

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

**“Tales of Ableism:
The production and reproduction of norms and ‘normality’ in
Austrian EFL textbooks’ representations of disability“**

verfasst von / submitted by

Susanne Tröbinger BEd

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Education (MEd)

Wien 2023 / Vienna 2023

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt / degree programme code as it appears on the student record sheet:	UA 199 507 511 02
Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt / degree programme as it appears on the student record sheet:	Masterstudium Lehramt, UF Englisch, UF Geschichte, Sozialkunde und Politische Bildung
Betreut von / Supervisor:	Univ.-Prof. Dr. Sarah Heinz

Declaration of Authenticity

I confirm to have conceived and written this paper in English all by myself. Direct quotations and passages paraphrased from the works of other authors are all clearly marked and truthfully acknowledged in the bibliographical references within the text.

Signature

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Susanne Tröbinger". The script is cursive and fluid, with the first name "Susanne" and the last name "Tröbinger" clearly legible.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
2. Concepts of ‘Normality’	3
2.1.The distinction between the ‘normal’ and the ‘abnormal’ – A product of power	8
2.2.The ‘normal’ and the ‘abnormal’ - Othering	12
3. The production and reproduction of norms and normality	13
3.1.The production of norms	15
3.2.Cultural reproduction according to Bourdieu	17
3.3.Disciplinary normalization and reproduction.....	18
3.4.Reproduction of norms and culture through the institution of school	20
4. Disability.....	22
4.1.Terminology – Disability and impairment, disablism and ablism.....	22
4.2.The ‘normal’ and the ideal within disability studies	25
4.3.Models of disability	27
4.3.1.The medical model	27
4.3.2.The social model.....	28
4.3.3.The cultural model	30
4.4.Disability and productivity	31
4.5.Disability in an educational context – Inclusive education	33
4.6.Textbooks and their relevance	35
5. Analysis.....	38
5.1.Analytic and methodological framework.....	38
5.2.Findings – It is an able-bodied world.....	40
5.3.Discussion	45
5.3.1.Portrayals of the able-bodied – Producing normalcy	45
5.3.2.The able-bodied and the disabled – Othering processes at work	48
5.3.3.Depictions of being temporarily disabled.....	52
5.3.4.Giving the disabled body a voice.....	53
5.4.Implications for the school context.....	57
6. Teaching Material	60
6.1.Guiding principles	60
6.2.The material in detail	62
7. Conclusion	68
8. Bibliography.....	72
9. Appendix	77

1. Introduction

Schools are among the most important institutions which shape a future society in a way that should allow for individual development. This development needs to go beyond any normativity which states what bodies should be able to do and which bodies should be viewed as able. However, the reality presents itself as far from this idealistic thought. This thesis discusses the normative view on able bodies and the lacking (re)presentation of disabled bodies in modern society. The shortcoming of presenting disabled bodies becomes predominantly evident in school textbooks. Textbooks do not only serve as a means to study the specific subject but also constitute a meaningful way of familiarizing the students with the world around them. Thus, textbooks must consider current discourses on social, cultural and academic matters, such as disability studies. The lack of representation of individuals with disabilities in school textbooks further contributes to an existing dualism between the able and the disabled body. Institutions such as schools need to work against the reproduction of this dualism in order to contribute to forming a society in which every individual is valued. To instrumentalize school textbooks in this fight against discrimination and exclusion of disabled people already existing textbooks need to be analysed. These analyses can then be used to restructure and redefine Austrian school textbooks and the messages they convey. Studies on the representation of people with disabilities in school textbooks already exist. However, studies thereof in an Austrian context are hard to come by. Hence, this thesis taps into this vacuum of studies that investigate the representation of disabled bodies in Austrian EFL textbooks.

In order to approach the dualism between ability and disability and its representation in school textbooks it first needs to be outlined how this dualism came into being. Closely linked to its existence are the notions of 'normality' and 'abnormality'. The thesis investigates where the notions stem from and defines their significance in our modern society. The first research question is: How are notions of normality established within a society and in what way are social and cultural norms produced and reproduced? For this investigation the works of Michel Foucault (2003, 2007), Georges Canguilhem (1966), Adam Bear and Joshua Knobe (2017) as well as Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) play a fundamental role. The investigation is guided by the question of why certain individuals are perceived as 'normal' and others as 'abnormal' and how this ascription is shaped by processes of power relations. Then the production and reproduction of social and cultural norms are analysed. The

emergence of these norms is linked to processes of cultural reproduction, the theory of which was coined by Pierre Bourdieu. The theories of Bourdieu and Foucault are then combined to enable a thorough understanding of how norms last through constant reproduction and normalization. In a next step the analysis is transferred to the school context. The school context is relevant because schools are among the institutions which shape a society's understanding of what it means to be 'normal' or 'abnormal'. Within this school context the focus lies specifically on school textbooks. The second research question has been formulated as follows: Are individuals with disabilities, often depicted as 'abnormal', presented in the textbooks and, if so, how? Thus, it is analysed how the textbooks establish a norm, or in other words an idea of how an individual should be and look like. The third research question is: How do Austrian EFL textbooks contribute to the production and reproduction of what is being perceived as 'normal' in society with regard to the depiction of able and seemingly disabled or impaired bodies? In line with this research focus the analysis examines who is included and who is excluded from the notion of 'normality' and what the effects of this inclusion or exclusion are on the construction of an understanding of mainstream society. The analysis draws from the broad field of disability studies, especially the theory of compulsory able-bodiedness (MrRuer 2006). It is conducted by adopting the perspective of critical disability studies (Goodley, *Dis/Ability Studies* 2014), more precisely a poststructuralist approach. One of the main questions which shape this approach is how "societal practices uphold the precarious higher status of non-disabled people through the abjection (rejection) of disabled people" (Goodley, *Disability Studies* 159). The analysis is concerned with a set of Austrian EFL school textbooks, which constitute the corpus of this thesis.

The corpus consists of a variety of Austrian EFL textbooks, taken from a list of schoolbooks published by the *Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung*. This list proposes school textbooks for all school types, which are being funded by the state of Austria. The state comes up for one hundred per cent of the costs of these school textbooks. Consequently, non-private schools make use of this so called "Schulbuchaktion". With this offer the Austrian Ministry of Education aims towards providing financial relief for families and towards equality of opportunity for all pupils. The corpus consists of textbooks for the Austrian school types of AHS and Mittelschule. The reason for the focus on these school types is linked to personal

experience. Austrian Mittelschule and AHS are the schools the author has attended or taught at.

The thesis consists of 6 chapters. Chapter two explores the concepts of 'normality' and links the concepts of the 'normal' and the 'abnormal' with power relations which function within societies. The third chapter investigates social norms and the production and reproduction thereof. Throughout the fourth chapter the focus lies on the concept of disability. Starting out from general definitions and considerations the topic is then brought to the school context. Chapter five contains the analysis of the school textbooks. The findings of chapter five then serve as the basis for the construction of new, more adequate teaching material in chapter six.

2. Concepts of 'Normality'

It is arguably safe to say that the word 'normal' accompanies all of us throughout our lives. It seems to be a natural habit for humankind to categorize certain individuals, behaviours, and actions as 'normal' or 'abnormal'. This categorization process is rarely questioned by the average member of society. However, for the sake of a future in which everybody is accepted as they are it is necessary to address and question this binary categorization system. This is not to say that the word 'normal' is per sé bad. In many instances an understanding of what is to be expected in a certain situation provides people with a safe framework or can give them hope. But whenever the words 'normal' and 'abnormal' are used for the purposes of including or excluding someone from society, it is necessary to work against this dualism. Such a dualism creates a group of 'others', marginalized from society. At the same time, it creates a dominant group which has the power to determine what it means to be 'normal'. The act of disabling people based on the ascription 'abnormal' is questioned in this thesis. To highlight the questionable character of the notions 'normal' and 'abnormal' they are written within single quotation marks throughout this thesis. For reasons of readability not every expression concerning the term 'normal' is put within quotation marks. However, the reader should be aware of the fact that the notions are never used in an absolute sense. The problematic character of the notions is never in question. The single quotation marks are intended to emphasize the fact that 'normality' is a problematic construct. Still, the notions 'normal', 'abnormal' and the like are used in this thesis. The reason why they are used is that they are everyday words, deeply ingrained in our language use, and rarely ever questioned. This thesis does not

propose to eradicate the notions from our language, rather it calls for broadening the terms and giving them a different, more inclusive meaning.

In order to broaden the term 'normality' to make it more inclusive the notion needs to be investigated more closely. It is unavoidable to have a closer look at the word which hides within this notion. What is it to be 'normal' and where does this expression stem from? The Cambridge Dictionary defines 'normal' as "ordinary or usual" and "the same as would be expected" ("Normal"). Following this thought, expectations are linked to what we perceive as 'normal'. However, in order to grasp this definition, one must ask how expectations are constructed. Usually, when someone expects something, they rely on prior learnings or experience in a particular field in order to decide what can be regarded as 'normal' in a specific situation. As Michel Foucault (*Security* 90) would put it, one can deduce what is 'normal' by looking at statistical data. Statistically, everything which is within a specific range can be regarded as 'normal'. What falls out of this range would, consequently, be perceived as 'abnormal' or divergent. The statistical aspect is not the only factor which comes into play when regarding peoples' ideas of normality. For Bear and Knobe (25) someone's understanding of the concept of normality involves descriptive and prescriptive considerations alike. A descriptive understanding of normality involves statistics, a prescriptive understanding would also take into account morality. In their attempt to define normality Bear and Knobe focus on the prescriptive considerations of the concept of normality, as they regard those as highly important when the descriptive considerations do not suffice to judge a situation (26). The authors argue that in many situations in peoples' lives statistical data is not as important as the inner (moral) compass. Nevertheless, both average and personal judgements usually come into play when deciding if a situation, individual or behaviour can be regarded as 'normal'. The authors term these personal judgements ideal judgements. The hypothesis which is discussed in the text says that "[...] people's normality judgements are specifically *intermediate* between what is believed to be average and what is considered ideal" (Bear and Knobe 26). In other words, people have ideas about how a situation would look like on average, and they have individual ideas about how this situation should look like when considering moral and personal aspects. The idea of what constitutes a 'normal' situation is then influenced both by the average situation and the personal and moral factors which come into play. What follows from this is that peoples' perceptions of normality can never be the same, as each individual brings their own personal judgement into a decision about normality.

Perceptions of normality include another aspect, which is termed prototypicality. This aspect is presented in the following paragraph.

For the process of making decisions about 'normality' people need a guidance framework in their minds. In many cases, people tend to think of a certain prototype and contrast a situation with that prototype. To exemplify this, Bear and Knobe (27) discuss the idea of a grandmother. While many might think of an elderly woman in retirement there are also younger women who fit into the category of a grandmother. However, there are some women who adhere to the prototype in a more suitable way than others. In line with what the authors write it could be argued that the more a situation or individual fits a certain category, the more 'normal' it seems. In their studies the authors found that there is a difference between what the participants perceived as average and what they perceived to be prototypical. They conclude that both prescriptive and descriptive factors are involved in making claims about prototypicality. This prototypicality plays a fundamental role in the works of the French philosopher Georges Canguilhem, who was an inspiration for Foucault and his work. In Canguilhem's book "On the normal and the pathological" he focuses on concepts of normality. He writes that the notion 'normal' was used in the nineteenth century to "designate the scholastic prototype and the state of organic health" (Canguilhem 145). In other words, the notion was only used to describe what a body should be able to do. Hence, an idea of the 'normal' body was created. Simultaneously a counterpart to the 'normal' body, the 'abnormal' body, was established. This could also explain why nowadays a 'normal' body, in a sense that it is free from impairments or disability, is often regarded as the default. This thought leads to the concept of the body. The body is the aspect one perceives first when meeting someone new. It is through the body that humans can present themselves and express individuality. However, the body is also a cultural construction, and this cultural level often puts certain bodies into certain categories. If a body is perceived as disabled, it is treated differently from a body that follows the 'norm'. The way bodies, especially the ones that are othered, are presented in literature and the media is often informed by an able-bodied perspective. However, it is important to give every body a voice of its own. Frank (2) puts it very aptly and states, "[o]bserving what stories say *about* the body is a familiar sort of listening; describing stories as told *through* the body requires another level of attention". The aspect of the body plays a fundamental role in the next section.

The notion 'normal' is in many cases used to describe individuals and their bodies, in the mental as well as the physical sense. Peuravaara (411) stresses that the human body is socially constructed in a heteronormative and able-bodied world which is shaped by the classification systems of race and gender. The author presents four different perspectives on how bodies can be perceived. The changeable body perspective is a rather dynamic concept which focuses on the advantages which our bodies benefit from due to technological and medical advance. The possibilities range from newly developed surgeries and high technology prostheses to cosmetic surgeries. The body can change to either being perceived as 'normal' or to create a new 'normal'. The perspective of the ideal body, which is often linked back to ancient Greece, is in flux as well. There are some ideas of the ideal body which prevail; however, others change throughout the decades. The illusion of an ideal body is linked to the consumer society. "[T]he body sees an image, idealizes it, and seeks to become the image of that image" (Frank 44). The term 'ideal' is taken up and investigated more closely in chapter 4.2. The third perspective is intertwined with the second perspective. It regards the body as an individual project. Every individual has the power to control their body and the body is a way of projecting one's own self-image. In more recent times the self-image is driven by a desire to look lean and athletic. This desire is in many cases shaped by the consumer society, which propagates such ideals. The desire to look athletic can be brought to reality by a harsh workout and diet routine which can be carried out only with inner control. This inner control is then seen as a parameter for success. The fourth perspective concerns the lived body and the body as a situation (Peuravaara 414). This perspective is, just like the third perspective, concerned with people's self-images. Looking at the body from the fourth perspective means taking into account the biological and the social aspect without drawing a clear line between them. The interrelations between the two aspects and the way people present themselves is of interest. "Lived experience is described as a central concept, and it refers to the ways in which an individual gives meaning to her/his social context and actions" (Peuravaara 414). This thesis focuses on the human body and how people instrumentalize it to reach certain goals within a society. Among such goals are the endeavours made by a dominant group of a society to reproduce their values. These values are often based on the idea that only an able body can be linked with success. So far, it has become apparent that the word 'normal' is used in many contexts. While the word is being used in the field of statistics, mathematics and the like, this thesis

focuses on instances in which the word 'normal' is used to describe the human body. More precisely, the focus lies on situations in which human bodies are categorized with the use of the words 'normal' and 'abnormal'. Therefore, the human body is one of the most important concepts in this thesis. While the notion 'normal' is often used to describe the human body, the description and categorization of bodies is an effect of social and cultural norms. Thus, the concept of the norm needs closer investigation.

Categorizing the human body often happens through the application of social norms. When considering the etymological aspect, the word *norma* is latin for T-square and *normalis* translates into vertical (Canguilhem 146). The word *norm* emerged in the 19th century from the word *normal*, which was already used in the English language (Kelly 6). Davis (*Enforcing normalcy* 24) states that the word 'normal' in the sense of the 'usual' came into the English language rather late around the year 1840. Other languages in Europe already included the word 'norm' way before it came into the English language. In most cases the notion had the meaning of a carpenter's ruler. As a matter of fact, the words 'rule' and 'ruler' are also derived from this term. From the seventeenth century onwards, the French used the word 'norm' in yet another sense, which already has a lot in common with how the notion was being used in England from the nineteenth century onwards. The French language was to be standardized in line with the centralization of the state. The standardized language model was considered the norm (Kelly 7). Hence, the prescriptive character was already immanent in the notion ever since the seventeenth century. In a more modern understanding, Bilton et al. define norms as the "[s]ocially accepted 'correct' or 'proper' forms of behaviour [...] [which] either prescribe given types of behaviour or forbid them" (10). Cislighi and Heise state that "social norms are rules of action shared by people in a given society or group" (409).

While discussing the notion of the norm Canguilhem writes:

... [a] norm, a rule, is what can be used to right, to square, to straighten. To set a norm (*normer*), to normalize, is to impose a requirement on an existence, a given whose variety, disparity, with regard to the requirement, present themselves as a hostile, even more than an unknown, indeterminant. (Canguilhem 146)

The author stresses the prescriptive and essentially negative nature of norms, as do Halpern and Hitchcock, addressed in the following paragraph. Inspired by Canguilhem, Foucault points towards the discourse around what constitutes a norm and puts it as follows. "There is also the important idea that the norm is not at all defined as a natural law but rather by the exacting and coercive role it can perform in the domains in which

it is applied” (Foucault, *Abnormal* 50). In this passage Foucault brings in the idea of a norm as something which is naturally constructed. He contrasts this idea with the hypothesis that norms can only be introduced when forced, thus emphasizing the coercive aspect and interpreting norms as an expression of power (Foucault, *Abnormal* 50). A society usually calls for rules and norms to be able to dwell peacefully or at least to function. Hence, a certain coercive aspect goes hand in hand with the implementation and enforcement of norms within a society. While Foucault’s theory on the process of normalisation is rather extensive, he only focuses on the notion of the norm to a very little degree. He does use the term, however, his interpretation thereof is rarely discussed. In one of the few instances where he does address the notion directly, he claims that norms present a picture of how a society should function and how its individuals should act accordingly (Kelly 8). Norms are an expression of power relations. Power relations pervade all levels of a society and influence what members of a society perceive as ‘normal’ or ‘abnormal’. This connection between the notions of ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’ and power relations is discussed in the next chapter.

2.1. The distinction between the ‘normal’ and the ‘abnormal’ – A product of power

Having discussed the use of the word ‘normal’ it is now of interest how the dualism between the notions of ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’ came into being. The notions of ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’ are in many cases used to categorize, to tell the ‘normal’ human beings from others who allegedly do not adhere to certain standards. This creation of a notion of ‘normality’ has already been discussed in the previous chapter. However, the emergence of this term was neither a natural process nor happened by chance. Rather, this process of normalizing a group of people and at the same time making others seem ‘abnormal’ is a product of power. Establishing this binary system of the ‘normal’ and the ‘abnormal’ involves a stronger group exerting power over a weaker group of people. In the following, the notion of power is investigated more closely.

A key scholar who has dedicated much of his work to the concept of power is Michel Foucault. He does not interpret power as something static, but rather focuses on a more dynamic understanding of power, whereby it is different groups of people at different times that exert power. Foucault seeks to move away from scholars’ desire to present an extensive theory of power and rather aims towards an analysis thereof. That is to say, the scholar does not aim towards establishing his own theory of power,

but his theory consists of a close analysis of the power relations which happen within societies. While developing his own understanding of power, Foucault describes a model of power which he calls “juridico-discursive” (Foucault, *History of Sexuality Vol. 1* 82). For Foucault this juridico-discursive model of power merely explains one form of power within a political domain. According to Foucault a common assumption of other scholars is that power only exists within institutions like the state or the law. Hence, Foucault argues that those other scholars only take into account the juridico-discursive model of power. In Foucault’s eyes they neglect the for him very obvious fact that power does not only exist within institutions like the state or the law. He emphasizes that power relations can function on a much more basic level of society, or in other words, at the microlevel of a society. Nevertheless, the juridico-discursive approach is highly crucial for coming to a fundamental understanding of power relations. Foucault explains the juridico-discursive approach in five aspects. Through this approach, power can be understood as negative and limiting, it always presents a situation shaped by lack and restriction. Second, power evokes rules and the whole process of it is guided by language, as rules usually need to be verbalized or at least be made explicit to be valid. Another function of power is to suppress, which in many cases leads members of society to hide or to dissemble. As an example, Foucault mentions sex or sexuality. Even after all those years since the author has given his lectures, this still seems highly relevant as the discourse around sexuality varies according to country, culture, and religion. Closely linked to the former aspect is the fourth point the author makes. According to Foucault censorship arises from power and establishes certain taboos, topics of which should not be spoken, within a society. Lastly, power is always executed through a uniform top-down process (Foucault, *History of Sexuality Vol. 1* 83-84). It could now be argued that the juridico-discursive model of power functions only within structures shaped by binary oppositions where something is either good or bad, licit or illicit, ‘normal’ or ‘abnormal’, according to the law or against the law. Foucault’s critique on the juridico-discursive approach focuses on the issue that its core basis are laws and prohibitions. According to Foucault the approach does not go beyond a mere juridical level. However, for Foucault power is discursive and cannot only be described via the law, taboos, or a uniform mode of operation (Taylor 18). Rather, power pervades all levels of society and can function on a micro as well as a macro level. As an example, power relations at a microlevel function in a talk that a mother might have with her son about whether he is allowed to go out with friends. In

other words, the microlevel is concerned with an individual's behaviour. At a macrolevel, or at a juridico-discursive level, power relations function when the state intervenes in the lives of its inhabitants. Such interventions can be inspired by national norms or regulations (Taylor 18).

