Disability Rights on the Public Agenda: Elite News Media Coverage of the Americans With Disabilities Act

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ABSTRACT

DISABILITY RIGHTS ON THE PUBLIC AGENDA:
ELITE NEWS MEDIA COVERAGE
OF THE AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT

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Doctor of Philosophy

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Major Advisor. Dr. Thomas F Gordon

This dissertation undertook a content analysis of U.S. elite newspapers and the three major news magazines (N=524), news photographs (N=171), and TV network news (N=24) to understand how the news media presented the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act. The Act embodies a new civil rights issue that sharply contrasts with stereotypes and myths about people with disabilities. Therefore, this study could assess how the news media juxtapose the newer disability rights perspective relative to older stereotypes of the disability experience and competing perspectives such as U.S. business interests. This study also assists in understanding the news media role in characterizing a new issue on the public's agenda.

The findings show that the elite media covered the ADA in the obligatory way it has covered much major federal legislation. Only rarely did media further contextualize and expand ADA information. The coverage of the ADA illustrates that
the notion of disability rights is only making a moderate amount of headway into news media representations. However, when they did do stories, the news media did a good job of casting the ADA as a civil rights act. But they also presented the norms of U.S. society and the business community by looking often at the upfront cost of the Act, as opposed to long-term cost savings the Act might provide.

But the news media misrepresented disability in incidence, race, and gender. They sought out the visible disabilities as examples and missed the fact that more people have hidden disabilities. They portrayed disability in terms of the white middle class, which reflects the primary composition of the disability rights movement.

The nature of the ADA story, however, did not allow the media to use the traditional stereotypes, which present people with disabilities as medical problems or as superhuman. The media accepted a progressive frame of minority group status for people with disabilities because the federal government gave it to them. And because the governmental rhetoric had been fashioned by activists from the disability community, the message of civil rights for people with disabilities flowed through the media.
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significant academic endeavor. Much thanks also goes to John for reading unfinished drafts and acting as a content expert for my dissertation. Anna taught me about graciousness even in the face of adversity. She illustrated to me that greater civil rights for people with disabilities are crucial if we as a nation are going to call ourselves equitable. It is to a future with even more equity and fairness toward people with disabilities that I dedicate this dissertation.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation undertakes a content analysis of U.S elite newspapers, TV network news, and the three major U.S. news magazines to understand how the news media presented the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act. The Act embodies a new civil rights issue that sharply contrasts with stereotypes and myths about people with disabilities, and therefore allowed for the investigation of how the news media assimilate a new perspective and meld it with other competing perspectives. The academic purpose of this study is to assist in the understanding of the news media role in characterizing a new issue on the public's agenda. This study adds to the small but growing number of U.S research endeavors that explore mass media images of disability. As for its social purpose, this dissertation gives significant information to the disability community about the characterization of the Americans with Disabilities Act. It allows for the assessment of the media role in the social changes taking place for people with disabilities in the United States.

Problem Statement

The disability rights perspective in the United States is slowly pushing its way into the public's consciousness. This perspective contrasts with the reigning view of people with disabilities, which has adopted a medical or social welfare perspective in which disability is seen as a physical problem alone residing within individuals.
(Scotch, 1988). The disability rights perspective views disability as a phenomenon created by society, which has yet to modify its architectural, occupational, educational, communication, and attitudinal environments to accommodate people who are physically and mentally different (Bowe, 1978). In the rights perspective, physical difference is acknowledged, and even celebrated as an ethnicity might be by some, but the focus is away from the disabled individual as the problem and on society's structures instead.

The 1990 passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) embodied the disability rights perspective and made full civil rights for people with disabilities law. In one sweeping legislative act, the disability rights perspective was forced onto the public agenda of the United States. The media discourse and images surrounding the ADA as it became part of the public agenda is the subject of this study. The passage of the ADA is analogous to Thomas Kuhn's concept of a paradigm shift in scientific discovery. The Americans with Disabilities Act represents a point in U.S. history in which the categorization of people with disabilities is shifting. The ADA acknowledges the full citizenship rights of people with disabilities, just as the Civil Rights Bill for people of color did in the 1960s. More specifically, this dissertation studied how one major institution in society -- the elite U.S. news media -- described and presented the Americans with Disabilities Act for its audience. This is significant because as Higgins (1992) says we as a society "make disability" through our language, media, and other public and visible ways. Studying those depictions helps us understand the media's role in "constructing" people with disabilities as different
and their role in framing many types of people who may not fit with "mainstream" conceptions.

**Agenda-setting and Disability Culture**

The ability of mass media to make people aware and characterize social issues fits with McCombs and Shaw's notion of agenda-setting (1972). In revisiting their seminal work 20 years later, McCombs and Shaw (1993) explain that the numerous research endeavors using agenda-setting have shown us that media not only tell its audiences what to think about but how to think about certain issues. McCombs (1992) adds that agenda-setting now has a fourth phase of research, and I used concepts of this fourth phase in my research.

This approach to agenda-setting acknowledges that every agenda contains a set of objects, and each of these objects, in turn, has a set of attributes. Therefore, the agenda-setting concept does not confine itself only to the relationship between the significance of topics in the mass media and the significance of those topics to audience members.

The mass media also differentiate between the saliency of various attributes of these topics or objects. Not every attribute of a person, issue, idea, or event in the news is considered newsworthy. Even among those attributes selected for mention in the news, all are not accorded equal treatment (McCombs, 1981, p. 134).

McCombs explains in 1992 that an attribute of a topic can be the perspective journalists or the public use in considering the topics. So agenda-setting expands past
just the transmission of issue salience to the salience of perspectives (McCombs, 1992). Therefore, McCombs and Shaw believe the concept of framing is germane to agenda-setting. "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, 1992, p. 820-1). How the attributes of an issue such as the Americans with Disabilities Act are played in news coverage could sway public opinion about the Act and toward the cultural construction of people with disabilities in general.

This idea of framing is significant in my research because this study is a content analysis and not audience research. However, I tried to connect some of the findings of the content analysis with a national public opinion poll done in 1991 by Loms Hams and Associates for the National Organization on Disability, which surveyed Americans on their opinions of people with disabilities and the Americans with Disabilities Act.

Gitlin's qualitative content analysis (1980), which helped introduce this framing concept, has relevance to my dissertation. He illustrated how the news media chose from different methods of framing in covering a social movement. For example, they can delve into the social problem and its issues or they can direct attention on the events and tactics of activists and officials. In the student movement of the 1960s, he found the news media focused on the conflicts among activists and any extreme behaviors of the movement because it fit with what the media deemed newsworthy. Gitlin's assumption is:
The mass media are, to say the least, a significant social
force in the forming and delimiting of public
assumptions, attitudes, and moods -- of ideology, in
short. They sometimes generate, sometimes amplify a
field of legitimate discourse that shapes the public's
'definitions of its situations,' and they work through
selections and omissions, through emphases and tones,
through all their forms of treatment (Gitlm, 1980, p. 9).

Therefore, my content analysis tried to understand how the news media frame
the Americans with Disabilities Act, especially in light of the competing perspectives
on people with disabilities and competing interests in U.S. society over the Act. For
example, is the U.S. business community's fear of the ADA as costly competing with
the civil rights perspective of the Act? This dissertation assesses whether the narrative
of business community overtook the rights narrative in the ADA stories. Did this
change how the ADA was characterized on the public's agenda? This research
theorizes that the U.S. news media were integral to this process of recasting the ADA
in terms of cost rather than civil rights. (It should be remembered also that U.S.
media organizations are corporate entities that must comply with the ADA.) In fact,
the news media in their coverage of the ADA may have reinforced another stereotype
of people with disabilities in U.S. cultural narratives: That people with disabilities
cost society money.

At a broader level, this study adds crucial information on the media's role in
presenting people who are different. Many mass communication scholars have looked
at media representations of people in terms of ethnicity and gender differences, but
only rarely has mass communication research assessed the media images of people
with disabilities. And mass media images are even more significant in presenting people with disabilities and their issues because many people still have little interpersonal contact with people with disabilities. This is due in part to the architectural, occupational, educational, and communication barriers still in place in the United States. Therefore, much of society is exposed to views of disability through all types of mass media. A 1991 Louis Harris poll showed that Americans surveyed are less likely to feel awkward around people with disabilities after having viewed fictional television and movie presentations about people with disabilities (National Organization on Disability, 1991). These surveyed Americans were relying on information about the disability experience from mass media to form their views.

Kathryn Montgomery argues that advocacy groups are extremely concerned with their mass media depictions because it demeans them in the eyes of others. "To women, gays, seniors, and the disabled, television is a cultural mirror which has failed to reflect their image accurately. To be absent from prime time, to be marginally included in it, or to be treated badly by it are seen as serious threats to their rights as citizens," she writes (Montgomery, 1989, p. 8). In line with this, Dillon, Byrd, and Byrd (1980) perceived television as an instrument of change in attitudes toward disabled people. They conclude that prime time television portrayal of disability might be more realistic if it could consistently integrate persons with disabilities into everything from news to sitcoms to talk shows.

In addition, it should be noted that when negative stereotypes flow from media into the social milieu, they can have an effect on the perception many people with
disabilities have of themselves. Studying media content has an implied understanding that media images have some influence in society, particularly if your social group is the one being portrayed.

Therefore, it is significant to have some knowledge of self-concepts related to people with disabilities. Some researchers have found that some people with physical disabilities have a less favorable body image when compared with nondisabled people. For example, Arnhoff and Mehl (1963) found in paraplegic men who are wheelchair users that using a wheelchair for a long period of time led to a deterioration of body image. However, this also could be a function of change of status from a nondisabled to a disabled individual, especially because society provides many impediments and barriers to people who cannot walk. Other studies of people with disabilities' concept toward themselves showed that self-concepts vary widely, are usually not related to degree of disability, and are more related to individual personality traits (Barker et al., 1953).

More significant, however, are the stereotypes of people with disabilities that evolve from the social milieu or culture. These can have a tremendous impact on the self-concept of people with disabilities as Richardson, Hastorf, Goodman, and Dornbusch (1961) showed in their study of the cultural uniformity of children's reactions to disabilities. They studied more than 200 boys and girls of diverse social and cultural backgrounds, some of whom had physical disabilities and others without disabilities. They asked the children to rank photographs of children with and without physical disabilities. All sets of the children, both those with and without physical
d1sab1ht:1es, ranked the nond1sabled chltd as first chmce Thetr findings md1cate how a
mmonty social group adheres to the values of the maJonty culture

The contradictory status of people with disab1ht:1es m society affects their self-
concept, accordmg to Wnght (1960). There can be a mix of devaluattnng pity causing a
perception of mfenonty and salutatory respect for copmg with a d1sab1hty m the same
social relattonshtp Zola (1991) calls this a dual message that society gives people with
d1sab1httes through the media On the one hand, stones about the successes of people
with d1sab1httes illustrate that they can hve full, happy, goal-oriented lives On the
other hand, the message of success sets up expectat10ns that all disabled people must
try to meet This message "states that 1f a Franklm Delano Roosevelt or a Wlima
Rudolph could OVERCOME thetr handicap, so could and should all the disabled. And
if we fatl, 1t ts our problem, our personahty, our weakness" (Zola, 1991, p 161)

Therefore, It seems clear that mass media act as s1gmficant agents m socially
constructtnng images of people with d1sab1ht:1es and d1sab1hty issues m U S. culture
News stones filter out nto pubhc consc10usness and are st:ll typically viewed as
representations of reality Carey (1989) proposes a ntual view of commumcatton that
exammes newspaper readmg and TV v1ewmg not as mformation d1ssemmatton, but as
a portrayal and remforcement of a specific view of the world. My study assessed
whether that view of the world regardmg people with d1sab1httes ts changmg through
the media presentat10ns of the Americans with Disab1htles Act Htggms (1992) argues
that in our culture "we present d1sab1hty as pnmanly an mternal cond1t1on that
estranges disabled people from others" (p. 19). This dissertation mvestigates the
maintenance of this view of disability when faced with a new narrative that constructs people with disabilities as full citizens, complete with the rights of every American, no longer as medical dependents.

Within the ritual view of communication, Carey calls news stones culturally constructed narratives. Within this framework, news still has the power to inform, but Bird and Dardenne (1988) explain that the information audiences receive are not facts and figures but a larger symbolic system of news. As a method of communication, news can take on qualities like the myth. Both convey culture.

In the United States, this makes journalists transmitters of the stones of American culture. "The journalist-storyteller is indeed using culturally embedded story values, taking them from the culture and re-presenting them to the culture." (Bird and Dardenne, 1988, p. 80) Barktn (1984) explains that using the news values of the culture, journalists confirm and preserve the social order. Graber (1984) sees journalists as reflecting the values of the American system, with their use of official sources and members of government.

Gans (1980) explains how TV news perpetuates such US values as individuality and moderation. These particular values are especially germane to the media presentation of the disability experience in America. As Lachowltz (1988) argues, the U.S. emphasis on individuality and responsibility has contributed to the devaluation of disabled people and their treatment within the most "cost effective" methods. Also, the relationships many people with disabilities must maintain to have assistance in daily living conflicts with U.S. notions of individuals "taking care" of
themselves. As for the notion of moderation, the disability rights movement has had to take extreme measures to fight against discrimination, thus sometimes falling into a "deviant" role.

As journalists assign hero and villain status to the key players within their stories, they do so using cultural norms of how society views a person or group. From her study of the US disability culture, Phillips (1990) explains three notions about the disability experience that are pervasive in U.S. culture.

1. That society perceives disabled persons to be damaged, defective, and less socially marketable than nondisabled persons; (2) that society believes disabled persons must try harder to overcome obstacles in culture and should strive to achieve normality; and (3) that society attributes to disabled persons a preference to be with their own kind (Phillips, 1990, p. 850).

The disability rights perspective is a new narrative trying to push its way into U.S. culture and into the news media, and it must compete with these more entrenched cultural notions that stigmatize people with disabilities in society. The Americans with Disabilities Act, however, has forced these new and old cultural perspectives to clash in the public arena. The new legislation is requiring U.S. society -- and especially American business interests -- to take note of the rights of the people with disabilities.

**Disability and Media Models**

Specific media models concerning disability were developed in the late 1980s to assess presentations of people with disabilities in news stories. These are acknowledged for their past contribution to understanding media representations, but
because the ADA is trying to shift the paradigm as to how our society thinks about disability, those models may not be as relevant in post-ADA stones or those specifically about the ADA

Clogston created media models of disability (1990) before the ADA had truly taken hold in U.S. society. He analyzed stones with these models based on whether they presented people with disabilities in a traditional or progressive way. A traditional disability category presents a person with a disability as defective in a medical or economic way or as a superhuman. Problems arise because an individual is disabled; they do not come from society. Society is seen as curing or adapting the disabled medically or economically. The person with a disability may even be seen as deviant or subhuman. On the other hand, the progressive category views people as disabled by society, not by a physical attribute. The handicap is society's inability to adapt its physical, social, and occupational environment and its attitudes to people with disabilities.

The models used in Clogston's categories were part of the assessment of the ADA stones for this research, so as to understand how much validity they have for this new type of story. However, I created three additional models that more accurately assess changing media narrative on disability rights issues. These models are discussed fully in the definition of terms.

In designing the coding mechanism for the visual images, I also relied on work done by Cumberbatch and Negmee (1992) in their study of people with disabilities on fictional and non-fictional television programs in Great Britain, by Knoll (1987) in his...
quahtattve study of the dep1ctton of people with d1sab1hties m art photographs, and by Hall (1978) m hts 1deolog1cal/cultural analysis of news photographs

Definition of Terms

**Agenda-setting** -- The news media's abihty to frame current issues through their emphasis or de-emphasis of certam aspects of the issue In this way, media mfluence pubhc opmton on an issue

**Media frames** -- "Persistent pattern!I of cogmtmn, mterpretatmn, and presentation, of select10n, emphasis, and exclus1on, by which symbol-handlers routmely orgamze discourse, whether verbal or visual" (Gitlin, 1980, p 7)

**Elite new media** -- The three ma1or televis10n networks, ABC, NBC, CBS, the three maJor general mterest news magazmes, Time, U.S, News and World Report, and Newsweek; and high crrculatton newspapers that are held m high esteem by both the Joumahsttc community and the general pubhc.

**Medical model** -- D1sab1hty 1s presented as an illness or malfunction Persons who are disabled are shown as dependent on health professionals for cures or mamtenance. Disabled md1v1duals are passive and do not participate in "regular" actlvtties because of d1sab1lity (Clogston, 1990)

**Social pathology model** -- People with disab1htles are presented as disadvantaged and must look to the state or to society for economic support, which ts considered a gift, not a nght, (Clogston, 1990).
**Supercrip model** -- The person with a disability is portrayed as deviant because of "superhuman" feats (e.g., ocean sailing blind man) or as "special" because they live regular lives "in spite of" disability (e.g., deaf high school student who plays softball). This role reinforces the idea that people with disabilities are deviant -- that the person's accomplishments are amazing for someone who is less than complete (Clogston, 1993).

**Business model** -- People with disabilities and their issues are presented as costly to society and businesses especially. Making society accessible for people with disabilities is not really worth the cost and overburdens businesses. It is not a "good value" for society or businesses. Accessibility is not profitable (Haller model).

**Minority/civil rights model** -- People with disabilities are seen as members of the disability community, which has legitimate political grievances. They have civil rights that they may fight for, just like other groups. Accessibility to society is a civil right (Clogston, 1990).

**Legal model** -- It is illegal to treat people with disabilities in certain ways. They have legal rights and may need to sue to guarantee those rights. The Americans with Disabilities Act and other laws are presented as legal tools to halt discrimination. (Haller model).

**Cultural pluralism model** -- People with disabilities are seen as a multifaceted people and their disabilities do not receive undue attention. They are portrayed as non-disabled people would be (Clogston, 1990).
Consumer model -- People with disabilities are shown to represent an untapped consumer group. Making society accessible could be profitable to businesses and society in general. If disabled people have access to jobs, they will have more disposable income. If disabled people have jobs, they will no longer need government assistance (Haller model).

Disability rights -- Analogous to the racial and gender civil rights movements of the 1960s, the disability rights movement is a dispersed community of people with disabilities who favor activism and political action and desire full integration into the mainstream of American society (Scotch, 1988).

Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) -- Federal legislation passed in July 1990 that makes it unlawful to discriminate in employment against qualified people with disabilities, and it prohibits discrimination against people with disabilities in state and local government services, private sector entities, transportation, and telecommunications. Its provisions, many of which took effect in 1992-93, are overseen and enforced by the U.S. Equal Opportunity Commission, U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, U.S. Department of Transportation, Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board, and the Federal Communications Commission. Chapter 2 details the history and implications of the ADA.

ADA definition of disability -- "An individual is considered to have a 'disability' if he/she has a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities, has a record of such impairment, or is regarded as having such an impairment" (EEOC, 1992, p. 1) People who have an association or
relationship with someone who has a disability are also protected against discrimination. In this definition, "major activities" include seeing, hearing, speaking, walking, breathing, learning, self-care, working, and performing manual tasks. Temporary or nonchromic impairments such as broken bones are not defined as disabilities. The concept of a "record of impairment" helps protect people who have recovered from impairments, such as cancer or mental illness, from discrimination. The idea of "regarded as having" an impairment protects people who may not have an impairment that limits them physically such as people with facial disfigurement or who are HIV positive but may face employment discrimination because of fear.

Reasonable accommodation under the ADA -- • Any modification or adjustment to a job or the work environment that will enable a qualified applicant or employee with a disability to participate in the application process or to perform essential job functions" (EEOC, 1992, p. 5) An employer does not have to accommodate the person if it would cause an undue hardship on the business such as causing "significant difficulty or expense." That hardship is evaluated on a case-by-case basis. In private and public sector accommodations, similar concepts apply. They must be made accessible and barriers must be removed whenever "readily achievable," i.e. done without much difficulty or cost.

Research Questions

1) What are the written and photographic image profiles of people with disabilities in the ADA stories?
2) How do the news media juxtapose the newer disability rights perspective relative with older stereotypes of the disability experience and competing perspectives such as U.S. business interests?

3) How does this coverage of the ADA compare with previous analyses of media portrayals of people with disabilities and their issues?

4) Is the view that people with disabilities are medical or welfare problems in society more prevalent in the media than the view that people with disabilities have certain civil rights under the law and are not to be "taken care of" by society?

5) How do media perform when a new frame for the representation of a group is handed down from a major institution such as the U.S. Congress?

6) What is the agenda-setting role of news media in framing people with disabilities and their civil rights issues?

7) How does media coverage of the ADA compare with representations of other minority or stigmatized groups in society?

**Study Plan**

and U.S. News and World Report from 1988 to 1993. These newspapers and news
magazines were selected because they are all indexed and also represent the most
prestigious and some of the highest circulation newspapers and news magazines in the
United States. Seven of the nine newspapers rank in the top 15 highest circulation
newspapers in the United States. 1994 daily circulation figures are Wall Street
Journal, 1.8 million, Los Angeles Times, 1.14 million, New York Times, 1.14
million, Wash. Post, 802,057, Chicago Tribune, 724,257, Boston Globe,
508,867; Philadelphia Inquirer, 502,149, and Atlanta Journal-Constitution, 302,616
(Funk and Wagnalls, 1994). They also represent four geographic regions, the
Northeast, the South, the Midwest, and the West, as well as including a business

The stories have been coded by me and one other coder. The other coder read
about 10 percent of the universe of articles (N = 50) and was then compared to my
results to verify intercoder reliability, which is reported in Chapter 4.

Quantitative analysis was also used for the visual material in the sample such
as news photographs and network television footage. This allowed for a well-rounded
view of the ADA stories because I analyzed the whole media package related to the
presentation of each ADA story. This allowed me to better assess the visual
representation of people who are physically different in the context of a civil rights
story.

A qualitative analysis assessed the combination of images and words in a
protest situation. This added context and richness to the study. I chose an early section
of the ADA stones to better discern the baseline of representations before the coverage got into full swing. It also gave me the chance to use Clogston's disability models (1990) in a qualitative way and understand their strengths and weaknesses before the ADA was passed and, as I argue, began changing media coverage. Therefore, the qualitative study analyzed a disability rights protest that occurred in Washington, D.C., several months before the passage of the ADA. Also, because protests are so integral to the civil rights movements in this country, I thought it crucial to do a separate critical analysis of a disability protest event.

Combining these methodologies, as well as assessing all aspects of the coverage from print to TV, from written to visual, I have attempted to produce a well-rounded understanding of how the U.S. media covered the 1990 landmark legislation for people with disabilities.
Gusfield (1981) has developed a useful framework for analyzing how a problem such as discrimination against people with disabilities comes to be seen as a social problem. In his idea of the ownership of public problem, it is understood that all groups do not have the same power, influence, and authority to define social problems. A group must truly own a problem to push it into the public sphere. For example, disability organizations and disability activists have tried to "own" the problem of full civil rights for people with disabilities since the 1960s. In fact, in the mid-1970s, disability activists held sit-ins across the nation to protest the lack of enforcement guidelines of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which made discrimination against people with disabilities illegal at institutions that received federal money. However, that activism was just a blip on the consciousness of the American public.

It was not until the late 1980s that the disability community truly owned the problem of discrimination against people with disabilities. Events such as the 1988 Deaf President Now student demonstration at Gallaudet University to protest the appointment of a hearing president at the university for deaf people and national polls that delineated the problem of unemployment among people with disabilities gave the disability community more ownership of the discrimination problem. With that ownership, the disability community was then able, through better definition of the problem, to transfer the responsibility for the problem to the U.S. government. I
theorize that through the Americans with Disabilities Act, this public problem is now being fixed upon the whole of U.S. society, especially business concerns. Gusfield (1981) explains how a law should be considered "as a stylized form of public drama whose impact is not only in its instrumental consequences as a utilitarian means to an end. As a cultural performance at levels of both formal and routine activity, law embodies and reinforces meanings. It creates a day-to-day authority and legitimizes control through budding the image of a social and natural order based on moral consensus" (p 18).

Gusfield explains that a component of this culture of public problems is mass media. Media help construct the "reality" of a public problem. In the case of the Americans with Disabilities Act, news media had only a little knowledge of the disability rights perspective at the inception of the Act, so this study can assess what kind of "reality" of the Act they presented as their knowledge grew. As Gusfield acknowledges, "metaphors are important for what they ignore as points of difference as well as for what they include as marks of similarity" (1981, p. 22).

The History of the ADA

"The preamble of the Constitution does not say, 'We the able-bodied people,' it says, 'We the people.' We are the people. . . . We are here to deliver a message. We are here to demand our civil rights -- now," Mike Augberger, an ADAPT organizer from Denver, told disabled activists on the steps of the U.S. Capitol as they

The civil rights of 43 million Americans were on the line. For decades, even centuries, people with disabilities were relegated to a position in society that was second class. Many people with disabilities had been shut out of the mainstream of society because of the architectural, occupational, communication, and attitudinal barriers in place in the United States. People with disabilities, some governmental officials, and some enlightened nondisabled people, however, began to see that this situation was not right. A fight had begun for the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA).

People familiar with the governmental history of the Americans with Disabilities Act credit the National Council on the Handicapped (later renamed the National Council on Disability) with laying part of the foundation for the ADA. In 1986, the Council released a report entitled "Toward Independence," which assessed the current federal laws and programs affecting people with disabilities and made recommendations for legislative change. These recommendations became the impetus for the ADA.

Although the Council's report is crucial to the ADA, it should be remembered that disability activists had been working for years to make society aware of the injustices faced by people with disabilities. Their constant pressure in all facets of American society helped ideas about the civil rights of people with disabilities enter the collective consciousness. O'Day (1993) argues that the passage of the ADA
represented the ideas of political scientist John Kmgdon (1984), who theorizes that issues become part of the policy agenda when problem recognition, policy development, and politics intersect. At this convergence, an opportunity presents itself for policy change. Disability activists successfully politicized the issue after hearings around the country to gather personal testimony about disability. In addition, new surveys and polls of people with disabilities gave Americans information about the disability experience in U.S. society, as well as delineating the problem of unemployment among people with disabilities (Louis Harns, 1986). People with disabilities were beginning to be recognized as a voting block as illustrated by George Bush's 1988 campaign promise to get people with disabilities into the mainstream (Pfeiffer, 1992). Finally, people with disabilities were gaining national attention as articulate protestors against discrimination as the successful Deaf President Now student demonstration at Gallaudet University Illustrated (Gannon, 1989). The convergence of all these factors helped politicize disability rights as an issue (O'Day, 1993).

Therefore, even the conservative members of the Reagan-appointed Council were named for notions of greater civil rights for people with disabilities. This represents what disabilities scholar Victor Finkelstein calls phase three of disability in society. "In phase two the focus of attention is firmly on the physically impaired individual. In phase three the focus is on the nature of society which disables physically impaired people" (Finkelstein, 1980, p. 16).
Although the ADA moved through the legislative process, the people affected by the Act followed it on a parallel plane and really pushed the idea of changing society for people with disabilities. The National Council on the Handicapped reflected the beginnings of this system change in its report. Its scrutiny of past legislation regarding disability found numerous weaknesses. It also assessed more than 40 governmental programs related to disability and made similar findings.

At that time, the federal expenditure on disability benefits and programs exceeded $60 billion (National Council on the Handicapped, 1986). The report revealed that continuing to make people with disabilities dependent was costly in the long run. "The Council is strongly convinced that present and future costs of disability to the Nation are directly related to the degree of success we attain in educating existing barriers, both structural and attitudinal, and in providing appropriate services to individuals with disabilities so they may realize their full potential and become more independent and self-sufficient" (National Council on the Handicapped, 1986, p. v1). The Council was embracing a new kind of thinking for the federal government -- that it is the barriers that are costly, not people with disabilities.

The National Council drew three primary conclusions from its study:

1. Approximately two-thirds of working-age persons with disabilities do not receive Social Security and other public assistance income.
2. Federal disability programs reflect an overemphasis on income support and an underemphasis of initiatives for equal opportunity, independence, prevention, and self-sufficiency.
3. More emphasis should be given to Federal programs encouraging and assisting private sector efforts to promote opportunities and independence for individuals.
Based on these conclusions, the Council made recommendations in 10 areas: equal opportunity laws, employment, disincentives to work under social security laws, prevention of disabilities, transportation, housing, community-based services for independent living, educating children with disabilities, personal assistance, and coordination.

With the framework established by the National Council on the Handicapped, the next steps were in the hands of Congress. An understanding of disability and disability issues came into play with the Congress members who became the sponsors of the 1988 bill. Former U.S. Sen. Lowell Weicker (R-Conn) and former U.S. Rep. Tony Coelho (D-Calif.) were the original sponsors of the ADA in Congress. Katy Beh Neas, a former legislative assistant for Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) and now a lobbyist for the American Association of University Affiliated Programs, explained that both men had personal knowledge of and experience with disability issues (1993). Weicker has a son with Down syndrome, and Coelho has epilepsy.

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1988 was introduced in Congress on April 28. When introducing the bill, Sen. Weicker said, "Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 prohibits discrimination in housing on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, and national origin. People with disabilities are not protected. As a result, they are frequently turned down for apartments or houses because a landlord objects to..."
their disability. . . .The Americans with Disabilities Act aims to correct such discrepancies" ("Scaring the monkeys," 1988, p. 5).

The bill incorporated the recommendations of the National Council on the Handicapped, as well as broadening the provisions of Sections 503 and 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which barred discrimination based on disability in any federal or federally-funded institution or program. Rep. Coehlo also introduced the bill in the House of Representatives, where it sat in the House Committee on Education and Labor, the House Judiciary Committee, the House Committee on Energy and Commerce, and the House Committee on Public Works and Transportation ("A new day for disability rights?," 1988). The Senate Subcommittee on the Handicapped held hearings on the bill in the Fall of 1988, but no further action emerged ("Recent action," 1989).

Other politics came into play stalling the bill in the 100th Congress. Weicker was defeated in 1988 and left Congress. Coehlo resigned in 1989 and left Congress. Sen. Tom Harken, whose brother is deaf, took the lead on the ADA as its Senate sponsor in the 101st Congress.

The 1988 version of the ADA foreshadowed the business sentiment on the Act. As The Disability Rag wrote, "some feel a fight can be expected from the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and various business lobbies who always trot out the 'it will cost too much!' argument" ("A new day," 1988, p. 5). These concerns materialized as the ADA made its way through the Senate and House of the 101st Congress.
Expectedly, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce did criticize provisions of the Act that dealt with the employer relationship. In testimony before the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources in May 1989, Zachary Fasman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce asked that all references to employment be stricken from Title I of the Act, questioning the unclear language there. He also called the definition of "reasonable accommodation" that employers must provide for people with disabilities as too broad and unnecessary. And Fasman questioned the idea of "essential function" in the Act, in which someone is considered a qualified applicant if he or she can perform the essential function of a job with or without reasonable accommodation.

