance which would damage the order of society. Thus, people with physical disabilities were stigmatised and segregated from the society. Moreover, individuals with physical disabilities in Taiwanese society were not seen as ‘complete’ men or women whose impairments were seen as stains on their bodies, and who were not deserving of love and happiness, not to mention marriage. The difficulty of marriage meant was damaging to the continuation of the family, and it made people with physical disability undesirable in Taiwanese society. Thus, ‘an aberrancy within the corporeal order is an aberrancy in the social order’ (Stiker 2009: 40).

‘Poliomyelitis evokes the image of an exclusion reminiscent, *mutatis mutandis*, of the exclusion that was meted out to the victims of the great scourges of the past’ (Herzlich & Pierret 1987: 42). Even though polio has been eliminated in most of the world, the horror remains stamped in people’s minds, and we still can see its legacy on the body to remind us of this scourge. A large number of people with physical disabilities appeared after the spread of polio in Taiwan. In the next section, we will see how Taiwanese society treated those people impaired from contracting polio and how the sports was organised for them.

6.2. The birth of effacement: bodily movements for people with physical impairments between 1945 and 1971

The term ‘birth’ is used to point out the new approach towards individuals with physical disabilities; this new technique – rehabilitation, both biological and social, of addressing disabilities starts at the time after 1945. ‘This is a new notion, as the appearance of legislative discourse and a multitude of institutions testify. This is a notion different from cure. A cure is removal and relates to health. Rehabilitation is situated in the social sphere and constitutes a replacement for a deficit’ (Stiker 2009: 124). In other words, the remedial treatment aims to correct the aberrancy of individuals with physical disabilities and hopes to restore their body’s functioning and come toward normalcy. The measure of physical rehabilitation, which society applied to the people with physical disabilities, was to be understood base on this concept.

In order to include all the corporeal activities which people with physical disabilities did in this period, the phrase ‘bodily movements’ is used in this section. In the Oxford dictionary, the term ‘sport’ refers to ‘an activity involving physical exertion and skill in which an individual or team competes against another or others for entertainment’ (Anon n.d.). In other words, ‘sport’ means a person or a group of people participating in corporeal activities for pleasure. However, between 1945 and 1971, the nature of treatment for individuals with physical disabilities involved physical rehabilitation which people regarded as a form of sport for people with physical impairments, this is to say ‘sport’ could not properly cover the types of physical activities which persons with disabilities launched. As a result, I would employ the term ‘bodily movements’ as to comprise and replace the term ‘sport’ during that period.

6.2.1. The era of institutionalisation

Between 1945 and 1971, society tended to separate people with physical disabilities from the mainstream, making them invisible in daily life. This segregation not only meant people with physical disabilities were interned in the institution but also incarcerated in their family home. The creation of the institution, in a Foucauldian lens, might be called ‘the great confinement’ (Foucault, 1988a), and demonstrates the attitudes of the society toward people with physical disabilities (or we can say people with disabilities) who at that time were seen as intolerable and an anomaly that needed to be segregated. In other words, they were ‘the rejection of the society’ (Sontag, 2002). Sheltering people with physical disabilities in the family can be regarded as a type of impoundment. ‘It was not an environment of care, but internment, a stockade that scarcely guaranteed than survival but allowed society to hide and regulate human misery’ (Stiker 2009: 110). People at that time had known little of medicine, they linked impairments with karmic retribution for their ancestors or relatives having done wrong in previous or present lives, individuals with physical disabilities were seen as a disgrace of the whole family, and the relevant discourses can be found in their experiences. The punitive notions of impairments have a long history, and such notions also could be found in the West (Sontag, 2002; Stiker, 2009). What is more, the family could function as a permanent, small, individual and inexpensive institution which maintained the technical benefits of hospitalisation with its medical and economic disadvantages (Foucault, 1980d). Most of the people with disabilities were hidden in their home or room, segregated from society, and their home acted as a prison and a form of life imprisonment.

Three types of the institution for physical disabilities could be found in Taiwan during the fifties and the sixties. The first type was non-governmental, launched by church people or charity groups such as Victory Home. The second was quasi-governmental, developed by official or high-level members of the KMT such as the Cheng-Hsin Rehabilitative Medical Centre. The third was the special classes or schools which were run by the government. The special class in school was always associated with the children's home nearby, and because the students in the class for physical disabilities were children impaired from contracting polio, the class for students with physical disabilities was called the polio class (Sin-Sing Elementary School, 1971). By 1967, the first public school for students with physical disabilities was established in Hemei, Changhua.

The first institution only for people with physical disabilities, the Victory Home, was founded in 1961 by the Norwegian missionary doctor Olav Bjørgaas in Pingtung. Bjørgaas was dispatched by the Norwegian Mission Alliance to Taiwan in 1954. In the beginning, Bjørgaas set up a sanatorium to treat patients with leprosy and tuberculosis, and this sanatorium later became the Pingtung Christian Hospital, which the leading centre for treating scoliosis in the world. With the spread of polio, more and more children with polio were sent to Bjørgaas's sanatorium, and he and his colleague, Dr. Fotland, turned their attention to treat the post-polio syndrome²⁶. Initially, the sanatorium had 87 beds for patients and 32 beds for the staff, but after a few months all the beds in the sanatorium were full. In order to treat the symptoms of post-polio syndrome, including soreness, stiffness and a reduced range of movement, Dr. Bjørgaas and Fotland sought support from outside. They invited Dr. Burgess from the State of California to instruct the skill of surgical operation and Miss Isham from State of Georgia State to teach the nursing and rehabilitation to the nurses in 1959. After returning to the United States, Dr. Burgess left many pieces of expensive surgical equipment for Bjørgaas. Dr. Bjørgaas and Fotland reduced the time which patients stayed in the sanatorium for the sake of more space for newcomers. Patients who had the surgical operation and learned how to stand and walk received a brace and crutches. 'They used to be crawling to the hospital, but they went out on their own legs' Bjørgaas said (Sørheim-Queseth et al. 2013: 268). Curiously, when Bjørgaas visited the children who were being treated in his sanatorium, he nearly jumped out of his skin. These children were still crawling on the ground and their braces, and crutches were laid in the corner. Suddenly, Bjørgaas understood that these children needed training in the use of assistive devices until they could use them properly, so he decided to lay out an institution for children with the post-polio syndrome in 1961, so that

impaired children could live there and rehabilitate their bodily function. The children's home was named 'Victory Home' to represent the little victory – walking – in these children's life, and it started with around 30 children. The children impaired from contracting polio of Victory Home could receive treatment in the Pingtung Christian Hospital and resume their physical activities in Victory home. This was the birth of institutionalisation for individuals with physical disabilities in Taiwan.

The question followed: how did Bjørgaas and Fotland solve the problems of children's assistive vehicles and education? With the growing-up of children impaired from contracting polio, they needed to renew their assistive vehicles, and sometimes these vehicles needed to be repaired or adjusted in order to support and rehabilitate the children's legs. Bjørgaas opened an assistive vehicle factory to manufacture braces and crutches in 1962. Several retired aviation technicians were recruited to produce braces and crutches which cost one-third of the market rate for children impaired from contracting polio.

As for the education of the children in Victory Home, Bjørgaas got unexpected help. Before 1960s, most school-age children with impairments did not have access to school and education, other than very few children with visual and hearing impairments²⁷, or those who had been born into a wealthy family (*United Daily News*, 1962a) or who had found a school which was willing to accept them (*United Daily News*, 1966b). Bjørgaas even applied for education for the children impaired from contracting polio in Victory Home several times, but the educational administration responded by asking why the public should pay their educational fees. Their education was argued to have no benefit for society, and it was asserted the school at that moment could not make any adjustments for children with disabilities and that no one could take care of these children in the school. Although Bjørgaas was distressed about children's education, his prayers were soon to be answered. An air force general's wife, Yao Min-Ching²⁸, who lived near Victory Home, organised some housewives, as well as an officer's wife to do volunteer work for the charity. With Mrs. Yao's support, a preacher, bible woman and teacher were hired to instruct the children in Victory Home. Also, as an active member of the KMT, via her relationship and influence in KMT, Mrs. Yao was able to persuade the Principle of Ren-Ai Elementary school²⁹, Yu Yu-Pi³⁰, to provide classrooms for these children impaired from contracting polio, and Bjørgaas promised that he would send assistants to help these children to use the toilet and navigate stairs. Although the principal was not very happy, she decided to try (Fotland, 2013). Bjørgaas bought several cars to transport the children to school. Instead of becoming a burden on the school, the

students from Victory Home had excellent performances in their class. Although children impaired from contracting polio were segregated from the society and their condition seemed invisible in people's daily life, after being institutionalised in the Victory Home they could find companions who experienced the same stigmas about their bodies and people who could accept them, thus the 'confinement' did achieve its goal in terms of helping to 'instruct them, console them, and procure their salvation' (Foucault 1988: 62).

At that time, Victory Home was growing in magnitude and influenced the founding of other children's homes in Taiwan. Owing to the successful experience of managing Victory Home, Bjørgaas bought a piece of land to extend Victory Home, so that he could accept more children impaired from contracting polio. Victory Home had 200 beds at its peak.

Institutionalised children impaired from contracting polio made a great stir in Taiwan. Many media people and religious organisations visited Victory Home, and Bjørgaas and Fotland encouraged them to establish similar institutions. In a short time, around thirty children's homes for individuals with disabilities were found in Taipei, Taichung, Chiayi, Hualien, Hsinchu, and so on (Sørheim-Queseth *et al.*, 2013). The boom of charity homes provided care and education for children impaired from contracting polio, however it also reflected that the societal attitude tended to confine, hide and regulate human misery in internment, segregated from society. The individuals with physical disabilities were labelled with stigma and 'useless' identities and excluded from wider communities, denying them the chance of leading a life equivalent to the rest (Foucault, 1988a).

In 1965 the first lady, Soong Mei-ling³¹, also visited Victory Home to learn from Bjørgaas's experience (*United Daily News*, 1965), and this significant visit influenced the establishment of another important institution – the Cheng-Hsin Rehabilitative Medical Centre (Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre) – in the north of Taiwan³²(Wu, 1968). The Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre played a crucial role in the treatment of polio survivors, and it also represents that the authority became involved in the management of the people with physical disabilities because of how its founder was the first lady and the fact it was operated by members of the KMT. In order not to affect the sentiments of children impaired from contracting polio, the names of 'children home' and 'rehabilitative centre' were discarded. Instead, the titled 'rehabilitative medical centre' was adopted (Wu, 1968). The Cheng-Hsin Medical centre was found by the first lady, Soong Mei-ling, after she saw many children impaired from contracting polio when touring around a military dependents' village³³. Mrs, Soong sent

people to investigate the number of polio survivors, and found there were around 48000 polio survivors between the ages of 4 and 14, most of whom came from impoverished families without access to education (Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre, 1988). After Soong Mei-ling visited Victory Home, she decided to organise the Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre.

The launch of the Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre is an example of a well-planned organisation, as it invited Taiwan and the U.S.'s medical experts to train its psychology consultants and physical and occupational therapists before cooperating with the WHO to set up a braces factory in 1966 and then starting to accept children impaired from contracting polio in 1967. The treatment period for the polio survivors varied from a few months to three years. In this period, polio survivors underwent surgery then practised rehabilitation. While some of the survivors stayed in the dormitory, others were picked up and sent home in military trucks which were dispatched by the Ministry of National Defence. Six Classes of six grades³⁴ were set up, and twelve teachers were despatched from Hua-Hsing Children's Home³⁵ to solve the problem of education of the children. For half of the day the children studied in the classroom, and for the rest of the day they did the rehabilitation. On Christmas eve, Soong Mei-ling would visit the children in the Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre, sing Christmas songs, and bring gifts for the children (*United Daily News*, 1968a). The institution was frequently visited by foreign guests as the showcase of the charity in Taiwan (*United Daily News*, 1969; *United Daily News*, 1972; Yang, 1969). Until 1988, 17,232 polio survivors received free treatment in the Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre (Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre, 1988).

The Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre, or we can say Soong Mei-ling, spent a lot of money and effort to support polio survivors, help them from crawling to walking, and save thousands of families from financial situations (Yo, 2004). However, it also reflected the way that society aimed to govern people with physical disabilities in a basic way. In the memorandum of the board of directors it was stated that:

The accommodation focused on the handicapped children under fourteen years old, provided them with proper treatments, rehabilitated their physical ability, provided education and occupation training, mad them earn their own living, and achieved the aim of disabled not meaning useless.

(Yo 2004: 91)

From the quotation above, the Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre aimed to create the workers who met the requirements of industrial production. On the one hand, the rehabilitation and training the medical centre provided did help people impaired from contracting polio to improve bodily mechanisms and acquire life skills while getting rid of the stereotypes of being dependent or unemployment. On the other hand, in Foucauldian a lens they generated workers with physical disabilities who were suited to playing the role of producer and adapted to the production requirements of society.

The constitution of the governmental institution for people with physical disabilities in 1968, Changhua Special School for the Students with Physical Impairments (Ren-Ai School)³⁶, was influenced by the extension of compulsory education and the implementation of the Enforcement Rules of Statute Nine-Year Compulsory Education which ‘...for physical deformation, mental retardation and gifted children should provide special education or offer proper learning opportunities’ (Education Department of Taiwan Province 1990: 45). Before 1968, compulsory education was six years and children with impairments could be exempted from compulsory education with a doctor or local education committee’s proof (Wang and Wu, 1993). According to the report in 1961, around 5%, 102171, of school-age children were deprived of education, of which 16850, almost 16%, were children with disabilities (Education Department of Taiwan Province 1962:11). Initially, the primary and junior high school sections were organised in Ren-Ai school, and the school system was roughly similar to mainstream schools. The differences were that occupational therapy was arranged in the junior high school section, and physical rehabilitation was organised in both sections. However, the establishment of the Ren-Ai School was planned in haste, with only a few basic building and 27 students (C.Lin, 1978). A student recalled that when she attended Ren-Ai School:

The school was deserted, there were no plants on the campus, even the road which linked the school door and the dormitory was not yet finished. There were just a few staff, and every morning the principal carried several classmates with walking difficulties to the classroom, until they had wheelchairs.

(Huang 1978: 52)

It follows that the government tended to section people with physical disabilities in the institution, but the facility had not yet been planned completely, spaces were affordable for

around one hundred students with physical disabilities, given that it was an ‘experimental’ school.

Under the principal notion of alienation, internment became the orthodox intervention for people with physical disabilities during this period. As Foucault argues, ‘power is exercised over the mad, criminals, deviants, children, and the poor in these terms. Generally, we describe the effects and mechanisms of the power exercised over these categories as mechanisms and effects of exclusion, disqualification, exile, rejection, deprivation, refusal, and incomprehension; that is to say, an entire arsenal of negative concepts or mechanisms of exclusion’(Foucault 2003:44). In other words, the attitude of the society toward individuals with physical disabilities tended to segregate them in institutions. More explicitly, their physical impairments led them to be labelled with an abnormal identity which needed to be excluded from the society and confined in the family or institution. The function of this confinement was to produce the ‘normal’ (Foucault, 2015). In the next section, we will explore the sports that were organised in the institutions.

6.2.2. The sports as rehabilitation

During this period, bodily movements for people with physical impairments only existed in institutions or between institutions. Outside the institution, there were none. Most of the people with physical disabilities were segregated from society, excluded from school³⁷, rejected from working opportunities, and lost contact with others. Without interaction with others, it was impossible to organise sports. Even though some people with physical disabilities could enrol in a mainstream school, in the physical education class or class break they just stayed in the classroom, to be a spectator (*United Daily News*, 1966a; Changhua Ren-Ai Experimental School, 1973). For this reason, only the bodily movements in the children’s home, school and the class for the physical disabilities will be explored in this section.

There was an institutional exchange of sports activities between Ren-Ai school, Ling-Kung Children’s Home³⁸ and Xi-Le Children’s Home³⁹. Mrs. McMillan⁴⁰ the founder of Xi-Le Children’s Home described the excitement and longing for baseball in the letter she sent to the Berkeley Presbyterian Church, she said

Before the school semester began, about thirty children from Taichung Dr. Nicholls's children's home played baseball. For three consecutive days, I awoke our children in the morning to watch the Taiwan team in Penn Williamsport. The Taiwan team won and the children were so happy, but also had respect for the USA team. The game we played with other children's homes was very interesting, because we are the disabled, and each team had cheerleaders. But Erhlin lost 2: 0. They hope to play again in Taichung next time.

(Tasi 2013: 797)

At that time, Taiwanese society was fascinated with the Taiwan Little League Team that was competing in the United States, with people waiting for their live games in the early hours of the morning. The children impaired from contracting polio in Xi-Le Children's Home were also affected by the national craze, as they were fascinated by the baseball game and looked forward to taking part in more games. In Xi-Le Children's Home:

'McMillan paid attention to the children's health education, taught them to have a positive attitude, encouraged them to take part in baseball, football, horizontal bar exercises and swimming. The sport the children frequently played was baseball. They used crutches to hit the ball, and if the children with severe physical impairments could not run, they used a pinch runner'.

(Tasi 2013: 200)

Furthermore, from the discourse of Rei-Ai School children, we can understand more about these children's enthusiasm for sports and how they took adapted ways to enjoy sports. When they played baseball, he said 'in order to run, normal children could slide, however at the critical moment, we used a "unique skill" to throw off the crutches and crawled or rolled to the base'(Oriental Cloud 1978: 62).

People with physical disabilities were thought unable to exercise or have physical education classes, which were therefore seen as unnecessary. In most of the classes for students with physical disabilities, the physical education class was replaced by Physical rehabilitation⁴¹ (Ministry of Education 1981; Sin-Sing Elementary School 1971). For example, in The Special Children Education Plan of Ren-Ai Elementary School, it was mentioned that 'sport is not suitable for polio children, the time can be cut down...' and '...the climbing frame, scaling ladder and lattice ladders are set in the front of the classroom

and provide for polio children in their rest time or physical education class' (Ren-Ai Elementary School, 1979). The Curriculum Guidelines of School and Class for Students with Physical Impairments had not yet published⁴², the teaching content was designed by the school and each class for students with physical disabilities, physical education class were equated with physical rehabilitation, especially for those schools that had hired physiotherapists (Changhua Ren-Ai Experimental School, 1973; Chen, 1975).

Physical rehabilitation was regarded as the archive work in the special class for the student with physical impairments (Li, 1973); however, the overemphasis on physical rehabilitation shows the predominance of the medical model. The treatment regime was linked to the clinical gaze which investigated people with physical disabilities within a medical model which saw them as sets of mechanically juxtaposed structures which fulfilled specific functions. Rehabilitation is a kind of mechanism that 'linked to a certain type of the function of knowledge to a certain form of the exercise of power' (Foucault 1991a: 187). People with physical disabilities lacked knowledge of rehabilitation, and so it was impossible for them to challenge the orthodoxy of the medical profession, meaning that they played the role of vulnerable supplicants. The treatment regime provided systems of knowledge and related practices which people with physical disabilities were unaware of but still underwent (Foucault, 1989b; Lupton, 2000), as they were persuaded to believe that physical therapy was appropriate for them. In this sense, medical practitioners such as doctors, physiotherapists or assistants were the linkage of power relations which 'people through whom power passed or who are important in the fields of power relations' (Foucault 1991: 247). Their impairments were classified into different categories by medical practitioners and needed to be improved by specific activities or rehabilitating devices. The medical authorities controlled the treatment of people with physical disabilities and declared that rehabilitation could restore bodily functions to even the most 'normal' extent possible. '[R]ehabilitative medicine fits Foucault's description of subjecting power insofar as rehabilitation is a form of power which categorizes the individual[,] attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognise and which others must recognise in him' (Sullivan 2012: 30). The rehabilitation was regarded as orthodox and outweighed any bodily movements of individuals with impairments, and it could be seen as more paternalistic than medical, more a form of training than healing. The physical rehabilitation, of course, was involved in the reproduction of medical dominance.

The aim of rehabilitation is to improve body functioning and reintegrate individuals into society. As Stiker argues, ‘to reintegrate, we must redeploy; to redeploy, we must retrain; to retrain, we must rehabilitate’ (Stiker 2009: 128). It is contradictory that while on the one hand physical rehabilitation was launched to support people with physical disabilities in seeking a better quality of life; on the other hand it attempted to eliminate them. Physical rehabilitation was a deployment of power in an attempt to eliminate the impaired (abnormal) body from society. The normalising judgement was employed by society to inspect the abnormal and advised proper means with which to rehabilitate individuals who deviate from the ‘normal’ in order to restore those individuals to match the ‘normal’. ‘Like everybody else’ became the overarching target and ideal result of physical rehabilitation. The physical rehabilitation was analogous to the view that difference and aberrancy were not allowed to exist in the society, and that the deviant must be restored into normalcy and consensus. The society endeavoured to efface the aberrancies through assimilation to themselves, making them disappear, and ultimately dissolving them in the single social whole. Because of the impairments, people with physical disabilities are problematized of their bodies and inscribe themselves with the identity of 'disabled'. In Anderson’s perceptive statement, ‘one of the most important objectives in rehabilitation was to restore a sense of identity’ (Anderson 2016: 130), the rehabilitation bore all the efforts to help people with physical impairments to obtain the identity of normalcy. ‘The maladjustment at the starting point is to be compensated for so that the endpoint is adjustment’ (Stiker 2009: 143).

In order to move toward normalcy, people with physical impairments suffered in the process of medical interventions. They had had to leave their homes and families to stay in institutions, endure the postoperative inconvenience and discomfort alone, and adjust and adapt to new movements. As Li, Hui-Mien described the experience of staying in the Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre and receiving treatment:

Due to a long time spent crawling and the need to correct the bending of the right knee, I had a plaster fixed for three months and did physical therapy and hydrotherapy for four months, before the doctor designed the back frame which linked from the spine to the lower limbs and crutches. I then began to walk step by step. During that time, my armpit skin was broken and bloodied, and my forehead sweated. I felt bitter when recalling the hardship of practising walking. It was my parents who carried me to the Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre; a year later,

I finally stood up myself out of the Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre, and even the doctor thought it was a miracle.

(Li 2005: 51)

The experience of physical rehabilitation was bittersweet, and happiness and frustration are difficult to understand for someone who does not undergo it.

Physical Rehabilitation was the disciplinary practice that normalised the bodies with physical impairments into docile bodies. As a docile body, the individual with a disability can be constructed as a vehicle for the technologies of domination. The first technique of discipline is the art of distribution of space. Physical rehabilitation was practised in an enclosed location such as the treatment room in the medical institution, and the school for students impaired from contracting polio which echoes Foucault's description of 'the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in upon itself' (Foucault 1991a: 141). Although there were no compartments to separate the children in individual space, children with physical disabilities were partitioned into small units for physical rehabilitation. If we take a closer look at the program of rehabilitation, children impaired from contracting polio kept their own space in group rehabilitation when carrying out walking training, wall bars and lattice ladder activities, stationary bike sessions, resistance training and hydrotherapy. 'These participants were effectively exercising alone in a group' (Markula & Pringle 2006: 75). Also, the institutions played a functional role in disciplinary processes, as they tracked and recorded the children in order to acquire administrative control. The recording of data such as the student's number, age, parents' occupation, living area and ancestral home helped to make possible the control of an individual. Foucault demonstrates that 'discipline is an art of rank', and that the rank refers to 'the place one occupies in a classification' (Foucault 1991a: 145). The rank is a technique which 'individualizes bodies by a location that does not give them a fixed position, but distributes them and circulates them in a network of relations'(Foucault 1991a: 146). Such ranking was evident in the program of physical impairments at the institutions. The students impaired from contracting polio were classified into different groups in the rehabilitation, such as those who could walk and could not walk, upper and lowered limb paralyzed, single and double lower limb paralyzed, or divided by their ability degree: zero, poor, fair, normal and good. As a result, the rehabilitative institutions exhibited the characteristics of a disciplinary apparatus.

The second technique of discipline is the control of activity. Timetabling is the first to control the activity in constructed space. Foucault argues that ‘the division of time became increasingly minute; activities were governed in detail by orders that had to be obeyed immediately’ (Foucault 1991a: 150). The time of physical rehabilitation had been arranged by the timetables of the institutions, for example, at the Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre children impaired from contracting polio were taught subjects for half of the day and practised the rehabilitation for the other half. In Rei-Ai School and Sin-Sing Elementary School the rehabilitative regimes were also scheduled on the timetable. Furthermore, in Ren-Ai Elementary School students impaired from contracting polio were recommended to use rehabilitative equipment during rest time which was designed to ‘seek to intensify the use of the slightest moments, as if time, in its very fragmentation, were in its very fragmentation, were inexhaustible’ (Foucault 1991a: 154).

The third technique of discipline is the organization of geneses, in that ‘analyse[s] space, break up and rearrange activities, must also be understood as machinery for adding up and capitalizing time’ (Foucault 1991a: 157). The three characteristics to practice this technique are dividing duration of time into successive or parallel segments, increasing complexity and by deciding the length of the segments and examining each segment. Following the logic of this technique, the duration must be divided into successive or parallel segments; for example, rehabilitative regimes were split into walking training and resistance training devices. As the children’s body functions improved, the weight of resistance training would be adjusted. The length of the regime was regulated⁴³, and the examination went along with the rehabilitation. Furthermore, the panoptic power was also used to sustain the docile body in physical rehabilitation. The rehabilitation was practised in the open space, and the children in the institution were not only supervised by their teacher or physiotherapist, but also unavoidably gazed upon by multiple others in the same space, and they were exposed to constant visible and invisible observation. The physical rehabilitation was not merely the ‘art of distributing bodies’, but aimed to ‘obtain an efficient machine’ (Foucault 1991a: 164).

Remediating children impaired from contracting polio not only meant the shifting of potential damage to normalcy but also attempted to construct manpower for the wider society. The rehabilitation represents the power of control operated on not what individuals did, but what they might do, or what they have the potential to do (Foucault, 2003a). Owing to their physical disabilities they were labelled as deviant and thought to be a possibly dangerous group to the normalcy in the society. Using the words of Davidson, the dangerousness is ‘not

as someone who had actually violated a law, but as someone whose potential behaviour had to be subject to control and correction' (Davidson 2003: xxiii). Thus, rehabilitating the children attempted to rectify the possible damage to the normalcy of the society. Moreover, the children were still of school age and had not yet joined the production system of the society. Before the medical surgery and physical rehabilitation, children impaired from contracting polio could only crawl on the ground or walk by stool and basin, their mobility was limited to a small range, and it was difficult for them to contribute to society. However, with the support of medical intervention, they could restore body functions and increase accessibility to society. Thus, they could get rid of the stigma of being seen as a burden and become a part of the production in wider society.

However, PE was also employed as a tool to enable able-bodied people to strengthen their bodies for the nation (Tseng, Lin and Chen, 2005; Chang, 2009). Chiang Kai-shek mentioned this aim several times in public addresses to young men at both the national education congress and at the national games for able-bodied students. He stressed that young people should train and exercise their bodies to become the 'warriors' who could fight against Mainland China. Therefore, PE was not only utilised to educate school children but also to develop potential soldiers for the ROC.

Summary

Owing to political and economic issues, the prevention of polio fell behind that of developed countries. It caused a large number of children affected by polio and suffered from the imprint of a lifelong stigma. Thanks to the religious groups and charity organisations both within Taiwan and from abroad, people with physical disabilities who stayed in the institutions could access education and launch their career. Although the institutionalisation reflected the attitude of the society which was inclined to exclude the disabled and intern them in institutions, it in fact, helped tens of thousands of individuals with disabilities to obtain medical support and educational opportunities which led them to restart their lives. It is difficult to imagine what would happen to them if they had not been institutionalised.

Although sports for the disabled had been developed overseas and related news had been published in national newspapers, 'sport as a basic right' for people with physical disabilities had not been accepted by Taiwanese society. Individuals with physical disabilities were

regarded as unable or unnecessary to take part in the exercise. Physical rehabilitation became their main task and replaced the physical education class in school. Through a Foucauldian lens, physical rehabilitation aims to correct the impairments and restore the functions of the body in order to achieve its ultimate goal of effacing the physical disability in social collectives. Furthermore, physical rehabilitation is an efficient tool to discipline a docile body, and has become the best measure to make people with physical impairments 'useful' by 'fixing it to the apparatus of production, at worst to lighten as much as possible the burden it impose[d] on the rest of society' (Foucault 1980: 169).