The question of how power can be defined in Foucauldian terms cannot be answered easily. In the first volume of his *History of Sexuality*, Foucault writes:

It seems to me that 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; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies. (Foucault, *History of Sexuality Vol. 1* 92-93)

What becomes eminent in this passage is that unlike the juridico-discursive approach Foucault perceives power as something which is executed in all social relations, regardless of any hierarchy. It is omnipresent and is not only enforced from top to bottom but can also work bottom-up. Power relations do not even have to work in such binary oppositions but rather “run through the social body as a whole” (Foucault, *History of Sexuality Vol. 1* 94). Foucault describes this power within society as force relations, which means that between two or more parties, power does not only flow from one to the other but can be seen as an interplay or circulation in which the parties exert different kinds of power on one another. These power relations are not static but are in constant flux due to internal and external factors. External factors are defined by the state, politics or by social habits while internal factors are defined by the individual. These force relations constitute the basis of power and can be described as the force which leads you to whatever you do in social interactions or relationships (see Taylor 19). Power relations are thus part of any kind of relationship, such as economic processes, sexual relations, and knowledge relationships (Foucault, *History of Sexuality Vol. 1* 94). Taylor (21) chooses to exemplify power relations with the way we present ourselves. What we wear in school has an impact on where we stand socially and how we are perceived by our peers. It is particularly fitting for this thesis that Taylor picks an example which has to do with the institution of school. Schools are one of the first public contexts in which members of a society establish a sense of social standing and social relations outside the family, which, amongst other things, emerge from

power relations. Establishing such a standing requires calculations, aims and objectives, or in Foucauldian terms tactics and strategy (Taylor 22).

In the Foucauldian analysis of power five core ideas stand at the centre (*History of Sexuality* 1 94). Amongst those is the idea that power is exercised and not something that is possessed. That is, power is not always executed by the same subjects, but it is “exercised from innumerable points” (Foucault, *History of Sexuality* 1 94). The second of those five core ideas states that power relations are bound to other relations and are not exterior to them. “[T]hey have a directly productive role wherever they come into play” (Foucault, *History of Sexuality* 1 94). The third hypothesis has already been discussed, namely that power is not a uniform top-down process, but it is established from the bottom up. In other words, power is not only exercised by the state and the government. Rather, every human interaction is bound to individual decisions and involves power relations, and those small interactions can potentially have a greater effect on the workings of society. Foucault calls those smaller individual decisions the microlevel, whereas the macrolevel revolves around biopolitics (Taylor 22). The Foucauldian term “bio-politics” or “bio-power” “refers to the endeavour to rationalize the problems that the phenomena characteristic of a group of living human beings, when constituted as a population, pose to governmental practice: problems of health, sanitation, birthrate, longevity, and race” (Tremain 185). Furthermore, “[b]io-power is then the strategic movement of relatively recent forms of power/knowledge to work toward an increasingly comprehensive management of these problems in the life of individuals and the life of populations” (Tremain 185). The fourth claim Foucault makes is that “[p]ower relations are both intentional and nonsubjective” (Foucault, *History of Sexuality* 1 94). This seems to be a contrast which cannot be grasped easily. Intentionality presupposes a subject, an agent. Whereas nonsubjectivity assumes the absence of said subject. Foucault solves this contrast by stating that while there are power relations which are intended, there are also ones which do not stem “from the choice or decision of an individual subject” (Foucault, *History of Sexuality* 1 95). According to Foucault, power can in fact be exercised unconsciously (Foucault, *History of Sexuality* 1 95). In some cases, power relations are not intended by any agent, making the originator thereof the “great anonymous” (Foucault, *History of Sexuality* 1 95). The ambiguity of the idea of power relations which exist without anyone who intended them has been criticized by numerous scholars. Heller (80) attempts to explain this ambiguity by stating that individuals are both subjects and objects of power.

The individual's role of a subject of power consists in exercising power by applying a certain tactic. Individuals are an object of power in that they cannot foresee precisely what effect the application of a certain tactic actually has. In his fifth core idea Foucault assumes that what logically follows power is resistance. Resistance stands against power, "[w]ithout resistance, without two bodies (or minds) pushing or pulling against each other, there is no power relation" (Taylor 24). Power relations always include someone, or the "great anonymous", exerting power, and an individual or a group of people which is subject to this power. In many cases the ones exerting the power are part of a community which perceives itself as 'normal' and, thus, as able to decide what is 'normal' and what is not. This thought leads to the contrast of the concepts 'normal' and 'abnormal' and to the question of how it is that those two notions are often separated so meticulously. Thus, the concept of power is closely linked to the habit of ascribing 'normality' or 'abnormality' to the human body. Ascribing a certain 'abnormality' to a human body results in the practice of othering. This practice is investigated in the following chapter.

2.2. The 'normal' and the 'abnormal' - Othering

In his *Lectures at the Collège de France* Michel Foucault writes about the factors which have contributed to the connection between the terms of otherness and 'abnormality'. Foucault traces the emergence of the idea of the 'abnormal' back to the eighteenth century. Back then the idea of the 'abnormal' gave rise to criminal psychiatry. Starting with 18th century jurisdiction Foucault claims that the psychiatrists' opinion of the defendants' mental state has influenced how we perceive people deviating from norms today. In the legal system this expert opinion is vital to determine who is innocent and who needs to be punished. The latter has been and often is portrayed as ill and irresponsible (Foucault, *Abnormal* 13) or as perverted, dangerous, and 'abnormal' (Foucault, *Abnormal* 34). Thus, a binary opposition between the innocent and the guilty, between the good and the bad, or between the 'normal' and the 'abnormal' was created. The eighteenth century has contributed to our understanding of the 'normal' and the 'abnormal' to a great extent. Normalization took place in institutions like schools, in the medical field as well as in terms of the industrial production (Canguilhem 145). Canguilhem focuses on the relation between the 'normal' and the 'abnormal' and argues that although the 'abnormal' is the "logical negation" of the 'normal', it does not follow that the former follows the latter (149). In other words, "[...] the abnormal, while logically second, is existentially first" (Canguilhem 149). To contextualize this, the

scholar argues that one can usually only value health when being aware of what constitutes illness. Thus, the concept of 'abnormality' is needed to enable a discussion about what it means to be 'normal'. The two terms are inextricably linked and are based on a correlative and less on a causal relationship.

The discourse around perceptions of the 'normal' and the 'abnormal' can be linked with Edward Said's theory on the practices of *Othering*. The term refers to "[...] the process by which one group reproduces and reinforces distinctions, dominance, and subordination against those without power" (Williams and Korn 23). It follows that there are two or more groups of people on different levels of power. The dominant group has the power to depict the weaker groups as other, 'inferior', or 'abnormal'. Othering is involved in the practices of colonialism (Williams and Korn 23), whereby the weaker group usually consists of the native inhabitants of the conquered regions. The dominant group consists of the conquerors, who draw a distorted picture of the native inhabitants and their customs and traditions. This distorted picture is then used to legitimize the hegemony of the conquerors. The practice of othering often happens on the basis of race and gender. It denies the othered individual any form of respect, thus marginalizing them from society (Williams and Korn 24). Originally developed within postcolonial studies, the term is nowadays used in numerous contexts, one of them being disability studies. The notion of *power*, which has already been discussed, is, of course, closely linked to the notion of *othering*. Without power relations there are no dominant and submissive groups of people within a society. Power relations are at the core of every process of othering a certain group of people, pushing them to the margin of society. This practice of othering is influenced by social norms. Those norms give the people of a society a certain sense of what is acceptable and what is not. At some point for instance, it became acceptable, or 'normal', for Europeans to devalue the African slaves and treating them as a commodity on the slave market. This normalization of such an inhumane custom was the result of a solidification of a norm. In order to grasp this process of the solidification of norms, the concept of the norm is investigated more closely in the following chapter.

3. The production and reproduction of norms and normality

It has already been discussed that norms are an integral part of a society. However, norms are not simply congenital but need to be learned and reproduced in contexts framed by power relations, as discussed above. The Foucauldian discourse analysis

can be extended by considering the empirical social research. Foucault is concerned with power relations, whereas the empirical social sciences are concerned with concrete social phenomena.

There has been extensive research on how descriptive norms are acquired. Descriptive norms consist of behaviour that people typically display in given situations. Amongst the scholars who focus on this topic are Hyowon Gweon, Joshua Tenenbaum and Laura Schulz. They argue that from a very young age humans learn how to make inferences, i.e. they learn that making inferences is easier when the situation to be assessed corresponds to a known situation, or if the sample situation is representative (Gweon, Tenenbaum and Schulz 9066). An inference here refers to the conclusions people make about a specific situation by applying prior knowledge about similar situations. This process of inferring gets difficult when only a small set of data is available to the recipient. The researchers' study revolves around the assumption that all human learners acquire new things rationally from the very beginning of their development. This goes along with the findings of the study, one of the most important ones being that the participants succeeded in drawing "flexible inferences about the extension of an object property given only a small sample of positive evidence or the property" (Gweon, Tenenbaum and Schulz 9070). Kashima et al. emphasize that internalizing descriptive norms is a social process and view the descriptive norm as a central tendency (712). "[...] the acquisition of a descriptive norm can be thought of as a result of the learning of exemplars of a social category" (Kashima et al. 712). In this context, the authors bring in a notion which has also been discussed in chapter 2.1, prototypicality. They state that a perceived descriptive norm, which is what humans perceive as the expected action or situation, is like a prototype. However, there is not only prototypical learning, but also conceptual learning. The latter describes a learning process where people are presented an abstract verbal summary about a certain situation, as opposed to a direct experience (Kashima et al. 712).

While there are descriptive norms, there are also personal, or moral norms. Audun Dahl and Melanie Killen give an overview of the research concerning the acquisition of moral norms and decisions, which most children express from their fourth birthday onwards (1). They stress that it is still unclear whether humans possess a certain moral compass innately or if it develops based on relevant experiences. Both aspects probably play into the acquisition of moral norms, however, the actual process of acquiring such norms is still disputed. Dahl and Killen denounce the absence of a fitting

definition for the term *morality*. They suggest it can be defined as “prescriptive norms concerning others’ welfare, rights, fairness, and justice” (Dahl and Killen 2). While it has been discussed what descriptive and personal norms are, it still needs to be investigated how norms come into being. The emergence of norms is a complex process which is discussed in the following chapter.

3.1. The production of norms

Michael Hechter and Karl-Dieter Opp (395) define three characteristics of norms, which are crucial for the emergence of new norms. They claim that norms are conditional, ambiguous, and negotiated. They are conditional in a sense that certain norms can only be carried out under certain conditions. Norm ambiguity means that some norms are subject to interpretation, as they might not come as natural as other norms. The claim that norms are subject to negotiation refers to the disagreement between those in favour and those against a certain norm. Major factors which have an effect on the emergence of norms are culture, power, behavioural regularities, as well as normative systems (Hechter and Opp 400). Culture involves values, beliefs, and attitudes, all of which can play fundamental roles when it comes to the emergence of norms. Norms need to be accepted to be valid and the factor power is a very important one for this process of acceptance. Without a sufficiently powerful constituency (Hechter and Opp 400) norms cannot emerge. This fits in with Foucault’s theory discussed above. According to Foucault power relations lie at the core of every society. Without power relations norms cannot emerge. All norms are subsumed into the system of norms. This system refers to the multiplicity of existing norms, which can be linked with each other. Some norms are regarded as more binding than others, which not only creates an association but also a hierarchy between norms. To exemplify this Hechter and Opp use the case of a crying child on a plane. While children normally are to be sanctioned for their squealing it is not common for strangers to sanction the behaviour of other parents’ children. It is also uncommon to reprimand parents about their parenting style. Three norms meet in this scenario, however, there is one norm which is weaker than the other two, namely the sanctioning of children. Having looked at the nature of new norms it is now investigated how new norms come into being.

Martha Finnemore and Kathryn Sikkink (896), who both focus on social theory and political science, elaborate on how norms are produced or how they emerge within a society. While they claim that little research has been done solely on how norms come

into being they attempt to investigate this issue. The works which do exist on the topic discuss human agency, indeterminacy, change occurrences, and favorable events (Finnemore and Sikkink 896). What becomes apparent from these works is that the origin of norms includes agents which make their work possible. Thus, against Foucault's claim that power relations can be nonsubjective, Finnemore and Sikkink stress the importance of the agent. While this thesis does not argue that there are no such norms which are nonsubjective, the focus lies on norms which are produced and reproduced intentionally. More precisely, the focus lies on those norms which were (re)produced intentionally with the aim of maintaining the precarious higher status of a dominant group of society. Finnemore and Sikkink argue that norms "[...] are actively built by agents having strong notions about appropriate or desirable behavior in their community" (Finnemore and Sikkink 896). The authors call those agents norm entrepreneurs and claim that it is those agents who are amongst other aspects a vital part of the creation of every norm. It is them who raise awareness for certain issues, even creating those issues, by means of language. This awareness raising or creation of certain issues is termed "framing" (Finnemore and Sikkink 897). Any effort to introduce a new norm happens within a sphere of "appropriateness" which is characterized by pre-existing norms. However, such spheres of appropriateness are by no means constant. They can be challenged, for example through deliberately inappropriate acts (Finnemore and Sikkink 897). Having emphasized the importance of an agent for the creation of new norms, it is now of interest how it is that such norms can emerge.

Finnemore and Sikkink describe three stages which are involved in the emergence of new norms. First, norm emergence is decisively influenced by agents who make an effort to persuade others of the importance of their cause. This stage is inspired by either altruism, empathy, commitment, or persuasion. Stage two constitutes the norm cascade, which consists of the broader population accepting the norm. This stage starts off slowly and should result in norm internalization, where norms are so broadly accepted that they are already taken-for-granted. The internalization of the norm constitutes the third stage of the norm life cycle (Finnemore and Sikkink 895). Naturally, not every norm manages to go through this three-stage process and some never reach a so-called tipping point, which results in a non-acceptance of the norm. The tipping point describes the moment at which a critical part of a population is persuaded by the importance of a norm (Finnemore and Sikkink 901). Finnemore and Sikkink's theory

can be read as an extension to Foucault's theory. Foucault focuses on the power relations within societies, which are the basis for any human coexistence. These power relations make the emergence of norms possible. While Foucault's idea that power relations can be both intentional and nonsubjective is highly interesting and makes sense when looking at it through Heller's perspective, this thesis focuses on the intentional use of power relations that serve to create new norms. This will become clearer in chapter four and in the analysis, which focuses on how a particular group of society was othered and how this norm of othering still prevails today. In line with this focus this thesis is more concerned with how the process of othering this particular group of people is upheld. Thus, while the production of norms is a crucial topic, the focus of this thesis lies on the reproduction of norms and normality. The theory on the reproduction of norms is explored in the following chapter.

3.2. Cultural reproduction according to Bourdieu

This theory on the reproduction of norms, which was briefly addressed at the end of the previous chapter, is a broad field. It should be addressed and questioned in every society just how norms are reproduced and passed on to the next generations. Otherwise, norms, which do not correspond to the values a society wants to communicate, might emerge. Here, cultural reproduction theory comes into play. Originally coined by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1973, 1977) it is now widely applied throughout many disciplines, such as economics or sociology. In his theory, Bourdieu claims that the group or class which holds the power in a society has an interest of upholding this power by promulgating the values and customs which they deem most relevant. In his works, the link between producing and reproducing social and cultural norms becomes evident. In order to ensure survival, societies must produce in order to reproduce (Nash 432). The reproduction, or inter-generational transmission, of real and symbolic capital needs to be carried out through certain structures. According to Bourdieu this cultural capital can stem from three sources. Either it is "embodied as a disposition of the mind and body; objectified as cultural goods, and in its institutionalised state as, for example, educational qualifications" (Nash 432). Bourdieu coins the term *habitus*, which he defines as "[...] the principle underlying the production of the most durable academic and social differences" (*Reproduction* 162). Moreover, "the concept of *habitus* [captures] the formal and informal mores, customs, or rules of a society and the unelaborated relations of homology which give access to another level of order and meaning" (Nash 433).

Habitus is also described as a social process, “in which individual and collective ever-structuring dispositions develop in practice to justify individual’s perspectives, values, actions and social positions” (Costa and Murphy 4). Habitus includes all these customs and values a society is built upon and which are so ingrained in it that they are unquestioned over time. It is through the lens of the theory of habitus that Bourdieu analyses cultural reproduction and it constitutes one of his most powerful tools of analysis. Habitus plays a fundamental role throughout this thesis, as it is the basis of any society and the behaviour of a society’s members. Thus, when analysing why certain groups of society are being othered one of the concepts at play is the concept of habitus. Habitus is a set of dispositions which leads to the formation of cognitive and behavioural practices within a society. It can be argued that the act of othering happens on the basis of habitus. Bourdieu’s theory on social and cultural reproduction can be combined with Foucault’s theory on disciplinary normalization in order to come to a more thorough understanding of the processes involved in keeping up social or cultural norms. An attempt of a combination of the two theories is presented below.

3.3. Disciplinary normalization and reproduction

As has been made evident in the previous chapters cultural reproduction is a product of power. The dominant group of a society has an interest to reproduce their norms and values in order to keep their superordinate position in society. In this respect, the processes of reproduction, as outlined by Bourdieu, and normalization, as discussed by Foucault, have a lot in common, as the former can result in the latter. Foucault states that:

Disciplinary normalization consists first of all in positing a model, an optimal model that is constructed in terms of a certain result, and the operation of disciplinary normalization consists in trying to get people, movements, and actions to conform to this model, the normal being precisely that which can conform to this norm, and the abnormal that which is incapable of conforming to the norm. (Foucault, *Security* 85)

The optimal model Foucault refers to here could be seen as a (social) norm. This norm should be followed by the members of a society; thus, a normalization process is kicked off. The dominant group of a society is interested in upholding and obeying those norms. Therefore, this group aims at the reproduction of those norms. Reproduction is, then, a product of power. This is where disciplinary power termed by Foucault comes into play. Foucault addresses the connection between disciplines and normalization. One of the terms which plays and has always played a major role in the

institution of school is discipline. If, as Bourdieu suggests, the function of the education system is to 'reproduce' the culture of the dominant class (Jenks 1), this does not work without disciplinary power. The reproduction of norms and 'normality' in schools could at the same time be seen as a process of normalization. Foucault describes this process of normalization, or the process of determining what is to be perceived as 'normal' and 'abnormal' in a society, and calls it "disciplinary normalization" (Foucault, *Security* 85). This disciplinary normalization functions as the basis for the dualism between the 'normal' and the 'abnormal' body. There are many groups in society which do not adhere to or simply cannot fulfil the standards set by the dominant group. The dominant group is perceived as the group of 'normal' individuals. This dominant group contributes to the production and the reproduction of norms through disciplinary normalization. Those who do not adhere to those norms are perceived as the 'others' or the 'abnormal' ones. In order to come to an understanding of how the dualism between the 'normal' and the 'abnormal' came into being one must consider where the term 'abnormal' stems from. In his Lectures at the Collège de France 1974-1975 Foucault attempts to investigate this social construction of the categories 'normal' and 'abnormal' and traces it back to the nineteenth century. The "[...] family of the "abnormal individuals" [...] was formed in correlation with a set of institutions of control and a series of mechanisms of surveillance and distribution" (Foucault *Abnormal* 323). The notion of family in this respect is used to describe the category of a group of 'abnormal' individuals. This idea of the 'abnormal' individual was influenced by two major ideas. One of these ideas is the human monster which existed within a juridico-biological domain and which was perceived as not fully human, even partly animalistic (Foucault *Abnormal* 324). The notion of the monster, according to Foucault, is a term which comes from the domain of law. Foucault elaborates on this by stating that "what defines the monster is the fact that its existence and form is not only a violation of the laws of society but also a violation of the laws of nature" (Foucault *Abnormal* 55). What is meant by this statement is that a society has an idea of how a human body should be and look like. This idea can be influenced either by a social or a biological domain. The social domain includes an idea of the human body as constructed by society. The biological domain is influenced by biological aspects and human anatomy. This domain in which the law and the nature are at play is termed "juridico-biological" in the Foucauldian lingo. Foucault's second idea of an 'abnormal' individual constitutes the individual to be corrected. This individual does not fulfil the cultural norms and values

of a society and, thus, needs to be corrected through techniques of training (Foucault *Abnormal* 325). The individual to be corrected is the sharp contrast to the 'abnormal' monster, who cannot be changed and can never be able to comply with the social and cultural norms of a society. This opens up a dualism between the monster who cannot be changed, and the individual to be corrected who can still be subjugated by the norms of the dominant group or class. This theory of the monster and the individual to be corrected fits in with the models of disability presented in chapter 4.3 below. The medical approach to disability sees disability as an individual's problem and as something which needs to be cured. Through this medical perspective the individual with a disability needs to be cured in order to be a member of society, as is the case with the individual to be corrected. The monster cannot be cured and is othered and marginalized from society. Through this concept of the monster the social model of disability becomes clearer. The core assumption of the social model of disability is that it is society and not a disability that disables individuals. The idea of the monster is in other words an idea of a human being who cannot fulfil the standards set by the dominant group of a society. Thus, the monster is disabled by society and it is denied any participation in society. From Foucault's analysis it becomes evident that ever since societies have existed there has been a categorization of its individuals. Those who do not fit the standards of the dominant group are othered, marginalized or depicted as disabled. Foucault's analysis is still highly relevant today, as the idea of the 'abnormal' individual is still prevalent in society. There are groups of individuals which are marginalized from society as they are othered and depicted as totally different from the group of 'normal' individuals. This process of othering is influenced by the norms which are being produced and reproduced in a certain society. The (re)production of norms is driven by disciplinary power. One of the institutions in which this interplay between the reproduction of norms and disciplinary power can be observed is the school. Schools contribute to the production and reproduction of norms within a society. The institution plays a fundamental role in the analysis chapter of this thesis, in which school textbooks are analysed. The production and reproduction of norms through the institution of school is being investigated hereafter.