Transportation companies and theater owners also lobbied vigorously against parts of the ADA. In testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on the Handicapped in May 1989, a spokesperson for the Greyhound Lines Inc. said the ADA would doom its company (Greyhound, 1989). The spokesperson explained that making their 4,000 buses wheelchair accessible with lifts could cut the passenger capacity of the buses by 10 to 35 percent and cut the baggage and package capacity by up to 32 percent. When the ADA finally passed, it took these concerns into consideration, and specified that a study of over-the-road bus accessibility be undertaken by the Office of Technology Assessment by July 26, 1993. Also, large over-the-road bus companies must purchase accessible buses by July 26, 1996 (Eastern Paralyzed Veterans Association, 1992).

Theater owners supported the part of the Act that dealt with making any newly constructed buildings fully accessible to people with disabilities, but they lobbied for
wheelchair accessible seating to be near an exit only. The theater owners group also wanted existing theaters exempt from the ADA, saying that inner city theaters with marginal profitability cannot afford to be renovated. They also argued that some jobs in theaters could not accommodate people who use wheelchairs (Green, 1989).

One group fared the best at receiving exemption from the Americans with Disabilities Act. Relying on the separation of church and state argument, churches and religious organizations, as well as private clubs, successfully lobbied for exclusion from being considered a place of public accommodation. Private clubs and religious organizations, including places of worship, received exemption in the ADA from its prohibition of discrimination in places of public accommodation.

The ADA tried to take into consideration the concerns of businesses without gutting the intent of the law. The Act covers businesses with more than 15 employees and that went into effect on July 26, 1994. Also allaying business fears are studies that show only 22 percent of people with disabilities need accommodations at the worksite. Another study shows that 50 percent of all accommodations cost $50 or less (Eastern Paralyzed Veterans Association, 1992).

Some conservative senators had their say in the ADA by adding a variety of amendments to it before passage. For example, The Helms Amendment, proposed by North Carolina Sen. Jessie Helms, clarified the definition of "handicapped" under the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 relating to substance abuse. No one currently using illegal drugs is covered by the ADA. Helms made it clear that groups such as sexual minorities, i.e. gays and lesbians, are not covered. Also, people who have a disorder
that results in them breaking the law, i.e., kleptomania, are also not covered by the Act.

But the Americans with Disabilities Act survived the opposition from both business interests and conservatives. On September 7, 1989, the Act passed the Senate in a 76-8 vote. However, the Act moved slower through the House of Representatives and was finally signed by President Bush on July 26, 1990.

**Provisions of the ADA**

Title I covers employment and requires that employers with 15 or more employees may not discriminate against qualified people who have disabilities. They must reasonably accommodate the disability of a qualified applicant or employee unless it would cause an undue hardship (U.S. Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board, 1991). This provision became effective for employers of 25 people or more on July 26, 1992 and became effective for employers of 15 or more July 26, 1994. This Title is enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

Title II covers state and local government services and transportation services. State and local governments cannot discriminate against people with disabilities and must make any of its services, programs, or activities accessible to people with disabilities unless it would alter the nature of these activities. Any newly constructed state and local government buildings or alterations of them must be accessible. Newly
constructed or altered streets must include curb cuts. These provisions were effective January 26, 1992 and are enforced by the U.S. Department of Justice.

The transportation provision requires that any new transit building of public entities and existing "key stations" in rapid rail, commuter rail, and light rail systems must be accessible. All existing Amtrak stations must be made accessible by July 26, 2010, and Amtrak trains must provide the same number of seating spaces for wheelchair users as would be available if every car in the train were accessible to wheelchair users. This allows Amtrak to make one or two cars on the tram accessible rather than every car accessible.

Alterations to existing transit buildings should also be made accessible. When public entities get new buses and rail vehicles for fixed route systems, they must be accessible. They must also provide paratransit service to eligible individuals with disabilities. The U.S. Department of Transportation enforces the transportation provision.

Title III provides that restaurants, hotels, theaters, shopping centers and malls, retail stores, museums, libraries, parks, private schools, day care centers, and other similar places of public accommodation may not discriminate based on disability. This went into effect January 26, 1992. Also, the most easily removed physical barriers in existing places of public accommodation must be removed. If this cannot be readily achieved, alternate methods of services must be provided.

Any new place of public accommodation or commercial building must be accessible as of Jan. 26, 1993. Any alterations of existing places of public
accommodation must include accessibility. However, elevators are not required in new or altered buildings under three stories or with less than 3,000 square feet per floor, unless the building is a shopping center, shopping mall, professional office of a health care provider, terminal, depot, or station used for specific public transportation, or an airport passenger terminal. Any examination or course related to licensing or certification for professional or trade purposes must be in accessible buildings or in an alternate accessible location.

New buses and other vehicles, except aircraft and automobiles, acquired by private entities for public transportation must be accessible, or a service equivalent to that provided to the general public must be offered. New over-the-road buses must be accessible by July 26, 1996 (1997 for small companies). Telephone companies must create telecommunications relay services for hearing-impaired and speech-impaired people 24 hours a day by July 26, 1993.

Research has already studied the general public's understanding of the ADA. A Loma Hams poll commissioned by the National Organization on Disability in 1991 showed only 18 percent of the American public knew the law was passed. Two-thirds of those Americans knew the law protects people with disabilities from job discrimination and three-fourths of these Americans knew that if a local government bought a new bus, it should be accessible. However, half of the people who had heard of the ADA misunderstood the Act to mean that all employers, no matter what the cost, should make changes to accommodate a qualified person with a disability. They
did not know about the "reasonable accommodation" provision or the exemption for employers with less than 15 workers (National Organization on Disability, 1991).

However, even without knowledge of the ADA the American public seems to support it. The Louis Harris poll showed that 83 percent support the "reasonable accommodation" provision for employers; 93 percent endorse accessible new public transport; 95 percent believe employers should be prohibited from discriminating based on disability; 96 percent agree that discrimination should be banned in public places; and 89 percent say that the cost of the new law will be worth it.
CHAPTER 3
LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature Search Process

The literature in this dissertation was found at Temple's Paley and Bhtman
branes, the University of Maryland-College Park McKeldm Library, Phdadelphia's
Free Library, and the Gallaudet University Library. Databases searched include
General Business Index, 1989-present, Dissertation Abstracts, 1861-present, ERIC,
1974-present; Public Affairs Information Services, 1972-present; MLA International
Bibliography, 1981-present, PsycLIT, 1974-present, Soc10file, 1974-present, General
Periodical Index, 1988-present; and National Newspaper Index, 1988-present. Indexes
consulted include Communication Abstracts and Humam1e1l Index. Keywords used for
searches included handicapped, disability, mass media, newspapers, Journalism,
television, and Americans with Disabilities Act.

Additional sources were found through following the reference trail in Journal
articles and books about media and disability. Literature about deviance theory was
explored in a Temple University communication theory class. Literature about social
constructionism was explored in a Temple educational psychology class. The
qualitative section of the dissertation was developed through reading and a paper for a
Rhetoric and Communication class by Prof. Cmdy Patton. The history and provisions
of the ADA were investigated through a class offered by the Temple Institute on
Disabilities. Literature on the news media role was accumulated through many Temple
The News Media Role

Usually long before civil rights and social protests begin, changes occur in society that upset the previous social balance. New ways of perceiving groups and their issues take root slowly, causing new social issues to come to the forefront. The news media's role in this process is one of reporting and informing. They spread the word about these changing social issues. Lasswell (1966) referred to this as "surveillance." The news media have the job of disclosing threats and opportunities affecting the value position of the community and of the component parts within it (Lasswell, 1966, p. 189).

Therefore, news media must deem a social issue of interest to the community at large before awarding it coverage. The medical or welfare perspective, rather than the disability rights perspective, was more often found in print media coverage in the late 1980s (Clogston, 1991). Disability rights issues were only sporadically covered before the passage of the ADA. It is rare for a news organization to have a disability beat. However, the passage of the ADA had the potential to affect everyone, employers and educators, as well as people with disabilities. The rights issues had always had broad ramifications, but with the law behind them, they suddenly became more significant to the general public. Disability rights became part of the public agenda.
What the news media did with this issue is the subject of this dissertation. It is significant to understand the definition and framing of this agenda issue, in light of public opinion about disability (National Organization on Disability, 1991). Kosicki (1993) suggests that agenda-setting research can be more meaningful by working from the perspective that the media not only survey social activities and the sociopolitical atmosphere, but draw attention to certain significant agenda issues, which may result in changes in society.

To best understand how these agenda issues are framed for the public by the news media, Kosicki says agenda-setting research must consider studies on news work. The way the news profession operates and its norms actively constructs a certain version of reality from the issues at hand. In explaining how news media frame issues in society, Hall et al. (1978) note how news media employ a process of identification, classification, and contextualization to make news events understandable to readers and viewers.

This process of giving social meaning to events rests on an assumption that society works within a consensus of meaning. Creating this assumption that there is one viewpoint on societal events negates the perspectives of other groups in society for whom an event may have a totally different meaning, according to Hall et al. (1978). This idea of consensual meaning explains how the news media have come to fit into the social structure.

Murdock (1974) explained how the news media strengthen this consensus of meaning. "By stressing the contumacy and stability of the social structure, and by
asserting the existence of a commonly shared set of assumptions, the definitions of the
situation coincide with and reinforce essential consensual notions" (Murdock, 1974,
pp 208-9) This reinforcement of a consensual meaning becomes more significant
when the news media must make a "problematic reality" understandable to its
audience

Problematic events breach our commonly held
expectations and are therefore threatening to a society
based around expectations of consensus, order and
routine Thus the media's mapping of problematic events
within the conventional understandings of society is
crucial in two ways. The media define for the majority of
the population what significant events are taking place,
but also, they offer powerful interpretations of how to
understand these events Implicit in these interpretations
are orientations towards the events and the people or
groups involved in them (Hall et al., 1978, pp 56-57)

In the United States, for example, a problematic event might be one in which the
subordinate group in society, such as people with disabilities, begin to assert their
individual rights. This does not fit within the consensual notion in the United States
that disabled people are defective and cannot undertake "normal" endeavors (Phillips,
1990) and therefore need to be taken care of by societal structures. So the news media
may represent disability rights as a costly undertaking, indicating that these rights are
gifts within patriarchal structure.

Hall et al. acknowledge the news media position within the capitalist structure but argue that direct economic control is less significant than the professional practices of journalism. The institutional norms of objectivity and factualness means sending reporters to gather information from "authoritative," "accredited" sources,
usually representatives of major social institutions such as government, business, academics, or organized lobby groups. Hall et al. (1978) explain how these institutional practices of news media reinforce social power.

These two aspects of news production -- the practical pressures of constantly working against the clock and the professional demands of impartiality and objectivity -- combine to produce a systematically structured over-accessing to the media of those in powerful and privileged institutional positions. The media thus tend, faithfully and impartially, to reproduce symbolically the existing structure of power in society's institutional order (Hall et al., 1978, p. 58).

Fishman (1988) agrees with Hall's et al assessment of newswork reinforcing the ideas of the powerful. In the political realm specifically, Fishman says that routine news validates the political order by "disseminating bureaucratic ideas about the world and by filtering out troublesome perceptions of events" (1988, p. 154).

Research by Tichenor, Donohue, and Olten (1980) validates this notion as well. Their research illustrates how the press mediated community conflict between environmental interests and industrial interests in Minnesota. Their findings revealed that the press is part of a reciprocal process in the social system, being affected by it and affecting it as well. The press is forced to reporting on social conflict because of its place in the system and then its stories become a part of the social process, affecting future developments. They also found that the power elite helps form the media position, so the news media end up reinforcing the outlook of the dominant power in the community. In conflict situations, the press contributes to either a widening or narrowing of differences in knowledge within the system.
Ollen, Tichenor, and Donohue (1989) reinforced this idea that the media lean in favor of the status quo and the "mainstream" when covering public protests. That study found the media are watchdogs on behalf of the mainstream groups. "Media report social movements as a rule in the guise of watchdogs, while actually performing as 'guard dogs' for the mainstream interests" (1989, p. 24). In their study of the 1975-78 protest against establishment of a high voltage powerline in a rural area, Ollen, Tichenor, and Donohue found the media playing the role of delegitimizing the protestors, referring to their actions as "vandalism." It is also clear that in becoming part of a social controversy, the media respond as principal agents of legitimacy within the system, not as independent fourth estate watchdogs" (1989, p. 37).

Some researchers, however, believe oppositional or minority perspectives do undermine dominant ideology within the text. These researchers move past the pure dominant-deviant ideological perspective of content represented by the Birmingham School. They would argue that although the dominant ideology is represented in media content, alternative, oppositional, and marginalized information does make it into the content.

Wendy Kozol (1989) illustrates this in her analysis of representations of race in U.S. TV coverage of South Africa. She argues that polysemic messages are contained at the level of content within the television text. "Although dominant ideologies are structured into the text, the structure of the text contains unresolved contradictions" (Kozol, p. 177). For example, although TV news typically uses racist and patriarchic...
frames to present blacks, it also gives voice to blacks who eloquently state their own views. A positive image might be the political struggle as represented by the heroics of Desmond Tutu.

White representations of blacks are highly problematic, blacks are being given a voice on American national television. When black leaders are interviewed on network news, television's codes of representation grant them the same status as white South Africans. These images make available, wittingly or not, alternative interpretations of political and social developments (Kozol, 1989, p. 180).

Montz (1992) makes a similar claim about media treatment of celebrities who are gay or lesbian. She looks at the tension between the negative stereotypes of gays and lesbians typically represented in media and positive values. Journalism places on celebrity status in making news. She says the "cult of personality" dominated in the stories about the Jean Kennedy's paternity lawsuit, Rock Hudson's AIDS revelation, and US Rep Barney Frank's exploitative gay lover. Even though media stories typically privilege heterosexuality, there are an increasing number of stories about homosexuality in the press, which provide contradiction in the texts, allowing for alternative meanings to arise. "By becoming visible in the news media, homosexuals become the subject of an ongoing cultural dialogue and are in some real sense legitimized even in the IT Otherness" (Montz, p. 168).

Most researchers agree that the news work practice of the media actively frame issues in certain ways at certain times. This has been illustrated in research by Berelson, 1948; Tuchman, 1974; Hall, 1980, and Lang and Lang, 1983.
s1gmfcant is the work by Gitlin (1980), who used the idea of media frames to study the student movement of the 1960s and its framing in the news media. Gitlin operationalizes the idea of media frames in this way.

Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual. Frames enable journalists to process large amounts of information quickly and routinely, to recognize it as information, to assign it to cognitive categories, and to package it for efficient relay to their audiences (Gitlin, 1980, p 7).

These media frames can be at the level of language such as Dan Rather calling the student movement a "civil disturbance" rather than "movements for peace and Justice." Language is especially significant in the presentation of people with disabilities. Longmore (1985) studied the social meaning of language that referred to people with disabilities and found three forms of the language of disability. One form represents people solely in terms of a disability and are therefore medicalized and dependent. This form creates abstract nouns from adjectives (the disabled, the deaf) or borrows medical labels such as "suffers from." Another form is the use of euphemistic labels such as "special" or "exceptional." And the third form refers to pohacitized language that allows people with disabilities to create their own identity.

At a concrete level, Longmore's study illustrates how the social deviance of people with disabilities takes verbal form. People who happen to be legally blind become socially defined not as a people who have difficulty seeing but as members of
the group, "the blmd " Their humamty ts extracted, and they are seen as blmd only
Wth language, they are defined with labels of understood social deviance.

At the societal level, media framimg of an issue may be part of the unconscious
hegemony of a cap1talsttc society, accordmg to Gitlm. Or m the case of d1sab1hty
images, it may be the unconsc10us hegemony of a society butlt exclusively for people
with no mobihty, communcat10n, visual, or mtellectual dtfficulttes It should be
remembered that most U S news media are composed of non-disabled people.

Gitlm's idea of media frames desnves from Goffman's not10n that humans use
frames to orgamze and manage the mformaaon m everyday hves (1974) An event can
be categonzed, clarified, and understood through a frame. About these pnmary
frameworks, Goffman explams

Some are neatly presentable as a system of enattes,
postulates, and rules; others -- mdeed, most others --
appear to have no apparent araculated shape, providing
only a lore of understandmg, an approach, a perspecttve
Whatever the degree of orgamzaaon, however, each
primary framework allows its user to locate, perceive,
identify, and label a seemmgly mfinite number of
concrete occurrences defined m its terms (Goffman,
1974, p. 21)

Kosicki (1993) argues that when the idea of frammg ts apphed to the news media
presentations, they "allow us to understand issues m paracular ways, and also guide
news work and audience responses to media content" (1993, p 115)

Blendmg the concept of frammg with agenda-setting research 1s sail a new
endeavor w1thm mass communcat10n, but one that represents its future (Mccombs
and Shaw, 1993). The two research areas seem to differ pnmanly m methodology,
rather than at a theoretical level Both traditions agree that the news media have a role in telling the public how to think about an issue, in other words, framing it.


Kosicki (1993) says the most sophisticated study that combines the concepts is a comparative analysis of British and U.S media coverage of national elections by Semetko et al. (1991) The authors develop an innovative study of media content by using "theme agendas," which are similar to frames. The Semetko study lends credence to the idea that media help shape agendas, according to Kosicki.

The point is that media 'gatekeepers' do not merely keep watch over information, shuffling it here and there. Instead, they engage in active construction of messages, emphasizing certain aspects of issues and not others. This creates a situation in which media add distinctive elements to the stream of public discourse instead of merely mirroring the principles set out by various parties or candidates (Kosicki, 1993, p 113).

Kosicki explains that this type of agenda-setting research moves from the study of broad public issues empty of content to an acceptance that issue themes or frames can be understood within the agenda-setting model.

It should be noted also that social issues typically take up less space in newspapers than other types of news Ryan and Owen (1976) undertook a content analysis of the coverage of eight metropolitan daily newspapers of social issues,
finding 8.8 percent of their newshole devoted to health, housing, education, crime-law, poverty-welfare, ecology, mass transit, racism-sexism and drug abuse. In a 1977 follow-up study, Ryan and Owen found, however, that coverage of social issues contained more errors than general coverage. The accuracy data indicated that the most common errors were subjective, those in which the news source and the reporter may differ on how the information should be treated.

This has implications for the news coverage of the Americans with Disabilities Act because disability activists have long faulted the media for reporting on disability as a medical or welfare problem. In fact, Shapiro (1993a) reports that disability lobbyists for the ADA made little use of the media to push their ideas because they thought the media stones would perpetuate stereotypes and hinder the public's understanding of disability rights.

But once the ADA passed, the press saw the story on its own. The news media also quickly picked up on the conflict between business interests and the legislation.

As other unempowered groups have climbed toward acceptance, they, too, have fought for their civil rights under law. These social movements are covered in the news media. In fact, Fedler (1973), a study of Minneapolis media, found that minority groups received more, rather than less, attention than equivalent established groups. However, the media stones on these non-mainstream groups may contain negative presentations, according to Shoemaker (1984). She found that deviant political groups -- ranging from the Sierra Club and NAACP to the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis -- receive less favorable presentation in major newspapers in surveys with news...
and political editors, she discovered that if editors perceive a group as more deviant, it is covered less favorably in newspaper articles.

Hertog and McLeod (1988) confirmed Shoemaker's findings in their study of anarchist marches in Midtowns. They found that newspapers and television covered the marches from a pro-establishment bent and focused on the group's appearance and violence rather than the issues the group presented. Similarly, Caragee and Jarrell (1987) found the framing of the West European peace movement in American news magazines was as "illegal, irrational, and ineffective" (p. 33). Comehus (1990) discovered similar results in a study of protests by radical and mainstream Irish-American political groups. Her results showed that newspapers delegitimized groups who are against the British in Northern Ireland by framing their actions as meaningless, discounting their goals and leaders, and presenting the groups as deviant and/or uninformed about the "truth."

Shoemaker (1987) advocates that communication researchers begin to use concepts of deviance in their studies. Because, by definition, deviant people and groups present a challenge to the status quo and may advocate for change, the dominant power in society will want to restrict any threatening assaults on that power. Therefore, Shoemaker maintains that it is socially functional that deviance and deviant groups be deemed newsworthy. In that way, the agents of the status quo can readily see any threats to their social control. The mass media act as instruments in the social control of deviance.
Shoemaker maintains that statistical deviance does not concern the agents of the status quo as much because this type of deviance is not necessarily ideological, just numerical. Pathological, normative, and labeled deviances, however, are more threatening to the status quo because they may upset social control. In labeling deviance, for example, "mass media labeling is nothing more than journalists' normative judgments, and these judgments will draw and define the attention of those who control social change. The journalist acts as a surrogate judge of deviance for him, or her audience members" (Shoemaker, 1987, p. 172).

Ethnic minority groups have faced this type of labeling from mass media for numerous years. Their struggle for civil rights has gained attention from the white majority media for more than 25 years. Paletz and Dunn (1969) reinforce Shoemaker's deviance thesis in their study of press coverage of the 1967 Winston-Salem riot. They maintain that the press gave its attention to efforts to stop the riots and disregarded the issues that caused violence to erupt. In this way, the press may have helped preserve the social order and safeguard the power structure.

Martindale (1985) looked at how four major newspapers covered the causes of civil rights protest by black Americans from 1950 to 1980. Her results revealed that during the 1960s, which had the largest number of protests, the smallest amount of space was given to the causes (5 percent). In the 1970s, however, much more space was given to an explanation of the causes of the social upheaval. Martindale's research lends credence to ideas of Strodthoff, Hawkms, and Schoenfeld (1985) that media
content becomes more substantive as social movements gain legitimation by news media

Hartmann and Husband (1981) have argued that the interplay of traditional culture, media as institutions, and technologies and their ideologies have structured news coverage of racial issues in such a way that these issues are seen as something that produces actual or potential conflict. In this way, the activism of African Americans comes to be seen as causing conflict, rather than lobbying for social change. The societal view of social upheaval by an ethnic group becomes imbedded in the culture, and the media help perpetuate and maintain it through their routine news gathering.

Political movements such as disability rights may take on similar cultural baggage. People within a culture may be disturbed when people with disabilities leave the fixed and visible role and loudly fight for their rights in society. Media are a mechanism by which these cultural notions are maintained, according to James Carey (1989). He represents the American cultural approach that deals little with ideology and more with communication as a cultural practice. He believes in a form of cultural studies "that does not perforce reduce culture to ideology, social conflict to class conflict, consent to compliance, action to reproduction, or communication to coercion" (Carey, 1989, p 109).

Carey argues that communication acts to maintain society and represents its shared beliefs. Communication projects and confirms the social order within the cultural world. Communication controls and contains the action of humans.
view of communication embodies the idea that communication is integrally tied to community. "A natural view of communication is directed not toward the extension of messages in space but toward the maintenance of society in time, not the act of imparting information but the representation of shared beliefs" (Carey, 1989, p. 18).

In contrast, the transmission view of communication focuses more on the transport of messages as a means of control. Carey asserts that researchers have clung to the transmission view of communication because the concept of culture in U.S. social thought is weak and fleeting. Americans view communication as the growing technology to better disseminate ideas and knowledge. It is seen as a way to conquer space and populations.

In assessing newspapers within a transmission view, for example, Carey explains that a researcher would study newspapers as sending forth news and ideas. One might study how newspapers change or solidify attitudes. In contrast, a natural view examines newspaper reading not as information dissemination, but as a framing and reinforcement of a specific view of the world. Carey compares it to going to mass. Nothing new is learned, but a world view is confirmed. "Newspapers do not operate as a source of effects or functions but as dramatically satisfying, which is not to say pleasing, presentations of what the world at root is" (Carey, 1989, p. 21). As a text, the newspaper "is a presentation of reality that gives life an overall form, order, and tone" (p. 21).

Douglas Crimp (1992) illustrates this in the stones that photographers and TV journalists tell their audience about people with AIDS in his study of portraits of
people with AIDS. He argues that the current cultural message about people with AIDS, especially gay men, is that they are horribly ill, grotesquely disfigured or wasted into nothingness, and these phobia-multiplying images are part of the culture because people fear that someone with AIDS will still be sexual. Cnmp says media images refuse to show people with AIDS as active, fighting, and controlling their lives because if they are strong, they may be sexual. By creating this image, the culture can fanaticize that AIDS has stopped gay promiscuity or gay sex.

Schudson (1991) argues for a cultural approach that does not rest solely on ideology and the hegemonic system of the dominant class. He calls the ideological approach too simple and says it presents a more unified and functional picture of human beliefs than actually exists;

Many beliefs that ruling groups may use for their own ends are rooted much more deeply in human consciousness and are to be found much more widely in human societies than capitalism or socialism or industrialism or any other modern system of social organization and domination. Patriarchal and sexist outlooks, for instance, may well be turned to the service of capitalism, but this does not make them capitalist in origin nor does it mean that they are perfectly or inherently homologous to capitalist structures or requirements for their preservation (Schudson, 1991, p. 153).

Dahlgren (1992) adds that cultural studies allow researchers a more ambitious and more theoretical approach and puts the news media's subjectivity of expression as central. It helps connect the media text to the larger culture. It also explores the links between the news media texts and other cultural texts. For example, cultural studies...
can explore the larger picture of racial stereotyping in the United States by looking at the media as cultural mechanisms in this process. The cultural narrative of racial oppression in the United States, according to Michael Omi (1989), is one of otherness. White Americans, or "us," are interpreted in contrast to "them," racial groups. Film and television have been notorious in disseminating images of racial montages which establish for audiences what these groups look like, how they behave, and, in essence, "who they are" (Omi, 1989, p. 115).

Schudson adds that the cultural approach means that other explanations for news construction can be explored, such as cultural idealism or the storytelling nature of news. He notes the shaping of news through use of traditions in narrative, storytelling, human interest, etc. This ties into the historical nature of culture. "All of this work recognizes that news is a form of literature and that one key resource journalists work with is the cultural tradition of storytelling and picture-making and sentence construction they mention, with a number of vital assumptions about the world built into it" (Schudson, 1991, p. 155).

The cultural assumptions that arise from storytelling and picture-making have ramifications for how people with disabilities are presented in mass media. For example, Klobas (1988) asserts that the stories about disabled people in fictional TV presentations follow a uniform construction. "Stories are bound to a confining formal treatment where disability is a personal problem one must overcome. Viewer! I seldom see disabled characters as multifaceted human beings for whom physical limitations are a fact of nature" (Klobas, 1988, p.xm). This screen image overflows to TV news.
and newspapers, which continually cover disabled people as human interest stories, Klobas argues. No matter what the topic of the story, disabled people are portrayed as courageous and inspirational. She adds that this portrayal is repeated over and over in fiction and non-fiction television, newspapers, and magazines because it is salable and safe.

Because this study of news coverage of the Americans with Disabilities Act will try to take into account organizational influence such as agenda-setting, ideological notions of the hegemony of the able-bodied, and cultural-historical assumptions about disability, it is crucial to look at a study that successfully pulls together the different elements. "Visualizing Deviance" by Encson, Baranek, and Chan (1987) looks at how journalists help define and shape what is social deviance. The authors argue that journalistic methodology is one of visualization—that is making something visible to the mind even when it is not visible to the eyes. They say the journalists' methodology is an intersection of their organizations, the culture, and power relationships. Ericson et al stress "the ways in which the thinking of news workers is a social process, involving active manipulation of the common-sense forms of culture" (p. 352).

At the level of their organizations, journalists must assimilate the internal myths such as investigative reporting consisting of the use of many methods and sources and in-depth investigation. Even when reporting does not fit that method, it is still transmitted to the public as if it does. This allows for legitimation of the reporting process to the public and sources. Therefore, Encson et al. explain, "news
organizations often respond more to the myths of their institutional environment than to their actual work situation (p. 358). Also, by relying on authoritative sources, news organizations legitimate their own claims to authority.

At the cultural level, Joumahsts are agents of visualization. Because most Joumahsts do not actually see the original event of a story, they are left to construct it from the accounts of authorized sources. They also learn from the precedents of the Joumahst culture on what stories get played, what sources get used, and what frames get chosen. "One reporter described the process as analogous to the Eskimo carver who eventually learns the standards and taste of the urban marketplace and shapes his products accordingly" (Ericson et al., 1987, p. 348).

And at the ideological level, news organizations join with the central agents of social control to effect hegemony. It is, therefore, rare for people who are not members of the "deviance-defining elite to penetrate its hermeneutic circle" (p. 362). Ericson et al. say there is a fundamental "template" that defines the political and cultural definition of deviance and news organizations reinforce it rather than question it. "More than anything else, news visualizes people and organizations as out of step and disordered, and uses this view to generate discourse on how they may be made to fit with the political-cultural template" (Ericson et al., 1987, p. 363).

Visualization illustrates how news organizations construct notions of social deviance through their organizational practices, visualization techniques, and relationship to agents of social control. The theoretical perspectives together also illustrate how different components of the news media can conspire to construct
images of groups such as people with disabilities in society. This is especially relevant to the disability community because disability is a "deviance" that has always been part of the human condition and always will be. The image of people with disabilities in news media can best be explained by looking at the convergence of the organizational, cultural, and ideological dimensions of their presentation.

Disability and U.S. Culture

Disability takes its place in U.S. culture in one of two ways. It is a socially constructed category assigned to a specific group of people whose minds or bodies "deviate from the norm." And it is a difference because of an observable stigma that has historically been assigned a certain status. Higgins (1992) explains how these two concepts intersect: "By primarily individualizing it, by acting toward disability as an internal defect of flawed people, whether a moral, medical, or economic flaw, we make people with disabilities separate, less 'worthy' kinds of people" (p. 250).

Becker's deviance theory (1963) posits the social constructionist view that a group will be seen as deviant if its actions are perceived as breaking from the dominant social order. Deviance is created by society, not by the people seen as deviant, according to Becker. Freidson (1965) explained how physical disability fits within the realm of social deviance. He argues that what is identified as an undesirable physical trait can be historically and culturally transient. This lends credence to the idea that the deviance of physical disability can be socially constructed. "What is common to all acts of defining someone as handicapped and requiring rehabilitation,"
therefore, ts not a set of physical attributes that always 'are' handicaps, but rather the 
act of definition itself, which can be an imputation rather than a statement of fact" 
(Freidson, 1965, pp 71-72) He argues that a handicap is an imputation of an 
undesirable difference by a social group In this way, many types of people with 
disabilities are labeled with stigmas by society

Wnght (1960) explained the group stereotypes assigned to people who have a 
disability "The stereotype of a person with a disability typically describes one who 
has suffered a great misfortune and whose life is consequently disturbed, distorted, 
and damaged forever the person with a disability is expected to be permanently 
enmeshed in the tragedy of his fate" (Wnght, 1960, p. 17) Wnght argues that group 
stereotypes can bind people who have physical disabilities into a minority group They 
may learn to struggle against stereotypes and stigma, as do ethnic groups such as 
African-Americans or Latinos.