Chapter 7. The manipulated body: the history of PE for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1972 and 1992

To be disabled is tragic enough but also to be excluded totally from the pleasures of physical recreation and sport is to be doubly unfortunate.

(Bannister, 1977: 64)

This chapter focuses on the history of PE for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1972 and 1992. By 1973, people with physical disabilities were no longer forgotten and left 'in the corner' of Taiwanese society, and their bodies became a focus of improvement through control and discipline. The use of sports as the apparatus which aimed to turn individuals with physical disabilities towards normalcy was still prevalent in this period, and the significant change was that persons with physical disabilities could begin to enjoy sports; sport was no longer just a form of physical rehabilitation.

We begin with the articulating of how students with physical disabilities shifted from the observer to participator, then employ Foucauldian lens to examine how sports played the role of disciplining and controlling the bodies of people with physical disabilities in Taiwan. Now we turn to the first section of the chapter.

7.1. From onlooker to participant

This section will explore physical education in Taiwan from school to university level between 1972 and 1992. Before a specific sub-section on PE in schools and universities, we introduce The Scheme of Physical Education for physically Handicapped Students in Junior High Schools, as this scheme has heavily influenced the development of PE for students with physical disabilities in both schools and universities in Taiwan. With this basis established, we then address the development of PE in Taiwanese schools and universities.

7.1.1. The operation of ‘The Scheme of Physical Education for Physically Handicapped Students in Junior High Schools’

*The Scheme of Physical Education for Physically Handicapped Student in Junior High School*⁴⁴ (*Scheme*) was a milestone in the development of PE for students with physical disabilities in Taiwan. The *Scheme* not only represents the first policy which regulated PE for students with physical disabilities but also led to many schools and universities setting up Special PE Classes⁴⁵ for students with diverse needs. Before the publication of the *Scheme*, the formal regulations regarding PE for students with physical disabilities were scattered across different education policies, and the issue did not receive significant attention. Only following the introduction of the *Scheme* could Taiwanese schools and universities start to organise PE for students with different needs, of which most were students who were impaired from contracting polio. Furthermore, the concept of biopower - in how the authorities intended to utilise PE as a tool to discipline and control the bodies of children with physical disabilities - could be observed in the operation of the *Scheme*. As a result, it is crucial to give some attention to the implementation of the Scheme at this juncture.

By 1973, the government’s attitude toward PE for students with physical disabilities in schools had witnessed a sea change in shifting from passive to active. The Department of Education of Taiwan's Provincial Government⁴⁶ entrusted the professor of the Taiwan Provincial College of Physical Education⁴⁷, Chen Tasi-Yee,⁴⁸ to draw up a scheme to promote PE for students with physical disabilities in junior school and to assess the PE grades for these students.

The provincial government focused on PE for students with physical disabilities as, from 1968, increasing numbers of students impaired from contracting polio were required to enter general schools for nine years of compulsory education. These students did not receive PE in school, and the lack of a unified standard from which to assess their PE grades caused many controversies about requirements for progressing through academic grades and applying for scholarships (Department of Physical Education of the Ministry of Education, 1975). However, the real target behind introduction of the *Scheme* was made clear in the archive of the Ministry of Education of Taiwan, which stated that the actual intention was to ‘improve the physical impairments of the students in junior high school and to rehabilitate their bodies’ (The National Committee of Taiwan Province, 1976). In other words, the educational administration did not focus on the necessities of PE for students with physical disabilities, but instead focused on how to evaluate the students’ PE scores, and more importantly upon

the rehabilitation of the students' bodies via PE. More explicitly, the PE for students with physical disabilities was utilised by the authorities as to the tool to discipline the bodies of the students.

How did Professor Chen Tasi-Yee launch the *Scheme*? The Professor began with a questionnaire survey, which he delivered to more than 500 junior high schools in Taiwan, of which more than 200 completed and returned the survey. According to the surveys returned, 0.9% of students in junior high school had physical disabilities, and thus there should have been more than 8000 junior high school students with physical disabilities in Taiwan. Most of the students with physical disabilities in junior high schools were not able to access PE, and their PE scores were mostly 60.⁴⁹ Next, Professor Chen visited medical institutions such as the Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre, the NTUH and classes and schools for students with physical disabilities such as Ren-Ai School and Sin-Sing Junior High and Elementary School to examine the delivery of PE for students with physical disabilities. Next, several teachers and experts on education and PE for students with physical disabilities were invited to seminars and meetings⁵⁰ held by Chen Tasi-Yee, and the draft of the *Scheme* of PE for students with physical disabilities in junior high schools was produced (The National Committee of Taiwan Province, 1976). Furthermore, from 1973 to 1974 Professor Chen designed a fitness test for the students with physical disabilities and selected 133 junior high schools across Taiwan, with a combined total of 3580 students, to be tested. There were 32 items in the test⁵¹, including ball sports, track and field and body movements. The results of the test were analysed by Chen Tasi-Yee and made into a scale which could be used as a reference for accessing PE grades for students with physical disabilities (The National Committee of Taiwan Province, 1976).

By 1974, in order to verify the feasibility of the draft, three schools situated in the north, middle and south of Taiwan were appointed by the Department of Education of the Taiwan Provincial Government to test the launch of the PE Special Class for one year. These schools were the Yong-He, Er-Lin and Chao-Zhou Junior High Schools.⁵² At that time, the PE Special Class had been run by Chu Ming-Chin⁵³ for one year in Yong-He Junior High School, and the two other schools were selected by the authorities because they had more students with physical disabilities.

In Chart 4, we can see that the classification system did not have a consistent standard, as two of the classes were classified by gender while the class in Chao-Zhou was divided by the

students' degree of impairment. The teaching times were diverse, as these depended on the scheduling arrangements of the schools. The content of the Special PE Class in the three schools revolved around sports, although rehabilitative activities such as corrective gymnastics, daily life skill training and dumbbell exercises still featured in the teaching contents as well as PE. As for the assessment, sporting abilities, knowledge and spirit were assigned different percentages in the evaluation which covered enthusiasm and skill about PE.

Chart 4: The Contents of the Test of Special PE Class in 1974

| Contents of the PE Special Class | School | | |
|----------------------------------|---|---|--|
| | Yong-He | Er-Lin | Chao-Zhou |
| Classification | Two classes which were classified by gender | Two classes which were classified by gender | Two classes which were classified by impairment degree |
| Teaching time | Wednesday afternoon, 100 mins | Monday morning & Wednesday afternoon, 45 mins of each | Monday afterschool & Friday afternoon, 45 Mins of each |
| Teaching contents | Corrective gymnastics Sport games Daily life skill training PE knowledge | Daily life skill training Sport skills Entertaining activities Rhythmic activities | Golf Mat-work Softball throwing accuracy Dumbbell exercise Basketball shooting |
| Assessment | Sport skills 40% Attitude 10% Sporting spirit 20% Sporting knowledge 10% | Sport skills 20% Sport knowledge 30% Sporting spirit 50% | Sport skills 20% Sport knowledge 30% Sporting spirit 50% |

Source of material: The National Committee of Taiwan Province (1976) *The Report of the Research of Implementing Physical Education for Physically Handicapped Student in Junior High School (in Chinese)*. Taipei City.

After the one-year trial, only Yong-He Junior High School reported that muscle strength and endurance, speed, motor coordination and balance of the students in the PE Special Class had significantly improved. The other schools reported difficulties in organising PE for students with physical disabilities, they are: the parents and teachers did not care about the PE for disabled students, the students felt inferior when taking PE, the teachers did not respond well to adaptive PE training and were short of teaching materials, and the students' PE grades were not easy to evaluate objectively (Yong-He Junior High School, 1976). As a result, we can see that the PE training and teaching materials in schools were insufficient to support the delivery of PE for students with physical disabilities unless there was a particularly high level of interest in teaching PE to students, as in the case of Chu Ming-Chin in Yong-He Junior High School.

In order to illuminate the difficulties and problems of practising PE for students with physical disabilities, the officers of the Department of Education of the Taiwan Provincial Government and Chen Tasi-Yee organised several meetings with the schools that had taken part in the test⁵⁴. The review meeting was held on January 1976. Several suggestions were made in the meeting, such as providing funds, teaching materials and teacher training for the schools, organising workshops and teaching demonstrations, and promoting PE for students with physical disabilities in elementary schools in Taiwan, although not all of these suggestions were put into practice in the schools. It is also paradoxical that the promotion of PE for students with physical disabilities did not start in elementary schools, but instead began in junior high schools. This may have been a result of students with physical disabilities in junior high schools needing PE grades to continue their studies in high school, whereas elementary school students could advance to junior high school without such grades to complete their nine years of compulsory education.

In the meeting it was decided to hold a teaching demonstration of PE for students with physical disabilities in Yong-He Junior High School. On 23rd June 1976, the teaching demonstration took place in the school. More than 100 people including journalists, doctors, and officers from central to county level government and teachers from university to elementary level across Taiwan, were invited to the teaching demonstration, as well as the Head of the Education Department of Taiwan Province, the Directors of Compulsory Education and Physical Education Department of the Ministry of Education⁵⁵. Even the leader of education and PE in Taiwan participated in this grand gathering. This teaching

demonstration included a keynote presentation, the report and demonstration of PE for students with physical disabilities by Chu Ming-Chin, and a seminar (Yong-He Junior High School, 1976). The participants of the teaching demonstration highly praised the PE Special Class in Yong-He Junior High School, as shown by how the director of the Compulsory Education Department of the Ministry of Education, Yeh Chu-Sheng, stated that:

How do schools organise PE for students with physical disabilities? The teachers of Yong-He Junior High School set a precedent for special education in Taiwan. It is rare that a principal is so warm-hearted, the teachers are so earnest, that all the faculty and staff cooperate so well, and that the parents of students are so supportive. I have great admiration for them...

(Yong-He Junior High School, 1976: 6)

In this excerpt from Yeh Chu-Sheng's speech, we can see that the Special PE class in Yong-He Junior High School was a pioneer in PE for students with physical disabilities and obtained great affirmation from the educational administration. The successful operation of the class was mainly due to Chu Ming-Chin's organisation and the support and assistance provided by the school members.

In this teaching demonstration, however, Liang Shang-Yung revealed that the target of promoting PE for students with physical disabilities was not merely to emphasise its delivery in schools. As Liang Shang-Yung pointed out:

At the moment, our government is actively developing special education in order to promote education equally, to carry out proper sports training and medical corrective activities for 10,000 physically handicapped students in the province, to rehabilitate their bodies and minds so that they become manpower that is disabled but not useless...

(Yong-He Junior High School, 1976: 1)

Again, the authorities showed the 'real' intention behind the promotion of PE for students with physical disabilities in junior high schools. They did not just want to provide PE lessons for the students, but the ultimate target of these PE lessons was to produce 'useful bodies'; bodies which were suited to contribute to the productivity of Taiwanese society and that could be employed by the authorities.

As the *Scheme* was implemented, the Ministry of Education considered it to be highly feasible, and therefore they revised the *Scheme* and issued it as '*The Plan of Physical Education Special Class in Junior High School*'⁵⁶(*Plan*) in 1977 (Chen, 1982). This *Plan* dictated that schools 'should' introduce a PE Special Class for students with physical disabilities or weak bodies which were not suited for general PE. Although the legal hierarchy of a 'Plan' was not as high as an 'Act' which could force schools in Taiwan to promote PE for students with physical disabilities, the *Plan* still contributed to a 'boom' in the Special PE Classes in Taiwan. Several Special PE Classes were set up in junior high schools and universities⁵⁷(*Central Daily News*, 1976; Tasi-YiChen, 1982)

Nine years after issuing the *Plan*, Chen Tasi-Yee surveyed the status of PE for students with physical disabilities and weak bodies. 266 junior high schools (40% of the schools in Taiwan) responded to the questionnaire. At that time, owing to the immunisation brought by the Polio vaccine, the percentage of school students with physical disabilities had decreased from 0.9% to 0.2%. In Professor Chen's survey, he found that only nine junior high schools, (approximately 3.3% of Taiwanese schools) organised PE Special Classes for students with physical disabilities⁵⁸, 41.7% of the schools practised individual teaching, and 36.1% of the schools left the students with physical disabilities to be spectators (Chen, 1986). From the results of Professor Chen's research, it is clear that with the number of students with physical disabilities had been reduced following the introduction of the polio vaccine. Although the Plan of Physical Education Special Class in Junior High Schools had been issued nine years previously, more than 50% of junior high schools that took part in the survey still did not provide PE for students with physical disabilities. The difficulties of providing PE for these students were attributable to a lack of qualified teachers and funds as well as a low number of students with physical disabilities. As a result, there were still a large number of students with disabilities in junior high schools who did not receive PE, as well as in elementary schools or other levels of education.

In this sub-section we investigate the operation of the first specialised sport policy for students with physical disabilities, The Scheme of Physical Education for Physically Handicapped Student in Junior High Schools, in Taiwan. We can see that rather than merely providing PE opportunities for students with physical disabilities and letting the students experience the fun of the sports, the authorities aimed to utilise PE as a tool to produce useful manpower for Taiwanese society. In the next sub-section we examine the status of PE in Taiwanese schools and universities between 1972 and 1992.

7.1.2. PE for students with physical disabilities in school and universities

This sub-section explores PE for students with physical disabilities in schools and universities. Owing to the implementation of the nine-year compulsory education and educationally related laws, measures and policies from 1968 onward, more people with physical disabilities could access education, and their attendance influenced the development of PE for students with physical disabilities. It is also worth noting that the introduction of the polio vaccine decreased cases of polio to the extent that by the early 1980s, the majority of disabilities were attributable to cerebral palsy. We now turn to focus on PE for students with physical disabilities in schools.

PE for students with physical disabilities in schools

Two types of options for students with physical disabilities existed in the Taiwanese education system. The first was to participate in general classes and schools, and the second was to attend specific classes or schools for students with physical disabilities. In the general system, students with physical disabilities had fewer chances to participate in PE classes, as they were onlookers who sat in the class and were left to study by themselves or who stayed next to the playground. However, in the 1970s the PE classes for students with physical disabilities in schools became slightly different, as some schools began to introduce the PE Special Class for students with physical disabilities.

The PE Special Class was first organised at the Yong-He Junior High School in 1973, and its primary advocate was the PE teacher, Chu Ming-Chin. When Chu Ming-Chin studied in the Department of Physical Education of National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU) in 1969, the chairman of the department, Wu Wen-Chung⁵⁹, knew that Chu Ming-Chin was interested in sports for the disabled, and would share information about sports for the disabled which he had acquired at overseas academic conferences (Chu, 1975). Chu Ming-Chin also drew upon the knowledge of sports for the disabled he learned in teaching rehabilitative activities for children impaired from contracting polio in Mackay Memorial Hospital. By 1971, Chu Ming-Chin was dispatched to Yong-He Junior High School, where he found almost 40 students impaired from contracting polio who were not able to access PE⁶⁰(Chu, 1975). With the support of the principal, Pan Yi-Yen⁶¹, Chu Ming-Chin started to organise the PE Special Class for the disabled students in the school.

Before Chu Ming-Chin launched the PE Special Class, students with physical disabilities in Taiwan were excluded from PE classes, as it was thought that their participation in PE was both impossible and unnecessary. Some doctors would meet students with physical disabilities who requested medical certificates to gain exemption from the PE classes (Lien, 1981). Because of a lack of precedents, in the preliminary stages of the PE Special Class Chu Ming-Chin consulted PE experts and scholars, scheduled the course contents, collected and compiled the teaching materials, and then taught the class himself. During the delivery of the class, Chu Min-Chin also visited the Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre and the Department of Physical Medicine & rehabilitation of NTUH and invited an expert of Physical Medicine & rehabilitation, Lien Yi-Nan⁶², to instruct in the school.

The PE Special Class at Yong-He Junior High School took place on Wednesday afternoons from 15:00 for one hour and 40 minutes. Chart 5 presents the course contents of the class and the various themes of the sessions. These themes included track, ball games, bodily exercise and sports knowledge. The rules and courts were designed to be adapted to the disabilities of the pupils in the class. Rather than the way that sports or PE had been no more than rehabilitative activities before 1972, the students with physical disabilities in the class came to take part in sport in the PE course. Although PE for students with physical disabilities was still regarded as being related to physical rehabilitation (Chu, 1981), the contents of the PE course started to go beyond rehabilitative movements. For students with physical disabilities, PE was no longer synonymous with repetitive, mechanical and boring movements. Instead in the PE lessons they could enjoy interacting with others and taking part in new exercises.

Chart 5: Teaching Schedule of PE Special Class of Yong-He Junior High School

| week | Theme | Teaching contents |
|------|-----------------|--|
| 1 | Preparatory | 1. Curricular introduction 2. Measure the students' height, weight and muscular power |
| 2 | Basketball | 1. Dribbling 2. Passing ball 3. Ball game |
| 3 | Basketball | 1. Dribbling and passing 2. Shooting game |
| 4 | Mat-work | 1. Apparatus exercise 2. Calisthenics |
| 5 | Track | 1. Explain start of a race 2. 50M heel-and-toe walking race 3. 100M wheelchair race |
| 6 | Sport knowledge | 1. Use and maintain assistant devices |

| | | |
|----|-----------------------|---|
| | | 2.Design and apply assistant devices in daily life |
| 7 | Mat-work | Apparatus exercises: 1. Dumbbell exercise 2. Barbell exercise 3.Grip training 4. Chest flies |
| 8 | Volleyball | 1.Introduction to rules 2. Volleyball throwing 3. Dodge ball |
| 9 | Volleyball | 1.Teaching of serving technique 2. Serving practice 3.Serving game 4. Throwing game |
| 10 | Baseball and softball | 1.Introduction to rules 2. Throwing and catching practice 3.Game |
| 11 | Mat-work | 1. Calisthenics 2. Crawling 3. Cycling 4. Fitness training |
| 12 | Woodball | 1.Introduction to rules 2. Hitting practice 3. Game |
| 13 | Woodball | 1. Hitting practice 2. Game 3. Golf |
| 14 | Sport knowledge | 1.Emergency treatment |
| 15 | Baseball and softball | 1.Throwing and catching 2. Game |
| 16 | Mat-work | 1.Calisthenics 2. Apparatus exercise 3. Sit-ups 4. Push-ups |
| 17 | Physical fitness test | 1.Gripping power 2. Back muscle power |
| 18 | Physical fitness test | 1.Basketball shooting in one minute 2. Softball throwing |
| 19 | Physical fitness test | 1.50M heel-and-toe walking 2. Woodball hitting and control |
| 20 | | Seminar and party |

Source of materials: Yong-He Junior High School (1975) The Report of the PE Special Class Vol. 2 (in Chinese). New Taipei city.

In the discourse of the students of the PE Special Class in Yong-He Junior High School, we can see that there was a belief that PE was having a significant effect. According to Lin Mei-Chih's discourse which was published in the newspaper:

The PE course in her six years of elementary school study was 'the course sat in the classroom'. When she entered Yong-He Junior High School, it was her first time to come to the playground. She could not reach far with the arm, throw the shot or play badminton because she used crutches for both hands. Despite only being able to throw the shot a short distance, and the fact that she did not hit the

badminton as the teacher needed to pick up the shuttlecock for her, she still could feel the magic of enjoying bodily exercises, which also helped her inferiority and fear to disappear. She started to smile and make friends with other pupils.

(Hsu 1976: 3)

From Lin's discourse, we can see that before attending the Special PE Class, Lin never took PE lessons in her life. Once she accessed sports, she became more positive and willing to interact with others.

Coincidentally, the PE organised in the class and school for students with physical disabilities had undergone significant changes which meant that all the activities of the course were no longer just about physical rehabilitation. For example, Kaohsiung Municipal Sin-Sing Junior High School⁶³ (Sin-Sing Junior High School) scheduled both PE and physical rehabilitation activities in the timetable of the class for students with physical disabilities. The class was set up in 1971 because the children impaired from contracting polio in the class for students with physical disabilities in Sin-Sing Elementary School wanted to continue their education after graduating.⁶⁴ In the first year, 12 male students and 15 female students were separated by gender into two classes, but in the second year the educational authorities ordered that these 27 students be merged into one class. This number of students was therefore significantly above the international average and caused a change of teacher in the class (Kaohsiung Municipal Sin-Sing Junior High School, 1974). In order to avoid the students becoming bored by the repeated and forcible rehabilitative training, physical rehabilitation was replaced by a sports-based PE course. In the beginning, the PE course and physical rehabilitation respectively took up different timeslots in the school timetable, but by 1976 sports and physical rehabilitation were alternatively scheduled in the PE course. For instance, when male students did sports, female students did physical rehabilitation, and vice versa (Lo, 1977).

Chart 6 shows that the PE course in Sin-Sing Junior High School did not focus heavily on physical rehabilitation and that, alternatively, some adaptive sports such as baseball and woodball were organised in the PE course. The mechanical, repeated and coercive rehabilitative movements were not given priority in the PE course, as the instructor started to become aware of the necessities of sports for students with physical disabilities and decided to include them in the PE course. Furthermore, physical rehabilitation became a supplement to sports activities. One student, Hsu, initially did not have the ability to walk, but after being

equipped with braces and practising rehabilitative movements, he became able to participate in the PE course in Sin-Sing Junior High School (Kaohsiung Municipal Sin-Sing Junior High School, 1974).

Chart 6: Teaching Schedule of PE Course of Class for Students with Physical Disabilities in Sin-Sing Junior High School, 1976

| Date | Predetermined contents | | |
|--|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| | Fundamental ability | Walking ability | Game |
| 1 st ~30 th Sep. | Fitness test | Fitness test | Fitness test |
| 1 st ~31 st Oct. | Gripping training | Walk on flat ground | Woodball |
| 1 st ~30 th Nov. | Pulling training | Walk on flat ground | Bowling |
| 1 st ~31 st Dec. | Pulling training | Walk on ramp | Adaptive baseball |
| 1 st ~31 st Jan. | Leg training | Walk on ramp | Adaptive handball |
| 1 st ~28 st Feb. | Gripping training | Walk on flat ground | Woodball |
| 1 st ~31 st Mar. | Pulling training | Walk on flat ground | Bowling |
| 1 st ~30 th Apr. | Pulling training | Walk on stairs | Adaptive baseball |
| 1 st ~31 st May | Leg training | Walk on stairs | Adaptive handball |
| 1 st ~30 th Jun. | Fitness test | Fitness test | Fitness test |

Source of materials: Lo S-T (1977) *Research for Physical Education of Physically Handicapped Students* (in Chinese). Kaohsiung.

As for Ren-Ai School, the school for the students with physical disabilities, before 1976 physical rehabilitation filled the PE course (Yang, 1977) or teachers just took the students with physical disabilities to take a walk (Interview with M3, 03 February 2016). In 1976, Ren-Ai School tried to combine physical rehabilitation with PE and introduced a new course under the name of Rehabilitative PE.⁶⁵ The Rehabilitative PE course divided all the students in Ren-Ai School into four groups: Group U (unilateral), Group B (bilateral), Group SKL (scoliosis, kyphosis and lordosis) and Group S (severe), so activities would be arranged not by age but by impairment. There were four Rehabilitative PE courses per week. This new trial could make the teacher's instructions more applicable to the degree of impairment of the students, and the students were more interested in the course because their classmates in the class had the same degree of impairment. The disadvantage of this form of classification is

that the age range of students (7-15 years old) meant that teachers and students needed time to get used to the new format (Yang, 1977).

Highlighting the teaching schedule of Group S,⁶⁶ Chart 7 presents the contents of the Rehabilitative PE Course. The course combined both sports and physical rehabilitation every week. The sports practised in the course included wheelchair volleyball, billiards and woodball (among others) and the physical rehabilitation included mat-work, corrective training and limb exercises. As a result, sports had become part of the PE course in schools and classes for students with physical disabilities.

Chart 7: Teaching Schedule of Rehabilitative PE Course Group S in Ren-Ai School, 1976

| Week | Teaching contents |
|------|---|
| 1 | Muscle test, mat work, crutches checking, corrective training |
| 2 | Mat-work, 20M wheelchair racing, corrective training, woodball |
| 3 | Corrective training, upper limb ball game, outdoor activities, mat-work |
| 4 | Daily life training, mat-work, wheelchair volleyball, corrective training |
| 5 | Woodball, corrective training, softball, mat-work |
| 6 | Mat-work, outdoor activities, physical rehabilitation, table tennis |
| 7 | Billiards, corrective training, daily life training, mat-work |
| 8 | Basketball activities, mat-work, upper limb activities, physical rehabilitation |
| 9 | Mat-work, 20M wheelchair racing, corrective training, woodball |
| 10 | Golf, bowling, mat-work, physical rehabilitation |
| 11 | Daily life training, upper limb ball game, mat-work, table tennis |
| 12 | Mat-work, outdoor activities, correcting training, wheelchair basketball |
| 13 | Softball, physical rehabilitation, mat-work, upper limb ball game |
| 14 | Billiards, correcting training, daily life training, mat-work |
| 15 | Basketball activities, mat-work, physical rehabilitation, outdoor activities |
| 16 | Mat-work, upper limb activities, crutches checking, softball throwing |
| 17 | Correcting training, woodball, daily life training, bowling |
| 18 | Upper limb ball game, mat-work, wheelchair volleyball, corrective training |
| 19 | Woodball, correcting training, outdoor activities, mat-work |
| 20 | Introduction of students' bodily movements at home in summer and winter break |

Source of materials: Yang Y-W (1977) The discussion of Rehabilitative PE of Physically Handicapped Students (in Chinese). *Physical Education Quarterly* 6(4): 20–25.

Although we do not know how long did the Rehabilitative PE course continue for, we know that owing to The Curriculum Guidelines of Schools and Classes for Students with Physical Impairments⁶⁷, enacted in 1983, the arrangement of the curriculum in the schools and classes for students with physical disabilities had to follow these guidelines. PE classes and physical rehabilitation sessions were separated and had their class hours in the timetable. Chart 8 shows that by 1984, the PE courses of the junior high school section of Ren-Ai school were filled with adaptive sports, and that physical rehabilitation did not appear in PE classes.

Chart 8: Teaching Schedule PE Course S in Ren-Ai School, 1984

| grade week | Year 1 | Year 2 | Year 3 |
|---------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Preparatory | Preparatory | Preparatory |
| 2 | Softball | table tennis | wheelchair basketball |
| 3 | Wheelchair obstacle racing | Wheelchair obstacle racing | Wheelchair obstacle racing |
| 4 | Golf | Softball | Table tennis |
| 5 | Weight training | Golf | Weight training |
| 6 | Softball throwing | Golf | Weight training |
| 7 | Softball throwing | Weight training | Wheelchair basketball |
| 8 | Wheelchair handball | Woodball | Golf |
| 9 | Woodball | Wheelchair handball | Table tennis |
| 10 | Table tennis | Softball throwing | Wheelchair handball |
| 11 | Wheelchair basketball | Table tennis | Softball throwing |
| 12 | Swimming | Swimming | Swimming |
| 13 | Swimming | Swimming | Swimming |
| 14 | Swimming | Swimming | Swimming |
| 15 | Swimming | Swimming | Test |
| 16 | Swimming | Swimming | Test |

| | | | |
|----|------|------|--|
| 17 | Test | Test | |
| 18 | Test | Test | |

Source of materials: The Physical Education Section of Ren-Ai Experimental School.

Besides PE lessons, the students with physical disabilities in Ren-Ai school could also join various sports societies, such as wheelchair basketball, table tennis and dance. The wheelchair basketball society found in 1977 often represents Taiwan and participates in international competitions.