3.4. Reproduction of norms and culture through the institution of school

The institution of school has many functions. These functions include social aspects, such as socialization. However, schools also have a selective function. This selection determines the opportunities and chances pupils get to shape their lives. Pupils are

advantaged or disadvantaged based on their social status, their ethnicity, their financial situation, and so forth. Nash states that “in modern societies the school has become the most important agency for the reproduction of almost all social classes” (432). In his works Pierre Bourdieu is driven by this insight and questions “the optimistic liberal perception of the school as an instrument of social reform and equality” (Nash 432). Amongst others, Bourdieu and Passeron write about the reproductive role of schools and argue that “systematic features of language, culture, and political economy, which were reflected in the conduct and organization of classrooms and curricula [...] assigned a causal role in perpetuating linguistic, cultural, and economic inequalities” (Collins 34). The reproductive function of schools, therefore, means that social inequalities are reproduced. In this sense schools are perceived as static institutions which are interested in social order and the upholding of existing power relations, rather than in breaking up social and cultural norms and customs. Such norms concern, for example, categories as race, class, and gender.

The fact that schools still function as an instrument of reproduction of inequality can be observed by contemplating newer pieces of legislation, such as the No Children Left Behind legislation in the US (Wilson and Urick 193). The legislation is inspired by the initiative to close the achievement gap between children of different races and classes in public schools. Studies suggest that there is a correlation between students’ cultural and social capital and the outcomes of their academic efforts. In this respect “social capital refers to networks of social contacts, and cultural capital stems from education and exists in three forms: the embodied state [...], the objectified state [...], and the institutionalized state” (Wilson and Urick 196). Wilson and Urick refer to Bourdieu’s theory and stress that “schools play an instrumental role in reproductive power relations in society by privileging forms of cultural capital associated with the dominant culture and possessed by the upper classes” (Wilson and Urick 195). Bourdieu makes a distinction between the so-called ‘cultured’ families and those which are not considered cultured. Being cultured means possessing cultural capital, which consists of aspects such as language fluency, successful communication strategies, or attendance and participation in art (Wilson and Urick 196). Bourdieu emphasizes the strong “relationship between the level of education and cultural practice” (*Cultural Reproduction* 493). He claims that students who have this cultural capital will benefit more from the educational institution as they are more likely to be awarded and advantaged (Wilson and Urick 197). Hence, a cycle of reproduction can be observed

through which “cultured families [...] confirm their monopoly of the instruments of appropriation of the dominant culture and thus their monopoly of that culture” (Bourdieu *Cultural Reproduction* 494). Further, Bourdieu argues that the affiliation to a certain class is directly dependant on economic capital and power (488). Thus, the factors of level of education, economic capital and power, cultural capital and the level of dominance are inextricably linked.

So far, this thesis was concerned with how the notion ‘normal’ came into being and how social and cultural norms are produced and reproduced in a society. It has been made evident how the process of producing and reproducing norms is a product of power relations which function at a micro and at a macrolevel of society. The underlying concept of a society is what Bourdieu termed ‘habitus’. It is through habitus that individuals of a society acquire social norms and learn how to behave, act, and think within a society. This habitus is then substantiated by power relations, which are enforced by the dominant group of a society in order to promote their values and their ideology. The dominant group achieves this goal of enforcing their values by instrumentalizing institutions to promote their goal. One of the most important institutions, as it shapes individuals from their early ages on, is the institution of school. It is in school where members of a society learn what to regard as ‘normal’ and, hence, what to regard as ‘abnormal’. As has been stated, there are many groups of society which are othered as they cannot fulfil the norms set by the dominant group of society. It has also been pointed out, that one of these marginalized groups is put into focus in this thesis. This marginalized group of individuals is not getting enough attention and representation in our society. Therefore, this thesis now focuses on this group of people, which consists of individuals considered disabled. The following chapter starts out with presenting the terminology and relevant concepts within the disability studies. It then moves on to investigate the topic of disability within an educational context.

4. Disability

4.1. Terminology – Disability and impairment, disablism and ablism

Lennard J. Davis, a scholar who has written numerous pieces on disability studies, argues that people with disabilities have been underrepresented in society for too long (Davis xv). Davis states that “[p]eople with disabilities have been isolated, incarcerated, observed, written about, operated on, instructed, implanted, regulated, treated, institutionalized, and controlled to a degree probably unequal to that experienced by

any other minority group” (Davis xv). Thus, this thesis focuses on shedding light onto this underrepresented and marginalized minority group. First, it needs to be discussed what the term disability means. Raghava Reddy points out the questionable definition of the term disability, which is generally given in dictionaries. Usually, disability is defined as a “disadvantage [or] deficiency – especially a physical or mental impairment – that restricts normal achievements; something that hinders, incapacitates, or disqualifies” (Reddy 288). It does not come as a surprise that in this definition the term ‘normal’ comes up. Defining disability by contrasting it to the concept of the ‘normal’ seems to be a human practice which cannot be counteracted easily. Without a doubt, this definition mirrors the ideas of the medical approach to disability, presented in chapter 4.4.3. Goodley (*Dis/Ability Studies* xi) argues from the viewpoint of critical disability studies and states that disability “might be understood as an identity position, often a negative, marked and stigmatised social position”. A problematic aspect of describing the topic of disability is that it is often only mentioned within a medical context, blurring out the social and cultural contexts which influence or even condition the way people perceive disability. This medical understanding of disability has shaped and continues to shape the conventional idea of disability (Reddy 288). Reddy (288) argues that this medical approach has contributed to the problematic assumption that disability is a deviance from the able-bodied norm, a pathological condition, a deficit, and an individual burden. Goodley (*Dis/Ability Studies* 5) argues that “[d]isability holds a bifurcated identity in the realms of medicalisation: it is something to be increasingly diagnosed (made ever more present) and eradicated (requiring erasure)”. The term disability used as a universalising classification is highly questionable as it “denies bodily variation” (Thomas and Sakellariou 8). As Davis argues, “[t]he category ‘disability’ begins to break down when one scrutinizes who make up the disabled” (Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy* xv). What Davis wants to express is that the category of ‘disability’ loses its significance when one thinks about which individuals are included in it. If almost every individual can be regarded as somewhat disabled because their body does not fully and completely fit into the able-bodied norm the term ‘disabled’ is not enough to describe those bodies. This fits in with the arguments of Robert McRuer and Judith Butler who state that if someone deviates from the norm, even if the deviation is quite small, they are already disabled (see chapter 4.4). Davis criticizes this often-held perception that difference equals disability. He points out that “[t]he term ‘disabled’ is often used to obscure or repress the fact that disability is not a static

category but one which expands and contracts to include 'normal' people as well" (Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy* xv). The term disability often does not suffice to describe the various physical expressions of the human body. When discussing the topic of disability, the term of impairment is likely to come up. The following paragraph focuses on the connection between the terms disability and impairment.

The terms disability and impairment are linked very closely and are often hard to tell apart. Goodley (*Dis/Ability Studies* 14) calls disability an umbrella term for impairments. Barnes and Mercer (qtd. in Burke 12) define the term impairment as "a medical or professional determination of a 'bio-physiological limitation'". While disability is always shaped by society, impairments can also be understood outside of a social sphere. They rather describe individual differences, as for example a visual or hearing impairment (Burke 12). Tom Shakespeare states that people in the UK use the term *disabled* "because they want to emphasise how they are 'disabled by society' whereas 'impairment' refers to the underlying health condition" (3). This thesis follows Shakespeare's suggestion of differentiating the two terms. The hypothesis that people with disabilities are disabled by society, which is addressed by Shakespeare, is part of the social model of disability. This social model is linked to the processes of disablism in that both theories are concerned with oppressive practices functioning within a society.

Disablism and the study around it is still a very young academic field, which has existed since the end of the last century (Goodley, *Dis/Ability Studies* 3). Goodley (*Dis/Ability Studies* xi) defines disablism as the "oppressive practices of contemporary society that threaten to exclude, eradicate and neutralise those individuals, bodies, minds and community practices that fail to fit the capitalist imperative". Carol Thomas understands disablism as "a form of social oppression involving the social imposition of restrictions of activity on people with impairments and the socially engendered undermining of their psycho-emotional well being" (73, qtd. in Goodley, *Disentangling Critical Disability Studies* 632). It can be concluded that disablism is a product of power relations, in which the groups of society, which do not adhere to the ideas of ableism are oppressed. It is, however, not always clear whether this act happens intentionally or unconsciously. Disablism can also be referred to as ableism. Ableism is the other end of the spectrum. Both terms inherently mean the same, namely that a nondisabled perspective is privileged in our society. This perspective "promotes the differential or unequal treatment of people because of actual or presumed disabilities" (Campbell 4).

The term 'normal' has come up various times in the discussion of the topic of disability. However, the notion of the 'normal' has not existed before the middle of the nineteenth century (Davis, *Disability Studies Reader* 3). Davis suggests considering the term that preceded the concept of the norm, which is the concept of the 'ideal' (Davis, *Disability Studies Reader* 3). He emphasizes the importance of examining the concept of the ideal in order to question the assumptions people have "about the universality of the concept of the norm" (Davis, *Disability Studies Reader* 4). In the following chapter the significance of the terms 'normal' and 'ideal' within the disability studies is being examined.

4.2. The 'normal' and the 'ideal' within disability studies

So far, the terms norm and 'normal' have been discussed very broadly in a sociological sense. In this chapter, the terms are discussed within the realm of disability studies. The scholar Lennard Davis states that to understand the construction of disability one must first understand the construction of normalcy (*Disability Studies Reader* 3), as the "'problem' of the disabled person" (*Disability Studies Reader* 3) is constructed by way of constructing normalcy. In our world dominated by norms it is almost impossible to withdraw oneself from the constant pressure resulting from the need to comply. Davis emphasizes that the emergence of norms is a product of social construction (*Enforcing Normalcy* 24). If an individual deviates from these norms, they are in many cases stigmatized. Erving Goffman states that "stigma sets people apart from (normal) others, marking them out as socially inferior and to be avoided, shunned, rejected" (Goffman, qtd. in Thomas and Sakellariou 4). It is further stated that "[a] person departs from ideas of normalcy, possessing an 'undesired difference' from what 'the normals' expected" (Goffman, qtd. in Thomas and Sakellariou 4). Again, through this argumentation, disablism, the social act of labelling someone as disabled, becomes evident. It has been outlined that disability is often understood as the deviance from the 'normal'. Disability and normalcy, as Davis suggests, are to be seen in a dialectical relationship since "disability 'defines the negative space the [normal] body must not occupy" (Davis, *Enforcing Normalcy* 157). Beside the notion of 'normal' there is another term which is relevant within the disability studies, which is the term of the 'ideal'. The term of the ideal preceded the term of the 'normal' in terms of language use, which is why it is worth investigating.

Closely linked to the term 'normal' is the notion *ideal*. Davis (*Enforcing Normalcy* 24) states that the word and concept of the ideal was part of the English language way before the terms 'normal' and norm emerged. The emergence of the term 'norm' and its derivatives is discussed in chapter 2. The focus now lies on the connection between the terms *normal* and *ideal*. From the seventeenth century until the emergence of the word 'normal' (Davis, *Disability Studies Reader* 4) it was not the 'normal' body that people strived for, it was the *ideal* body. The ideal body was almost God-like, divine, and, thus, not attainable by human beings (Davis *Enforcing Normalcy* 25). In the course of the nineteenth century, eugenics became more and more popular. One of the fathers of eugenics, Sir Francis Galton, searched for a way to statistically depict certain human characteristics on a bell curve, which he divided into four parts. His goal was to rank expressions of a certain characteristic without defining it by the mediocre middle. He examined the intelligence of humans and worked out this bell curve, which "features the desired trait as 'higher' than the undesirable deviation (Davis, *Disability Studies Reader* 8). One of the consequences of theories such as Galton's is that the norm is seen as something average, whereas the ideal constitutes the higher end of the spectrum, and the deviant constitutes the lower end. However, for Galton the higher end was preferable than the lower end, taken, for example, the traits of tallness versus shortness. Consequently, Galton focused on the idea of averaging, rather than ranking (*Enforcing Normalcy* 33). Davis (*Disability Studies Reader*, 8) writes that "the new ideal of ranked order is powered by the imperative of the norm, and then is supplemented by the notion of progress, human perfectibility, and the elimination of deviance, to create a dominating, hegemonic vision of what the human body should be". This ideal of ranked order lies at the core of the dualism between the able and the disabled body. Eugenics played a fundamental role in the development of this dualism in that it differentiated a 'normal', 'working' and thus valuable body from its opposite other.

So far, it has been outlined which terms or concepts stand at the centre of disability studies. The concepts of disability and impairment, as well as the ideas of disablism and ablism have been discussed. The terms 'normal' and 'ideal' have been introduced within the context of the disability studies. It is now of interest how disability can be understood. There are three models of disability that all adopt a different perspective towards the topic. Two of these models, the medical and the social model, have been briefly discussed above. Those two and a third model are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

4.3. Models of disability

In the previous chapter the problematic character of the term disability has been discussed. The category of disability is very broad, and it is often unclear which individuals can be subsumed under it. The terms 'normal' and 'ideal' are often used to describe the human body. A body can either be labelled 'normal', or if it deviates from a certain norm reproduced by the dominant group of a society, it can be labelled 'abnormal'. The ascription of an abnormality often goes hand in hand with labelling someone as disabled. In this labelling process the concepts of the normal and the ideal are used as contrastive elements. That is to say, the two concepts are perceived as the default status of a body and each body is compared to this normal or ideal picture prevalent in a certain society. If a body deviates from this picture of the normal it is often perceived as disabled. However, the question of what it means to be disabled still needs to be answered. There are more ways of looking at the topic of disability, all of which shed a different light onto the individual with a disability. If a disability is put on the same level as an abnormality, it is often seen as an individual burden. Considering a disability as such a burden, and as something which needs to be cured, means taking on the medical approach of disability. Disability Theory has been introduced in the last decade of the twentieth century and aims towards questioning this medical approach, whereby disability is something 'abnormal' and something which needs to be cured. There are also sociological, economic, and cultural perspectives that challenge the picture of a disability as something 'abnormal' (Goodley, *Dis/Ability Studies* 4). This medical perspective which values able bodies more than disabled or impaired ones can be observed on an everyday basis. It can, for instance, be observed through the practice of parental screening for impairment (Goodley, *Dis/Ability Studies* 4). However, there are other models of disability which take on a different stance to disability and impairment. Two of those models will be presented alongside the medical approach below. Those two models, the social and the cultural model, do not accept disability as an individual's 'problem'. Rather, they lay bare the oppressive practices which contribute to marginalizing people with disabilities from society.

4.3.1. The medical model

It has already been outlined that the medical model constitutes a highly questionable approach to disability. This model sees disability as something to be diagnosed and

treated, i.e. as “an individual or medical phenomenon that results from impairments in body functions or structures; a deficiency or abnormality” (Haegele and Hodge 194). Within this model, disability is always perceived as something negative, as an individual’s deficiency or as an absence. Hence, disability is not accepted but it is seen as something which needs to be cured or at least treated. This cure or treatment needs to take place in order for the disabled individual to be able to be a functioning part of society (Haegele and Hodge 195). If an individual does not want to be ‘fixed’, they are perceived as noncompliant or unmotivated (Haegele and Hodge 195). Mitra (237) emphasizes the often-criticized normative aspect of the medical model. The diagnosis of a disability happens based on the ascription of a certain abnormality. “People are considered disabled on the basis of being unable to function as a ‘normal’ person does” (Mitra 237). Thus, through the medical approach people with disabilities are reduced to their disability and are defined by it. The social and the cultural model, however, take on a different perspective on the matter.

4.3.2. The social model

One of the perspectives which is often contrasted to the medical model of disability is the social model. The social model has provided a new and broad spectrum of terms, or a new disability lexicon as Goodley (*Dis/Ability Studies* 7) calls it, which can be used to discuss the processes of disablism. This model has not been accepted universally within the academic field yet. The terminology and language used in the social model are still subject to debate (Haegele and Hodge 196). Generally, “by arguing that it was not impairment that was the main cause of the social exclusion of disabled people but the way society responded to people with disabilities” (Oliver 43) the social model of disability was born. This social perspective seeks to lay bare the factors which contribute to establishing barriers “that prevent people with impairments from living a life like their non-impaired brothers and sisters” (Goodley, *Dis/Ability Studies* 7). Consequently, “the social model treats disablement as a social *problem* belonging to *society*; that is, society disables people on account of unequal access to resources” (Thomas and Sakellariou 3). One of the fundamental elements of this model is the “distinction between disability (social exclusion) and impairment (physical limitation) and the claim that disabled people are an oppressed group” (Shakespeare 198). Looking at the concept of disability from this perspective meant a complete turn of disability studies.

While this goal of laying bare the practices of social oppression of people with disabilities is a highly relevant one, there is criticism concerning the limited depth the model reaches. Oliver (48-50) describes the five main points of criticism on the social approach to disability studies and refutes them based on personal experience and his own theory. He states that there has been criticism on the model because it is said to “ignore or is unable to deal adequately with the realities of impairment” (Oliver 48). However, the author stresses that this criticism comes from a misunderstanding as the social model seeks to investigate disability as a collective experience and does not regard individual experiences. What is meant is that it is possible that an impaired body has to deal with other factors of social discrimination, such as age, class or gender. The social model is criticised for its lack of a critical discourse around the term of impairment and for not discussing this intersectional discrimination. As has been pointed out, Oliver thinks of this criticism as a misunderstanding. He attributes this misunderstanding to the fact that the social model is often interpreted in an unintended way. The social model according to Oliver is not about personal experience but about the social barriers of disability. In other words, it is about the collective experience of disablement (Oliver 48). A further point of criticism, which Oliver sees connected to the previous point of criticism, concerns the lack of focus on the pain of having an impairment or disability. By emphasizing that the approach came out of the disabled activists’ scene in the seventies, the author refutes this critique. An overarching argument Oliver presents is that the social model is not complete yet. This becomes evident in his third point of argumentation. This point of criticism concerns the lack of intersectional theory within the model. Here, Oliver argues against this criticism by stating that this lack does not mean that the model is faulty, but that it is still not complete. He turns the tables by asking the critics to contribute to developing to the model instead of listing the aspects which are still missing to the theory. A concept which has already been discussed in this thesis is the concept of othering. This concept is addressed by Oliver in his fourth counterargument. This counterargument is directed against the criticism that otherness is created solely culturally. Oliver (49) stresses that the people suffering from disability do not only suffer in terms of being ‘other’, but they also struggle with a lack of material things. This seems a highly relevant argument, as there are authors arguing from the perspective of the social model who might understand disability merely as something culturally constructed. They might regard disability as something which is not real when the cultural aspect is taken out of the

game. However, disability means individual experience, pain and oftentimes a hinderance from living life like one would like to. Lastly, the author emphasizes that the social model is in no way an extensive theory of disability, rather it can be described as a model which is fluid and ever changeable. The social model of disability can be extended with the cultural model. The cultural model is related to the social model in that it is based on the same core assumption, that assumption being that disabled individuals are disabled by society and not by their disability. This cultural model is discussed in the following section.

4.3.3. The cultural model

Although culture plays a significant role in all our lives the concept is still often underrepresented when it comes to disability studies. Already in the 1990s, Tom Shakespeare emphasized the importance of culturally representing disabled people (Waldschmidt 73). It was and is still practice to depict disabled people as objects in cultural representations, such as theatre, literature, paintings, films and the media (Shakespeare, *Cultural representation* 287). While the cultural model of disability, just like the social model, is not yet developed to a satisfying extent there are already well-founded approaches to research. The German sociologist Anne Waldschmidt, for example, tries to give an overview of this cultural model. She states that the “cultural model of dis/ability points out that both disability and ability relate to prevailing symbolic orders, bodily practices and social institutions, all of which produce normality and deviance, the self and the other, familiarity and alterity” (Waldschmidt 75). This point can be regarded as one of the bases of the cultural model and fits in with the already discussed theory on the other as well as the theory of power and normalization. It has been discussed that the categories of normal and abnormal, or of ‘normal’ and ‘disabled’, are a product of power relations which shape the norms of a society. From this first point of defining the cultural model Waldschmidt moves on to a closer description thereof. Related to this first point is the following claim Waldschmidt (75) makes: “[the cultural] model understands impairment, disability and normality as categories generated by academic knowledge, mass media and everyday discourses”. She further argues that those categories “denote reality, but constitute the ‘things’ they talk about” (Waldschmidt 75). By that she means that certain terms have different meanings and definitions. The term disability, for instance, is a term whose meaning is in constant flux. This can be observed through the transition of the medical model into the social model, both of which work with a different definition of the concept of

disability. The social and the cultural model, however, use a similar definition of the concept, as they both regard disability in a sense that disabled individuals are disabled by society and not by any bodily limitation. Such processes of disablism are shaped by power relations, which make the reproduction of certain prevailing social and cultural norms possible. Those norms, then, function to oppress certain groups of society, while legitimizing the attempts of the dominant group to reinforce their values. The cultural model has set its sights on the mission of revealing those oppressive practices. In this respect, Joshua and Schillmeier understand the cultural model as “the analysis of the representations of disabled people in the cultural spaces of art, media, and literature” (5). The analysis of representations of disabled people is exactly what this thesis aims at. Throughout the analysis chapter of this thesis the cultural model plays a fundamental role. The underlying assumption throughout the analysis is that it is society that disables individuals and this disablism is being investigated. As has been made evident, schools are among the first institutions in which people acquire social and cultural norms, which then lead to this disablism. Thus, analysing school textbooks, which function as a medium for transporting those social and cultural norms, constitutes a highly relevant endeavour. Such an analysis enables a re-evaluation of how the topic of disability should be presented in order to promote a more tolerating and inclusive society. It should promote a society in which the value of the human body is not dependant on its physical or psychological fitness, which then determines the level of productivity of a human being. This level of productivity is a concept which is highly relevant for the works of Robert McRuer and stands at the centre of discussion in chapter 4.4.