A research tradition has established people with disabilities as a socially 
constructed minority group From his review of some mass communication content 
studies of women and African-Americans in relation to deviance and minority group 
theory, John Clogston (1989) proposes that media research on people with disabilities 
should follow those minority group models Other researchers as well have 
characterized the disability community as a minority group (Funk, 1987, Tenny, 
1953, Hahn, 1987) Disabilities come in many forms, and many times there are not 
cultural traditions to bind people with disabilities as there are for other minority 
groups
However, political grievances, such as those that spawned the Americans with Disabilities Act, have contributed to the people with disabilities seeing themselves as a minority group. "Increasingly, disabled people have begun to perceive themselves as a minority group who have been denied basic civil liberties such as the right to vote, to marry and bear children, to attend school, and to obtain employment. This new movement resembles, in method and legal theory, movements by other disadvantaged and disenfranchised groups in American politics" (Funlc, 1987, pp 7-8).

A new recognition has emerged that people with disabilities have been relegated to the status of "dependent caste," Funlc explains. Laws such as the ADA acknowledge that this caste exists. As a minority group, people with disabilities are bound by issues such as discrimination, segregation, and lack of equal opportunity. Funlc notes that like other civil rights movements, people with disabilities desire integration into society.

And like other minority groups, people who are disabled must overcome a history in which they were either pitied or feared. The prevailing attitude was that people with disabilities could rarely contribute to society. "Thus, a societal attitude developed that this class of persons, viewed as unhealthy, defective, and deviant, required special institutions, services, care, and attention in order to survive" (Funlc, 1987, p 9).

The concept of handicapism is germane to status of people with disabilities as minority group. Robert Bogdan and Douglas Biklen (1977) built on the sociological theories of scholars such as Goffman (1963) and Lemert (1967) in proposing...
handicapism as a conceptual scheme to interpret the social experiences of people with disabilities. They define handicapism as "a set of assumptions and practices that promote the differential and unequal treatment of people because of apparent or assumed physical, mental, or behavioral differences" (Bogdan and Bourdon, 1977, p. 14). Their data and impressions suggest that mass media portray prejudicial and stereotypical images of people with disabilities, thus contributing to handicapism in society. The authors reinforce the idea that disability is a social construction.

Social constructionism. It is crucial to explicate the social constructionist view because it provides a theoretical basis for the disability rights perspective. The rights perspective is that societal structures, not physical or mental impairments, handicap people.

Sarason and Dons (1979) argue that how humans see people who are different is not about who they are physically but about how people organize themselves culturally. Bogdan (1988) relies on this notion in his study of U.S. freak shows. He says that being defined as a freak is not a function of a specific physical difference but of social categorization. "'Freak' is a frame of mind, a set of practices, a way of thinking about and presenting people. It is the enactment of a tradition, the performance of a stylized presentation" (Bogdan, 1988, p. 3). It becomes a social institution, not a physical characteristic.

This notion of social construction relies on Berger and Luckmann's seminal work (1966) in the sociology of knowledge. They theorize that human reality is a socially constructed reality. They rely on the Marxian notion of "a dialectic between

A person whose normality of social identity is fragile and negotiable may occupy a position which is uncertain, ambiguous and not fully institutionalized, being at a distance from what most people would regard as society's core institutions and values. To some extent, this is the position of disabled people, for though they are not separate from society, they appear to occupy a marginal position, uneasily situated between a rigid dichotomous social classification and undifferentiated 'normality' (Thomas, 1982, pp 4-5).

Even though they may have little interpersonal contact with people with disabilities, much of society is exposed to these views of disability through mass media stories and chanty drives, according to Thomas.

He points out the significant relationship between language and the definitions of impairment, disability, and handicap. Using concepts from Bury (1979), Thomas illustrates the slippage of terminology as defined by society. An impairment is defined as the actual physiological or psychological loss of function or structure, i.e., the loss of a limb or the absence of a full range of intelligence (mental retardation). Disability is defined in its relationship to activities. The impairment affects activities such as walking, talking, having a job, chewing, stitting, etc. Handicap, however, implies the social categorization. "Handicap is a value-Judgement applied by others to an impaired-disabled person on the basis of failure to perform customary social roles, and of course, this value-Judgement the
impaired-disabled person may apply to him- or herself, or vigorously reject" (Thomas, 1982, p 7) In this way, a person with an impairment moves into a social category

Ironically, this social category lumps people who are very different from each other together. Blind people, deaf people, people with facial disfigurements, people missing limbs, people who use wheelchairs, people with mental impairments, and people with psychiatric problems can all fall into the disability group. Thomas points out that the category of disability is therefore not a result of physical differentness but of being disadvantaged and powerless in society. As Finkelstein (1980) says, "disability is not the "attribute of an individual but the outcome of an oppressive relationship between people with physical impairments and the rest of society" (p. 47). Because disability has been created and structured for non-disabled people, impairments become handicaps. As Thomas (1982) says, the social category of disability results from relationships between individuals, groups, and society.

These relationships are also power relationships. Thomas argues that this social categorization creates an identity of people with disabilities that illustrates that some of the dominant values in society are power, prestige, influence, and attractiveness.

The disabled person represents some kind of challenge to the taken-for-granted assumptions about what it means to be human. The disabled person is seen as a 'problem' at the level of everyday intercourse and makes for uncertainty about moral worth as judged by the criteria that provide certainty about position, prestige, and power (Thomas, 1982, p 17).

This is aptly illustrated by Liachowicz (1988) in her study of the development of disability legislation in the United States. Within a theory of disability as a social
construct, she shows how eighteenth century and nineteenth century laws dealing with
disability reflect how a physiological impairment was transferred into a social
deficiency. Her research assumes that "disability exemplifies a continuous relationship
between physically impaired individuals and their social environments, so that they are
disabled at some times and under some conditions, and able to function as ordinary
citizens at other times and conditions" (Lachowicz, 1988, p. 2)

Lachowicz makes five key arguments based on her study of early U.S. laws.
First, she traces much of the devaluation and "disablement" of people with disabilities
to American notions of individualism and responsibility. These ideas allowed
legislators to deal with people with disabilities in a "cost-effective manner." Secondly,
nineteenth century philanthropy influenced legislation and strengthened negative beliefs
about people with disabilities. This, in turn, structured later government decisions.
Thirdly, the disability legislation followed a medical model of disability which equated
physical mfenonty with social subordination. The "handicapped "individual was
stressed instead of the socially constructed sources of deviance.

Fourthly, the U.S. educational system segregated people by impairment
categorizing a class of "the handicapped." Children were categorized by physical
impairment such that a physical handicap equaled a social handicap. Fifthly,
Lachowicz argues that the U.S. emphasis on vocational education caused a handicap
for people with disabilities. A large percentage of children with disabilities were
placed in vocational education and manual trades further categorizing them and
feeding stereotypes about their competence to do other types of work.
Therefore, based on Liachowitz' work, the agents of social control, the state, have the power to confer a certain social status on people with disabilities. The very need for special legislation for people with disabilities marginalizes them, and the fact that they had no input into the creation of legislation about them illustrates their subdience. Freund (1982) adds that disability legislation mirrors U.S. capitalism. The construction of disability relates to the lack of ability to properly "work." "We have no use for those who are not productive by these standards and validate their essence" (Freund, 1982, p. 84).

And people with impairments who must live in institutions or nursing homes are even further validated by society. "One of the primary goals of movements such as those of elderly people or disabled persons and all those deemed obsolete in our society, has been to escape the trap of being treated as if one were invisible or did not exist" (Freund, 1982, p. 84).

The disability rights movement is trying to take control of the social construction of disability. Unlike disability legislation of the past, the Americans with Disabilities Act had input from disability rights lobbyists (DeJong, 1993). The disability rights movement is trying to break apart the stigmatizing stereotypes of the past and move from an invisible and marginalized status into the mainstream.

**An observable stigma.** Goffman (1963) posits that people with physical disabilities have an observable stigma or an attribute that discredits them in the eyes of social groups. People with disabilities are discredited by society because of their physical difference. "An individual who might have been received easily in ordinary
social intercourse possesses a trait that can obtrude itself upon attention and turn those of us whom he meets away from him, breaking the claim that his other attributes have on us" (Goffman, p 5). For example, a country that admires perfection in physical appearance, people who have a physical difference are labeled deviant. Society label!! using a wheelchair or cane as deviant behavior.

This idea does acknowledge the statistical definition of deviance that someone who is physically disabled is physically different from the norm. However, those who consider themselves "normals" may see the person with the stigma as less than human, according to Goffman. And they may assign more negative attributes based on the stigma. For example, someone whose only stigma is to use a wheelchair may be seen as mentally deficient as well. Or the stigmatized person may be given positive, yet incorrect, attributes. For example, someone who is blind may be seen as having an extraordinary sense of smell.

In this way, the physically disabled person's appearance of body is given a cultural value. This can affect interpersonal communication, and the discourse between stigmatized persons and non-stigmatized people usually become uncomfortable. "In social situations with an individual known or perceived to have a stigma, we are likely, then, to employ categorizations that do not fit, and we and he are likely to experience uneasiness" (Goffman, 1963, p 19). In the area of interpersonal communication, much research has investigated these problems of interaction between disabled and non-disabled persons (Richardson, Hastorf, Goodman, and Dornbusch, 1961, Kleck, Ono, and Hastorf, 1966, Comer and Pihavan, 1972, Langer, Fiske,
Taylor, and Chanowitz, 1976). The consensus is that physical deviance affects social
interaction negatively. These strained interpersonal interactions also contribute to
group stereotypes. Both the group labelled deviant and society may assign roles from
which neither can break free (Simmons, 1965).

Literature concerning the disabled body in society is also significant because people with disabilities who cannot hide their observable stigma must face cultural
traditions about how the imperfect body is viewed in society.

At the psychological level, Wright (1961) wrote the seminal work investigating
the self-concept of the people with disabilities. The psychologist's view is that the
self-concept provides a social looking glass through which perceptions of self arise from
interactions with others. Therefore, if the dominant body image of a society is that of
a walking, talking, seeing, hearing person, this affects the self-concept of people with
disabilities. Their interactions with nondisabled people and the messages sent to them
from society tell people with disabilities that their bodies do not fit the expectations of
other people. People with disabilities must, therefore, have a high degree of
acceptance of their disabilities to influence nondisabled people's self-concept.

Turner (1984) argues for a sociology of the body that includes both a
structurahst perspective, through discourse socially construct; the body, as well as the
phenomenology of embodiment perspective, through which a human does have some
governance over his/her body. In this way, for example, a person considers the
disability part of his/her identity.
Therefore, "a theory of the body must secondly address itself directly to the dichotomy between nature and culture, since the relationship between these is social, historical, and contradictory" (Turner, 1984, p 246) For example, disease may be a biological category, but death is a cultural definition based on medical and technological structures.

Finally, Turner explains that body theory must not be individualistic, but social. The personal embodiment is negotiated through social constraints of trauma, language, and context. Turner believes that Foucault's notion of control of the body is only part of the sociology and that Nietzsche best relates to that sociology because although bodies are morally regulated, "embodiment is the phenomenological basis of individuality" (Turner, 1984, p 251). Turner, therefore, concludes

> We are individuals, but our individuality is socially produced. Human beings as organic systems are part of nature, but their natural environment is also the product of historical practices. 'Nature' is also the product of culture. We are conscious beings, but that consciousness can only be realized through embodiment (Turner, 1984, pp. 248-9)

People with disabilities have been relegated to a minor role because of their bodies, according to Hahn (1988a, 1988b). They deviate from what he calls the "moral order of the body (1988b)"

> The human body is a powerful symbol conveying messages that have massive social, economic, and political implications. In order to perpetuate their hegemony, ruling elites have attempted to impose what might be termed a moral order of the body, providing images that subjects are encouraged to emulate. (Hahn, 1988b, p. 29)
This relates to Foucault's notion (1980) that health and Mckness became problematic concepts for the state in eighteenth century Europe, which instituted mechanisms to govern them. The human body therefore emerges as a site of control, observation, and modification, according to Foucault. The body of an individual and the body of society become the site of contrasting traits: sickness and health, weakness and strength, poverty and riches. "The biological traits of a population become relevant factors for economic management, and it becomes necessary to organize around them an apparatus which will ensure not only their subjection but the constant increase of their utility" (Foucault, 1980, p. 172).

Hahn (1988b) argues that this notion of promoting a certain moral order of the body can be tied in modern times to mass media. In selling products, mass media as an adjunct to capitalism has been most successful at selling an image of what the perfect body is. This, in turn, has strengthened the social and economic undeterminability of people with disabilities and others who are physically different (Hahn, 1987).

Kem, too, explains how the human body fits into consumer culture:

Ours is an age obsessed with youth, health and physical beauty. Television and motion pictures, the dominant visual media, chum out persistent reminders that the healthy and graceful body, the dimpled smile set in the attractive face, are the keys to happiness, perhaps even its essence (Kem, 1975, p. IX).

Therefore, at the sociocultural and aesthetic level, the disabled person's body may not conform to standards of beauty and wholeness emphasized in a culture (Gellman, 1954, Wright, 1960). Hahn (1988a) argues that the value placed by 20th
century Western society on personal appearance affects the treatment of people with disabilities in society. He relies on a theoretical perspective that grows from Lemeh (1982), which he terms aesthetic anxiety. These are the fears caused by someone who diverges from the typical human form and may have physical characteristics considered unappealing. The culture reflects this anxiety through its rejection of people with physical differences and through its pursuit of superhuman bodily perfection.

In his analysis of body images, Fisher (1973) related

Despite all efforts invested by our society in an attempt to rally sympathy for the crippled, they still elicit serious discomfort. It is well documented that the disfigured person makes others feel anxious and he becomes an object to be warded off. He is viewed as simultaneously inferior and threatening. He becomes associated with a special class of monster images that haunt each culture. Almost any kind of body deviation becomes a potential source of threat and also a focus for hostility. (p. 73)

Therefore, Hahn (1988a) explains this aesthetic anxiety may send people who are seen as different into an inferior role in society. After studying the influence of attractiveness in relationships, Saxe (1979) deduced that unattractive people can be victims of injustice, while attractive people may be expected to perform at a superior level.

However, this view of aesthetic anxiety must be put in its historical and cultural context. Hahn (1988b) points out that although much history shows people with disabilities to be exploted and oppressed, some cultures have valued physical differences as socially and sexually pleasing. Bram (1979) and Rmlofsky (1971) relate
cultural practices in which tattooing, sculpting, and painting the body are undertaken to enhance beauty. Or in the Middle Ages some people disabled themselves so they could play the role of court jester or receive financial reward as a beggar (Obermann, 1965, Finkelstein, 1980).

Hahn (1988a) also identifies another component that can be related to a theory of the body. He calls it existential anxiety from nondisabled people. The bodies of people with disabilities threaten the body image of nondisabled people who fear that they, too, might become disabled someday. This anxiety is typically promoted in charity appeals to came donors to "count their blessings" and give money out of fear for their own functioning and health. Also, these fears caused a rigid definition of physical functions for many years with little understanding of how changing the environment might improve functions. Hahn argues that existential anxiety has given people with disabilities the role of helpless, dependent, nonparticipating people.

Lmveh (1982) identifies the threats to body image character that together create the existential anxiety. These fears that cause negative attitudes toward people with disabilities are reawakening castration anxiety, fear of losing one's physical character, separation anxiety, and fear of contamination.

Other psychodynamic components may influence how the disabled body is viewed in society. Lmveh (1982) maintains there are several mechanisms at work when someone is confronted with a person with a physical disability. There is an expectation of mourning. As Wight (1961) describes, the person with a disability is seen as someone who has suffered the loss of a body part or function and should
grieve and then adjust Lmvn explains that negative attitudes toward people with disabilities result when they do not adhere to the "suffering role."

Another conflict at work when confronted with a disabled body is exhibitionism. Psychoanalytic theory makes much of the concept of development through viewing others. Confrontation with a person with a disability causes conflict over fascination versus repulsion (Langer, Fiske, Taylor, and Chanowitz, 1976).

The concept of spread also informs how the disabled body is viewed. The stigma of physical difference may also spread to other attributes of a person. For example, people may tend to speak slower to someone who uses a wheelchair because they associate physical disability with mental deficiency.

Physical deviation is frequently seen as a central key to a person's behavior and personality and largely responsible for the important ramifications of a person's life. This spread holds for both the person with the disability himself and those evaluating him. Thus, physique affects the perception not only of abilities but also of acceptabilities. So it is that the evaluation of the total person is affected by a single characteristic (Wright, 1961, p. 118).

In a similar fashion, the person with a disability is held responsible for their condition and this results in negative attitudes. People with disabilities, therefore, must become the recipient of correction, control measures, or rehabilitation (Fnedson, 1965).

Sllder, Chipman, Ferguson, and Vann (1967) suggest that nondisabled people fear the social ostracism that might occur from their association with people with disabilities. They fear society may view them as psychologically maladjusted because of their relationships with disabled people. In addition, Sllder et. al. point out that
nondisabled people may suffer guilt over being "mentally" and thus try to disassociate themselves from disability. In connection with these psychodynamic mechanisms, Lemhof (1982) also explains that negative attitudes toward disability arise from its association with sin and punishment. Sigerist (1945) relates that the disabled person's "suffering" is associated with an evil act of the person or of their ancestors. This notion fits with Hand's analysts of deformity and disease in folk legends (1980). He found that many societies, both primitive and civilized, view sickness and disease as a punishment handed down from God or ruling spirits or devils for the breaking of religious or moral codes. "The gods mete out punishment in the form of physical malady" (Hand, 1980, p. 58).

This notion that people with disabilities are being punished characterizes them as dangerous as well (Meng, reported in Barker et al., 1954). If there is a belief that people with disabilities are being punished for a sin, nondisabled people may fear they, too, may one day be punished (Gellman, 1959). Based on the Christian tradition of sin residing in the "flesh," health became associated with virtue and illness with sin. "Fallings Ill' is perceived as a falling down into the physical, a kind of giving way to the lower (bodily) forces beyond the reach of the superior control of mind or spirit" (Kidder, 1988, p. 8).

This notion of physical impairment is coupled with evil or weakness has been used in historic studies of medieval artists' renderings of human "monsters" (Friedman, 1981) and side show "freaks" and others throughout history who are born with a physical deformity (Fiedler, 1978). Lemhof (1980) theorizes that people also
fear disability because it represents a closer state to death. According to Lmveh, Freud’s ideas on religion and notion of totemism (1946) are germane to human discomfort with disability. At the sociocultural level, Freud drew connections between ancestral totem animals and future Judeo-Christian beliefs about the supremacy of humans over animals or animallike beings. “It is, therefore, this latent content with its threatening images of common past between man and animal that is surfacing and breaking through the barrier of repression when confronted with a person having animal-like skin, excessive facial hair, and contorted facial and bodily features.” And it is not difficult to venture and assume that through the process of association the less severely disfigured individual is attributed with similar characteristics (Lmveh, 1980, p. 282).

How the disabled body is viewed at the social, cultural, and psychological level strongly influences how people with disabilities are presented in mass media. Cultural norms surrounding people with disabilities and their bodies have created the stereotypes that pervade the news and fictional media.

**Studies of Disability and Media**

Only a few mass communication researchers have turned their attention to media presentations of people with disabilities. Other studies come from the areas of rehabilitation, education, and social policy. These studies represent a small body of literature that illustrate the traditional news media presentations of people with disabilities.
The best U.S. study to date concerning news media representations of disability is by John Clogston (1990), who is one of the few mass communication researchers studying presentations of people with disabilities. He created useful models based on the findings of past studies and deviance theory that can be applied by researchers looking at media images of people with disabilities. In his content analysis of 13 newspapers and three newsmagazines, he created two categories of media portrayal of people with disabilities: traditional and progressive. The traditional disability category presents a person with a disability as malfunctioning in a medical or economic way. The progressive category views people as disabled by society, not a physical attribute.

His findings revealed that more than 60 percent of the articles covered disability under the traditional model, meaning that it is reported on as a medical or social welfare issue. Only 13.2 percent of the articles presented people with disabilities within the autonomy-civil rights model. However, a majority of the articles (62.6 percent) were issue-oriented, showing that disability is covered more extensively than expected. But many of the articles were labeled as special interest, limiting their presentation to the general public. Clogston noted that the large number of reporters covering disability stones indicated that few papers have established a disability beat in which one reporter gives regular coverage to the issue. More than 80 percent of the reporters wrote only one article.

Haller (1991) successfully applied Clogston's models to a study of news media coverage of the deaf community. She looked at coverage of deaf persons before,
during, and after the 1988 Gallaudet University student protest. Her findings indicate a learning process may take place in the news media as disability rights groups vigorously protest their place in society. Before the Gallaudet protest, the Washington Post and New York Times presented deaf persons more often as having medical or economic problems. During the protest, deaf people were presented as a minority group with legitimate political grievances. And after the protest, the two newspapers continued to present more progressive and rights-oriented stories 60 percent of the time.

Clogston's models represent a systematic way to study and categorize news media images of people with disabilities. What the study lacks, however, is a deeper, more in-depth look at the meaning of these findings in U.S. culture. Also, although he pulls a theoretical framework from media representations of other minority groups, he fails to link people with disabilities back into this body of literature on media images of minority groups. Gene Burd (1977) had shown in the 1970s that people with disabilities and older persons seemed to receive the same type of media coverage that other minority groups such as poor people and African Americans received in the 1960s, thus strengthening the linkage between disability minority group and other minority group representations. Bord's qualitative year-long study of stories in metropolitan newspapers illustrated that people with disabilities and older persons were gathering media coverage on issues such as community development, economics, human and group relations, power and resources, and the environment.
British researchers Cumberbatch and Negmne also added crucial systematic study of media images of people with disabilities on television. Their 1992 study looked at both fictional and factual television programs to assess their depictions of disability. The factual programs they looked at were British or American created and encompassed genres such as news, documentary, magazine, special broadcasts, information, talk shows, or programs for people with disabilities.

The themes they found in news programs specifically included fitting into normal life (32 percent), the physical progress of a person with a disability (30 percent), the lack of understanding by society/individuals (19 percent), and fighting for civil rights (17 percent). Types of storylines in factual TV programs included treatment (medical) (16 percent), special achievement (11 percent), examination of cures (9 percent), fitting into normal life (9 percent), tragedy (7 percent), victim (7 percent), struggle for equality (7 percent), rehabilitation (7 percent), prejudice (3 percent), and other (23 percent).

Their study also creates a useful tool for further assessment of disability on television, but they faded completely in trying their work to other studies on media and disability. They ignored most of the research done in this area in the United States. The Cumberbatch and Negmne study, therefore, missed an opportunity to speak to the societal implications of their findings.

Knoll's 1987 dissertation on the photographic image of people with disabilities also helps establish a systematic way to look at images of people with disabilities. He carefully constructs a methodology for analyzing symbolic visual material by
reviewing sem10logical, Marxist, psychoanalytic, soc10logical, phenomenological, and hermeneutic perspectives. Based on this review, he develops a four-tiered qualitative approach for photographs that investigates the artist, image, viewer, and society. In this way, he can explore historical and artistic influences, techniques in the content and visual relationships, explicit and implicit meanings, and patterns of meaning. Knoll develops 83 categories to assess the content and process and to interpret the photos of people with disabilities in a qualitative way.

The greatest problem with Knoll's study is that it is unknown and therefore untested by other researchers. Its development of a qualitative methodology is so thorough and detailed, however, that it should provide a systematic way to assess many types of photographic images. Combining Knoll's approach with Hall's 1981 approach can help with the interpretation of ideological messages in news photographs. Hall explains, for example, that a photo during a demonstration of a man in a crowded scene lacking a policeman is a function of a number of news production practices, as well as a consensus of meaning that links to themes of violence, extremism, law and order, and confrontation. "The ideological concepts embodied in photos and texts in a newspaper, then, do not produce new knowledge about the world. They produce recognitions of the world as we have already learned to appropriate it" (Hall, p. 239).

Another interesting study of photography and disability imagery is a book by British photographer David Hevey (1992). It is a critical/historical study of how disability has been used in photography and society. The book is long on interpretation...
and short on methodology. Hevey tries to develop a concept he calls "enfreakment," which is what he argues many photographers do -- turn people with disabilities into freaks. Through his own photography, he tries to show the alternative to enfreakment, but without enough discussion and interpretation of the photographs, his photographic efforts do not seem to be much less "enfreaking" than those of other photographers. He does, however, photographically document disability activism in Great Britain, which provides some positive images of disability. The book provides much in terms of history, criticism, and activism, but little in terms of a methodology for analyzing photographs of people with disabilities.

There is now relevant methodology to study some dimensions of these photographs by looking at the literature on camera angle. Camera angle can be a significant component of portrayal of people with disabilities, especially if they use a wheelchair. Much of theory on the meaning of camera angles comes from TV and film. The overranging option is that a high-angle shot (one from above) reduces the importance of a subject, a low-angle shot (one from below) gives power to the subject, and an eye-level shot imparts equality or objectivity (Monaco, 1977). Monaco adds that shots can have cultural meanings, even the eye-level shots. For example, eye-level for one Japanese filmmaker is more low-angle because he is shooting from the eye-level of someone sitting on a tatami mat. Berger (1981) agreed in his study of television semantics that when someone looks up through the eyes of the camera, it signifies smallness or weakness, and when someone looks down they do so with a signification of authority from above. In experiments, Kraft (1987) found that these
camera angles do influence the physical and personal representation of characters in a story. A marketing study (Meyers-Levy and Peracchi, 1992) revealed that these camera angles also influence product evaluations. When motivation was low, looking up at the product was most favorable and looking down on the product was least favorable.

In a qualitative case study approach, Douglas Biklen (1987) looked at the 1984 Baby Jane Doe case in which parents and doctors fought over the severely disabled baby's right to live or die and the Elizabeth Bouvia case in which a woman with a severe disability wanted the right to starve to death. He looked at how the print media represented the issues surrounding the cases. Biklen asserts that journalists use fairly uniform methods when writing about a specific issue. When covering disability, reporters "typically cast in terms of tragedy, of charity and its attendant emotion, pity, or of struggle and accomplishment" (Biklen, 1987, p. 81). These themes of news stones about people with disabilities have become predictable.

Biklen's study reveals the journalist's role in reinforcing society's perception of disability. The journalist helps frame disability issues and people with disabilities along themes already established in society. Therefore, the audience member knows how to culturally respond to the story about the stigmatized individual. A sad story about a person with a disability means pity. The stigmatization is then perpetuated.

Biklen correctly finds the links between these cases of media representations and broader questions about how and why these images get perpetuated in mass media. His study provides a good example on how one can draw connections between...
media images and greater cultural traditions of how people with disabilities are presented. Similarly, Joseph Blatt (1977) explained the models of people with disabilities presented on children's television. His critical study reveals five models: figures of evil, superheroes, victims, special guests, telethons, cultural specials, and documentaries. Figures of evil are those characters that have populated literary fiction for centuries such as deformed monsters. Superheroes are those characters with disabilities who exhibit superhuman traits such as the blind detective who always catches the criminal. As victims, characters with disabilities receive abusive treatment and are therefore objects of pity. The special guest category refers to children's programs that bring on children with disabilities as special guests who therefore stand out rather than being integrated into the weave of the show. The telethons and documentaries may inadvertently reinforce those stereotypes of the dependence and neediness of people with disabilities.

Blatt's study is consistent with other research that illustrates the stereotype of either the evil deformed person or pitiable, yet superhuman, disabled person in fiction and literature. For example, in 1930, Langworthy found that in literature, blind people are stigmatized as either being better than other people because they have successfully with blindness or as being less than human for which they are punished with a physical flaw. The same holds true in comic books. In Weinberg and Santana's study (1978), 57 percent of the characters with disabilities were considered evil, while 43 percent were considered good. None of the characters with disabilities fell into the neutral category. In crime and mystery books, characters with disabilities were most
often victims, bystanders, or a part of the hero's entourage (Zola, 1987). There is typically only one hero, but there may be numerous villains, who are distinguished by gory looks and an abnormal appearance.

Thurer (1980) theorizes that literature and drama treat disability this way because the larger culture does. In the Judeo-Christian ethic, a physical defect may be punishment for sin. Her hypothesis from her study of adult classic literature, children's literature, and drama is that literature "any outer defect has come to symbolize an inner defect" (Thurer, 1980, p. 12). Leonard Knegel (1982) agrees, finding similar stereotypes of people with disabilities in classic literature the demonic cripple, such as Captain Ahab in *Moby Dick*, the cripple as victim, such as the Negro man Stephen Crane's *The Monster*, the survivor cripple, such as Wilham Emhorn in Saul Bellows' *The Adventures of Auol March*.

Longmore (1987) explains explicitly the relationship between Goffman's notion of stigma and these images of people with disabilities. In his critical analysis of television and film images of people with disabilities, he shows how people with disabilities have their humanity taken from them through depictions as "monsters" and animals. The stigma of disability overtakes every aspect of their person, destroying their social identity.

Longmore also argues that one of the social functions of these stigmatized images is to reinforce a societal attitude that with a positive mental attitude anything can be accomplished. Therefore, success or failure for a person with a disability becomes an individual characteristic, denying its social construction.
prejudice and discrimination are portrayed in a peripheral way, and the burden is put on the person with a disability to calm the fears of non-disabled people and educate them.

Television programs often deal with emotions and physical differentness, rather than confronting the real issues people with disabilities must face, Klobas (1988) found. She also shows how stigma can be twisted to mean superhuman rather than subhuman. These stereotypes can devalue gender roles as well. Looking at the image of women with disabilities in fiction and drama, Deborah Kent (1987) found that the women characters with disabilities she studied are discredited by their fellow characters and society because of their physical difference. They are not seen as women but as an aberration from the social norm.

These qualitative and case studies provide rich examples of how the media images of people with disabilities fit with Western literary traditions. Many times, specific types of disabilities are singled out as having a certain type of media image. One disabled group that received much coverage in media and literature is people who have some form of mental illness. One early study on the mental health content in the mass media looked at radio, television, newspapers, and magazines to discern what they were showing about mental health problems (Taylor, 1965). The findings showed that broadcast media produce more "relevant" mental health content than magazines and magazines had more relevant content than newspapers.

Media information about mental health included that people with mental illnesses look and act differently from other people, that the stress of the current
environment can cause mental illness, that mental illness should be taken seriously, that many times physiological factors cause mental illness, and that bad emotional habits during childhood can contribute to possible mental problems later in life. Taylor found that patients were not presented positively. People with neuroses were presented as more "intelligent" and less "dirty" and "dangerous" than people with psychoses.

Nunnally's study of media presentation of mental illness (1973) looked at 202 items in television, radio, magazines, newspapers, and confession magazines during 1954 and 1955. The findings revealed a paradox: "The ideas about mental health portrayed in the mass media are less 'correct' compared with expert opinion than are the beliefs of the public at large" (p. 145). Nunnally suggested that the public may be able to see the difference between genome information and incorrect portrayals in the media. If that assumption is correct, it could mean that the public does learn from accurate portrayals of mental illness in the media.