As for the students with physical disabilities who were placed in general classes and did not join the PE Special Class, most of them could only be observers in the PE class and obtain the required score of 60 to pass (Huang, 2010). A researcher impaired from contracting polio, Yu Chien-Ming,⁶⁸ stated that ‘in this life, I did not have any physical education class. When my classmates went to the playground for the physical education class, I was responsible for their bags and clothing; I was the guardian of the classroom’ (Yu, 2009: 1). In Taiwanese society it was assumed that people with physical disabilities could not participate and did not need to do sports; thus their rights to take part in sports were deprived as a matter of course. However, some of the students with physical disabilities were encouraged to participate in PE and sports, and some of these even won gold medals in games for able-bodied athletes (Chen, 1986). Generally speaking, students with physical disabilities who were placed in the general class and did not join the PE Special Class were absent from PE classes unless they were fortunate enough to stay in an environment which did not hinder their sports participation.

PE for students with physical disabilities in universities

The widespread establishment of PE Special Classes in universities was influenced by the operation and issuing of the *Plan* (Chen, 1982). Universities started to realise that students with physical disabilities also needed PE. Since Taiwanese university students are required to take PE lessons in their first year and need a PE score to apply for scholarships, it was impossible to give them just a passing grade. The PE Special Class provided an outlet for these students’ PE performances to be graded. According to surveys carried out by the Department of Physical Education of the Ministry of Education and National Taiwan University in the 1980s, 21% of Taiwanese colleges and universities had PE Special Classes

for students with physical disabilities (Hsu, Lin and Chang, 1985), and most of the teaching content was sport-related (Chi, 1980). Chengchi University even tried to implement PE for more than 50 students with physical disabilities before the issuing of the *Plan*. But, some of these students believed that taking PE was highly embarrassing (Hsu, 1976), and they still felt uncomfortable their impairments being visible on the sports field.

From the case of the Special PE class of Chung Yuan Christian University, we can gain an insight into PE for students with physical disabilities in universities. The Special PE Class for students impaired from contracting polio began in 1976. The professor Chi Chung-Ching⁶⁹ saw that university students impaired from contracting polio could not take PE classes, and so with the support of the university authority he decided to organise a Special PE Class in the university. In the beginning, professor Chi organised a fitness test for the students with physical disabilities in the class in order to obtain background knowledge. The course was run twice a week, each time for 50 minutes which included a warm-up (5-10 minutes), demonstration and explanation of sports skills (10-20 minutes), group exercises (15-25 minutes) and discussion (5-10 minutes) (Chi, 1980). Chart 9 shows that the students impaired from contracting polio in Chung Yuan Christian University did receive PE. Professor Chi arranged various sports sessions for the students with physical disabilities, and an individual interview was also scheduled in the curriculum in order to understand more about the psychological conditions of the students.

Chart 9: Teaching Schedule of Special PE Class of Chung Yuan Christian University in May, 1977

| Date | Time | Contents |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| 3 rd May | 12:30AM~13:20PM | Swimming |
| 6 th | 17:00PM~18:00PM | Bowling |
| 10 th | 12:30AM~13:20PM | Golf |
| 13 rd | 17:00PM ~18:00PM | Darts |
| 17 th | 12:30AM~13:20PM | Arching |
| 20 th | 17:00PM ~18:00PM | Table tennis |
| 24 th | 12:30AM~13:20PM | Badminton |
| 27 th | 17:00PM ~18:00PM | Stationary bike Treadmill |

| | | |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| | | Seated row machine |
| 31 st | 12:30AM~13:20PM | Individual interview |

Source of materials: Chi C-C (1980) Aim and Objectives of the Adapted Physical Education Curriculum for Students with Poliomyelitis (in Chinese). In: Kun Shan University (ed.), *1980 Republic of China University Sports Federations Conference Proceedings*, Tainan: Kun Shan University, pp. 64–70.

Most of the students in the Special PE class of Chung Yuan Christian University had positive feelings about sports. As Lai stated:

In the past we were not happy or emotionally stable. After PE training, I have more energy and feel happier, more emotionally stable, and thus my digestive system and body condition have improved. In particular, the effective gymnastics make my movement more flexible, and my muscles are stronger...

(Chi 1980: 69)

Another student, Chen, said that ‘every movement of the gymnastics in the Special PE is a challenge to the students’ muscles. They get a sense of accomplishment when they finish the movements which they have never tried or thought possible to do, and this makes them want to try further movements’ (Chi, 1980: 69-70). From the accounts of the students, we find that sport was not only perceived to improve their muscle strength, but also stabilised their psychological condition and, more importantly, gave them more confidence to push the limitations of their bodies.

Not every student with physical disabilities had a positive experience with the PE course. According to NTU, 1050 students qualified for the PE Special Class, but only around 300 students participated in the Class in 1983 (Huang, 1983). We can still see that students impaired from contracting polio felt embarrassed about showing their impaired limbs in swimming class (Chang, 1984), and were opposed to the setting up of a PE Special Class in the university (Li, 1980). A professor from National Taiwan University (NTU), Li, Hui-Mien, recalled her Special PE Class in NTU 1979, stating:

The PE in NTU is compulsory, and even the students with physical disabilities were no exception. NTU arranged their course at 7 A.M.⁷⁰, and the old PE teacher did not schedule adaptive PE for the students in the Class, he just brought us to the lakeside, to breathe the air. It was too cold to stand up and do nothing for an hour in the early morning. It was anguish and did not make any sense (Interview with F1, 29 January 2016).

Thus, not all the students with physical disabilities had positive experiences of Special PE Classes, and some did not even receive PE in the class. The feedback from the class sometimes depended on the teaching of the instructor, and sometimes students with physical disabilities did not like to show their impaired bodies in public.

7.2. The Foucauldian lens and special PE

Within the PE context, Foucault's theory has been employed by academics to challenge the PE and its teaching practices as a pedagogical space (Hargreaves, 1995; Kirk, 1999; Markula and Pringle, 2006). However, about the PE for students with disabilities there is little research which has utilised a Foucauldian theoretical lens. The PE for students with physical disabilities is also potentially a technique of control. As Wright argues, 'physical education, in comparison with other curriculum areas of contemporary schooling, provides the optimum opportunity for detailed attention to the disciplining of the body and the production of embodied subjectivities' (Wright, 2000: 158). The PE is the highly ritualised curriculum in school which operates as a restricted code, for example, verbal communication like 'Begin', 'Stop', 'roll-call' and non-verbal communication like whistles and starting-guns are the most ritual activities (Wright, 2000). Furthermore, the interactions between students with physical disabilities and PE teachers also provide control for the instructor, such as the pleasure of enjoying sports in the lesson, the gratitude generated from the psychological support and assistance of the teacher, the joy and surprise of developing bodily potency and the mutual reliance which comes from the bodily contact involved in teaching.

The manipulation and regulation of time and space, the two principal coordinates in PE, allowed more of the students with physical disabilities become involved in the power relation of control. The PE special Class was scheduled at a specific time, for example, Chart 4~

Chart 9 shows how the period and duration of the classes in the three junior high schools were all arranged, and the Class in NTU also organised the Class at 7 A.M. of an hour's duration. As Foucault (1991) enlightens us, the distribution, isolation and arrangement the bodies in space, isolating and arranging promotes the operation of disciplinary power. The space in which the PE for students with physical disabilities was organised was explicitly designed. Boundaries were drawn in the teaching of PE to mark the dimensions of the playing area, which people were prohibited from entering. Specific space was provided for certain PE lessons such as the use of a swimming pool for the swimming class. If the students with physical disabilities wanted to enjoy the PE lesson, they were required to submit themselves to the specified regulation of bodies within time and space. The PE course for students with physical disabilities manipulated the students' bodies through the control of space and time was not just limited to its educational significance.

The warm-up was arranged in order to make the body reach a condition in which it could safely respond to nerve signals for fast and efficient action. However, the warm-up is also a context for the showcase of technologies of discipline in action (Wright, 2000). In the warm-up, bodies were divided into separate anatomical areas such as the neck, the shoulders, the waist, the back, the thighs, the calves, the knees and the elbows, which all need to be moved in certain ways and within specific time frames. Students pay attention to the instructor and demonstrator and perform the same movements at the same time as the rest of the class, and undoubtedly they were under the surveillance of their teacher and classmates. The design of the warm-up provides an optimal context for constituting the relations of authority, discipline and control.

As Foucault illuminates (Foucault, 1991a), the success of disciplinary power comes from the use of three instruments; hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and the examination. We can observe the operation of these three instruments in the PE Special Class. For example, through the hierarchical observation of the PE teacher delivering PE for the students with physical disabilities, the students became visible subjects of the exercise of disciplinary power. Nevertheless, in the relations of power, the PE instructor is not the only pair of eyes that gazes at the movements of the students with physical disabilities in the class, as alongside the teacher are the teaching assistant, nurse and other students who could all be understood as the supporting eyes which contribute to the working of the surveillance.

In the mechanism of normalising judgement, subjects must reach a certain standard. If they fail to reach this standard, they will be punished for their behaviour. The students with physical disabilities have not met the standard of the 'normal' body, and therefore they needed to be placed in the Special PE Class to receive adaptive PE. For some of the students in the Special PE Class, this was a form of punishment, because showing and exercising the impaired bodies in public imprinted the identity of impairment which brought the stigma of being 'useless', a 'burden' or 'worthless'. For example, the students in the PE Special Class of Chengchi University thought that receiving PE meant letting people see their deformed 'joke' of a body (Hsu, 1976), and Mr. Chu Min-Chin recalled in the beginning that students feared being laughed at for their bodies in the PE lesson and therefore resisted exercising during the lesson despite agreeing to play in the playing area afterwards (Yonghe Junior High School, 1975).

The technologies of examination were also utilised in the organisation of the Special PE Class to record and categorise the students with physical disabilities. When the students were placed in the class, their age, gender, height, weight, degree of impairment were all recorded and analysed by their teachers in an attempt to divide them into sub-groups for PE teaching. The fitness test and PE evaluation, also, were conducted to measure the physical capabilities of the students with physical disabilities. For example, the students of the Yonghe and Sinsing Junior High Schools needed to be measured for their grip and back strength at the beginning of the semester, and a second measurement was taken at the end of the semester to see if the students had shown any improvement. The records of ball throwing, basketball shooting, bowling and walking distance were also documented for the assessment and reference. The use of examination as a disciplinary technique is highly ritualised and has been said to have 'lowered the threshold of describable individuality and made of this description a means of control and a method of domination'(Foucault, 1991: 191).

The influence of the psychological side of PE is also worth noting. PE not only improves the physical abilities of the students with physical disabilities but also brings psychological benefits. As Hargreaves argues, PE is theorised overwhelmingly in terms of its moral and psycho-social significance and develops cognitive, emotional and moral qualities through its delivery (Hargreaves, 1995). The development of psychological qualities such as initiative, confidence and courage was also seen in the students with physical disabilities who received PE lessons. For example, in the newspaper report of the Special PE Class in Mu-Zha Junior High School, it was mentioned that:

Tien Chung-Hua is a third-grader who was handicapped in his right leg and had to walk with a brace. How could he do push-ups? With the help of his classmates, he fell to his knees and struggled with his knees on the tatami(mat). His upper body was continuously moving. Even he was surprised that he had succeeded.

Yi Shao-Hua is a second-grader. She was not accustomed to body movements from the beginning, especially when someone was watching. It made her facial muscles stiff again and again. After repeating several times with the teacher, she was confident, and her expression was more natural.

(United Daily News 1976: 6)

In the discourses of the students who participated in the PE Special Class mentioned above or in the previous paragraph, we can find that most of the students changed their attitude from one of fear and inferiority to a willingness to smile, try something new, interact with others and complain less. However, there were still cases of students with physical disabilities refusing to attend the PE Special Class, such as when one did not want to be seen as part of a ‘freak show’(Tien, 1974; Lu, 1977; *Min Sheng Bao*, 1980a, *Min Sheng Bao*, 1980b, Kuan, 1983; *United Daily News*, 1983). Overall, sports did enable students with physical disabilities to open up and had a positive effect on their mental qualities.

PE teachers play a crucial role in the relations of power of PE for all students including those with physical disabilities. Sometimes the PE instructor becomes an authority who can use disciplinary power to normalise, classify and judge the bodies of students with physical disabilities; sometimes (s)he acts as the gazer to monitor the movements of the students within the mechanism of panopticism. Moreover, the attitude of the PE teacher toward sports for students with physical disabilities impacts whether the students enjoy participating in the course or not. Some open-minded PE teachers believe that students with physical disabilities may as well exercise their bodies, but other instructors think that the students cannot engage with sports or that this is not necessary. In Chan’s discourse, he said:

He was infected with polio in his childhood. From elementary school to high school, he could only stay in the corner of the playground and watch his classmates in the PE lessons. Sometimes he asked the PE teacher if he could join a ball game, but only received the teacher’s supercilious looks and classmates’ taunts in return. He deeply hated PE lessons.

But, after joining the Special PE Class⁷¹ at Tunghai University, his attitude changed. He not only enjoys the vitality and power brought by the sport but also plays tennis very well now.

(Chan 1984: 10)

Because of the change of PE teacher, Chan's attitude toward PE transformed from hate to love. The attitude of a PE teacher is of vital importance, as (s)he can make students with physical disabilities enjoy taking part in sport or stay outside of the playing area. Some students with slight physical disabilities might be easily ignored or misunderstood as not being serious students (Li, 1991). In the time in which teacher did not realise what disabilities were, the rights of students with physical disabilities to take PE lessons were easily lost.

Summary

In this chapter we have portrayed the state of PE in schools and universities between 1972 and 1992. In the schools and classes for students with physical disabilities, PE lessons were no longer just about physical rehabilitation. As Hargreaves argues 'the school, via the PE lesson, literally makes more of the pupil visible to the gaze of authority and, therefore, more available for control' (Hargreaves 1995: 169). In the area of PE, the authorities issued The Plan of Physical Education Special Classes in Junior High Schools in an attempt to improve and rehabilitate the bodies of students with physical disabilities via sports. Several PE Special Classes were founded, and the PE lessons were provided for students with physical disabilities in the general education system. It is worth noting that the PE no longer equated to rehabilitation, and students with physical disabilities in both general schooling and the special education system could all enjoy the experience of taking PE lessons.

These schools and classes started to pay attention to the students' need for PE, and arranged sport in PE lessons. In the general schools and universities, Chu Min-Chin organised the first PE Special Class for students impaired from contracting polio in Yonghe Junior High School with the principal's support. Influenced by the increasing number of students with physical disabilities and the issuing of The Scheme of Physical Education for Physically Handicapped Students in Junior High School, some schools and universities also launched PE Special Classes. Undoubtedly, PE played the role of a mechanism of discipline

for bodies and minds of students with physical disabilities, and it did improve their physical and mental qualities.

Although mainstreaming had been introduced in the Special education of Taiwan and some PE scholars suggested utilising the viewpoints of the PE of students with disabilities (Lai, 1984), PE for students with physical disabilities was still segregated in the Special PE Class which had both good and bad aspects. On the one hand, the PE teacher could focus on the students with physical disabilities and provide adaptive PE for them; on the other hand, the students lost the opportunity to interact with the mainstream, and able-bodied people were not able to improve their recognition of PE for the disabled. However, the PE for the students with physical disabilities in elementary school, from the beginning to the end, did not draw any attention. According to a journalist, Huang, PE Special Classes should not only be organised in universities, as students with disabilities in both high and elementary schools also needed to attend Special PE Classes (Huang, 1984).

In the next chapter, we explore the development of national and international sport for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1972 and 1992.

Chapter 8. The disciplined body: the national and international sport history for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1972 and 1992

Rather than being idealistic about the values of disabled sport, we should remember that its modern organized roots were driven by political expediency.

(Anderson, 2003: 474)

This chapter portrays the history of national and international sports for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1972 and 1992. The reason why we discuss the aspects of national and international disability sport in the same chapter is that the international sports stemmed from the national sports, and with their positive sporting experiences of domestic competitions, people with physical disabilities became more confident about facing the challenge of competing in sporting events. The first section of this chapter highlights the National Games for the Disabled, illuminated by Foucault's ideas of biopower in terms of how the event was utilised as an apparatus through which to manage both the able-bodied and disabled population in Taiwan. In the second section, we present the dawn of international sports for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan.

8.1. The national sports for individuals with physical disabilities

This section presents a history of national sports for individuals with physical disabilities in Taiwan and focuses on the National Games for the Disabled and the phenomena of paternalism and freak shows. Between 1972 and 1992, the National Games for the Disabled was not the only national sports event for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan. Several sport events and activities for people with physical disabilities were organised by charity institutions and organisations (Tien, 1974; Lu, 1977; *Min Sheng Bao*, 1980a, *Min Sheng Bao*, 1980b, Kuan, 1983; *United Daily News*, 1983), and each of these institutions organised sports teams and competed against one another (*Min Sheng Bao*, 1983a). Some people with physical disabilities participated in sports games and competed with 'normal' athletes, and won medals (*Min Sheng Bao*, 1979; Hsiung, 1983). Sports came to be seen as not just for the able-

bodied, as the rights of individuals with disabilities to take part in sport were increasingly accepted by Taiwanese society in this period. Due to the characteristics of regional games and these activities for the disabled being a mixture of sporting and carnival events, and information related to the disabled often being overlooked or marginalised from the mainstream, the regional archive material is very limited. As a result, in this section the primary data examined focuses upon the National Games for the Disabled.

8.1.1 More than just a game: The National Games for the Disabled in Taiwan between 1972 and 1992

This sub-section focuses on the National Games for the Disabled, and how these were employed as a tool to discipline the bodies of the disabled between 1972 and 1992. It must be made clear that the participants of the National Games for the Disabled were not only people with physical disabilities but also people with hearing, visual and mental disabilities were also involved. In order to address the broader picture of the National Games for the Disabled, all of these categories of participants are acknowledged in this section.

The birth of the National Games for the Disabled in Taiwan

The first large-scale and inter-regional games for the disabled in Taiwan was held at Baguashan stadium in Changhua County on 17th November 1974 (*China Daily News*, 1974; *Taiwan Daily*, 1974; *Independent Evening News*, 1974; Kuo, 1978), and featured approximately 600 participants with disabilities from 14 different institutions⁷² across Taiwan. The event was supported by the chief of these institutions and schools. The Games of 1974 was part of a series of charitable activities that were organised as part of the Well-off Campaign, which was also intended to celebrate the 80th anniversary of the KMT's founding by Sun Yat-Sen. The activities included the Fame for the disabled, a ceremony in celebration of the determination of people with disabilities, and a funfair. The idea of affiliating the celebration with the games was proposed by the speaker of the Changhua County Council, Huang Wen-Yao,⁷³ who was also the president of the Changhua County Municipal Athletes Federation. In Europe and America, Huang had been exposed to individuals with disabilities who were able to participate in sports activities (*Shang-Gong Daily News*, 1974). Owing to their lack of experience of staging sports events for the disabled, Huang and the executive secretary of the Changhua County Municipal Athletes Federation Chang Chao-Yi visited

institutions and special schools for the disabled across Taiwan, then designed adaptive rules for the Games, and organised training for the event's staff and referees. The 1974 Games was accidentally scheduled in the celebratory activities and became the pioneer sport event for the disabled in Taiwan, as well as across the Chinese-speaking world.⁷⁴

Fireworks, music, colourful balloons and doves of peace were displayed at the opening of the 1974 Games. The athletes with physical disabilities walked into the stadium in an orderly and arranged manner aided by wheelchairs or walking prosthesis or crutches. Athletes with visual impairments walked hand-in-hand or were led by holding the shoulder of the athlete in front. They marched into the arena and were greeted by applause. The opportunity to participate was only offered for three disability categories: physical, hearing, and visual impairments. Each category was divided by gender and age: male and female, youth, teens and pre-teens⁷⁵ with these categories competing in a mix of sporting and carnival games.

Several central government high-ranking officials and representatives from across Taiwan were invited to the games: such as the director of the Social Affairs Bureau of KMT, Chiu Chuang-Huan,⁷⁶ the vice-minister of the Ministry of Education, Kuo Wei-Fan⁷⁷, and the local vice-chancellor of Changhua County, Wu Jung-Hsing⁷⁸, as well as Huang Wen-Yao. They all agreed to recommend to the department that administrated the sporting affairs to hold sporting events for the disabled as this was an excellent vehicle to develop the bodies and minds of the individuals with disabilities (*Taiwan Daily*, 1974). This demonstrates that the participation of these senior government officials not only gave kudos to the Games for the Disabled but also highlights that they believed that the Games were an appropriate tool to shape the minds and bodies of people with disabilities.

In a speech delivered by the Head of Changhua County, the expectation for the individuals with disabilities portrayed by Chiang Ching-Kuo was mentioned. Wu Jung-Hsing stated:

This Games for the Disabled, the first of its kind in Taiwan, has two primary purposes; one is to celebrate the eightieth anniversary of the founding of KMT by Sun Yat-Sen, and the other is to follow the guidance of the Premier, Chiang Ching-Kuo, 'to give warmth and offer service to the ones who needed it most.' Also, the Premier hopes for the athletes participating in the games to seize this chance to do their best and also to continue to improve and devote themselves to society.

(*Taiwan Times* 1974: 8)

This highlights how a government official echoed the view of Chiang Ching-Kuo that the sportspeople with disabilities could improve themselves and their contribution to the state through participating in the Games. In the next section, we will turn to the National Games for the Disabled launched in 1977 which was influenced by the regional Games in 1974.

The Governmentality of the National Games for Disabled

The emergence of regular and inter-county sporting events for the disabled, held in Tainan City from 1977, stemmed from the successful experiences of the Regional Games for the Disabled in 1974. The pilot games in Changhua attracted the attention of the State; thus, the authorities decided that the Games would be held bi-annually and hosted in turn by cities or counties of northern, central, and southern Taiwan (see Chart 10) (Education Department of Taiwan Province, 1978).

Chart 10: The list of National Games for the disabled held in Taiwan between 1977 and 1992.

| | Year | Host |
|-----------------|------|-----------------------------|
| 1 st | 1977 | Tainan City |
| 2 nd | 1979 | Hsinchu City |
| 3 rd | 1981 | Taipei City |
| 4 th | 1984 | Kaohsiung City |
| 5 th | 1986 | Taichung City |
| 6 th | 1988 | Changhua County |
| 7 th | 1990 | Taipei County ⁷⁹ |
| 8 th | 1992 | Taipei City |

Source of materials: The United Daily News between 1977 and 1992

We observe that the intervention of the State apparatus in the National Games for the Disabled began with the organising committee of the event. The Scheme for the National Games for Disabled was outlined by the Social Affairs Bureau of KMT. In the organising committee of the National Games for the Disabled, the administrative committee was composed of the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Education, the Social Affairs Bureau and the Department of Education of Taiwan Provincial Government, the Department of Social Welfare, the Department of Education of Taipei City Government, the Social Affairs Bureau of KMT, the Taiwan Provincial Chapter of KMT, the Taipei City Chapter of KMT, and the China Youth Corps (CYC),⁸⁰ and overall the Social Affairs Bureau of KMT was responsible for chairing the meetings (Education Department of Taiwan Province, 1978). The CYC was founded in 1952 by Chiang Ching-Kuo to be responsible for the entertainment and recreation activities in Taiwanese society with the attempt to imbue the desired ideology and discipline into these leisure activities (W.-S.Li, 2005). It was for this reason that the CYC oversaw the administration and operation of the National Games for the Disabled. As a result, the organising committee included government officials as well as members of the CYC.

Chiang Ching-Kuo's expectations were also outlined in The Scheme of the National Games for the Disabled,

...following in Premier Chiang Ching-Kuo's footsteps in caring for the blind and deaf students and other disadvantaged people, by holding games for the disabled we encourage their development in amelioration and creativity, and to reach their potential while also generating public attention and raising awareness of their situations, and then offering them more support in the future.

(Education Department of Taiwan Province 1978: 1)

In the above quotation it is understood that the beginning of the National Games for the Disabled not only provided sporting opportunities for the people with disabilities, but also was utilised as technologies to inspire the capacities of people with disabilities, and to increase public attention for the 'social problem': individuals with disabilities.

Initially, the National Games for the Disabled was designed for entertainment, because the authorities were concerned about the 'safety' of the sportspeople with disabilities and they hoped that the rule designer, Chu Ming-Chin, would make the Games as entertaining as possible. With the endorsement and support of several medical doctors who ensured that sports were not dangerous for individuals with disabilities, sports could instead be regarded

as the extension of rehabilitation, and these sporting events were scheduled in the National Games for the disabled (Interview with M1, 20 January 2016).

The Chinese name of the National Games for the Disabled was changed from ‘*Taiwan Qu Can Zhang Zi Qiang Yun Dong Hui*’⁸¹ in 1977 to ‘*Taiwan Shen Xin Zhang Ai Guo Min Zi Qiang Huo Dong Da Hui*’⁸² in 1979, and the last title continued to be used until 1992. This change revealed the contempt and discrimination toward sports for the disabled at that time. Firstly the change of the Chinese phrase for individuals with disabilities from ‘*Can Zhang*’ (Handicap) in 1977 to ‘*Shen Xin Zhang Ai Guo Min*’ (citizens with disabilities) in 1979 could be seen as progressive and respectful, and was reflected in the inclusion of people with mental impairments in the Games of 1977. Secondly, the term ‘*ZiQiang*’ means self-strengthening, and the authorities hoped that individuals with physical disabilities could make more of an effort to make themselves stronger and better through participating in the games for the disabled. Lastly, the substitution of the term ‘*Yun Dong Hui*’ (game; sports event) from 1977 with ‘*Huo Dong Da Hui*’ (activities assembly) in 1979 could be seen as an issue, because in Chinese ‘*Huo Dong Da Hui*’ does not explicitly describe a sporting event, and thus directly denied the sporting implications of the Games, instead considering the sports contested at the event to be kinds of ‘activity’ at most.

The rationale for this name substitution was documented in the record of the meeting of the administrative committee of the Games of 1979 when the commissioners thought the title should be changed with regards to the safety of competing and developing a spirit of self-improvement and fraternity (Education Department of Taiwan Province, 1979). Furthermore, Fan indicates that the reason the authorities switched the title was because of a lack of confidence in athletes with disabilities, stating that ‘it is not easy to launch a handicapped games’ (Fan, 1997: 22). However, it is unclear what the issues of adding this particular group and protecting sportsmen had to do with the changing of the name. What is clear, however, is that the authorities assumed that the sporting events could not be known as ‘sport’, so they created another ‘similar name’ for this event: ‘*Huo Dong Da Hui*’ (activities assembly). However, in order not to confuse the reader with the name replacement in Chinese, this thesis uses the title of ‘National Games for the Disabled’ throughout.

The Chinese name of the National Games for the Disabled was questioned during the 1990 Games, as some participants felt affronted by the title of ‘*Shen Xin Zhang Ai*’. In Chinese, *Shen Xin Zhang Ai* refers to people with physical and mental disabilities. As the advocates

did not deem themselves to have mental disabilities, the hosts should not have referred to the Games participants in these terms as the individuals with mental disabilities have ‘good hearts’ and should not have been regarded as having ‘disabilities’. Furthermore, they exemplified the way that the Paralympic Games does not mention ‘disability’ in its name (Sun, 1990a). Although the opposition to the name was not accepted in the subsequent National Games for the Disabled, it reflected the growing political consciousness and self-conscience of people with disabilities in Taiwan which had seen them begin to fight against discrimination in society.

In order to organise the National Games for the Disabled, many people and economic resources were involved in the operation. Other than the support which came from the other government departments mentioned in the previous passage, donations received locally also played a crucial role in financing the Games. Hsieh pointed out that the sporting games were responsible for the teaching, civilising, connecting and mobilising of local society (Hsieh, 2003). They also provided an avenue for local society to partake in public affairs. As a result, these Games qualified as bi-directional affiliations between the authorities and the society. In the National Games for the Disabled, all costs such as transport, board, lodging and souvenirs for the athletes, and games operating expenses were covered by the organisers; financial support from the state was not enough to cover all the expenditures. Local sponsors were employed to relieve the quandary of the financial shortage. The 1977 Games even used money from the Winter Charity⁸³ to buy blankets and favours for participants. Also, a large number of ‘volunteers’ were recruited from universities and colleges, high schools, and scout groups to ensure that the athletes with disabilities could obtain the best access and care during the Games. School students were mobilised to line the streets to welcome the athletes. Because of the lack of accessible facilities in public space during the 1970s, the scouts had to carry people with disabilities up and down stairs during the day trip. Their dedicated services were documented as making the athletes with disabilities feel welcome (*Central Daily News*, 1977).