4.4. Disability and productivity

“Rational functional bodies and minds work for capital; impaired ones do not” (Goodley, *Dis/Ability Studies* 10). This quote addresses the thought of productivity which has shaped our society for many centuries. The thought can be traced back to the industrial revolution and the emergence of a capitalist society, discussed further down below. This thought defines which bodies contribute to society on a productive level and which ones do not. This goes hand in hand with the “tales of ableism” which contribute to the idea of what Campbell calls the “species-typical individual citizen” (qtd. in Goodley, *Dis/Ability Studies* xi), “a citizen that is ready and able to work and contribute” (Goodley, *Dis/Ability Studies* xi). The tales of ableism, as defined by Goodley (*Dis/Ability Studies* xi), regard the idea that only an able body is valuable for a society.

According to Goodley such tales of ableism lead to “paranoia, confusion, fear and inadequacy” (*Dis/Ability Studies* xi). If the idea that only an able body is valuable is predominant in a society, it follows that any deviance from this able body results in a devaluation of the deviant body. Thus, tales of ableism create a dualism between the able and the not-able body, a dualism between the able, ‘normal’, functioning, and productive body and the not-able, ‘abnormal’ body. The term ‘tale’ is particularly fitting, as a tale is often something which is invented, or which has an imaginative character. The connection between the imaginative character of tales and the tales of ableism will become clearer in the following paragraph, in which the theory of compulsory able-bodiedness is discussed.

In his theory of compulsory able-bodiedness, which he developed from Adrienne Rich’s theory of compulsory heterosexuality, Robert McRuer links this idea of having to have an abled-body back to the years of industrialisation (303). At the time, workers were defined by their ability to perform physical labour. Those who were physically able to work could earn their living and were considered ‘normal’, those who were impaired or suffered from physical disability were considered unproductive. Bodies which were unfit for physical labour, thus considered unproductive or abnormal, were depicted as disabled. In the 21st century capitalist society, although the majority of the workforce does not perform physical labour any longer, bodies are still thought of as ‘normal’ or ‘abnormal’. The part of society which considers itself able-bodied assumes that every member of this society thinks that an able body is the norm and, hence, strives for that normalized body. However, the able-bodied norm presents itself as so difficult to reach, that even the able-bodied might encounter complications with fulfilling it. Or, as McRuer (304) puts it, “[...] the ideal able-bodied identity can never, once and for all, be achieved. Able-bodied identity and heterosexual identity are linked in their mutual impossibility and in their mutual incomprehensibility.” This can be connected back to the tales of ableism. The tale, in this respect, consists of the idea that one can have a ‘normal’ body. McRuer calls it an ideal body in a sense that the ideal is the standard of perfection. The tale in the tales of ableism stands for the impossibility of reaching this normalized body that is regarded as the standard of perfection. This suggests that individuals are constantly pressured by society to have a body that complies with the standards of the normalized body, or the able body. However, this goal can never be reached as our bodies are biologically destined to change and, ultimately, decay. One must position oneself within this tension of striving for an abled body while aging

simultaneously. This fits in with Judith Butler's theory. McRuer (305) draws on the theory of Butler, who argues that in a way everyone is disabled. This means that if the perfect body cannot be reached, the consequence is that everyone must have a disabled body in one way or another. In other words, if a body deviates from the normalized form ever so slightly it follows that it cannot be regarded as a normalized body anymore. Butler (qtd. in McRuer 305) stresses the impermanent nature of the able-bodied status, as bodies age and, therefore, every individual can be considered disabled from a certain point onwards in their lives. These hypotheses seem to hold true, as at some point every human being must deal with temporary or permanent impairment or disability. If a young and vital person, who has all bodily and cognitive functions, suffers from an injury, and needs to wear a cast over a certain period of time, this young person can be considered disabled during this period of time. It can be concluded that ableism has an effect on the ones who seemingly have an able body, because there are impairments or forms of disability which might not be visible at first glance (Nario-Redmond 5), or which might not be seen as a form of disability.

The tales of ableism, introduced in the first part of this chapter, are a part of our society. Through such tales bodies are ascribed a certain value for society. The ascription of a value to a body goes back to the beginnings of capitalism. From this time on, bodies were assessed on the basis of productivity. The more they were able to contribute to society, the more value they were ascribed. One of the institutions which have a selective function, and which determine a human's value for society is the institution of school. Schools are amongst other institutions responsible for the reproduction of norms in a society. If, as McRuer suggests, an able-bodied norm exists this means that disabled bodies fall out of this norm and are consequently devalued. In order to work against this devaluation of bodies which do not comply with the able-bodied norm the institution of school has to be aware of the role it can play in this fight against the discrimination of people with disabilities. There are already attempts in schools to work against this discrimination with the implementation of inclusive education. The following chapter is concerned with the role inclusive education can and should play within the institution of school.

4.5. Disability in an educational context – Inclusive education

One of the bases of inclusive education is the 2006 United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD) (Köpfer et al. 45). Ever since, disability has

been accepted as a human rights issue (Köpfer et al. 45). The convention promotes the ideas of the social model of disability and seeks to remove “all barriers to full participation and inclusion in society” (Köpfer et al. 45). The CRPD resulted in a list of 50 propositions or articles which all aim towards “promot[ing], protect[ing] and ensur[ing] the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities, and [towards] promot[ing] respect for their inherent dignity” (Article 1).

The term inclusion is and has been discussed for years in the academic as well as the non-academic world now. In fact, the term has been around since the World Conference in special education, which took place in Salamanca in 1994 (Hodkinson et al. 27; Jensen et al. 1; Nilholm 358). Ever since this conference, inclusion was supposed to be a part of the educational world and, specifically, should have been kept in mind when designing new material and textbooks for schools. Still, as Nilholm points out, “pupils are identified to a large extent by their shortcomings, and the traditional distinctions between normality and deviance are upheld in terms of professional groups and in the wider organisation of education” (362). Although there is still room for improvement in many cases when it comes to inclusive education, inclusive settings were successful in “promoting greater social acceptance of difference and impairment” (Hodkinson et al. 27). However, as Felder (43) writes, most national as well as supranational education policies still need to change in order to meet the standards of inclusive education. While most of these policies support and promote inclusive education, they still hold a very traditional view on children with special needs or disabilities (Felder 43). Sadly, this becomes eminent when analysing Austrian school textbooks with regard to the depiction of people with disabilities, as discussed in chapter 4.7. The underrepresentation or misrepresentation of people with disabilities in Austrian EFL textbooks shows that many textbooks still do not comply to the standards of inclusive education.

Considering not only Austrian EFL textbooks but also textbooks from other subjects the need for more inclusive content becomes visible. There is a lot to be improved when it comes to the representation of people with disabilities in schools. Looking at the curricula of the school types AHS and Mittelschule, which aim at pupils aged 10-18, it becomes evident that inclusion has not yet been integrated in all subjects. The curriculum for the school type AHS integrates inclusion at least to a small amount in the subjects of biology, history, and career guidance. The general didactic principles

include a small paragraph about the fundamentals of inclusive education. The curriculum also promotes the learning of how to interact with people with disabilities. However, this perspective clearly emphasizes the dualism between the 'normal', able-bodied and the disabled individuals. The curriculum for the Austrian Mittelschule includes a small general section on the principles of inclusive education as well. Inclusion is mentioned specifically for the subjects of handicrafts and working with digital media. Although teachers have a certain room for manoeuvre in terms of what to teach in many subjects, it should still be explicitly stated that inclusion needs to be a part of every subject. In order to represent the topic of inclusion in every subject it is important to include it in the school textbooks so as to give educators a general idea of how to incorporate the topic in their teaching.

4.6. Textbooks and their relevance

As mentioned, school textbooks play a significant role in the reproduction of social and cultural norms. Through the representation of certain topics and the omission of other topics textbooks determine what students learn and which social and cultural values students are confronted with. Textbooks are not only a means of learning specific subject-related content, but they are also a way of familiarizing students with the world around them. Textbooks not only have the power to transmit knowledge or to show how a society or culture functions, but they also open up the possibility of holding a mirror to society. In other words, textbooks can provide students with the tools to question problematic elements of a society instead of blindly reproducing ideas of certain social and cultural norms. In order to go further into the discussion of what possibilities school textbooks offer, the nature and purpose of textbooks first needs to be discussed.

Stray defines a textbook as “a book designed to provide an authoritative pedagogic version of an area of knowledge” (2). The author emphasizes that textbooks are not usually bought by their users, but textbooks are imposed on teachers and pupils by, ultimately, the state (4). The textbook can thus be seen as a commodity and as a means to represent culture (Stray 5), and they are instrumentalized to construct certain realities by way of power (Hodkinson, *School textbooks* 59). The normative aspect of textbooks reproduces inequalities in society (Hodkinson, *School textbooks* 59). This suggests a rather static picture of society, where the dominant group always keeps their hegemonic power and as outlined above, reproduces their norms via cultural

representations. Otherness or diversity often plays no part in this hegemonic worldview. Diversity is an issue which the institution of school has always struggled with. The school system has always tried to homogenize in order to assess pupils' performances based on certain standards which are the same for everyone (González-Palomares and Rey-Cao 1451).

Elaborating on the education of pupils Hodkinson et al. emphasize the significance of textbooks specifically (*Analysis of the cultural representation of disability* 29). They are significant because all children are confronted with them in their school careers and those textbooks serve as a "common reference point" (Oates 2014). As textbooks serve as such a reference point it is of utmost importance to depict human beings in all their uniqueness in those books. This means that pupils with disabilities should find representations of people with disabilities in their textbooks. In other words, they should recognise themselves in the textbooks (Blaska, qtd. in Jensen et al. 2). Jensen et al. point out that in contrast to studies about the representation of disability in other media, studies on the depiction of disability in textbooks has fallen short (4). The few studies that do investigate this issue undermine the fact that people with disabilities are still extremely underrepresented in textbooks throughout the world (see González-Palomares, Martínez, Hodkinson). Even when a form of disability is depicted in a textbook, it is often the picture of someone in a wheelchair or someone who suffers from a temporal disability as, for example, having a limb in plaster (González-Palomares 1452). This leads to the argument that the depiction of disability is often confined to stereotypes (González-Palomares 1452). The study of Hodkinson et al. yielded similar results. The material they analysed also included many cases of people being temporarily disabled because of an accident or temporary sickness (Hodkinson et al. 31). Crucial about this image of the temporary disabled person is the suggestion that the disability can be overcome (Hodkinson et al. 31), and, consequently, that the state of being 'normal' can be reached again. Thus, in many of the analysed textbooks the medical model of disability becomes visible. In a Foucauldian analysis one could argue that the textbooks promote the idea of the individual to be corrected. This individual can still be 'fixed' in order for him or her to become a part of the able-bodied group of society again.

Depicting 'normal', able bodies on the one hand and disabled bodies on the other creates a barrier between the two. Instead of including people with different bodily, social and cultural dispositions the able and the disabled body tend to be presented

apart from each other in EFL textbooks. Thus, the reader is often unable to avoid adopting the message that resonates with such depictions, namely that disabled bodies do not meet the standards of the 'normalized' body. In other words, disabled bodies are 'othered'. Hodkinson (2016) focused on how textbooks in Britain contribute to portraying people with disability as the 'other'. Hodkinson's analysis is highly relevant for the analysis conducted in this thesis, as he, too, examined textbooks which are "operationalised in supposedly democratic systems" (Hodkinson, *School textbooks* 57), in which people and their perceptions are manipulated subtly through textbooks. In terms of this manipulation, Shume notes that:

Through selection and omission of content, use of rhetoric devices, lexical choices, and an array of other discursive features, a textbook functions as a lens through which a particular ideological position within a discipline is [...] conveyed to neophytes in the field as credible, trustworthy, and seemingly natural. (Shume 1)

Hodkinson argues that it is the lack of adequate representations of impairment in textbooks that makes it possible for the "machine of disablement" to come up with a hegemony that values the "normalised" form (58). The machine of disablement in this respect includes all endeavours made by the dominant group of a society to uphold the idea that an able body is to be seen as the norm. Textbooks are a good example of what has been discussed throughout this paper. They can be seen as a tool through which the dominant group in a society, the agent, aims towards preserving their hegemonic status. In order to instrumentalize textbooks to reproduce this hegemonic status, they carry meaning, or in other words, messages.

In order to convey messages that adhere to the general ideas of inclusion and inclusive education, textbooks need to fulfil certain standards. In the background paper for the 2020 Global Education Monitoring Report Fuchs et al. outline the most important of those standards. They state that "the modes of representation within textbooks and curricula should appropriately reflect the diversity of different groups of individual students" (Fuchs et al. 3). Moreover, textbooks need to "employ inclusive language" (Fuchs et al. 3) and should "include the representation of diverse identities and be free of divisive stereotypes and prejudices" (Fuchs et al. 3). Depending on the specific school subject, textbooks can and should also include the essential dimension of human rights and citizenship. As textbooks created for the EFL classroom can include any topic, as long as the linguistic learning aspect does not fall short, this dimension can definitely be included in those. A document which further elaborates on the

implementations of the above-mentioned standards is the UNESCO report “Making Textbook Content inclusive: A focus on religion, gender, and culture”. This report serves as one of the bases for the textbook analysis which follows.

5. Analysis

5.1. Analytic and methodological framework

The research aims towards investigating Austrian EFL school textbooks with regard to the representation and treatment of disability and people with disabilities. The textbooks which are subject to the analysis were created for children between the ages of ten and nineteen, hence, for pupils in lower and upper secondary education. Those textbooks have been chosen on the basis of a list of schoolbooks which is published on an annual basis by the Austrian *Bundesministerium für Bildung, Wissenschaft und Forschung*.

Generally, the focus of the analysis lies on the question whether and how people with disabilities are presented in Austrian EFL textbooks. The hypothesis which forms the basis of this research is that people with disabilities are rarely ever represented in Austrian school textbooks. This hypothesis is based on the studies and research conducted by, for example, Hodkinson et al. and Jensen et al., presented in chapter 4. While the scholars worked in countries around the world, textbook analysis regarding the representation of disability in Austria is a topic rarely ever touched upon. Starting out from the theory of Foucault, Canguilhem, Finnemore and Sikkink as well as Davis, who all wrote about normality and norms, the corpus was investigated in terms of depictions of ‘normality’ and ‘abnormality’. The research interest lies in how the presented normality is perceived. In other words, the focus lies on what is portrayed as ‘normal’, or as the ‘normal’ way to be and to look. The underlying question is: How do Austrian EFL textbooks contribute to producing and reproducing what is being perceived as ‘normal’ in society with regard to the depiction of able and seemingly disabled or impaired bodies. In line with this research focus it was analysed who is included and who is excluded from the notion of ‘normality’ and what the effects of this inclusion or exclusion are on the construction of an understanding of mainstream society. Ideas of inclusive education naturally play a fundamental role throughout the analysis. In order to come to a conclusion concerning the presented research questions above, the analysis takes into account whether and how the texts and the

visuals in the material establish a picture of the 'normal' and how this picture is constructed.

Throughout the research progress I adopted a content analysis approach adapted from Philipp Mayring. First, the material was collected and based on the list of schoolbooks from the Austrian ministry of education, a corpus was established. The corpus consists of 24 books for the lower secondary Mittelschule and AHS and 7 books for the upper secondary AHS. The reason why lower as well as upper secondary books were analysed is that the topic of disability is approached fundamentally different in the textbooks. This will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. Phase one of the research consisted of reading each textbook page by page and pinning down the few instances where the topic of disability was addressed. This phase aimed towards a quantitative analysis of the material and served to gain an overview of the different representations of disability included in the textbooks. Phase two was intended to answer the research question regarding the extent to which the topic of disability is represented in the material. In phase two the examples were ascribed to certain pre-established categories of analysis. These categories are divided into four aspects and regard the perspective the individual tasks take on the concept of disability. The first category concerns depictions of able bodies which contribute to reproducing the idea that an able body should be regarded as the norm. This idea of compulsory able-bodiedness suggests that productivity is something to be linked only with able bodies and draws a sharp line between bodies perceived as able and those perceived as disabled. The second category of analysis regards both the depiction of able and disabled bodies. The focus lies on othering processes which are at work in the textbooks. This category includes examples of the material which seek to pinpoint the differences between the able body and the disabled body. In those examples disabled individuals are othered and disablism can be clearly observed. Category three investigates the depiction of temporary disabilities and focuses on the implications these have for the depictions of permanent disabilities. The fourth and last category concerns the few instances where the topic of disability is addressed by someone who has a disability. This second phase was intended to answer the research question of how schoolbooks contribute to what is perceived as 'normal' and how mechanisms of inclusion or exclusion can be observed through the examples. Phase two and three take on a qualitative approach, whereby the latter consisted of analysing and interpreting the results from phase one. The interpretation of the examples serves as

a basis for creating appropriate teaching material in chapter 6. The findings of the analysis are presented in the following chapters.

5.2. Findings – It is an able-bodied world

In spite of including numerous topics which would have posed the opportunity to include representations of disability, the textbooks do not address the topic to an acceptable degree. Although many schools in Austria promote inclusive teaching approaches the topic of disability still seems to be highly underrepresented. School textbooks should include the topic to ‘normalize’ it. Otherwise, the reproduction of the able-bodied norm will continue. Out of the 31 books which were analysed only six focus on the topic of disability as such, whereby terms like disability or certain illnesses are discussed. However, those six books do not focus on the subject to a great extent. Rather they include representations of disability within a unit that also discusses other matters which might be somehow related to the topic, but do not fully fit in with it. There is Prime Time 7, for example, in which the second unit discusses health issues. First, there are tasks about a healthy diet and about how to keep one’s body fit and then the unit turns to people with special needs with a shorter and a longer reading exercise. Out of all the books which were subject to the analysis there is only one which dedicates a whole unit to the topic of disability; it carries the problematic title “Being different” (*Prime Time 3* 120¹). The books which do not discuss the topic of disability per sé include similar issues. The most evident difference between lower and upper secondary textbooks is the way they present bodies which deviate from the able-bodied norm. Lower secondary textbooks tend to depict disabled bodies by way of showing people who are temporarily ill or were injured in accidents. Almost all of those disabilities in the lower secondary textbooks are temporary and can be cured rather easily. This result fits in with the findings of Hodkinson et al. as well as González-Palomares and Rey-Caro, who also found that disability is often depicted by means of showing such depictions of temporary disabilities and injuries. The only three exceptions in lower secondary textbooks, where the topic of disability is directly addressed, can be found in Prime Time 3 as well as in More! 3. As mentioned, Prime Time 3 discusses the topic of disability within a whole unit, whereas More! 3 includes two texts embedded within the units of “Dangerous Animals” (44) and “Inventions” (87).

¹ For reasons of readability in-text citations referring to school textbooks are written in this form. The words and the number in italics constitute the title of the respective textbook and the number which follows it is the page number.

The first text presents the young surfer Bethany who loses an arm in a shark attack and keeps on surfing with just one arm. The other text regards a girl, Sadie, who invented a special walker which enables her to walk up steps although she has a muscle illness. However, this muscle illness is not explained in more detail. The material generally does not present the different kinds of disabilities in great detail. Heterogeneity in terms of the representation of the types of disabilities is clearly lacking.

