

CHAPTER 2:

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

1. Introduction

Review of related literature forms the theoretical and epistemological base for any study. It not only gives the researcher a solid foundation to take the understanding of a given scientific inquiry further, but also provides an insight into history of the discipline and an overview of developments over the decades.

Every scientific study begins with the researcher examining reports of previous studies related to the topic of interest. Without this step, researchers cannot expect to construct an integrated, comprehensive picture of the world. They cannot achieve the progress that comes from building on the efforts of others. (Cooper, 1998).

Hart (2018) describes literature review as ‘The selection of available documents (both published and unpublished) of the topic, which contain information, ideas, data and evidence written from a particular standpoint to fulfil certain aims or express certain views on the nature of the topic and how it is to be investigated, and the effective evaluation of these documents in relation to the research being proposed.’ (p.13)

The present chapter gives an insight into the work carried out so far in major themes the present study strives to explore – role of media in raising social issues, representation of persons with disabilities (PwDs) in mainstream media, and impact of interventions such as passing a law on the coverage of disability and other issues. The literature review is conducted keeping in mind the research objectives and questions. For the purpose, books, doctoral thesis, journal articles, and online resources were taken into consideration.

1.1 Structure of the reviews

The reviews are divided into four broad categories based on its thematic relevance. The studies are arranged in chronological order – from the latest to the oldest – where different resource types – from books to online articles – are identified and clubbed together.

The chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the research topic, research in the field so far in context of objectives, methodology, and geographic factors, finding the research gap and positioning the current research.

The categories include:

- Mass media/ communication theories on what makes news, concept of news over the years, framing, gatekeeping, agenda-setting and priming theories, and media as a construct of social reality
- The concept of disability studies, media representation of persons with disabilities (PwDs), theories of representation
- Major studies in the field of media representation of disability
- Critical review of the literature so far and finding the major themes in perspective of all three major aspects

The present chapter is thus aimed at synthesis and organization of available research material, identification of major concepts in existing literature and putting it in context of the present study after critical review.

2. Theories of media representation and role of media in shaping social reality

2.1 What is News?

What makes news? What is ‘newsworthy’? The question of what makes to the pages of newspaper and screen time of a TV channel have long attracted researchers across the globe.

In one of the earliest classifications of news selection in context of foreign news and its distortion, Galtung and Ruge (1965) provided factors such as Frequency, Threshold, Absolute intensity, Intensity increase, Unambiguity, Meaningfulness, Cultural proximity, Relevance, Consonance, Predictability, Demand, Unexpectedness, Unpredictability, Scarcity, Continuity, Composition, Reference to elite nations, Reference to elite people, Reference to persons, and Reference to something negative and mentioned that they are not independent of each other. ‘The more events satisfy the criteria mentioned, the more likely that they will be registered as news,’ they mentioned.

In a follow-up study 36 years later, Harcup and O’Neil put forth new/ revised categories of – The powerful elite, Celebrity, Entertainment, Surprise, Bad news, Good news, Magnitude, Relevance, Follow-up, and Newspaper agenda (Harcup and O’Neil, 2001) that could attract the news coverage. The duo revised the same study again 16 years later (Harcup and O’Neil, 2017) in context of social media and found that arresting audio-visuals, conflict, and exclusivity are also the factors to make the cut. The concept of ‘shareability’ was also introduced by growing influence of social media.

News consists of (a) the reporting of actions and events (b) over a growing variety of publicly accessible media (c) by journalism organizations and an expanding spectrum of other content producers, including ordinary citizens (Bennett, 2016: p. 25). According to Graber and Dunaway (2017), news is not just any information - it contains information that is timely, sensational/exciting, personalized, and brief (p. 334).

Croteau and Hoynes (2013) defined news as *'the product of a social process through which the media personnel make decisions about what is newsworthy and what is not, about who is important and who is not, about what views are to be included and what views are to be dismissed.'* (p.132)

When news is understood as process, Fishman analyses news-making as 'journalists detect occurrences, interpret them as meaningful events, investigate their factual nature, and assemble them into stories.' (Van Dijk, 2013)

In Indian context, a study by Haq (1986) identified major categories of news to be political and government acts; war, protests, and defence; economic activities, transportation, travel; crimes, public moral problems, conflicts, law and order; accidents and disasters; science and inventions; public health and welfare; arts, education, and popular amusement; general human interest; and development. His study concluded that the criteria for the news selection were the same – thus there was high level of homogeneity in the newspaper coverage in both English and vernacular newspapers of India under study.

While beat system existing in news organizations is believed to be the 'newsworthiness' of the event (Tuchman, 1978), media scholars also point at sources – often government officials – combined with the need for journalistic efficiency, to decide what's news (Gans, 1979).

2.2 News as a construct of social reality and role of media in a democratic society

The first chapter of Walter Lippman's seminal book *Public Opinion* (1922) was titled 'The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads' that described the way in which the media was seen a century ago – as a bridge between the 'reality' outside in the arena of social and political life, and how that reality is perceived by the readers and viewers. Media created an image, a vision of the world outside to the public, that in turn formed public opinion and behaviour.

McCombs and Guo (2014) argued that the news media focuses people's attention on the major issues of the day, the news media structure the public's knowledge of these topics and influence

‘the picture’ of these attributes for an individual. In a way, the news media plays a key role in citizens’ participation in public affairs.

Fourie (2010) mentions that the news does not exist in the reality outside of the individual and therefore does not qualify as an occurrence or event per se. *‘News is not synonymous with an event. Instead, it may be construed as an attempt by news people and their media organizations to construct the essential framework of particular events and trends by retelling them in form of news reports.’* (p. 233)

Media not only tells their audiences *what* to think about, but also *how* to think about certain issues. ‘Both the selection of topics for the news agenda and the selection of frames for stories about those topics are powerful agenda setting roles and awesome ethical responsibilities.’ (McCombs, 2005).

Goonasekera (1992) defined news as a social construction of reality. Quoting Haque, he mentioned that the news should not be viewed in terms of abstract and absolute ideal of what news should be – such as objectivity, fairness, and neutrality, but as ‘a social construction of every day occurrences viewed in the light of cultures’ priorities, preferences, concerns, sensitivities and (negotiated) in an invisible but powerful undercurrent of attitudes, values and norms.’

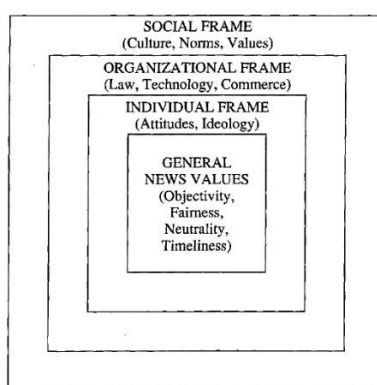


Figure 1: News is social construction of reality passed through several cultural and organizational screens: Media framing by Anura Goonasekera (1992)

McQuail (1987) mentioned that the mass media play a part ‘*in shaping the individual and collective consciousness by organizing and circulating the knowledge which people have of their own everyday life and of the more remote contexts of their lives*’ (p. 13).

The social construction of reality is a dialectical process in which human beings act both as the creators and as products of their social world. This is the consequence of a special human

faculty of externalization and objectivation of one's own internalized and subjective meanings, experiences, and actions (Adoni and Mane, 1984). The lens through which we receive these images is not neutral but evinces the power and point of view of the political and economic elites who operate and focus it (Gamson, et al., 1992).

The role of mass media however goes beyond just tell readers or viewers what is going on around them – it also strengthens predominant thoughts of the society and helps maintain social status quo by legitimizing hierarchy (Gitlin, 1979; Hall, 1982).

Functions and roles of Media

The existing theories of media primarily have two major aspects – practical/ existing (objective) roles of media and normative (subjective) roles of media.

The ‘*Four Theories of the Press*’ by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm (1956) laid foundation of the practical aspects of media in the post-World War II scenario where they introduced concepts of Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility and Soviet Communist concepts of what the press should be and do. The authors posited that the press always takes on the form and coloration of the social and political structures within which it operates (p.1).

Over the five decades, the theories have been examined and re-examined by scores of media scholars (Yin, 2008). The primary criticism it drew was from the fact that it was product of Cold War era and did not consider the functioning of press outside of Western countries. As John C Merrill (1990) asked, ‘Who should be the authority in defining what responsible journalism is? Shouldn't journalists themselves be allowed to make the judgement?’ (Yin, 2008). Other models over the years tried to incorporate factors such as individual journalistic choice, state’s power structure, market forces and so on (Ostini, 2002).

In their propaganda model, Herman and Chomsky (2010) argue that the mass media serves as a system for communicating messages and symbols to the general populace. ‘*It is their function to amuse, entertain, and inform, and to inculcate individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfil this role requires systematic propaganda.*’ (p.52). Factors such as the media outlet profile, reliance of the media on information sources and advertising as revenue source determine the degree of news filters, they said.

Christians, Glasser et al. (2010) identify four media roles - Monitorial, Radical, Collaborative and Facilitative (p. 125). The researchers posit that the roles get changed with varied degrees of control by the authority. The media are conceived as not so much having power themselves as having the means to place a check on those who really have power. It can work as ‘burglar alarm’ on one end of the spectrum by sounding warning signals against what is wrong in the society and criticize those in power, to ‘guard dog’ on the other where the media protects the interests of sponsors and chosen heroes.

According to this normative theory, monitorial role is the conventional ‘collection, processing and dissemination of information’ role, whereas facilitative role envisions journalism as an important force for improving quality of public life and promote active citizen participation through debates and pluralism. Radical, though limited in liberal democratic societies, brings forth abuse of power and promotes potential for fundamental or radical change. Collaborative on the other hand works closely with the government on issues such as internal or external crisis/ emergency such as terrorism or war, at the cost of curtailing its freedom.