In assessing the image of the alcoholic in popular magazines from 1900 to 1966, Lmsky (1973) showed how the advocacy of the rehabilitation-reform method increased during the years of the study. In the rehabilitation-reform method, the person with alcoholism controls the problem by making changes from within him- or herself. Alcoholic Anonymous uses this method. Lmsky concluded that the mass media can assist in the understanding of alcoholism.

The news media seem to be ignorant about issues related to deafness as well, according to a Gilbert's 1976 study of news media coverage of the deaf communities in Los Angeles and Washington, DC from 1972 to 1975. She concluded that some
articles touched upon the barriers deaf persons face, but more often they unrealistically focus on the success of deaf persons and the numerous services available to them when in fact deaf persons still do not have the accessibility to services and programs that hearing persons do. Gilbert noted, as well, that both the *Washington Post* and the *Los Angeles Times* had references to deaf persons as "deaf and dumb" and "deaf mute" in some of its articles.

Gilbert's survey of journalists in Washington, DC, and Los Angeles (N = 209) showed that they have some general knowledge of the deaf community, but there is still misunderstanding of deafness and deaf persons. More than a third of the journalists thought that deaf persons use Braille to communicate. Gilbert's survey of journalists is significant because it is rare to find information about a journalist's knowledge of disability. Cloggston's 1991 dissertation provides the only other survey of journalists about disability. These are crucial bits of information because they allow researchers to understand how media workers think about disability.

Most other content studies of media and disability provide lots of quantitative counting of phenomenon but only weak analysts of what the images mean. Cathy Meo Bonnstetter's 1986 study of magazine coverage of people with mental disabilities is better than most of the counting studies because it puts media images of people with mental disabilities in a historical context. She compared the coverage of the people with an IQ of 70 or below in 1958-59 and in 1977 and 1979.

In the 1950s' articles, she found that the focus was on causes and cures for mental retardation. Although typically positive in portraying the abilities of people
who are mentally retarded, the negative aspects of the articles came from the use of stigmatized, antiquated references such as 1d1t, 1mbectle, and moron. Although some 1970s' articles presented a more positive focus, they did not portray as positive a view of the capabilities of people with mental retardation as the 1950s' articles did. The 1970s' magazines reported less on specific programs and available aid to people with mental disabilities and their failures. These findings reveal the historical process in which stigmatization mutates and transforms.

But most of the counting studies just reveal percentages of themes related to the presentation of disabilities in mass media. For example, James M. Gardner and Michael S. Radel (1978) studied the image of people with disabilities in both newspapers and prime time television for a three-week period. Of the 63 items examined, they found several major themes: needs for special services (30 percent), successful adjustment (22 percent), problems of adjustment (21 percent), and the strange correlates of handicapping conditions (14 percent). The images presented included dependence (49 percent), independence (25 percent), abuse (13 percent), and deviance (11 percent). Their content analysts revealed that newspapers were more likely than television to show people with disabilities as needing special services and as victims of abuse, but newspapers were less likely to show a person with a disability's difficulty in adjustment.

Keith Byrd (1979) studied magazine articles about disabilities in an effort to quantify the type of information about disabilities in popular literature. He looked at 59 articles in 10 magazines and found that drug abuse was the most covered disability.
followed by alcoholism, heart disease, and mental illness. He concluded that the general public's concern about substance abuse may have led to more research on those issues.

Roland K. Yoshida, Lynn Wastlews, and Douglas L. Frtdman (1990) did a content analysis to quantify the coverage of disability issues in five US metropolitan newspapers in 1986 and 1987. The coverage of topics included budgets, expenditures, and taxes (16.5 percent), housing or normalization (16 percent), and treatment in institutions (13.3 percent). They found that five disabilities appeared more than 10 percent of the time: mental retardation, emotional disturbance, orthopedic impairment, deafness or hearing impairment, and unnamed handicap. The least mentioned issues related to school and Public Law 94-142 compliance.

In a similar way, Clayton Keller et al. (1990) studied a random sample of articles from 12 daily newspapers. In the content analysis of 428 articles, they found that 48 percent of the time the articles stressed the negative impact of a disability on a person, as compared to 44 percent of the time when the prospect of improvement of a person's condition was mentioned. In analyzing specific language, the researchers found 91 examples of questionable terminology such as "suffers" or "wheelchair-bound."

In 1978, Bonnie Downes Leonard found that although people with disabilities represent 20 percent of the population, they represent only 3 percent of prime time TV characters. The characters with disabilities were depicted as targets of humor and ridicule, as well as verbal and physical abuse. They were often unemployed or in lower status occupations. They were typically not cast as the heroes, but as the
victims When they were cast in a positive light, it usually involved an unrealistic miracle cure for their disability. Joy Donaldson (1981) found the same thing in prime-time TV. People with disabilities rarely appeared on television shows and when they did they were portrayed negatively rather than positively.

In a similar study, Elhot, Byrd, and Byrd (1983) found that old age (19 percent) and mental illness (13 percent) were most often the disabilities presented in 1980 TV movies (22 percent) and situation comedies (22 percent) contained the most depictions of disabilities. Slightly more depiction of disability occurs in feature films, according to Byrd and Pipes (1981). Mental Illness, alcoholism, and drug addiction accounted for the largest number of presentations. From their critical study of the disabled veteran in post-World War II films, Quart and Auster (1982) argue that although past portrayals of people with disabilities have focused on their moral fortitude in "overcoming" their disability, portrayals of veterans with disabilities have elicited more honest characterizations. In a study of specific characteristics of people with disabilities in feature films, Byrd (1989) showed that the primary presentation of a character with a disability was as an unemployed chemically dependent male who was a victim but not institutionalized.

These studies do provide some significant baseline information that future studies can use for comparison, but mostly they just count the number of phenomenon and provide no interpretive discussion of what these representations mean for U.S. society or mass media. It should be noted that many of these counting studies are done by rehabilitation and special education researchers. The goal of the studies seems to be
awareness within their own fields of the stereotypical and negative images of disability that pervade mass media.

However, the prevalence of similar findings in all these studies does provide an important reliability test on what mass media continue to present about people with disabilities. Elhot (1983) makes a strong point when he says these studies show that film and television are agents of stigmatization of people with disabilities, portraying them as victims and undesirable humans. They reinforce a societal view of people with disabilities as different and help sustain the stereotypes society has assigned to them.
CHAPTER 4
METHODOLOGY

Content Analysis as Method

In the field of social science research, content analysis has been a useful tool in what has been deemed "unobtrusive research." This means a subject can be studied with little impact on that subject. Babbie (1989) emphasizes how appropriate content analysis is in communications research. The method of content analysis can answer the Laswelhan communications research question. "Who says what to whom, why, how, and with what effect" (p. 294). This study investigates what the news media say about the Americans with Disabilities Act, how they say it and with what effect.

Janowitz (1968) explains in general terms that "wherever symbolic behavior is being scrutinized, the analysis of content is involved" (p. 647). He shows that Harold Lasswell helped revolutionize content analysis by imposing quantitative methods upon it. Content analysis seeks to discover two different types of content: manifest content and latent content. Lasswell believed that content analysis should search for both types of content (Janowitz, 1968). Manifest content refers to that which is directly observable, the actual attributes of a communication (Babbie, 1989). For example, a manifest content analysis may look at the paragraphs in a newspaper story. Latent content encompasses the meanings within communication and requires the researcher to make inferences (Babbie, 1989).

. . . for Lasswell, content analysis involved the application of historical, cultural, psychological, and
legal frames of reference with various levels of meaning, subtleties, and efforts at explication of ambiguities. In the broadest sense, content analysts is a system for objectifying the process of inference, since the meaning of the symbolic environment can be derived only by a process of inference (Janowitz, p. 648).

Studying mass media content through content analysts enables researchers to study various aspects of society and media. Researchers can delineate the characteristics of a particular culture by investigating the content of its mass media. "The basic assumption is that both changes and regularities in media content reliably reflect or report some feature of the social reality of the moment." The purpose of the cultural mediator analysis is often to test proposals about effects from media on society over time, but it is also a method for the study of social change in its own right and for the comparison of different national societies and cultures" (McQuail, 1989, p. 178). This study, for example, investigates how the news media present the Americans with Disabilities Act from its inception in 1988 through 1993. In this way, this study can look at how the framing of the ADA may have shifted and changed during that time.

In addition to searching for reflections of the culture in the media, content analysis can be used to assess the performance of the media. For example, researchers have investigated the diversity of ideas within mass media by studying its content (McQuail, 1989). The content analysis can show how alternative ideas and minority groups are portrayed, and thereby reflect the access these groups have to the mainstream media. For instance, this dissertation reveals that few stories were written about the Americans with Disabilities Act at its beginning, although 43 million people...
in the United States legally fall into the category of people with disabilities. Only after the ADA and disability activism made an impact on U.S. culture did the disability perspective begin to take its place on the media agenda. However, this study gauged whether the disability rights perspective is still a minority one as framed by the news media.

The notion of framing the ADA by news media lends credence to Graber's view (1989) that journalists select the content and frame of the news, thereby constructing reality for those who read, watch, or listen to their stories. But because the journalist and the audience usually are steeped in the same culture, an exchange of meanings can take place. Therefore, she proposes that persons who control the media must be aware of the culture of the audience, so as to understand how the audience will interpret the meaning of the content.

All these issues must be considered when developing the specific technique used in content analysis. McQuail explained the traditional approach to content analysts as:

1. Choose a universe or sample of content; 2. Establish a category frame of external referents relevant to the purpose of the enquiry (e.g., a set of political parties or countries); 3. Choose a 'unit of analysis' from the content (word, sentence, item, story, picture, sequence, etc.); 4. Match content to category frame by counting the frequency of the references to items in the category frame, per chosen unit of content; 5. Express the result as an overall distribution of the total universe or sample in terms of the frequency of occurrence of the sought-for referents (McQuail, 1989, p 183).
Because that method presents a statistical conclusion about a larger universe, it is well-suited to studying how media presentations correlate with other perspectives and with the social and cultural factors that place at a given time.

To gain understanding of the latent meaning within a text, researchers may analyze the textual language in depth, which "opens the possibility of revealing more of the underlying meaning of the text, taken as a whole, than would be possible by simply following the grammatical rules of the language or consulting the dictionary meanings of separate words" (McQuail, p 187).

It seems evident that a thorough content analysis can follow Lasswell's suggestion that the analysis can gather both manifest and latent meanings for study. Janowitz (1968) explains that the content of the mass media can provide two contrasting indicators of social culture. "The contents of the mass media are a reflection of the social organization and value system of the society or group involved. Simultaneously, the contents of the mass media are purposive elements of social change, agents for modifying the goals and values of social groups" (p 648).

Therefore, this dissertation assessed how a piece of sweeping legislation with great potential for social change in U.S. society was framed by the news media as it is put on the public agenda. The passage of the ADA represents a "paradigm shift" in the treatment of people with disabilities in the country, and this study gives a unique opportunity to understand how the media perform when a new frame for the representation of a minority group is handed down from a major institution such as the U.S. Congress. It also allowed for an exploration of how new narratives about a
group, such as the disability nights perspective, compare with older, more negative narratives such as people with disabilities as medical or social welfare problems in society

The Sample: News Media Coverage of the ADA

With the general public's attitudes already gauged, this study assessed the news media understanding and framing of the Americans with Disabilities Act. The sample consisted of all news and feature articles written about the ADA from 1988 through 1993 written in the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor, Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune, Boston Globe, Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Philadelphia Inquirer, Newsweek, Time, and U.S. News and World Report. Table 1 illustrates the number of stones found through newspaper and magazine database searches and the years in which they appeared. These publications were chosen because they all are indexed and represent the major newspapers and news magazines of this country. They also represent four geographic regions in the country, the Northeast, the Midwest, the South, and the West, in addition to including a major business publication and the largest circulation daily, The Wall Street Journal. It should be noted that the Philadelphia Inquirer represents a major portion of the sample for several reasons. The full Inquirer library of stones from 1987 to present was available in database form at Temple University's Paley Library. This is the entire newspaper for these years, so the sample includes not all Neighbor section stones, business briefs, etc. The National Newspaper Index, which was used to find the
Table 1. Number of ADA Stories by Publication and Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>89</th>
<th>90</th>
<th>91</th>
<th>92</th>
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<td>15</td>
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<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
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<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
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<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>61</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>U.S News</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>56</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>190</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
stones in the other newspapers, only indexes stones and does not typically include meeting benefits. A number of the Philadelphia Inquirer stones were 1-3 paragraph meeting stones, which may have briefly mentioned the ADA as part of the agenda items at the government meeting. The Philadelphia Inquirer's numbers are also high because Philadelphia has an active disability community, which promotes awareness that makes it likely to the local paper. In addition, the U.S. Attorney General at the time of the passage of the ADA was Richard Thornburgh, former governor of Pennsylvania, and a strong advocate of the ADA. Thornburgh's son has a brain 10 jury (Appendix B defines the coding categories used to analyzing the news stories.)

In addition, all photographs appearing with ADA stones were analyzed with a separate coding scheme for photographs. The sampling procedure only picked up photographs that appeared with stones. Therefore, feature photographs, which do not accompany a story, were missed. This is a function of the indexing procedure. To gather all the nuances of the photographs, the photos were assessed in a qualitative way as well, using Knoll's 1987 coding scheme. (See Appendix C for the code sheet used for the photo analysts.) Network TV evening news stones were studied as another sample. A coding scheme that combined an assessment of both visual and verbal material was used for this sample. These stones were collected from the Television News Archives at Vanderbilt University, which has been collecting and indexing network evening news since 1968. Because of the repetition of video images 10 the TV stones, a separate code sheet was developed to assess TV news 10terviews.
with people with disabilities Appendixes D and E Illustrate the coding scheme developed

Within the newspapers and news magazines, one story on the ADA is the unit of analysis. For the visual communication sample, one photograph is a unit of analysis. The unit of analysis for television will be one TV story on the ADA, as well as a separate subset of TV interviews with people with disabilities within a story on the ADA.

**A Qualitative Assessment**

To add richness and better context to this study, I undertook a qualitative assessment of one disability rights media event related to the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act. This part of the study is descriptive so as to uncover the narrative tropes related to media coverage of disability rights, as well as to contextualize media coverage of the ADA within the larger US culture.

Christians and Carey (1981) explain that a mission of qualitative studies is to better understand the interpretations of meaning that take place in media texts. The goal is to find out "what are the interpretations of meaning and value created in the media and what is their relation to the rest of life?" (Christians and Carey, 1981, p 347) This is crucial in the area of disability rights because the rights movement is trying to displace older cultural paradigms to which the media and other institutions still adhere.
Therefore, this qualitative study provided significant baseline data that complements the quantitative analysis. The ADA story in the media really began at an event at the U.S Capitol in March 1990, known as the "crawl-m." It was a disability rights lobbying event in support of the ADA. The activists were fighting for the place of the ADA in public discourse because the lack of attention the Act was receiving potentially threatened its viability in the U.S Congress. According to a database search of the elite newspapers in this study, the Washington Post did two articles on the Americans with Disabilities Act before March 1990, the New York Times did two articles, and the Los Angeles Times wrote one commentary that called the Act "more loophole than law" (Bolte, 1989).

The qualitative assessment helped reveal the media frames and themes that are being used to characterize people with disabilities and their rights movement at the beginning of legislative process for the ADA. This fits well with the theoretical framework of this dissertation, which tended to uncover the media frames for the ADA and their potential shift through time as the ADA impacts U.S culture. This notion follows the work Gtllm (1980) and McCombs and Shaw (1993), who illustrate the role of media in framing social events in our culture and therefore potentially redefining them.

For example, the rhetoric NBC used to describe the crawl-m stones illustrates some of the frames used to present people with disabilities and their issues. "Some other less privileged and less fortunate people were desperately trying to rock the boat on Capitol Hdl today," Tom Brokaw said. In this NBC story about the
Capitol demonstration, illustrates how disadvantage and desperation are associated with people with disabilities. Brokaw tells TV viewers that people with disabilities are "less fortunate," "less privileged," and "desperate." These people with disabilities must appeal to the state to get help. Falling into Clogston's social pathology model (1990), the problems disabled people face are within themselves, not within society's barners.

The qualitative portion also adds context to the place of disability rights and the ADA in US culture. The media coverage of the crawl-m is discussed in relationship to past models of media coverage of disability issues, as well as in relation to cultural themes about disability that resonate through US culture. This fits with Klaus Bruhn Jensen's interpretation of how qualitative studies can be used in mass communication research (1991) "qualitative approaches examine meaning production as a process which is contextualized and intrinsically integrated with wider social and cultural practices" (p 4).

As Christians and Carey (1981) add, "any significant event is surrounded by a web of connections that in some sense touch the whole of mankind and history" (p 351). This is especially true regarding the Americans with Disabilities Act. As I have argued, it represents a paradigm shift in how the US culture will interact with people with disabilities in the future. So teasing out the cultural themes apparent in media coverage of the crawl-m offers a point of comparison for the findings of the quantitative analysis, which coded for media language and frames as the ADA becomes more entrenched in US society.
This dissertation illustrates how media frames can potentially shift and shade as cultural situations change. As Hall (1979) has explained, news media frames are "contested terrains" in which different sides of an issue battle for control over presentation and language. This is extremely apparent in the disability rights coverage because the activists promote what is known as "people first" language (e.g., people with disabilities) and reject names that focus on the impairment, not the person (e.g., the disabled, crippled) (West, 1993, p. 10). The rights movement was successful in getting people first language into the ADA, but whether that language shift continues through the news media is one area this dissertation will assess.

To follow Christians and Carey's notion (1981) that the qualitative researcher should assess verbal, nonverbal, and graphic symbols, this qualitative analyst integrated newspaper coverage, news magazines, photographs, and TV news, as well as disability activism publications, for a full study of the messages and images that filtered from the crawl-m media event. As for the visual images, Knoll (1987) has developed 83 categories for use in assessing the photos of disabled people in a qualitative way. Based on Knoll's criteria, one might look for whether the person with a disability is shown as helpless in photographs and video images or whether the people with disabilities are being shown as victims of social prejudices such as the depiction of architectural barriers they face.

For example, one of Knoll's interpretive categories tries to assess whether visual images of people with disabilities are portraying them as childlike or as children. At the Capitol crawl-m, dozens of disability activists challenged the notion...
of what a disabled body should do by leaving their wheelchairs and crawling up the Capitol steps. They tried to make access issues visual, showing how stairs deny entry to people who use wheelchairs. The NBC story showed only one person crawling up the Capitol steps -- 8-year-old Jenrufer Keelan of Denver. Brokaw said "8-year-old Jenmfer Keelan left her wheelchair and dragged herself up the steps saying 'I'll take all might if I have to.'"

It is interesting that NBC rejected shots of the numerous adults crawling up the steps for a shot of a child. Nearby to Jenmfer Keelan, 33-year-old Paulette Patterson pulled herself up the steps on her back saying "I want my civtl nghts I want to be treated like a human being" (Eaton, 1990, March 13, p A27). But children are deemed by society as cute and non-threatening. Non-disabled children crawl up steps while at play.

In addition, the photos and video images illustrated whether people with disabilities are portrayed the same as non-disabled people in news photos or whether they are made to seem different than everyone else. This might even result from camera angle alone. If a photo of someone who uses a wheelchair is shot from above by a standing photographer rather than at eye level, the photo created is one in which the person with a disability is literally being looked down upon rather than viewed as an equal.

Regarding context, it was significant to look at events of protest such as this one because protesting for change is a typical mode of expression for many unempowered groups in society. The "crawl-in" for the ADA was following a
tradition of activism begun in the 1960s and represents one of the few national protests by disability activists. Many local protests have been staged for things such as accessible transportation or against the Jerry Lewis telethon. The other major protest event by disability groups was a sit-in April 1977 to put pressure on the Carter Administration to add entitlements to the Rehabilitation Act of 1973.

So based on the rhetoric and visual imagery, this qualitative study assigned cultural meaning to the media coverage of a dramatic protest in which disability activists left their wheelchairs and crawled up the Capitol steps, successfully receiving play on the network news and in large circulation publications. Only the local newspaper deemed them a place in the journalistic discourse of that day. The Washington Post ran a six-paragraph story that did not mention the crawl-in (Buckley, 1990 March 14). The &!st reported on the protest completely as a police story, explaining the reason for the arrest of about 100 people with disabilities. The only source mentioned in the story was a spokesperson for the U.S. Capitol Police, who said "they were asked to leave the rotunda, but refused" (Buckley, 1990 March 14, p. B4). The Disability Rag claims that the &!st refused to cover the protest and called it "a pathetic demonstration" in its ombudsman column ("The crawl-in," 1990, p. 21). Both news media that did and did not cover the crawl-in illustrate larger cultural notions about what we believed the role of people with disabilities was before the Americans with Disabilities Act was enacted.
**Instrumentation and Measurement**

I have tried to maximize validity and reliability in the development of my coding instruments. I have also tried to enhance the understandability of the coding instrument because the answers I am seeking can be assessed in a straightforward manner. The questions on the coding sheet are trying to gather information in four primary areas: demographic data about the types of people and issues that fill the stones; agenda data about the framing of the ADA as business concerns, civil rights, or legal fodder; disability data about how people with disabilities and disability groups are presented in the cultural context of these stones; and media data about how the media perform when faced with new representations of a group handed down from Congress. New models of representation were developed from my study of the ADA as new legislation and my qualitative assessment of the news media coverage of the Act. I created three more models of media representation to add to Clogston’s five (1993). These can be described as narrative themes within the news story. They are not mutually exclusive, so several models may compete in one story. The models were coded based on prevalence, evidence, or no evidence in the stones.

Clogston’s three traditional models, which account for a negative representation of disability, are the medical model, social pathology model, and supercnp model. (All the models are explained in full detail in Chapter 1’s definition of terms and in the coding sheets.) I added the business model to these traditional or negative representations. Because of the impact of the ADA on U.S. businesses, I expected a strong representation of business concerns in the ADA stones. Within this model,
stones present people with disabilities and their issues as costly to society and businesses especially. Making society accessible for people with disabilities is not really worth the cost and overburdens businesses, according to this model. It is not a "good value" for society or businesses. Accessibility is not presented as profitable.

Clogston's two progressive models, which present disability more positively, are the minority/civil rights model and the cultural pluralism model. To these, I have added the legal model, which ties into the legislative requirements of the law that it is now illegal to treat people with disabilities in certain ways. Stones within this model present people with disabilities as having legal rights against discrimination and guarantees of being able to sue to maintain those rights.

I also created the consumer model, which can be seen as the opposite of the business model. Stones within this model represent people with disabilities as an untapped consumer group. The narrative theme is that making society accessible could be profitable to businesses and society in general. If disabled people have access to jobs, they will have more disposable income. If disabled people have jobs, they will no longer need government assistance, under the consumer model.

Appendixes B, C, D, and E contain the master copies of the code sheets used for print stories, news photographs, TV stones, and TV interviews.

Validity

A content analysis is valid to the degree that it measures what and only what it is supposed to measure. To be valid, it must not be affected by extraneous factors that
push or pull the results in one particular direction. To review the instrumentation for content validity, I have asked a content expert in the area of media and disability to assess the coding sheets. John Clogston, a professor of Journalism at Northern Illinois University who has done much work on news media and disability, acted as a content expert. The coding sheet was changed based on problems he noted from his own experience with creating a valid coding mechanism. For example, instead of trying to categorize language, the coding sheet allows for the assessment of all types of words and phrases that might appear in a story. The proposal for this dissertation and its coding instruments also were assessed by Temple University Communication Professors Tom Gordon, John Lent, and Barbie Zelizer in December 1993. The coding instruments were refined once again based on their suggestions.

I pretested the coding sheet with a sample of articles from the Philadelphia Inquirer, which were collected first. After the pretest, alterations and additions were made to the print code sheet such as more sources on the source list question and more topics to the topics question. The television code sheet was revised specifically to assess the interviews with people with disabilities in the ADA stories (N = 26). This helped avoid the repetition of video images in the TV stories.

**Reliability**

Reliability means consistency through freedom from random error. The most fundamental test of reliability is "repeatability" — the ability to get the same data.
values from several measurements made in the same manner. To enhance this, another person coded about 10% of the universe of articles (N = 50).

As for the potential bias in coding, I consider myself someone with a high degree of issue salience bias. Issue salience bias means how much knowledge the coder has of the Americans with Disabilities Act before they read the articles in the sample. I have higher than average knowledge on the ADA based on my research for this dissertation and my five years of research into media images of disability. I have also participated in conferences and workshops that have served to further sensitize me to disability issues. The other coder had little knowledge of the ADA and no persons with significant disabilities in her family. She does have a knowledge of journalistic processes, however, having been a newspaper reporter in Pennsylvania and an instructor of journalism skills courses. She, therefore, had little trouble assessing form issues related to news stories but required more training in the assessment of the disability issues. Appendix A illustrates the code book she followed in her assessment of the stories. Time and finances did not allow more individuals to code stories.

**Intercoder Reliability**

In the comparison of the 50 stories, the agreement between myself and the other coder was high. Because of the complexity and detail in the code sheet, t-tests were more meaningful than the SPSS reliability formula. T-tests also added statistical power to the interval measures. The findings on the majority of the variables within the code sheet were compared between myself and the coder. The questions involved
The answers to these questions were then collapsed into one mean for my answers to these questions and one mean for the coder's answers to these questions. A t-test was run, and it illustrates the similarities between my findings and those of the coder. My mean was 4.50, standard deviation = 13.45, and standard error = 2.8. The coder's mean was 4.56, standard deviation = 13.32, and standard error = 2.8. The F value from this t-test was 1.02 and the two-tailed probability was .619.

It should be noted that the code sheet questions not assessed in the intercoder reliability required no interpretation on the part of myself or the other coder. For example, question 14 basically matched sources in the stones to a list of sources on the code sheet. All the stones were written in such a way as to make the sources used easily identifiable. An "other" category allowed for coders to write any sources that did not fit the list.

**Limitations of the Study**

Obviously, this dissertation is not the definitive work on representations of disability in news media. By only looking at stories about the Americans with Disabilities Act, it will be more difficult to generalize the findings to other news stories about people with disabilities. But because the passage of the ADA represents a "paradigm shift" in the treatment of people with disabilities in this country, it is significant to understand how mass media assimilate these changes in their presentations. A body of literature has documented how people with disabilities have
been presented in mass media, and thus study of ADA coverage provides crucial
information about whether those images are shifting.

So I have argued that coverage of the ADA deserves to be assessed because of
the ability of the Act to change U.S. culture and I think this study has substantiated
that. However, this study is limited by the elite nature of the media used within it.
Because I am only looking at the elite press, I was not able to gauge how the ADA
was presented by local newspapers and TV stations. However, because the larger
newspapers usually set standards that smaller newspapers follow, I think looking at
elite newspapers was a valid undertaking in light of their agenda-setting function.
For example, when I worked at a regional Midwestern newspaper, the news editor always
looked at the New York Times budget to see what national and international stories it
was playing on its front page. The editor used this information in deciding which
national and international stories he would play on our front page.

In addition, my findings revealed that the ADA was most often a local story
even in these major metropolitan newspapers. Therefore, the local media -- city and
county newspapers and local TV news broadcasts -- may have a more in-depth and
better story to tell than the elite media. Although federal legislation, the ADA was
feared by small businesses and local governments because of potential financial
ramifications. Local media may have been doing some parallel stories about the
impact of the ADA in their communities. However, given the ignorance about the
ADA among the U.S. public, I believe local media may not have been giving any
more play to the story proportionally than the elite media.
Another limitation of the sample is its general nature. The specialty press covered the ADA much more because they saw the potential it had to affect their readers. Therefore, publications such as those specifically for city employees, architects, theater owners, campers, etc. each dtd stones on the ADA The specialty business press especially seemed to cover the ADA more thoroughly than the general news media because in a business sense the Act had the power to remake their workplaces

Another limitation of the study is looking at content alone. I argue that content can provide much information about societal changes such as the ADA, but that could be enhanced by also studying the attitudes of reporters who wrote about the ADA. Clogston attempted that in his 1991 dissertation, however, and found only a few significant correlations between reporters' attitudes and content. The only factors that seemed to affect story content were the reporters' gender, their evaluation of contact with people with disabilities, presence of style guides on disability, and contact with a boss or co-worker who has a disability. Audience response to content needs to be studied more as well. Only rarely have researchers done audience research on response to print or TV news stories about disability. And I know of no instance in which a communication researcher did such a study. So much work remains to be done to truly understand what media characteristics -- both fictional and non-fictional -- mean to U.S. culture
The findings reported in this chapter are based on a primarily quantitative content analysis of 524 print news stories on the Americans with Disabilities Act from 1988 through 1993 in the print news media. A qualitative assessment was done on a disability activism media event found in this set of stories. And 171 news photographs accompanying the ADA stories and 22 TV network news stories are assessed in a quantitative way as well. To gather visual and demographic information in the TV stories, a subset of 26 interviews within the TV stories and a Nightline segment on the ADA were analyzed. This allowed for a more effective way of gathering information about the people in the TV stories because many of the TV stories repeated the same video images from story to story. Table 1 in Chapter 4 illustrates the publications assessed in the study, as well as the number of stories written per year. Table 2 indicates the number of TV stories by year.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>88</th>
<th>89</th>
<th>90</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The ABC 1990 number includes a Nightline special segment on the ADA that was only included in the study of interviews not as a network news story.
To account for the difference in depth of stones written about the ADA, the prnt stones were assessed on how heavily they focused on the Act itself. The findings conclude that 54.8% of the stones found their main focus in the Act, whereas 25% of the stones had a secondary focus on the ADA and 19.8% mentioned the ADA only briefly. Those stones that mentioned the ADA only briefly were typically local government meeting stones that had a sentence or two about how the government entity was trying to comply with the Act. Most of the TV stones found their main focus in the Act (72.7%).

The types of stones split fairly evenly between hard news (45.6%) and feature stones (47.9%). Columns (3.8%), analyses (1.5%) and event nonces (1.1%) accounted for the rest of the story types. It should be noted that type of columns assessed for the purpose of this study were information columns rather than opinion columns. Columns on travel or real estate, for example, fell into the information column category. The stones also split evenly into medium length (6-17 inches) at 43.3% of the stones and long (more than 18 inches) at 42.2%. Short stones accounted for 12.2% and briefs 2.1%. As for the TV stones, most were 1-3 minutes, usually closest to three minutes (59%), 27.3% were less than 30 seconds, and 13.6% were more than three minutes.