The textbooks do not present an array of different types of disabilities and the types of disabilities are not described in detail. Even if someone who suffers from a disability is described, the name of the disability is rarely ever mentioned. In many cases only the symptoms and limitations, which keep the individuals from living a life like the able-bodied community, are described. There is, for example, the above-mentioned text about the young girl who invents a special walker (*More! 3*), two stories about living life in a wheelchair (*Prime Time 3*; *Prime Time 7*), one story about a woman with cerebral palsy (*Way2go! 6*), and one text which includes Parkinson's (*Prime Time 8*). In the other examples the conditions which led to the limitations in mobility are not discussed. As mentioned, the material does not present disability in all its diversity. In terms of psychiatric disabilities, eating disorders are being discussed (*More! 4*), as well as mental illnesses, such as anxiety and depression (*Prime Time 8*). Other disabilities depicted in the material are a heart condition, which is not explained further (*Prime Time 3*); ALS, although not mentioned by name (*Prime Time 3*); Asperger syndrome, (*Prime Time 3*) and some very few others. As has been stated, the lower secondary textbooks primarily include disabled bodies by way of including temporary disabilities and injuries which can be cured rather easily. They do not discuss the topic of disability on a meta-level but rather include representations of disabilities within other units. There is only one exception. The unit "Being different" from *Prime Time 3* addresses the topic directly. There are, however, no critical examinations in lower secondary textbooks which discuss the terminology surrounding disability or which question the societal practices through which individuals are depicted as able or disabled. The paragraph below gives an overview of how the individual activities in the textbooks were designed in order to get a better understanding of how the topic of disability is dealt with. The activities do not only lack heterogeneity in how disabilities are presented but they also lack sensitivity towards people with disabilities.

The types of activities in the textbooks through which the topic of disability is presented do not show great sensitivity towards the issue. Mostly, there are reading activities and listening activities with follow up tasks consisting of reflection questions. In some cases, only the text is presented without a meaningful follow-up activity, as is the case with the text about the young girl inventor. The text offers a great opportunity for discussing the topic disability in greater detail and in a more positive light, where not the difference between an able body and a disabled body is in the focus, but a girl who improves her life with the help of an invention. The girl who suffers from an “illness of the muscle” (*More!* 3 87) is depicted as an active agent who takes her life into her own hands and creates something new. Other activities include listening tasks, such as the FM4 interview with Judge Bernstein, a blind judge who works at the Michigan Supreme Court (*Way2go!* 6 95). Some tasks require the pupils to look for certain information in a text, as with the text about a woman with cerebral palsy. The pupils are asked to write down five suggestions on how to respond to people with disabilities (*Way2go!* 6 97). Such tasks which regard the communication with people with disabilities on a sensitive basis are very rare. The two tasks about Judge Bernstein and Robyn Lambird, who has cerebral palsy, are the only two activities where people with disabilities speak directly. The other tasks are told from the perspective of the able-bodied community talking about people with disabilities. This is, of course, highly problematic as such activities tend to focus on the difference between the able-bodied and the disabled community and mostly depict the latter as passive and unproductive. Hence, they draw a completely inappropriate picture of people with disabilities and further contribute to the dualism between the able and the disabled body. As has been made evident, the practice of othering is omnipresent in a society. This practice is driven by power relations enforced by the dominant group of a society in order to legitimize their hegemonic status. If only the able-bodied community gets a voice, the disabled community can never tell their own story and the power will remain with the able-bodied people. By depicting disabled individuals as unproductive they are devalued. Through this devaluation they are no longer perceived as full members of a society anymore. This process of othering, devaluing and marginalizing people with disabilities is what follows from such inappropriate depictions of this community. In the material such depictions consist of either textual or visual representations of disabilities. The following paragraph is concerned with the visual representations thereof.

Although there are texts which include the topic of disability there are few instances of visual representations depicting disability in the material. Out of all the lower and upper secondary textbooks which were subject to the analysis there are only seven pictures which visualise the topic. There are two visuals of boys in a wheelchair (*Prime Time* 3 120; *Prime Time* 7 33), and one picture where the girl inventor Sadie is depicted with her invention (*More!* 3 87). The unit on “Being different” from *Prime Time* 3 shows, amongst other pictures of people with very different physical appearances, a visual of a young blonde man who smiles into the camera (119). It seems as if the man has Trisomy 21, as the prominent facial features lead to that assumption. Another picture shows a man with a blind loop and a service dog taking a walk through nature (*Way2go!* 6 95). The young surfer Bethany is also depicted with only one arm, as she lost the other arm in a shark attack (*More!* 3 44). *Way2go!* 6 also includes a picture of a boy in a wheelchair and a girl who has one hand playing ping pong (97). Generally, it can be observed that all these visuals only show disabled individuals who have a visible disability and who are quite young. There are no elderly disabled people represented in the material. Although the elderly community makes up a huge part of the Austrian society the textbooks do not include this issue. Old age and the infirmity that comes with it are manifestations of disability. Thus, elderly people and their disabilities should also be included in textbook units that regard disability. However, it is not sufficient to include only this group of society. There are many kinds of disabilities that should be included as well, as for example disabilities that are not visible. Hence, it can be concluded that both textual and visual representations of disabilities show a paucity of adequate and diverse representations of disabilities. When it comes to the representation of disabilities the question of what concept of disability stands behind this representation should be tackled. Here, the three models of disability come into play.

In chapter 4.3 those three models on how to approach disability are presented. Through the lens of the medical model the diagnosis of a disability stands in the centre and people are said to be disabled by their physical or mental limitations. The social model argues that disability is socially constructed and that individuals are disabled by society, not by their condition. This approach seeks to investigate the “social and medical structures and mechanisms that practice power over the individual” (Joshua and Schillmeier 4). The cultural model of disability is concerned with how disability is depicted in art, media, and literature. Many examples from the material portray

disability through the lens of the medical model. The injuries and illnesses discussed in the lower secondary textbooks show children at the doctor or hospital waiting for their treatment or already being treated. In one unit the novel “My sister’s keeper” is included (*Prime Time* 7 70). The extract from the novel revolves around a girl, Kate, who is sick and her sister, who was born to be her donor. The extract does not talk about the girl or her disability. It is told from the perspective of the healthy sister, Anna, who sees Kate as a liability. The text takes on the medical model of disability, as the disability is depicted as something very negative, which can only be worked against by way of using medicine. This “corrective approach of a medical view negates the lived experience of people with disabilities; it promotes the idea that the body is a machine that can be repaired, and upholds the cultural and historical concepts of normalcy” (Joshua and Schillmeier 3). There are very few texts which are told from a perspective which is inspired by the social model of disability. The most prominent one is the text from a young athlete, Robyn Lambird, who has cerebral palsy (*Way2go!* 6 96). In her text she calls for a ‘normalization’ of people with disabilities who are exceptionalized and othered by the non-disabled individuals. The cultural model of disability is not included in the material, as there is no instance of a text which addresses critically how disability is depicted in art, literature, and the media. There are texts which would pose the option to tackle this issue, however, the textbook authors did not include it. There is one extract taken from a novel called *Flawed* (*Way2go* 5! 129). In the novel there is a dominant group in which every individual is physically and mentally healthy and good-looking. The ‘others’ are called the “Flawed” and they are not allowed to participate in society. The two groups are not allowed to interact. This extract could have easily been interpreted as a society in which the able-bodied community is the dominant one and the disabled individuals are othered. A novel like this one poses a suitable kind of impetus towards holding a mirror to society and a critical analysis of its practices. The concepts of othering, ableism and disablism are only a few issues that could be explored through the analysis of such a novel.

After a general overview of the corpus and the presentation of the findings it is now of interest how these findings can be interpreted. Chapter 5.3 focuses on the discussion of the findings and elaborates on the implications which arise for teachers who make use of the analysed material.

5.3. Discussion

The following chapters present the categories of analysis, presented in chapter 5.1, and discuss key examples of each category in greater detail. The criterion which served as the basis for the selection of key examples was determined by the question of what example best represents the respective categories.

5.3.1. Portrayals of the able-bodied – Producing normalcy

The analysis of the corpus made evident that mainly able bodies are depicted in the textbooks. The able body is so prevalent in the material that the few examples where disabled bodies are presented frankly seem out of place. The idea of including able and disabled bodies alike, without implying that one is more favourable than the other, is not represented in any of the material. There is always some kind of disparagement or disdain resonating with the texts when disabled bodies are included, making it clear that being disabled is equal to being different, or not 'normal'. In his analysis Hodkinson applied a Foucauldian perspective and argues that "pupils never stand outside of [...] power dynamics and are, therefore, unable to avoid the construction of the normalised, regulated form that dominates societal perceptions of the 'body perfect'" (58). Examples of presenting the able body as the norm are presented in chapters 5.3.1 to 5.3.2. However, the even more striking part is that able bodies are sometimes depicted as so able and so talented that those portrayed ideal bodies seem difficult to reach, even for those who consider themselves able-bodied. This goes with McRuer's and Butler's theory, who argue that the idea of a perfect body in a society can never be reached, even by those who consider themselves able-bodied. The standards are set so high that every individual of a society struggles to get the desired body. The desired, normalized body is often linked to fitness, good health and sports. The topic of sports is a topic which generally runs through the corpus.

In the analysed textbooks there are many units which revolve around the topic sports, or extreme sports. Those units are full of depictions of not only able bodies, but extremely fit and energetic bodies. They include representations of an ideal able body that in many cases not even an 'average' able bodied person can fulfil. More! 2, for example, includes a unit on sports. On the first page 16 different types of sports are presented in pictures (120). Those pictures all show extremely fit and slim (white) bodies in action, performing the respective type of sport. The rest of the unit adopts the same approach, depicting only able bodies which are doing sports like mountain

climbing, surfing, or sailing. The topic of sports is included in most of the textbooks. However, in none of those sports units the Paralympics, for example, are addressed. Although the topic of the Paralympics would fit perfectly into those sports units, the textbook authors decided against including it. There is, however, one instance where the topic is addressed (*Way2go!* 6 98). It is not within a unit that revolves around disability or sports, but it is included within a unit called “The story of my life”. The topics of youth culture, homelessness, and disability are all discussed in this one unit. Amongst other texts in this unit there is one about the Paralympics, in which the pupils need to add suffixes to certain nouns and verbs. It seems inappropriate to introduce the language aspect “adjectives ending in -ful, -able and -less” within the part of the unit that talks about disability. This could further contribute to the reproduction of the dualism between able and disabled bodies. The language focus is exactly on the difference between the word forms and adding the suffix “less” to the word “help” or the prefix “dis” to the word “able” could evoke the attribution of a certain negativity to the newly constructed words. It would be helpful of teachers to address this issue when teaching this unit so that students do not adopt the view that disability is to be perceived as something negative.

There are numerous instances in the textbooks, in which it becomes evident that our society values able bodies and devalues disabled bodies. Next to the sports example, the second key example to be discussed in this chapter is mobility. Many units revolve around travelling the world and seemingly presuppose that the pupils have the opportunity to travel wherever they (or their parents) want to go. *More! 1* contains a unit about children going on vacation with their families (124). They talk about travelling to Tunisia, Croatia, and the United States. *More! 2* includes travelling in the first unit and starts out with a song called “Where did you go?” (8), which already presupposes that the children all travelled somewhere and are also able to travel. In the unit “Going on a journey”, *More! 3* presents famous travellers and includes a text about two journeys to the Himalaya mountains and Orlando (33). *More! 4* covers the topic of travelling to Australia and presents a whole itinerary which requires the travellers to be able to go long distances (71-72). *Prime Time 3* has a unit on “An extraordinary journey” (12). It starts out with a text on a family of four who left everything behind and are now living on a boat. This is a journey for the able-bodied as the body must be fit for such a life. There is no medical help within hours, the boat does not allow for much space to move around, and it is an emotional challenge to be living on the sea without

anyone but one's own family to talk to. The other textbooks adopt the same approach concerning the descriptions of journeys. There is not a single unit about travelling or the holidays which include disabled children, implying that vacations and travelling are something for the able-bodied only. A different picture would be drawn if disabled children were included in the material, without stating explicitly that disabled people can go on holiday as well. Textbook authors should refrain from putting the focus on the differences between able and disabled bodies and contribute to breaking up this dualism. Next to the texts of different children talking about the holidays there could be a text about someone with a disability talking about where they went on holiday, describing their journey and all the fun activities they did. If textbooks do not present disabled children as 'normal' beings who go on vacation and can do anything their able-bodied peers do the reproduction of the idea of the 'normal' as being able-bodied will never cease.

The pictures included in the material show predominantly able bodies, except for the few examples discussed in chapter 5.2. The depicted bodies can move; do all kinds of different sports; they can sing and have fun with friends; they travel; go on adventures; play instruments; they do their schoolwork without difficulties; and they try to get fitter even though they already are. The big picture drawn here is one of a body that is only valuable if it can do anything described in the books, without help from anyone else. This is exactly where ableism and disablism come into play. As Goodley formulated it so aptly, "Ableism provides just the right amount of temperature and nutrients for disablism to grow" (*Dis/Ability Studies* xi). If there are enough depictions of the able-bodied and disabled bodies are left out of the picture, disablism will grow on its own. The tales of ableism, which Goodley (*Dis/Ability Studies* xi) speaks of, contribute to the constant reproduction of the idea of the "species-typical individual citizen" by a contemporary capitalist society (Goodley, *Dis/Ability Studies* xi). This individual is a vital part of society, ready to work and be productive at any minute. In order to promote the idea of this individual it needs to be represented constantly, so as to imprint it in the heads of the people. In other words, the idea of this individual is 'normalized' through constant reproduction. This is where the theories of Bourdieu and Foucault meet, as outlined in chapter 3.3. Cultural reproduction and disciplinary normalization should not be thought of apart from each other, rather, they need to be seen within a causal relationship, the former results in the latter. Disablism is one of the results of the tales of ableism, everything which deviates from the able-bodied norm is linked to

disability. If only the able body is associated with productivity, it follows that the society which is indoctrinated with compulsory able-bodiedness devalues the seemingly unproductive disabled body. In their educative role textbook authors need to be made aware of this dilemma so as not to further aggravate the gap that stands between the equal treatment of able and disabled bodies.

The factor of productivity is a vital one for capitalist societies. Examining, assessing, and categorizing bodies is and has been a practice for centuries. This is strongly linked to the discourse around eugenics (Fogarty 238), which arose in the seventeenth and eighteenth century and had its horrible peak in the national socialist regime in the twentieth century (Fogarty 242). Bodies were only ascribed value if they were fit, able to work, and able to contribute something to society. Bodies which did not fit into the able-bodied norm were 'worthless' to the war machine created by the National Socialists. With a past like this, it seems inevitable that our society today still suffers from the bitter aftertaste the National Socialist era has left in our system of values. Other events in history, however, also contributed to this system of values, as for example the industrialization in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, as discussed in chapter 4.4. McRuer links compulsory able-bodiedness to the rise of industrial capitalism (303) through which the concept is easier to grasp. "Free to sell one's labor but not free to do anything else effectively meant free to have an able body but not particularly free to have anything else" (McRuer 303). Consequently, back in the day of the industrialization the only thing that people could really possess was an able body, otherwise, one could never be a productive member of society, which was everything one could be. Considering those two examples from the industrialization and the National Socialist regime does make it easier to understand where disablism has its roots. Therefore, it seems even more inappropriate for textbook authors not to consider the delicate topics of disablism and disability. School textbooks should introduce topics on a meta-level and discuss controversial topics to counteract the reproduction of discriminating ideologies. Moving away from the disablism which arises from the negligence of including disabled bodies in textbooks the active process of othering is now in focus.

5.3.2. The able-bodied and the disabled – Othering processes at work

One of the main problems that still prevail in relation to individuals with disabilities is that they are often 'othered' to promote the able-bodied norm. This has already been

outlined in the theory chapter. However, now it is of interest just how the analysed school textbooks reproduce the able-bodied norm, and at the same time other individuals with disabilities. It is quite difficult for the untrained eye to spot such instances, as the act of othering is often an act in disguise. Many of the analysed texts have a tone which evokes sympathy in the reader. It seems as if they intend to say that the able-bodied community is so blessed, and the disabled individuals are so unlucky that the former has to feel its deepest sympathy for the latter. This not only objectifies people with disabilities and denies the disabled body any form of productivity, but it also reduces the disabled body to its disability.

The act of othering people with disabilities and the devaluation of their achievements can clearly be observed in some of the textbooks. Take, for example the heading “Everyone can be extraordinary” from Prime Time 3 (16). Somehow, the mind wants to extend this heading and say ‘everyone can be extraordinary, EVEN you’. Below the heading there is another sub heading reading “Extraordinary lives”. There are four pictures of Mary Shelley, Steve Irwin, Jane Goodall, and Stephen Hawking. The problematic aspect here is that the picture and the text following it suggest that in spite of his disability, Stephen Hawking managed to be extraordinary. The disability is clearly put into focus, in the picture as well as in the text. By portraying the story that way, the reader is led to say that he did all the extraordinary things although he is disabled. By putting an ‘although’ after every achievement he made, his achievements are devalued. However, they can stand on their own, as they were so crucial for the academic field of physics. It does not need to be pointed out that the achievements came from a disabled body, a disabled body which was so able in other ways. This example shows that disability has many shades and that a body can never be reduced to one disability, when it has so many abilities that overshadow the few things the body is not able to do.

The unit named “Being different” from Prime Time 3 has already been addressed, however, now it is looked at through the ‘othering’ lens. Although the unit has some texts which are quite sensitive to the topic of disability, there are still some critical aspects which need to be discussed. Firstly, the title of the unit is highly problematic for obvious reasons. The focus is put on the difference of people, instead of their similarities. Although the aspect of being different is then questioned in the unit the title still evokes a negative feeling within the reader. This feeling is only intensified when the eye falls onto the pictures which follow the title. There are nine visuals and one is

instantly led to making out who is different here. The problem is that, of course, every individual is different from the other as no one looks and thinks exactly alike. However, as it is so ingrained in our society to distinguish between able and disabled individuals, able-bodied people looking at the pictures will try to make out the difference, as suggested in the title of the unit. Those able-bodied readers are very likely to determine the difference of the pictures based on the criterion of dis/ability. There is, again, the picture of an individual in a wheelchair. And there is a boy who probably has Trisomy 21. The other pictures show a boy playing football, a girl sleeping, a girl playing an instrument, and so on. For the targeted audience of the textbooks, the pupils, it will be difficult to look at the pictures from a distanced point of view. Without teachers who provide the proper guidance the pupils might assume that the message of the unit is that people with disabilities are different. However, the unit actually tries to point out that each individual is different from the other and that, therefore, the category of being different loses its significance. It has already been outlined that the unit is not successful in the realization of its teaching goals, as the students are likely to come to false conclusions when it comes to individuals with disabilities. This can be observed through the way the individuals are presented in the task, which is highly questionable. The individuals who are ascribed a certain disability are looking into the camera quite passively. The other individuals look more active in that they get to play an instrument, do sports, write something or watch TV. This evokes the feeling that people with disabilities lead passive lives and do not have the opportunity to do any fun activities. This feeling continues when going through the listening exercise which is included in the unit. It features a girl who talks about one of her friends in her podcast. She talks about how other people treat her friend Mason who is in a wheelchair. Again, the disabled person is othered, as it is talked about him instead of letting himself speak. The reading exercise following the listening task is about how to treat people with disabilities. Although the text tries to adopt a sensitive, non-discriminating language it is still told from an able-bodied perspective. This becomes evident in the first sentence: "Do you know someone who uses a wheelchair, wears glasses or has difficulty hearing?" (*Prime Time* 3 121). The question clearly presupposes an able-bodied norm and sets the tone for the whole text. It is all about "those people" and how the able-bodied people can help and support them. Although the text tries to present disabled people as 'normal' human beings, the choice of words is questionable and leads to the opposite of what the text intends. "They are not stupid or unable to do all the things

you can do. They may just do them a little differently or need a little extra help” (*Prime Time* 3 121). While the pronouns in those two sentences suggest that there should be a clear distinction between the able-bodied ‘you’ and the disabled ‘them’, the language is also condescending. The use of the word ‘stupid’ in this case is inappropriate and frankly does not contribute to breaking up the able-bodied norm.

The same condescending tone can be found in *Prime Time* 7. The text “How to live well on wheels” (32) revolves around giving advice to the stereotypical disabled individual in a wheelchair. It is stereotypical, as the common sign for people with disabilities is this graphic with a person sitting in a wheelchair. This sign does not represent the diversity which exists within the community of people with disabilities. Therefore, it should be considered to replace it with a more suitable sign in order to value all people with disabilities. The text in *Prime Time* 7 is told from the perspective of an able-bodied individual. This individual lectures the disabled person on how to be a better member of society. The text oversimplifies the situation an individual finds oneself in when sitting in a wheelchair. It seems out of place for someone considered able-bodied to give advice to someone with a disability. The text says:

Whether you’ve grown up in a wheelchair or this is a new thing to your life, you may seem different to other teenagers. However, since you cannot change the situation, you can change how you see yourself and your chair in everyday life. First it is important to acknowledge that you *are* a little different from other teenagers. This may be not always fun, but it is a reality. Trying too hard to ignore it can make you in the end seem more different than you are. (*Prime Time* 7 32)

It is difficult to tell what the author intended with this text. While pointing out that disabled people are different from able-bodied individuals, it is also emphasized that they are not so different from each other after all. Still, a distinct line is drawn between the able and the disabled body and the difference between the two is reduced to the incapability of walking. To make up for this incapability and to be a valuable member of society, the text suggests that individuals in a wheelchair should make an effort to be liked by the able-bodied people. The text directly speaks to the disabled individual and tells the imaginary ‘you’ to live life to the fullest. However, the disabled individual should also mind their mental well-being and physical appearance “even if some people want to make you believe that it’s only inner beauty that counts” (*Prime Time* 7 33). The individual in the wheelchair should “let [their] personality shine” (*Prime Time* 7 33) and they should consider “learning safe wheelchair tricks if it makes [them] feel cooler” (*Prime Time* 7 33). Lastly, the text asks of the disabled individual to be

considerate and understanding if (able-bodied) people do not know how to act and behave around them. It is suggested they are patient with non-disabled people. The disabled individual should help non-disabled individuals understand that disabled individuals are 'normal' people as well. The text reassures the person in the wheelchair "that it really is OK to be in a wheelchair" (*Prime Time* 7 33). The important aspect which is left out in this text is that people with disabilities are a normal part of every society and they make up a large part of it. According to a 2015 survey from Statistik Austria, 18.4% of the Austrian population live with a disability (*Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage der Menschen mit Behinderungen in Österreich 2016* 239). Therefore, it is in no way the sole responsibility of people with disabilities to make an effort to be accepted in society. Rather, all people of a society, regardless of any ability or disability, need to work together to create a diverse and inclusive society. Disability should not be a one-way street where people with disabilities are left alone. Rather, the inclusion and respect need to go both ways. From permanent disabilities the focus now moves on to disabilities which are temporary.