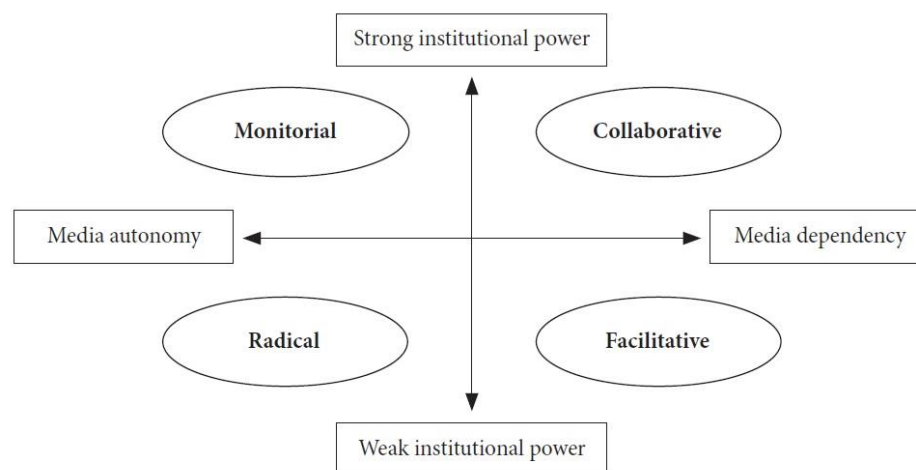


Figure 2: Roles of media range from monitorial to radical in different societies based on interplay of media and institutional power: *Normative Theories of the Media* (1950: p. 125)

Gans (2004) termed journalism an empirical discipline like sociology. ‘As a result, the news consists not only of the findings of empirical inquiry, but also of the concepts and methods which go into that inquiry, the assumptions that underlie concepts and methods, and a further set of assumptions which could be tested empirically if journalists had the time.’ (p.39)

But it is not a one-way process. As argued in uses and gratification approach, people ‘bend’ the media to their needs more readily than the media overpower them (Wright 1974). He further

said that the selection of media and content, and the uses to which they are put, are considerably influenced by social role and psychological predisposition of the audience.

Thus, choice of media or a certain kind of content by an individual as consumer provides insight into the relationship between real or perceived attributes of media and the social or psychological function it serves (Katz, Haas and Gurevitch, 1973). Thus, media consumption is not just about getting information about their surroundings, but also to satisfy social and psychological needs ranging from entertainment to self-realization.

Media and Social Responsibility

Developed in late 1940s by the Commission of Freedom of Press or Hutchins Commission in the US, the social responsibility theory took base of ‘responsibility’ as both being accountable and being in charge for the description. The commission insisted that the news media have an obligation to society rather than promoting the interests of government or pursuing private prerogatives to publish and make profit (Christians, 2014).

The commission asked the media to go beyond the factuality of objective journalism and provide ‘*a truthful, comprehensive and intelligent account of the day’s events in a context which gives them meaning.*’ (p.21)

McQuail (2013) claimed that media has an obligation to ‘be truthful, fair, objective and relevant to the public served’ as part of the social responsibility theory. He added that the editorial freedom should be subject to some form of public accountability, and codes of conduct and professional ethics should be observed. The norms of public journalism also warrant the media owners to pursue goal of improved quality of civic life and foster public discussion.

2.3 Theories of Media Effects

Media Framing

Wendorf and Yang (2017) in analysis of autism framing in the US media mentioned that the human-interest frame appeared the most, followed by attribution of responsibility frame, conflict frame, morality frame, and economic consequences frame.

The framing of a message is embedded in a repertoire of symbols and worldviews that its members use as a toolkit to attribute meaning to issues that confronted them. It can also function as a common ground within a specific culture based on its values, archetypes, and shared narratives (Van Gorp and Vercruysse, 2012).

Like physical frame, the framing theory looks at frames used by both media and the audience to make sense of the world around them. Gitlin (2006) defines frames as '*principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters.*' (p.6)

The five frames of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) to analyse the press and television in European context emphasized on conflict frame (conflict between individuals, groups, etc. to capture audience attention), human interest frame (human face or emotional angle to present an issue), economic consequences frame (possible impact, outcome in context of economy for individual or country), morality frame (religious tenets or moral prescription for an issue), and responsibility frame (attributing responsibility for an issue/ solution to government, group or individual). In context of disability studies, it could be human interest, morality, or responsibility frames.

Framing can influence how individuals react to a specific issue, sway public opinion, or affect formulation of public policy (Iyengar, 1991). Framing not only influences the audiences on which issues to think about, but also how to think about them (Kim, Scheufele and Shanahan, 2002).

Gamson and Modigliani (1987) define frames as 'a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events' (p. 143).

Framing originates from the field of social psychology (Bartlett, 1932) and refers to the ways the media and the public represent a particular topic or issue (Reese, Grandy and Grant, 2001) and can be used to organize everyday reality (Tuchman, 1978). Reese adds that framing is '*the way events and issues are organized and made sense of, especially by media, media professionals, and their audiences*' (p. 7).

One of the operational problems associated with framing and related research, however, is that it can often prove difficult to isolate framing effects from agenda setting and priming effects, as journalists also receive information based on the frames that are used to define them (Cacciatore, Scheufele and Iyengar, 2016).

Gatekeeping

White (1950) laid foundation of the 'gatekeeping' theory where he analysed the choice made by 'Mr. Gates,' a wire editor with a morning newspaper. He observed that out of 12,400 column inches worth of press association news, Mr Gates used 1,297, or about one-tenth. The study

highlighted gatekeeper's own set of experiences, attitudes and expectations influence the choice he makes.

Westley and MacLean (1957) integrated the 'gatekeeper' into their model of communication. In later years, McNelly (1959) focused on the reporters as 'the first of multiple gatekeepers,' Bass (1969) introduced 'double-action internal news flow,' and Shoemaker and McQuail (2002) updated it with introduction of multiple elements as gatekeepers such as sources, advertisers, markets, interest groups, public relations, government, and other social institutions. She also took into consideration the ideology and culture of the organization as an important factor.

Burns (2011) and other researchers point out that the gatekeeping process invariably starts from finding a strong 'angle' of a news story, and thus, deciding on what to put in and leave out of a story. The daily process of journalism requires journalists to be 'decision makers' and make judgements about impact of their work on their readers/ viewers.

Multiple studies indicated dominance of the 'business and professional, upper middle class, elite' narratives in the media. Media also supports the social order of the public (Robinson, 2001; Croteau and Hoynes, 2006; Fiske, 2016).

As 'gatekeepers,' the news media have a role to play in holding politicians and political operatives accountable. They also have the capacity to frame issues, and to set an agenda (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

In the recent years, 'gatewatching' has emerged as an alternative to gatekeeping. In this concept, the reporter or commentator does not operate from a position of authority or in ownership and control of news flow, but 'works by harnessing the collective intelligence and knowledge of dedicated communities to filter the news flow and to highlight and debate salient topics of importance to the community' (Bruns, 2008). Through a widespread community, the initial reports are examined, critiqued, and put into context with background information.

Priming and Cultivation Theory

An earlier media effects theory, cultivation theory was developed by George Gerbner in late 1960s that proposed 'cultivation' of a specific feeling – such as feeling of vulnerability due to exposure to violence on TV – due to media consumption (Romer, Jamieson et al., 2014).

'Priming' refers to the effect of some preceding stimulus or event on how we react, broadly defined, to some subsequent stimulus. At this level, priming is an effect, and not a theory.

Applied to media, ‘priming’ refers to the effects of the content of the media (e.g., coverage of certain political stories, depiction of violence, etc.) on people's later behaviour or judgments (e.g., evaluation of a president, aggressive behaviour, etc.) (Roskos-Ewoldsen et al, 2007). The priming by media often serves as a heuristic for the citizens whose understanding of the issue is shaped by the values involved (Domke, Shah and Wackman, 1998).

3. Representation of Persons with Disabilities (PwD) in mainstream media

The portrayal of disabilities by mainstream media often influences how the society forms opinions about the persons with disabilities (PwDs) and promote stereotypes. The disabled identity exists as mutually exclusive identity from all other identities because the cultural and media discourses on disability are influenced by the personal tragedy principle or by images of the super-cripple or the emotionally stunted (Oliver, 1990).

The study of mass media becomes important to understand the disability, as popular culture representation has certain power over advancing our understanding on disability (Cheyne, 2012). But majority of the work on disability and media has come from disability studies and fewer studies have come from the field of mass communication (Clogston, 1989).

3.1 Representation of disabilities and PwD by media and popular culture

Disability imagery is often impairment-focused, wherein impairment is portrayed as the cause of disability, and which is, therefore, ignorant of any social constraints imposed by a non-disabled society (Darke, 1999). Whilst certain assumptions, myths or superstitions about disabled people are constantly formed and reformed as part of mainstream cultural they are subsequently reproduced by the media (Ross, 1997).

Several studies indicate that media creates the image of disability for the society at large. Dear et al. (1996), taking the basis of the US national survey, indicated that radio, newspapers, and televisions were cited as the primary source on mental illness for 74%, 78% and 84% of respondents.

The term ‘Disability’ itself as an umbrella term for the issues related to physical impairment, learning difficulties and so on is not seen as an empowering or even particularly positive by the media (Barnes, 1992).

Multiple studies indicate that the representation of PwDs in media has remained clichéd and riddled with stereotypes – ranging from supercrip to evil mastermind – they have been depicted as more or less than human, rarely as ordinary people performing activities (Karna, 2001). Rarely do films or other means of visual media depict a powerful hero, engaging main character, or a beautiful love interest played by PwD (Muster, 2017).

A study by Kumar and Kothiyal (2018) on disability at work analysed 102 articles in Indian media. They found six themes – nature of work, workers, merit and dis/ability, reasonable accommodation, supercrips and superheroes, and textual authorship (p. 371) in context of disability and diversity at workplace. Greater attention was provided to the employer who is portrayed as a ‘silent contributor’ to the relevant social causes, even as the experience of PwD is deliberately silenced in mainstream media’s coverage (p. 378).

Media coverage given to an issue or event suggests the ‘value’ placed on it by editors or programmers. Thus, it is the choice of the editors to show/ cover disability-related events such as Paralympics over other programming/ articles available, as it is ‘perceived to have more value compared to other content.’ (Brittain, 2017).

Ghosh (2016) mentioned that the ideals of a desirable girl created by the accepted range of height, weight, skin tone, etc. through the verbal and visual messages projected by media. ‘Media images of desirable, perfect and marriageable women relegate disabled women to the realms of women not fit for consideration for marriage, as is illustrated by the matrimonial advertisements in the newspapers.’ (p. 138).

Block and Cavalcante (2014) in their study on perceptions of autism in Brazil mentioned that most of the respondents knew very little about autism, and what they knew mostly came from Hollywood movies or media reports – which often conveyed inaccurate or exaggerated portrayals of autism. The typical media stories presented autistic savants who could ‘memorize a phone book or who could play a piece on the piano after listening to it only one time.’ They pointed that such portrayal could be harmful as it could limit public perception of autism and offer few alternatives between the extremes.

Positive public perception towards disability may be generated through newspapers, TV coverages and other forms of media (Karna, 2001, p. 132). Media can change the attitude of general audience through encouraging more interaction with the disability community. It can not only improve their assimilation to the society, but also chances of getting employment and reduced stigma.