Most of the prnt stones were found to be local stones (55%), meaning they focused on city or regional concerns, whereas 40.5% were found to be national stones and 4.6% of the stones focused on the impact to one state alone. All of the network TV stones were national in focus. By assessing the byline, it was found that slightly
more of the print stones were written by women (42.7%) than men (37.8%). In 11.8% of the stones there was no byline, and in 6.8% of the stones gender could not be assessed from the byline.

In addition, 171 news photographs that accompanied the print stones were analyzed as well. It should be noted that one of the publications used in this study does not contain photos — the Wall Street Journal. Most of the photos were in the Philadelphia Inquirer (47.4%), followed by the New York Times (15.2%) and the Chicago Tribune (11.1%). A majority of the photos appeared on the front page of a section (60%), and the greatest percentage appeared in the neighbor or suburban section (36.8%), followed by the business section at 22.2% Most of the photos were two columns in width (46.8%), followed by three column (28.7%), one column (10.5%), four column (9.4%), and five column (4.7%). The photos were shot by men 52.6% of the time and women 24.6% of the time. The remaining photos either had no name, were wire photos, or had photographer names that did not indicate gender.

By analyzing frequencies and cross-tabulations of the data collected in the content analysis, as well as qualitatively assessing the data, this study provides meaningful answers to the seven research questions posed.

**Research Question 1**

What are the written and photographic image profiles of people with disabilities in ADA stones?
Because mass communication analysis of media representations of disability are somewhat rare, it was significant to understand some of the basic demographic information about disability represented in the stones and pictures. This study looked for specifics based on race, gender, disability type, connection to disability organizations, and language use about disability in the stones, headlines, and cutlines. First, it should be noted that almost half of the ADA print stones had no person with a disability as a source or example (49.2%). And only 44.5% of the stones mentioned an organized disability group. As for sourcing, 35.3% of the stones gathered information from the representative of a disability group and 30.2% gathered information from a person with a disability. And 48.1% of the stones used a person or people with disabilities as an example in writing about the ADA. Most of the people with disabilities in the tones are adults (43.3%). Children were represented in 2.7% of the stones and teenagers in 1.7%. A mixture of adults and young people with disabilities was tabulated in 3.1% of the stones. In the photographs, 87.7% of the people with disabilities were adults, 6.4% were teenagers, and 4.1% were children. In the print stones, 23.5% of the people with disabilities were men and 10.1% were women. Both men and women with disabilities were represented in 14.7% of the stones. In the TV interviews, all the people with disabilities were adults and most of them were male (65.4%), rather than female (34.6%).

Table 3 illustrates the types of disabilities mentioned in the print stones. Table 4 reveals the types of disabilities pictured in the news photographs. In the TV interviews, (N = 26), seven people used wheelchairs, four were blind, four were deaf,
Table 3. Types of Disabilities Mentioned in News Stories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Disability</th>
<th>Frequency (N=524)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheelchair use</td>
<td>253</td>
<td>48.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf/hearing impaired</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blind/partially sighted</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>22.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paralysis/para/quad</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerebral palsy</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Mental Illness</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancer</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental retardation</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poho/post-poho</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV positive</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech impediment</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilepsy</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Sclerosis</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning disability</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Substance abuse</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back injury</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diabetes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane use</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amputee</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobility problems</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spina bifida</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Down's Syndrome</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwarfism</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker use</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alzheimer's</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muscular Dystrophy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disfiguring disease</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walks with bmp</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial disfigurement</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allergies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical sensitivity</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water on brain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can’t tell</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4. Types of Disabilities Pictured in News Photos*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(N=171)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General - PWD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheelchair use</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing impaired</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual Impairment</td>
<td>15</td>
<td><strong>88</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerebral palsy</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spina bifida</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane use</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polio/post-polio</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Down's Syndrome</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental retardation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amputee</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech impediment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paralysis</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning disability</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diabetes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back injury</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker use</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwarfism</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Sclerosis</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mobility problems</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Illness</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muscular Dystrophy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disfiguring disease</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walks with hmp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water on brain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilepsy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial disfigure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV positive</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug/alcohol abuse</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't tell</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Information about the type of disability pictured was also gathered from the cutlines
and two had a mental illness. Other disabilities represented by one person each in the TV interviews were cerebral palsy, paralysis, prbral, speech impediment, an amputee, and someone using a walker. (See Tables 21 and 22 for an illustration that what media present are not reflective of the actual incidence of disability in the United States.)

Because race was not mentioned in the print stones, the best assessment of race and gender represented in the media came from the analysis of the news photos and TV interviews. Table 5 illustrates those results. In the TV stones, interviews with people with disabilities showed 22 white people, three African Americans, and one Latino person.

Table 5. Gender and Race of People with Disabilities Pictured in Photos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>Lanno</th>
<th>Mix</th>
<th>% by Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>46.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mix</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percentage by Race: 80.1%, 105%, 6%, 23%

Chi Square = 112.07, Significance = .000

Note: Eight of the photos were poor reproductions in which it was difficult to tell the race or gender of the photo subject. These represent missing values of 2.3% of the photos by gender and 4.7% of the photos by race.
People with disabilities in the photos were also assessed based on their relationship to others because of Knoll's premise that some photos of people with disabilities fall into a theme of isolation or alienation (1987). The findings in these news photos were that 48.5% of the disabled people were pictured alone; 28.7% with non-disabled people, 12.3% with other disabled people, and 8.2% were a mixture of disabled and non-disabled people. Good examples of this symbolic isolation perpetuated in photos were 1992 photos in the Horsham neighbors section of the Philadelphia Inquirer. One pictures a woman crossing the street using her wheelchair, and there are no other people in the photo (Lyons, 1992, p. H1). She sits in the center of the street surrounded by buildings, and because the photo is large, spanning all the columns and taking most of the front page of the section, she looks even more like an isolated figure in the expanse of the city landscape. An inside photo for the same story depicts a silhouetted woman using crutches (Lyons, 1992, p. H4). Although someone else is in the photo, the shape of her body against the stark white sky creates a sense of aloneness.

Most of the photos and video, however, did not picture facial or body disfigurement. Only one TV story did and only 16 news photos did (9.4%). Most people with disabilities in the news photos are smiling (26.9%) or have a benign expression (26.9%). Only 16 of the people with disabilities have a negative expression (9.4%). In the TV interviews, the facial expressions are less stable and cannot be as easily interpreted.
In 13.5% of the photos, new technology related to disability is shown. In five of the TV interviews, new technology is used and in eight of the TV interviews new technology is pictured. In the print stories, new technology or sign language is mentioned as ID use is 2.1% of the stories. In the photos, people with disabilities are shown confronting barriers to participation 19.3% of the time. In the TV interviews, people with disabilities are shown confronting barriers in 14 interviews (53.8%).

A crucial component of the presentation of people with disabilities is the language used about them. Table 6 illustrates the language use about disabilities in the print stories. Table 7 shows the use of disability-related terms in the headlines on the ADA stories. Table 8 reveals the disability-related terms used in the photo cutlimes. In the TV stories, "The disabled" was the most often used term with 12 stories using it. Name of the stories used "people with disabilities" or "disabled person." Four stories used "people with AIDS," while one used "AIDS sufferer," one used "victim of AIDS," and one used "suffers from AIDS." Three of the stories used the term "The handicapped." One story each called people with disabilities "special," "retarded," and "physically challenged." It should be remembered that use of these terms is not mutually exclusive. Many stories combined stereotypical terminology with more acceptable language. For example, a July 26, 1990 CBS story on the ADA signimg used the terms "people with disabilities," "The disabled," and "The handicapped" all in the same story. In this way, many of the print and TV stories represent a site of competition between the "people first" language preferred within
Table 6. Percentage of Stories Using Disability Language at Least Once*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage (N=524)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No disability related language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disabled person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people with disabilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m a wheelchair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handicapped person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The handicapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uses a wheelchair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person who has cerebral palsy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is hearing impaired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheelchair user</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person with AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>special</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deaf person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suffers from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confined (to a bed or wheelchair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheelchair-bound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stricken with AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AIDS</strong> patients</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crippled/ cnpple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with person with cancer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retarded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>victim of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physically challenged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overcome the disability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m spite of (disability)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other(s) 95

* The terms are not mutually exclusive One story may use a number of the terms
Table 7. Percentage of Disability Related Headline Language*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage (N=524)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- The disabled: 239
- disabled person: 36
- handicapped: 15
- The handicapped: 11
- The___ (1 e The bhnd): 1
- people with disabilities: 8
- wheelchair user: 8
- person with AIDS: 6
- special: 6
- deaf person: 6
- person who has ___ (1 e cerebral palsy): 4
- m a wheelcharr: 4
- wheelcharr-bound: 2
- suffers from: 2
- AIDS patients: 0
- confined: 0
- uses a wheelcharr: 0
- v1cttm of ___ ___ ___: 0
- is___ (1 e 1s heanng 1mpaired): 0
- stncken with: 0
- Other(s): 15

* Most headlines only contained one term in a headline, although there were instances where more than one term could be found in a long headline.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language About Disability in the Photo Cutlines</th>
<th>Percentage (N=171)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>61.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The disabled</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disabled person</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>is__   (i.e. is hearing impaired)</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m a wheelcharr</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deaf person</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The handicapped</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people with disabilities</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uses a wheelcharr</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retarded</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS patients</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>special</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physically challenged</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confined</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person who has ___</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person with AIDS</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sticken with</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suffers from</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handicapped person</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v1ct.J.m of ___</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheelchair-bound</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m spite of (disability)</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wheelchair user</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other(s)</td>
<td>5.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the disability rights perspective and the older more stereotypical traditional language such as "handicapped"

**Research Question 2**

How do the news media Juxtapose the newer disability rights perspective with older stereotypes of the disability experience and competing perspectives such as US business interests?

One way to assess how media assimilate new perspectives is to look for the reasons for change cited in the stories. Table 9 illustrates that what news media represented in print stories as the most important reason for the ADA.

**Table 9. Most Important Reason for the ADA as Cited in News Stories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Frequency (N=524)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Architectural access</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General discrimination against disabled people</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>22.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to Jobs</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General accessibility of society</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health insurance discrimination</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care concerns</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New technology</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational discrimination</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability activism</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job loss</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President pushed for it</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reason cited</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Most stones (67.2%) did not cite a secondary reason for the ADA, but those that did came up with the same top four general accessibility of society (10.1%),
access to jobs (8.8%), general discrimination against people with disabilities (5.7%),
and architectural access (5.5%). In the TV stones, 11 of them or 50% cited general
discrimination as the reason for the ADA, and the next most cited reason was
governmental decisionmaking at four stones. The stones are presenting the correct
information about why the ADA is needed, but according to journalistic convention
they still reported what was perceived to be the other side of the story -- that is, the
effect on U.S. businesses. It should be noted that 15% of the ADA stones appeared in
the business section of a newspaper. The ADA stories were most often in the
Neighbors section at 25% and in the Front section at 21% of the time and the Metro
section at 21% of the time.

Therefore, it is interesting to note the types of business entities mentioned in
the stories, as well as the types of public facilities mentioned. It should be
remembered that the Americans with Disabilities Act covers all private and public
sector entities except churches/synagogues and private clubs. That means the stones
could use almost any business entities or public institutions as examples. Certain types
of businesses come to the fore, however. Tables 10 and 11 illustrate the types of
business entities mentioned and the specific public facilities mentioned. It is significant
to note the prevalence of government agencies being mentioned as affected by the
ADA. The news media faded to mention that many government agencies have been
out of compliance with disability-related law for 25 years. Section 504 of the
Table 10. Types of Business Entities Mentioned*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General -- all businesses</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General -- small businesses</td>
<td>5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governmental</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Service</td>
<td>21.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>20.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourism</td>
<td>11.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Financial/Banking</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction/Building</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Security</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronics</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scientific</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other types of businesses</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A number of business entities can be mentioned in one story.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facility Type</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No public facilities mentioned</td>
<td>145%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government agency</td>
<td>25.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Store</td>
<td>14.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel/Motel</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theater (Movie and Live)</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School (public)</td>
<td>82.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tram</td>
<td>73.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum/Tourist spot/stadium</td>
<td>65.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone Company</td>
<td>59.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank/Savings and Loan</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor/Dentist office</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial/Manufacturing Plant</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>44.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subway</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food store</td>
<td>38.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation/fitness club</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airliner</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney/law firm</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church/Synagogue</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer company</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry cleaner</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing home</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas station</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rental agency (car, etc)</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private club</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private school</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral home</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber/hair salon</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounting firm</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nightclub</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private home</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rehabilitation Act of 1973 mandated that any agency receiving federal funds be accessible to people with disabilities. Many federal agencies have been out of compliance with that law for years, as well as many state and local governments that receive federal funds. The news media, however, rarely mentioned the existence of this law. Only 5.7% of the print stones mentioned the Rehabilitation Act. Only two of the TV stones mentioned the Rehab Act.

The news photos also made certain claims about what public facilities were important. Table 12 illustrates this. Here it is interesting to note that the majority of the photographs pictured people with disabilities at a disability organization. Again, this takes people with disabilities out of the wider world and shows them "in their own little world," as Knoll (1987) calls it. Several photos in the business section of the Philadelphia Inquirer in 1991 illustrate this point. Although the story is generally about accommodating people with disabilities in the workplace, the three photos used with the story are all of people who are blind working at Associated Services for the Blind (Fix, 6 October 1991). This photographic maneuver groups people with disabilities "with their own kind" and can serve to feed a myth that people with disabilities function in one world and non-disabled people function in another.

These findings indicate that the news media tried to tell what they may have seen as the "two sides" to the ADA story -- the disability rights perspective embodied in the Act and the business perspective embodied in larger society. Table 13 shows that business costs dominated in the other social issues mentioned in the print stones. Ten of the TV stones mentioned business costs and none of the stones mentioned...
Table 12. Public Facilities Shown in News Photos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facility Type</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(N=171)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can't tell</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability organization</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School (public)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government agency</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail Store</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospital</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private home</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Plant</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food store</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank/Savings &amp; Loan</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum/Tourist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer company</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor/Dentist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theater (Live)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tram</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theater (Movie)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation/park</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel/Motel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrhne</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing home</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rental agency</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone Company</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
<td><strong>12.9%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 13. Other Social Issues Besides Disability Mentioned in the Stories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>38.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business costs</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health Insurance costs</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial discrimination</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay rights/homosexuality</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug/Alcohol abuse</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recess10n</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overabundance of lawsmt</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion (anti-abortion)</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion (pro abortion)</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Corruption</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AIDS These two issues were the most prevalent other social issues mentioned in the TV stories. About 27% of the print stones indicated that the cost of implementing the ADA was high. And six of the TV stones mentioned the cost of the ADA as high. But both the print and TV stories did well at mentioning the civil rights nature of the Act. About 53% of the print stones called the ADA a civil rights bill. Eighteen of the TV stories (81.8%) called the ADA a civil rights bill. And 62.4% of the print stones mentioned that people with disabilities face barriers in society, as did 18 of the TV stories (81.8%). About 35% of the print stones related the attitudinal barriers people with disabilities face, and 57.6% discussed the architectural barriers people with disabilities face. These findings are also reflected in the fact that the top three topics of the ADA print stories were found to be business-related (19.7%), civil rights related (19.5%), or related to a government decision (15.5%).

These findings illustrate that the "two sides to every story" method of "objective" journalism was the norm in the ADA stories. If there were third, fourth, or fifth sides to this story, however, the news media did not tell them.

**Research Question 3**

How does the coverage of the ADA compare with previous analyses of media portrayals of people with disabilities and their issues?

This dissertation represents, in part, an extension of Clogston's work on representations of disabilities in the news media (1989, 1990, 1991). However, as I have argued, the ADA represents a paradigm shift in the way U.S society views them.
understand and deal with disability in the future. Slowly, new perspectives are pushing their way into public discourse and this is reflected in news media. Therefore, I developed three new models to add to Clogston's five. These new models of representation of disability in the media more accurately reflect the themes found in news stories about the ADA. Table 14 illustrates the findings based on the representations of the models in the print stories.

In the ADA print stories, little evidence of the medical model was found in the stories, but examples did crop up. A story about a Philadelphia man who had 70% of his feet amputated but still was able to dance at his daughter's wedding had elements of the medical model because of its focus on him being a miracle of modern medicine (Samuel, 1990, p. B1). As mentioned, most of the stories contained elements of the minority/civil rights model or the three models I created. A front-page New York Times story quoted ADA supporters in the second paragraph, saying it is "the most sweeping civil rights bill in two decades" (Holmes, 1990, p. A1). This story contained a prevalent minority/civil rights theme. In contrast, a story with the business model focused on the Act's harmful effect on business. A story in the Atlanta Journal-Constitution was headlined, "Disabilities Act closing popular meeting room" (Guevara-Castro, 1992, p. D7), while a story in the Chicago Tribune was headlined "Suburbs face challenge, costs of satisfying disabilities act" (Thomas and Ostrowski, 1992, p. NW3). Another Atlanta story said "Disabilities Act has high cost of compliance" (Snow, 1993, p. XJMI).
The legal model was easy to find once the law took effect and people began using the ADA to confront discrimination. The Washington Post gave front-page play to the first Justice Department suit under the ADA. The story reported how two police officers had been denied retirement, disability pensions, and survivors benefits because one of the men has diabetes and one of the men has chrome back.

| Table 14. Prevalence of Models in ADA Print Stories* |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|
| (N=524)          | Prevalent      | Evident        | Not Evident   |
| Minority/Civil Rights Model | 27 1%          | 30 3%          | 42 6%         |
| Business Model   | 15 5           | 34 7           | 49 8          |
| Legal Model      | 21 6           | 27 7           | 50 8          |
| Consumer Model   | 15 1           | 22 3           | 62 6          |
| Social Pathology Model | 4              | 6 1           | 93 5          |
| Medical Model    | 0              | 5 3           | 94 7          |
| Supercnp Model   | 0              | 3 4           | 96 6          |
| Cultural Pluralism Model | 2              | 25            | 97 3          |

* Several models may be represented in one story

An earlier story illustrated the legal model when it reported on the trial expected because the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services had denied a woman with MS the right to work at home (Spayd, 1992, p. A25). Another Washington Post article embodied the consumer model when it began
its lead with "Lee Page's money is as green as anyone else's, but he regularly encounters difficulty spending it in many Washington businesses. Frugality isn't the problem. Physical barriers are" (Lehman, 1990, p El) And the Wall Street Journal regularly reported on the growth of disability-related business opportunities such as software entrepreneurs making money by creating programs that will assist businesses in ADA compliance ("Software entrepreneurs find," 1992, p Al).

In the TV stones, the money/civil rights model also dominates, with prevalence in 13 of the stones (59%). The consumer model also shows some prevalence in four TV stones and some evidence in three stones The legal model was found in 15 TV stones (68 2%) and was prevalent in three stones Nine stories reflected the business model and one story showed prevalence of it On the traditional models, the supercmp model showed prevalence or evidence in three of the stones (13 6%) One story depicted a young man with cerebral palsy doing with his father cross country to raise money The young man is presented as "special" and "overcoming" his disability through his exploits However, Clogston's money/civil rights model still holds true in the ADA stones, most likely because of the civil rights nature of the law But the three models I created to look for the new perspectives on disability reveal that new narrative frames are making their way into stones about the Act

Several questions from an in-depth British study of disability in factual programs (Cumberbatch and Negmne, 1992) were replicated in my content analysis. Table 15 shows the similarities and differences in these questions. It is actually
surprising that the percentages on these three questions are as similar as they are because the stones on the ADA are a specific type of news story and the British study assessed all types of non-fiction programming mentioning disability. But once again the civil rights narrative shines through in the ADA stories.

Table 15. Comparison of ADA Study with Cumberbatch and Negrine Study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Themes in news stories</th>
<th>Bntish TV study (N=63)</th>
<th>ADA study (N=524)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Percentage Mentioned</td>
<td>Percentage Mentioned</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitting into normal life</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>37 4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of understanding by society or individuals</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>34 9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having rights to fight for</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Research Question 4

Is the view that people with disabilities are medical or welfare problems in society more prevalent than the view that people with disabilities have certain rights under the law and are not to be "taken care of" by society?

As Table 14 indicates, the medical model and the social pathology model were rarely apparent in the ADA stories. The disability rights perspective took over the journalistic discourse. In these stones the rights perspective competes with the business perspective rather than the medical/social pathology perspectives.
However, some subtle remnants of the paternalism associated with the medical and social pathology models remain. For example, 14% of the photos, a nondisabled person is shown helping a person with a disability. The camera angle on the person with a disability in the photo can also indicate a more paternalistic presentation of people, especially people who use wheelchairs and may be less able to negotiate their position. A photo Table 16 illustrates the angle at which the photos of people with disabilities were shot. In the case of the TV shots, 15 of the 16 interviews were shot from the same level, none from above, and two from below. The meaning of these types of shots has been interpreted by a number of scholars of visual representations in film, TV, and photographs (Monaco, 1977, Berger, 1981, Kraft, 1987, Meyers-Levy and Perach10, 1992) The shot from below traditionally attributes power or status to the person photographed. However, in this case, I would argue that the shot from below fits into the superempathic model, conferring status of supernatural on a person with a disability for "cop10g" with be10g different. The shot from above is said to represent a "godly view" of others and delal1Deates those pictured as weak and dom11Dated -- definitely fitting with the stereotyp1Dg paternalism found in many media images of people with disabilities. In American culture, the shots at the same or eye level 1D1cate equality in the power relationship. In TV news, the eye-level shot is also used to convey a sense of objectivity, accord10g to Kerv10 (1985). Therefore, the fact that almost 50% of the photos did not picture people with disabilities within the framework of equality may mean that the alternative view of disability as weakness and superhuman still exists in some of the media representations.
Table 16. Angle of Shots in News Photos

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency (N=171)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Can't tell</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same/equal level</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shot from above</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shot from below</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, a more positive image is filtering through these news photos -- people with disabilities as contributing members of society. About 33% of the stories depicted a person with a disability at a job or on the way to a job.

**Research Question 5**

How do the news media perform when a new frame for the representation of a group is handed down from a major institution such as U.S. Congress?

In one sense, the federal government controlled the timing of the ADA moving into public discourse, but the news media went along with it. The TV stories were the most event-driven of the types of stories about the ADA, with more than 50% of the stories appearing in the month of July -- the month the ADA was signed and the month that some of its major provisions took place. In the print stories, 15.5% appeared in the month of July. In the TV stories, five of them (22.7%) appeared on
July 26, the day of the ADA signature and an implementation day two years later. The print stones were more evenly distributed among days of the month.

Another good way to understand how an institution is reflected in news stones is to look at what sources are cited in the stones. Table 17 indicates the sourcing of the ADA stones. It should be remembered that an individual story may contain a number of sources. So it is significant that people with disabilities (30.2%) or representatives of disability groups (35.3%) were allowed to represent themselves as sources as much as they were. Again, the sourcing illustrates that government interests and business interests are in a three-way competition with disability interests to represent the Americans with Disabilities Act. But in this case, the federal government's role in defining the ADA is more positive because it is federal legislation that overwhelmingly passed both the Senate and the House. State and local governments, however, have a more negative relationship to the law, calling it an "unfunded mandate" that will cause them economic hardship.

However, based on being mentioned in the story, government groups were connected to the ADA story more than disability groups were. Some type of government group was represented in 80.5% of the stories, compared to disability groups being represented in 47.3% of the time. Reporters on the ADA print stones did seem to find their local disability organizations for comment, however, because local disability groups most often appeared in the stones at 19.3% of the time. Tables 18 and 19 illustrate mentions of disability groups and government groups. It is significant to note that local government had strong representation in the
Table 17. Sources Cited in the ADA Print Stories*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Percentage (N=524)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Representative of disability group</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government agency spokesperson</td>
<td>31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person with disability (no affiliation)</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business person</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representative of business group</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney for disabled person/disability group</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americans with Disabilities Act/its provisions</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected official -- Local level</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney - General</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lawsuit/Legal document</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney for business/business group</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government document/report</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected official -- Federal level</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney for government</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation official</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic/university researcher</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent research report</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architect/Designer</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher/educator</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family of person with disability</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected official spokesperson</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average person (no affiliation)</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical official/Hospital</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President of the U.S.</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent researcher</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media report</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADA resource center</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activist organization - general</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil rights group - general</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected official -- State level</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job coach/coordinator</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislation - Federal</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislation - Local</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rehabilitation specialist</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay rights group</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legislation - State</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umon official</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White House official</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 17. (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Percentage (N=524)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foundation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author of book</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-profit organization</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor/Dentist</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academic/University research report</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious group/person</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University official</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal attendant</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No sources</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other types of sources</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* A number of different sources may have appeared in one story

ADA stones at 16.4%. As expected, the EEOC and the Justice Department were two of the most often mentioned federal government groups because they are the two agencies charged with enforcing most of the ADA provisions in employment and accessibility. The ADA story was given cultural power through its linkage to the White House and President. Although the President pushing for it was rarely used as a reason for the ADA (Table 9) and he was not a top source (Table 17), many of the stones connected the White House to the Act. Just through frequent mention.

And a number of connections were made between government officials and disability. In asking about a non-disabled source's family relationship to disability, about 5% of the stones showed the connection. Three of the TV stones mentioned a source's connection to disability. Many of these sources were government officials who helped push for the ADA. Richard Thornburgh, Attorney General at the time,
Table 18. Specific Disability Groups Mentioned*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group / Organization</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>52.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General -- Disability activists</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local group</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>President’s Committee on People w/ Disabilities</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disabled m Act.ton</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paralyzed Veterans of America</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Living Center</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Cerebral Palsy Association</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADAPT</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Organization on Disability</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easter Seals</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARC (Association for Retarded Citizens)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Institute on Disability</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children's Defense Fund</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Right to Life Committee</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Federation of the Blind</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanity Club</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muscular Dystrophy Association</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay group</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS group</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Individual stones may mention more than one disability group
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government Groups Mentioned*</th>
<th>Frequency (N=524)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>19.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local government</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Council/ city government</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor of city</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School district</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County government</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>State government</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State legislature/ state government</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor of state</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Federal government</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC)</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>17.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White House/President</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice Department</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>12.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Senate</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US House of Representatives</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US Congress</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US, District Court</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Transportation</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and Human Services</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicaid</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supreme Court</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Public Welfare</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FCC</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labor Department</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicare</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Census Bureau</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Security Administration</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupational Safety and Health Adminstration</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Utility Commission</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office of Technology Assessment</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 19. (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Office of Vocational Rehabilitation (OVR)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBI</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasury Dept</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Institute on Disability Research and Rehab.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*A number of government groups may be contained in one story

has a son who was injured in a car accident President George Bush has one son with a learning disability and another with a colostomy Sen Lowell Wetker's son has Down's Syndrome Sen Tom Harlan's brother is deaf So government officials were used to validate the universality of the disability experience

However, the reporters failed to put the ADA in governmental context. Only 13% of the stories mentioned the other federal laws dealing with disability, of which there are a number such as the Fair Housing Standards Act. Only 6.5% of the articles mentioned local laws related to disability. None of the network TV stories mentioned other laws, federal or local, related to disability. As mentioned before, only 5.7% of the articles mentioned the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which mandated that any entity that receives federal funds not be allowed to discriminate against people with disabilities. However, the Rehabilitation Act had been primarily ignored for decades so most government-related sources were not likely to mention it.
The most prevalent complaint about the ADA from its critics is that it will cost too much for business and other sectors of society to implement. In terms of percentages, this notion of costliness associated with the ADA was found more often in stories with sources from business or mentions of some government groups. Table 20 illustrates the trend toward implication of costliness in selected sources and government and disability groups. Most of the crosstabulations for this table were not significant, but it does show a crucial trend in the coverage of the ADA stories.

Therefore, it seems clear that journalists assimilate new frames handed down from Congress, even when that frame tries to shake loose old stereotypes. It was fortunate for the disability rights movement that Congress did not dilute that perspective in the ADA because that allowed for the media to latch onto something validated by a major government institution. However, in their adversarial role, journalists were able to challenge government's actions by invoking the side of business and local government.

**Research Question 6**

What is the agenda-setting role of news media in framing people with disabilities and their civil rights issues?

The news media play a role in telling the public how to think about an issue -- that is, they frame it for them. One way to illustrate how media set the agenda by their specific framing of an issue is to compare their version of reality to other versions of
Table 20. Mention of Costliness of ADA by Selected Sources and Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By source</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Representanve of busmess</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>314%</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Busmess person</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov agency spokesperson</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rep of disability group</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person with disability</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By mention of group</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City government</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>395%</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEOC</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White House/President</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local disability group</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
reahty and to look at what the media emphasize and de-emphasize in their telling of a story.

As for the ADA stories, crucial differences arise when comparing information in the stories to information that can be found elsewhere. It should also be remembered that the media are not alone in creating these frames. They receive input at the external level through sources, cultural biases, ease of access to a variety of information and at the internal level through deadline pressures, editorial changes, personal biases, and general norms of journalism. In the case of disability especially, media cannot be divorced from culture. Strong cultural notions exist about the human body and physical difference. US culture also strongly maintains notions of independence over dependence (or interdependence), which has ramifications for the status of disability in our culture.

By comparing Table 21, which gives estimates of the incidence of disability in the United States, and Tables 3 and 4, which illustrate the types of disabilities mentioned in the stories, one can see that the stories and pictures give a distorted view of the prevalence of certain disabilities. The visible and more severe disabilities received the coverage. Wheelchair use appears to be the symbolic disability for the news stories, although its actual incidence in the US population is rather low. Granted, the access issues surrounding wheelchair use gives it somewhat greater weight in society. But people who use canes, crutches, walkers, artificial legs or are blind have similar access concerns, yet they do not seem to have the symbolic value.
### Table 21. Estimated Incidence of Disability in the United States

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Disability</th>
<th>Incidence</th>
<th>Source of Data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arthritis</td>
<td>30 million people</td>
<td>Center/Health Stat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental disorder (excludes substance abuse)</td>
<td>23.9 million (over a 1 month period)</td>
<td>NIMH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hearing impairment</td>
<td>23 million</td>
<td>Center/Health Stat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart conditions</td>
<td>19.3 million</td>
<td>Center/Health Stat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancer (excludes skin cancer)</td>
<td>8 million with history (5 million no longer have evidence) (3 million still have evidence)</td>
<td>Cancer Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual impairment</td>
<td>7.5 million</td>
<td>Center/Health Stat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Retardation</td>
<td>6 million</td>
<td>Nat Org/Disability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diabetes</td>
<td>6.2 million</td>
<td>Center/Health Stat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paralysis (full or partial)</td>
<td>1.5 million</td>
<td>Prez Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amputee</td>
<td>1 million</td>
<td>Prez. Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilepsy</td>
<td>1 million</td>
<td>Prez. Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerebral Palsy</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>UCPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>244,939 (Total cases, includes deaths)</td>
<td>CDC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Use of Assistive Devices (over age 15)

| Use a wheelchair | 1.5 million | Prez Committee |
| Have a walker/cane/crutches | 4 million | Prez Committee |
| Use a hearing aid | 4 million | Center/Health Stat |
| Use an artificial limb | 250,000 | Center/Health Stat |
that wheelchair use does. The use of the ADA may try to alleviate employment
discrimination seems to validate the actual incidence of disability rather than the
newspaper version. Of the 24,730 charges filed through the EEOC from July 1992 to
March 1994, the largest percentage were by people with back impairments (20%),
neurological impairments (13%), and emotional/psychiatric impairments (11%)
(EEOC, 1994). Several of the first cases filed under the ADA involved people with
cancer, diabetes, visual impairments, and hearing impairments.