5.3.3. Depictions of being temporarily disabled

It has already been outlined that the main difference between the textbooks of lower and upper secondary is that the former tend to include almost only temporary disabilities. Those temporary disabilities are presented as easily curable. Hodkinson et al. found a significant number of images which depict hospitalised individuals who are temporarily disabled due to accidents or sickness. They state that those images "portrayed physical disability in a transient form, that is, the person might recover from their impaired mobility" (Hodkinson et al. 31). With regard to the medical model of disability that is to say that the individual might reach the status of the 'normal' body again.

One can only speculate as to why the textbook authors chose to include much more images and texts which revolve around temporarily disabled people and neglect the topic of permanent disability. Maybe they considered the topic of disability to be inappropriate for a young audience or had the fear that the topic might be presented in an oversimplified way. Another reason could be that the textbook authors did not feel educated enough in the field to integrate it in an appropriate way. Whatever reason stands behind the depiction of temporary disability in lower secondary schoolbooks, the fact that the topic of permanent disabilities is avoided becomes even more obvious.

Featuring temporary disabilities cannot be considered as examples of explicitly including the topic of disability. It does touch upon a few important aspects which can be discussed with the students. One of those aspects is that it should not be regarded as the norm to have an able body. The students are given an opportunity to reflect on the question of what it actually means to be disabled. Maybe the teacher manages to lead them to the realization that the term disability might not be the most appropriate term and that in many cases it is used to describe individuals who are perceived as different, or as 'other'. Featuring temporary, curable disabilities means looking at the subject through the approach of the medical model of disability. As outlined, the medical model regards disabilities as 'abnormalities' in need of treatment. The disability is not seen within a social context, but as the sole responsibility of the individual with a disability. The medical model also leads to a clear devaluation of the disabled body. Through this devaluation of the disabled body, the able body becomes the norm.

To summarize, the depictions of non-permanent disabilities are not interpreted as proper representations of disability in this thesis. A younger audience can also be familiarized with the topic of permanent disabilities on a critical level and with utmost sensitivity. The omission of the topic of permanent disabilities in lower secondary textbooks is an issue which needs to be addressed sooner rather than later. From three categories which describe problematic representations of people with disabilities the thesis now moves on to the last category which finally presents the topic in a more positive light.

5.3.4. Giving the disabled body a voice

It is one thing to omit the topic of disability in school textbooks. However, it is just as problematic when textbooks do include the topic but present it in an inappropriate way. While in many cases in the material the problematic depiction of people with disabilities might stem from the results of the processes of normalization discussed in the theoretical background chapter, this cannot be the sole reason why the topic is presented in such an inept way. One of the main issues could be that teachers who often also function as textbook authors are not educated enough in the field of disability and disability studies. If teachers are not confronted with the topic of disability in their academic education, how should they familiarize their students with it. In his 2021 TED talk Joseph Schneiderwind, a mathematician and disability rights activist, puts the

finger on how disability is still not viewed as 'normal'. He calls for normalizing disability, which he suggests must begin in schools. However, he also states that inclusion in schools cannot happen without the help of people with disabilities, following the slogan "nothing about me without me". In other words, nothing should be decided without the input of individuals with disabilities. This is what the analysed textbooks are clearly lacking: the perspective of someone with a disability. As outlined in the above chapters, the textbooks tend to tell stories about disabled individuals, rather than letting themselves speak. This not only results in the fact that the content is depicted in an inappropriate way, but it also deepens the gap which already exists between able and disabled bodies. School textbooks must contribute to working against this dualism which determines the value of human bodies. In the whole set of analysed textbooks, only three instances were found, in which the textbook authors let people with disabilities speak directly to the reader. The textbook authors need to be aware of the power they possess. They have the power to give disabled individuals a voice in their textbooks. They need to use this power in a way that does not discriminate individuals which deviate from the norm. This can be linked with Foucault's theory on power relations, which work in all directions within a society. If the disabled community is not given a voice, they will never have the power to change the narrative which surrounds their bodies. Without power, disabled people will continuously be reduced to their bodies and their disabilities. To give the community of disabled individuals a voice, they need to be included in society. As schools fundamentally shape societies, an effort needs to be made to include depictions of disabilities in all their diversity in school textbooks. As has been stated, there are few instances in the analysed material where people with disabilities speak directly to the reader. Those are presented below.

The first key example revolves around Judge Bernstein, who was elected to the Supreme Court (*Way2go!* 6 95). The listening activity consists of an interview; thus, the pupils hear the interviewer and the judge. They can hear the judge's competent voice and his eloquent way of speaking. The focus of the interview is more on Judge Bernstein's work and less on the fact that he is blind. He emphasizes that his blindness is a beneficial factor for his work, as his impression of the defendants is not influenced by his visual perceptions of their physical appearance. He states that "Justice is supposed to be blind" (*Way2go!* 6 95). The judge intends to say that justice should not discriminate against anyone on the basis of their race, gender, class, etc. The pupils are asked to discuss this statement in the follow-up activity. Unlike the other analysed

tasks, this is the only activity which presents disability as something positive, even beneficial. This sheds a new perspective on the matter, questioning the way the topic of disability is usually perceived by the public. Presenting disability as something which opens up new possibilities in daily life, rather than something which needs to be cured, contributes to working against the medical model of disability. Another positive aspect the activity evokes is that pupils need to actively question their perceptions of people with disabilities. The only negative aspect about the task is the activity which precedes it. In this exercise the pupils reflect on the downsides of having a disability. There are three questions regarding people who have physical or sensory disabilities. The questions revolve around what problems those individuals might encounter, or what kind of professions they could never work in. This is yet another task which focuses on the dualism between the able and the disabled body and emphasizes what people with disabilities are not able to do. Nevertheless, the listening activity about Judge Bernstein poses a great opportunity to discuss the topic of disability on a sensitive basis, as does the task described in the following paragraph.

Another key example in which the disabled are given a voice was encountered in the same unit that also includes the interview with Judge Bernstein. It is a short text written by or from the perspective of Robyn Lambird who is an Australian wheelchair racer (*Way2go!* 6 96). The twenty-five-year-old has cerebral palsy and in her text she focuses on the mistreatment disabled individuals often have to face by non-disabled people. Non-disabled individuals are in many cases not educated enough on the issue and tend to think that showing sympathy is the way to treat disabled people. However, in the text Robyn Lambird emphasizes the importance of listening to what people with disabilities have to say. She says that this is the only way of working against the ill-treatment that happens so often. This ill-treatment also results from the misconceptions that surround the topic. The common sign for disability is a person sitting in a wheelchair. Consequently, many people have the misconception that disability is always something visible. However, as the text emphasizes, there are many individuals who have a disability that cannot be caught immediately by the eye. Those individuals face even more discrimination as they often need to explain why they are entitled to certain benefits. One of those benefits is the need for a priority seat on public transport, for example. Another crucial point the text makes regards the representation of people with disabilities in the media or in advertising. While the text does not address this point in more depth it still presents an opportunity to include the cultural model of disability.

Teachers could do a follow-up activity with the pupils in which they analyse the representation of disabled individuals in newspaper articles, books or movies. Lambird writes that the topic of disability has to be made visible in a society, so as to normalize it and to work against the negative attitudes some people still have. This is the only instance encountered in the analysed corpus where the aspect of normalization is addressed. Lambird calls for a normalization of the disabled body. She asks of the reader not to regard disabled people as special or inspirational only because they have a disability. Rather, they should be presented as 'normal' and their achievements or their activist efforts for the disabled community should be valued. This fits in with what the comedian and journalist Stella Young has to say in her TED talk. She claims that the able-bodied world objectifies and exceptionalizes disabled people. She would rather prefer a world which values "genuine achievement for disabled people". Thus, if a school textbook presents, for example, the athletic achievements of different people in different disciplines, the Paralympics should not be left out. The textbooks need to be made more inclusive, valuing the accomplishments of all people alike, without stating explicitly that some of them were made by people with disabilities. Including diversity means presenting individuals, without putting the focus of presentation on their differences. It means presenting all the wonderful experiences we can have with our bodies, regardless of any so-called ability or disability.

The last instance of an individual with a disability speaking from a first-person perspective was encountered in Prime Time 3 (122). It regards an extract from the novel "The Curious Incident of the Dog in the Night-Time" by Mark Haddon. The extract in which the main protagonist introduces himself is only a few sentences long. He tells the reader his name and that he knows the capital of every country in the world. Moreover, he tells the reader what makes him happy and what makes him sad. The students are then asked to compare themselves with Christopher and his knowledge. The students will probably answer that they do not know all the capitals for all countries in the world, as is suggested in an example answer to the questions. In the next activity, the students are told that the novel is about a boy, Christopher, who is investigating the murder of his neighbours' dog. Moreover, it is outlined that "[f]or some people, Christopher is different because he has 'Asperger Syndrome'" (*Prime Time 3* 123). While the tasks on the extract of the novel start out quite sensitive, this statement seems like a step into the wrong direction. Again, the pattern of othering people with disabilities repeats itself, promoting the same old dualism between able and disabled

bodies that runs through the whole corpus. Instead of learning more about the story of the murdered dog, the students are asked to answer questions after having listened to an interview with a doctor explaining Asperger Syndrome. The students have to answer the questions by ticking the correct option. One set of possible answer options seems highly inappropriate and questionable. The question says, “What should you know when you deal with someone who has Asperger syndrome?” (*Prime Time* 3 123). The two answering options are “Unfamiliar things can be upsetting” and “They bully others” (*Prime Time* 3 123). First, the wording of the question is unsuitable because of the collocations that go with the verb ‘deal’. A problem or an issue can be dealt with. With people one interacts or communicates. Second, including the answer option “They bully others” is not only inadequate but unnecessary.

The fact that only three instances were found in which disabled individuals were given a voice undermines once more the assumption that school textbooks focus far too little on the topic of disability and diversity. Even if the topic of disability is included, the language through which it is discussed is shaped by ignorance. Thus, there is a fundamental need for informing teachers about the importance of dealing with textbook content on a critical basis. This means that teachers should always question the content they are about to teach and reflect on how it could be interpreted by students. The following chapter discusses implications for teaching the analysed material in class.

5.4. Implications for the school context

The analysis of the corpus has shown that an ability to critically question teaching material is of utmost importance for educators. Teachers should be capable of presenting content in an objective way which enables students to form their own opinions. Thus, educators must be aware of the problematic aspects in school textbooks in order to ensure that students do not draw any inappropriate conclusions. Although all investigated textbooks are part of the proposed school textbook list by the Austrian Ministry for Education, they cannot automatically be seen as politically correct or unproblematic. The English language classroom provides a space for introducing and discussing a variety of social, cultural, ecological, and economic issues. Due to the international significance of English as a lingua franca the EFL classroom is predestined for addressing topics of international interest. It is even more important for teachers to discuss such topics with care and an adequate language. This naturally

requires teachers' willingness to keep up to date in the fields which they include in their teaching.

Teaching each of the above-mentioned key examples requires a certain sensitivity. The examples are problematic in that they draw a false picture of people with disabilities. In the material disabled individuals are objectified and often depicted as helpless, not capable of living a life like their non-disabled peers. The tales of ableism encountered in the material are so pervasive and unquestioned that they need to be made visible. Baglieri and Lalvani emphasize the importance of teaching ableism in schools (1). They refer to the fact that disabled people are often referred to as being the world's largest minority group. However, many people do not know what ableism is and are not aware of the fact that people with disabilities are being systematically oppressed in our society (Baglieri and Lalvani 1). The authors argue that educators often do not teach the topic of disability as they assume that children do not really perceive disability. Baglieri and Lalvani state that children have a natural curiosity, and this curiosity needs to be given an outlet by providing a space for open discussion in the classroom (Baglieri and Lalvani 1). If teachers feel like they are overwhelmed by the topic they find help and support in the text by Baglieri and Lalvani. It includes a list of examples about how disabled people are discriminated on an institutional, cultural, and individual level. Those examples can be used as a stimulus for discussion in the EFL classroom.

Moving back to the analysed material in this thesis it needs to be outlined that although the material is problematic, it can still be used in the classroom. However, the content needs to be handled with care and a critical eye. What teachers can do to adapt the material of the first category is to work against that proposed model of the able body. Teachers need to make their students aware of the fact that compulsory able-bodiedness and systematic oppression of disabled bodies exist in our society. Students must understand that it is not only the responsibility of people with disabilities to challenge the able-bodied norm. What needs to precede each critical analysis of the material in class is a profound discussion of the vocabulary and terminology. Students should be aware that the terminology needs to be critically assessed and should never be used carelessly. The processes of normalization can be made evident through the discussion of representations of the able body. Many of such representations were found in the analysed school textbooks. One possible meaningful activity that could be done regarding those representations is to discuss compulsory able-bodiedness with

the students. Then they could be asked to identify representations of able-bodiedness in their textbooks and to reflect on the picture the textbooks draw of the 'normal' human body. Ideas of the 'normal' body found in the teaching material can be collected and it can be discussed who benefits from this idea of the 'normal' and who does not. The text from Robyn Lambird included in Way2go! 6 would undermine this discussion, as she too mentions the fact that disabled bodies are still not viewed as 'normal'. As a follow-up activity, the examples of temporary disability and sickness can be discussed. Temporary disability still works within an able-bodied world, as the 'normal' state of the body can be reached again. This is a clear reflection of the medical model of disability. As outlined, the school textbooks include many activities concerning temporary disabilities. They all contribute to the idea that being temporarily limited in body or mind is still within the boundaries of 'normality'. It is all going to be okay as long as one strives for the 'normal', functioning, able body. It is all going to be okay as long as one embodies the idea of the species-typical individual citizen. However, it is not enough to focus on ableism in the classroom. As Goodley argues, "Ableism provides just the right amount of temperature and nutrients for disablism to grow" (*Dis/Ability Studies* xi). Thus, in order to understand ableism, a thorough analysis of disablism needs to take place in the classroom.

One of the most striking results of the analysis was that many activities in the material can be seen as glowing examples of the disablism which happens in our society. People with disabilities are often muted or made invisible in the textbooks. The examples which do include people with disabilities are problematic but can still be used in the English language classroom. However, the teacher must ensure a distanced and well-reflected approach to the topic. The social model of disability helps to explain disablism. The model regards disability as oppression in society, rather than disability as an individual tragedy which needs to be cured. If the social model is explained to the students, the disablism which is inherent in the social model of disability becomes visible. Of course, the depth of analysis needs to be adapted to the learners' age and language level. However, this does not change the fact that the topic can and should be discussed in the classroom. An inclusive classroom calls for an inclusion of all children and for student-centred teaching (Gillett-Swan et al. 266). To exemplify the ideas of a student-centred teaching method Gillett-Swan et al. present the Lundy model of participation. The model can be used as a basis for any lesson, but it fits particularly well with teaching the topic of disability. It draws together four spheres:

space, voice, audience and influence (269-271). The first sphere emphasizes the importance of giving the pupils a safe space for discussion and for communicating their views. Second, the children should be given a chance to voice their innermost thoughts, however, they should not be pushed to contribute. The audience sphere requires active listening skills of the teacher. Educators function as an audience for the pupils' views and opinions. The last sphere, influence, suggests that educators need to react to the pupils' voices in the classroom. They should "act upon" the pupils' perspectives (Gillett-Swan et al. 270). Consequently, the three keywords to take away from this approach are listen, process, and react.

The activities in which the disabled are given a voice in the material seem to be the most promising ones for teaching the topic of disability. The examples of Judge Bernstein and Robyn Lambird both present a more positive view on the topic. Judge Bernstein emphasizes that he is enabled by his disability, making him a judge who does not discriminate based on physical appearance. Robyn Lambird claims that people with disabilities are not there to be an inspiration for anyone and calls for a 'normalization' of disability. These two examples provide an array of possible subjects to discuss: from disablism, the various models of disability, to compulsory able-bodiedness. The texts function as windows into a world which is not guided by the dualism between able and disabled bodies. They show a world in which the term disability is not immediately linked to the symbol of a person in a wheelchair. And they show a world which values diversity and in which having disabled children in a class is not the exception but the rule. Until we reach this point in schools, educators and stakeholders must work together to create inclusive learning atmospheres. And they must work towards changing norms which might seem natural but are in fact socially constructed. The material which is discussed in the following chapter was created according to this mission of changing problematic norms and working against compulsory able-bodiedness.

6. Teaching Material

6.1. Guiding principles

The works of Hodkinson et. al as well as Jensen et al. are highly crucial for the understanding of why the topic of disability is omitted in textbooks. They emphasize the importance of creating inclusive teaching material, in which all people of society find representations they can relate to. The authors include numerous informative

results which stem from their analyses. However, when it comes to transforming theory into praxis the reader encounters a vacuum. The authors stick to an analysis of available teaching material and refrain from working out new material which includes adequate representations of disability. The question of how adequate representations of disability can be included in teaching materials and textbooks remains unanswered. The texts and pictures analysed above rarely include the topic, and if they do the reader is still assumed to be able-bodied. The crucial point is that there is no instance in the material in which people with disabilities are addressed as readers. The reader is assumed to be non-disabled and in many cases the material attempts to familiarize non-disabled people with individuals with disabilities. However, it is much more meaningful to include texts and pictures which speak to all individuals, regardless of any disability or ability. The texts should contribute to working towards a common 'we' instead of speaking of able and disabled individuals.

Another point of critique is that the disabled individuals tend to be depicted in disability-related contexts. This was observed by Fuchs et al. (14) in their background paper for the 2020 Global Education Monitoring Report about inclusion and education. They analysed a range of different textbooks from different countries. The authors found that individuals with disabilities are rarely ever presented within (for lack of a better word) 'normal' situations. The focus tends to be on the disability rather than on anything else. Through this the disabled body is presented as something extraordinary and it is separated from the everyday life. This separation of the topic of disability and the 'normal' everyday life can be observed in the corpus. What this means for the creation of more meaningful material is that the disabled body needs to be detached from the sphere of disability. It has to be presented within the same contexts that so-called able bodies are. The textbook authors need to be aware of the fact that readers have different backgrounds, and they should target a greater readership. The idea of an inclusive education is being promoted throughout the school system. The Austrian Mittelschule already managed to realize some aspects of inclusive education. There are 'integrative' classrooms in which children are taught together, regardless of any ability or disability. Of course, a class which is called 'integrative' is not fully inclusive. And the fact that children with disabilities are all put into one class and not into other classes of the same school year presents an exclusive reality. However, it is at least a first step into an inclusive future. Consequently, appropriate material needs to be created sooner rather than later.

In this appropriate material the topic of disability needs to be presented diversely and heterogeneously. Depictions of people with disabilities often tend to include only visible forms of disability. The sign for disability showing a person in a wheelchair is inappropriate and does not speak to a great number of individuals with disabilities. Further, the topic of disability should not stand alone. It needs to be presented in correlation with other characteristics. Disability is not the sole identification marker of a person. Other social or cultural characteristics, such as gender, ethnicity or religious affiliation should be considered when establishing new teaching material. Sometimes individuals encounter more than just one hindrance that stands between them and being a part of society. "Social class, poverty, homelessness, illness, old age, or the simple fact of still being a child can all present serious obstacles to full participation in society" (Fuchs et al. 15). Thus, the material should contribute to breaking up these oppressive mechanisms which devalue individuals based on characteristics they mostly cannot influence.

In the preparation stage for the construction of the material one decision was fundamental. This decision concerned the question whether to improve already existing material. The alternative was to create completely new material. The goal of changing existing material would have been to show how teachers can alter material to make it more appropriate. By creating new texts and exercises, it can be shown how teachers like myself can come up with their own material. Ultimately, I decided against using existing material as I wanted to create something fresh, something which was not problematic before. In the following chapter the results of the construction stage are presented alongside the thoughts which led me through the construction process. For an overview of the material see Appendix.