The video (‘Special report: Special education (in Chinese)’, 1977) and photos of the athletes with physical disabilities engaged in the National Games for the Disabled shows intense involvement in the various forms of sporting events. The background music, *The Stars and Stripes Forever*,⁸⁴ that plays in the video of the 1977 Games for the disabled sounds inspiring. The facial expressions of the athletes with disabilities are full of motivation, encouragement and bravery. These athletes were happy to participate in the Games and well

respected in all of the activities included in the Games; they were not frustrated, dejected, inferior individuals with disabilities in the arena. The message conveyed by the video and photos is one of amelioration in which the athletes challenged and overcame their disabilities, and completed exercises which other people and even they had thought were impossible for them to do. Although the paralysed bodies appeared in the media, the tone of the media coverage would not let the viewers feel unfortunate and poor. The atmosphere in the videos and photos masked with uplifting footage of athletes with disabilities trying their best on the sports field. However, in the real world people with disabilities still suffered from the social barriers which existed in Taiwanese society.

In the first several editions of the National Games for the Disabled, students and the general public were mobilised by the authorities to participate in the Games and the stadium was filled. This was especially true of the 1977 Tainan Games, as athletes with disabilities were welcomed by excited crowds wherever they went, and hundreds of people lined up to wave and applaud at the roadside. The phenomenon of the ‘professional audience’ in the 1979 Hsinchu Games was criticised by the journalists who stated that ‘...due to a lack of publicity and not attracting public attention, fewer people take the initiative to watch, and the spectators in the stands were a professional audience organised by the hosts’ (*Taiwan Daily*, 1979). Other than mobilising the spectators, the organisers should have made greater efforts to promote the Games to the public. In the 1990 Games, the host units decided not to mobilise the students to the sports field, and instead they organised a lottery to win prizes such as cars, bikes and fridges to attract public participation, which had a positive effect (Sun, 1990b).

Despite the claim that the Games were to be a national-scale sporting event, it was not until 1981 that all the counties which were under the jurisdiction of Taiwan province managed to organise teams for the National Games for the Disabled.⁸⁵ In 1977 some counties were not able to send their teams because of the lack of funds to cover transport costs. From 1979, all contestants were able to acquire transport allowances to attend the Games, yet some counties failed to send a team. In the next section, we discuss the content and character of the National Games for the Disabled.

Content and character of the Games for the Disabled

After exploring the governance of National Games in Taiwan in the previous section, in this section we articulate the contents of the Games and how they were run, in attempt to provide a clearer picture of the event.

In the National Games for the Disabled, activities around the sport took centre stage. Important activities included a recognition ceremony, evening party, funfair, field trip and a special education exhibition at the Games. The Games was usually run for four days (see Chart 11). In the recognition ceremony, people with disabilities with certain achievements or people who had made contributions to individuals with disabilities were rewarded. This award ceremony can be seen as an attempt to create role models from within sport for the disabled in Taiwanese society. The evening party was introduced by celebrities and featured a music and dance show prepared by the schools for the students with disabilities, singers and an army ensemble. On the third day, a half-day field trip and funfair were arranged to reward the athletes with disabilities who were participating in the games. This idea of rewarding participants is not uncommon in mainstream sports, as highlighted by the closing ceremonies of major events that are still very carnivalesque, but both events could be seen as a form of Foucauldian biopower because of how the athletes were rewarded for exhibiting appropriate behaviour (Markula and Pringle, 2006). For the special education exhibition, teaching equipment, teaching materials, works by students with disabilities and special education statistics were displayed indoors at the event.

Chart 11: The time schedule of the National Games for the Disabled

| | | Exhibition | Games & ceremony | Party | Trip ⁸⁶ | Fun fair |
|-------|-----|------------|------------------------------|-------|--------------------|----------|
| Day 1 | | | Registration and preparation | | | |
| Day 2 | Day | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|--|--------|--|--|--|
| | evening | | | | | |
| Day 3 | morning | | | | | |
| | Afternoon | | | | | |
| Day 4 | | | Return | | | |

Source of materials: The United Daily News between 1977 and 1992

In order to investigate the events and their transformation in the National Games for the Disabled, we highlight the events of the Games in 1974, 1979 and 1992 (see Chart 12). These years were chosen because, as we have shown, the first National Games for the Disabled was hosted in 1974, and the athletes with mental impairments were included in the Games in 1979. The Games of 1992 were the last that did not follow the IPC rules and regulations.

At the 1974 Games in Changhua, the opportunity to compete was only provided for three disability categories: physical, hearing and visual impairments. Each category was divided by gender and age: male and female, youth, teenage and pre-teen. These events were mixed with sporting categories such as the 100-metre race, 4x100 metre race, shot put, long jump etc., and in the carnival games there was the three-legged race, balloon popping, bean-bag passing, chopsticks shooting⁸⁷, and 'beat Peoples Republic of China (PRC)'⁸⁸ for example. The chopsticks shooting, and the 'beat PRC' are the distinctive games which are worthy of note. The chopsticks shooting made use of colourful chopsticks to shoot at a target in the form of the cartoon character, Donald Duck, which was 3 to 7 meters away (*Shang-Gong Daily News*, 1974). What is interesting is the throwing of chopsticks at Donald Duck, was symbolic of the disdain that the Taiwanese regime had for capitalism while the society was under Martial Law. Due to the lack of historical material this research is not able to understand how 'beat

PRC' was played but one can assume it would have involved a negative portrayal of the former rulers of Taiwan due to the historical nature of that relationship (Rubinstein, 2007).

The authorities used this terminology linked to political ideology in an attempt to install control through the apparatus of biopower into the minds of individuals with disabilities at the Games. These ideological goals demonstrate how the National Games for the Disabled was not only a sporting event but also a sphere for preaching the sovereign's political ideology. Furthermore, other than the racing and the shot put, most of the events in the Games were team development events. Hsu refers to team sports as an excellent apparatus to foster a group sense of belonging (Hsu, 2005). Team sports consisted of competitive group events such as tug of war or three-legged races, where the force of the group is strengthened via the competition between different groups. Moreover, no one wants their group to fall behind, and everyone will work hard for their team. In the case of the 1974 Games, numerous team events were arranged. This was because, on the one hand, team events were believed to improve the participation and entertainment of the individuals with disabilities, while on the other they helped the authorities achieve their goal of 'disciplining the bodies and minds of the handicapped' (*Taiwan Daily* 1974: 6). Such a statement is a clear indication that the Taiwanese regime at the time was employing the apparatus that may be theoretically articulated as biopower.

The team and individual events were examples of what Foucauldian scholars have described as the technologies of discipline. That is mainly because the two essential components, time and space, were strictly regulated in Games events (Kirk, 1999). Although the rules of the Games for the disabled were amended to adapt to the disabilities of the participants, the athletes still needed to follow the rules to facilitate the operation of the Games. In other words, the proceedings of the Games were based upon the premise that all the participants agreed to abide by the rules related to time such as the length of the events or halftime and the rules that governed the space that shapes the playing area. In the team events, the rules determined the sector where the athletes could move, limiting participants' movements based on their function and position in the team. The players in the individual events were also governed by regulations that required certain specific movements, such as those required for the long jump where an athlete had to take-off before they touched the plastic line. The time boundaries of the events were designed around halves or quarters and were strictly supervised by referees. The formalising posture, skill, gesture, techniques and strategies also influence the movement in all events and can be closely linked to the

disciplinary nature of training impaired bodies (Howe and Silva, 2017). Moreover, the kinds of bodies that could take part in the Games were affected by the materials of the playing area and evolution of equipment, and in team events, the social relations between participants were divided into teammates and rivals. The team and individual events played the role of bodily control through the regulation of space and time that lay hidden behind the events themselves.

The 1979 Hsinchu Games was largely different from the 1974 Games in Changhua, as the athletes with mental impairments were included as participants, and more individual events were arranged in the Games. As a national-scale event, the 1979 Games were larger than those of 1974. In order to include people with disabilities in the Games, several adaptive sports such as basketball shooting, ground activity, and throwing softball were developed. However, the remit of these games was not simply about the result on the sports field but the belief that ‘games should consider the entertainment and education for the handicapped and the public’ (Education Department of Taiwan Province, 1979). This statement makes it clear that the idea that people with disabilities could compete in sport was still a novelty even though the National Games for the Disabled had been hosted several times in Taiwan.

The list of events that were included in the 1992 Games is only approximate. From Chart 10, we can see that the events of the 1992 Games were organised slightly differently; some events such as Powerlifting and Judo, which were included in the Paralympic games, were first scheduled in the National Games for the Disabled, and the rules of the Paralympic Games were also applied (Chen, 1992a). This is because Taiwan first participated in international sports events for the disabled in 1987 and, more importantly, the Far East and South Pacific Games for the Disabled⁸⁹ (FESPIC) in 1989 as the nation planned to take part in the Barcelona Paralympics of 1992. As a result, the sporting events of the National Games for the Disabled were more connected with the new currency and apparatus of the IPC (Interview with M4, 22 January 2016). The rules, events and classification of the National Games of 1992 used those of the IPC in an attempt to transform the National Games for the Disabled in Taiwan to be more in line with new international standards established by the IPC. In the next section, we demonstrate how these sporting events benefited the state of Taiwan.

Chart 12: The different sport activities held at the 1974, 1979 and 1992 Games for the Disabled

| | 1974 | 1979 | 1992 |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|
| Visual impairment | Racing | Racing | Athletics |
| | Racing relay | Tug of war | Swimming |
| | Shot put | Standing long jump | Judo |
| | Tug of war | Softball throwing | |
| | Three-legged race | Ground activity | |
| | Balloons popping | | |
| | Beat PRC | | |
| Hearing impairment | Racing | Racing | Athletics |
| | Racing relay | Racing relay | Basketball |
| | Shot put | Shot put | Table tennis |
| | High jump | High jump | |
| | Long jump | Long jump | |
| | Throwing softball | | |
| | Three-legged race | | |
| | Beans passing | | |
| | Group plank skiing | | |
| Physical impairment | Chopsticks shooting | Racing with crutches | Athletics |
| | Catch moon in the water ⁹⁰ | Wheelchair racing | Table tennis |
| | Wheelchair fishing ⁹¹ | Shot put | Throwing softball |
| | Kick ball relay | Throwing softball | Powerlifting |
| | | Basketball shooting | Wheelchair basketball |
| | | Swimming | Throwing softball |
| | | Table tennis | |
| Mental impairment | | Racing | Athletics |
| | | Standing long jump | Swimming |
| | | Softball throwing | Basketball shooting |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|-------------------|
| | | | Softball throwing |
|--|--|--|-------------------|

Source of materials: ‘The President of KMT Changhua Chapter Has Great Contributions to Charity (in Chinese)’. *Shang-Gong Daily News*, 18 November 1974, 6; Education Department of Taiwan Province. *The Results Report of the National Game for the Disabled in 1979 (in Chinese)*, 1979, 30-34; Chen, Li-Ching. ‘Different Carnival Game (in Chinese)’. *Min Sheng Bao*, 16 May 1992, 2.

The operations of the National Games for the Disabled were not ideal, mainly because, on the one hand, the organisers lacked experience of organising sports events for the disabled and because, on the other hand, because some host counties did not stage the National Games for the Disabled very enthusiastically. Some event organisers still held discriminatory attitudes toward sports for the disabled, and even though that staging the games for the disabled was to ‘do meritorious deeds’⁹²(Yeh, 1990). Even at the seventh National Games for the Disabled, the operation of the Games was not smooth, as some upcoming events could not find enough athletes and some participants had hoped to register for the sporting events on the day of the events themselves (Sun, 1990a). Before following the Paralympic classification in 1994, the classification in the National Games for the Disabled was criticised by the participants for having an equal schedule for all athletes with disabilities in the same events, because the disabilities of the participants in the same events were different. For example, the sporting events for athletes with physical disabilities were roughly divided into groups of single or double limb(s) disabilities, although the double limb disabilities could still be subdivided into various degrees of disability. Furthermore, it was suggested that the insufficient classification system could have a negative impact on the Taiwanese athletes’ performances in international competitions (Sun, 1990a).

A national games that benefitted the nation of Taiwan

The goal in organising the games for the disabled was to construct bodies which could be utilised by the Taiwanese state. The objectives of the event were expressly revealed by the Head of the Department of Education of the Taiwan Provincial Government, Liang Shang-Yung,⁹³ in the opening ceremony of the first National Games for the disabled:

The five aims of the games were:

- 1 To count towards exercising for physiotherapy.
2. To develop confidence and strong fighting will through training and competition.
3. To extend their living sphere and enrich their lifestyles.
4. To participate in group activities and regain interpersonal relations.
5. To remove the stereotyping of the handicapped in society.

(Education Department of Taiwan Province, 1978: 13)

Liang Shang-Yung revealed the polished techniques of the state among which the National Games for the Disabled were employed as a disciplinary tool to construct the bodies and minds of individuals with disabilities, and then more broadly, for the sportsmen and women to contribute to the betterment of the country.

How did the Games discipline the bodies and minds of people with disabilities? Sport enhances the body, in part because it is linked to practices of rehabilitation and techniques of skill acquisition. At the time, rehabilitative treatments were not popular and social welfare was not available in Taiwan. The sport was the most affordable means of developing the bodies of people with disabilities. This situation could also be found in sports for the disabled in the West at the same time (Anderson, 2003; Howe, 2008). The impairments of the body caused limitation or restriction of movements and functions. However, if people with physical impairments can move and exercise properly, their physical functioning and muscle strength will eventually be improved. As a result, the bodies of individuals with disabilities will gradually become usable bodies for the state.

Another benefit of the National Games for the Disabled was believed to be the transformation of the mind. Sports were employed by authorities as a mechanism to discipline the people and instil in them qualities and social behaviours such as courage, loyalty and confidence to meet the market's need for fit and healthy bodies (Hargreaves, 1995; Anderson, 2003). Although not all people with disabilities were necessarily inspired by sports,

they were affected in other positive ways. People with disabilities had previously been undesired in Taiwan; they were sheltered by institutions and family members but marginalised from mainstream society, lacked interaction with others, and considered as useless (The League for Persons with Disabilities, 2011). However, participating in sports brought different experiences into the lives of people with disabilities since participation challenged bodily stereotypes that suggested that people with impairments were useless and unable to take part in physical activities. After participating in sports, it was reported that their attitudes towards life transformed and they gained more confidence, earned self-value and were more willing to interact with others (Chen, 1982; Chi, 1978; Yonghe Junior High School, 1975). As a journalist described, ‘every handicapped athlete showed a previously rarely seen expression of a mixture of joy, courage, confidence, and self-affirmation. This is why the purpose of organising the handicapped games was to eliminate the psychological barriers, the negative thoughts and craven ideas, and to increase the courage of the athletes and build up their confidence in life through sports’ (Yao, 1981: 1). Thus, individuals with disabilities no longer ‘hide in the dark corners’ of Taiwanese society; instead, they become bodies with positive minds which can be integrated into the community.

Awakening the public consciousness to individuals with disabilities was another target of staging the National Games for the Disabled (Interview with M5, 09 June 2017). The Games were rendering, full of inspiration and amelioration, and a novelty to attract public attention, with the watcher being influenced by the atmosphere in the field. By showcasing the National Games for the Disabled to the Taiwanese society, the issues of individuals with disabilities would become a cause for broader public concern. Moreover, the mechanism of discipline not only influenced the athletes with impairments at the Games but also affected the event's spectators. As one spectator mentioned:

The meanings and functions of the games - other than providing sporting opportunities, increasing the level of the competition to induce better performance - the most important goal is promotion ... From observing the hard-working spirits of the handicapped, to gaining a deeper understanding of the importance of sports and exercising to oneself. Furthermore, there is the realisation of being a fully healthy body and how one should contribute to the state and society.

(Yao, 1981: 3)

This spectator, Yao, watched the performance of the people with disabilities in the playing field and thought that ‘healthy bodies’ like him should contribute to the state. It does not matter whether this is an accurate quote or not - the reason why this discourse was published in the newspaper was that it conveyed the authorities’ ideal: all must contribute to the society. Thus, the targets which the authorities wanted to discipline were not limited to the athletes with disabilities, but also all the participants including spectators, staff and referees at the Games.

The National Games for the Disabled played the role of enlightening society to recognise the need for specialised education in Taiwan. Before proclaiming the Special Education Law in 1984, in 1973 Chiang Ching-Kuo ordered the Ministry of Education to make special education more accessible as school-aged children with disabilities still did not receive a general education. People at the time also lacked an understanding of special education; rather, they thought of individuals with disabilities as social outcasts who were doomed to be hopeless and useless. However, the National Games for the Disabled exhibited special education and provided a whole new set of more concrete, practical and accessible direct ways for people in Taiwan to realise the potential of people with impairment. The National Games for the Disabled proved that people with disabilities were more capable than they had previously been given credit for and highlighted that with the help of special education, they had a better chance of integrating into Taiwanese society. In the third National Games for the Disabled in 1981, a journalist described how people were engaging in the exhibition and the demonstration of special education:

The teacher from the school for students with hearing impairment taught the students to sing using sign language. The onlookers also joined in enthusiastically by learning and singing the song with their eyes and hearts.

(Taipei City Government 1981: 123)

The onlookers, imperceptibly influenced by the atmosphere of the teaching demonstration, sang with the teacher and had a positive experience and as such their attendance at the Games can be seen to be a pedagogical moment which highlighted that people with disabilities were not as different as previously believed.

Ultimately, the National Games for the Disabled in Taiwan were employed by the authorities as a tool to discipline the bodied and social abilities of athletes with disabilities,

and this intention was central to the government's official discourse. The effect of discipline also influenced the participants of the games, and it is to these discourses which we now turn.

Acceptance or Resistance

‘Where there is power, there is resistance’ (Foucault, 1998: 95). In the National Games for the Disabled in Taiwan, there was hardly any resistance discourse toward the Games; people with disabilities seemed to embrace them once they had the opportunity to attend fully. It might have been the case that people with disabilities had been absent from the sport for such a long time and that their desire to engage in bodily movements had thus increased. However, we can see an example of criticism from a person impaired from contracting polio, Huang Jung-Hua, who stated that ‘it is meaningful that our government could stage games for the disabled, but there seems to be too little government care for the handicapped’ (*Central Daily News*, 1979: 3). How did the Games affect the participants? We discovered some effects in the discourse of Lin, who took part in Pingtung’s regional games for the disabled in 1978. Although she is not part of the target group of this research, her discourse could reflect the effect of the National Games for the Disabled on the participants. Lin stated that:

We showed cohesion in this Games. We honoured our school, Tainan School for Students with Hearing Impairment, and at the same time we gained precious friendships. From now on, we will work harder to learn the skills needed to make a living, for ‘independence and amelioration’⁹⁴, to be a good student who is ‘disabled but not useless’⁹⁵, and devote me to my community and country.

(Lin 1978: 125)

From Lin’s discourse, we see that she was inspired by the National Games for the Disabled and that she gained more confidence to absorb new expertise, to work towards achieving ‘independence and amelioration’ and to be ‘disabled but not useless’, and to contribute to Taiwanese society ultimately. In Chinese, ‘independence and amelioration’ refers to the idea of independent living and the phrase ‘disabled but not useless’ refers to how being disabled should not be a social burden. Thus, the authorities who organised the Games did achieve their goals by disciplining people with disabilities and improving their quality of life and actively encouraging them to be active members of society.

Another example from the archive is provided by Wang, a student who was impaired from contracting polio, who took part in the Games for the disabled which had become central to who he was.

Wang, a student affected by polio, lived in Yonghe District, Taipei County. Every time he sat at the window edge watching his peers participating and enjoying the school sports games, he dreamed of one day joining them...Wang's dream came true at the end of December, [1976], when his teacher called him to the corridors and told him that he had to improve his arm strength because the first National Games for the Disabled in Taiwan was to take place on the 19th of March.

Hearing this news, Wang could not believe his 'ears',⁹⁶ but the teacher sincerely encouraged and assured him of the news. From then on Wang became more outgoing and active, and interacted more with his peers. Most of all, he made sure to actively train on the sports field for the Games so he could be at his best for the games on the 19th of March in Tainan.

(Education Department of Taiwan Province 1978: 74)

In the above quotation, we can observe that the National Games for the Disabled was utilised as a technology of discipline. Before launching the National Games for the Disabled, Wang did not have access to sports in his life. Once he had the chance to take part in the Games, Wang trained tirelessly and improved on his arm strength without any supervision in order to perform well. Thus, the National Games for the Disabled could be seen to reconstruct the body so that it could be 'used, transformed and improved'(Foucault, 1991: 136).

From the discourse of the participants of the games for the disabled in Taiwan, we see that under the polished arrangements of the authorities, people with disabilities in Taiwan were transformed into individuals with positive mindsets and usable bodies which were well-suited to working on behalf of the state.

Besides examining the National Games for the Disabled alone, we can also observe some phenomena which could echo the ideas of power relations articulated by Foucault. In the following subsection we will examine the effect of paternalism upon societal sports for individuals with physical disabilities.

8.1.2 Paternalism

The concept of paternalism could be observed in the organisation of the National Games for the Disabled in Taiwan. Paternalism involves the idea that the actions that limit a person or group's liberty or autonomy is intended for their good. People who exert paternalism on others make the presumption that they know better than others what is best for them. Besides, paternalism 'involves an imposition, the exercise of freedom-diminishing control by one person over another' (Kleinig, 1983: xii), also echoed in the governmentality of sports for the disabled. In sports for the disabled, various measures, regulations and arrangements were designed to control, or even to reject and segregate the participation of people with physical disabilities. Furthermore, paternalism in sport is associated with the bias that sports as rehabilitative movements turn people with physical disabilities toward what is normal (Howe, 2008). The view that sports were techniques to rehabilitate people with physical disabilities was prevalent at that time, and undoubtedly influenced the organisation of sport for the disabled communities.

In the early development of sports for the disabled, paternalism functioned in the name of 'safety' or 'protection' to restrict the sports for the physically disabled, and the acceptance of this 'kindness' was all that people with physical disabilities could do. However, with the growing self-consciousness and awareness of human rights among people with disabilities, people with physical disabilities began to fight for their sporting rights. The most obvious example was the 1984 Zhongzheng Cup of Dragon Boat Racing⁹⁷. Dragon boat racing was held every year on 5th May of the lunar calendar, also known as the Dragon Boat Festival, in memory of Qu Yuan.⁹⁸ In these races, four kinds of disabilities were invited to participate in the Games: physical, visual, hearing and facial disabilities. However, the Committee of the races decided to cancel the races for physical and visual disabilities because the Committee 'cared for' the participants with physical and visual disabilities, and hoped for them to act as cheerleaders during the races (*United Daily News*, 1984b).

Although the host units repeatedly stressed that they did not discriminate against individuals with visual and physical disabilities, the rejection of these participants only related to the organiser's interest in not causing trouble to the events and because the society distrusted that people with disabilities could exercise safely. Under the pressure of public opinion, the organiser decided to reinstate the events for the people with visual and physical disabilities, sent more lifeguards and bought extra lifejackets in order to ensure the security of the athletes (*United Daily News*, 1984a).

Even seven years after the first National Games for the Disabled, the games organisers' attitude in the 1983 Kaohsiung Municipal Games for Children with Disabilities still tended toward the view that, in light of the participants' mental and physiological disabilities, the sports events in the Games should not take too much physical energy and thus more 'fun' games should be arranged instead (*Min Sheng Bao*, 1983b). This attitude shows that the society at that time still lacked a clear understanding of sports for the disabled, and thought that owing to their mental and physical disabilities only recreational games could be scheduled for people with disabilities. In fact, with the proper training people with disabilities could do energetic forms of exercise, and their performances are no less impressive than those of 'normal' people. But the prevailing societal attitude at the time still featured a pre-set bias against sports for the disabled.

The paternalism that functioned to sports for the disabled fully reflected the biases in favour of the sports in Taiwanese society. People subjectively regarded individuals with disabilities as unable to play sports and believed that sports were dangerous to the disabled. However, sports were not only unharmed for people with physical disabilities but could also be beneficial- just as we demonstrated in the previous sub-section that sports had positive physical and mental effects on people with physical disabilities. Furthermore, some people with disabilities did take sports seriously and were willing to stand for their right to exercise. A participant in the badminton games for the disabled, Pai Feng-Jung, said that 'some people think we cannot play badminton. Some people think we play badminton weirdly. However, I do not think of myself as a handicapped person. On the court I try my best to play badminton and I gain more confidence in my abilities'(Chen, 1990). Sports were not difficult for people with physical disabilities; the real difficulty was to remove the biases in the minds of the 'able-bodied'.

In this sub-section we investigate the influence of paternalism upon the societal sports for people with physical disabilities between 1972 and 1992 and the next sub-section unpacks the phenomenon of the freak-show.

8.1.3 The Freak-Show Phenomenon

The dominant discourse about national sports for the disabled in Taiwan could be seen to contain elements of how the freak-show phenomenon operated. Freak shows were highly commercial circuses and carnivals which were popular from the nineteenth through to the

mid-twentieth century and exhibited racialised, disabled or differentiated bodies, such as a giant man with a tattoo over his whole body (Thomson, 1996). The effect of the freak show was to 'make the physical particularity of the freak into a hyper-visible text against which the viewer's indistinguishable body fades into a seemingly neutral, tractable, and invulnerable instrument of the autonomous will' (Thomson, 1996). In other words, the freak show not only satisfied the audience's curiosity about particular bodies but also contributed to the construction of the able-disabled and normal-abnormal dichotomies and ensured that the viewers' bodies were seen to be relatively normal and able-bodied.

For example, the National Games for the Disabled itself could be understood as a freak show. As the head of Hsinchu County stated in the review meeting of the 1979 National Games for the disabled:

The county has held National Games many times, they no longer have any new features, but games for handicapped citizens can make people open their eyes. There is a sense of wonder that people with disabilities can play ball, do ballet, swim and run. Although they are blind, deaf and lame, they are still able to participate in the games. It is very fresh.

(Education Department of Taiwan Province, 1979: 134)

People looked at the National Games for the Disabled through the 'novelty' lens as they assumed that people with disabilities were incapable of exercise and thus viewed sports for the disabled purely as spectacles. Furthermore, some of the basic skills of people with physical disabilities were grossly exaggerated and over-enlarged as performance in the sporting events. In the National Games for the Disabled, for example, the Wheelchair Stunt and Walking By Hand⁹⁹ events were scheduled as some of the performances in the opening ceremonies (Education Department of Taiwan Province, 1978). As a journalist at the Kaohsiung Municipal Games for Children described:

Participants sat on the wheelchairs performed "stunts". They were able to move forwards, backwards and turn smoothly. The arrangements of the participants were also very well-coordinated. Each of the performers could use the weight of their body and the momentum of the wheelchair to move the wheelchair forward. One manoeuvre involved moving the wheelchair with two wheels lifted off the

ground, a bit like the "single wheel" of a motorcycle's single-wheeled exercise, or the bike stunt of a single-wheeled cross-country bike.

(Min Sheng Bao, 1983c)

These wheelchair manoeuvres were seen as stunts and their performance in the opening ceremony proved to reflect Taiwanese society's lack of understanding of individuals with physical disabilities. The hosts would therefore think that the control of the wheelchair was a stunt which was theatrical and worthy of appearing in the ceremony. Also, the showcase of these particular bodies in this setting could be interpreted as the reproduction of the normal-abnormal bodies' dichotomy which utilised the hypervisibility of the disabled bodied and assured the neutrality, normality and invulnerability of the spectators.

Having presented this account of the societal sports for individuals with physical disabilities, we turn to address the topic of international sports for people with physical disabilities in the next section.

8.2. In the infancy: the international sports for individuals with physical disabilities

This section presents an account of the development of international sports for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1972 and 1992. It was not until 14 years after the first National Games for the Disabled took place that Taiwan started its journey toward participating in international sports for people with physical disabilities¹⁰⁰, and the Republic of China Sports Organisation for the Disabled¹⁰¹ (ROCSOD) played a vital role in this process. The ROCSOD was founded by a group of experts on special education, medical and sports in 1984, and Lien Yi-Nan became the first president. The purpose of the ROCSOD was to promote sports for the disabled in Taiwan and to help individuals with disabilities to participate in international sports.