News stories also misrepresented race and gender. The general census every 10
years has not routinely asked about incidence of disability, but separate studies by the
Census Bureau, U.S. Center for Health Statistics, and the U.S. Department of
Commerce have given other definitions to demographic researchers. The differences
in samples, as well as slightly different definitions of disability, account for some of
the differences in Table 22. But both sets of demographic characteristics differ from
Table 5, which illustrates race and gender in the news photos. Men with disabilities
show up most prominently in the news stories (23% male, 10% female) and
photographs, while according to the statistical studies women more often have
disabilities than men. The racial demographics are more debatable, but many disabled
researchers currently believe the incidence of disability in many racial groups has
been underestimated in the past. Therefore, the Disabilities Statistics Program numbers
seem most valid. With heavy reliance on pictures of white people with disabilities, the
newspapers frame disability as a "white issue," which, of course, it isn't...
### Table 22. Disability Demographics: Two Sources

#### Disability Statistics Program*
*(People over age 15 with some functional limitation 50.8 million)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender Group</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage of gender group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males over age 15</td>
<td>19.9 million</td>
<td>23.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females over age 15</td>
<td>30.9 million</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Disability by Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage of total PWD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>22.6 million</td>
<td>46.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>4.1 million</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>2.4 million</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>515,000</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian</td>
<td>285,000</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

*The Disability Statistics Program is housed at the University of California, San Francisco.

**The President's Committee is part of the U.S. Department of Labor.

***Persons of Spanish origin can be of any race.
Table 23. Selected Businesses and Industries by Numbers of Establishments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Number of establishments*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N=6.1 million)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service industry</td>
<td>2 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail trade</td>
<td>1.5 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract construction</td>
<td>578,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance/insurance/real estate</td>
<td>545,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wholesale trade</td>
<td>476,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>378,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>235,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture services</td>
<td>85,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Number of establishments*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(N=3.5 million)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating/drinking places</td>
<td>378,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car dealers/service stations</td>
<td>207,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food stores</td>
<td>186,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing stores</td>
<td>150,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General merchandise/department stores</td>
<td>36,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Rounding accounts for discrepancies in totals.
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990
The news media seem to have framed the types of businesses in the United States more accurately. When comparing Table 23 with Tables 10, 11, and 12, one can see that media understand the prevalence of the retail and service industries in the United States Government, food service, transportation, and retail topped the list of types of businesses mentioned in the ADA codes. The news stories framed the ADA mainly in terms of access issues, to retail and service establishments, public transportation, and government. But that presentation covers only half of the ADA. As significant is the Jobs section of the Act, which keeps people from being discriminated against based on disability, as well as mandating that people with disabilities be reasonably accommodated in the workplace. In addition, the ADA provides a nationwide telephone relay service to make communications more accessible for people who are deaf and hearing impaired. Table 24 illustrates that issues of accessibility were more often mentioned in the stories (51.3%), although unemployment or Jobs were mentioned 31.5% of the time. But many of the other disability issues mentioned had to do with accessibility as well.

But the image that begins to appear from the news stories is one of a white male wheelchair user trying to get into McDonalds or the Post Office. Less mention is made of the discrimination he might face in the workplace or the fact that many African American, Asian, or Latino men and women with disabilities have still not made it into the workplace. It is once again interesting to note the prevalence of government agencies in the histories of businesses and public facilities. This results, in part, from the fact that government agencies are involved in administering the ADA,
Table 24. **Disability Issues Mentioned in NewsStories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Fr ul:n</th>
<th>Pri:lr nta2e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessible pubhc fac1hties</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>51 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment/Jobs</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>32 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimmatton</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>26 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural changes</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>25 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessible transportation</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>11 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>10 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to recreation</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Societal acceptance PWD</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical nsurance for PWD</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>6 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gov. support/disabled people</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessible housing</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care access</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent hvmg</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutionahzation</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right to hve</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portrayal m media</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf culture</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language use/dlsabd1ty</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famdy support</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private support PWD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right to die</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telethons</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Several issues may be mentioned one story
but more significantly it results because many local governments are not yet accessible, things such as city parks, post office branches, municipal courthouses, etc. And the government agencies are prevalent because of the power bestowed upon them in U.S. society and in the media. The government serves a dual role of good and bad in the ADA stones -- good because it leads the country to acknowledge the discrimination against people with disabilities and bad because it has not taken strong action to make sure its own facilities are accessible. The federal government also receives some negative framing through the input from business and local government in the stones. It is interesting to note how much government is contained in the ADA stones, considering there are fewer governmental units than most businesses (Table 25). But again power and prestige in U.S. culture is a more crucial notion in this case.

Table 25. Number of Governmental Units by Type of Government, 1992

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Government</th>
<th>Number (N=86,743)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.S. Government</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.001%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State governments</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County governments</td>
<td>3,043</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Municipal</td>
<td>19,296</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Township/town</td>
<td>16,666</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School districts</td>
<td>14,556</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Special districts</td>
<td>33,131</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census
Another way in which to assess the framing and agenda setting function of the news media is to look at the changes in the stories over time. As shown in Table 1, the journalistic norm of event-driven stories is reflected in the fact that the ADA stories peaked in 1992, the year in which most of the law took effect and began to level off in 1993. In Table 26, one can see some of the ways the stories changed over the years. The ADA story began to be framed more as a legal model story in 1993 and less of a business model story. Use of attorneys from disability groups, government, and business all rose in 1993. Other business sources, the business person and representative of business groups dropped significantly in 1993, as did mention of business costs in the stories. However, along with this the more positive consumer model also dropped significantly in 1993.

Use of representatives of disability groups dropped slightly in 1993, although use of people with disabilities as sources continued to grow. But mentions of local disability groups dropped slightly in 1993. The minority model, however, remained steady in 1993. The mention of attitudinal and architectural barriers also remained steady or dropped slightly in 1993. However, calling the ADA a civil rights bill continued to increase. As for language, news media did not seem to assimilate the nuances of "people first" language. Use of "handicapped person" continued to grow, while use of people with disabilities dropped in 1993. Therefore, the stereotypes perpetuated by inappropriate language continue.

Before the ADA took full effect, the complaints of business were more able to enter the discourse, according to these news frames. However, after the ADA was
Table 26.  Selected Attributes of Stories by Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>By selected sources</th>
<th>89</th>
<th>90</th>
<th>91</th>
<th>92</th>
<th>93</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Business person</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government spokesperson</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Person with disability</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rep. of business group</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rep of disability group</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney (business)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney (disability)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney (general)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney (government)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;people with disabilities&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;handicapped person&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By mention of local groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local disability groups</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By mention of business costs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business costs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By prevalence of models</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business model</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 26. (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>89</th>
<th>90</th>
<th>91</th>
<th>92</th>
<th>93</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minority model</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal model</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer model</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By mention as civil rights bill</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil rights bill</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By mention of attitudinal barriers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudinal barriers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By mention of architectural barriers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural barriers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

part of societal law, the stones shifted to the sphere of legal action. A positive note is
the consistent growth of presentat10n of d1sa1hty with the minonty/civil rights framework and the increase in relying on people with disabilities to tell the story.

Research Question 7

How does media coverage of the ADA compare with representations of other minority or stigmatized groups in society?

The prevalence of the minority/civil rights model throughout the ADA stones lends credence to the notion that the presentations of people with disabilities fit well...
with other minority groups. With the ADA stories, people with disabilities have become like other minority groups gradually gaining attention from the mainstream media. But does that attention help integrate or does it stereotype?

African Americans have gradually been gaining more civil rights since the 1960s and their media representation began to change in quantity and quality. In studying the presentation of black elected officials in the press during the 1970s, Chaudhary (1980) found that black officials receive a little more coverage but the article content is more negative than those articles on white elected officials. Chaudhary’s research looked at the coverage in 19 metropolitan newspapers and further found that although stories about black officials were slightly longer, the articles were placed in a less prominent place. Lieb (1988) studied The Washington coverage of black people before and after a 1986 protest against negative coverage of black people in its Sunday magazine and found that before the protest the white-to-black coverage ratio was 5.7 to 1, whereas, after the protest, the white-to-black ratio of coverage was 2.5 to 1, which better represents the population in Washington, D.C. Lieb concluded that the first magazine earned little neutral or positive coverage in the four months before the protest, but that coverage of black people became more positive during and after the protest.

Martindale’s research (1986) on the coverage of African Americans in four major US newspapers from 1950 to 1989 concurs with some of Lieb’s findings. Although coverage of the African-American community has increased, many articles continue to portray black people with stereotypes rather than reporting on the barners.
to equality that many black people still face "The papers' news coverage often reminded readers of the problems' existence, but often faded to explore them" (p 111).

So like African Americans, people with disabilities are beginning to receive more coverage because of major legislation such as the ADA, but stereotypes persist such as the prevalence of the business model in the stones, which characterizes people with disabilities as a financial drain on society. However, people of color who have disabilities still reside on the periphery of the disability minority group, according to the news media framing. They are almost nonexistent in the coverage. And demographic information about the metropolitan areas where the 12 publications in this study are based confirmed that these publications reside in areas with high racial diversity. See Table 27.

The findings of past studies on race and gender in news photos mirror the findings of photos with ADA stones as well. Smigletary (1978) found that page one photos in six newspapers in 1976 (N=1,287) contained 80.1% white people, 3.8% black people, 9.2% white and black people, 6.5% white and other ethnic groups, and 0.4% other races or undetermined race. Table 5 illustrates that 80% of the people with disabilities in photos are white as well. Although women outnumber men generally and there are more women with disabilities than men, more men were pictured in the ADA photos. But the ADA photos did a better job at picturing women than general photos do, according to two studies. Mtlle (1975) found that many more men than women are pictured in the *Los Angeles Times* (78% men, 35% women) and
Table 27. Racial Makeup of U.S. Metropolitan Areas*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Percentage by race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York area</td>
<td>19.3 million</td>
<td>17.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.A area</td>
<td>14.5 million</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicago area</td>
<td>8.2 million</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philadelphia area</td>
<td>5.89 million</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston area</td>
<td>5.45 million</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Atlanta</td>
<td>2.96 million</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Numbers based on consolidated metropolitan statistical areas (CMSA) and metropolitan statistical areas (MSA)
** People of Hispanic origin can be of any race
Source: U.S. Bureau of Census

Washington Post (84% men, 25% women) Between 9% and 13% of the photos pictured both genders. By 1980-81, the percentage of women in the newspapers decreased slightly with 79% men and 21% women in the Washington Post and 74% men and 26% women in Los Angeles Times (Blackwood, 1983).

In addition to these demographic similarities, the stereotyping process of people with disabilities in the news media is analogous to that of ethnic minority groups. A popular type of story that supposedly positively portrays people of color is the "success" story about someone from disadvantaged circumstances to achieve. This theme in stories is extremely similar to the Supercop model. According to Wilson and Gmtierrez (1985), the success stories about minority groups assure the majority...
audience that monty remain "m their place" and that those who leave "the1r place" have learned to embody the values and goals of the maJonty. In the same way, the "supercnp" story eases the anxiety of all non-disabled people that wheelchair users can climb mountains and people who are blmd can sad the ocean

Ethm mc mmytyn groups and people with d1sab1htles also share the stereotype that they burden society Young black males are stereotyped as burdening society with cnme and young black females are stereotyped as burdening society with unwanted children Asian and Lanno people are stereotyped as burdening society with imm1grat1on problems And people with d1sabihtles are stereotyped as burdening society financially with therr perceived dependency and needness

Another group, which has relevance here, embodies both disability and mmytyn group status -- people with HIV/AIDS A recent content analysis of coverage of gays, lesbians, bisexuals, and the HIV/AIDS ep1dem1c found that gays and lesbians were less often mentioned outside the AIDS issue (Bernt and Greenwald, 1993) The legislative, soc1al, and cultural concerns of gays and lesbians were mentioned m less than 40% of the AIDS-related stones coded (N=1,105). On the positve side, AIDS 1s bemg associated with gays less often now, 53% of the stones did not mention gays or lesbians. The study of ADA stones made s1mdar findmgs as illustrated m Table 13 AIDS was mentloned as a social issue m 10.5% of the stones, whereas gay nghts/homosexuahty was only mentioned 2.1 % of the time. In add1tion, Simpson (1992) has dehneated m a quahtatlve way the changes m the way AIDS and AIDS deaths have been covered m maJor newspaper stones. He argues that earher stones
wrote about the effect AIDS had on traditional families. The next level of stories acknowledged gay relationships and the gay community, and the most recent level allows a gay person to tell his own story about AIDS, thus, depth is added.

It is interesting to note how often AIDS was mentioned in the ADA because according to Table 21, it is one of the less prevalent causes of disability or death. But because it is new, currently incurable, terminal, and associated with stigmatized groups, it carries much more cultural force. I would argue that cancer, for example, is a much less stigmatizing disease currently because its cure rate has improved so dramatically in the past 20 years. In decades past, people less often revealed they had cancer from fear of being ostracized.

Therefore, another component that links people with disabilities and other minority or stigmatized groups is the attitude of majority society to them. Table 28 illustrates emotional reactions to disability based on a 1991 survey by Loms Harns and Associates for the National Organization on Disability. The one difference between these emotional reactions and reactions to people from ethnic groups is that disability as minority group is one that anyone can enter at any time. So fears for self are heightened.

But reactions are more similar to that of reactions to ethnic minority groups when people are questioned about their reactions to people with disabilities in a number of settings. Table 29 illustrates these concerns. In 1978, Loms Hams and Associates did a study on attitudes toward racial and religious minorities and toward women for the National Conference of Christians and Jews and made some similar
Table 28. Emotional Reactions to People With Severe Disabilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emotional Reaction</th>
<th>Percentage (N=1,257)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feel admiration</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel pity</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel awkward/embarrassed*</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel lack of concern</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are afraid (that they may become disabled)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Are angry</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel resentment</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

College graduates are more likely than people who did not finish high school to feel this way (63% vs 50%). Source: Louis Harris and Associates, 1991 survey

Table 29. Concerns About Seriously Disabled Persons in Various Situations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feeling of Concern</th>
<th>Percentage (N=1,257)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Their teenager dates a seriously disabled person</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A friend or relative marries a seriously disabled person</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They work closely with a seriously disabled person</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their child brings home a seriously disabled child for a visit</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their boss is seriously disabled</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are served by a seriously disabled person in a restaurant</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A seriously disabled person sits next to them on the bus</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Louis Harris Associates, 1991, random sample survey
findings about white people's attitudes toward African Americans. In the study, 79% of the white public said they would be concerned about their teenager dating a black person. And 60% said they would be concerned about a good friend or relative marrying an African American.

All this has impact on the content about people with disabilities and ethnic minority groups. Newsrooms across the country are still primarily white and nondisabled. Wilson and Gutierrez (1986) report that in 1982 newspapers had 5.5% ethnic minority representation, radio had 10%, and TV had 14.2%. Some people with disabilities are making it into the media. For example, John Hockenberry, a wheelchair user, is a reporter for National Public Radio. Elizabeth Campbell, who is blind, has been a reporter for the Fort Worth (TX) Star-Telegram for a number of years.

As for how a predominantly white, nondisabled news media affect coverage of the ADA, that is not totally clear. But one thing is clear -- much of the American public, most likely including many reporters, had not heard of the ADA in 1991, one year after it was signed into law. Only 18% of the U.S. public was aware that a law to protect people with disabilities had been passed, according to the Lums Harris 1991 survey. That percentage was 26% if the person being surveyed was a college graduate. Of the 18% of the public, only half of those people could correctly describe its components. However, unlike the business section in the media stones, most of the American public, when told of its provisions, favored the law, with 86% to 89% saying the cost would be worth it. I would argue that the U.S. public knows little.
about the ADA, in part, because of scant coverage by the news media. This study looked at 524 news articles in a five-year period within 12 of the largest circulation and most elite publications in this country. Yet only 288 of those stones were focused primarily on telling the ADA story (55%). That's not many stones when spread over 12 publications and five years. It takes more media attention than that to properly push the new information into public discourse. And the number of TV stones was minute, with some years having no stones about the ADA on network television. Therefore, I argue that just like many other minority and stigmatized groups in society, the issues of people with disabilities rarely received top billing or much coverage at all in the elite news media.

**A Qualitative Analysis**

The context added to this study through a qualitative assessment of one disability rights media event related to the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act helps answer research questions two and three. This part of the study describes the narrative frames related to media coverage of disability rights, as well as contextualizing media coverage of the ADA within the larger U.S. culture. This illustrates how the rights movement is trying to displace older cultural paradigms to which the media and other institutions still adhere.

The ADA story in the news media really began with an event at the U.S. Capitol in March 1990, known as the "crawl-m." It was a disability rights lobbying event in support of the ADA. The activists were fighting for the place of the ADA in...
public/government discourse because the lack of attention the act was receiving potentially threatened its viability in the U.S. Congress. Of the eight newspapers that covered the "crawl-m," the Washington Post had done two articles on the Americans with Disabilities Act before March 1990; the New York Times had done one article, and the Los Angeles Times printed one commentary that called the Act "more loophole than law" (Bolte, 1989).

The qualitative assessment illustrates the shifting of media frames and themes that were characterizing people with disabilities and their rights movement at the beginning of the legislative process for the ADA. This analysis fits with the work of Gitlin (1980) and McCombs and Shaw (1993), who illustrate the role of media in framing social events in our culture and therefore potentially redefining them.

The analysis of media coverage of the crawl-md shows the place of past models of media coverage of people with disabilities and disability issues and illustrates cultural themes about disability that resonate through U.S. culture. As I have argued, the ADA represents a paradigm shift in how the U.S. culture will interact with people with disabilities in the future, and an analysis of the crawl-md offers significant baseline data as the paradigm begins to shift.

In March 1990, the Americans with Disabilities Act was slowly gaining consideration by the U.S. House of Representatives. It had been passed by the U.S. Senate in September 1989. In March 1990, disability activists descended on the U.S. Capitol to meet with the Speaker of the House and Congressional representatives to urge speedy passage of the Act. After the meeting, activists staged a demonstration,
channelling their wheelchairs together in the Capitol Rotunda. They also staged a "crawl-
m," in which protestors left their wheelchairs and crawled up the Capitol steps.

Their actions directly addressed their place as people with disabilities in U.S. society. By breaking from a social category of marginalization and silence, they tried to shock. They were loud, chanting and yelling. They were active, not passive, chaining their wheelchairs and being uncooperative with police. And they deviated from their "handicap" by leaving their wheelchairs and crawling. They knew if they deviated from the silence and passivity society expected of them they would receive media coverage. And they did. Both NBC and CBS covered the protest, as did The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, The Washington Post, and Time magazine.

The disability activists at the Capitol in March 1990 had a specific agenda, which they pursued through actions and words. But the rhetoric of the mainstream media is significant. Media act as mechanisms in the social construction of stereotypes about people with disabilities. Disability scholar Frank Bowe (1978) explains that the United States has spent its entire history designing a country for nondisabled people, thus excluding people with disabilities from buildings, transportation, educational and recreational programs, and communication methods. Because of these barriers, literature and mass media become a crucial component of the process by which people with disabilities are represented in society.

Stones in the media make certain claims about people with disabilities and their actions. Many past studies of media images of disability have been done by
rehabilitation and education researchers to assess whether disabled persons are
maccurately or negattvely portrayed because of physical and social deviations
(Nunnally, 1973, Wemberg and Santana, 1978, Dillon, Byrd, and Byrd, 1980,
1988). However, some mass media scholars are now turnmg therr attentton to the
media presentatton of people with disabihttes

In the 1990s, media scholar John Clogston developed models for use m
quannatlve studies of how media present people with disabihtties. These models fit
well with the assessment of media stones before the ADA existed They also are
useful when apphed to quahtat.ve studies because they help identfify the narrattve
tropes about people with disabihtties embedded m the news stones They have vahdity
m this quahtatve analysis of the crawl-m because the ADA had not yet been passed,
and therefore had not begun its reconstruct.ton of disab1hty m the United States In hls
content analysis of 13 newspapers and three newsmagazmes, Clogston created two
models of media portrayals of people with disabihttes tradittonal and progressive

A tradittonal disabihty category presents a person with a disabihty as
malfuncttonmg m a medical or economic way. Problems arise because an mdividual is
disabled, they do not come from society The tradittonal presentatton is broken mto
two models the medical and the social pathology In the medical model, disabihty is
seen as illness. Persons with a disabihty are dependent on health profess10nals for
cures or maintenence The disabled mdividual is passive and does not parttcipate m
"regular" acttv1ttes because of the d1sab1hty.
As an example of the medical story model, Clogston cites a 1989 story in the Denver Post titled, "Falling into a nightmare -- Accidents frustrate wheelchair-bound Aurora woman." The story focused on the woman's ability to get around in her community. The story concentrated on the limitations of her body rather than the environmental/structural barriers that actually restrict her activities.

In the social pathology model, Clogston cites a Philadelphia Inquirer story on Oct 26, 1989 titled "PA appeals court order on funding," in which the state of Pennsylvania was appealing a federal court order that it should spend $75 million on programs for people with mental disabilities in Philadelphia. The message is that disabled persons are costly and the state does not see their programs as worth funding.

Clogston has since added a third category under the traditional model, which he calls the superhuman model (Personal communication, 1993). People with disabilities are presented as "superhuman" because of physical accomplishments or "amazing" because they behave as nondisabled people and seem to have "overcome" their disability. For example, a story in the Dec 10, 1989 Boston Globe Sunday Magazine writes, "Michael Pierschall is an American furniture maker whose career has been complicated by the sudden deafness he suffered as a freshman in college" (Clogston, 1990, p. 8). The implication is that Pierschall makes furniture in spite of being deaf. The story is constructing a connection between physical ability and the mastery of a specific profession and modeling that Pierschall has surmounted this challenge.
For this study of media coverage of the ADA, I developed a fourth traditional model of media presentation that I argue emerges with the growth of ADA stones and overtakes the other three categories. It is the business model. In this model, news media present people with disabilities and their issues as costly to society and businesses especially. Making society accessible for people with disabilities is not really worth the cost and overburdens businesses. It is not a "good value" for society or businesses. Accessible is not profitable, according to the business model of presentation. This model, however, does not truly come into play until the ADA passed and begins to be implemented, and therefore is most useful in the quantitative analysts of ADA coverage.

On the other hand, the progressive category views people as disabled by society, not a physical attribute. The handicap is society's inability to adapt its physical, social, and occupational environment and its attitudes to people with disabilities. The progressive presentation encompasses two Clogston models the minority/civil rights model and the cultural pluralism model.

In the minority/civil rights model, Clogston says the person who has a disability is seen as a member of the disability community, which has legitimate political grievances. As an example in this category, Clogston cites a Oct 2, 1989 story in the Boston Globe headlined "Civil rights issue divides employers, disabled workers." The story relates how small businesses lobbying against the Americans with Disabilities Act were working against the interests of some of their employees. The construction of people with disabilities in the story is that they have the right to
accommodatton m the workplace. This model ts highly relevant to both the quahtatlve and quantitative study of ADA coverage.

In the cultural plurahsm model, the person who ts disabled ts seen as a multifaceted person and his or her d1sab1hty does not receive undue attention They are portrayed as nond1sabled people would be For example on Oct 31, 1989, the Phtladelphhta Inquirer did a story about Ronald D Casttle who was runnmg for re-election as Phtladelphhta dtstntct attorney The story Just mentioned, but dtd not focus upon, Castdle as a disabled Vietnam war veteran Unlike a supercnp story, this story dtd not hold Castille up as extra special because of a d1sab1hty The d1sab1hty 1s treated as Just one facet of his whole persona.

Agam, I have created two more models of media presentation that are more relevant to ADA coverage One category, which ts essentially the cap1tahsttc fl1ps1de of the busmess model, I call the consumer model Wlth this media representation model, people with d1sab1httes represent an untapped consumer group Makmg society accessible could be profitable to busmesses and society m general If people with d1sab1httes have access to Jobs, they will have more disposable mcome If people with disabihttes have Jobs, they will no longer need government assistance.

The other progressive presentation 1s the legal model and speaks to the fact that the ADA 1s c1vtl nghts law. The narrative theme m this media model ts that 1t 1s illegal to treat people with d1sab1httes m certam ways They have legal nghts and may need to sue to guarantee those nghts The ADA ts presented as a legal tool to halt d1scnmmmat10n.
Once again, the consumer and legal models do not become as relevant until the coverage of the ADA increases. It should also be remembered that in my use of these models, they are not mutually exclusive. Several models may appear in one story and may even compete, as I will illustrate in the qualitative analyses.

I have previously used Clogston's models in another study of media representations of disability activism. The disability rights event assisted in laying the groundwork for further disability rights activities and helped prepare the press for what was to follow in just two years, I argue. In 1991, I undertook a quantitative study of the 1988 Deaf President Now movement at Gallaudet University in Washington, DC. The media event centered on the student protest at the world's only university for deaf people. Students shut down the campus for seven days after a hearing woman was appointed as university president over two qualified deaf candidates. She knew no sign language, which is considered by many deaf people to be their native language (Padden and Humphnes, 1988), and had no knowledge of the cultural traditions of deaf people.

I studied the presentation of deaf people in the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* in the years before, during, and after the Deaf President Now protest. My findings showed how the presentation of deaf persons in the media shifted. The traditional categories — medical and social pathology — accounted for 62 percent of the stones in the two years before the Deaf President Now protest. Stones reflecting that model dropped to 24 percent during the year of the protest (1988), and stayed lower at 40 percent in the two years following the protest. The progressive model
categories -- minority/civil rights and cultural pluralism -- fit squarely with the kinds of stories written about the Gallaudet protest. Deaf people were presented as a distinctive community with a valid political agenda. This progressive presentation continued in the two years after the protest, with the progressive model accounting for 60 percent of the stories.

The study of disability activism illustrates a divergence from the findings of Clogston in his study of general interest stories about people with disabilities. He found that more than 60 percent of the articles (N = 585) covered disability under the traditional category, meaning that it is reported on as a medical or social welfare issue. Only 13.2 percent of the articles presented people with disabilities within the minority-civil rights category. However, a majority of the articles (62.6 percent) were issue-oriented, as opposed to individual-oriented, showing that disability is covered more seriously than expected.

From his findings, Clogston concluded that "while the state of news coverage of disability issues is not hopeless, it has a long way to go to be considered 'progressive'" (1990, p. 12). He finds it disconcerting that one of the country's agenda-setting newspapers, the New York Times, had a larger number of stories in traditional categories than the overall group of articles. Because the New York Times and other elite newspapers set the standards for other media in the United States, their construction of people with disabilities within traditional categories has ramifications for attitude changes toward people with disabilities that disability activists want to
accomplish Clogston says his study indicates that the disability rights movement still has much work to do to educate the general public and the news media.

I argue, through my studies of media coverage of disability activism and current study of coverage of the ADA, that those more traditional and stereotypical images are competing with newer images supplied by an active disability rights agenda and new federal legislation.

It should be noted that although stories about disability and people with disabilities do enter news media stories fairly frequently, disability activism and the media coverage of it has represented regional pockets rather than what could be understood to be a nationwide movement. For example, illustrations of past disability activism include protests over the lack of implementing of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1973, protests over the accessibility of buses in some cities, and demonstrations about proposed funding cuts of disability programs.

These actions set a precedent for designing the crawl in 1990. Disability activists knew they would have to go to great lengths to draw national media attention. It was understood that the Americans with Disabilities Act that they were in Washington to support was crucial to the civil rights of the estimated 43 million people with disabilities in the United States.

So the activism at the U.S. Capitol in 1990 had several components. To pull together the people there into a cohesive disability movement and to let legislators and U.S. citizens know the importance of the ADA to people with disabilities. Therefore,
draw10g national media attention would assist 10 gettmg the ADA and disability issues mto pubbc discourse.

The activists were fighting for the place of the ADA in pubbc discourse because the lack of attention the Act was receiv10g potentially threatened 1ts vtabhty to the US. Congress Therr dramatic protest of leavmg therr wheelchairs and crawl10g up the Capitol steps was partially successful, especially with the play 1t received on the network news and 10 large ccrrculat10n pubhcat1ons ABC and the local newspaper demed them a place m the Jounahsttc discourse of that day The Washington Post ran a six-paragraph story that dtid not mention the crawl-m (Buckley, 1990 March 14) The £Qst reported on the protest completely as a pohce story, explatmng the reason for the arrest of about 100 people with d1sab1bttes The only source mentioned m the story was a spokesperson for the U S Capitol Pohce, who said "they were asked to leave the rotunda, but refused" (Buckley, 1990 March 14, p. B4) The D1sab1hty Rag, a d1sab1hty nghts pubhcatton, claims that the £Qst refused to cover the protest and called 1t "a pathetic demonstration" 10 its ombudsman column ("The crawl-10," 1990, p 21).

But other national media covered the disab1hty activism as a deserv10g hard news story The Los Angeles Times wrote a medmm-length story that appeared on page A27 (Eaton, 1990 March 13). It followed up the day after the protest with a one-paragraph story explammg the arrest of disabled protestors (Officers arrest 104, Los. Angeles Times, 1990 March 14)
The **New York Times** wrote an 11-paragraph story the day after the protest (Holmes, 1990 March 14), but followed up with an analysis article about disability rights 10 its Sunday section (Holmes, 1990 March 18) **Time** magazine ran a two-paragraph story in its American Notes section, but ran the most dramatic photo of all the media sources, which pictured a close-up of a disability activist pulling himself up a step of the Capitol (A crawl-mat Capitol, **Time**, 1990 March 26) NBC and ABC both ran about 30-second stories on the protest.

More important than the amount of coverage of the crawl-m is the rhetorical dimension of the media stories.

Some other less privileged and less fortunate people were desperately trying to rock the boat on Capitol Hill today. About 60 disabled people demonstrated demanding passage of a bill to outlaw discrimination against them in employment, transportation, and other areas. The bill passed the Senate last year but is now bogged down in the House (Brokaw, 1990).

Tom Brokaw, in the NBC story about the Capitol demonstration, illustrates the social pathology model of disadvantage associated with people with disabilities. Brokaw tells TV viewers that people with disabilities are "less fortunate," "less privileged," and "desperate." These people with disabilities must appeal to the state to get help. Falling into Clogston's traditional model, the problems people with disabilities face are with themselves, not with society's barriers.