In her analysis of photographs of the PwDs published in media over the years, Garland-Thomson (2001) identified four visual rhetoric –

Wondrous	Capitalizes on physical difference in order to elicit amazement and admiration. In the past, the ‘wondrous’ disabled figures were the monsters of antiquity who inspired awe, foretold the future, or bore divine signs, and freaks, who were exhibited in 19 th Century dime museums and side shows
Sentimental	Produces sympathetic victim or helpless sufferer needing protection or aid, and invoking pity, inspiration
Exotic	Presents disabled figure as alien, distant, often sensationalized, eroticized for entertainment of audience
Realistic	Realism minimizes distance and difference by establishing a relation of contiguity between the viewer and the viewed

Figure 3: Seeing the disabled: Visual rhetorics of disability in popular photography: Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (2001)

She also argued that the representation in the popular culture structures rather than reflecting reality. ‘Disability is a story we tell about bodies. It is a received yet pliable story that changes over time and across place,’ she mentioned (Garland-Thomson, 2005).

While media alone is not responsible for the discriminatory attitude of the society towards the PwDs, media can surely act as a connect between the disability movement and society to promote inclusion (Sancho, 2003; Allan, 2008).

In an analysis on the articles related to physician-assisted suicides from 1996 to 1998 in the New York Times and the Guardian, Haller and Ralph (2001) found that the media systematically ignored or devalued the disability issues. The ADA and rights movements generated an opposite frame that countered the notion that the suicides are presented to disabled persons as they are ‘not worth keeping alive.’ (p.407)

Mainstream media and popular culture play a major role in shaping the society’s idea of disability. In their study, Farnall and Smith (1999) argued that the exposure to positive portrayals on TV and movies increased positive perception among the viewers. They advocated positive portrayals to improve understanding, sensitivity, and comfort of the non-disabled. It is however not only coverage – what media does is ‘cultural re-symbolization’ of disability issues which is as important as legislative, economic, and social changes (Eiesland, 1994).

Dahl (1993) noted that barring a few exceptions, advertisers in the media outlets do not seem to think in terms of the PwDs as customers for ‘drinking beer, brushing their teeth, or buying a car.’ The fundraising telethons in 1980s and 90s in the North America presented a high-status public figure and a child with disability. ‘The images equate disability with childlike behaviour and an infantile condition, a minor role, while the healthy normal star has the spotlight, status, and prestige. Helping the disabled becomes entertainment.’

The imagery of PwDs evoke or represent negative circumstances, and thus the images in media intensify the exclusion of PwDs from non-disabled community (Barnes, 1992; Shakespeare, 1994). According to Morris (1991), the physical characteristics of disability causes fear among people to the extent that non-disabled people fear becoming disabled themselves and, by extension, objectified, asexualised, or maligned. ‘The consequence of such is, inevitably, the separation and exclusion of disabled people from community and society life.’

Media has a crucial role in how we ‘make disability’ (Higgins, 1992). For the purpose, the agenda setting (ways by which frequent and prominent coverage is used to make an issue more or less significant for the public) (Coleman et al., 2009) and framing (the presentation of a specific aspect of a perceived reality and making it more salient... to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/ or treatment recommendation) (Entman, 1993) are employed. Media content, stereotypes, and absences frame mainstream discourse on disability (Stadler, 2006).

Media reinforces the belief that disability is a tragedy which calls for sympathy and charity (Shapiro, 1994). The media portrayal of super achievers (supercrip) also does not reflect reality of all persons with disabilities. The portrayal of disabled as sinister, evil, and criminal also strengthen the prejudices in society and justify the notion that disability is a punishment for their acts and the disabled resent the non-disabled (Longmore, 1985, 2015; Black and Pretes, 2007).

Similarly, how journalists see the disability issues is also important. Sharing their experience, Bogdan and Biklen (1977) noted that the reporters at a press conference by National American Federation of the Blind wanted to photograph and report on walking aids, lead dogs and other stereotypical symbols instead of the highly political topic at hand.

In a study conducted by Ryan and Owen (1976), only 8.8% of major US dailies had devoted space to social issues such as health, housing, education, racism-sexism, drug abuse and so on. In their follow-up study (1977), the researchers found that coverage of social issues had more

errors, primarily of subjective type. The study, conducted four decades back, talks about the overall attitude of media towards social issues, which has increased only marginally.

3.2 Role of journalists

What is the role and responsibility of an individual journalist? ‘We didn’t do it, we merely reported it,’ can be a claim as they are devoid of the consequences – it is often cited for criticism of ‘too much bad news.’ (Iggers, 2018). ‘To justify the conduct of journalists that may result in harm to others, journalists institutionalized discourse has produced a variety of arguments acknowledging that reporting does have morally significant consequences but maintaining that the reporter must proceed without regard to consequences and ‘let the chips fall where they may.’’ (p.110).

Some disability rights activists say that when non-disabled journalists tell stories about disabled people they view through the prism of their own experience. Thus, only when the disabled people are involved in telling stories, one can depart from the negative baseline. But media industry at large is unwilling to accept physical difference, both behind the scenes and in front of the camera (Ellis, 2016).

The reasons vary from media being a physically demanding job and non-availability of accessible environment always to the perceive reaction of the stakeholders such as audience members. Adjectives such as deadline-driven, field-based, active, physical, fast-paced often describe journalism and are also used to keep the disabled at an arm’s length. But activists argue that the notion severely undermines the skills of a disabled person and use of assistive technology.

A study by Jones (2014) provided an interesting perspective where five journalists with disabilities working in Canada were interviewed. While they felt that their impairment did result in ‘sidelined’ jobs, they mentioned technology as their aid for their job. They would often become ‘go-to’ persons on disability and were often encouraged to cover disability irrespective of their interest or expertise. They identified bringing out a newspaper as a teamwork and little influence of their presence when it comes to representation of disability in media – several even voiced their opinion that disability may not make a newsworthy topic daily. They however agreed that media representation is important for agenda setting role.

3.3 Stereotyping Disabilities

Stereotypes are simplified concepts of individuals based upon prior assumptions, embodying the personal ignorance towards the individual being representation (Ewen and Ewen, 2006). Attitudes follow a process of transition, depending on the diversity of experiences an individual goes through (Petty and Kosnik, 1995); an attitude is part of a judgement, including emotional response, indication by behavioural action and finally, an evaluation of the individual's belief (Pratkanis, Breckler, and Greenwald, 1992).

Stereotypes of disability are based on, and around, traditional myths and earlier historical beliefs (Barnes, 1992) and, while the perpetuation of traditional beliefs is an inherent aspect of normative cultural behaviour, they have been replicated, and importantly transmitted beyond their original socio-cultural boundaries through a network of various communicative channels, including the media (Shakespeare, 1994).

Studies have indicated that media rarely depicts 'normal' persons with disabilities and mostly relies on stereotypes (Vargo, 1989). Thus, the dominant cultural representation remains heroic, pitiable, or dangerous (Jones et al., 2008). A study by Samsel and Perepa (2013) indicated that the teachers working with children with disabilities found the media coverage sensational, propagating stereotypes and lack appropriate representation of disability. In some cases, it did impact their understanding and knowledge of disabilities and their subsequent approach.

Wilde (2010) argued that the media discourse is embraced or rejected by audiences based on the specific socio-temporal context in which it is published. Thus, response to disability and PwDs is very individual based on experiences and perceptions (Cumberbatch and Negrine, 1992).

Mental health conditions are often stigmatized in popular culture – media often associates the evil or sadistic nature of an individual to instability of the mind, which reinforces the inaccurate perception that the person with mental health issues is dangerous for society (Haller, 2010).

Damaging stereotypes exist in the absence of public outcry, discussion, or official sanction (McRuer, 2006); which thus allows the media to continue to expound messages about disability, for comedic or altruistic value etc., with the expectation that non-disabled audiences desire a form of representation which adheres to indecorum and transgression, and is devoid of chastisement (Tyler and Cohen, 2008).

The general trope used by the media is to employ the stereotype of PwDs as pitiable or pathetic for events such as raising money or for a cause or charity (Barnes, 1992; Holden, 1991). But these images do nothing to create awareness about the disability issues or the disabling barriers imposed by the society – it can only get short or mid-term benefits for the charity (Swain, French and Cameron, 2003). Charity advertising however has continued to use such imagery, usually in black and white, to illustrate show the tragic situation of disabled people who yearn for relief from the torment imposed by their impairment (Corker and French, 1999).

Cultural archetype of a person with disability as ‘deviant’ or ‘faulty’ is ingrained in society, and depiction of disabilities by mainstream media, including TV and cinema, further propagate the view (Nagchoudhuri and Juvva, 2016). Such beliefs are ingrained in both persons with and without disabilities.

Even when it comes to fictional characters, the PwDs are depicted as passive and dependent on others, so that the character traits such as providing platonic love, care and support of the other character comes to fore (Barnes, 1992). Many news articles consider the role of a parent or carer, or, indeed, of an altruistic individual, as an important factor for ensuring the disabled person reaches their potential.

News articles also sensationalize violence involving PwDs (Haller, 1998). Tone of these articles is often accusatory where the abuse is identified as a failure for the support service that led to the violence (Michalko, 2002); the effects upon the individual are seldom described, and therefore the individual is held up as ‘example’ rather than ‘source’, implying the disabled community cannot speak for itself (Hall, 1997).

PwDs are also often depicted as sinister or evil and strengthens the stereotype of ‘the others.’ Ross (1997) references to works of fiction such as *Treasure Island* and *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* and subsequent films based on them in 1950 and 1941 respectively to highlight the role of persons with physical impairment as antagonists in the narrative having ‘absence of rational thought and moral standards.’ Physical disfigurement is also oft-used trope for the villain – which further strengthens the stereotype associating impairment with evilness (Davidson, Woodill, and Bredberg (1994).

Another stereotype is PwDs as an object of wonder that often borders on voyeurism (Darke, 1994; Barnes, 1992). The perceived disability as a curiosity encourages general audience to consider the imagery to see into another world. Even in horror or science fiction genre of films, the PwDs are portrayed in ‘freak show’ mode (Pointon and Davis, 1997). They are placed for

their shock or scare value, again relegating them to non-human or inferior status (Shakespeare, 1994). Shakespeare (1994) terms the objectification of PwDs by media as ‘fetishism’ as they are *used* by communication outlets ‘to project emotions and represent specific values.’