From the very first time that Taiwan participated in international sports for people with physical disabilities, 'Chinese Taipei' was used as the name of the national team. This choice of name stemmed from the Agreement that was signed in Lausanne in 1981, which was the result of International Olympic Committee (IOC) seeking to coordinate the names for both the PRC and Taiwan (ROC) teams in the Olympic Games. Before 1981, the Taiwanese team had used 'Taiwan' or 'ROC' as its team name in international competitions, and the PRC and

Taiwan (ROC) had several battles and debates about the team name for the Olympic Games. For example, Taiwan withdrew from the 1952 Helsinki Games because Finland hoped that Taiwan would change its team name, and China pressured the Soviet Union to change Taiwan's name for the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games (Liu, 2007). After Juan Antonio Samaranch was elected as President of IOC, he endeavoured to solve the dispute of 'two Chinas' between PRC and Taiwan (ROC). After two meetings were held in Puerto Rico and Nagoya, it was decided that Taiwan should be known as the 'Chinese Taipei'. Taiwan (ROC) had no option but to accept the title of 'Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee' if it wished to stay in the Olympic movement, and the PRC replaced Taiwan as the 'Chinese Olympic Committee', with both having different anthems, flags and logos (Lee, Tan and Lin, 2011). Thus, Chinese Taipei became the name which Taiwan used in international sports after 1981, and international sports events for the disabled were no exception.

The 1987 Japanese National Games for the Disabled was the first time Taiwan participated in an international sports event for people with physical disabilities. Before participating in the 1987 Japanese National Games, a lot of international events for the disabled invited Taiwan to take part, but Taiwan was unable to attend because of a lack of athletes (Lien, 1981). Owing to the ROCSOD's connection with the organisers of the Japanese National Games for the Disabled, Taiwan was asked to compete in the Games, and neighbouring countries such as China and South Korea were also invited. All expenses, which included flight tickets, accommodation, were covered by the Japanese side (Interview with M1, 20 January 2016). Chinese Taipei was the team name which was used in the 1987 Japanese Games. Two athletes, Hsien Jung-Fa and Lai Fu-Huan, were sent to Naha, and won 4 gold medals in the 100M race (Hsien Jung-Fa) and shot put, discus throw and handball throw (Lai Fu-Huan) (*Min Sheng Bao*, 1987). A significant episode happened at the Games: the Chinese participants made a complaint to the event organisers that small national flags were stuck onto the Taiwanese participants,¹⁰² in response to which the hosts respected the rights of the Taiwanese team and allowed the Taiwan team to keep these national flags.

Taiwan attended the Paralympic Games of 1988 in Seoul as observing country, as the Korean Paralympic Committee had invited Taiwan to take part in the Games in South Korea, but owing to the ROCSOD's lack of manpower and funding, the opportunity to participate in the Paralympic Games could not be taken up (*Min Sheng Bao*, 1988). The failure to attend the Games in Seoul provoked significant reactions from people with physical disabilities. For example, Chen Chia-Fu stated in the United Daily News that

Each newspaper used many pages to report the Paralympic Games in Seoul ... Taiwan's economy is performing excellently and has the reputation of being one of the Four Asian Tigers, but Taiwan gave up on participating in the 1988 Paralympic Games ... Every year the government spend billions to run the National Games, but do they want to spend hundreds of thousands to launch a wheelchair basketball game? How does this attitude make the handicapped convinced?

(Chen, 1988: 11)

Chen was unsatisfied because of the discriminatory approach of a government which spent a lot more money on sponsoring the National Games for the able-bodied than on sports for the disabled, and also because of Taiwan's absence from the 1988 Paralympic Games. He thought that as Taiwan's economy was performing excellently, the government should have been able to budget some money for sports for the disabled. From Chen's discourse, we know that sports for the disabled had been widely accepted by people with physical disabilities, who also spoke of their privilege of taking part in the exercise.

From 1989 onwards, Taiwan became a member of the International Co-ordination Committee of Sports Organisations for the Disabled (ICC), the International Organisations of Sports for the Disabled (ISOD) and the International Stoke Mandeville Wheelchair Sports Federation (ISMWSF), and also attended the FESPIC in Kobe. In 1989 FESPIC Taiwan won two golds, five silvers and six bronze medals at FESPIC (*Min Sheng Bao*, 1989). However, the awarding of the medals in FESPIC resulted in disputes about whether international disability sport athletes should be awarded the Kuo-Kuang Medal or not. In Taiwan, athletes are awarded the Kuo-Kuang Medal¹⁰³ as well as a bonus by the government as a reward for outstanding sporting performance. In 1989, the ROCSOD also claimed the Kuo-Kang Medal and this bonus from the government because the FESPIC is an international sporting event. But the members of the award committee found that the sports for the disabled were not included in the award regulations. As a result, they could not award the Kuo-Kuang Medal and bonus to the medal winners at the FESPIC and suggested that the government award the athletes with disabilities as special case (Kung, 1989). Furthermore, the underlying reason why the government was reluctant to reward the athletes with physical disabilities in the same way as the able-bodied athletes was that fundamentally they did not regard sports for the disabled as 'sports' but as 'leisure activities' at best.

The Games of 1992 was the first Paralympics in which Taiwan took part. After 1988, public support for Taiwan participating in the Paralympic Games had grown, and some special schools, social welfare groups and sports organisations had cooperated in seeking to send a team to the Games. Several Taiwanese swimming events following the international classification and conferences related to sports for the disabled were held (Niu, 1990). In order to raise funding for the 1992 Paralympics, a swimming event at Sun Moon Lake¹⁰⁴¹⁰⁵, a wheelchair marathon from south to north Taiwan¹⁰⁶ and a Charity evening party were held by the ROCSOD to raise public awareness for sports for the disabled. Eventually, the efforts of the ROCSOD drew the public's attention, and the funding of the 1992 Barcelona Games was supported by some private enterprises, the Government Information Office and the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee (Kung, 1992; Yang, 1992).

However, the obstacles to attending the 1992 Paralympic Games had not yet disappeared. Initially, the ROCSOD wanted to send 34 athletes with disabilities to Barcelona Games, but the Spanish Organising Committee did not allow Taiwan to participate in the Paralympic Games. The hosts were only willing to provide two observer places for Taiwan because Taiwan lacked experience of attending international competitions for the disabled (Hsieh, 1996). Taiwan had not staged any large international sports events for the disabled and had not joined any ranking or point sporting events for international disability sport. The ROCSOD utilised multiple channels such as advertising and recruiting a sister who could speak Catalan to communicate with the organisers and ultimately won the right to send 11 athletes to compete in the 1992 Paralympic Games (Interview with M4, 22 January 2016). Nine athletes of the 1992 Chinese Taipei Paralympic team had physical disabilities, but unfortunately they did not win any medals at the 1992 Games.¹⁰⁷

Some aspects of the participation of Taiwan in Barcelona 1992 needed to be improved. The athletes with disabilities did not receive equal treatment to the Olympic athletes in Taiwan, as they just received ten days of training before leaving for Barcelona (Yuan, 1992) because the training budget could not be allocated to these athletes with disabilities. Also, the rewards for medal winners at the Paralympics were not equivalent to those who won Olympic medals (Chiang, 1992). Furthermore, owing to lack experience of participating in the Paralympic Games, the Taiwan team experienced difficulties in terms of administration, operation and management, and were criticised by the athletes in the review meeting (Chen, 1992b). Although Taiwan's first experience of the Paralympics was not perfect, it did give Taiwanese athletes with disabilities dreams and hopes of reaching the highest level of international sport

and of competing with the best athletes in the world. There was also a realisation that sports for the disabled in Taiwan had a lots of room for improvement in many areas, as shown by Wu's statement that 'our disabled sports culture is smaller than that of kindergartens, the only comfort we can say is that we have taken the first step' (Chen 1992c: 33).

Summary

The authorities' attitudes toward people with physical disabilities can be seen to have changed from 1972 to 1992. With the development of Taiwan, the population of people with disabilities became a problem which needed to be managed, and sports also were utilised by the authorities as a technique to control these individuals.

The National Games for the Disabled is the best example to probe how the authorities employed sporting events as technologies to discipline the individuals with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1972 and 1992. The National Games for the Disabled in Taiwan followed Chiang Ching-Kuo's idea that people with disabilities should be a part of the production and contribute to the economy of the state. Providing sports for people with disabilities was not an end in itself; the ultimate aim was to construct the body 'to be rendered both useful and docile'(Foucault, 2003: 249). The operation and design of the Games revealed the mechanism of discipline which attempted to construct the participants in the Games as manpower that possessed positive personal qualities and utilisable bodies. Sports for individuals with disabilities were 'not simply about the optimisation of physical abilities (such as endurance or strength), but the optimisation of the productive individual, one who is well suited to participation in productive life' (Maguire, 2002: 300). Against the administration of the National Games for the Disabled, we cannot find any resistance from people with disabilities; they were all longing to participate in sports events. Whether they were empowered enough to complain in a vocal manner to be recorded in the archival record is debatable. Thus, the National Games for the Disabled in Taiwan became the apparatus for manipulating, controlling, governing and disciplining the bodies of individuals with disabilities which ultimately enhances the diversity within Taiwanese society today.

The participation of international sports for the disabled stemmed from the mushrooming of societal sports for the disabled in Taiwan, as the athletes with physical disabilities hoped to participate in international events for the disabled and to compete with athletes from all over

the world. Before 1992, still international games for the disabled in Taiwan was still a new idea, but because of the great efforts made by ROCSOD, Taiwan successfully attended the 1992 Paralympic Games in Barcelona. There, Taiwan realised that there was still a lot of work that needed to be done in its development of international sports for the disabled.

In this period, sports for the disabled witnessed unprecedented and dramatic changes. An increasing number of games and physical activity events were staged for the disabled and presented to the public. People gradually became aware that the disabled have the right and need to exercise. Moreover, the expansion of sports for the disabled and the acceptance of the disabled in politics and in improving the economy influenced individuals with disabilities to fight for their rights to participate in sport. However, sports for the disabled still highlighted the issue of the provision for rehabilitation and participation. Moreover, sports for the disabled received limited attention from mainstream sports. The sports domain still focused on able-bodied sports, and the voices and discourses of sports for disabled people were marginalised from the mainstream. Although Taiwanese society had become conscious that persons with disabilities 'could' and 'should' participate in sports, sports for disabled people were only considered games and events and were not intended to comprehensively benefit them. In summary, the phenomenon of sports for disabled people grew considerably and was slowly accepted by society; however, this phenomenon received limited attention from mainstream sports.

Chapter 9. The Liminal body: the history of sport for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1993 and 2007

The promotion of handicapped sports in Taiwan is like an unwanted orphan who survives in the cracks.

(Liu, 1995: 20)

This chapter investigates the history of the sport for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1993 and 2007. It explores how and why the physically disabled individual became a liminal body in this period. It must be clarified that using the term ‘liminal’ for this stage between 1993 and 2007 does not mean that the disciplinary power which was prevalent in the previous stage did not exist, but that the exercise of disciplinary power upon people with physical disabilities still existed. Within the continuing broader process of the exercise of disciplinary techniques on the bodies of people with physical disabilities, the phenomenon of sports for individuals with physical disabilities has emerged, and we unpack this emergence here. Before we begin this discussion, it is necessary to clarify what we mean by liminality briefly.

The term ‘liminal’ defines the plight in which sports for individuals with physical disabilities in Taiwan were situated in between 1993 and 2007. The two terms ‘liminal’ and ‘marginal’ are interchangeably utilised by academia, and they are neither verbally nor conceptually identical (Goodich, 1998; Metzler, 2013). Also, Metzler makes a perceptive explanatory note on liminality, noting that:

‘Liminality is not to be equated with exclusion, nor is it the same as marginality: in contrast to the "formalized marginality" inflicted on groups ..., there is more transient position, where people "find themselves outside normative family and social structure"— this is the liminal condition.’

(Metzler, 2013:7)

In this research, the 'liminal' is the better phrase to describe the situation of sports for people with physical disabilities in this period, because in sports they stayed in a transitional state in which they were neither fully included in nor completely marginalised by mainstream sports in Taiwanese society. In other words, people with physical disabilities could access sports, but sports for them were underemphasized by the public. As Stiker argues 'Never truly excluded, for the disabled were always spiritually integrated; never integrated, for they were always on the social fringes' (Stiker 2009: 88). Since the bodies of people with physical disabilities were the in-between circumstance.

The year 1993 is an important milestone for sports for the disabled in Taiwan, as the rise of special education focused more attention on PE for students with disabilities, the 1994 National Games for the disabled, Taiwan began to follow the IPC rules and regulations, and the most important organisation for national sports and international sports for the disabled in Taiwan, the Chinese Taipei Paralympic Committee (CTPC), elected a new president and launched several new developments. The staging of the 2007 International Wheelchair and Amputee Sports (IWAS) World Games in Taipei significantly increased the profile of sports for the physically disabled in Taiwan and represented a clear end to the period that we analyse here.

With these details of understanding of the concept of liminality now established, we now move to the contents of the history of sports for people with physical disabilities between 1993 and 2007 in Taiwan.

9.1. Suspended between integration and marginalisation

This section explores the history of the PE for students with physical disabilities between 1993 and 2007. The underdeveloped state of PE for students with physical disabilities had drawn the authorities' attention again, and several projects were implemented to promote it. This chapter therefore examines the dynamics and effects of these projects.

Owing to the immunisation brought by the polio vaccine, cerebral palsy replaced polio as the condition of the majority of the individuals with physical disabilities in education. Within the notions of 'Inclusion' and 'Least Restrictive Environment', most students with physical disabilities were placed in general schools and classes. Most of the classes for students with physical disabilities were closed, and the Ren-Ai school also started to recruit able-bodied

students in 2001. Most of the students with physical disabilities in high and primary school took PE with able-bodied classmates, and some high schools and universities would set up PE Special Classes for students with special needs, while students with physical disabilities could apply to receive PE in these classes.

Since 1993, PE for students with disabilities received the authorities' attention again. In the Five-year Projects of Developing and Improving Special Education (Five-year Projects)¹⁰⁸, a policy implemented by the Ministry of Education between July 1993 and June 1998, PE and sport for the disabled was listed as the essential item that needed to be promoted in the special education of Taiwan. The funding of the Five-years Projects came from the Six Year Nation Building Projects policy (Cheng, 1991b; 1991a). Before the introduction of The Five-years Projects, the area of policy regarding PE for students with disabilities had received limited attention for 16 years. The former policy was The Plan of Physical Education Special Class in Junior High School issued in 1977 and was introduced in Chapter 7. Furthermore, it can be seen that once the state had initiated major construction projects such as the Six Year Nation Building Projects in this chapter and the Ten Major Construction Projects in the preceding chapter, people with disabilities always became a target which needed to be managed, and PE or sports were often utilised as techniques to construct, control, discipline and manage the bodies of individuals with disabilities.

Due to some disability organisations protesting about the failure of the implementation of the Five-years Projects and the fact that special education did not receive attention from the government, in 1995 the ministry of education held the National Education Conference for People with Disabilities¹⁰⁹ to explain the effort made by the Ministry of Education for special education and to review the active status of the Five-years Projects. A total of 202 people including several leading special education scholars, representatives of civil organisations, parents of students with disabilities and government officers were all invited to attend the conference. At the conference there was much discussion and confirmation of the developing directions and targets of special education and PE for students with disabilities was also agreed to be an important area which needed to be promoted (Lin, 1995). In short, the National Education Conference for People with Disabilities aimed to eliminate the dispute about special education from the public sphere and to review and confirm the direction of special education.

PE for students with disabilities was one of the key areas in the development of special education. However, all areas of special education aimed to help condition people with disabilities to not be burdens of the state, as was evident from the words of the President and Premier at the National Education Conference for People with Disabilities. The president, Lee Teng-Hui, stated ‘...[I] hope more students with disabilities can receive adaptive education as normal students, and thus become independent and contributing nationals’ (Ministry of Education, 1995: 1), and the premier, Lien Chan,¹¹⁰ asserted ‘...everyone can become a more independent member of the community through education, so that one day they will live more independently, and will not have to rely on the relief of the family, government and society’ (Ministry of Education, 1995: 4). In Foucauldian thought, special education or more specifically the PE items in the 5-years Projects can all be seen as techniques to solve a problem of national development: individuals with disabilities. The disabled were regarded as a social burden which needed to receive adaptive education and PE to improve their skill and bodies with attempts to be exempted as a social burden, and to be part of the production of the country. The intention of the administration to employ PE for the disabled as a technique to manage people with disabilities was unpacked in their address.

The Minister of Education, Kuo Wei-Fan, also played a crucial role in promoting special education during his tenure from 1993 to 1996. Kuo Wei-Fan was the first to be awarded a Ph. D of special education on either side of the Taiwan Straits¹¹¹. Kuo Wei-Fan started his official career by taking the position of vice-minister of education between 1972 and 1977 and contributed great effort to the development of special education. At the 1974 Games for the disabled and first several editions of the National Games for the disabled and 1996 Paralympics Games, he would attend and cheer on the athletes with disabilities. A head of the executive can decide the administration’s priority and direction, and in Kuo Wei-Fan’s tenure as Minister of Education, he always supported special education as much as he could (Interview with M4, 09 June 2017), with the result that special education could obtain resources in education. The Five-years Projects was also designed during his term of office and made the special education in Taiwan shifted from an experimental to a developmental stage (Ministry of Education, 2011). Kuo Wei-Fan’s support of special education was one of the reasons that PE for students with disabilities could receive the government’s attention again.

The Physical Education Research and Development Center¹¹² (PE Research Centre) of National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU) played a crucial role in promoting PE for the disabled in the Five-years Projects of Developing and Improving Special Education. The PE

Research Centre was founded in 1981 to design the school PE curriculum and to promote school PE affairs for the Ministry of Education. In order to promote PE for students with disabilities, the Ministry of Education set up a working group and drew up the Five-years Projects of Improving the Practising of the Special Physical Education¹¹³, then entrusted the PE Research Centre to carry out the Five-years Projects between 1994 and 1998. The successive projects were The Medium-range Projects of Improving the Adaptive Physical Education¹¹⁴ between 1999 and 2003 and The Schemes of Enhancing Adaptive Physical Education¹¹⁵ between 2004 and 2008.

These Projects and Schemes did a lot for the development of PE for students with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1994 and 2007. Several surveys were conducted by the PE Research Centre to investigate the conditions of the PE for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan. The teaching guidelines, teaching plan, teaching aids book and curriculum guidelines of PE for students with physical disabilities were designed by the teachers, experts and scholars, and sent to each university and school in Taiwan as teaching reference material for PE. The *News Letter*¹¹⁶ was published between 1997 and 2006 to propagate the status, knowledge and outlook of adaptive PE in Taiwan. More than 100 teaching demonstrations were held across Taiwan to demonstrate PE teaching to PE teachers and general teachers¹¹⁷. Thousands of teachers participated in the adaptive PE workshops held by the PE Research Centre to gain knowledge of PE for students with physical disabilities. The methods and standards of evaluating PE for students with physical disabilities were designed to support teachers to access the PE grades of the students. A website was set up to provide information on PE for students with physical disabilities for teachers, instructors and coaches. The teachers received funding to attend international conferences to exchange the experiences of adaptive physical activities for students with physical disabilities. Several camps and inter-school activities were staged to provide exercise opportunities for the students.

After the money had been spent and related activities had been staged, the projects and schemes contributed to the PE for students with physical disabilities were situated in the liminal statue. Although in the *News letter* we can see that feedback given by teachers who participated in workshops on PE for students with physical disabilities stated that their spirits and teaching were inspired and enriched by the workshops, the overall effects of PE for students with physical disabilities were dysfunctional (Cheng, 2007). Most seeded teachers who received training in the workshop held by the Ministry of Education and the PE Research Centre were not employed by local government to promote PE for physical

disabilities (Wu, 2005; Cheng, 2007), and the cooperation in developing PE between central and local government agencies was poor. Furthermore, Adaptive PE is multi-disciplinary and needs support from special education and physical education, but the contribution of these two areas was non-existent. Most importantly, there were still no laws and regulations issued to protect the students' right to take adaptive PE. As a result, the development of PE for students with physical disabilities was in the liminal state as it neither succeeded nor failed and much work still needed to be done.

The attitude of PE teachers toward PE for students with physical disabilities played a curial role in the PE (Lee, 1998). According to a survey in 2005 40-50% of PE teachers had still not attended a workshop about PE for students with physical disabilities (Chien, 2005; Wu, 2005), but most of the PE teachers were willing to practise PE for students with physical disabilities (Cheng, 2007). Teachers with more dedicated attitudes would be more willing to improve their teaching for students with special needs and to overcome the difficulties involved in meeting with PE for students with disabilities. Some instructors of PE lessons would 'kindly' let students with physical disabilities rest on the sideline, although some of the teachers would hope that the students could be involved in PE lesson, and students with physical disabilities were nearly without any self-determination. PE teachers not only decided whether students with physical disabilities could receive PE lessons but also influenced the lives of the students. For example, Wang Chi-Ren, recalled that in his studies he encountered an enlightened teacher who did not waiver his PE lessons and assigned tasks so that he could develop a personality that was united and courageous. Therefore, he could achieve success in his professional career as a bank manager (Wen, 2004). This demonstrates how PE disciplines the minds of the individuals with physical disabilities and therefore PE teachers should not ignore the impact of PE on the lives of their students.

In terms of the strict control of space and time, PE for students with physical disabilities has still been regarded as a disciplinary technique for physically impaired bodies, regardless of whether students were placed in general classes or PE Special Classes. The time slots and length were all rigorously regulated by the authorities. As for the sporting space, although space was adaptive and designed for the students, the boundaries of fields were rigorously controlled in order for sports to proceed. PE continued to be part of the mission to construct the disabled bodies.

The mechanism by which PE for students with physical disabilities constructed the minds and bodies of the students was unmeasurable, and this integration function was noticed by one PE teacher who instructed the pupils with disabilities. Undoubtedly, PE could improve the body functions, health and fitness of students with physical disabilities. In relation to the mind, Hargreaves argues that ‘no other aspect of the curriculum is theorized so overwhelmingly in terms of its moral and psycho-social significance’ (Hargreaves, 1995: 164). Cognitive and moral characteristics such as confidence, gregariousness, law-abiding, equity, creativity and order could all be developed in the PE lessons. As Mr. Fan stated in an interview for Lee Wei-Ching’s thesis:

Obeying rules or not should be a direct relationship with the sports! Because in sports no matter whether you play sports or games, there must be rules, so you have to obey the rule. This is to obey this rule; this should be related to obeying rules! If you want to play you have to obey, as can be said about life, and although you are in life rather than games, you still have to obey the rules of life.

(Lee, 1998: 203)

Thus, PE as a program of control constructs a disciplined body with a positive mindset. The disciplined body which has an optimistic mind and an improved torso could comply with the demands of society. In other words, the objective of PE was to prepare the useful body for a society which became part of the production of the state.

9.2. On the fringes

This section addressed both national and international sports for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan. National and international sports for individuals with physical disabilities in the same section because, since 1993, most of the national and international sporting events were heavily influenced by Chinese Taipei Paralympic Committee (CTPC)¹¹⁸. Between 1993 and 2000, the legislator, Mu Min-Chu¹¹⁹, was selected as the president of the CTPC and opened a new era for national and international sports for the disabled. Although the development of national and international sports for the disabled experienced difficulties, Mu Min-Chu employed her political resources and influence to support the CTPC’s promotion of sports for the disabled in Taiwan (Interview with M4, 22 January 2016).

The name and organisational structure of the CTPC changed from 1993 to 2007. The CTPC's predecessor was the ROCSOD. In 1994, the ROCSOD changed its English title to 'Chinese Taipei Sports Organization for the Disabled' (CTSOD), because Taiwanese sports teams utilised 'Chinese Taipei' in international competition. In order to be consistent with the team name and do not make people confused, the ROCSOD was replaced by the CTSOD (*The Magazine of Chinese Taipei Sports Organization for the Disabled*, 1994).

The proposal to upgrade the organisational structure from the CTSOD to 'Chinese Taipei Sports Federation for the Disabled',¹²⁰ (CTSFD) was also referred in 1994 and was confirmed by the Ministry of the Interior in 1998. The upgrading was that the affairs of sports for the disabled in society and international was getting becoming increasingly complex and miscellaneous, and thus an organisation's or association's structure was insufficient to cope with the business of sports for the disabled (Ma, 1998). Thus, the CTSOD decided to upgrade the structure to become the CTSFD and set numerous associations and sections under the Federation to operate the Federation's business. Furthermore, once the CTSOD was upgraded to become the CTSFD, they could obtain more funding from the government (Interview with M4, 22 January 2016). The status of the CTSFD became parallel to the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee or Republic of China Sports Federation and it could therefore acquire more financial support to promote the affairs of sports for the disabled.

By 2000, the CTSFD altered its English registration in the Ministry of the Interior to become the title of Chinese Taipei Paralympic Committee (CTPC), which is the title it holds to the present day.

9.2.1 National sports for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1993 and 2007

The National Games for the disabled between 1993 and 2007

Hundreds of sporting events for the disabled were staged during this period, most of them were organised or co-organised by the CTPC and followed the IPC's classification system in order to maximise the pool of athletes with disabilities in the society, and as the basis for selecting sportspeople with disabilities to attend international games. The classification system which was used in Taiwan was the same as that used in international competitions

(Hsieh, 1994). In these events, the National Games for the Disabled was the most regular and directive games in Taiwan, and thus the focus of this investigation of national sports for people with physical disabilities will centre primarily on National Games for the Disabled.

There was a controversy in determining which event represented the first National Games for the Disabled in Taiwan. The 1994 Games in Kaohsiung was claimed to be the start of the National Games for the Disabled because it was the beginning of the adoption of the Paralympic classification system. However, we can see that the National Games for the disabled could be traced to the inter-regional games in 1974 (please see previous section 7.2) and that its success contributed to the first National Games for the Disabled in Tainan 1977. The Paralympic Games have also been dated back to the 1948 International Wheelchair Games in Stoke Mandeville. As a result, in this research the 1994 Kaohsiung Games is identified as the ninth National Games for the Disabled (see Chart 13).

Chart 13: The sporting events of National Games for the disabled held in Taiwan between 1993 and 2007.

| | Year | Host | Number of athletes | Sporting events |
|------------------|------|-----------------|--------------------|---|
| 9 th | 1994 | Kaohsiung City | | Athletics, Swimming, powerlifting, Badminton, Table Tennis, Judo (Men), Basketball (Men). |
| 10 th | 1996 | Keelung City | | Athletics, Swimming, powerlifting, Badminton, Table Tennis, Judo, Shooting, Basketball (Male). |
| 11 th | 1998 | Tainan City | | Athletics, Swimming, powerlifting, Badminton, Table Tennis, Judo, Shooting, Tennis, Bowling, Archery, Basketball(Male). |
| 12 th | 2000 | Taipei City | 1474 | Athletics, Swimming, Badminton, Table Tennis, Tennis, Powerlifting, Judo, Shooting, Basketball (Male), Bowling, Archer. Goalball ¹²¹ . |
| 13 th | 2002 | Pingtung County | 1328 | Athletics, Swimming, Badminton, Table Tennis, Tennis, Powerlifting, Judo, Shooting, Bowling, |

| | | | | |
|------------------|------|----------------|------|---|
| | | | | Archery, Basketball(male), Goalball(male) |
| 14 th | 2004 | Hsinchu County | 1600 | Athletics, Badminton, Goalball (Male), Bowling, Judo, Shooting, Table Tennis, Basketball, Boccia, Powerlifting, Archery, Basketball (Male), Tennis, Swimming, Billiards |
| 15 th | 2006 | Yilan County | 1800 | Athletics, Swimming, Badminton, Table Tennis, Tennis, powerlifting, Judo, Shooting, Basketball, Bowling, Archery, Billiard, Goalball(Male). Boccia ¹²² |

Source of materials: the website of Chinese Taipei Paralympic Committee, <http://www.ctsod.org.tw/>; the website of the Sports Administration of the Ministry of Education, <http://www.sa.gov.tw/wSite/ct?xItem=3837&ctNode=359&mp=11>.