People with disabilities reside in a peripheral place in society, according to Brokaw's characterization, because they must "rock the boat" to get their demands met. Their demands are presented as valid because discrimination against them is
acknowledged, but the legislation necessary to fix their problems is "bogged down," which puts a questmn mark around therr needs.

In addition, this NBC story does not present people with disabihtles as if they can speak for themselves There is no sound bite from any dlsab1hty activist, only Brokaw's three-sentence v01ce over. The sound of activists chanting "ADA Now" does filter mto the background, and there 1s a shot of I Kmg Jordan, the president of Gallaudet Umvers1ty, who ts deaf, s1gnmg and speakmg

However, at a broader level, the fact that NBC news decided to cover the protest and show the crawl-m m the story reflects that the larger progressive portrayal of dlsab1hty c1vtl nghts 1s makmg 1t mto Joumahstlc discourse Although at the level of language, this news story still presents people with dlsab1ht1es w1thm a medical or social pathology models, 1t is allowmg the entry of the mmonty/c1vtl nghts model mto the social construction

Dan Rather's language m the CBS illustrates also how the c1vtl nghts perspective enters the stones

Several hundred people m wheelcharrs demonstrated m the nation's Capitol today They lobbied for a c1vtl nghts act for Amencans with dlsab1ht1es Even though the U S Capitol itself has wheelchair ramps, they dramatized their general problems with access by crawhng up the Capitol steps

Rather helps vahdate the ADA by calhng 1t a c1vtl nghts act The lmpcat1on 1s that these dlsab1lity activists are followmg a tradition of activism by oppressed groups to gam broader c1vll nghts However, his rhetocone also pacifies the TV audience by
letting them know that the activists are crawling up the steps for symbol alone and that
the Capitol is accessible. Therefore, the audience may receive a false sense about the
accessibility of society, which is mostly accessible to people who use wheelchairs.
Rather fails to put the Capitol steps comment in context. The reason the federal
buildings are accessible is because of the Rehab Act of 1973, which disability activists
had to fight for with sit-ins in federal and state buildings across the country in the
mid-1970s. Rather could have done a better job. Journalistically had he added one
sentence to his voice over mentioning what percentage of U.S. buildings are
accessible to wheelchair users. This would have given the TV audience significant
information, and validated the protestors' symbolic actions.

The language in the print stories embodied some similar claims about the
demonstration, shifting between traditional categories and the civil rights idea that
Americans should be allowed to lobby for their beliefs. *Time* magazine wrote with a
gee-whiz attitude that "there had never been such a sight at the entrance of the U.S.
Capitol" as the crawl-in, but that "the climb was not really necessary" (A crawl-in,
*Time*, 1990 March 26, p. 25). The disability activists are framed as "supercilious," who
are doing amazing things in the name of a protest. They designed a protest that is
clearly better than one by non-disabled people because they can use their disabled bodies to
shock. However, by pointing out that crawling up the steps was not necessary because
wheelchair lifts and ramps are available at the Capitol, once again the activists' action
is characterized as symbol rather than reality. This chipped away at the symbolic
nature of their crawling up the steps.
The New York Times employed similar conventions saying that the activists "demonstrated" and they "had intended to be arrested" (Holmes, 1990 March 14, p B7). Thus, people with disabilities are constructed as culturally plural and given the ability to be active and vocal. Disability activists are constructed as being able to manipulate the police for the attention that provides, just as any other activist group might.

The Los Angeles Times said people with disabilities were "crawling up the Capitol steps to dramatize the barriers confronting them" (Eaton, 1990, March 13, p A27). The LA Times also characterized protestors as "grumbling" about the situation with the ADA, their lobbying effort was called "unusual," but that the protest "had some of the fervor of a civil rights rally of the 1960s." Thus, the Times combines two conflicting tropes. People with disabilities are unusual in the medical model because of the physical deviations of their bodies, yet people with disabilities are able to come together to form a minority group with real civil rights concerns.

The analysis of the protest by the New York Times tries to reflect the protest within the minority/civil rights trope, but falls into traditional rhetoric periodically. Although acknowledged as a cultural and political movement, the disability rights movement is characterized as a product of better technology.

In many ways, it is a byproduct of the technological revolution. Breakthroughs in medicine, the development of computers that allow the hearing and speech impaired to use telephones, and advancements in motorized wheelchairs have meant more people with severe handicaps have longer, can do more for themselves and have the potential for enjoying fuller lives (Holmes, 1990 March 18, p. ES).
However, what is not said is that this technology while empowering some people allows for more social control of people with disabilities. Technology is expensive and therefore people with disabilities must prove their eligibility for the technology. Technology also feeds into class issues and the issue of the status of certain disabilities. For example, an empowered middle class person with a mobility disability can advocate for him or herself and may have medical insurance for the best wheelchair. A poor person with a speech disability may have a more difficult time accessing needed technology because the disability hinders communication. The technology in the *Times* story is not presented as a civil right but as support that society gives as a gift to "disadvantaged" people with disabilities. The idea of the gift instead of the civil right presents people with disabilities as dependent.

As for the Americans with Disabilities Act, Llachowitz (1988) has shown in her research that disability legislation has played a crucial role in the social construction of people with disabilities in the United States. The ADA, however, is different because people with disabilities fought for the creation of this legislation because of the discrimination against them in society. They are trying to have some control in the legislative system that has so much power to define them.

Some of the language in the newspapers reflects that society may not yet understand what this empowerment means to the oppressed disability community. The *New York Times* story on the protest pointed out how disability activists were breaking laws and practicing deviance. It focused on their demonstration in the Capitol as illegal under federal law (Holmes, 1990 March 14). It explained how police had to
dress m not gear and use cham cutters and acetylene torches to cut the chams that were used to link wheelchairs. This aspect of story shows how the business model of media representation begins to enter the discourse. The story's focus constructs the protest as costing time and money, forcing tourists out of the Capitol and requiring two hours for police to unlock the protestors.

On the other hand, disability demonstrators are being characterized as just another activist group causing an uproar because of perceived injustices. The claims of civil rights are being reported in most of the media stories, but are also being defused by their characterization as deviant and breaking conventions on their place in society.

The visual dimensions of the crawl—continue the narrative with images that show the competing models of media representations. The New York Times even took note of the images.

The pictures were stnk10g, Just as they were intended to be. Children paralyzed from the waist down crawling up the steps of the Capitol, and more than 100 protesters, most in wheelchairs, being arrested by police officers 10 not gear after a raucous demonstration in the Rotunda (Holmes, 1990 March 18, p ES).

Disability activists knew they had strong, dramatic images for news photographers. But what ended up on TV and in the newspapers and magazines also contributed to the social construction of disability.

On NBC News, the story showed one person pushing another person in a wheelchair in front of the Capitol. The person using the wheelchair has a large U.S.
flag attached to the chatr They are followed by a person m an electric wheelchair speedmg by and someone walkmg by. The next shot shows I Kmg Jordan, the president of Gallaudet Umvers1ty, surrounded by people m wheelcharrs and standmg, sigmng and chantmg. These images show a calm, not fiery, demonstration. They are framed as Amencans usmg therr nght of free speech with the images of the flag and speakers before the Capitol

More mteresting 1s the choice of images related to the "crawl-m " Dozens of disabihty activists challenged the notion of what a disabled body could do by leavmg therr wheelcharrs and crawlmg up the Capitol step!, They tned to make access issues visual, showmg how starrs deny entry to people who use wheelchairs

The NBC story filmed a chdd crawlmg up the steps. Brokaw said "8-year-old Jenmfer Keelan left her wheelchatr and dragged herself up the steps saymg 'I'll take all rught 1f I have to " The Los Angeles Times story also mentioned Keelan, saymg "spectators' attention focused on 8-year-old Jenmfer Keelan of Denver, who propelled herself to the top of the steep stone steps usmg only her knees and elbows" (Eaton, 1990 March 13, p A27) NBC showed the blond and smiling Keelan hft herself up with her arms, putting her face to a step to hft her knees She then mches along on her stomach by pullmg with her arms

In hght of the attention on Jenrufer Keelan, The D1sab1hty Rag questioned the use of the crawl-m as a media image It said the image of a chtld crawlmg up the steps cheered on by her mother "seemed to smack, ever so famtly, of opportunism" (p 21)
One might wonder why a movement whose purpose has been to steadfastly insist that it is wrong for disabled people to have to mount barriers like steps would then choose as its central civil rights image the vision of them doing just that. One might question why a movement intent on showing that disabled people are adults, not children, would make their central media image a child (The crawl-m, 1990, p. 21).

It is interesting that NBC rejected shots of the numerous adults crawling up the steps for a shot of a child. Nearby to Jennifer Keelan, 33-year-old Paulette Patterson pulled herself up the steps on her back saying "I want my civil rights. I want to be treated like a human being" (Eaton, 1990, March 13, p. A27). But children are deemed by society as cute and non-threatening. Non-disabled children crawl up steps while at play, so Jennifer Keelan can create the illusion that she is not disabled. A better journalistic story would have used less of its time filming a child crawl up steps and more time allowing the protest organizers to tell the "who, what, and why" of the Americans with Disabilities Act, which was still awaiting Congressional approval.

Knoll (1987) has developed 83 categories for use in assessing the photos of people with disabilities in a qualitative way. One of Knoll's interpretive categories tries to assess whether visual images of people with disabilities are portraying them as childlike or as children. I argue that using a child as a symbol in the NBC story fits with Knoll's categorization. The use of Jennifer Keelan fits within a traditional trope of people with disabilities as children who need to be taken care of by society. Children with disabilities also evoke greater pity and represent more tragedy in the eyes of society because they have a lifetime of disability before them.
In contrast, another image of the crawl-m in *Time* magazine pictured a man shdmg up the Capitol steps. He 1s bearded with long harr and a headband. The two male activists near him look similar. Part of the Capitol is visible in the background, which is not the case in the Keelan shot. The image of these men harkens back to images of the anti-Vietnam war protests of the 1960s. They exude a more radical and a more civil rights image than that of Keelan. The *Time* photo fits with Knoll's "This 1s Me" category, in which the person with a disability is shown as self-assertive.

The CBS images fit strongly with the monty group/civil rights model. The focus was not on one person but on a group of protesters with the signs and symbols of activism. The shot of the crawl-m pictured five to six adults, of different races and genders, pulling themselves up the steps. The group shot emphasized the issue at hand rather than focusing on one "supercorp." However, this TV story also neglected to give people with disabilities a voice. There was no interview with an activist about the issue, only Rather's voice over. So the TV production staff was in primary control of both the images and the rhetoric of the crawl-m story. And ABC negated the crawl-m story altogether by doing no story on the protest.

The only other still photo of the demonstration does not depict the crawl-m. It is a photo distributed by The Associated Press and ran with the analysis article in The *New York Times* (Holmes, 1990 March 18). It shows three people in wheelchairs sitting in a circle. Behind them is a flag, and behind that is the US Capitol. The people in the picture look to be calmly chatting. The only radical nature to the photo is that the one person using a wheelchair who faces the camera has on a headband,
sunglasses, and a beard, and looks visually like a Vietnam veteran. But overall, the photo exudes tranquility and Americana. Most concepts of protest have been defused in the photo. The cutline even calls the protest "a rally." This photo depicts the disability protestors as passive, rather than active. It combines the aura of monty group status with the traditional trope of people with disabilities as passive recipients of aid from society.

Some of this use of traditional stereotypes to present people with disabilities may result not only from traditional cultural norms but also from the disability activists' push to truly educate news reporters. At the crawl-m, it seems shock techniques took some precedence over promoting an agenda for societal change to the media. The Disability Rag criticized the organizers of the demonstration for not properly considering the logistics of getting good information to the media. Press materials were not created until three days before the event. Participants in the demonstration were not given instruction as to how to answer questions for the press. "As a result, many individuals simply got the story wrong. They told reporters the wrong facts. They told reporters contradictory facts. Or they were able to tell them nothing at all." ("Opportunities lost," 1990, p. 31).

The Rag acknowledged that the mainstream media were ready and willing to cover the disability rights movement, but leaders of the movement were too busy organizing to deal with the media. ADAPT organizer Mark Johnson has said ADAPT, which stages many disability rights demonstrations nationwide, aims to build community rather than lobby or pass bills. But The Rag questions whether that
precludes ADAPT members from being articulate with the media. It said the
demonstrators missed many opportunities to tell reporters what rights the Americans
with Disabilities Act will give people with disabilities

For the Americans with Disabilities Act this spring in
D.C. that meant talking to reporters about the right to eat
in a restaurant. The right to go to the toilet in a public
restroom. The right to be hired in a store. But none of us,
told those stories. None of us told the specifics of what
individual members of Congress were doing. In real
terms, to prevent that we could have easily told those
stories, too. We missed a golden opportunity
("Opportunity lost," 1990, p. 31)

Therefore, the resulting media images of disability protest are also a function of a
disability rights movement that is still in the learning stage with regards to controlling
the image of people with disabilities in the news media. This qualitative analysts
illustrates how media frames can potentially shift and shade as cultural situations
change. As Hall (1979) has explained, news media frames are "contested terrains" in
which different sides of an issue battle for control over presentation and language. The
1990 crawl at the U.S. Capitol in support of the Americans with Disabilities Act
shows that the activities of disability activists are resulting in the gradual shifts that are
taking place in the media's social construction of disability. As Clogston has shown in
the media models representing disability, their traditional constructions have been ones
associated with medical dependency, superhuman feats, or a disadvantaged status in
society. These constructions still hold true in much of the rhetoric and images in
media stories about people with disabilities.
However, when people with disabilities engage in vigorous protest for their rights, these traditional tropes become more malleable. When disability activists pull people together as a minority group or social movement, the media accept the civil rights construction delineated by the disability group. A new construction of people with disabilities flows through the media, one that combines some of the old stereotypes with new more progressive constructions.

Lobbying for rights through protests and demonstrations can have even more significant implications for people with disabilities. When they take an active stance and grab the headlines, they are confronting the larger social construction as passive, disadvantaged people. And they plug into the media's news values that reward change, action, and consequence in journalistic discourse. Therefore, the media's powerful place in the social construction of people with disabilities may become a positive, rather than negative, force when disability groups protest discrimination.
CHAPTER 6
DISCUSSION

The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) represents a far-reaching civil rights change for U.S. society mandated by Congress. The extensive media coverage given the ADA reflects the obligatory coverage given major federal legislation. Only rarely did media further contextualize and expand the information given about the Act. As the findings show, coverage of the ADA and its impact already begins to wane a bit in 1993, one year after many of the major compliance dates had passed.

Summary of Key Findings

The coverage of the Americans with Disabilities Act illustrates that the notion of disability rights is only making a moderate amount of headway into news media representations. The coverage is spotty and sometimes shallow and reflects almost no historical context of changes in the treatment of people with disabilities. One might argue that this results because the ADA is not a "big story," whereas stories about health care reform, the Persian Gulf War, or Iran-Contra are. But I disagree. The ADA was and is a "big story" because it attempts to change the fabric of our society. In addition to affecting 43 to 48 million U.S. citizens, it legislates how we organize our workplaces, how we provide access to most of the architectural structures in our country, how we travel, and how we communicate.
Only 288 stones in 12 prestigious newspapers and news magazines over five years focused primarily on the story of the ADA Network television news went for more than a year several times without mentioning the ADA. In their coverage, news media looked narrowly at the ADA, seeming the implication of the moment -- an accessible Mac machine or a new job description that allows for applicants with disabilities. But they often faded to note the cultural changes this new law would bring. They mimicked the language of the law and did a good job of casting the ADA as a civil rights act. But they also presented the norms of U.S. society and the business community by looking often at the upfront cost of the Act, as opposed to long-term cost savings the Act might provide.

The news media misrepresented disability in incidence, race, and gender. They sought out the visible disabilities as examples and missed the fact that more people have hidden disabilities. They portrayed disability in terms of the white middle class. This may reflect the racial and class dynamics of media workers, but is not necessarily representative of their audiences or the U.S. population at large. However, that media representation does accurately reflect the disability rights movement, which is primarily white and middle class. Much of the rights movement also revolves around physical disability that requires wheelchair use. A 1994 article in a disability-related publication even questioned whether the disability rights movement is racist (Backman, 1994). The contradiction within the rights movement is this "White ethnic and racial minority groups are disproportionately susceptible to disability, the leadership of the disability rights movement is mostly white" (Backman, p 24). Because communities go
to official sources for much of their information, they relied heavily on official representatives of disability groups in reporting the ADA story. These groups have a predominately white and middle class membership.

The nature of the ADA story, however, did not allow the media to use the traditional stereotypes, which present people with disabilities as medical problems in need of a cure or as superhuman. This story forced the news media to acknowledge people with disabilities as having minority group status and deserving full civil rights. The media accepted this frame of representation because the federal government gave it to them. The mainstream news media serve popular imagination as the "watchdogs" of government through investigative reporting. But more often than not, studies show they are compliant vehicles for the rhetoric of the federal government. In this case, that tendency served the interests of the disability rights movement. The news media had little knowledge of the disability rights agenda, so they had to rely on governmental rhetoric and disability sources to tell the ADA story. And because the governmental rhetoric had been fashioned by activists from the disability community, the message of civil rights for people with disabilities flowed to the media without much revision.

**Implications From Research Questions**

Research question one tried to discern the image profile of people with disabilities within the stones and images on the ADA. This profile is one of a white middle-class adult who is typically a wheelchair user. It is interesting that children and
teens so rarely appeared in stones or pictures. On the one hand, news media may have avoided young people for fear of seeming exploitative, but most likely this resulted because of the legislative nature of the story. The media sought to interview and photograph people who were already active in the disability community and people of working age who may face job discrimination. One anomaly to the age demographics comes in the qualitative assessment in which TV reports focused on an 8-year-old child marching up the U.S. Capitol steps. I argue that a child was used in this case to diffuse the uncomfortable body images expressed by adults with disabilities crawling. In line with this, few people with severe disfigurements were pictured. Again, I think the media are trying to protect its audience from alarming images of the body.

Also, most of the people with disabilities are smiling or have a benign expression. I see this as a function of the photographic process. In posed pictures, subjects normally smile, even if they are not asked to smile. Interestingly, media took little notice of all the new technology available to people with disabilities. On the one hand, that helped avoid any "gee whiz, isn't that amazing" stones, but on the other hand, it denied the audience knowledge about significant tools that are helping better integrate people with disabilities into society. Also, by ignoring these tools, the stones did not reflect the diversity of disabilities, i.e., people with mental retardation or people with cerebral palsy who able to integrate themselves into society with assistance from new technology.

Research question two looked at the ADA story as a site of competition for several different perspectives -- the disability rights perspective, the business...
perspective, and the traditional stereotyping perspective. The business perspective made its way into the stones but it did not dominate. The traditional stereotyping perspective showed up only in subtle ways and was rarely prevalent. As discussed, I believe the disability rights perspective was the most prevalent in the ADA stones because of the media's reliance on the federal government for information about the legislation.

Research questions three and four address these subtle instances of traditional stereotypes of people with disabilities in the media. The ADA stones typically took on newer themes of representation about people with disabilities. On the negative side, they were presented as costly to society, but on the positive side, they were seen as a minority group deserving of civil rights, as having legal tools at their disposal, and as being an untapped consumer group or workforce. I must admit that I believe the ADA is a different kind of disability story and that is why it rejects the stereotypes of the past. I do not think those stereotypes are forgotten, but they had no place in this particular story. It shall be interesting to see if general stones about people with disabilities in the ADA-implementation years will retain some of the disability rights focus found in the ADA-specific stones. I would also like to know if the three models I created for the ADA-specific stones hold true for other types of disability stones. I do foresee those three models being applicable in the general stones because of the paradigm shift I have talked about. My 1991 research on the media representations of the deaf community showed that news media do learn from these cultural changes.
significant contribution to future mass communication research on media and disability.

Research question five looks at the relationship between the news media and federal government. As discussed in the above summary, the federal government played a large role in defining the ADA story for news media. The news media questioned the government's frame only in terms of business side of the story. The media rarely expanded past the government's frame to look at alternative views of the long-term impact, which would have been represented in more prevalence of the consumer model in the stories. Once again, this dissertation confirms news media reliance on government sources and official sources of knowledge.

Research question six addressed the theoretical underpinning of this research -- agenda setting. The number of stories written and produced in the elite news media represents one aspect of agenda setting. The news media put the ADA seemingly low on the agenda and possibly as a result only 18% of the U.S. public had heard of the Act in 1991 (Loms Harns, 1991). In addition, mentions of the ADA surfaced most often in the neighbor or suburban section of newspapers (24.8%). The front sections and metro sections were the next most prevalent at 21% each. And 14.7% of the ADA stories were in the business section. So, many of the ADA stories were not in the main sections of the newspaper but in the less prestigious neighbor section. Like ethnic minority groups and other stigmatized groups, the disability community still resides somewhat in the periphery of media coverage. But the coverage issues are more complex than just numbers and placements of stories.
Also important is the role of the news media in framing disability issues for the general public. As reported, architectural, communication, and occupational barriers still exist in U.S. society and much of the general public therefore gets its information about disability from non-fiction and fiction media. Higgens (1992) says the U.S. society "makes disability" through our language, media, and other public ways. The depiction of the ADA helps us understand the media's role in "constructing" people with disabilities as different, as well as the media's role in framing many types of people who may not fit with "mainstream" constructions. So news media are significant components in setting the agenda on disability issues. Two primary frames competed in the bulk of the ADA stories: the narrative of business and the narrative of civil rights.

The narrative of civil rights and minority group politics dominated throughout the stories, primarily because that was the rhetoric contained in the ADA and that was the rhetoric pushed by disability rights activists. Watson (1993) says that was the greatest accomplishment of the disability community in getting the bill passed. First, it established the bipartisan nature of the Act and then established the reason for the ADA -- "that its protections were an issue of civil rights rather than a chantable obligation or some other rationale" (p. 29). That narrative was perpetuated from the beginnings of the Act through the present. A secondary rationale used by the disability community was one of cost-effectiveness. Society is better off if people with disabilities become taxpayers instead of tax beneficiaries. This is what I referred to as the consumer model. And its narrative did take a lesser role in the media framing.
probably because the disability community backed away from it some when confronted by business. The narrative they hung onto most strongly, therefore, was "civil rights regardless of cost," Watson said (p 30). The civil rights narrative was also hinged to fighting the same discrimination faced by ethnic minorities and women, but those connections were less often made in the media stories. The consistent presentation of the civil rights frame speaks to the concept I proposed about the ADA causing a paradigm shift. In one sense, people with disabilities and their issues are beginning to be framed as entitled to the same equity and freedom from discrimination that all U.S. citizens deserve.

It should be noted that the ADA represents a point at which both the government and the disability rights movement can "own," in Gusfield's term (1981), the problem of discrimination against people with disabilities. For decades, disability has been defined and framed by government through legislation on war veterans, rehabilitation, education, and social security. According to Gusfield, a group must "own" a problem to have the power to frame it in the public sphere. In the late 1980s, the disability rights movement began gaining this power. Members of movement worked from inside and outside the government to craft the ADA. The movement had learned how significant it was to "own" its problems. As Scotch (1988, p 168) explains, "The disability rights movement is one in which the way an issue was framed had serious effects on both movement participants and the ability of the movement to influence public policies (as was also the case with the problem of drunk driving -- Gusfield, 1981)." The federal government finally accepted the disability
The news media embraced the civil rights frame and temporarily forgot about the chanty theme it uses in many stories about disability issues. But the business community, fearing the financial ramifications of the ADA, supplied information to the media for a new frame to emerge -- that the ADA would be costly to business. It is not surprising that the news media would embrace business, considering media are businesses. But more importantly, these journalists ply their trade in the capitalist society of the United States. As Gans (1980) has argued, news media embody a belief in the goodness of a free market economy. In a more critical approach, Dmes (1992) has called the media "capitalism's pitchmen" because of the conservative nature of the sources they use. Her content analysis of the "voices" on network news illustrated that white, male, conservatives speak most often and the perspective of the Left gets little attention. Shoemaker and Reese (1991) say this fits with the basic ideology for the United States:

Fundamental is a belief in the value of the capitalist economic system, private ownership, pursuit of profit by self-interested entrepreneurs, and free markets. This system is intertwined with the Protestant ethic and the value of individual achievement (Shoemaker and Reese, 1991, p. 184).

This ideology was perpetuated and embodied by the business focus found in the ADA stories.
The reliance of these two primary types of frames may have shut out other kinds of information that were significant to the ADA story or stories about disability issues. One frame that should have emerged in 1992-93 was whether the ADA was being effective. But the media followed its norm of event-driven journalism, and only rarely stepped into its watchdog role to scrutinize the impact and enforcement of the ADA. That scrutiny usually came from a lawsuit-related story on someone suing for access or workplace accommodation under the ADA. Mostly, news media shrank its investigative role to assess the ADA. There were a few exceptions, however. The Wall Street Journal, for example, wrote a 1993 story headlined "Disabilities act helps -- but not much. Disabled people aren't getting more job offers" (Quamamilla, 1993, p Bl). The story explained that more people with disabilities had yet to move into the workplace because of the ADA. And a Washington Post story explained how a school guidance counselor with MS in New York had been trying to use the ADA to receive workplace accommodation with no success (Mathews, 1993). But these types of scrutinizing stories were few and far between. Once again, as Olten, Tichenor and Donohue (1989) have called them, the news media became "lap dogs" for mainstream interests, in this case the government that was not quickly and effectively administering the ADA, rather than "watchdogs" for the interests of people affected by the ADA.

Research question seven compares representations in the ADA stories with those of other minority or stigmatized groups. So the incorrect frame news media used in picturing and describing disability are significant because that is often what happens.
to other monty group representations. As mentioned before, the image produced by
the news media was one of a white male wheelcharr user who can't get to his Job or a
retail store Time and again, photos with the ADA stones pictured a young,
professional white male rollmg through a door or up a ramp. For example, a lobbyist
for the Paralyzed Veterans Adminstrat10n 1s pictured on a ramp to a D.C sandwich
shop (Herndon, 1990) ; a psychotherapist sits before hts accessible van (Barnard,
1992), or a New Jersey dlsab1hty act1v1st commuruty leader uses the wheelcharr
entrance at a tram stop (Gekosla, 1992). In a story in the Los Angeles Times, a
Latina woman with a dtsab1hty was quoted extensively m the article, yet the photos
were of a white male wheelcharr user who was not even a source m the story
(Newton, 1990). In contrast, two pictures of African Americans with dlsab1ht1es m the
Phladelphia Inquirer depicted a mentally disabled young man worlang at a
manufacturing plant and a mentally disabled young woman working at a Pizza Hut
(Cortes, 1990, Barger, 1990) This helps misrepresent the more substantiated facts of
class, race, and gender related to dlsab1hty. Agam, it should be noted that media
reflecting the leaders m the area of dlsab1hty rights, who are mostly white and middle
class. With regard to gender, however, most people who have dlsab1ht1es are women,
many have "mvls1ble" dlsab1httes, a s1gruficant number of people with dlsab1ht1es are
unemployed, and a large number of the dlsab1hty commuruty belongs to an ethnic
monty group. In fact, in 1990, an estimated 8.2 mthlon working age adults with
dlsab1t11es wanted to work but were unemployed (National Organization on D1sab1hty,
I argue that wheelchair users are the "representative" disability in the news media for visual, emotional, and cultural reasons. They give journalists and their audiences visual cues on which to hang the story. In print stories especially, they allow the reader's eye to "see" the person in the story even if no photos accompany the article. Diabetes, arthritis, cancer, etc. are not so easy to "picture" in one's head.

Emotionally, people may feel wheelchair use is a definitive state of immobility, and when they transfer themselves into that state empathetically, they don't like what they feel. In addition, AIDS also has similar visual/emotional/cultural cues and that's why it is featured prominently in the ADA stories even though its incidence is actually low when compared to other disabilities or diseases. At a cultural level, disability can still have a negative symbolic meaning even in a fairly routine government story such as the ADA. As Bred and Dardenne (1988) have said, US journalists transmit the stories of American culture. The journalist can be seen as a storyteller, using culturally embedded values, to create a story that is then re-presented to the culture.

The Hegemony of the •Able Body•

This is my term to explain some of the cultural values of disability re-presented in the ADA stories. Certain standards of beauty and ability permeate US culture. The able, unflawed human body is just as much of an ideological concept as capitalism. However, it is a myth with little foundation in reality. Almost 20% of the US population has some form of legally defined disability. Many other people have
chrome illnesses that have not been reported as disability And many more people have acute disabilities or illnesses that temporarily disable them

Then why do the news media, as an arm of U.S. culture, need to frame disability as a Caucasian wheelchair user trying to gain access. Access is probably one of the reasons. Even if wheelchair users have less impairment than other types of disabilities, they still cannot enter the grocery store, post office, garment factory, etc. If these places are not accessible, society "handicaps" wheelchair users with architectural barriers. In addition, the disability rights movement, which counts many wheelchair users among its ranks, contributed to that stereotype to make a more memorable point about civil rights. Altman (1994) explains it this way:

"Visibility becomes paramount in differentiating the "oppressed" from the oppressors. So, during the civil rights movement, we saw black leaders with much darker skins than were generally the case prior to the civil rights movement, when light skin was preferred. In the same way, persons who used wheelchairs became the most effective protestors during the early years of the disability rights movement because of their visibility and because their physical access problems were also visible." (p. 49).

That visibility was used to advocate for rights.

But I would argue that wheelchair users are chosen to represent disability in media also because ambulatory people want to keep a psychic distance from wheelchair users. It's not an accident that most of the stories mentioned wheelchair use when only .05% of the United States uses a wheelchair (based on a US population of 251.8 million). Culturally, we can use that small population to define disability and then the imperfections of the human body don't seem so prevalent. Our
fears of an imperfect body are great Wendell (1989) argues that it is more than just fear of physical difference at work here. Humans can usually identify with people very different from themselves, different genders, different ages, different races. "Something more powerful than being different is at work. Suffering caused by the body, and the ability to control the body, are despised, pitted, and above all, feared. This fear, experienced multiply, is also deeply embedded in our culture" (Wendell, 1989, p. 112). She adds that this cultural need to idealize the body distances both people without disabilities and people with disabilities from their own bodies because no one's body is ever close to the ideal. I would argue, however, that disability also allows us to build a cultural hierarchy of the body, whereby nondisabled people confront their fears about their own body with feelings of superiority over people who use wheelchairs.