It is however not only the negative stereotypes that hurt the PwDs. On the other end of the spectrum is ‘super cripp’ depiction where the PwDs can achieve great feats overcoming all odds. The ‘qualities’ of which these individuals are possessed are frequently unrealistic; for instance, in cinema, loss of vision or visual impairment is usually compensated for with superior hearing (Schwartz et al, 2010). Furthermore, the media links the supposed ‘remarkable’ qualities or actions of the disabled person to the generosity or compassion of others (Van Kraayenoord, 2002).

These images do not represent the true picture of disability community (Darke, 1994), and give the idea to the audience that their superior abilities help the PwDs overcome barriers to active participation in society (Karpf, 1988).

According to Wilde (2010), non-disabled audiences have difficulty in positioning the ‘dominant ideology’ of what disability represents within a social context. The stereotypes such as ‘better-off dead’ undermine the role of rehabilitation or assistive devices to improve quality of life, and just highlights negative notions of physical and mental dependence, and lack of self-determination. These stereotypes also ignore the role of society at large and puts the burden on the individuals.

3.4 Media terminology

The Guardian Style guide (Marsh, 2007) advises to use positive language about disability and avoiding outdated terms that stereotype or stigmatize. ‘Terms to avoid, with acceptable alternatives in brackets, include victim of, suffering from, afflicted by, crippled by (prefer person who has, person with); wheelchair-bound, in a wheelchair (uses a wheelchair); invalid (disabled person); mentally handicapped, backward, retarded, slow (person with learning difficulties); the disabled, the handicapped, the blind, the deaf (disabled people, blind people, deaf people); deaf and dumb (deaf and speech-impaired, hearing and speech-impaired).’

Similarly, the guide prevents use of ‘wheelchair-bound’ or ‘in a wheelchair’ which is stigmatizing and offensive, and instead asks to use, if relevant, someone who uses a wheelchair.

The BBC News Style guide (Allen, 2003) has a section ‘Portrayal’ that deals with the words to be used and avoided while dealing with women, ethnic minorities, disabilities, religious groups, sexual orientation, and older people.

‘There is a general acceptance that some words, such as crippled, spastic, Mongolism, idiot, retarded and mentally defective are no longer appropriate. It is also insensitive to refer to the deaf, the blind and the disabled, as if their physical condition were their one defining characteristic,’ mentions the guide. ‘Wheelchair users are as one in disliking the phrases wheelchair bound or confined to a wheelchair, on the grounds that wheelchairs are liberating, not confining. We must constantly be aware of terminology which might cause offence.’

Fedler, Bender et al. (2001) advice the budding journalists to avoid traps of ‘isms.’ ‘Stereotyping occurs when a news writer uses offensive, condescending, or patronizing terms or phrases in describing other individuals, especially women, racial or religious minorities, the elderly or the disabled... Good news writers are attuned to the ‘isms’—racism, sexism, ageism—that can appear in a story even unintentionally. They understand their audiences and the effect their words may have on some readers.’ (p. 68)

The terminology might have changed from ‘cripple’ and ‘handicapped’ to ‘disabled,’ but has the politicization of the issue changed? Media creates dichotomy of good vs. bad disabled and often focuses on disability as an impairment having no political bearings (Darke, 2004). The ‘positive imagery’ is also based on the misunderstood stereotypes.

Karna (2001) rued the lack of well-conceived terminology and sensitization among the intelligentsia and media as one of the major hinderances in mainstreaming PwDs (p. 20).

Burns (2010) urged the journalists and journalism educators to ‘appreciate the alternative frames of disability and not be limited to the familiar and, indeed, cliched story line.’ He added that instead of dictatorial rules about use of specific words and frames, the need of the hour is to educate journalists and provide guidelines.

3.5 Disability and new/ social media

Compared to the more controlled conventional media (TV, newspapers, radio, magazines, etc.), the ‘new’ media such as internet and social networking sites have opened the new vistas for both the disability rights activists and PwDs to express themselves and disseminate new ideas without ‘support or sympathy’ of the traditional media.

This technology has the potential to support the inclusion of disabled people and change the attitudinal inequalities that previous media forms have encouraged. New media has the capability to change or promote social, cultural, and political aspects of our society; however, according to (Ellis and Kent, 2011), whilst this is an ideal chance for new media to alter the portrayal of disabled people and, subsequently, popular attitudes, currently disabled people are marginalised within the digital world.

As conventional media is criticised for an inability to delivery content aligned with public interest (Ellis and Kent, 2011), new media formats, such as social networking sites and mobile applications, have allowed users to upload newsworthy or entertaining pictures, videos, or stories (Richardson, 2007). Whilst this has benefited disabled people in the fact that events can be uploaded to serve as accurate representations of those within a minority group, they are typically paired with journalistic narratives similar to those stereotypes noted above (Barnes, 1992).

(Paciello, 2000) has argued that the Internet, a form of new media, holds the potential for disabled people to take responsibility for their own image and to alter popular perception. This form of new media allows individuals to promote messages of empowerment and to demonstrate the true potential of disabled people without being stigmatised.

Social networking sites have been credited as platforms for E-governance, facilitating an extension of individualism, social relationships, and community involvement (Ellis and Kent, 2011). Non-disabled people can be informed of the political mobilisation and social interactions required for the disabled community to effectively battle against oppression (McRuer, 2006), and can facilitate the organisation of an empowered, multi-national, disabled group in an online context.

According to Ellis and Kent (2011), new media should be viewed in hope rather than trepidation, when considering the public perception of disability. The various technologies of new media permit users to take control of content and choose the information to publicise (Jenkins, 2008). There is a risk of exploitation, abuse and continuation of traditional stereotypes influencing attitudes and behaviours of non-disabled people; however, new media presents the potential for disabled people to gain control and firmly place attitudinal discrimination on the mainstream agenda (Ellis and Kent, 2011).

Some experts believed that while the social media has opened new vistas for different body types to reclaim the narrative, it also has the flip side of possible discrimination, threat, and trolling.

3.6 Impact of disability laws on media coverage

A study by Soffer, Rimmerman, et al. (2010) identified the gap between legal-policy image and popular image in aftermath of Israel's Equal Rights for Persons with Disabilities Law of 1998. They mentioned that even as the law emphasized rights and equality, the media image remained focused on biomedical model and welfare - dictating treatment and rehabilitation.

McEnhill and Byrne (2014) gave another perspective of the media coverage on a disability law – the Welfare Reform Act, 2012 provided entitlement to and assessment for benefits for PwDs. Analysis of the coverage of The Sun tabloid on the law showed that the media portrayal of the claimants, recipients as fraudulent, undeserving, etc. could lead to sweeping generalizations among the society at large (p. 106).

Likewise, Brian, Watson and Philo (2013) observed that public attitude towards welfare initiatives was changing due to the stand by the media in the UK. The researchers argued that the PwDs were presented as the new ‘folk devil’ for media attacks with ‘pejorative language’ and the stand could lead to removal of the support structure.

As highlighted by Tegler (2015), the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), can be encapsulated in only one sentence – persons with disabilities deserve the same rights as those without disabilities. It became a rights-based issue and aimed to change the social attitude and approach towards the community (Burns and Haller, 2015). ‘*The manner in which American society views people with disabilities and the way people with disabilities see themselves has been positively influenced by the ADA,*’ wrote Tegler.

The study shows there are progressive representations in news media, and, as has been the case in the US post the implementation of the ADA, there is impact associated, if not directly assigned, to fair and accurate representation of disability and people with disability.

Another study by Soffer and Rimmerman (2012) on discourse of employment for persons with disabilities in Wall Street Journal in context of ADA from 1990 to 2008 indicated that the coverage presented a conflicted picture – on one hand, the negative presentation came down over the years, but on the other it also showed PwDs as financial burden for employers.

Disability laws do not garner much media attention, as the target social group is traditionally marginalized. Social issues typically receive less press attention and take up less space in newspapers (Burns and Haller, 2015).

Disability Study

The aim of much disability studies is to reimagine disability, to reveal how the storied quality of disability invents and reinvents the world we share. Disability studies challenges our collective representation of disability, exposing it as an exclusionary and oppressive system rather than the natural and appropriate order of things (Halder and Assaf, 2017).

The rich history of disability studies provides a wealth of insights into disability as narrative trope, cultural identity, lived experience, socioeconomic status, and political category. According to Ellcessor and Kirkpatrick (2017), media studies is ‘a humanities-centred, qualitative field that explores how the media work as cultural, political, and economic institutions, as sites of meaning-making and ideological contestation, and as resources for social and individual identity formation and expression.’ But the two need to talk to each other more often.

Siebers (2008) mentions that disability identity is neither a liability nor a disability. ‘Identity is, properly defined, an epistemological construction that contains a broad array of theories about navigating social environments.’

According to Garland-Thomson (2005), the aim of disability studies is to reimagine disability and how the narrative of disability invents and reinvents the world we share. ‘Disability studies challenges our collective representation of disability, exposing it as an exclusionary and oppressive system rather than the natural and appropriate order of things,’ she mentioned.

She further posits that ability and disability are not so much a matter of the capacities and limitations of bodies but more about what we expect from a body at a specific moment and place. ‘... *In other words, we are expected to look, act, and move in certain ways so we will fit into the built and attitudinal environment. If we do not, we become disabled.*’ (p. 523-524)

Disability studies is a relatively new field whose scholarship has emerged within a range of traditions, primarily rhetoric, English, ethics, art history, gender and queer studies, and the social sciences (including education and developmental psychology). Although disability study is gaining a structural foothold in universities thanks to an ever-increasing number of dedicated programs, this interdisciplinary legacy—as well as its widespread, even fundamental

orientation toward accessibility and activism beyond the academy—is responsible for many of the core strengths and achievements of disability studies scholarship.

Linton (1998) stressed on need for identification of disability studies as an interdisciplinary inquiry into the function and meaning of disability in all its manifestations. ‘It should go beyond analysing the exclusion of disabled people from society and of disability from the epistemological traditions in society, to chart the peoples’ and the subjects’ place in the civic and academic cultures.’

4. Major studies in the field of media representation of disability

4.1 Studies from India

1. Representation of Disabled people in Print Media in India | Santosh Kumar Biswal (2015)

Unpublished doctoral thesis

Department of Communication and Journalism, Osmania University

Methodology: Biswal analysed the coverage of disability issues in Hyderabad editions of The Hindu and The Times of India for the calendar year 2013. He found 47 and 42 articles respectively.

Major findings: The coverage was mostly in the city pages with 42.5% for The Hindu and 40.5% for TOI. In all, 17% and 16.7% of the articles in The Hindu and TOI were on editorial and opinion pages respectively. A sizeable number of articles were on the disability rights.