The phenomenon of the National Games for the Disabled has seen a sea change since 1994, since when all the sporting events, regulations and classifications have followed those of the Paralympic Games. After the experience of the 1992 Paralympic Games, Taiwanese representatives were shocked at how their sports for the disabled events had fallen behind. As a result, those sports for the disabled must cast off the mode of being carnival games, and should instead embrace the Paralympic rules in order to be competitive at international events (Interview with M4, 22 January 2016). As a result, the 1994 Games became the starting point of employing the Paralympic rules. Also, Kaohsiung city was preparing to bid for the 2002 Asian Games, and staging high-level games would also show the ability and resolution of Kaohsiung to host international games successfully. Kaohsiung therefore tried to change the previous mode of organising the National Games for the Disabled in order to organise the 1994 Games according to international regulations (Education Bureau of Kaohsiung City Government, 1994). Thus, the Games could be seen as the ‘warm-up’ for the staging of international events.

Following the Paralympic classification system in the National Games for the Disabled is a double-edged sword to the national sports for people with physical disabilities, as the use of this classification system heavily influenced the landscape of games for the disabled. The classification system used in sports for disabled classifies athletes with disabilities by their body’s degree of function and divides them into different competitive groups. This is,

therefore, a necessary process that the impaired bodies go through in order to participate in sporting events for the disabled. On the positive side, this system can be argued to improve the equality of sports for the disabled. As Sherrill argues 'A basic goal of classification is to ensure that winning or losing an event depends on talent, training, skill, fitness, and motivation rather than unevenness among competitors on disability-related variables (e.g., spasticity, paralysis, absence of limb segments) (Sherrill, 1999: 210)'. Owing to the introduction of the Paralympic classification system for the National Games for the disabled in Taiwan, the athletes could compete in an equal environment, and the potential medal winners in future international events could be identified.

The classification system, however, also resulted in drawbacks for the sports for the disabled. The direct impact on the sports for the disabled was the cancellation and combination of the events which had fewer athletes with disabilities. In order to speed up or improve the viability of the events in which only handful sportspeople with disabilities took part, the events might be combined with others or be cancelled. For example, The female powerlifting and badminton were changed to demonstration events (Education Bureau of Kaohsiung City Government, 1994), and in the following National Games for the Disabled the events with fewer participants would be cancelled and combined. An athlete with a disability was unlikely to win if s/he was moved to the less impaired class, and it is also not the equal competition which sports for the disabled seek. Some impaired bodies inevitably suffered from systematic disadvantage and were no longer able to compete in sports (Howe, 2008). In this classification system, all an athlete could do was accept it.

The classification system could be understood as a mechanism of governmentality, due to its application of medical knowledge to categorise the impaired body - which could be regarded as a way of controlling the body. As Howe demonstrates, 'the key technology of dominance in the world of disabled sport is the classification system' (Howe, 2008: 67). The CTPC intended to transform the National Games for the Disabled from an event intended for entertainment and rehabilitation to a high-performance sports event following the international classification rules. This transformation helped the CTPC to construct the body which had the potential to be successful in international sporting events for the disabled. Winning more medals meant that more funds would be invested and higher exposure to the public would be achieved because the funding would not be invested in an athlete who was not a winner or potential medallist. Although medalling is not always the priority in sports for the disabled, winning does significantly influence the selection of athletes for sports for the

disabled. In the sports for the disabled, bodies could, therefore, be seen to be controlled by the CTPC via practising Paralympic classification.

The three-day Games of 1994 was grandly held by Kaohsiung City and won the praise of participants. Thousands of students were mobilised to perform and watch the Games. Several famous singers performed in the evening party to entertain the athletes and spectators. An exhibition of special education and occupational training was also organised and associated with the Kaohsiung Games. Following the 1994 Games, the day trip and fun fair were cancelled. However, there was still the problem that the athletes, participants and referees were unfamiliar with the new regulations, which caused some disputes over certain events. The attitudes of some athletes toward the Games were not serious, as they thought the event was 'just for fun'. Some athletes with physical disabilities still used a general wheelchair rather than a sports wheelchair in races. This showed that the development of sports equipment for athletes with physical disabilities had not yet caught up with the international standard. Also, the absence of central government officials and the premier meant that the athletes felt underemphasised by the government. The funding of the 1994 Games was one fifth of that provided for The National Games for able-bodied athletes (Education Bureau of Kaohsiung City Government, 1994), as the expenditure on the 1994 Kaohsiung Games was NT. 20 million (£500,000), and the National Games for able-bodied athletes was at least NT.1 billion (£2.5 million). As a whole, the 1994 Games was a successful games for the disabled, especially given that it was now organised by international rules.

It is worth noting that as the KMT and the CYC were no longer directly involved in the staging of the National Games for the disabled, local government took responsibility for hosting the National Games for the disabled every two years. The representatives of the KMT and the CYC were not listed in the preparatory committee, but instead there were central and local government officials, representatives of sporting organisations, legislators and sports experts, and the presence of these committee members could contribute toward the operation of the Games towards sports. Although at that time most of the committee members were also members of the KMT, that is because it was not easy for someone who was not a member of the KMT to hold important positions in Taiwanese society, and therefore we cannot say the Games were not influenced by the KMT or the authorities.

The atmosphere of the National Games for the Disabled was still dominated by the concept of amelioration. The disabled sporting bodies in the arena were seen as embodying the idea of

‘disabled but not useless’. Sports were utilised as a means to discipline the body and mind of people with disabilities, as they not only played the role of the extension or another kind of physical therapy for the bodies with disabilities but were also believed to have psychological benefits. The descriptions and phases in the archives and documents were full of encouragement, the athletes with disabilities were described as being like warriors who overcame the restrictions, limitations and difficulties in their life, and their performances in the sporting arena were regarded as being of supreme value. Indeed, participating in sports events does help sportspeople with disabilities to improve the quality of their bodies and to establish a more optimistic mind-set. The games still continually played the role of disciplining the athletes with disabilities.

In 1994, The Chinese name for the National Games for the Disabled was changed from ‘*Shen Xin Zhang Ai Guo Min Zi Qiang Huo Dong Da Hui*’¹²³ to ‘*Can Zhang Guo Min Yun Dong Hui*’¹²⁴, *Can Zhang Guo Min* means handicapped citizens and *Yun Dong Hui* means sporting games. This shift means that the authorities could thereafter be seen to be treating the National Games for the Disabled as sporting games instead of entertainment. In 1998, the Chinese name of the Games has changed again to the title that is still in use today. Specifically, the Chinese name of the Games was changed to ‘*Shen Xin Zhang Ai Guo Min Yun Dong Hui*’¹²⁵. The phrase *Shen Xin Zhang Ai Guo Min* means citizens with disabilities which therefore showed that the Taiwanese government followed the world trend and officially utilised the term ‘people with disabilities’ in every aspect. Up to this point, political terminology had been employed to refer to the National Games for the disabled.

The sporting events held between 1994 and 2006 did not see significant changes. In Chart 11, we can see that the sports events followed the classification used for the Paralympic Games, and the events which were staged at previous Games but not included in the 1992 Paralympics were no longer part of the 1994 National Games for the Disabled. As for the number of athletes taking part in the Games, increasing individuals with disabilities participated in the National Games for the Disabled. It is worth noting that a survey done in 1996 showed that the athletes impaired from contracting polio still formed the majority of the sportspeople with physical disabilities at the 1996 Games, although their age was higher on average than other athletes with spinal cord injuries and cerebral palsy, which was a disadvantage when taking part in international games (Chen, 1996).

Beyond the National Games for the disabled between 1993 and 2007

Besides sporting games for the disabled, several different kinds of activities were launched to develop sports for the people with physical disabilities in Taiwanese society. Numerous classification workshops were held to increase the number of people qualified to classify disabled athletes and to spread information about classification throughout Taiwanese society. The Adapted Physical Activity (APA) camps were run for many years by the CTPC to promote the sports for the disabled to teenagers and children with disabilities, and the camp did demonstrate the new perspectives of sports for the disabled to the participants. For example, a participant with physical disabilities of the first APA¹²⁶ camp in 1993 who was drawn on the issue of new viewpoints on sports for the disabled said that:

It made us suddenly realise: my foot cannot move, I can also use the upper body and the strength of the hand to sit in a wheelchair and throw a softball or play table tennis, basketball, and even swimming... someone with normal foot function and upper limb impairment can play football and do running, jumping and swimming. In fact, just a part of the body is inconvenient; the whole body is not useless. So how can we give up the chance to pursue the fun of sports? How can I hide under the eaves all day long and not enjoy the outside warmth of sunlight and fresh air?

(Yang 1994: 36)

In Taiwanese society, people with disabilities were thought to be useless because everyone, including the disabled people themselves, always focused on the impaired parts of the individuals. However, an increasing number of individuals with disabilities were educated in both mainstream and special schools, which provided them with sufficient knowledge and skills to survive in mainstream society. For example, although people with physical disabilities were trained for watch repairing and tailoring work, the link between their body impairments and the conception of disorder in Confucianism considered them unfavourable in Taiwanese society (The League for Persons with Disabilities, 2011). The disabled did not even have basic human rights, let alone the right to do sports. But, as Yang said, people with physical disabilities should focus on what they can do; use the functions they do have to enjoy taking part in sports.

The attitude of delegating responsibility from the government toward sports for the disabled made disabled people feel frustrated. At the local government level, the Division of Physical Education was set up to manage the PE and sports affairs, and the Division of Welfare Services for the Disabled was established to administer the provision of social welfare for individuals with disabilities. When people with physical disabilities wanted to apply for funding for sporting activities or to hire facilities for training, the answer was the same: the Division of Physical Education hoped you would apply to the Division of Welfare Services for the Disabled; and Division of Welfare Services for the Disabled hoped you would apply to the Division of Physical Education (Liu, 1995). That is because the sport for the disabled is an intersection of sports and social welfare, and the government did not establish dedicated units to deal with it, while the relevant Divisions did not want to increase their responsibilities. The tendency to avoid responsibility for sports for the disabled also reflects that these athletes were still ignored and marginalised in Taiwanese society.

In contrast to the National Games for the disabled, the city-level and county-level games for the disabled were mere formalities. Generally speaking, in Taiwan each county and city should organise county or city-level games for the disabled in order to select athletes to attend the National Games for the disabled. However, owing to a lack of expenditure and athletes, some counties and cities did not stage games for the disabled and instead they directly appointed athletes to attend the National Games for the Disabled (Sun, 2000). Even when the city or county games for the disabled were staged, they became formalistic events in which Paralympic classifications did not apply (Chen, 2006) and the athletes with disabilities were not well trained before attending the games (Interview with M4, 03 January 2018). For example, at the 1998 Taipei City Games for the disabled and 2000 New Taipei City Games for the disabled some athletes with disabilities were unfamiliar with the sporting events in which they were taking part, and the referee, therefore, acted temporarily as a coach to instruct the sportspeople how to play it (Lin, 1998; Sun, 2000). The lack of preparation for the Games resulted from a lack of sporting facilities for people with disabilities (Sun, 2000). Without proper facilities and training systems, the sports for the disabled in most cases became formalistic.

The Paralympic classification which was promoted by CTPC changed the landscape of the national sports for the disabilities. In the next sub-section we investigate how the CTPC changed international sports.

9.2.2 International sports for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1993 and 2007

From 1993, Taiwan was no longer absent from international sports for people with physical disabilities. Instead, Taiwan actively participated in many international games such as the Stoke Mandeville Games, Paralympic Games, and Asian Paralympic Games.¹²⁷ In total CTPC competed in 128 during this period (*The results of participating in international competition by Chinese Taipei Paralympic Committee (in Chinese)*, 2014), and won numerous medals in these games. However, international sports for individual with physical disabilities were not recognised or respected in Taiwan. We will discuss three aspects of this lack of regard for international sports for the disabled and examine them through a Foucauldian lens. The disregard for international sports for the disabled can be seen in terms of the following three aspects: unequal rewards, a lack of funding and insufficient training.

The rewards earned by medalists in international games for the disabled are significantly less than those of the able-bodied medalist. The rewards for able-bodied athletes are several times greater than those for athletes with disabilities.¹²⁸ This difference was explained by the administration as being because they thought that sports for the disabled were more about encouraging participation than the competition and because athletes with disabilities had greater chances to win medals than able-bodied athletes (*The Magazine of Chinese Taipei Sports Organization for the Disabled*, 1996). Furthermore, some commentators and scholars thought that rewarding the Paralympic medal winners would lead to the government having to spend significantly more on rewards for sport in Taiwan. They thought if the government offered such rewards to medalists of sports for the disabled, they might then be expected to reward the winners of Masters Games or the winners of teenage and youth-level baseball games (Su, 1994). The government always responded negatively to the requests for equal rewards with responses such as ‘we will consider and discuss it’, and the result was always ‘no’.

In terms of funding athletes with disabilities to compete abroad, the government did not budget a fixed allocation for sports for the disabled overseas. Compared to international able-bodied games, the funding of the games had been budgeted one year before, and the expense would be allocated before the games, and with regard to the international sporting events for

the disabled, the funding was not taken from a fixed budget but had to be budgeted from other funding(*The Magazine of Chinese Taipei Sports Organization for the Disabled*, 1996), which made the funding of the international sports for the disabled uncertain. Sometimes the CTPC or the athletes even had to take out loans to support the expenses of games abroad before the government's allocation (Liang, 1994b). Thus, the president of the CTPC Mu Min-Chu, exclaimed that 'The "Chinese Taipei" represented by handicapped players is different from the normal player'(Liang, 1994: 3). The differential treatment of disabled and able-bodied athletes where funding was concerned unavoidably affected the disabled athletes' moods and competitive performances.

The training of athletes for international sports for the disabled was also criticised by athletes with disabilities because proper training could not be arranged for the athletes with disabilities. The Chinese Taipei Olympic athletes would receive at least six months of training in the National Sports Training Center, and the Center would provide proper training sessions and plans to produce potential medalists in the Olympics. However, for the athletes with physical disabilities, this was not the case, and most of the athletes with disabilities had to work to earn a living and used the spare time for training (Liang, 1994a). Rather than represent Taiwan at the Paralympics, the athletes with physical disabilities needed to keep their jobs. The Paralympic athletes just received more than ten days of basic training in unspecialized sports facilities. The accessible sports facilities were not popular for individuals with physical disabilities, and there were even cases of wheelchair racers using roads to train on(Ma, 1996b). Furthermore, the lack of understanding of sports for the disabled resulted in a bias against disability sports which made it harder for athletes with physical disabilities to use the training facilities. As the Para-athletics sportsman, Liu Hai-Ling¹²⁹, recalled:

I remember our track and field team wanted to use the track-and-field ground for training, but the schools across Taipei City were not willing to offer the ground to us. The schools' reason was that they worried our wheelchair would ruin their expensive PU runway...

(Liu 1995: 20)

In fact, if a PU runway was correctly laid by a construction unit, it would not be damaged by wheelchair. Moreover we can find that the same sporting fields are utilised by the Olympic

and Paralympic athletes successively. Sometimes, sports for the disabled were hindered by people's prejudices and lack of understanding.

The negative attitude of Taiwanese society toward international sports for the disabled and the reaction of the athletes with disabilities could be better understood through a Foucauldian lens. As for the depreciating inclination to the sports, owing to the impairments, the athletes with disabilities were associated with disability identity, and their achievements in sports did not receive the same attention and respect as those of able-bodied athletes. In most cases the sports for the disabled in most cases were seen as being more about encouragement than the competition. The lack of attention that disability sports received in comparison to the able-bodied sports resulted in the funding, training and rewards of international sports for the disabled all falling well short of their equivalents in able-bodied sports. In this regard, Depauw provides her suggestion on this situation:

disability, also a social construction, is often viewed in relation to ability and is, then, most often defined as "less than" ability, as not able. To be able to "see" individuals with disabilities as athletes (regardless of the impairment) requires us to redefine athleticism and our view of the body, especially the "sporting body".

(Depauw 1997: 423)

As for the reaction of the athletes with disabilities, they persistently seek 'normalcy'. In the discourse of athletes with disabilities, they state a wish to receive the same attention and respect as the able-bodied athletes. The voices of athletes with disabilities expressing a desire for equal treatment in areas such as training, funding and rewarding to normal athletes emerged repeatedly in this period. Howe and Silva offer a perceptive explanation for this phenomenon, stating that 'people who see themselves as "different" search for ways of getting closer to normal standards, and search for help approaching the ones that were and in many ways still are responsible for some of the factors that conducted to their oppression and sense of inferiority' (Howe and Silva, 2017: 11). Although athletes with physical disabilities had overcome the physical barriers and had experienced success in sports, they were still seen as abnormal in the society and marginalised in relation to mainstream sport, and they hoped to be treated as normal. In other words, they looked to turn to 'normalcy' and receive the same treatment as normal athletes. This is also the predicament which the athletes with

physical disabilities inevitably suffered.

At the 2004 Olympic Games, Taiwan won an unprecedented two gold, two silver and one bronze medal, which generated great national excitement. Afterwards, at the Paralympic Games, Taiwan also won two gold, two silver and two bronze medals. However, the medalists of the Paralympics did not feel the same enthusiasm from the people in Taiwan, as the silver medal winner of para shooting, Lin Chin-Mei¹³⁰ complained:

A few days ago, when rehearsing the awards ceremony, I felt hurt for us, the handicapped. On that day the Olympic medal winners also received praise. People there included members of the public, students and children who were rushing to ask for signatures and photos. The journalists were running toward them, but it seemed like our medals were picked up and nobody noticed us. Why was the difference so big? We have to work hard just like normal people, and even spent more money, time and effort than normal people. Why was there this difference? I think the education in Taiwan failed. Even the pupils' teachers told them to go to able-bodied athletes to ask for the signature... we were respected and welcomed very much by the locals abroad. As soon as the Greeks heard that we won the medal, they snatched the pictures with us and sincerely praised us. In contrast, in Taiwan, alas! It seems our medal was picked up, alas!

(Wang, 2005: 57)

From Lin's discourse, we can see that the Paralympic medalists were defined by their disability because of her impairments and their sports achievements were therefore not seen by Taiwanese society as equal to those of Olympic medalists. In other words, although they made great efforts to overcome the challenges of their bodies and achieved success in high-performance sports, their accomplishments were not acknowledged by the society because of their impairments.

International sports for the disabled as a battlefield of political conflict

The disputes between Taiwan and China regarding political issues such as the name and flag of Taiwan frequently took place at the international games for the disabled. The display of the

Taiwanese national flag was often protested by the PRC during the international sports events (Ma, 1996a). The CTPC also obeyed the 1981 Lausanne Agreement signed by the CTOC that Taiwan would use committee flag in international games. But, the Taiwanese national flag was ‘accidentally’ hoisted by some event organisers without knowledge of the Agreement. In the sporting events that were staged in Taiwan, PRC would withdraw from the opening and closing ceremonies in order to protest about the presence of Taiwanese politicians (*Min Sheng Bao*, 2002).

The most famous incident related to the political conflict between Taiwan and the PRC in international sports for the disabled happened at the 2004 Athens Paralympic Games. There, the first lady of Taiwan, Wu Shu-Chen¹³¹, was the leader of the Taiwanese Paralympic Delegation. Wu Shu-Chen’s husband, Chen Shui-bian, was president of Taiwan between 2000 and 2008 as a member of the Democratic Progressive Party which supports the independence of Taiwan. Chen Shui-bian appealed to Taiwanese nationalism against the position of the PRC which held sovereignty over Taiwan and caused the tension between Taiwan and the PRC (Clark, 2007). As Wu Shu-Chen became wheelchair-bound in an accident, CTPC invited her to be the leader of the Taiwan Paralympic Delegation which hoped to draw the public’s attention to sports for the disabled in the society. When the 2002 Paralympic Table Tennis Championship was held in Taipei, the president of IPC, Philip Craven, visited Taiwan and meet Chen Shui-bian and Wu Shu-Chen in 2002, where the idea of leading the Paralympic Delegation was brought up by Wu Shu-Chen (Chen, 2004a). Although the Greek government was under pressure from the PRC, they still offered the visa for Wu Shu-Chen’s visit (Liu, 2004).

The leadership of Wu Shu-Chen had a series of effects on the Taiwan Paralympic team. The team acquired financial support, and the medal winners would earn extra rewards from Taipei Bank. Several government officials accompanied Wu Shu-Chen to visit Athens, and the athletes with disabilities were given direct flights to Athens which meant they did not suffer from any flight transfers. Furthermore, owing to the presence of the first lady, the medalists in the 2004 Paralympics were rewarded extra 20% prize¹³²(Su, 2004a), and the Chunghwa Post also issued the stamps for the Taiwanese 2004 Paralympics medal winners (Su, 2004c). The high level of media exposure of the 2004 Paralympic Games attracted public attention to the sports for the disabled in the Taiwanese society (Su, 2004b).

Wu Shu-Chen's status as both the first lady of Taiwan and head of the Taiwan Paralympics delegation, however, caused controversy about Wu Shu-Chen's pass in the 2004 Athens Paralympics. Wu was issued with National Paralympic Committee (NPC) card as the honorary president and leader of Taiwan Paralympic Delegation, and the NPC card – the highest-level official pass for the event– could allow Wu to attend any related activities and events such as the welcome party, opening ceremony and sporting events. The IPC regulations stated that only the president, vice-president and secretary-general of National Paralympic Committee could take the position of delegation leader and be issued with NPC card, yet the president of the CTPC was registered as Chen Li-Chou¹³³ and not Wu Shu-Chen. Although the IPC insisted that there was no pressure or intervention from the 2008 Paralympic organiser, the PRC, the IPC intended to re-issue the transferable guest card instead of the NPC card of Wu Shu-Chen.

The Taiwan delegation protested and refuted that the application of the NPC card followed the regulations and procedures and many of the 145 national delegations participating in the Athens games were not headed by either the presidents, vice- presidents or secretaries-general of their national Paralympic committees (Liu, 2004). In the end, IPC Chief Executive Officer Xavier Gonzalez met with Taiwan team representatives and reached the settlement that the IPC would not void Wu Shu-Chen's NPC card and restrict her movement in the Games. In the opening ceremony, owing to security and health considerations, Wu Shu-Chen did not lead the Taiwanese athletes on parade around the main arena, but instead she sat in a VIP seat to watch the ceremony. The president of CTPC, Chen Li-Chou, also skilfully 'disappeared' in the opening ceremony (Chen, 2004b). For the IPC and the CTPC it seemed to be a win-win situation.

Staging the international games for the disabled

The first international sports event for the disabled staged by the CTPC was the 1998 Asia Wheelchair Basketball Games. Eight teams attended this Games: Chinese Taipei, China, Hong Kong, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Thailand and Iran (Tsan, 1997). Staging international games for physical disabilities not only meant that to some extent the environment, manpower, and facilities had been improved in order to support the running of international sporting events, but also that there was the hope of awakening the public attention to sports for the disabled in Taiwan. Finally, Taiwan finished in fourth place in the

wheelchair basketball games. Up to and including the 2007 IWAS in Taipei, seven international individual sporting events for people with physical disabilities were hosted in Taiwan, including table tennis, wheelchair basketball, badminton and billiards.

In 2007, the IWAS World Wheelchair & Amputee Games was staged in Taipei, Taiwan. It is the second-largest Games for people with physical disabilities in the world after only the Paralympic Games. More than 900 athletes with physical disabilities from 44 countries participated in the 2007 IWAS. In the beginning, the CTPC applied for financial support from the Sports Affairs Council¹³⁴ and the Council only budgeted NT. 2 million (£50,000) for the 2007 IWAS. Alternatively, the CTPC invited the premier, Chang Chun-Hsiung¹³⁵, to be the competition chairman of 2007 IWAS in order to gain more support from the Taiwanese government, but it did not work. Then the CTPC turned to invite the President of the Legislative Yuan¹³⁶, Wang Jin-Pyng¹³⁷ to be the chairman of the event. Because the presidents of 6 countries that maintained diplomatic relations with Taiwan would attend the 2007 IWAS, the Council changed the budget to NT.12 million (£300,000), and Wang Jin-Pyng also raised 10 million (£250,000) from Hon Hai Co. Ltd (Interview with M6, 30 January 2016).¹³⁸

However, the 2007 IWAS did not receive much public attention because of a lack of publicity. Compared to the other international games which were staged in Taiwan such as the World Games 2009 in Kaohsiung, the 2009 Deaflympics in Taipei and the 2017 Universiade in Taipei, the media exposure of the 2007 IWAS was not sufficient. Also, the low media exposure of Taipei IWAS meant that fewer spectators attended the games, as from the video (Cjmchang, 2007a, 2007b) it could be seen that there were few participants sat on the auditorium. As the blogger, lobby¹³⁹, stated:

Such an international competition, the opening ceremony really did a great job, but the audience was pitiful and few media organisations were present. I only saw the SNG car of the Public Television Service and the Sanlih E-Television, and no print media there. The publicity part really was not very good. Moreover, when I went home and watched a lot of news channels, I did not see any relevant reports of the IWAS. I only saw 15 seconds report on the sports news channel, not to mention the Internet search!

(lobby, 2007)

It is a shame that the lack of publicity resulted in much fewer Taiwanese people taking part in the Taipei IWAS, especially as the event was a perfect opportunity for Taiwanese society to gain insight into sports for the disabled.

Questions of accessibility to facilities also resurfaced when the 2007 IWAS was staged in Taiwan. Was the number of accessible buses enough to support the transportation of the athletes with physical disabilities? Was the accommodation for the games convenient and obstacle-free for athletes with physical disabilities? Were areas such as lifts, toilets and pavements suitable for the athletes with physical disabilities? The answers to these questions were all negative (lobby, 2007), as the arrival of more than 900 athletes with physical disabilities exposed the problems of the barrier-free facilities. Although staging significant sports events for the disabled symbolised that the level of economy, culture and humanity had improved to some extent, there was still room to improve the accessibility of the facilities in Taipei, and Taiwan more broadly.

The idea of being ‘disabled but not useless’ was addressed by Wang Jin-Pyng in the press conference of the Taipei IWAS. He hoped that the Taiwanese athletes with physical disabilities ‘could demonstrate the spirit of the disabled but not useless to win the medal for Taiwan’ (Li, 2007). The notion of ‘disabled but not useless’ fully reflected the attitudes of the society and the authorities which employed the values of the bodies with physical disabilities. Only by showing their use to society could impaired bodies be respected. As Foucault demonstrates that the development of the State ‘would not have been possible without the controlled insertion of bodies into the machinery of production and the adjustment of the phenomena of population to economic processes’ (Foucault, 1998: 141). Thus, individuals with disabilities always the manpower which the State want to utilise.

The 2007 Taipei IWAS also revealed the liminal state of international and national sports for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan. Although the society had accepted and acknowledged that people with physical disabilities could do competitive sports and the CTPC intended to present the sports for the disabled as having achieved a high level of performance, Taiwanese society still did not pay much attention. The IWAS is the second-largest games for the disabled in the world, but it was barely noticed by Taiwanese. Taiwan could host mega sporting events for people with physical disabilities, significant amounts were spent on the games, and the physically impaired athletes from all over the world gathered together in Taipei to compete. However, the Taipei IWAS still did not become part

of the society's shared memories, as only very few people were affected by the games. The sports for athletes with physical disabilities were neither excluded nor included in the society, they were 'on the border' (Metzler, 2013: 5).

Summary

In association with the development of special education in Taiwan, in 1993 PE for students with disabilities received renewed attention from the authorities. The authorities employed PE as the disciplinary technique that attempted to produce physically and mentally enhanced bodies which could be utilised by the state's production. Several related projects were implemented, related activities such as teaching demonstrations were launched, and publications such as teaching guides and teaching methods were compiled by the PE Research Centre to promote the teaching of PE for students with physical disabilities. However, the effects were not ideal, as pupils with physical disabilities were present but not fully included in school PE and were therefore excluded from participating significantly in PE lessons.