6.2. The material in detail

As the analysis has shown, textbooks for the lower secondary tend to approach the topic of disability differently than the textbooks for the upper secondary. In an attempt to create material which aims towards familiarizing younger students with the topic in an EFL classroom it was created for the lower secondary. The goal hereby was to include the topic of disability without setting a clear focus on it. The analysed textbooks all address the topic directly. The texts are mostly about what disabled bodies cannot do and how disabled individuals differ from their non-disabled peers. To work against the reproduction of the dualism between the able and the disabled body the new

material does not have a clear focus on the topic of disability. Rather, aspects which unify the able and the disabled body are presented. There is an overarching theme which revolves around the summer holidays and coming back to school. During the summer holidays pupils all try to make the most out of their time away from school. The holidays are about exploring the world and growing as a person, freeing the mind of any pressure to perform. Holidays are about freeing oneself from the suppressive social norms which function within the institution of school. Although the summer holidays only last nine weeks a lot can change within this time. When the students get back to school and start a new school year the roles and dynamics within a classroom can be fundamentally different than the year before. Students could have left the class, other students might join the class, bringing along their own social backgrounds and experiences. Thus, the unit focuses on meeting new people and how to approach them. Without doubt it is of utmost importance to set the tone for the new school year right at the beginning thereof. A new school year means new challenges. The social norms are being restructured or reinforced in the first days of this new year. The material provides the perfect opportunity to discuss the students' experiences in their holidays while at the same time subliminally introducing the topic of disability. Disability is not introduced as a topic as such, but it runs through the unit as a cross-cutting issue. The message the unit conveys is that bodies enable people to perceive the world around them. Everyone perceives the world in their own way, regardless of any dis/ability. Yet, people are similar in the way they think and feel. This unifying thought should be kept in mind when discussing the unit in the EFL classroom. Depending on the language level of the students the material is suitable for the second and third grade lower secondary. The general aim of the unit is to familiarize students with the topic of disability without focussing on the dualism between the able and the disabled body. The unit should be embedded within a series of lessons which discuss the topic of disability. Obviously, one unit will not have the immediate effect of a normalization of the topic of disability as the dualism between ability and disability is still clearly perceptible in society. There are, however, some aspects which can be defined as immediate learning objects of this unit. The following learning objectives which regard the language aspect as well as the sociocultural aspect have been defined:

- 1. The students are able to understand texts written in the past simple, which include high-frequency verbs.*
- 2. The learners can identify forms of the past simple in those texts.*

3. *The students can formulate simple sentences about their summer holidays using the past simple.*
4. *The learners are able to understand and recall information from four texts about different forms of disability.*
5. *The learners can answer the questions posed to them by the four individuals in the text passages.*
6. *The students are able to realize that there are many unifying aspects between individuals with disabilities and non-disabled individuals.*

A part of those unifying aspects are feelings and interests. In the following paragraphs the tasks are presented in greater detail.

The first task is a reading exercise and revolves around Jenny and her brother who spend one week of their holidays in a summer camp. The task requires the students to apply their schematic knowledge to the text (see Hedge 189). Schematic knowledge is an umbrella term which includes general world knowledge, sociocultural, topic, and genre knowledge (Hedge 189). The students know that there are summer camps for children which usually include a variety of activities. They also know that children go there without their parents. However, the reader not only applies schematic knowledge to the text, but also language knowledge. Grade two of lower secondary focuses on the simple past tense. In grade three the past simple should be revised. The reading text is mostly written in the past simple and adheres to the standards of the Austrian syllabus. The texts have been chosen for a reader audience on an A2 language level. On this level learners “can understand short, simple texts on familiar matters of a concrete type which consists of high frequency everyday or job-related language” as well as “[...] texts [...] including a proportion of shared international vocabulary items” (CEFR 69). This description fits the texts, as there are many words which are similar in German and can, therefore, be deduced. Other vocabulary items are already known to the students and some of them need clarification.

While the text provides an opportunity to revise the past simple it was created to serve another purpose. The text is told from the perspective of Jenny who writes about her experiences in the summer camp. She describes herself briefly and refers to the picture next to the text, which shows her and her brother. It is not explicitly stated that Jenny has a disability. Rather, the text intends to present Jenny’s disability as something very ‘normal’. She states that her vision can get blurred and that it is sometimes difficult for

her to complete activities which require fine motoric skills. All of those things are not only difficult for her, but they can be difficult for someone considered able bodied as well. Thus, the reader is not brought to the insight that people with disabilities cannot do the same things that non-disabled individuals can do. If the reader even notices that Jenny has a disability, the only message he or she can take away is that there are activities which can be difficult for everyone. A post-reading activity follows the text. It consists of questions concerning the text which are presented in three different formats. The first format asks of the students to answer the questions by choosing if they are true or false. The next format requires the learners to complete sentences with the correct information. The third format consists of questions which need to be answered in full sentences. The questions support the students to develop a better understanding of the text. It is helpful to encourage the learners to read the questions before they read the text. By doing so their schemata are activated and they get a better idea of what information to look for in the text (Harmer 314). Hedge would refer to those schemata as schematic knowledge. The questions have been created in a way that does not put Jenny's disability at the centre. Rather the questions focus on the holiday camp and on the aspects the girl enjoyed. The activity is followed by task number three, which constitutes a follow-up speaking activity. It asks of the students to discuss their holidays in pairs. There are a few pre-given sentence starters to give the students an idea of what to talk about. Next to the speech bubbles there are two pictures. One picture shows a girl with a hearing aid. Again, a representation of disability is included within the material without explicitly stating it. The impression the pictures give is that two girls are talking about their holidays. If the students notice the girl's hearing aid, there is only one conclusion they should draw from this picture. This conclusion is that individuals with hearing aids spend their holidays just like their peers who do not have a hearing impairment.

As a next task the students write three activities they did in their holidays. However, they need to write it in Braille, which is a reading and writing system for people who are blind or have a vision impairment. This information is given briefly in the prompt. The students are provided with the Braille alphabet and an example. This activity was conducted during an English class at a Mittelschule. Among the outcomes were that the pupils enjoyed the activity as they saw Braille, which they had never been familiarized before, as a kind of secret language. The students seemed to enjoy encoding and decoding their messages. They were told some facts about Braille and

that it is used by individuals who have a vision impairment or are blind. The students accepted this information right away and did not ask any more questions about the disability aspect. For them it seemed to be nothing out of the ordinary to have a vision impairment. Consequently, this task seems to be a suitable opportunity to familiarize students with the topic of disability without putting a clear focus on it. The focus is rather on encoding and decoding their messages with the help of this new way of writing. This way they accept a vision impairment or blindness as something 'normal' and Braille as a means to an end that can be used by able and disabled individuals alike. As a next step the students are to move around in class and get together with their classmates. They should decode as many messages as possible within a time frame set by the teacher. Four of these decoded messages should be written down in the space provided.

The following activity starts out with the question if the students met any new people in their holidays. They are told that they are going to meet four new people in the book extracts which follow. The book extracts were all taken from the novel "Just Ask" by Sofia Sotomayor. The novel introduces different children to the reader. Every child is presented in a unique way, focussing on the aspects which make the child special. Each individual has another disability, from Diabetes to Tourette's syndrome to dyslexia. The author intends to show that human beings are similar in many things – most of all in their curiosity. Every child presents themselves in a similar manner. They tell the reader their name and talk about their interests or skills. They also tell the reader about their disability; however, they always end on a positive note. One of the reasons why the novel by Sofia Sotomayor was chosen is that individuals with disabilities are given a voice in the texts and they get to tell their own story. As discussed in the analysis part of this thesis individuals with disabilities rarely get the chance to present themselves in the teaching material. In many cases it is people who identify as able who tell the stories of the disabled. With the integration of texts told by individuals who do not represent the able-bodied norm textbooks can be designed in a more inclusive and heterogeneous way. To support the students in their reading process the educator familiarizes them with the new vocabulary items prior to introducing the task. This familiarization can happen through writing the words together. However, the students can also be asked to find the correct meanings of the words on their own. Thus, their skills in using the dictionary are further developed.

The book passages in which the disabled children get a voice are divided into four mini texts, which each ends with a question that is then taken up by the following child. Those questions are a great way of briefly interrupting the reading process to reflect upon them. Therefore, the questions the children pose are repeated throughout the tasks from six to ten. The students reflect on the following questions. Are you really good at something? What do you like to talk about? Do you sometimes feel misunderstood? What helps you when you are frustrated? All these questions regard issues people might have in their lives. Those issues are universal and apply to people regardless of any dis/ability. Thus, when discussing these issues there should be no distinction between able and disabled bodies. The teacher needs to lead the students through the discussion without having them develop the idea that disabled individuals have different feelings. The students should be occupied with reflecting on their own experiences. Hence, the purpose for speaking throughout these activities is an interactional one. This means that the learners communicate within a social context and not to simply exchange information (Hedge 235). The discussion should go beyond an environment in which the learners are concerned with their grades. The importance of the topic should not be mitigated by putting any pressure to perform onto the students. The teacher functions as a mediator and guides the students through the discussion of the questions. The reading and discussion task can serve as an inspiration for an extensive reading project. Encouraging students to read in the target language outside the classroom has proven to be a great way to gradually acquire the language while developing a pleasure for reading (Harmer 319). The novel by Sofia Sotomayor presents the children and their disabilities in a sensitive manner and provides a lot more topics to discuss. With an adequate reading guide provided by the teacher the students could meaningfully read and work with the novel on their own.

Moving on to the next task, task eleven asks the learners to reflect upon their unique powers, or in other words the aspects which make them special. The following quote from the novel is presented: “Each of us has unique powers to share with the world and make it more interesting and richer” (Sotomayor, n.p.). Again, the quote should be discussed, and the students should think about what they can do to make the world a better place. This information serves as the basis for the writing activity, in which the students answer the above-mentioned question in a written form. Due to the fact that the lexical and grammatical scope of learners in the second grade is still limited they are provided with a few sentence starters. There is a second writing activity in which

the learners write about their holidays. This writing activity serves as a way to practice the past simple. Both writing activities regard the language level A2 in which the learners are able to “write a series of simple phrases and sentences linked with simple connectors [...]” (CEFR 61).

The last activity of the unit concerns the grammatical aspect of irregular verbs. There is a general revision of when to use the past simple and how to form regular verbs in the tense. The new aspect regards the introduction of irregular verbs. There is usually a list of these verbs in EFL textbooks. For the unlikely case that there is no such list in the students’ textbook the teacher can hand out a respective list. In a next step the learners are familiarized with the past tense forms of a few high-frequency verbs. If the material is used in a third grade lower secondary the grammar section can be left out, or it can be used as a quick revision.

As discussed, this material is a first attempt of presenting the topic of disability in a more subtle and appropriate way in a school textbook. The material should contribute to normalizing disabled bodies. The presented tasks and activities include the topic of disability but do not put it into focus. They rather present disability as an everyday topic. Thus, disabled bodies are not exceptionalized but normalized. By focussing on aspects which are inherent to any human body the material aims towards breaking up the dualism between the able and the disabled body. The tasks should be regarded as a work in progress. The material can be revised, questioned, and redesigned. People with disabilities should be included in this revising process. After all, Joseph Schneiderwind emphasized his claim “nothing about me without me” and calls for a more inclusive school environment.

7. Conclusion

This thesis aimed towards a thorough analysis of what it means to be ‘normal’ or ‘abnormal’ in a modern society. In many cases ‘abnormality’ is associated with deviating from the able-bodied norm. As McRuer proposed, we live in a world which presupposes compulsory able-bodiedness. However, the dilemma in which people find themselves in is that humankind strives towards this one ideal body which can never be fully reached. Thus, the categories of able and disabled become invalid. Or in other words, they lose their significance. With these thoughts in mind the central research questions for this thesis were defined as follows:

1. *How are notions of normality established within a society and in what way are social and cultural norms produced and reproduced?*
2. *How do Austrian EFL textbooks contribute to producing and reproducing what is perceived as 'normal' in society with regard to the depiction of able and disabled or impaired bodies?*
3. *In what way are individuals with disabilities presented and represented in Austrian EFL textbooks?*

The analysis of 31 Austrian EFL textbooks was conducted using a content analysis approach adapted from Mayring. In a first step the material was read intensively, and all textbooks and units which include representations of disability were identified. Throughout the following steps of analysis, the findings were categorized and discussed in greater detail. The focus of the analysis lies on how the individuals with disabilities are presented in the material. The categories of analysis regard portrayals of the able-bodied, othering processes, depictions of temporary disabilities, as well as instances in which disabled individuals are given a voice. The analysis of the material confirmed the hypothesis that individuals with disabilities are underrepresented in Austrian EFL textbooks. Although the corpus only includes a small selection of Austrian EFL textbooks the chosen books are typically used in Mittelschule and AHS. Consequently, this thesis can be helpful for educators who work in one of those school types and teach with one of the included textbooks.

Returning to the first research question the discussion showed that for the process of determining whether a body or situation can be regarded as 'normal' certain aspects come into play. Those aspects include expectations, statistical data, morality and prototypicality. For many centuries the term 'normal' has been used and is still being used to determine the bodily health of humankind. The body is and has been a parameter to define someone's value in society. It can be seen as a social construct which functions within a heteronormative and able-bodied world. This world includes those who hold the power and those who are oppressed. The former are in a position to define what is to be perceived as the norm in a society. The weaker group of people are usually those who are said to deviate from the norm, or the non-normative, abnormal ones. The scholar Michel Foucault dedicated much of his work to the investigation of this binary system of the 'normal' and the 'abnormal'. Power relations which work within a society lead to this binary system. They bring with them the social practice of othering, through which certain groups of people are clearly differentiated

from the dominant class and are at the same time devalued. This social hierarchy is upheld by the dominant class through cultural reproduction and practices of normalization. Reproduction and normalization, particularly disciplinary normalization, are highly relevant for the school context. Schools are institutions with a reproductive role. They are reproducing social norms and, with them, social inequalities. Within this reproductive process cultured families are more likely to be awarded than families considered non-cultured. The reproduction of social inequalities becomes evident when one considers the underrepresentation of social and cultural minority groups in schools and school textbooks. There are already endeavours which aim towards the integration of such minority groups in schools and textbooks, however, this integration is a slow process. One of these endeavours can be found in the Austrian curriculum. Regardless of the specific school type it promotes intercultural learning and teaching tolerance. Promoting these aspects in schools can contribute to normalizing minority groups which do not identify as part of the white, European, heterosexual community. There are, however, social groups who do not receive nearly enough attention in Austrian schools and, particularly, in Austrian EFL textbooks. One of these groups is the disabled community which is still underrepresented in Austrian EFL textbooks.

The analysis of the corpus has shown that tales of ableism can be found throughout the textbooks. The privileging of normatively able bodies is a common practice in those textbooks. With the privileging of able bodies comes the devaluation of disabled bodies which is only rarely addressed in the books. This devaluation and the practices of othering which come with it, is the result of a social oppression. This oppression serves to manage populations and exercise power while keeping a privileged minority at the top of the social hierarchy. Thus, it can be stated that the institution of school contributes to a large degree to what we perceive as 'normal' in our society. Forms of ableism and disablism play a fundamental role in the production and, above all, in the reproduction of social norms. The reproduction of the able-bodied norm is fuelled by the lack of representation of disabled bodies in teaching materials. Through the reproduction of this norm and the constant representation of the able body in the textbooks the latter is being 'normalized'. Simultaneously, the disabled body is othered and defined as something undesirable and ultimately 'abnormal'. The association of the terms disability and 'abnormality' can be traced back to the eighteenth century. Back then the term 'normal' was not only used to describe the health condition of a body. It was also a parameter for the determination of the mental health. Schools were

among the first institutions which normalized. However, it is time to question these processes of normalization. The term 'normal' needs to be questioned and extended in order to make it a more including and less excluding term. The association of disability and non-normativity needs to be broken up. Objectifying disabled individuals and denying the disabled body any form of productivity only contributes to the dualism between the able and the disabled body. Telling the stories of the disabled and denying them a voice to let themselves speak will always present a one-sided picture which keeps the social hierarchy in its static state. The fact that so few instances were encountered in the textbooks in which the disabled were given a voice is alarming. This thesis is among the few analyses which investigate the representation of people with disabilities in Austrian EFL textbooks. There is still a wide array of EFL textbooks to choose from for further research. However, the analysis should not stop there. Textbooks of other subjects also need to be analysed with regard to the depictions of disability. By laying bare the tales of ableism in Austrian textbooks the dualism between the able and the disabled body can ultimately be dismantled. A thorough analysis of Austrian (EFL) textbooks functions as a basis for establishing new teaching goals which adhere to the standards of inclusive education. New teaching material and textbooks should cater to those standards. Textbooks need to convey the message that individuals with disabilities are a vital part of society. Hence, they should not be seen as a deviation from the norm. Rather, the textbooks can contribute to restructuring social norms and making them more inclusive. Thus, Dan Goodley's description about ableism and disablism can be transformed into something more positive. It can be transformed into something like this: *Inclusion provides just the right amount of temperature and nutrients for diversity to grow.*

8. Bibliography

Primary texts

- Born-Lechleitner, Ilse, et al. *way2go! 5: Coursebook*. Wien: Öbv, 2017.
- . *way2go! 6: Coursebook*. Wien: Öbv, 2019.
- . *way2go! 7: Coursebook*. Wien: Öbv, 2019.
- . *way2go! 8: Coursebook*. Wien: Öbv, 2020.
- Gerngross, Günter, et al. *More! 1: Student's Book*. Innsbruck: Helbling Languages, 2016.
- . *More! 1: Workbook*. Innsbruck: Helbling Languages, 2016.
- . *More! 2: Student's Book*. Innsbruck: Helbling, 2017.
- . *More! 2: Workbook*. Innsbruck: Helbling Languages, 2017.
- . *More! 3: Student's Book*. Innsbruck: Helbling Languages, 2018.
- . *More! 3: Workbook*. Innsbruck: Helbling Languages, 2018.
- . *More! 4: Student's Book: General Course*. Innsbruck: Helbling Languages, 2018.
- . *More! 4: Workbook: General Course*. Innsbruck: Helbling Languages, 2019.
- Hellmayr, Georg, et al. *Prime Time 1: Coursebook*. Wien: Öbv, 2017.
- Hinterberger, Claudia, et al. *Prime Time 3: Coursebook*. Wien: Öbv, 2020.
- . *Prime Time 4: Coursebook*. Wien: Öbv, 2021.
- . *Prime Time 5: Transition Coursebook*. Wien: Öbv, 2017.
- . *Prime Time 6: Coursebook*. Wien: Öbv, 2016.
- . *Prime Time 7: Coursebook*. Wien: Öbv, 2018.
- . *Prime Time 8: Coursebook*. Wien: Öbv, 2019.
- Klose, Christine, et al. *Easy 3 New horizons*. 2nd ed. Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2021.
- . *Easy 3 New horizons*. Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2021.
- . *Easy 3 New horizons: grammar & how-tos*. Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2021.
- . *Easy 3 New horizons: vocab & sounds*. Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2021.
- Lambert, Dave, et al. *Prime Time 2: Coursebook*. Wien: Öbv, 2019.
- Preedy, Ingrid. *Easy 1 Mira's magic world: book*. Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2020.
- . *Easy 1 Mira's magic world: pad*. Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2020.
- . *Easy 1 Mira's magic world: grammar & how-tos*. Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2019.
- . *Easy 1 Mira's magic world: vocab & sounds*. Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2019.
- . *Easy 2 Out & about with Mira*. 2nd ed. Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2021.
- . *Easy 2 Out & about with Mira: pad*. 2nd ed. Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2021.
- . *Easy 2 Out & about with Mira: grammar & how-tos*. 2nd ed. Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2021.
- . *Easy 2 Out & about with Mira: vocab & sounds*. 2nd ed. Linz: Veritas-Verlag, 2021.

Secondary and theoretical sources

- Bear, Adam and Joshua Knobe. "Normality: Part descriptive, part prescriptive." *Cognition* 167 (2017): 25-37.
- Bilton, Tony et al. *Introductory Sociology*. London: Macmillan, 1996.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction." *Knowledge, education, and cultural change: Papers in the Sociology of Education*. Ed. Richard Brown. London: Routledge, 1973. 71-112.
- . "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction." Halsey, ed. Jerome Karabel and A. H. *Power and Ideology in Education*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Jean-Claude Passeron. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage Publications, 1990.