The Hindu reported more on physical disabilities (25.5%) whereas TOI focused more on mental health and emotional disabilities (26.2%). The coverage focused largely on the urban areas and there were fewer stories exclusively on issues faced by women with disabilities. As the International Day of Persons with Disabilities is observed on December 3, the month witnessed 21.3% of total articles in The Hindu and 31% in TOI.

Language analysis showed that the language was sympathetic and not empathetic. The journalists were not aware of the reporting guidelines by the International Labour Organization (ILO). The coverage was event-centric, instead of people-centric. Media persons blamed lower level of social activism on the part of disability rights activists.

Suggestions: Biswal suggested initiating awareness campaigns, education for the media persons and sensitivity towards the language used. He also suggested role of PCI for reporting modalities.

2. Construction of disability in an ableist Indian media: Framing difference, facilitating inclusion | Nooka Raju Bendukurthi (2015)

Unpublished doctoral thesis

University of Hyderabad

Methodology: Bendukurthi studied the content of Eenadu (Telugu) and The Hindu (English) newspapers' content for 12 months in 2012. A total of 205 stories – 112 from Eenadu and 93 from The Hindu – were selected for analysis.

Major findings: The study found seven major themes of coverage on disability. They include goodwill building (indicate support and draw in support), economism (only financial and social assistance can pull the PwDs out of their destitution), medical model (pacify anxieties of able-bodied audience), modern freak shows (visual narratives depicting disability), dynamics within discrimination (PwD as a class towards which society has moral responsibility), statism and anti-statism (aids by the state aimed at mainstreaming the disabled).

The language was disability first in majority of the articles, instead of person-first. Corporeal disabilities got more coverage compared to cognitive disabilities. Technical details in the stories related to the sportspersons were missing.

Suggestions: Specific differences in frames between the online and print news narratives, frame elements as both discursive and aesthetic elements, alternative journalism specific to disability

4.2 Studies from Asia

1. The Representation of People with Disabilities in an Official Newspaper in China: A Longitudinal Study of the *People's Daily* From 2003 to 2013 | Wen Ye and Geri Alumit Zeldes (2020)

Journal of Disability Policy Studies 2020, Vol. 31(1) 26–34

Methodology: People's Daily, China's leading newspaper, was chosen for content analysis where all articles and pictures related to disabilities between January 1, 2003 and December 31, 2013 were selected for an analysis through hybrid method. With the use of key words 'canji' (disabled) and canjiren (people with disabilities), a total of 6,422 articles and pictures were

found. For the analysis, the most relevant 788 articles were selected, and images were excluded. The articles were divided into different models and the primary person mentioned in the articles – individuals with disabilities, relative, government official, for or not for profit organization, etc.

Major findings: Out of 11 years, 2008 alone had 165 or 21% of the total articles. Out of these, 47% were published during the Paralympic games. Out of the total, 16.5% articles were classified as hard news. The ‘super cripp’ model/ representation was the most prominent with 26.9% of the articles using it to narrate the story. The two other prominent models were government support model (25.5%) and non-government support (16.8%).

In 33.8% articles, the quoted persons were government officials, whereas in 21.8% articles, no one was cited or quoted. In only 20.3% articles, individuals with disabilities were the primary protagonists.

The number of articles did not increase significantly over time, or under the events of 2008. The newspaper coverage did not use progressive models or using PwD as a news source. The lack of change may reinforce stereotypes and stigmatized images of people with disabilities, underrepresentation, or misrepresentation of people with disabilities in the mass media.

The coverage did not much ups or downs could be attributed to China’s government policy.

Suggestions: More flexible and market-oriented newspaper can be taken for further analysis to understand different levels of control. Difference or similarity must be found between newspaper and public perception of disability.

2. Media Framing of Disability and Employment in Japan: Traditional and Progressive Approaches | Liz Shek-Noble (2020)

Asia Pacific Media Educator 1-15

Methodology: Google search was used with keywords disability, employment, work, and Japan. The period chosen was September 3, 2018 to September 4, 2019. Out of 100 initial stories found, 14 from 6 Japanese English-language news sources. It included NHK World-Japan, The Japan Times, Kyodo News Plus, Japan Forward, The Mainichi, and The Japan News.

Major findings: Three primary frames were found and analysed - disabled people are a workforce that are underutilized and undervalued, disabled people are difficult to accommodate

in the private sector due to their impairments and need for accommodations, and robot technologies can increase social and employment opportunities for people with severe disabilities.

Suggestions: -

3. Representation of Disabled Community in Mainstream Media | Chan Eang Teng and Tang Mui Joo (2020)

International Journal of Knowledge Content Development and Technology Vol.10, No.2, 19-37 (June 2020)

Methodology: Three Malaysian newspapers - The Star (English), Sin Chew (Chinese) and Utusan Malaysia (Malay) - were chosen for analysis. Three interviews were carried out of a journalist, a person with disabilities and a member of the National Council for the Blind, Malaysia.

Major findings: Some of the terms used by the newspapers included 'blind,' 'visually impaired,' 'blind student,' people with visual impairment, 'buta' (blind), 'cacat penglihatan' (visually impaired) and 'orang buta' (blind people). Home news and technology news sections had the maximum stories with small share in regional, world and sports news. Interviewees felt that the persons with disabilities are almost always depicted as those in need and requiring special care.

Suggestions: A specific column in newspaper for the community can provide persons with disabilities a platform to voice their opinions. The perspective of the persons with disabilities should be included in discourse Cultivation of awareness and positive ideas among media should take place.

4. Representations of People with Disabilities in an Indonesian Newspaper: A Critical Discourse Analysis | Neng Priyanti (2018)

Disability Studies Quarterly Vol. 38 No. 4 (2018): Fall 2018

Methodology: Newspaper articles from The Jakarta Post were chosen from January 2013 to April 2014 where disability was mentioned. The research questions included examination of classification, lexical analysis, and role allocation to persons with disabilities.

Major Findings: The terminology found included 'disabled,' 'handicapped,' usages such as 'wheel-chaired passenger.' Such usage was found 76 times in 10 articles. Moreover, 'people

with disabilities' term were found 46 times. Usage such as 'difable' - referring to differently abled - was also found. Translated in Indonesian as 'Penyandang disabilitas' (holder of disability), it connotes negative stigma or assumption. Thematic roles of patients and beneficiary were also found often.

The terminology however has improved from 'cacat' (defect) and 'orang dalam keadaan kekurangan jasmani atau rohani' (people who lack physical and spiritual fitness) to 'berkebutuhan khusus' (special needs) and 'penyandang disabilitas' (a holder of a disability).

Suggestions: Impairment should not be seen as the sole disabling factor as it limits the participation of persons with disabilities constructively in a society. Society should change in order to accommodate persons with disabilities.

5. The Stigma of Autism in China: An Analysis of Newspaper Portrayals of Autism Between 2003 and 2012 | Lu Tang and Bijie Bie (2015)

Health communication, 30(9), 884-893

Methodology: Ten-year coverage of autism in five leading Chinese newspapers – the national newspaper People's Daily along with Beijing Evening News, Xinmin Evening News Today Evening News and Southern Metropolis Daily covering four largest cities in China – from 2003 to 2012. Wisers' electronic database of Chinese newspapers was searched for *zibizheng* (autism) and *guduzheng* (lonely disease). A total of 1,590 articles were found, out of which 444 were selected for the final review. The articles were analysed to see whether the persons with autism were in leading role, supporting role, or had incidental mention. They were also coded for age, image, challenge, and stigma.

Major findings: Children with autism were featured in 84.2% of the articles, whereas 6.5% portrayed adults living with autism. About 36% of the articles portrayed autistic individuals as patients in need of medical intervention and professional care. About 12.5% of the articles portrayed autistic savants, whereas 9.7% articles depicted them as victims and 3.6% as dangerous or violent.

About 10% articles showed them in hopeful light, whereas 15% articles showed them in peril. Likewise, shame and disgust (about their autistic condition) were present in 3.8% articles. With majority of the articles about autistic children, it was 'infantilization' of autism, claimed researchers. They also pointed at more coverage with issues of physical, psychological, economic, and social peril, and communication and social problems.

Suggestions: Public health professionals must recognize the divergence between clinical reality and public perception, consider potential influence of such problematic media coverage of autism in designing appropriate health education messages. Disability and media advocacy efforts must focus on non-stigmatizing autism.

6. The image of people with intellectual disability in Taiwan newspapers | Chih-Hsuan Chen, Kan-Lin Hsu, Bih-Ching Shua and Susan Fetzer (2012)

Journal of Intellectual and Developmental Disability, 37(1), 35-41

Methodology: The UDNDATA media databank of Taiwanese newspapers was used to analyse keyword zhan (mental) and zhang (disability) in 2008 news coverage. Out of 471 articles found, 355 were selected for data analysis.

Major findings: The articles were found to be more commonly located in local version of newspapers (76.6%) compared to national coverage (23.4%). The affirmative or positive images were found only in 22.8% of news articles. Dispirited images (personal or family suffering, social deviance, deficiency in life skills) were found in 44.5% of the coverage, whereas in 32.7% of the articles under review, the persons with mental disabilities were described as needy – for charitable assistance, professional care, and government support. About 81% of the coverage was negative, whereas in 18.9% of articles, normalcy was theme.

The researchers claimed that newspaper coverage can propagate negative image of persons with intellectual disabilities for their families and society at large. It can lead to stigma – both personal and associated.

Suggestions: Depth and quality of articles focusing on personal and family sufferings must be improved, and journalists should be educated to portray individuals with intellectual disabilities in non-stereotypical manner.

Other notable studies

A study by Lin, Zhong and Yang (2022) analyses People's Daily, the government-run newspaper in China, from 1946 and indicate that the newspaper terminology has improved from *canfei* (disabled and waste) to *canji* (disabled and ill) to *canzhang* (people encountering obstacles). Some of the common themes associated with persons with disabilities included 'heroes,' 'role models,' 'builders,' 'beneficiaries,' and 'free riders.'

Öğüç and Kasap (2018) from Cyprus indicated that there's negative approach of the media towards the disabled individual that can cause the individual to lose self-confidence or blame him/herself. They emphasized on the use of right language and said that the journalists can be effective in destroying myths, stereotypes, and prejudices in the society.

4.3 Studies from Africa

1. Media Framing of Disability: A Content Analysis of the Daily Nation Newspaper in Kenya | Mauryne Abwao (2019)

M.Sc. dissertation, Southern Illinois University of Edwardsville

Methodology: Kenyan newspaper The Daily Nation was analysed for the years 2016 and 2017. The keyword 'disability' was searched which got 341 results. Using the existing categories of disability models, the articles were divided in traditional (medical, social pathology, supercrip, business/ economic consequences, stigmatization/ marginalization) and progressive (minority/ civil rights, cultural pluralism, legal model, educative).