Since 1994 and the decision to follow the Paralympic classification system, the landscape of the National Games for the Disabled underwent a considerable transformation, changing from having an emphasis on entertainment to being more competitive. Implementing the classification could be seen to increase the exercise of the CTPC's governmentality upon athletes with disabilities. This new approach produced bodies with the potential to win medals in international competitions for the disabled, and more medals meant more support from the government and society. However, the classification system makes the athletes with disabilities become either included in or excluded from sporting events (Howe and Kitchin, 2017) because specific impaired bodies cannot be involved in the games. This 'in-between' state reflected the situation of the bodies with physical disabilities in national sports: liminality.

Every four years the summer Paralympic Games come after the Summer Olympic Games, and both are regarded as a high-performance international sports event. Although Taiwan had participated in the Paralympics several times and had won numerous medals between 1993 and 2007, the perspectives on disabled and able-bodied were still different. Owing to their physical impairments, athletes with physical disabilities were inevitably linked to disability identity. The reward for winning medals, the funding and training for attending international games were all significantly inferior to those of able-bodied athletes, and international sports

for the disabled were thought as inferior to those in which a 'normal' body took part. Owing to the tension between Taiwan and the PRC, the international games inevitably became another battlefield in this wider political conflict, of which the 2004 Athens Paralympics was an obvious example. The 2007 Taipei IWAS showcased that Taiwan could stage international games for people with physical disabilities, but little attention was paid to the event.

Throughout the development of sports for individuals with physical disabilities, the development of PE, national and international sports in Taiwan between 1993 and 2007 could be said to 'fit in neither category' (Metzler 2013: 5). They were neither bad nor good; neither failures nor successes; neither depower nor empower; neither marginalised nor involved, the state of sporting bodies with physical disabilities remained in a liminal state. Using the words of Stiker, 'Integration is the objective, but the action cannot be completed, and the persons affected remain in a liminal state' (Stiker 2009: 171).

Chapter 10. Conclusions

Exercise is that techniques by which one imposes on the body tasks that are both repetitive and different, but always graduated. By bending behaviour towards a terminal state, exercise makes possible a perpetual characterization of the individual either in relation to this term, in relation to other individuals, or in relation to a type of itinerary. It thus assures, in the form of community and constraint, a growth, an observation, a qualification.

(Foucault, 1991: 161)

This thesis portrays the history of sports for individuals with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1945 and 2007, focusing on three particular areas: physical education, national sport and international sport. A Foucauldian lens is employed to illuminate how the bodies of people with physical disabilities have been treated, manipulated, disciplined, constructed, interpreted and considered within both Taiwanese sports and in broader society. An effort is also made to historically locate people with physical disabilities, who were often the subjects of unequal power relations in Taiwanese sports, in chronological order to unpack the phenomena of these bodies in different stages of the development of sport in Taiwan.

The history of sports for the disabled in Taiwan conformed to the tendency of historians to seek to represent the increasingly essential and diverse voices of various groups within society, especially those which have often been ignored. This study, therefore, addresses the lacuna in which the ideological discourse in sports for the disabled has been dominated by Western perspectives. The importance of using a Foucauldian lens in disability research cannot be overstated. The ideas of Foucault regarding how the body is constructed by relations of power in historical contexts were employed to investigate the case of sports for people with physical disabilities in Taiwan. The model through which we understand and interpret disability in this thesis is the bio/social model, which emphasises both the medical perspective as well as how disability is socially constructed. The area of sports for the disabled as a kind of body movement is unavoidably connected to body impairment, and it

has also been heavily influenced by the interplay between social construction and social structures.

Between 1945 and 1971, bodies with physical disabilities were ignored not only in the sphere of Taiwanese sports but also in wider society. After the Second World War, Japanese colonial rule ended and Taiwan returned to the control of the ROC. After being defeated in the civil war in Mainland China in 1949, Chiang Kai-Shek retreated to Taiwan and where he continued to run a dictatorship which focused on regaining power in the Mainland, which meant that most of the national budget was devoted to military expenditure ahead of social projects. Within this spatial and temporal context, the spread of polio caused a large number of children to become physically impaired for life as the immunisation available in Taiwan fell behind that of developed countries. People impaired from contracting polio not only suffered from physical confinement but also negative social judgement. The punitive metaphor is mainly associated with the bodied impairment of the individuals who became impaired from contracting polio, of whom it was thought that they or their relatives must have sinned in their present or previous lives. Persons with disabilities were not accepted in Taiwanese society, and even in Confucian culture more broadly, in which they were understood to symbolise disorder and to threaten the continuation of a family, thus they were regarded as blemishes upon the family and undesirable in society.

During this period, people with disabilities were segregated from Taiwanese society either in institutions or in the family, where they lacked interaction with the outside world. Three types of the institution of physical disabilities could be identified: non-governmental, quasi-governmental and governmental schools. The first children's home for children impaired by contracting polio was founded by Norwegian missionary doctor Olav Bjørgaas in 1961. Through Bjørgaas's efforts, children with physical disabilities could be placed in the educational system in Taiwan, which in turn influenced the founding of quasi-governmental institutions, classes and schools for children impaired from contracting polio. The booming of the institutionalisation of individuals with physical disabilities elucidates that the society tended to isolate the 'abnormal' group from the public sphere and effaced the existence of the disabled. However, the confinement of individuals with physical disabilities also assisted numerous people impaired from contracting polio to access both medical treatment and educational opportunities which enabled them to change their lives for the better.

While the concept that sports participation as a fundamental right has long been extensively accepted in the West, Taiwan had failed to keep pace with this trend, as people with physical disabilities were still excluded from sports and thought of as unqualified to participate in the exercise. This attitude was reflected by how the only sports in which people with physical disabilities could participate in this period were those of the PE curriculum scheduled in the institutions. However, the PE organised in the institutions was vastly different from that on offer to the general population; it was replaced by physical rehabilitation, and students impaired from contracting polio were seen as sets of mechanically juxtaposed structures that could only perform repetitive and monotonous body movements. The emphasis upon physical rehabilitation reflects how the medical orthodoxy was imposed upon the bodies of individuals with physical disabilities, as Taiwanese society attempted to efface people with physical disabilities and to move them toward normalcy via this kind of therapy, ultimately seeking to construct the bodies as manpower which could be utilised by the State.

The use of physical rehabilitation as a technique of discipline also could be perceived in its operation, as students impaired from contracting polio were recorded and ranked by different standards, and partitioned into small units in enclosed spaces. The rehabilitative regimes and timetable were strictly controlled. Moreover, the panoptic power which was exercised over the students supervised by teachers and other peers was also apparent in the rehabilitative training regimes.

The development of sports for individuals with physical disabilities in Taiwan between 1972 and 1992 witnessed a sea change in which these sports attracted the State's attention at the national level, which ultimately led to Taiwan's first participation in international sports for the disabled. Under the son of the generalissimo, Chiang Ching-Kuo, who took power and focused on Taiwanese domestic issues, people with disabilities became targets which needed to be managed and sports were employed as techniques to optimise the bodies of individuals with physical disabilities, in the hope that these bodies could ultimately contribute to the State's productivity.

The operation of *The Scheme of Physical Education for Physically Handicapped Student in Junior High Schools* precluded the development of PE for students with physical disabilities. The Department of Education of Taiwan's Provincial Government entrusted Chen Tasi-Yee to study the *Scheme* and promote the delivery of PE for students with disabilities in junior

high schools. In order to substantiate the practicability of the *Scheme*, three junior high schools, Yong-He, Er-Lin and Chao-Zhou, were selected to trial the teaching of PE for students with physical disabilities for one year. Some problems of this process were reported by the schools, and the teaching demonstration held in Yong-He Junior High School was an attempt to solve these problems. The operation of the *Scheme* contributed to the first policy, *The Plan of Physical Education Special Class in Junior High School*, for the PE of students with disabilities, and influenced the booming of Special PE Classes for students with different needs across Taiwan. However, the promotion of the *Scheme* did not focus on the need for students with physical disabilities to take part in PE, as the target behind the *Scheme* was to solve the controversies over the PE grades of the students with different needs and construct useful bodies which could be employed by the State.

The type of PE that was provided for students with physical disabilities after 1972 was quite different from that which was delivered in general schools. In the PE classes, the students moved from being onlookers to being active participants and, in special education institutions, PE was no longer dominated by physical rehabilitation. People started to realise that individuals with disabilities also needed to exercise, and some of the students with physical disabilities who were placed in general schooling and special education were able to participate in PE during their studies. The growth of PE for students with physical disabilities also affected the delivery of PE in universities, as several universities came to run the Special PE Class for these students. However, not all students with physical disabilities had positive experiences of the PE course, as they were not willing to show their impairments in public.

The PE for students with physical disabilities could be investigated by using a Foucauldian lens which regarded it as a technology of control. Owing to the control time and space, the PE for students with physical disabilities facilitated the students' involvement in the relations of power. Students with physical disabilities became the subjects in the hierarchical observation, thought of as 'abnormal' bodies which needed to receive adapted physical activities, and all were recorded and classified into sub-groups for the PE instruction. Furthermore, the PE not only improved the physical quality of the bodies but also had positive psychological effects, as students with physical disabilities began to hold more positive attitudes about participating in PE. As a result, the physiological and psychological side of students with physical disabilities was deeply affected by their experiences of PE.

The analysis for national sports for people with physical disabilities between 1972 and 1992 concentrates on the case of the National Games for the Disabled in Taiwan. The Games originated from the accident arrangement of charitable activity by Huang Wen-Yao in 1974, intended as a celebration of the 80th anniversary of the KMT's founding by Sun Yat-Sen. The successful experiences of the Games in 1974 attracted the State's attention and set the stage for the bi-annual National Games for the Disabled after 1977. The State's intervention could be observed from the organisation of the committee of Games for the Disabled and the manpower and economic resources devoted to the operation of the Games by the State. The evolution of the Games saw it change from a Games which mixed sporting events and carnival games in 1974 to one that became more connected within the new currency and apparatus of the IPC.

The sporting events were unavoidably linked with disciplinary power, as shown by their strict regulation of space and time. Elements of the Games such as posture, skill, gesture, techniques and strategies also affected the movements in all events and can be closely associated with the disciplinary nature of training impaired bodies. The disciplinary effects not only brought about physical benefits such as improved strength but also modified their mental and social skills. After participating in the Games, people with physical disabilities gained more confidence and positive life experience, as they no longer thought themselves as useless. Furthermore, the spectators at the Games were also targets which the authorities wanted to influence. The authorities hoped that all of the bodies present, healthy and impaired, would contribute to Taiwanese society.

The discourses of resistance that came from individuals with disabilities against the National Games for the Disabled hardly could be found, for which the reason might have been that people with disabilities had been marginalised in sports for a long time, thus, they fully embraced sports once they had chance to participate in them.

The paternalism also could be found in the society as people 'kindly' prohibited people with physical disabilities from participating in sports in the name of safety. However, the paternalistic attitude was reflected the social prejudice against people with physical disabilities, and given the power of control in the sports; it did impact on the development of national sports for the disabled at that time.

In the national sports for people with physical disabilities, the elements of the 'freak-show' not only satisfied the spectators' curiosity about 'special' bodies but also reinforced the able-

disabled and normal-abnormal dichotomies and ensured that the viewers' bodies were seen to be relatively normal. As a result, the bodies of individuals with physical disabilities were subjectified as abnormal in sports.

The international sports for individuals with physical disabilities in Taiwan developed gradually from 1972 to 1992. It was not until 1987 that Taiwan first participated in an international sports competition for people with physical disabilities, and the name of the Taiwanese team was Chinese Taipei -following the Agreement that was signed in Lausanne in 1981. From 1989 onwards, Taiwan became a member of international organisations for disability sport such as ICC, ISOD and ISMWSF, and started to participate in international events for athletes with physical disabilities. The issue of bonuses that were given as rewards to medal winners in international sporting events for athletes with physical disabilities also became a controversy, as the Taiwanese government did not regard sports for the disabled as 'sports' but as 'leisure activities' at best.

The road that Taiwan followed the 1992 Paralympic Games in Barcelona was not a smooth one. Several events were held by the ROCSOD to increase public interest in sports for the disabled and to raise funding for Taiwan to compete at the Games. Owing to a lack of participants in international sports for the disabled, Taiwan employed multiple channels to win the right to participate in the Games. Although Taiwanese sportspersons with physical disabilities did not win any medals at the 1992 Paralympic Games, the country's participation was still a big step for Taiwanese international sports for individuals with physical disabilities.

From 1993 onward, PE for the disabled received the State's attention again, and students with physical disabilities also benefited from this change. The Five-year projects policy was implemented to promote PE for students with disabilities in all level of schools. The budget for the Five-year Projects came from the Six Year Nation Building Projects which was regarded as the heir of the Ten Major Construction Projects and attempted to improve the infrastructure of Taiwan in various ways, which illustrates that, in the important constructive projects, individuals with physical disabilities were always viewed as targets that needed to be managed, and thus sports were utilised as disciplinary technologies toward this end.

The State's intention was revealed by President Lee and Premier Lien's speeches at the 1995 National Education Conference for People with Disabilities, which reviewed the Five-year Projects and special education. The social consensus was that people with disabilities could become members of production after enrolling in special education, and so that once

they developed their skills and knowledge, they would no longer be burdens to society. PE for people with physical disabilities, while an essential crucial item in the Five-year Projects, could also be seen as a technique intended to control.

Three projects and schemes were carried out to promote PE for students with physical disabilities. Numerous teaching demonstrations were held, countless publications were published and many activities were organised to promote the PE. However, the PE did not have the expected effect, as the PE for students with physical disabilities remained in a liminal state which neither succeeded nor failed. Although the view that 'disabled students should have the right to participant sports' had been extensively accepted by the society, the PE still had much work needed to be done. The CTPC played a crucial role in national and international sports for individuals with physical disabilities between 1993 and 2007. The name of the CTPC came from the ROCSOD and changed several times, and the structure of the CTPC was upgraded to cope with the increasingly complex affairs of the national and international sports for people with disabilities.

In terms of national sports, this period also highlights the case of the National Games for the Disabled. Since the 1994 Games in Kaohsiung, the Games started to follow the IPC's classification systems in order to select potential athletes with physical disabilities for international sporting events. The utilisation of the IPC's classification heavily impacted the landscape of the National Games for the Disabled in Taiwan, as on one side the athletes in the Games could compete in an equal environment, and potential medallists for future international events could be identified. On the other side, however, only handful sportspeople with disabilities could take part in the Games, as some impaired bodies inevitably suffered from systematic disadvantage, and were no longer able to participate in sports. Furthermore, classification could be regarded as the governmentality of bodies, the CTPC could manipulate the impaired bodies via the classification system, and the athletes with disabilities became either included in or excluded from sporting events.

Since the 1994 Kaohsiung Games, neither the direct involvement of the state apparatus nor the KMT and CYC's interventions were seen in the Games. However, the atmosphere of amelioration still dominated the National Games for the Disabled. Sports were employed as a means to discipline the bodies and minds of people with disabilities, as they not only played the role of extending the physical rehabilitation of bodies with disabilities but were also believed to have psychological merits. Beyond the National Games for the Disabled, a lot of

other sporting events were launched. Although sports for the disabled were widely accepted by the public, essential aspects such as facilities and training for sports for people with disabilities were ignored by all levels of government in Taiwan.

Between 1993 and 2007, Taiwan actively participated in international sports for the disabled, and athletes with physical disabilities won numerous medals in international sporting events. However, the international sports for the disabled did not gain respect in Taiwanese society, and the rewards for medallists with physical disabilities compared to the able-bodied athletes was unequal, as the government did not budget a fixed allocation for sports for the disabled to compete overseas, and the athletes were not provided with sufficient training by the government. The biased treatment of athletes with physical disabilities stemmed from the disability identity associated with people with disabilities, as they were seen as ‘abnormal’ in the society, and sports for the disabled in most cases were seen as being more about encouragement than the competition.

Despite the common claim that politics and sports should be kept separate, the two spheres remain tightly interwoven all over the world, and sports for the disabled is no exception. The most famous incident relating to the conflict between Taiwan and China in the field of sports was the 2004 Paralympics in Athens, as the first lady of Taiwan represented Taiwan to participate in the Games and her identity caused a series of political wrangling. After the negotiations, Wu Shu-Chen was allowed to retain her diplomatic accreditation and the incident was resolved.

International disability sport first came to Taiwan in 1998. The IWAS, the second-largest Games for people with physical disabilities in the world, was hosted by the CTPC in 2007. However, the staging of IWAS 2007 did not attract much attention from the society, or much support from the government, and the event suffered from limited media coverage and a lack of spectators attending the events. The IWAS 2007 echoed the liminal state of international sports for people with physical disabilities in which they are neither supported nor ignored.

The case of sports for disabled people in Taiwan is unique. Although the domain of sports for disabled people is influenced to an extent by Western perspectives, in which individuals with disabilities should be permitted to take part in exercise, Taiwan developed its own sports for disabled people in isolation from the West under strict government control. In contrast to the argument that sports for the disabled is a Western concept that spread to the rest of the world before shaping the global phenomena of disability sports, it was not until the

early 1990s that sports for the disabled in Taiwan became significantly influenced by the Paralympic Games. In the early stages, sports activities in Taiwan were unique and were not affected by the sporting trends all over the world. Thus, a distinctive style of sports was evolved. Sports for disabled people in Taiwan during the 1970s and 1980s received considerable support from the authorities and were employed as an apparatus that attempted to ameliorate disabled bodies so that they could be utilised by the state. Sports were not only simple physical activities that encouraged individuals with physical disabilities to participate in exercise and treat their bodies well physically and mentally but were a form of governance intended to construct ideal bodies that could join the workforce to support the economic development of the country. Simultaneously, outside Taiwan, sports for the disabled people largely focused on the provision of rehabilitation and participation and gradually shifted towards sports achievement. The unique context of sports for disabled people in Taiwan therefore makes this topic worthy of academic inquiry.

In conclusion, sports for disabled people could be regarded as a vehicle of power because sports were used for altering the bodies of people with physical disabilities at different time periods. The 'struggle' is the effect of power and is positioned as a crucial concept to understand the bodies of individuals with physical disabilities when performing sports in Taiwanese society. Between the end of World War II and IWAS Taipei 2007, which was a landmark event for athletes with physical disabilities in Taiwan, individuals with physical disabilities in Taiwanese sports experienced various changes in status beginning from the 'forgotten' stage, in which they were considered as impaired bodies and the sports were viewed by society as physical therapy. This notion then progressed into the 'manipulated' and 'disciplined' stages, in which individuals with physical disabilities were regarded to have problematic bodies that should to be managed by participating in sports. The final stage was the 'liminal' stage, in which the bodies of individuals with physical disabilities were situated in a transitional state in which their sports were neither completely accepted nor entirely rejected by the country. People with physical disabilities in Taiwanese sports missed their subjectivity and passively suffered in the relations of power because they attempted to obtain an identity in the sporting context. Individuals with physical disabilities in Taiwan have found it difficult to find their rightful place within the sporting landscape. Hence, these people are considered as 'the lost bodies in sports'.

Research limitations and future directions

This study had limitations due to the difficulties in collecting sources and materials. People with disabilities receive limited attention from the mainstream. Therefore, their words, videos, and news have not been recorded completely and regularly archived. The historical sources were scattered among different categories of archives. Moreover, some of the significant materials were hidden in the words and between the lines and required careful collection. However, this thesis describes the materials collected regarding the portrayal of people with disabilities in Taiwan in the history of sports.

Another limitation is that most of the perspectives came from able-bodied people and not disabled people. Sports for disabled people are currently run and administered by both able-bodied and disabled people. However, in this study, the history of the development of sports for disabled people in Taiwan was dominated by the knowledge and discourses of able-bodied people. Although some discourses of people with disabilities were included by conducting interviews to balance the perspectives used in this study, presenting a study based purely on the perspectives of individuals with disabilities is difficult. The unavoidable limitation of this study was that the analysis mixed the perspectives of both able-bodied and disabled people.

Future research on this topic could be extended to address the sports-related issues for people with disabilities between 1895 and 1944. Special education in Taiwan was developed under the Japanese rule. In education system developed by the Japanese, PE was organised in schools for students with visual and hearing disabilities. Thus, the development of PE for students with visual and hearing disabilities and how their bodies were shaped by the relations of power during the Japanese rule should be investigated. Another future direction could focus on the history of sports for people with visual, hearing, and mental disabilities after 1945. The following questions regarding people with visual, hearing, and mental disabilities are worth exploring in the future: ‘What is the development in terms of the history of sports?’, ‘How have their bodies been shaped by the relations of power?’, and ‘Does their history differentiate from that of people with physical disabilities?’.

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Endnotes

¹Sinophone is a neologism that fundamentally means "Chinese-speaking. Academic writers use Sinophone in two ambiguous meanings: either specifically "Chinese-speaking areas where it is a minority language, excluding China and Taiwan" or generally "Chinese-speaking areas, including where it is an official language". Mandarin Chinese is the most commonly spoken language today with over one billion people speaking it.

²Critical realism is a philosophy of science that is based around a number of ontological principles; it believes that there is a world which exists independently of our knowledge and in which social structure is significant, but that not everything in this world is directly observable. Since our interpretation or understanding of social phenomena will influence their outcomes, we need to consider both the external reality and the social construction of that reality to illustrate the relationships between social phenomena.

³Chiang Kai-shek (also known as Chiang Chung-cheng Chinese: 蔣介石/蔣中正 October 31, 1887 – April 5, 1975) was a Chinese political and military leader who served as the leader of the Republic of China between 1928 and 1975. Chiang was an influential member of the (KMT), and was a close ally of Sun Yat-sen. He took Sun's place as leader of the KMT when Sun died in 1925. Chiang led China in the Second Sino-Japanese War (the Chinese theatre of World War II).

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) defeated the KMT in 1949. Chiang's government and army retreated to Taiwan, where Chiang imposed martial law and persecuted people critical of his rule in a period known as the "White Terror". After evacuating to Taiwan, Chiang's government continued to declare its intention to retake mainland China. Chiang ruled Taiwan securely as President of the Republic of China and General of the KMT until his death in 1975.

⁴The Ten Major Construction Projects (Chinese: 十大建設) were the national infrastructure projects began in 1974 and completed by 1979. Those constructions are: National Highway No.1, electrification of Western Line railway, North-Link Line railway, Taoyuan International Airport, port of Taichung, Su-ao port, China Ship building Corporation Shipyard, oil refinery and industrial park, China Steel Factory and Nuclear Power Plant No.1.

The Twelve Constructions (Chinese: 十二項建設) were the national infrastructure between 1978 and 1985. Those constructions are: railway around the Taiwan island, Central Cross-Island Highway, improve traffic condition in Kaohsiung and Pingtung, expansion of China Steel Factory, Nuclear Power Plant No.2 and 3, expansion of port of Taichung, public housing, farms drainage system, seawall and river bank construction, expansion the road in Pingtung, improve agriculture machine, and build Culture centres. Constructions are: railway around the Taiwan island, Central Cross-Island Highway, improvement of traffic condition in Kaohsiung and Pingtung, expansion of China Steel Factory, Nuclear Power Plant No.2 and 3, expansion of port of Taichung, public housing, farms drainage system, seawall and river , expansion the road in Pingtung, improve agriculture machine, and build Culture centres.

⁵The Taiwan Economic Miracle (Chinese: 臺灣奇蹟) or Taiwan Miracle refers to the rapid industrialisation and economic growth of Taiwan during the latter half of the twentieth century. As it has developed alongside Singapore, South Korea and Hong Kong, Taiwan became known as one of the "Four Asian Tigers".

⁶In Chinese: 小康計畫.

⁷The Taiwan Provincial Government (Chinese: 臺灣省政府) is the provincial government that governs Taiwan Province of the Republic of China (ROC), the provinces of which it fully controlled after 1949.

⁸Hsieh Tung-min (Chinese: 謝東閔; January 25, 1908 – April 9, 2001) was the ninth Governor of Taiwan Province (1972–1978), the sixth and first local Taiwanese Vice President of the Republic of China (1978–1984) under president Chiang Ching-kuo.

⁹In Chinese: 伸出仁愛的手，鼓舞自強的心.

¹⁰Lee Teng-hui (Chinese: 李登輝; born 15 January 1923) is a Taiwanese politician. He was the President of the Republic of China (Taiwan) and Chairman of the Kuomintang (KMT) from 1988 to 2000. He was the first president of the Republic of China to be born in Taiwan. During his presidency, Lee promoted the Taiwanese localization movement and led an ambitious foreign policy to gain allies around the world.

¹¹Before Lee Teng-hui took the position of president, the leaders of Taiwan were born and came from Mainland China. People who emigrated from Mainland China after 1945 were called mainlander, the group opposed to the mainlander is Taiwanese. After Chiang Ching-kuo took the position of premier, he appointed many Taiwanese in his government, Lee Teng-hui was one of the Taiwanese which was selected in his government.

¹²The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was founded in 1986, is one of two major parties in Taiwan. DPP has traditionally been associated with strong advocacy of human rights, anti-communism and a distinct Taiwanese identity.

¹³In Chinese: 國家建設六年計畫.

¹⁴The Confucianism discussed in this section is a blend of traditional Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, so I do not intent to use Neo-Confucianism to replace Confucianism.

¹⁵In Chinese philosophy, yin and yang describes how apparently opposite or contrary forces are actually complementary, interconnected, and interdependent in the natural world, and how they give rise to each other as they interrelate to one another. Everything has both yin and yang aspects, for instance shadow and light, good and bad, male and female.

¹⁶In traditional Chinese culture, is an active principle forming part of any living thing. Ch'I literally translates as "breath", "air", or "gas", and figuratively as "material energy", "life force", or "energy flow". Ch'I is the central underlying principle in traditional Chinese medicine

¹⁷The Five Elements: mental, wood, water, fire, earth.

¹⁸The fox fairy is a common motif in the mythology of East Asian countries. In East Asian folklore, foxes are depicted as a fox fairy possessed of magic powers. These foxes are depicted as mischievous, usually tricking other people, with the ability to disguise as an attractive female human.

¹⁹Olva Bjørgaas (Chinese name: 畢嘉士 ;Born in 1926) is Norwegian missionary doctor. His achievement will be introduced in the endnote No.5.

²⁰Chen Chiung-Lin (Chinese: 陳炯霖 ; 1917~2015), was the professor of the college of medicine of National Taiwan University. His researches have far-reaching influence on the development of paediatrics. He has the reputation of 'The Pilot of Paediatric Development in Taiwan'. Sources: Chen, C.-L., 2002. The Pilot of Paediatric Development in Taiwan (in Chinese), Taipei: Wang Chun Feng.

²¹Fu-Shui (Chinese: 符水) is mixture of water and burnt charm paper. In Taiwan, medium burn the charm paper which was deemed to have magical properties, and mix the ashes with water. This water was believed to have healing powers.

²²Samuel Noordhoff (Chinese name: 羅慧夫 ;Born in 1927) is known in Taiwan by his Chinese name, 羅慧夫 (Luo Hwei-fu), which means "man of wisdom". Born in Orange, Iowa in 1927, shortly after graduating with a medical degree from the University of Iowa, Dr. Noordhoff and his family made the long journey of over 20 days across the ocean to Taiwan, to practice medicine and spread God's love. Dr. Noordhoff has served as president of both the Mackay Memorial Hospital and the Chang Gung Memorial Hospital, playing an instrumental role in establishing a system for development of medicine in Taiwan. Sources: <https://www.nncf.org/en>

²³Olva Bjørgaas (Chinese name: 畢嘉士 ;Born in 1926) is Norwegian missionary doctor. In his childhood, Olva Bjørgaas was inspired by Albert Schweitzer's deeds, leading him to study in medical college. He was first dispatched to Taiwan in 1954 to care for leprosy patients at the Lo-Sheng Sanatorium in Taipei. He later founded the Pingtung Christian Hospital and Taiwan's first nursing home for polio children. Until his retirement and departure from Taiwan in 1984, he had cared for over 6,000 leprosy patients and 18,000 polio patients. Dr. Bjørgaas's achievements earned him the title "Honorary Pingtung County Citizen", he was awarded with the Medal of St. Olav of Norway and Medal of Medical Contribution in 1997 Taiwan. Sources: Sørheim-Queseth, B.J. et al., 2013. Doctor Bjørgaas: The Story of a Medical Missionary (in Chinese), Taipei: Commonwealth Publishing.