- Burke, Peter. *Disability and Impairment: Working with Children and Families*. London/ Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2008.
- Campbell, Fiona K. *Contours of Ableism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Canguilhem, Georges. *On the normal and the pathological*. Boston/ London: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1966.
- Cislaghi, Beniamino and Lori Heise. "Gender norms and social norms: differences, similarities and why they matter in prevention science." *Sociology of Health and Illness* 42.2 (2020): 407-422.
- Collins, James. "Social Reproduction in Classrooms and Schools." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 38 (2009): 33-48.
- Costa, Cristina and Mark Murphy. "Bourdieu and the Application of Habitus across the Social Sciences." *Bourdieu, Habitus and Social Research*. Ed. Christina Costa and Mark Murphy. UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. 3-17.
- Council of Europe. *Common European framework of reference for languages: learning, teaching, assessment (CEFR)*. 2001.
<http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/linguistic/Source/Framework_EN.pdf>.
- Dahl, Audun, and Melanie Killen. "A Developmental Perspective on the Origins of Morality in Infancy and Early Childhood." *Frontiers in Psychology* 9 (2018): 1-6.
- Davis, Lennard J. "Constructing Normalcy: The Bell Curve, the Novel, and the Invention of the Disabled Body in the Nineteenth Century." *The Disability Studies Reader*. 2nd ed. Ed. Lennard Davis. New York: Routledge, 2006. 3-16.
- . *The Disability Studies Reader*. 2nd ed. New York/ London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2006.
- . *Enforcing Normalcy: Disability, Deafness, and the Body*. London/ New York: Verso, 1995.
- Felder, Franziska. *The ethics of inclusive education: presenting a new theoretical framework*. London/ New York: Routledge, 2022.
- Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink. "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change." *International Organization* 52.4 (1998): 887-917.
- Fogarty, Richard S. "Eugenics in Europe." *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* 8 (2015): 237 - 245.
- Foucault, Michael. *Security, Territory, Population*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- . *Abnormal: Lectures at the Collège de France 1974-1975*. London/ New York: Verso, 2003.
- Frank, Arthur W. *The wounded storyteller: Body, illness and ethics*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Fuchs, Eckhardt, Otto Marcus and Yu Simiao. "Background paper prepared for the 2020 Global Education Monitoring Report." *Textbooks and inclusive education*. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 2020. 9 Sept. 2022. <<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373693>>.
- Gillett-Swan, Jenna et al. "Putting students at the centre." *Inclusive Education for the 21st Century*. Ed. Linda Graham. Sydney: Taylor and Francis, 2020. 266-295.
- González-Palomares, Alba, and Ana Rey-Cao. "The Representation of Disability in Physical Education Textbooks in Spain." *Sport in Society* 25.8 (2022): 1450-1468.
- Goodley, Dan. *Dis/Ability Studies. Theorising disablism and ableism*. Oxon/ New York: Routledge, 2014.
- . "Dis/Entangling critical disability studies." *Disability & Society* 28.5 (2013): 631-644.

- . *Disability Studies: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*. Los Angeles: SAGE, 2011.
- Griffith Williams, Maggie, and Jenny Korn. "Othering and Fear: Cultural Values and Hiro's Race in Thomas & Friends' Hero of the Rails." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 41 (2017): 22-41.
- Gweon, Hyowon, Joshua B. Tenenbaum, and Laura E. Schulz. "Infants Consider Both the Sample and the Sampling Process in Inductive Generalization." *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 107.20 (2010): 9066–71.
- Haegele, Justin A., and Samuel Hodge. "Disability Discourse: Overview and Critiques of the Medical and Social Models." *Quest National Association for Kinesiology in Higher Education* 68.2 (2016): 193-206.
- Halpern, Joseph Y., and Christopher Hitchcock. "Graded Causation and Defaults." *The British Journal for the Philosophy of Science* 66 (2015): 413-457.
- Harmer, Jeremy. *The Practice of English Language Teaching*. 5th edition. Harlow: Pearson, 2015.
- Hedge, Tricia. *Teaching and Learning in the Language Classroom*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000.
- Heller, Jon Kevin. "Power, subjectification and resistance in Foucault." *SubStance* 25.79 (1996): 78-110.
- Hodkinson, Alan. "School Textbooks and the Avoidance of Disability." *Disability, Avoidance and the Academy: Challenging resistance*. Ed. David Bolt and Claire Penketh. London: Routledge, 2015. 57-67.
- Hodkinson, Alan, Amir Ghajarieh, and Ali Salami. "An analysis of the cultural representation of disability in school textbooks in Iran and England." *EDUCATION* 3-13 46.1 (2018): 27-36.
- Jenks, Chris. *Cultural Reproduction*. London/New York: Routledge, 1993.
- Jensen, Magne S, Marte Herrebrøden and Ulf Rune Andreassen. "The invisible minority: why do textbook authors avoid people with disabilities in their books?" *International Journal of Inclusive Education (ahead of print)* (2021): 1-17.
- Joshua, Eleoma and Michael Schillmeier. „Introduction.“ *Disability in German literature, film, and theater. Edinburgh German yearbook 4*. Ed. Eleoma Joshua and Michael Schillmeier. Rochester/ New York: Camden House, 2010. 1-13.
- Köpfer, Andreas, Justin J.W. Powell, and Raphael Zahnd. *Handbuch Inklusion international / International Handbook of Inclusive Education : Globale, nationale und lokale Perspektiven auf Inklusive Bildung / Global, National and Local Perspectives*. Leverkusen: Barbara Budrich, 2021.
- Kashima, Yoshihisa, et al. "The Acquisition of Perceived Descriptive Norms as Social Category Learning in Social Networks." *Social Networks* 35.4 (2013): 711-719.
- Kelly, Mark. "What's in a Norm? Foucault's Conceptualisation and Genealogy of the Norm." *Foucault Studies* 27 (2019): 1-22.
- Lalvani, Priya, and Susan Baglieri. *Undoing Ableism: Teaching About Disability in K-12 Classrooms*. New York/ London: Routledge, 2020.
- Lynch, Richard A. "Foucault's theory of power." *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts*. Ed. Dianna Taylor. Acumen, 2011. 13-26.
- Mayring, Philipp. *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse: Grundlagen und Techniken*. Weinheim: Beltz Verlagsgruppe, 2010.
- Mitra, Sophie. "The Capability Approach and Disability." *Journal of Disability Policy Studies* 16.4 (2006): 236-247.

- Nario-Redmond, Michelle R. *Ableism: The Causes and Consequences of Disability Prejudice*. Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2020.
- Nash, Roy. "Bourdieu on Education and Social and Cultural Reproduction." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 11.4 (1990): 431-447.
- Nilholm, Claes. "Research About Inclusive Education in 2020: How Can We Improve Our Theories in Order to Change Practice?" *European Journal of Special Needs Education* 36.3 (2021): 358-370.
- Oates, Tim. *Why textbooks count: a policy paper*. University of Cambridge. University of Cambridge: Cambridge Assessment. 22 Aug. 22. <<https://www.cambridgeassessment.org.uk/Images/181744-why-textbooks-count-tim-oates.pdf>>.
- Oliver, Michael. *Understanding Disability: From Theory to Praxis*. 2nd ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Opp, Karl-Dieter, and Michael Hechter. "What have we learned about the emergence of social norms?" *Social Norms*. Ed. Karl-Dieter Opp and Michael Hechter. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001.
- Paternek, Margaret A. "Norms and Normalization: Michel Foucault's Overextended Panoptic Machine." *Human Studies* 10.1 (1987): 97-121.
- Peuravaara, Kamilla. "Theorizing the Body: Conceptions of Disability, Gender and Normality." *Disability & Society* 28 (2013): 408-417.
- Reddy, C. Raghava. "From Impairment to Disability and Beyond: Critical Explorations in Disability Studies." *Sociological Bulletin* 60.2 (2011): 287-306.
- Said, Edward. *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*. New York: Vintage, 1978.
- Shakespeare, Tom. "Cultural representation of disabled people: dustbins for disavowal?" *Disability & Society* 9.3 (1994): 283-299.
- . *Disability: the basics*. Abingdon/ New York: Routledge, 2018.
- . "The Social Model of Disability." *The Disability Studies Reader 2nd edition*. Ed. Lennard J. Davis. New York/ London: Routledge, 2006. 197-204.
- Shume, Teresa J. "Conceptualising disability: a critical discourse analysis of a teacher education textbook." *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, ahead of print (2020): 1-16.
- Stray, Chris. "Paradigms regained: towards a historical sociology of the textbook." *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 26.1 (1994): 1-29.
- Taylor, Dianna. *Michel Foucault: Key Concepts*. Durham: Taylor & Francis Group, 2014.
- Thomas, Gareth M., and Dikaïos Sakellariou. *Disability, Normalcy, and the Everyday*. Milton: Routledge, 2018.
- Tremain, Shelley. "On the Government of Disability: Foucault, Power, and the Subject of Impairment." *The Disability Studies Reader*. 2nd ed. Ed. Lennard J. Davis. New York: Routledge, 2006. 185-196.
- Waldschmidt, Anne. "Disability-Culture-Society: Strengths and Weaknesses of a Cultural Model of Dis/ability." *Alter* 12.2 (2018): 65-78.
- Williams, Maggie Griffith, and Jenny Korn. "Othering and Fear: Cultural Values and Hiro's Race in Thomas & Friends Hero of the Rails." *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 41.1 (2017): 22-41.
- Wilson, Alison, and Angela Urick. "Cultural Reproduction Theory and Schooling: The Relationship between Student Capital and Opportunity to Learn." *American Journal of Education* 127 (2021): 193-232.

Online sources

- Bundesministerium für Bildung. 2004. *Gesamte Rechtsvorschrift für Lehrpläne: allgemeinbildende höhere Schulen. Lebende Fremdsprache (erste, zweite)*. 5 Aug. 2022.
<https://www.bmbwf.gv.at/Themen/schule/schulpraxis/lp/lp_ahs.html>
- Bundesministerium für Bildung. 2018. *Lehrplan der Neuen Mittelschule. Lebende Fremdsprache (erste, zweite)*. 5 Aug. 2022.
<https://bildung.bmbwf.gv.at/schulen/unterricht/lp/lp_nms.html>.
- Bundesministerium für Arbeit, Soziales und Konsumentenschutz. 2016. *Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Lage der Menschen mit Behinderungen in Österreich*. 22 Oct. 2022.
<<https://broschuerenservice.sozialministerium.at/Home/Download?publicationId=428>>.
- CRPD. "Convention on the rights of persons with disabilities - articles." 25 Aug. 2022.
<<https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities/convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-disabilities-2.html>>.
- "ideal." Online Etymology Dictionary. (10 Nov. 2022)
- "normal." The Cambridge Dictionary online. (7 April 2022)
- Schneiderwind, Joseph. "Normalizing Disability Begins in School." Online video clip. Youtube. TEDxTalks, 23 Sept. 2021. 18 Aug. 2022.
- UNESCO. *Making textbook content inclusive: A focus on religion, gender, and culture*. Paris, 2017. 10 Aug. 2022.
<<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000373693>>.
- Young, Stella. "I'm not your inspiration, thank you very much." Online video clip. Youtube. TEDxTalks, 9 June 2014. 27 Aug. 2022.

Sources used for material development

- Oksix. *Friendly atmosphere in the camp outdoors in the summer*. Adobe Stock. n.d. 29 Aug. 2022. <<https://tinyurl.com/2j433rae>>.
- peakSTOCK. *Smiling female child with hearing aid*. iStock. n.d. 29 Aug. 2022.
<https://tinyurl.com/ydae4uf8>.
- Sotomayor, Sofia. *Just Ask: Be different, be brave, be you*. New York: Philomel Books, 2019. Kindle file.
- Svitlana. *Happy kids*. Adobe Stock. n.d. 29 Aug. 2022. <<https://tinyurl.com/2fyvry3h>>.
- Youngblood, Tanalee. *Girl with red scarf*. Unsplash. n.d. 29 Aug. 2022.
<<https://unsplash.com/photos/Ub7V0V3azzw>>.

9. Appendix

Abstract

People with disabilities constitute an underrepresented group of society and owe their marginalized state to the oppressive practices enforced by the dominant group of a society. This thesis aims towards an investigation of such oppressive practices which are based on the dualism between the able and the disabled body. Among those oppressive practices are othering, labelling someone as 'abnormal' or disabled, and denying the disabled community a voice to speak for its own. The study is motivated by the research question how notions of 'normality' are established in a society and in what way social and cultural norms are produced and reproduced. The concept of normality is then combined with the concept of disability and the two concepts are transferred to the school context. Within this school context the focus lies specifically on Austrian EFL school textbooks. The second research question asks whether individuals with disabilities, often depicted as 'abnormal', are presented in Austrian EFL textbooks and, if so, how. The third research question is: How do Austrian EFL textbooks contribute to the production and reproduction of what is being perceived as 'normal' in society with regard to the depiction of able and seemingly disabled or impaired bodies. In a content analysis 31 Austrian EFL school textbooks were analysed in the matter of the representation of people with disabilities. A four-part categorization system enabled a thorough analysis which was concerned with how and by whom individuals with disabilities are depicted in the texts and visuals. The findings of the research undermine the hypothesis regarding the systematic underrepresentation of people with disabilities and show the privileging of able bodies. The able-bodied norm is reproduced constantly in the material. In order to work against this dualism between the able and the disabled body new teaching material was developed which adheres to the standards of inclusive education. The results of the analysis and the established material can and should be extended through future research to continuously work against compulsory able-bodiedness and the devaluation of disabled bodies.

German Abstract

Menschen mit Behinderung sind eine unterrepräsentierte Gruppe der modernen Gesellschaft. Sie werden noch immer marginalisiert und von der dominanten, in dieser Arbeit als ‚able-bodied‘ bezeichneten Gruppe der Gesellschaft diskriminiert. Diese Arbeit zielt darauf ab, die Diskriminierung von Menschen mit Behinderung offenzulegen. Der Dualismus, der nach wie vor zwischen dem ‚gesunden‘ und dem ‚behinderten‘ Körper vorherrscht, trägt weiter zur Diskriminierung dieser Gruppe bei. Daher fragt diese Arbeit zunächst danach, wie dieser Dualismus, der auf dem Dualismus zwischen dem ‚Normalen‘ und dem ‚Abnormalen‘ basiert, entstanden ist. Die erste Forschungsfrage erkundet, wie Vorstellungen von Normalität in einer Gesellschaft entstehen und wie soziale und kulturelle Normen produziert und reproduziert werden. Danach werden die Begriffe ‚Normalität‘ und ‚Abnormalität‘ im Hinblick auf die ‚Disability Studies‘ analysiert und in einen schulischen Kontext gesetzt. Die Frage danach, wie Menschen mit Behinderung in österreichischen Englisch-Schulbüchern dargestellt werden steht im Mittelpunkt. Außerdem wird der Frage nachgegangen, wie österreichische Englisch-Schulbücher dazu beitragen, was in unserer Gesellschaft als ‚normal‘ angesehen wird, im Hinblick auf ‚fähige‘ und ‚behinderte‘ bzw. ‚beeinträchtigte‘ Körper.

Um die Forschungsfragen bezüglich der österreichischen Schulbücher zu beantworten, wurde eine qualitative Analyse von 31 Schulbüchern vorgenommen. Es wurden Schulbücher verwendet, die in österreichischen Mittelschulen und allgemeinbildenden höheren Schulen verwendet werden. Im Zuge der Analyse wurden vier Analysekategorien erstellt. Diese Kategorien unterstützen die genauere Untersuchung des Dualismus zwischen dem ‚able‘ und dem ‚disabled‘ Körper, sowie der Repräsentation von temporär beeinträchtigten Körpern und der wenigen Fälle, in denen Menschen mit Behinderung im Material eine Stimme gegeben wird.

Die Analyse der Schulbücher zeugt von einer Unterrepräsentierung behinderter Körper. Selbst wenn Menschen mit Behinderung im analysierten Material inkludiert sind, so werden sie äußerst fragwürdig dargestellt. Die analysierten österreichischen Englisch-Schulbücher tragen dazu bei, dass Menschen mit Behinderung als ‚anders‘ wahrgenommen werden und vertiefen so die Kluft, die zwischen dem ‚fähigen‘ und dem ‚behinderten‘ Körper in der Gesellschaft liegt.

Um dem Dualismus zwischen dem ‚normalen‘ und dem ‚abnormalen‘ Körper entgegenzuwirken wurde neues Material erarbeitet, welches das Thema Behinderung

angemessener darstellt. Im Zuge weiterführender Forschung könnte dieses Material weiterentwickelt werden. Außerdem muss die Analyse österreichischer Schulbücher ausgeweitet werden, um zu einem genaueren Ergebnis hinsichtlich der Repräsentation von behinderten Körpern darin zu gelangen.

Unit 1 – Welcome back to school!

1 Read Jenny's letter

Hi,



My name is Jenny. I am 12 years old, and I am on the picture next to this text. I have brown hair and brown eyes. My brother Ben is standing next to me. Our hands are full of colour. That's because we were creating a big colourful picture with our hands. That was just one fun activity that we could do at the holiday camp. We spent the first week of our summer holidays at this camp.

We did so many fun things there. We did a Scuba diving course for beginners. That was awesome! It was a bit difficult for me to get used to breathing through the mouthpiece, but the ca-

res helped me. Another day we went to a farm, and we were allowed to pet all the animals there. Plus, we got to play around in the barn and jumped around in the hayloft. Another fun activity was a course in ceramics. I made a cute little turtle because turtles are my favourite animals. On the last day of the camp, we all raced against each other in a go-cart race. My brother Ben raced with me because my vision can get blurred. So he was the driver and I was his co-pilot.

The carers at the camp were lovely people. They helped us whenever we needed anything, and we could come to them with any problem. It's a bit difficult for me to do arts and crafts on my own so the carers helped me. I crafted friendship bracelets for my best friends Nina and Elena. They were also at the camp with me which made the whole thing even better. But I also made a lot of new friends. The best thing about the camp was that all the kids there were so nice, and we had so much fun together.

Anyway, I hope that you had as much fun in your holidays as I did. What did you do?

All the best,
Jenny



2 Try to do the following tasks:

Jenny is twelve years old.

☐ T/F ☐

Ben has got a sister.

☐ T/F ☐

The siblings were at a holiday camp.

☐ T/F ☐

In the ceramics course Jenny made _____.

The carers at the camp were _____.

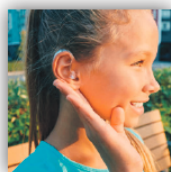
Jenny's best friends are _____.

What kinds of activities did Jenny do at the camp? _____

What did the carers do at the camp? _____

What did Jenny enjoy the most? _____

4 Work in pairs. Talk about what you did in your holidays.



What did
you do in
your
holidays?

I went to
I visited ...
I saw ...
I travelled to ...



- 3** Look at the following picture in which you can see the Braille alphabet. Braille is a reading and writing system for people who are blind or have a vision impairment. Use the alphabet to write three activities you did in your holidays! Were your holidays as great as Jenny's?

 a	 b	 c	 d	 e	 f	 g
 h	 i	 j	 k	 l	 m	 n
 o	 p	 q	 r	 s	 t	 u
 v	 w	 x	 y	 z		

Example:    
R E A D

Activity one:

oo
 oo
 oo
 —

Activity two:

oo
 oo
 oo
 —

Activity three:

oo
 oo
 oo
 —

- 5** Move around in class. Find out what your classmates did in their holidays by reading their Braille messages. Write down four of these activities:

- 6** Have you met any new people in your holidays? You are about to meet four new people in the following book extracts from “Just Ask” by Sofia Sotomayor. Read the texts and answer the questions.

*I'm Bianca and I have dyslexia,
so I have to work really hard and take my
time when I am reading and writing words.
Sometimes I use computer programs to help me.
I love learning by doing things.
My imagination is full of ideas, and I'm very good
at making art from the pictures I see in my mind.
Are you really good at something?*



- 7** Think about Bianca's question. Are you really good at something? Discuss with your partner.



*I'm great at dinosaurs – I know all about them!
I'm Jordan, and I have autism.
Organizing and counting all my toy dinosaurs
again and again makes me feel calm.
My classmate Tiana also has autism,
but it's different for her. She doesn't talk.
But I like to talk. I especially like to talk about
dinosaurs. What do you like to talk about?*

- 8** What about Jordan's question? What do you like to talk about? Tell your partner.



*For me listening comes more easily than talking
– and I'm a really good listener. My name is Anh
and I speak with a stutter, so I sometimes repeat
a word or get stuck when I try to say it.
It may take me a little longer to express myself,
and sometimes I'm too shy to talk,
but I understand everything that's going on.
Do you ever wonder if people understand you?*

- 9** Do you sometimes feel misunderstood? Ask your partner.



*I do. My name is Julia. Sometimes I wiggle or
make sounds that I can't control, because I have
Tourette's syndrome. People may look at me
funny because they think I am not paying
attention or just acting out. But it's not true;
I am listening. I don't always like having to
explain – it frustrates me – but it helps when I tell
people that it's just what my body does.
Do you ever feel frustrated?*

10 Think about Julia's question. What makes you feel frustrated? What helps you when you are frustrated? Talk to your partner.

11 Think about the following quote: "Each of us has unique powers to share with the world and make it more interesting and richer." What can you do to make the world a more interesting and better place?

12 Writing

A) Write an answer to Jenny's letter. What did you do in your holidays? Write about 40 words. Here are some phrases to help you:

In my holidays I went to...
I saw ...
I did ...
My family and I ...

B) Think about your unique powers. Write a text of 40 words about how you can make the world a more interesting and better place. Here are some phrases to help you:

I am really good at ...
My unique power is ...
I am interested in ...
I like ...
I can make the world a better place because ...

13 Grammar

Past simple (revision)

You use the past simple to talk about completed actions in the past.

*In the holidays I **ate** a lot of candy.*

*Last summer we **went** to a summer camp.*

Past simple – regular and irregular verbs

Last year you learned that you can form the past simple by adding the suffix 'ed' to verbs. But there are verbs in the past simple that are formed differently. Some of them you simply have to study by heart. Take a look at the irregular verbs list on page [...] and write down the past simple forms of the following verbs:

be > _____
go > _____
make > _____
do > _____
come > _____
eat > _____
hear > _____