Major findings: About 54% of the articles fell under traditional categories – out of which 18.2% used stigmatization frame, 12.6% social pathology frame and 12% supercrip frame. On the other hand, the share of articles using progressive frames was 37.5% which included cultural pluralism in 11.7%, civil rights frame and educative frame in 7.9% each and legal frame in 9.4%. In about 8.5% articles, the frames could not be ascertained.

About 60.7% of the articles had no specific disability highlighted, whereas 27.6% articles were about visible and 11.7% about invisible disabilities.

Suggestions: Invisible (non-corporeal) disabilities are less covered in both print and broadcast media. The focus should be on their issues. Moreover, the future research can make a comparative study of two or more newspapers.

2. Framing Disability: A Content Analysis of Newspapers in Nigeria | Olusola John Ogundola (2013)

Unpublished thesis, Syracuse University

Methodology: Two newspapers in Nigeria - Daily Trust in Abuja and Nigerian Tribune in Ibadan - were chosen for analysis where 14 stories from Daily Trust and 39 from Nigerian Tribune published between 2001 and 2010 for the month of December due to high frequency of articles.

Major findings: The concept of group identity was replete with ‘persons with disability’ nomenclature. They were primarily portrayed as beggars, unfortunate or tragic beings, deprived by nature. Use of ‘physically challenged’ as the most prominent description left out other classes. Supercrip frame was also found dominant in coverage. Disability was often presented as disease and sympathy frame for poverty and social neglect was used.

Suggestions: Disability should not remain an outlier issue and should get more prominence especially when disability is seen as divine punishment in several African societies. Media must become the voice of the voiceless and highlight issues related to persons with disabilities.

3. Disability and the media: how disability is dealt with in West African media | A Mandrilly-John (2010)

Handicap International

Methodology: The survey involved national media organs in the 6 countries of the DECISIPH project: Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. In total, more than 60 articles from the press and electronic newspapers between 2008 and 2010 were analysed. Questionnaire covered three major aspects – disability terminology, form and content of the article and proposals.

Major findings: Two most used terminologies were handicapped and persons with disabilities. Other terms included person with deficiency, person affected by a disability, person in a disabling situation, etc. Confusion between ‘deficiency,’ ‘incapacity’ and ‘disability’ was recurrent.

About two-thirds of the articles were related to physical disabilities. Subjective and dramatic language such as ‘polio martyr’ and ‘destitute person with leprosy-bitten limbs’ continue to stigmatize PwDs as victims and dependent. Visual impairment was the second most often addressed disability. Fewer articles dealt with mental or psychological disabilities.

The media were found to be using derogatory terms (retarded person, pouné), incorrect terms, and multiple terms showed lack of knowledge or objectivity. Half the articles adopt the rights-based disability model, whereas nearly one-third of the articles, the charity model is put forward.

Suggestions: The study suggested several steps for the NGOs working with the disability sector to work with media, including improving representation of different types of disabilities

(including psychological and sensory), representation of women, developing code of conduct and dictionary for disability-related terms, and talking about disabilities in journalism schools.

4.4 Studies from Europe

1. Representations of disabled children and young people in Irish newspapers | Brid McAndrew, Clare Carroll and Mary-Pat O'Malley-Keighran (2020)

Disability and Society, 1-26

Methodology: One-year (June 1, 2016 to May 31, 2017) content analysis of three broadsheet newspapers – the Irish Independent, the Irish Times, and the Sunday Independent. The search terms employed included ‘disability,’ ‘impairment,’ and ‘special needs.’ A total of 167 articles were found based on keyword search, out of which 89 that met the criteria were selected for analysis.

Major findings: Among the three newspapers, the Sunday Independent had higher concentration of articles due to its segment dedicated to life features. About 58% of the articles were issue driven, 33% were personality driven (features) and the rest were combination of the two. Out of total, 28% were written from the healthcare professional’s perspective, and 54% from journalist’s perspective.

Some of the topics covered by the newspapers included lack of access to educational support, social outlets for disabled children and young people, and create their own social clubs. The newspapers also highlighted the issue of individuals fitting into diagnostic criteria to access resources within educational system.

Children were also often passive in the news discourses, and their voices were silenced or overshadowed by the voices of others.

Suggestions: The guidelines on representation of disabilities exist, but media professionals also require support and guidance regarding use of language. Facilitate children to actively engage in media interviews along with family members and healthcare professionals for advocacy and support. Diversity in mass media presentation should be encouraged.

2. I am not your metaphor: Frames and counter-frames in the representation of disability | Tina Goethals, Dimitri Mortelmans et al (2020)

Disability and Society (1-19; 2020), Routledge

Methodology: The researchers analysed 184 articles from 16 magazines from Belgium from January 1 to December 31, 2012. The magazines ranged from celebrity to age-oriented.

Major findings: The framing analysis revealed nine dominant frames and three counter-frames – Suffering and fear of degeneration; Heavy burden of care; Faith in science, variant: human enhancement; The goer, variant: the hero; The helpless victim; The lurking monster; Charity; Carpe diem; and Mind–body dualism.

The counter-frames include Human rights; Disability creates opportunities; and Interdependence. The researchers argued that the ‘imbalance – characterized by absence of counter-frames, confirms a one-sided and negative image of disability in media.’

The dominant frames were partially connected to the medical model, the social pathology model and the supercrip model of disability.

Suggestions: -

3. Media Use of Persons with Disabilities | Anne Haage and Ingo K Bosse (2017)

In Universal Access in Human–Computer Interaction. Human and Technological Environments: 11th International Conference, UAHCI 2017 (pp. 419-435). Springer International Publishing

Methodology: Four subgroups - persons with visual impairment, persons with hearing impairment, persons with physical and motor impairments, and persons with learning difficulties - were chosen for understanding their media consumption patterns. A total of 456 persons were surveyed, as 13 in-depth interviews were also carried out. The questions were related to subjective perception of impairment, media use in general, TV use in particular, and TV-related barriers and support.

Major findings: The access to media and communication devices was found to be lower in persons with disabilities compared to general population in Germany. Majority of respondents had TV, but only few had smart TVs with internet access. The young population had more access to smartphones and tablet. TV was found to be mostly used medium by the persons with disabilities Fewer persons with disabilities were reading newspapers compared to general population in Germany. Respondents below 50 years were more likely to use internet (77%) compared to those above 50 years (52%). About 39% of those above 50 years had never used internet, whereas the share was only 14% for those below 50 years.

Suggestions: With TV emerging as an important medium, the broadcasters must be obliged to provide inclusive or accessible options for the persons with disabilities. Barriers to access of audio-visual content should be removed for all disabilities.

4. Representations of disability in print news media in postsocialist Ukraine | Sarah D. Phillips (2012)

Disability and Society, Vol. 27, No. 4, June 2012, 487-502

Methodology: The researcher took into consideration seven newspapers from prestige/ quality newspapers to popular/ tabloid with highest circulations and searched term 'invalid' in Russian and Ukrainian. The first 100 articles - indicating most recent ones - were considered for analysis. Majority were published between 2000 and 2010. Very short news bites and hyper-sensationalized stories were excluded.

Major Findings: The articles presented disability as societal disorder, persons with disability as someone 'prone to do stupid things,' and aggressive and dangerous. People with disabilities and Roma persons also become interchangeable in several stories as agents and victims of 'social and moral disorder.' Newspaper coverage raised issues of violation of the rights of persons with disabilities, but also encouraged them to 'show initiative and be self-supporting.'

Several opinion pieces also questioned the privilege extended to citizens with disabilities. The PwDs were often shown as 'heroes/ heroines overcoming all odds.' The coverage was termed scant and only a few articles had authors with disabilities. There was a rise in 'hard or serious' coverage compared to just 'human interest' over the years.

Suggestions: Newspapers should make disability a regular feature with one or many journalists along with guest contributors assigned to the 'beat.' The writers should be trained in best practices related to disability, health, and social justice. The training could be provided by universities, NGOs working in area of disability rights or state administration's social work division.

5. Romanian approach to media portrayals of disability | Melania Gabriela Ciot and Geert van Hove (2010)

Disability and Society, Vol. 25, No. 5, August 2010, 525-538

Methodology: The researchers took into consideration 30 major publications in Romania for analysis and took 1989, 1990 and 2003 as the years for publication due to major events

involving disabilities like end of communism in Europe, and 2003 being the European Year of PwD. A total of 205 were found based on keywords. 'Disability' was not found till 1992, so 'handicap' was also searched for.

Major Findings: The media assumed role of informing public in the earlier part of the analysis, whereas it later also assumed the role of an opinion shaper with increase in numbers of features and editorials about disability and PwDs.

Analysis of the article content showed that the coverage with negative aspect of disability decreased from 83% in 1989 to 19.5% in 2003. Neutral tone on the other hand increased to 80.5% in 2003. The researchers divided the predominant stereotypes as 'fighter' on one end of the spectrum, and 'victim' on the other.

Suggestions: Further research can be on the eastern European area for intercultural comparison, western and eastern models of disability and use of media in naturalizing disability to eliminate social exclusion and ignorance.

6. Representation of People with Intellectual Disabilities in a British Newspaper in 1983 and 2001 | Penny Wilkinson and Peter McGill (2009)

Journal of Applied Research in Intellectual Disabilities 2009, 22, 65–76

Methodology: Using online archives, a total of 84 articles related to intellectual disabilities were found between March and July 2001.

Major findings: The sample analysis indicated 70 features, eight letters, four job features, two notification of awards and two arts reviews. About 71% of articles had non-specific description, 18.6% had autism and 10.4% had Down syndrome description. The numbers were found to be higher statistically compared to overall population. Some of the words used for the persons with disabilities included 'frail and disabled,' 'severely malformed,' 'insane,' 'mentally disturbed/ troubled,' 'psychiatric patients,' 'abused/ vulnerable victim,' and 'people with special needs' among others. The most recurring topics related to persons with disabilities included jobs, charities, and services (16%), autism (14%), penal system (9%), prevention of learning disabilities (6%) and abuse, self-advocacy (5% each) among others.

Suggestions: Media representation can help greater integration of persons with disabilities. The right or positive portrayal can help change societal attitude for jobs for persons with intellectual disabilities.