²⁴Hsu, Tzu-Chiu (Chinese: 許子秋; 1920~1988), was the Director-General of the Agency of Health. He acquired medical degree in Japan in 1943. Dr. Hsu received government scholarship to study public health in the United States. When returning he served in public health system and push several excellent public health policies. Owing to his successful experience in birth control, Dr. Hsu was employed by WHO to manage the birth control in west pacific area. In 1981, he was invited to take charge of the Agency of Health in Taiwan. Unfortunately Dr. Hsu died of liver cancer in 1988. Sources: <https://sites.google.com/site/makehistory0809/people/zi-qiu>

²⁵The anti-Japanese attitude comes from the Japan's colonisation upon Taiwan between 1895-1945, and Japan as an invader in WWII.

²⁶Kristoffer Fotland (Chinese name: 傅德蘭;1905~2006) is Norwegian missionary doctor. He was despatch to China in 1935, then turn to Taiwan in 1949. After arriving Taiwan, Fotland worked with Bjørgaas to operate surgery on polio survivors. Fotland was awarded with the Medal of St. Olav in 1975 Norway and Medal of Medical Contribution in 1997 Taiwan. Sources: Sørheim-Queseth, B.J. et al., 2013. Doctor Bjørgaas: The Story of a Medical Missionary (in Chinese), Taipei: Commonwealth Publishing.

²⁷There were three special schools for the students with visual and hearing impairments, and one private school for the students with visual impairments before 1960.

²⁸Yao Min-Ching (Chinese:姚敏卿) played an important role at managing the Victory Home, unfortunately we cannot find account about her.

²⁹Ren-Ai Elementary school was found in 1924. It set class for students with physical impairments in 1965, the class was named Chi-Jen Pan (啟仁班).

³⁰Yu Yu-Pi (Chinese: 余玉碧) was a school inspector and also the Principle of Ren-Ai Elementary School between 1953 and 1969. Sources: <http://web.raps.ptc.edu.tw/%E5%AD%B8%E6%A0%A1%E7%B0%A1%E4%BB%8B/%E4%BB%81%E6%84%9B%E7%9A%84%E6%AD%B7%E5%8F%B2.htm>.

³¹Soong Mei-ling (Chinese: 宋美齡; March 5, 1897 – October 23, 2003), was a First Lady of the Republic of China (ROC), the wife of Chiang Kai-shek. Soong played a prominent role in the politics of the Republic of China, the founder and the leader of the Republic of China. She was active in the civic life of her country and held many honorary and active positions. Sources: <https://zh.wikipedia.org/zh-tw/%E5%AE%8B%E7%BE%8E%E9%BD%A1>.

³²There were two important rehabilitative centre for polio survivor in Taiwan, one was in the south: Victory Home; another was in the North : Cheng-Hsin Rehabilitative Medical Centre (Tasi andLiang, 2003).

³³A military dependents' village is a community in Taiwan, and its purpose is to serve as housing for soldiers and their dependents.

³⁴In Taiwan elementary education was divided into 6 grades, and school-age is from 7 to 12 years old.

³⁵Hua-Hsing Children's home, elementary and high school were found by Soong Mei-ling in 1955. Initially, Hua-Hsing Children's home was launched for the orphan of military martyr's. Now it was transformed to receive disadvantage people in Taiwan.

³⁶The Changhua Special school for the Students with Physical Impairment also called 'Chunghua Ren-Ai Experimental School' (Chinese: 彰化仁愛實驗學校) .

³⁷At that time most high school and university did not accept people with disabilities; they were regarded n need to receive education, the only way of enrolling was acquire the dispensation of school (*United Daily News*, 1962a; *United Daily News*, 1962b; *United Daily News*, 1963; *United Daily News*, 1968b).

³⁸Ling-Kung Children's home (Chinese : 靈光小兒麻痺之家) was established in Taichung, by Australian doctor Nicholls. In the beginning , Dr. Nicholls (Chinese name: 郭瑞琳) opened the Ling-Kung Clinic, in 1965 he was committed by Dr. Bjørgaas to take care the children impaired from contracting polio in the middle of Taiwan, then launched the Ling-Kung Children's home near his clinic and responded all the expense of the 80 children in his children's home. Ling-Kung Children's home was closed in 1974, but Dr. Nicholls still pay the educational fees for the leaving children until these children finish their study. Sources: http://www.hwe.org.tw/award winners_8_3.asp

³⁹Xi-Le children's home (Chinese: 喜樂教養院) was founded in Changhua, 1965, by Joyce Meredith McMillan (Chinese name: 瑪喜樂). She arrived at Taiwan in 1959 and work in hospital. When she saw polio children hopeless crawled on the ground like dog, then decide to found a children home to take care of polio children. With the disappear of polio in Taiwan, it was transform to house cerebral palsy and mental impairment. Sources: <http://joyce929.org.tw/list.php?lm=9>

⁴⁰Joyce Meredith McMillan (Chinese name: 瑪喜樂; 1914~2007) was born in 1914 in a poor family in the U.S. state of Washington, McMillan was brought up in a pious Christian family and was trained as a nurse. In 1954, McMillan met Taiwanese doctor and pastor Hsieh Wei (謝緯) at a church gathering in San Francisco. The doctor told her about the poor medical conditions in Taiwan and his plans to preach and set up a medical centre in Nantou County to treat tuberculosis patients. Moved by the doctor's passion, the 45-year-old McMillan sold her possessions in 1959 and travelled to Taiwan to assist Hsieh. Later she established a nursing home to care for children with polio in Erlin, Changhua. Over the next 48 years, McMillan provided care to 400 children and youth with polio and hundreds of other disabled patients at her Christian Home. Sources: <http://joyce929.org.tw/list.php?lm=8>

⁴¹At that time, people called the activities applied at school to restore the body function: functional training (Chinese: 機能訓練; Chi Neng Hsun Lien), in order to separate the physical therapy or rehabilitation which applied in hospital and clinic. Because school teacher did not have medical certification and did not allow to do any therapy in school, and school is not medical institution and physiotherapist did not establish in the manning of school. But school teacher needed to practice the rehabilitative measures on body of student with physical impairments, so the term of curriculum 'physical therapy' needed to be replaced by 'functional training'. In fact, the contents of both are the same.

In order to avoid confusing, this research use 'physical rehabilitation' to include the physical therapy at medical institution and functional training at school.

⁴²The Curriculum Guidelines of School and Class for Students with Physical Impairments (Chinese: 仁愛學校(班)課程綱要) was enacted in 1983.

⁴³ The length of a class in Taiwan is 40 minutes for elementary school, 45 minutes for junior high school and 50 minutes for senior high school and university.

⁴⁴ In Chinese: 國中肢體殘障學童體育實施方案.

⁴⁵ The term 'PE Special Class' is direct translated from Chinese '體育特別班', students who have special need in PE would be temporary arranged in this class and take PE course at specific time.

⁴⁶ At that time, there were three levels of government in Taiwan: central government, provincial government and county government.

⁴⁷ The Taiwan Provincial College of Physical Education (Chinese: 臺灣省立體育專科學校) was established in 1961 in order to cultivate sport athletes, and it was renamed as National Taiwan University of Physical Education and Sport (Chinese: 國立臺灣體育運動大學)

⁴⁸ In Chinese: 陳在頤.

⁴⁹ In Taiwan, the minimum score to pass is 60.

⁵⁰ The seminars were held on 28th Dec 1973, 16th Mar 1974 and 20th Apr 1974, and the meetings were held on 8th Feb and 1st Apr 1974.

⁵¹ These items were: 1.softball throwing distance 2.softball throwing accuracy 3.rubber baseball throwing accuracy 4.basketball throwing distance 5.basketball 30sec shooting 6.volleyball serving accuracy 7.football kicking distance 8.football dribbling 9.football kicking accuracy 10.eight pounds shot put 11.six pounds shot put 12.standing long jump 13.long jump 14. Sixty meters race 15.one hundred race 16.two hundred race 17.four hundred race 18.pull-up 19.bend hanging 20.parallel dips 21.pushup 22. Kneeling pushup 23.sit-ups 24.squat 25.twenty meters walking on flat ground 26.up and down stairs 27. Raise upper limbs 28. Bend upper limbs 29. Lift lower limbs 30. Bend lower limbs 31. Back extension 32. body twisting.

⁵² Er-Lin Junior High School (Chinese: 二林國民中學); Chao-Zhou Junior High School (Chinese: 潮州國民中學)

⁵³ Chu Ming-Chin (Chinese: 朱敏進; Born in 1945) graduated in the Department of Physical Education of National Taiwan Normal University, and has highly interest in PE for students with disabilities. In 1973 Mr. Chu fund the Special PE Class in Yong-He Junior High School and became the pioneer of sports for the disabled in Taiwan. He also one of the founder of Chinese Taipei Sports Organization for the Disabled, and play an crucial role in promoting sports for the disabled in Taiwan.

⁵⁴ The date of the meetings in the three junior high schools were: 3rd Nov, 1975 at Yong-He, 5th Nov at Er-Lin and 7th Nov at Chao-Zhou.

⁵⁵ The Head of the Education Department of Taiwan Province was Liang Shang-Yung (Chinese: 梁尚勇); the Directors of Compulsory Education and Physical Education Department of the Ministry of Education were Yeh Chu-Sheng (Chinese: 葉楚生) and Tsai Min-Chung (Chinese: 蔡敏忠) respectively.

⁵⁶ In Chinese: 國民(初級)中學體育特別班實施計畫.

⁵⁷ The schools and universities were Mu-Zha Junior High School (Chinese: 木柵國民中學) and Shi-Jian Junior High School (實踐國民中學) in Taipei City, Er-Lin Junior High School (Chinese: 二林國民中學) in Changhua, Hou-Bi Junior High School (Chinese: 後壁國民中學) in Tainan, Chao-Zhou Junior High School (Chinese: 潮州國民中學) in Pingtung, and National Taiwan University, National Chengchi University, Fu-Jen Catholic University, Tung hai University, Chung-Yuan Christian University and Feng-Chia University.

⁵⁸ These: 美崙國民中學) in Hualien; Pei-Nan Junior High School (Chinese: 卑南國民中學) in Taitung; Mingese nine junior high schools were: Er-Lin Junior High School (Chinese: 二林國民中學) in Changhua; Sin-Sing Junior High School (Chinese: 新興國民中學) in Kaohsiung; Mei-Lun Junior High School (Chin-Cheng Junior High School (Chinese: 明正國民中學) in Pingtung; Tu-Cheng Junior High School (Chinese: 土城國民中學), Chong-Qing Junior High School (Chinese: 重慶國民中學), Guang-Rong Junior High School (Chinese: 光榮國民中學), and Ban-Qiao Junior High School (Chinese: 板橋國民中學) in New Taipei City.

⁵⁹ In Chinese: 吳文忠.

⁶⁰ Before 1973 there were around 40 students with physical disabilities in Yong-He Junior High School, and the numbers of the students increased to fifty-two in 1974.

⁶¹ Pan Yi-Yen (Chinese: 潘貽燕) was the principal of Yonghe Junior High School (Chinese: 永和國民中學) between 1968 and 1980.

⁶² Lien Yi-Nan (Chinese: 連倚南; Born 1934) is the honorary professor of College of Medicine of National Taiwan University. He is the first professor to teach Physical Medicine & rehabilitation in Taiwan and helped the hospitals in Taiwan to set up department of Physical Medicine & rehabilitation, and earns himself the reputation 'The Father of Physical Medicine & rehabilitation in Taiwan'. Sources: http://www.hwe.org.tw/award_winners_22_8.asp

⁶³There are many Sin-Sing Junior High Schools (Chinese: 新興國民中學) across Taiwan, so in this chapter we mark 'Kaohsiung Municipal' in order to distinguish from other Sin-Sing Junior High Schools in Taiwan.

⁶⁴In Taiwan, students take six years of elementary school education from ages 7 to 12, and three years of junior high school education from ages 13 to 15.

⁶⁵Rehabilitative PE is directly translated from Chinese: 復健體育.

⁶⁶Most of students with severely physical disabilities which more than three limbs impaired were placed in the Ren-Ai School. Considering the page limitation of this research, we just present the teaching schedule of Group S.

⁶⁷Chinese: 仁愛學校(班)課程綱要.

⁶⁸Yu Chien-Ming (Chinese: 游鑑明; born in 1951) is a researcher impaired from contracting polio of Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica in Taiwan.

⁶⁹In Chinese: 姬重慶.

⁷⁰In general, the first course in NTU starts at 8AM.

⁷¹The PE class in Tunghai University is called Special PE Class (Chinese: 特殊體育班).

⁷²These 14 institutions are : Taipei Hospice, Taipei school for deaf and blind students, Taichung school for students with visual impairment, Taichung school for students with hearing impairment, Ren-Ai experimental school, Tainan school for students with hearing impairment, Mu-Kuang Welfare Hall for The Blind, Ling-Guang rehabilitation centre for polio children, Victory Home, Xi-Le children's home, Huei-Ming school for blind, Children's home of Grace and Gifts Lutheran Church, Xin-Xing primary and secondary school and United for blind of Four counties.

⁷³Huang Wen-Yao (Chinese: 黃文堯, 1936-2015) graduated from the Department of Physical Education of Taiwan Normal University in 1958. He ever occupied physical education teacher in high school, the speaker of the Changhua County Council, cadre of several sport federations.

⁷⁴To the best of our knowledge, the 1974 Games for the disabled in Taiwan was the inception of the interregional games for the multiple disabled held by the governments in Sinophone which has the largest population of people with disabilities in the world. This subsection portrays the emergence and operation of the games for disabled in Taiwan could provide the springboard to the understanding of how the authorities discipline the bodies of people with disabilities through the games in the Chinese-speaking region. Also see Foucault, Michel, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History'(Chen, 1990).

⁷⁵Youth refers to participants aged between 17 and 20 years old; teenage refers to participants aged between 14 and 16 years old; pre-teens refers to participants aged between 10 and 13 years old.

⁷⁶Chiu Chuang-Huan (Chinese: 邱創煥; 25 July 1925) born in Changhua, is a Taiwanese politician. He was the Vice Premier from 1981–1984.

⁷⁷Kuo Wei-Fan (Chinese: 郭為藩; 3 Sep 1937) born in Tainan, is a scholar and official. He is the first scholar to acquire a doctrine degree for special education. He was the Minister of the Ministry of Education in 1993-1996.

⁷⁸Wu Jung-Hsing (Chinese: 吳榮興; 1925-2014) was a Taiwanese politician. He was the head of Changhua County in 1973–1981.

⁷⁹On 25 December 2010, Taipei County was upgraded to a special municipality as New Taipei City.

⁸⁰The China Youth Corps (CYC) (Chinese: 中國青年救國團; until 2000: 中國青年反共救國團 China Youth Anti-Communist Corps), is a youth organisation in Taiwan. The CYC was established in 1952, on the recommendation of the then president Chiang Kai-Shek; its first chairperson was Chiang Ching-Kuo. The original purpose of The CYC was to provide basic military training to youths before they were conscripted into the Nationalist armed forces. At that time the CYC had very close ties to the KMT regime. In 1973, Chiang Ching-Kuo resigned as the Chairperson and it lost much of its militaristic character, shifting its focus into providing recreational services to Taiwanese and Overseas Chinese, such as through the annual Overseas Chinese Youth Language Training and Study Tour to the Republic of China, although military camps remain one of the many activities it offers. Indeed, the CYC continued to provide military education textbooks to high school students until as recently as the 1990s. On August 28, 1989 the CYC became a non-governmental organisation. On October 25, 2000, the CYC officially dropped "Anti-Communist" from its official name. Generally speaking, CYC provided the elite with a channel into the one-party state system, fostered Chiang Ching-Kuo's cohorts, control the ideology of the youth, and imbued ideology into campus (Yeh, 1990).

⁸¹In Chinese, 'Taiwan Qu Can Zhang Zi Qiang Yun Dong Hui' is 台灣區殘障自強運動會.

⁸²In Chinese, 'Taiwan Shen Xin Zhang Ai Guo Min Zi Qiang Huo Dong Da Hui' is 台灣身心障礙國民運動大會

⁸³In Chinese: 冬令救濟. In Taiwan, schools would launch fund raising for the poverty in winter, and the money would be allocated by the organiser.

⁸⁴"The Stars and Stripes Forever" is a patriotic American march widely considered to be the magnum opus of composer John Philip Sousa. By a 1987 act of the U.S. Congress, it is the official National March of the United States of America.

⁸⁵ The Taoyuan County, Miaoli County, Nantou County, Taitung County and Yilan County was absent in 1977, the Taoyuan County, Nantou County and Penghu County was absent in 1979. Although the Kinmen County and Lienchiang County were under Taiwan's (R.O.C) jurisdiction, it nominally is under the jurisdiction of Fujian Province, not Taiwan Province, so they did not send teams to the Games for the Disabled in Taiwan.

⁸⁶The day trip was cancelled in 1984, 1986 and 1992.

⁸⁷Chinese: 筷子打靶.

⁸⁸Chinese: 打倒共匪.

⁸⁹The Far East and South Pacific Games for the Disabled or the FESPIC Games, was a multi-sports games in Asia and the South Pacific region. The FESPIC Games, which started in 1975, was held nine times. The games were last contested in December 2006, in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. For Asian countries, the FESPIC Games was replaced by the Asian Para Games starting with the inaugural 1st Asian Para Games in 2010 Guangzhou, China after the 16th Asian Games.

⁹⁰Chinese: 水中撈月; each team was allowed four people who took turns to run to the table which was about 15 meters away, clip five marbles from the cup to another empty cup. The team that finished first was the winner (Anonymous, 'The President of KMT Changhua Chapter Has Great Contributions to Charity (in Chinese)', 6).

⁹¹Chinese: 輪椅釣魚; each team was allowed eight people who took turns rolling the wheelchair to the pool about 20 meters away, used fishing rod to catch one fish. Team that finished first was the winner (Anonymous, 'The President of KMT Changhua Chapter Has Great Contributions to Charity (in Chinese)', 6).

⁹² The folklore religion in Taiwan believes that doing meritorious deeds can let people have better life or after life. In this paragraph, the staff and organisers thought that staging games for the disabled to the individuals with disabilities were meritorious deeds, because they support the people with disabilities.

⁹³Liang Shang-Yung (Chinese: 梁尚勇; 1930–2015), was a scholar and government official. He was a Member of the Control Yuan in 1993.

⁹⁴In Chinese: 自立自強.

⁹⁵In Chinese: 殘而不廢.

⁹⁶ In Chinese this expression means that people do not believe what they hear about.

⁹⁷In Chinese: 中正杯龍舟賽.

⁹⁸Qu Yuan (Chinese: 屈原, 340–278 BC) was a Chinese poet and minister who lived during the Warring States period of ancient China, he committed suicide in the Miluo River in order to protect his innocence and life principles. People wanted to keep fish and evil spirits away from his body, and so they beat drums and splashed the water with their paddles, and also threw rice into the water both as a food offering to Qu Yuan's spirit and also to distract the fish away from his body. However, the legend continues that this became a traditional food known as zongzi (Chinese: 粽子) in which lumps of rice are wrapped in leaves. The act of racing to search for his body in boats gradually became the cultural tradition of dragon boat racing, held on the anniversary of his death every year. Today, people still eat zongzi and participate in dragon boat races to commemorate Qu Yuan's sacrifice on the 5th May of the lunar calendar. The countries around Taiwan, such as China, Vietnam and Korea, also celebrate variations of this Dragon Boat Festival as part of their shared cultural heritage.

⁹⁹In the 1977 National Games for the Disabled, Kao, Chin-Tsao (Chinese: 高錦造) was arranged to present 'walk by hand' in the opening ceremony. Kao, Chin-Tsao lost his double lower limbs in a car accident when he was fourteen. Twenty years later, he made effort to become the owner of small grocery store. When he knew the 1977 National Games for the disabled would be held in Taiwan, he rode three-wheel motorcycle to attend the Games. The host units of the Games arranged he showed up in the opening ceremony and performed how to walk by hand to the spectators. Sources: Education Department of Taiwan Province (1978) *The Results Report of The National Games for the Handicapped in 1977 (in Chinese)*.

¹⁰⁰ Taiwan first time participated in the international sports for the disable was traced to 1981 Special Olympic.

¹⁰¹In Chinese: 中華民國殘障體育運動協會.

¹⁰²After the 1981 Agreement signed in Lausanne, Taiwan used Chinese Taipei and Chinese Taipei flag and emblem in international games, however in the 1987 Japanese, Taiwan had not yet register in international sports organisation for the disabled, although Taiwan used 'Chinese Taipei' in 1987 Japanese Games, the flag in the Games was national flag.

¹⁰³In Chinese: 國光獎章.

¹⁰⁴Sun Moon Lake (Chinese: 日月潭) is the largest body of water in Taiwan as well as a tourist attraction. Located in Yuchi Township, Nantou County. It has annual swimming event which attracts a huge number of swimmers.

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- ¹⁰⁵ 22 selected swimmers swam across Sun Moon Lake on 24 Nov 1991 to increase public awareness of sports for the disabled.
- ¹⁰⁶ 10 selected wheelchair marathoners ran from Pingtung to Taipei, a total of 534.8 KM, from 24 Dec 1991 to 1 Jan 1992.
- ¹⁰⁷ Only Lin, Te-Chang (Chinese: 林德昌) won a bronze medal in Judo at the 1992 Paralympic Games.
- ¹⁰⁸ In Chinese: 發展與改進特殊教育五年計畫
- ¹⁰⁹ In Chinese: 全國身心障礙教育會議.
- ¹¹⁰ Lien Chan (Chinese: 連戰; born August 27, 1936) is a politician in Taiwan. He was Premier of the Republic of China from 1993 to 1997, Vice President of the Republic of China from 1996 to 2000, and was the Chairman of the Kuomintang (KMT) from 2000 to 2005, apart from various ministerial posts he had also held. Upon his retirement as KMT Chairman in August 2005, he was given the title Honorary Chairman of the Kuomintang.
- ¹¹¹ Either side of the Taiwan Straits means Taiwan and China.
- ¹¹² In Chinese: 體育研究與發展中心.
- ¹¹³ In Chinese: 改進特殊體育教學實施計畫.
- ¹¹⁴ In Chinese: 改進適應體育教學中程發展計畫.
- ¹¹⁵ In Chinese: 增進適應體育發展方案.
- ¹¹⁶ In Chinese: 適應體育簡訊.
- ¹¹⁷ In Taiwan, the PE in elementary school was taught by general teacher, and the PE in junior, senior high school and university were taught by PE teacher.
- ¹¹⁸ In Chinese: 中華民國殘障體育運動總會.
- ¹¹⁹ Mu Min-Chu (Chinese: 穆閩珠; born in 1949) is a politician of Taiwan, and also a high-ranking member of KMT. She was the members of the National Assembly (1992-1996) and legislator (199-2005).
- ¹²⁰ In Chinese: 中華民國殘障體育運動總會.
- ¹²¹ Goalball was exhibition match in the 2000 Games.
- ¹²² Boccia was exhibition match in the 2006 Games.
- ¹²³ In Chinese, '*Shen Xin Zhang Ai Guo Min Zi Qiang Huo Dong Da Hui*' is 身心障礙國民活動大會.
- ¹²⁴ In Chinese, '*Can Zhang Guo Min Yun Dong Hui*' is 殘障國民運動會.
- ¹²⁵ In Chinese, '*Shen Xin Zhang Ai Guo Min Yun Dong Hui*' is 身心障礙國民運動會.
- ¹²⁶ The first adaptive physical activities camp was ran between 13th and 15th August in New Taipei City.
- ¹²⁷ The Asian Para Games is a multi-sport event held every four years after every Asian Games for athletes with physical disabilities. It superseded the FESPIC Games, which was dissolved at the closing of the final FESPIC edition held November 2006 in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. The first Asian multi-sports event for athletes with a disability, the inaugural Asian Para Games was in 2010 in Guangzhou, China.
- ¹²⁸ The latest rewarding act which was issued in 2015 regulates that the Olympic gold, silver and bronze medallist can acquire rewards of NT. 20 million, 7 million and 5 million respectively. However, the Paralympic gold, silver and bronze medallist can obtain NT. 2.4 million, 1.44 million and 0.84 million respectively.
- ¹²⁹ Chinese: 呂海凌.
- ¹³⁰ In Chinese: 林金妹.
- ¹³¹ Wu Shu-Chen (Chinese: 吳淑珍; born 1952) is the wife of former Taiwan President Chen Shui-bian. On 18 November 1985, while with her husband on a trip to thank supporters after he lost the Tainan County mayoral election, the driver of a scratch-built farm vehicle ran over her. Due to the seriousness of the accident, this incident left Wu Shu-Chen paralysed and using a wheelchair.
- ¹³² For example, according to the regulation at that time the gold medal winner could be rewarded NT. 2 million, but in 2004 Athens Paralympics the medallist could be reward NT. 2.4 million.
- ¹³³ Chen Li-Chou (Chinese: 陳李綱) took the responsible to the president of Chinese Taipei Paralympic Committee between 2001 and 2008.
- ¹³⁴ The Sports Affairs Council (Chinese: 行政院體育委員會) of the Executive Yuan was promulgated on 12 January 1998. The aim of the Council was to promote the sports affairs in Taiwan. Starting 1 January 2013, the council became the Sport Administration (Chinese: 體育署) and placed under the Ministry of Education.
- ¹³⁵ Chang Chun-Hsiung (Chinese: 張俊雄; born in 1938) is a Taiwanese politician. He is a former Premier of Taiwan between 2000 and 2002 and 2007 and 2008.
- ¹³⁶ The Legislative Yuan (Chinese: 立法院) is the unicameral legislature of Taiwan. Sometimes it was referred to as a "parliament".
- ¹³⁷ Wang Jin-Pyng (Chinese: 王金平; born in 1941) is a Taiwanese politician. He served as President of the Legislative Yuan from 1999 to 2016, which makes him Taiwan's longest-serving legislative speaker. Once a

leading figure of the KMT, Wang is considered to be soft-spoken and a conciliatory figure who has often brokered deals between the KMT and opposition DPP.

¹³⁸Hon Hai Precision Industry Co., Ltd. (Chinese: 鴻海科技集團), trading as Foxconn Technology Group, is a multinational electronics contract manufacturing company headquartered in New Taipei, Taiwan. Foxconn is the world's largest contract electronics manufacturer its founder and chairman is Terry Gou.

¹³⁹The lobby is the name of the blogger.

Appendix : documentary sources list

Chu Min-Chin's archives

- The Report of the Special Physical Education of Chung Yuan Christian University
- The Report of The Teaching Demonstration of The Scheme of Physical Education for physically Handicapped student in Junior High School
- The Results Report of The National Games for the Handicapped in 1977

Cheng-Hsin Medical Centre archives, Taipei

- Twenty Years History of Cheng-Hsin

Department of Special Education archives, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei

- The Results Report of the National Games for the Disabled in 1979
- The Results Report of the National Games for the Disabled in 1981
- The Report of the Research of Implementing Physical Education for Physically Handicapped Student in Junior High School
- The Theory and Practice of Education for Visual Impairment
- The Educational Research of Children with Physical Impairments
- The Special Children Education Plan
- Research of the Physically Handicapped Education
- Research of Physical Education of Physically Handicapped Students
- The Report of the Class for Students with Physical Impairments

Department of Physical Education archives, National Taiwan Normal University, Taipei

- News Letter

National Library archives, Taipei

- The Results Report of Well-off Campaign in Chiayi County

School library archives, Ren-Ai Experimental School, Changhua

- Changhua Ren-Ai Experimental School 10th Anniversary Special Edition
- The Educational Research of Physical Impairments
- Ren-Ai World

Newspapers

Central Daily News
China Daily News

Da Zhong Bao
Economic Daily News
Independent Evening News
Min Sheng Bao
Shang-Gong Daily News
Taiwan Daily
Taiwan Times
United Daily News
United Evening News

Journals

The Magazine of Chinese Taipei Sports Organization for the Disabled
Sports Magazine for the Disabled