7. The Social Representations of Disability: Fears, Fantasies and Facts | Michael JV Devenney (2004)

Unpublished doctoral thesis

Clare College, University of Cambridge, UK

Methodology: Ten British newspapers including Broadsheets (The Times, The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph, The Independent), Tabloids (The Sun, The Daily Star, The Mirror, The Daily Express), and Sunday papers (The Observer, News of the World) were analysed for January and February 2000

Major findings: The survey showed predominant themes such as children with disabilities, devoted parents, legal and ethical issues, and sensationalism. The PwDs were portrayed in childlike or dependent manner and not as active, responsible members of the society. Key focus in many articles was not the PwD but people around them, relegating the PwD as ‘secondary narrative object.’

The study, carried out in the backdrop of applications to die by two women with disabilities, found that the articles had a strong leaning towards the right to die, terming disability as being ‘not a nice thing.’ The researcher argued that the newspapers do not have a major influence on how disabled persons are socially represented in the society, but they are part of the complex matrix of ‘how people obtain, analyse and disseminate knowledge or assumed knowledge.’

Suggestions: Further exploration of Social Representation Theory and Aesthetic Theory, development of a newer representational model of disability to resolve conflict between disabled persons and their non-disabled peers

4.5 Studies from the US and Canada

1. Representations of disability in the Canadian news media: a decade of change? | Kimberly Devotta, Robert Wilton, and Niko Yiannakoulis (2013)

Disability and Rehabilitation 35(22): 1859–1868

Methodology: The study followed on Gold and Auslander (1999) research with the same three Canadian newspapers - The Globe and Mail, The Toronto Star and The Toronto Sun - to understand representation of disability in print media. All sections of newspaper mentioning disability were included from January 1 to March 31 in 1998 and 2008 for comparison. A total

of 196 articles in 1998 and 166 articles in 2008 were found matching the criteria. A total of 22 criteria were selected with particular emphasis on disability terminology.

Major findings: Coverage in front page, sports, feature, and health sections got reduced in a decade, whereas increased slightly in special supplement and editorials. Smaller articles (up to 500 words) increased, whereas longer articles (above 500 words) got reduced. Developmental and sensory disabilities got higher coverage along with articles with no specific disabilities mentioned, whereas mental and physical disabilities showed slight reduction. Mental and physical disabilities however accounted for 86% and 74% of articles respectively. Individuals with disabilities and families' representation increased as share of group of people with disabilities got decreased. Articles using disabling terminology got reduced by 21% whereas articles with neutral and person first terminology increased by 16% and 4%.

Suggestions: -

2. Media labelling versus the US disability community identity: A study of shifting cultural language | Beth Haller, Bruce Dorries, Jessica Rahn (2006)

Disability and Society (61-75; 2006), Routledge

Methodology: Content analysis of The Washington Post (WP) and The New York Times (NYT) from three years – 1990, 1995 and 2000 – for the months October and November was conducted. The researchers searched for terms ‘disabled,’ ‘disability,’ ‘disabilities,’ ‘handicapped,’ ‘cripple’ and ‘crippled’ in the Lexis-Nexis newspaper database. In all, 550 terms were found, where the terms might be used more than once in one article.

Major Findings: Primary motive of the study was to assess impact of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) on newspaper coverage. Use of ‘handicapped’ was getting reduced – from 38 to 26 in NYT and 32 to 17 in WP. Disabled replaced handicapped in several instances. The newspapers started using ‘people-first’ terminology such as ‘person with a disability.’ In WP, it jumped from 19 in 1990 to 45 in 2000. Terms such as ‘wheelchair-bound’ was still used occasionally. But overall, the shift was visible towards disability-friendly terminology.

Suggestions: -

3. News coverage of disability issues: Final report for The Centre for an Accessible Society | Beth Haller (1999)

Published and available on accessiblesociety.org website

Methodology: Eleven newspapers and news magazines such as *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and the *Chicago Tribune* were selected based on its large circulation and prominence as agenda-setting media in the US. Four TV networks – ABC, NBC, CBS, CNN – were also chosen for content analysis. A total of 256 stories in print in 1998 and 34 TV news stories were selected for the analysis based on keywords such as ‘disabled,’ ‘disability,’ ‘disabilities,’ and ‘handicapped.’

Major findings: More than 60% of the stories were published in Metro/ local news section, and only 14% were on front national page. Majority of the stories appeared as ‘inspirational’ features, selected perhaps to diversify the news and having no practical disability issue.

Some stories however took a hard look at the reality of the disability sector such as an LA Times story about psychiatric facilities that got good reviews from the experts. Likewise, Wall Street Journal published only six stories, but four of them got on front of the section.

The news (48%) stories were more than features (37.5%), meaning disability was considered newsworthy information. Due to relatively larger number of stories, publications like the *Philadelphia Inquirer* were more likely to mention the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) in their stories. About 67% of the stories had more than six inches of column space, providing some depth to the topic.

Cognitive impairment surprisingly found more mention, followed by learning disabilities, mental retardation, mental illness, and emotional disabilities. It indicated media’s interest in children and educational issues. Children with disabilities were mentioned in about 23% of the stories. ‘Persons with disabilities’ found more currency compared to ‘disabled’ or ‘handicapped.’

Suggestions: Disability rights organizations’ role is important to create awareness and assert ‘Nothing about us, without us.’ Media should be educated about the correct terms and conditions by persons associated with disability and education. The disability organizations also should reach out to media in terms of raising local issues, getting experts empanelled for both print and electronic media, and organize press interaction/ conference regularly to put issues across.

4. Examining Newspaper Coverage of Mental Retardation [Melissa Louise Matthews (1999)]

Education and Training in Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities, 1999, 34(2), 227-230

Methodology: The period between January 1, 1990 and October 30, 1996 was chosen for analysis using NewsBank Reference Service Plus, a database of over 500 newspapers. The key words ‘mental retardation’ and ‘mentally retarded’ were searched in the database. A total of 478 articles were found using the method. Moreover, the coverage was divided in different regions of the US and 11 broad themes such as cause and prevention of mental retardation, abuse of persons with mental retardation, jobs for persons with mental retardation, human rights/ civil rights, crimes by persons with mental retardation, funding and administration, and quality of care, among others.

Major findings: Annually about 82 articles appeared, with having about 1.6 article per state per year. There was a decline in number of articles annually. Among the coverage, abuse got the highest coverage (88), followed by funding and administration (83), quality of care (79), and deinstitutionalization (78). On the other hand, categories such as human rights (33) and education (20) had lesser coverage. Among the regions, New England (113 articles) and Southwest (100) had the highest news coverage.

Suggestions: Newspaper is a friendly, inexpensive way for advocacy, and the community members, family, teachers, churches, etc. should be taught to approach and leverage media to create awareness.

5. Newspaper Portrayal of Persons with Disabilities Over a Decade | Adrienne Gilbert, Marilyn I. MacCauley, and Bryan J.A. Smale (1997)

Therapeutic Recreation Journal, 31, 108-120

Methodology: Manifest content analysis of The Globe and Mail (Canada) from 1980 to 1990 was used to include the International Year of Disabled Persons in 1981 and the UN Decade of Disabled Persons from 1983 to 1992. The articles chosen were based on its classification with search words ‘handicapped,’ ‘blind,’ ‘deaf,’ ‘mentally retarded,’ and ‘special populations.’ With the method, 513 articles were chosen. Criteria to analyse the articles included language used and relative prominence within the newspaper (article’s location, length, and use of photographs). The coding and analysis were done through SPSS.

Major findings: Almost two-thirds of the articles appeared in one of the two upper quadrants (64.1%) or the entire upper half of the page (16.4%), and under three quarters of the articles

(71.2%) were in the first section of the paper. Only 7.6% of the articles appeared on the front page of the newspaper. Only two of 513 articles occupied an entire page.

Two-thirds of the articles (65.9%) focused on a story at local level with most of the articles split between provincial and national level. Only 6.1% of the articles dealt with issues with international focus. About one-fourth (28.7%) of the articles were accompanied by a photograph.

About 41.8% language use was classified as preferred, followed by not preferred (34.9%), most preferred (19.3%) and least preferred (4.1%). In 1982, there were 26 articles annually, which increased to 74 articles in 1990. Average 46.6 articles were found annually in the years under study. The articles showed declining trend from 1980 to 1985 and then steady rise.

There was little change in language used to describe disabilities and PwDs despite presumably heightened awareness due to international events. However, about 93.4% articles included at least one positive word or phrase.

Suggestions: Similar analysis of language used can be done for the publication from different countries. The caregivers should be encouraged for advocacy for better representation.

6. The Coverage of Persons with Disabilities in American Newspapers | Clayton E Keller, Daniel P Hallahan, E Paula Crawley and Barbara Blandford (1990)

The Journal of Special Education Vol. 24, No. 3

Methodology: A total of 12 newspapers across American geography and circulation were selected including The Boston Globe, Courier Post, The Call, The Washington Post, The Charlotte Observer, The Morning Herald, The Detroit News, The Wichita Eagle-Beacon, Grand Island Daily Independent, San Francisco Chronicle, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, and Casper Star-Tribune for the year 1987. A random week was chosen for 84 daily papers. The researchers employed content analysis as the primary method of investigation.

Major Findings: The researchers found 428 articles containing some mention of disabilities. In those articles, 216 were related to individuals, whereas the rest were about disability groups or families of the PwD. Out of 696 references, 63% dealt with disabling condition as the major focus of the article. About 51% of the news were either 'soft' news (columns or reviews) or features which has more emotional appeal. About 35% of the references were 'hard' news covering news events. Physical disability got most of coverage (27%), followed by mental

retardation (13%), generic terms like handicapped (12%) and disabled (9%). Learning disabilities accounted for only 4% coverage. About 51% made no statement about the impact of disability on a person's life, whereas 48% of the references described disabilities as having a negative impact. About 78% of the articles used terminology such as 'victim of,' or 'suffered from' to describe the individual's well-being. About 26% of the references described the disability as having negative socio-emotional impact on life of PwD or family.

Suggestions: Assessing the negative coverage's long-term recall by the audience members. Assessing use of language by the media.

Other notable studies

Participation of the PwDs in the process is also important. In their study, Zhang and Haller (2013) highlighted that only 31% of the survey respondents reported being interviewed by the news media. Haller's earlier study (2003) had mentioned that only 30% of the disability stories had a PwD or disability organization as a source. The researchers highlighted impact of laws such as the Rehabilitation Act, 1973 that impacted media coverage as the 'new minority group pressed for rights.'

A study by Gardner (1976) highlighted need for special services (30%), successful adjustment (22%) and problems of adjustment (21%). About 49% of portrayals showed persons with disabilities as dependent persons, 13% as abused and 11% as deviant. Comparison of newspapers to TV indicated that newspapers were more likely to present need for special services and present problems of persons with disabilities. Only 22% of the articles mentioned mental illnesses and intellectual disabilities.

4.6 Studies from Australia

1. Super, social, medical: Person-first and identity-first representations of disabled people in Australian newspapers, 2000–2019 | Amanda Potts, Monika Bednarek, and Annmaree Watharow (2023)

Discourse and Society 2023, Vol. 34(4) 405–428

Methodology: Using newspaper aggregator Nexis, a total of 22,345 articles were found from January 2000 to December 2019 using search words 'disabled,' 'with disability,' 'with physical disabilities' and so on.

Major findings: The analysis indicated that intellectually disabled (1631), mentally disabled (259), physically disabled (216), developmentally disabled (15) words were used to describe a person with disability. Moreover, degree was described in terms of severely (580), permanently (217), profoundly (135), seriously (49), and partially (26). Along with words such as ill, sick, frail, deaf, and infirm, some other high-frequency words included disadvantaged (130), unemployed (66), vulnerable (31), and unable (20).

Suggestions: The representation was found to be having ‘deeply-embedded ableist assumptions’ and conventional representation of disability in Australian media. Person-first language should be used, and practice of ‘othering’ should be reduced.

2. The politics of representing disability: Exploring news coverage of the Americans with Disabilities Act and the National Disability Insurance Scheme | Shawn Burns and Beth Haller (2015)

Asia Pacific Media Educator, 25(2), 262-277.

Methodology: Nine newspapers were selected based on circulation and geography. The researchers searched the newspaper records between 2008 and 2013 in newspaper database ‘Factavia’ for the terms such as ‘NDIS’, ‘National Disability Insurance Scheme’ and/or ‘DisabilityCare Australia’.

Major findings: Out of total, 71% of coverage was found to be following traditional models of disability whereas 29% was progressive. Social pathological model was found to be dominant with 94% of the articles following it. Among the progressive coverage, 57% of the articles were following minority/ civil rights model, 38% consumer model and 3% cultural pluralism model. NDIS coverage was limited in-depth with majority having passing mentions.

Suggestions: Journalism education must include diversity studies. Educators can raise awareness and draw students’ attention to role played by media in challenging or embedding stereotypes. The change must happen in both classrooms and newsrooms.

4.7 Comparative studies of Israel and Canada

Two studies carried out by the same researchers based on the same data set looked at different aspects of how disabilities and persons with disabilities are portrayed in Israel and Canada

3. Reporting Disability | Kerry Green and Stephen Tanner (2008)

Asia Pacific Media Educator (19), 43-54

Methodology: Using the content from The Advertiser in 2007 in Australia, two search terms were fed into Newsbank – disability, disabled, disabling and disable; and impairment and impaired. It produced 38 articles. The second search was about words such as incapacitated, insane, invalid, infirm, retarded, handicapped, freak and spastic. It returned four articles. In all, 42 stories were found. Out of total, 29 were selected for further analysis based on relevance.

Major findings: Out of 29, 13 articles were negative, six positive, four neutral and six had mixed tone. Majority (17) of the articles were in news section, followed by five in opinion, four in features and the rest three in others. The word length varied greatly from 42 words to 1,329 words. But majority were fewer than 300 words. The themes included persons with mental illness as victims of crime, awareness about a specific condition, heroism of a person with disability, accessibility, and employment.

Suggestions: As majority of articles had underlining feeling of disempowerment with words such as ‘suffering from,’ ‘incapacitated,’ and ‘wheelchair-bound,’ there should be a change in terminology and portrayal which brings them out of their image of vulnerable and having special needs.

4. Media reports on disability: a binational comparison of types and causes of disability as reported in major newspapers | Gail Auslander and Nora Gold (1999)

Disability and rehabilitation, 21(9), 420-431

Methodology: Three newspapers of each country in three categories (daily quality or prestige paper – The Globe and Mail and Ha’aertz, popular daily paper – The Toronto Star and Ma’ariv, one weekend paper – The Toronto Sun and Kol Ha’ir) from Canada and Israel were selected. The period was January to March 1998. The articles were classified on physical, developmental, and psychiatric disabilities. A total of 427 articles met the criteria for inclusion including 224 from Canada and 203 from Israel.

The articles were assessed based on parameters such as extent of coverage, prominent disability model expressed (traditional vs progressive), source, placement, type of article, visual effects (with or without photograph), authorship, length, and reference (main character in the article, naming of people with disability, terminology to refer to PwDs).

Major findings: More articles came from the popular daily press (259) than the other papers combined. Three quarters of the articles appeared on weekdays, most (68%) were news articles as opposed to features or opinion pieces.

Most articles were related to a specific disability, rather than disabilities in general. However, physical disabilities were found to be more than mental/ psychiatric disabilities. Developmental disability coverage was very less. In half of the articles, cause of disabilities was unclear or irrelevant, whereas in the other half, the media coverage focused on disabilities resulting from disease, congenital problems, and cases of alleged malpractices. In Canada, more stories of disabilities stemming from alleged malpractices were found, compared to Israel where disabilities from violence were reported more.

About 35% of the articles on mental illness found way to the front page of the publication compared to 22% for the physical disabilities. These articles (on mental illnesses) were also comparatively longer at 21 paragraphs compared to 11-20 paragraphs for the other categories. The primary reason for the increased coverage was a special series on madness run by one of the newspapers.

Articles in Canada almost always named a person with disabilities, whereas in Israeli publications, the ratio was less than 50%. Majority of the articles (67%) focused on traditional models of disability.

Suggestions: Media in both the countries reflected the attitude of the societies in which they were getting published. Media attitude towards the PwDs however transcend national boundaries, and it must be improved through putting the disabilities in perspective.

5. Disability terminology in the media: A comparison of newspaper reports in Canada and Israel | Gail Auslander and Nora Gold (1999)

Social Science and Medicine, 48(10), 1395-1405

Methodology: Same as above

Major findings: Out of the total articles, 27.4% identified the disabled as persons with disabilities (PwDs), 19.2% as disabled or handicapped, 15.2% as patients, 8% as victims, whereas 14.3% used other inappropriate terms, and 15.9% had no direct reference in the article. The issues raised through the articles included functional limitations, financial and service limitations, living arrangements, mobility, right to life or die, and organ transplants, among others. The focus was more traditional than progressive, whereas some articles employed mixed approach.

In 46.5% articles published in Canada and in 48.3% in Israel, the persons were named. In Canada, the publications wove in details of the person but did not refer the person as a disabled. In some cases, a photograph was included. It was termed a 'neutral' approach. The Canadian press often referred to them as 'victims.' In Israel, the usage of 'politically incorrect' terminology was found more prevalent such as hanechim (handicapped), hachirshim (deaf), haivrim (blind) and m'fagrim (retarded).

Suggestions: While the study covered to very culturally different countries, the progressive language should be encouraged to describe PwDs. Positive language can impact the public perception of disability and PwDs.

5. Summary of review

Based on the review of literature so far, some of the salient points that come to fore include –

- The news media creates the pictures of the world outside in recipient's head and is a major force in shaping opinions and creating or strengthening. stereotypes. Media not only tells its audience what to think about, but how to think about certain issues.
- Media's role in society, especially in democratic countries, is expected to fulfil the needs of the society to get authentic information. But the role expected out of the media is also of social responsibility where it should be 'truthful, fair, objective and relevant.'
- Media framing is a powerful device through which the specific issues get highlighted and 'organize everyday reality.' Likewise, gatekeeping and agenda setting are two of the media's functions through which certain issues get more prominence compared to others.
- In context of disability sector, the international news coverage is often influenced by the movements for equality and rights in countries like the US and the UK. The disability rights activists protested stereotypical coverage of persons with disabilities under 'traditional' models such as medical and social pathological on one end of the spectrum and 'supercrip' on the other.
- The movements demanded minority/ civil rights model and cultural pluralism model among others. Studies highlighted that in absence of active interaction with persons with disabilities, the general perception of disabilities is based on popular media including newspapers, TV programs and movies among others.
- Media are often accused of stereotyping the disabilities and persons with disabilities.

- Over the years, the major media organizations have started paying attention to the terminology to describe persons with disabilities - where handicapped/crippled/invalid/retarded are replaced by more acceptable terminology such as hearing and speech impaired, wheelchair user, etc.
- Disability study draws from a wide array of fields ranging from sociology to psychology and rhetoric to gender and queer studies. It ‘challenges the collective representation of disability, exposing it as an exclusionary and oppressive system.’
- Studies on the media representation of disabilities and persons with disabilities showed that majority of the coverage still follows medical model, employs sympathetic tone, and gives the coverage of disability issues in its features sections instead of focusing on issue-based reporting and including the disability issues on its ‘hard news’ section.
- Studies highlighted that few stories made to the front page of the mainstream newspapers. Terminology used by the media was found to be cliched and was mostly disability-first instead of person-first.
- Several studies highlighted that the persons with disabilities were shown as liability, prone to danger, or victims. Fewer articles had a person with disability as the primary source, and often they are not quoted in the articles.

6. Research gap and conclusion

Purpose of the Review of Literature is to find the research gap to avoid duplication of the work done so far, and to ensure that the academic exercise contributes to the existing body of knowledge. Based on the reviews so far, here are a few points which can be considered areas where the present study can contribute.

- The study focuses on the pre and post period of the implementation of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Act, 2016. No existing work has studied its impact on the news coverage
- The study also intends to assess whether the newly-coined words in Indian context such as ‘Divyang’ to describe the persons with disabilities have taken root, whether the mainstream media started using it more frequently compared to the pre-Act period
- There is no existing study focusing on Gujarat as a region. The region with its robust network of disability advocacy groups and influential organizations such as the Blind People’s Association (BPA) can be studied for its media coverage in the light of advocacy and public outreach events

- The study is at intersection of media and disability studies. Media are often criticized for its coverage of disabilities and persons with disabilities. Thus, the study is an attempt to understand factors influencing the editors and journalists' choices in covering or not covering certain aspects of the disability sector. It could be a major help for policymakers, disability rights activists and persons with disabilities to approach media in a better way to amplify their voice and raise pertinent issues.
- There are no studies covering Gujarati media and disabilities. The present study would also provide comparison of vernacular and English media in context of Gujarat.

Conclusion

The role of media in highlighting issues of persons with disabilities is well-documented in numerous studies across the globe. Need of the hour is to assess the impact of various advocacy movements and legal framework on the media coverage and its use of terminology. In Indian context, a study is necessary to understand whether the terms such as 'Divyang' proposed by the central government has been accepted by the disability community and media at large. It is also important to assess the impact of advocacy movements and emerging media on coverage of disability issues.

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