In addition, wheelchair use confronts us notions about the body and about independence. It does not allow imperfections to be hidden. Millions more people have arthritis, cancer, mental retardation, hearing impairments, diabetes, epilepsy, but one can ride the bus or sit in a movie theater with people who have any one of those disabilities and not know. There is little confrontation to one's cultural notion of the flawless body or to one's sense of self. All of those conditions also require less visible management. Chemotherapy, hearing aids, insulin, etc. are usually hidden from public view. Wheelchairs are the management technique of paralysis, cerebral palsy, multiple sclerosis, etc. But they are less acceptable because of their visibility, which smashes myths of body perfection. In one study, 28.6% of people surveyed...
agreed that wheelchair use is a tragedy (Patterson and Witten, 1987) The general public and the news media have not yet learned the lesson of disability As one writer who has multiple sclerosis writes, "We've learned -- in the teeth of all the romantic novels and television sitcoms and glossy advertising to the contrary -- that the bodies we inhabit and the ones those bodies carry on need not be perfect to have value" (Marrs, 1994, p. 12).

By culturally defining disability as wheelchair use, we also end up with a small disability minority that we perceive as "dependent." The male cultural notion of rugged individualism and independence permeates America's reaction to disability We shudder at the thought that someone might need assistance with daily living tasks But we also conveniently forget the interdependent nature of most human tasks these days. Most of us are dependent on many other people to grow our food, make our clothes, take care of our children, build our transportation systems, or disseminate our societal information. Some scholars in the area of feminist ethics and disability are beginning to question the US. patrarchal notion of independence. Wendell (1989) writes that many people with disabilities struggle to be independent "in ways that might be considered trivial in a culture less insistent on self-reliance; if our culture valued interdependence much more highly, they could use that energy for more satisfying activities" (p. 118). Only recently have even disability organizations begun questioning this cultural emphasis on independence.

Interestingly, it is the growing multiculturalism in the United States that has lead to different ways of thinking about dependence, independence, and disability.
Sotmk (1994) discusses the ways in which her disability organization learned to de-emphasize independence because of the different cultural notions in Asian American or Hispanic communities especially.

American culture encourages independence for individuals with disabilities; however, cultural/familial tradition in many minority communities holds that families value the interdependence of their members, and families tend to 'take care of their own'. Thus, presenting assistive technology as a means to achieve total independence should be played down in lieu of presenting devices as a means that would help make one's family life easier (Sotmk, 1994, p. 2).

This brings up another crucial finding in the ADA arisen related to the hegemony of the independent "able" body -- that disability is portrayed as primarily European American/Caucasian. Once again, the news media assists in framing the nation in terms of the dominant group -- white. In a public relations sense, it may be favorable to ethnic minority groups to be portrayed as disability free, especially considering cultural notions about disability. But actually perpetuating this frame can have dire consequences to groups already oppressed by the majority. The National Council on Disability reports that because of poverty, unemployment, and poorer health, many members of minority groups may be at higher risk of disability (1993). Minorities with disabilities then may be an invisible subset of an already marginalized group. They, therefore, may not receive services equal to those of other persons with disabilities.
**Language About Disability**

Use of certain terms about people with disabilities is another way in which the news media frame disability. The language about disability can categorize people in the "handicapped role" as helpless, dependent, abnormal, etc (Longmore, 1985). This type of language subjugates people and presents them only in terms of their disability, rather than as multidimensional people. Longmore cites terms like "the handicapped," "the disabled," "the deaf," or "the mentally retarded" in this stigmatization process. These nouns created from adjectives frame people with disabilities in terms of their disabilities. The term handicapped especially has cultural meanings that continue to stereotype people with disabilities. "Handicapped' connotes the miserable image of a person on the street corner with a "handy cap" in hand, begging for money," June Isaacson Kades explains (1988).

In the enactments on the ADA, the term "handicapped" continues to be used by the news media even in the face of much less usage of the term in government and society in general. Government groups such as the National Council on the Handicapped and the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped changed their names several years ago to the National Council on Disability and the President's Committee on the Employment of People with Disabilities (Kades, 1988). The ADA tried to tie more appropriate language to the societal changes it mandated. But it usually was a local or state government choice to embrace what is known as "people first" language. Pennsylvania Governor Robert P Casey mandated "people first" language in an executive order barring discrimination against disability in state government...
All Commonwealth agencies, boards, or commissions under the Governor's Jurisdiction shall use 'people first' language when referring to individuals with disabilities. This includes but is not limited to, press releases, proclamations, brochures, and any other printed material. Agencies' publications are to recognize that individuals with disabilities are people first, with rights, aspirations, and talents possessed by all of us, with their disabilities treated as a significant but secondary factor (Casey, 1992, p. 1).

People first language means saying "a professor with a disability" rather than "a handicapped professor," saying "uses a wheelchair" not "confined to a wheelchair," or "nondisabled" not "normal" (Temple Institute on Disabilities, 1992). When journalists use terminology such as "confined to a wheelchair" or "wheelchair bound," they once again misrepresent disabilities, as well as showing their misunderstanding of the disability experience. Wheelchairs are not binding or confining, but they actually increase mobility, speed, and ability. And for many people, wheelchairs increase their personal freedom (Kalles, 1988).

Other types of negative terminology reinforce a "sick role" or medicalization of disability. The news media in the ADA states sometimes would refer to people who had contracted pohos earlier in life as having been "stricken" with pohos. People with AIDS were sometimes referred to as "AIDS sufferers," "suffering from" AIDS, "AIDS patients," or "victims of" AIDS. Jo Bower explains how dislike of this language has been a bond between many people with different disabilities. "All of us have rejected the terms "victim" and "patient" to describe our relationship to our conditions and instead have chosen terms with dignity, which underscore our..."
personhood primarily and our condition second, as people with HIV or people with disabilities (Bower, 1994, p. 8).

In the ADA stones, news media showed that they are not using medical terms related to disability as much. Other less stereotypic terms such as "wheelchair user," "uses a wheelchair" or "person with AIDS" are being used fairly often. But there is still a high prevalence of the term "handicapped," and journalists seem to be using it interchangeably with "disability." The language use shows how deeply embedded these cultural notions about the able body are. The most recent version of the AP Stylebook, the "bible" on language use for print journalists, says the word "handicap" should not be used in describing a disability (Goldstem, 1993). The Stylebook also tells journalists not to write about a person's disability unless it is pertinent to the story. It admonishes writers not to use the term "wheelchair-bound" because "a person may use a wheelchair occasionally or may have to use it for mobility" (Goldstem, 1993, p. 98). Therefore, in using incorrect language about disability, they have rejected some of the rules of their profession. I would argue that the embedded cultural beliefs, or the hegemony of the able body, overtook their professional norms.

In other instances, linguistic norms caused some of the inappropriate language. In addition to the stereotypic process, many people incorrectly create a noun from an adjective when using the term "The disabled." I would argue that part of the reason "The disabled" is the most popular term in the ADA stones or any news story is because it is the shortest. It fits well with journalistic norms of brevity. It seems
obvious that the reason "handicapped" and "The handicapped" are rarely in headlines of the ADA stories is because it is lengthy terminology.

As with other oppressed groups in society, language is a site of struggle. The disability community is still defining its terminology, but "people with disabilities" is currently most accepted. Katles says "a significant element in the struggle for basic human rights is what people call themselves. Disability culture is the commonalty of the experience of having with a disability and language is one of the keys to acknowledging this culture" (p. 5). Therefore, if news media fail to perpetuate the accepted language about that culture, the disability culture is subjugated.

**Implications for Further Research**

Audience research would be a solid next step to continue to validate what the media content means. There needs to be better understanding of what the general public is learning about disability from a variety of media, as well as assessing what media portrayals of disabilities mean to the self-concept of people with disabilities. In addition to surveys, experiments, and focus groups could gather detailed information about audience response to specific language and specific images. A larger study of reporters' attitudes is called for as well. Journalists are the people who relay many of our cultural messages about disability, so understanding their attitudes can be crucial.

At the qualitative level, more study of the cultural notions about disability perpetuated through media could prove significant. Disability scholars do much work in this area but much of it does not filter into the academic disciplines. Better links...
between disability and other stigmatized groups in our society need to be made, so we can better understand the language and image of marginalization in the United States. We need to learn more about issues of class, race, gender, etc. and its relationship to disability and other marginalized groups.

Future studies of disability and media need to look to the past and the future. These findings of the ADA need a point of comparison, and that means a study of news media coverage of the Rehab Act of 1973 should be undertaken. That Act began the societal shifts that discouraged discrimination against people with disabilities. But those mandates were not totally successful. U.S. society seems more willing to accept equal rights based on disability in the 1990s, but the effectiveness of the ADA still remains to be seen. If news media decide to drop their coverage of serious disability rights issues, some of the current cultural strength of the ADA may fade. So studies of media coverage of future disability issues are needed. In this way, communication scholars can assess how what our media say about disability affects our cultural perceptions of physical and mental differences.
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Recent action m the Congress. (1989 December). Congressional Digest, p. 293.


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APPENDIX A
CODING GUIDELINES

Stories dealing with the Americans with Disabilities Act from 1988 through 1993 are to be coded. If an item is not mentioned in the coding guidelines, it is because it is self-explanatory on the coding sheet. Any additional questions will be answered by the researcher during the coder training.

1. Article Number: It is the circled number at the top of each article or photo.

2. The newspaper name will either be written near the story or be on the back of the article in the abstract.

3. Date should be entered with zeros to hold spaces for single digit dates. Also, the "19" part of the year should not be written down. Example: 010792 (January 7, 1992).

4. Section will be written near the article. Sometimes the abstract on the back does not clearly tell which section the story is in. The exception is the A section, which is indicated on the abstract. All A sections in these newspapers are national/international. The news magazines may not have readily identifiable sections. If not, choose zero. However, the story may be listed under a section heading such as Business or Lifestyle. The Wall Street Journal has different sections than the metro newspapers. List its sections, Marketplace (B section) and Money and Investing (C) in the other category separately. For the Christian Science Monitor, unless you see a section heading on the page, choose zero. The suburban sections are usually called Weekly...
such as the Gwmnett Weekly in the Atlanta paper or the Northwest Weekly in the Boston Globe

5 Page number should be on abstract on back of article. But the page number handwritten on the front takes precedence over the abstract because sometimes the page numbers do not reflect the front of a section. If there is a nameplate on the page indicating business or metro, that means it's a section front.

6 Front of section is indicated by the page number one, e.g., Bl, Cl, etc.

7 The abstract will indicate the length of the story either in inches or by saying short, medium, long, etc. The Philadelphia Inquirer stories are indicated by number of words at the top of the story. If you have no abstract, use a ruler to measure the story in inches.

8 Byline gender will rely on traditional genders of name; for example, "Mark" is a male name and "Laune" is a female name. Names unfamiliar to you or androgynous names such as Sandy or Qumn would be assigned number 5.

9 Type of story. A hard news story will refer to a specific event, meeting, government decision, or lawsuit that most likely took place the day before. Example: The president's signing the ADA is a hard news story. A feature story will be less likely to be tied to a specific event or time. It might be tied to a person. Example: It could be a personality profile of someone who helped get the ADA passed. A meeting/event nonce tells of an upcoming event or meeting. A news analysis will usually be labeled as such or be in the review section. The author usually will indicate more of a perspective in a news analysis story. Specialty columns will be labeled with
a recurring name such as "On Travel" or "Legal Beat." The author will interview people as well as possibly giving his/her opinion.

10 This will indicate how much the story focuses on the ADA. Is the Act the reason the story was written, or is it just mentioned in conjunction with another topic?

11 This is the overall topic of the story, the one that is most prevalent. For example, a story about accessibility at an apartment might be a real estate story not a business story. The section of the newspaper in which the story is found may help you break any ties among topics.

12 Here you must make a decision on the overall geographic focus of the story. Compare references to city, state, and national concerns and select the number of the most prevalent geographic reference.

13 This is the reason the story was written. Pick the news peg that is most obvious and overwhelming in its presence in the story, most likely in the first few paragraphs.

14 Sources mean they have any information attributed to them either as a direct quote or as a paraphrase. Please be sure to write any sources not on the list in the "other" category.

15 You will note whether the story mentions a source's connection to a disabled person, most likely in his/her family. This question only applied to non-disabled sources.

16 The story might mention how much a business has to spend to add a wheelchair ramp or the story might mention cutting back staff to pay for architectural changes.
17. Does the story acknowledge that disabled people have had to face barriers in many aspects of society such as occupations, communication, education, independence, attitudes, etc.

18. Either the story will actually refer to the ADA as a civil rights bill or it will imply it is a civil rights bill by comparing it to civil rights legislation for people of color, women, gays, and lesbians, etc.

19. What does the story imply or say about the reason for the ADA in American society? For example, the story that mentions this might discuss the reasons the ADA was passed.

20. What is the ADA being associated with? Please add to the list in the "other" category if a social issue is mentioned but is not on the list.

21. This is a law that outlawed discrimination against disabled people at places that received federal money.

22. These laws might not be mentioned with a specific name but may be called, for example, "a local ordinance" or "past state laws."

23. This is a broad category that will indicate the types of businesses mentioned in the story.

24. This is a specific category that will list the types of specific businesses and public facilities mentioned.

25. There will probably be a number of local disability groups mentioned that are not on this list. Please write them on the other category.
28. There may be government departments not listed but mentioned in the stories. Please write them in the other category.

29. Write down the names of other groups mentioned in the story such as private foundations, gay rights groups, private clubs, etc.

30. A source will be someone who is quoted directly or by paraphrase.

31. An example is someone whose story is told as if secondhand. They are not cited as the source of the information about the experience. Either no one is cited as the source of the example or someone other than the disabled person is cited. This then would relate to question 40.

32. Everyone will probably be an adult unless otherwise noted, so look for references to children or teens to indicate when someone is not an adult.

33. Use first names and second references to indicate gender such as he said or she said.

34. The information about specific disabilities may be found in list form relating to provisions of the ADA or in dependent clause information about a person. For example, "Joan Davis, who uses a wheelchair because of a bout with polio at the age of 7."

35. What disability issues are mentioned in addition to the ADA? For example, does the story discuss high rates of unemployment among disabled people?

36. Please read the story fully before assessing the models. After reading and understanding the models fully, select your ratings based on your understanding of the overall story.
37 and 39. Note any use of these words in the story or headline.

40 For example, does the lawyer of a disabled person speak instead of the person?

41 For example, does the story detail how long it takes an attendant to get the disabled person ready in the morning?

42 For example, does the story mention that the disabled person cooks her/herself breakfast or wants to drive him/herself to work?

43 This will probably be a rare occurrence in ADA stories but watch for it in health care and health insurance related stories.

44 Does the story discuss the attitudinal discrimination some disabled people face? For example, the story might discuss people with facial disfigurements and their difficulties in getting a job because of negative attitudes.

45 Does the story discuss the architectural discrimination some disabled people face? For example, the story might discuss a person who could attend a theater because it was not wheelchair accessible.

46 Are disabled people characterized as a group that has been discriminated against and has rights to fight for?

47 Remember, this is the primary location; is someone being interviewed at their home or is the story taking place on the floor of the Senate?

48 This is based on your understanding of the overall story.

49 This will probably be mentioned in a dependent clause related to a disabled person. For example, "Joe Smith, speaking through a sign language interpreter "

50 Each coder will be assigned his/her own ID number.
## APPENDIX B

### CODING SHEET (PRINT)

1. **ARTICLE NUMBER**

2. **NEWSPAPER/MAGAZINE NAME**
   - 1 = Washington Post
   - 2 = New York Times
   - 3 = Wall Street Journal
   - 4 = Chnsaan Science Momtor
   - 5 = Los Angeles Times
   - 6 = Chicago Tribune
   - 7 = Boston Globe
   - 8 = Atlanta Journal-Constitution
   - 9 = Philadelphia Inquirer
   - 10 = Time
   - 11 = Newsweek
   - 12 = U.S. News and World Report

3. **DATE**
### 4 SECTION

0 = cannot code  
1 = Front, A section/National  
2 = Metro/local  
3 = Business  
4 = Neighbor/suburban section  
5 = Health section  
6 = Style/feature/entertainment  
7 = Real estate  
8 = Travel  
9 = Sunday magazine  
10 = Other

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### 5 PAGE NUMBER

---

### 6. FRONT OF SECTION

0 = can't tell  
1 = yes  
2 = no

---

### 7 LENGTH OF STORY IN INCHES

1 = Long (More than 18 inches) (716 words or more)
2 = Medium (6-17 mches) (236 words to 715 words)
3 = Short (2-5 mches) (80 words to 235 words)
4 = Bnef (1 mch or shorter) (75 words or less)

8. **BYLINE GENDER**

1 = No byhne
2 = Male
3 = Female
4 = Double byline
5 = Can't tell from name

9. **TYPE OF STORY**

1 = Hard News
2 = Feature
3 = Meet.Ing/event not.tee
4 = News analysis
5 = Specialty column
6 = Other

10. **ADA ORIENTATION**

0 = No mention of ADA
1 = Act 1s main focus of story
2 = Act 1s a secondary focus of the story
3 = Act 1s only ment10ned bnef1y m the story

225
11. TOPIC OF STORY

1 = Business
2 = Civil rights
3 = Government decision
4 = Health Care
5 = Health Insurance
6 = Individual person
8 = Politics
9 = Real Estate
10 = Technology
11 = Travel
12 = Employment
13 = Other

12 GEOGRAPHIC ORIENTATION

0 = Can't tell
1 = National, impact focused on entire U.S. society
2 = State, impact focused on one state alone
3 = Local, impact focused on city or regional concerns

13 NEWS PEG

1 = Business such as industry concerns
2 = Event such as rally or protest
3 = Government decision -- Federal level
4 = Government decision -- state level
5 = Government decision -- local level
6 = Institution such as university or hospital
7 = Individual such as personality profile
8 = ADA sign
9 = ADA Implementation date
10 = Government report
11 = Government decision
12 = ADA Implementation date
13 = ADA sign
14 = Government report
15 = Other
8 = Lawsmt such as court case
9 = Meetmg/event nonce
10 = Presidential statement
11 = Technological mnovatlon

14 SOURCES CITED (Crcle each type of source m the story.)

None
Academ1c/unvers1ty research report Government document/report
Academ1c/unvers1ty researcher Independent researcher
ADA resource center Independent research report
Activist organization - general Job coach/coordinator
Amencans with D1sablities Act provisions Lawsmt/Legal document
Architect/Designer Legislation - Federal
Attorney for busmess/busmess group Legislation - State
Attorney for disabled person/d1sab1bty grp Legislation - Local
Attorney - General Media report/person
Attorney for government Medical off1cal/Hosp1tal
Average person (no affibatlon) Non-profit organization
Author of book Person with d1sab1hty--no affihatton
Busmess person Personal attendant
C1vll nghts group - general President of the US.
Consultant Rehabilitation spec1ahst
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Doctor/Dentist</td>
<td>Representative of business group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected official -- Federal level</td>
<td>Representative of disability group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected official -- State level</td>
<td>Teacher/educator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected official -- Local level</td>
<td>Transportation official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected official spokesperson</td>
<td>Uron official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family of person with disability</td>
<td>University official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundat:mn</td>
<td>White House official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay rights group</td>
<td>Religious person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government agency spokesperson</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15. **SOURCE CONNECTION**

(Is any non-disabled source's relationship or family connection to a disabled person mentioned?)

1 = Yes  
2 = No

16. **IS THE COST OF IMPLEMENTING THE ADA MENTIONED OR IMPLIED AS HIGH?**

1 = Yes  
2 = No
17  ARE THE SOCIETAL BARRIERS TO DISABLED PEOPLE MENTIONED?

1  = Yes
2  = No

18  IS THE ADA CALLED OR IMPLIED TO BE A CIVIL RIGHTS BILL?

1  = Yes
2  = No

19  WHAT ARE CITED OR IMPLIED AS THE REASONS FOR THE ADA? (The most important reason should be high in the story, the first few paragraphs. The next most important reason should come later in the story.)

(Most important reason) (Next most important reason)

0  = None cited
1  = Access to Jobs
2  = Architectural access
3  = Congress pushed for it
4 = Disability activism
5 = Educational discrimination
6 = Governmental decision-making
7 = General accessibility of society for disabled people
8 = General discrimination against disabled people
9 = Health care concerns
10 = Health insurance discrimination
11 = Job loss
12 = New technology for disabled people
13 = President George Bush pushed for it
14 = Unemployment numbers among disabled people
15 = Other

20 OTHER SOCIAL ISSUES MENTIONED IN STORY
(Circle those mentioned)

None

Abortion (pro abortion)  Government Corruption
Abortion (anti-abortion)  Health Insurance costs
AIDS  Inflation
Business costs  Overabundance of lawsuits
Drug/Alcohol abuse  Racial discrimination
Economic recession
Education  Unemployment
Gay rights/homosexuality  Other

21 IS THE REHABILITATION ACT OF 1973 (ALSO KNOWN AS SECTION 504) MENTIONED IN THE STORY?

1 = Yes
2 = No

22 ARE OTHER FEDERAL LAWS/PROTECTIONS RELATED TO DISABILITY MENTIONED?

1 = Yes
2 = No

(If yes, name law. ________________

231
23 ARE OTHER STATE OR LOCAL LAWS RELATED TO DISABILITY MENTIONED?

1 = Yes
2 = No

24 WHAT TYPES OF BUSINESS ENTITIES ARE MENTIONED IN THE STORY?
(Circle all those that apply)

None

General -- all businesses
General -- small businesses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Business Entities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Food Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>Governmental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction/Budding</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational</td>
<td>Legal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electronics</td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>Medical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
25. **WHAT TYPES OF SPECIFIC PUBLIC FACILITIES ARE MENTIONED?**

(Circle all those that apply)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>None</th>
<th>Account mg firm</th>
<th>Hotel/Motel</th>
<th>Theater (Movie)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Airlme</td>
<td>Industrial/Manufac. Plant</td>
<td>Theater (Live)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney/Jaw firm</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>Tram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank/Savmgs and Loan</td>
<td>Museum/Tounst spot/stadtm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber/hair salon</td>
<td>Nightclub</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus</td>
<td>Nursmg home</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Pnvate club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construct10n</td>
<td>Pnvate home</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer company</td>
<td>Pnvate school</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor/Dentist office</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dry cleaner</td>
<td>Recreation/fitness club</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engmeering firm</td>
<td>Rental agency (car, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food store</td>
<td>Restaurant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funeral home</td>
<td>Retatl Store</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gas station</td>
<td>School (public)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Government agency          Subway
Hospital                  Telephone Company

26 IS A ORGANIZED DISABILITY GROUP NAMED? (See Below)

1 = Yes
2 = No

27 IF YES, WHAT DISABILITY GROUP(S) ARE MENTIONED?
(Circle those that apply)

None                General -- Disability activists         Local group

ARC (Association for Retarded Citizens)
ADAPT
Barner Free Environments
Children's Defense Fund
Deaf>nde, Inc
Disabled m Action
Disablhty Rights Education and Defense Fund
Epilepsy Foundation of America
Independent Living Center

234
Media Access Office - Hollywood
Mental Health Law Project
Muscular Dystrophy Association
National Association of the Deaf
National Center for Law and the Deaf
National Disability Action Center
National Federation of the Blind
National Organization on Disability
National Right to Life Committee
Paralyzed Veterans of America
President's Committee on People w/ Disabilities
Speaking for Ourselves
United Cerebral Palsy Association
Vanety Club
World Institute on Disability
Other

28. WHAT GOVERNMENT GROUP(S) ARE MENTIONED IN THE STORY?
(Circle all those mentioned)

None
County government

Census Bureau

City Council/local government

Department of Education

Department of Transportation

Department of Public Welfare

EEOC

FBI

FCC

Governor of state

Health and Human Services

Justice Department

Labor Department

Mayor of city

Medicare

Medicaid

Other

National Institutes of Health

National Institute on Disability Research and Rehabilitation

Occupational Safety and Health Administration

School district

Local court

Architecture and Transportation Compliance Board
29. OTHER NON-DISABILITY, NON-GOVERNMENT, OR NON-BUSINESS GROUPS MENTIONED?

None

Other

30. HOW MANY DISABLED PEOPLE ARE IDENTIFIED AS SOURCES IN THE STORY?

0 = 0
1 = 1
2 = 2
3 = 3
4 = 4 or more

31. HOW MANY DISABLED PEOPLE ARE USED AS EXAMPLES IN THE STORY?

0 = 0
1 = 1
2 = 2
3 = 3
4 = 4 or more

237
32 AGE GROUP OF DISABLED PEOPLE MENTIONED IN STORY

0 = no disabled people
1 = children under 13
2 = adolescents, 13-18
3 = children and adolescents
4 = Adults over 18
5 = Mixture of adults and young people

33. GENDER OF DISABLED PEOPLE MENTIONED IN THE STORY

0 = no disabled people
1 = all female
2 = all male
3 = both male and female
4 = cannot tell from name

34 TYPES OF DISABILITIES MENTIONED IN THE STORY (Circle all those that apply)

None General -- people with physical and mental disabilities
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alzheimer's</td>
<td>Major Mental Illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Mental retardation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amputee</td>
<td>Mobility problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back mJury</td>
<td>Multiple Sclerosis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blnd/parially sighted</td>
<td>Muscular Dystrophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancer</td>
<td>Paralysis/paraplegic/quadriplegic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane use</td>
<td>Pohohost-pohoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerebral palsy</td>
<td>Speech impediment/no speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf/heanng impaired</td>
<td>Spina b1fida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diabetes</td>
<td>Walker use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disfiguring disease</td>
<td>Walks with limp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwarfism</td>
<td>Water on bram/hydrocephalus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Down's Syndrome</td>
<td>Wheelchair use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilepsy</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial disfigurement</td>
<td>Can't tell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIV positive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning disability</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug/alcohol abuse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allergies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemical sensitivity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**DISABILITY ISSUES OTHER THAN ADA MENTIONED IN STORY.** (Circle all those that apply)

- None
- Abortion (abortion rights)
- Abortion (anti-abortion)
- Accessible housing
- Accessible public facilities
- Access to recreation
- Accessible transportation
- AIDS
- Architectural changes
- Communication
- Consumer rights/issues
- Deaf culture
- Definition of disability
- Discrimination
- Education (general)
- Education -- mainstreaming
- Employment/Jobs
- Family support
- Government support to disabled people
- Health care access

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abortion (abortion rights)</td>
<td>Independent living</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion (anti-abortion)</td>
<td>Institutionalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessible housing</td>
<td>International disability rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessible public facilities</td>
<td>Language used to refer to disability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Access to recreation</td>
<td>Medical insurance for people with disabilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accessible transportation</td>
<td>Numbers/demographics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Portrayal in media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architectural changes</td>
<td>Private support for people with disabilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Right to die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consumer rights/issues</td>
<td>Right to have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf culture</td>
<td>Societal acceptance of disabled people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition of disability</td>
<td>Sports</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination</td>
<td>Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (general)</td>
<td>Telethons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education -- mainstreaming</td>
<td>Travel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment/Jobs</td>
<td>Unemployment/Jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family support</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government support to disabled people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health care access</td>
<td>Violent victimization of people with disabilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Violent victimization of people with disabilities</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

240
36 WHICH DISABILITY MODELS APPEAR IN THE STORY?

Please assess the prevalence of each model in the story and then place the corresponding number next to each of the models.

1 = Model is prevalent in the story  2 = Model is only evident in the story.
3 = Model is not evident at all in the story.

Medical Model (Disability is an Illness or malfunction persons who are disabled are dependent on health professionals for cures or maintenance. Disabled individuals are passive and do not participate in "regular" activities because of disability.)

Social Pathology Model (Disabled people are disadvantaged and must look to the state or to society for economic support, which is considered a gift, not a right)

Supercomp Model (The disabled person is portrayed as deviant because of "superhuman" feats (i.e. ocean sailing blind man) or as "special" because they have regular lives "in spite of" disability (i.e. deaf high school student who plays softball). This role reinforces the idea that persons with disabilities are
deviant -- that the person's accomplishments are amazing for someone who is less than complete.)

Busmess Model (Disabled people and their issues are costly to society and businesses especially. Making society accessible for disabled people is not really worth the cost and overburdens businesses. It is not a "good value" for society or businesses. Accessibility is not profitable.)

Monty/C1vd Rights Model (Disabled people are seen as members of the disability community, which has legitimate political grievances. They have civil rights that they may fight for, just like other groups. Accessibility is a civil right.)

Legal Model (It is illegal to treat disabled people in certain ways. They have legal rights and may need to sue to guarantee those rights. ADA is presented as a legal tool to halt discrimination.)

Cultural Plurahsm Model (People with disabilities are seen as a multifaceted people and their disabilities do not receive undue attention. They are portrayed as able-bodied people would be.)
Consumer Model (People with disabilities represent an untapped consumer group. Making society accessible could be profitable to businesses and society in general. If disabled people have access to jobs, they will have more disposable income. If disabled people have jobs, they will no longer need government assistance.)

37. LANGUAGE ABOUT DISABLED PERSON(S) OR DISABILITY ISSUES

(Circle all those that are used in story)

None

- AIDS patients
- abnormal
- brave
- crippled/ crippled
- confined to bed
- confined to a wheelchair
- courageous
- deaf and dumb
- deaf person
- deformed
- defective

m a wheelchair
1s speech imp a red
lame
physically challenged
people with disabilities
person who has ___ (1 e cerebral palsy)
person with AIDS
retarded
special
suffers from ________

243
disabled person
 dummy
 frustrating
 handicapped
 handicapper
 has multiple disabilities
 has a sensory disability
 has overcome the disability wheelchair-bound
 in spite of (disability) wheelchair user
 irrational
 is hearing impaired

Other(s)

38 UNIQUE EXAMPLES OF LANGUAGE USE

39 HEADLINE LANGUAGE ABOUT DISABLED PERSON(S) OR DISABILITY ISSUES

(Circle all those that are used in the headline )

None

AIDS patients in a wheelchair
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abnormal</td>
<td>1s speech Impatred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brave</td>
<td>lame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cnppled/ cripple</td>
<td>physically challenged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confined to bed</td>
<td>people with disabilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confined to a wheelchair</td>
<td>person who has (1 e cerebral palsy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>courageous</td>
<td>person with AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deaf and dumb</td>
<td>retarded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deaf person</td>
<td>special</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deformed</td>
<td>stncken with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defective</td>
<td>suffers from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disabled person</td>
<td>The disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dummy</td>
<td>The handicapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frustratmg</td>
<td>unhappy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handicapped</td>
<td>unfortunate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handicapper</td>
<td>uses a wheelcharr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has multiple disabilities</td>
<td>victim of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has a sensory dlSabtlty</td>
<td>walks with a cane (walker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has overcome the dlSabihty</td>
<td>wheelchair-bound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m spite of(disablhty)</td>
<td>wheelchair user</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>msp1 rational</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ts hearmg impaired</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

245
40. DO NON-DISABLED PEOPLE INTERPRET OR ADD TO STATEMENTS MADE BY DISABLED PEOPLE?

0 = No disabled people in story
1 = Yes
2 = No

*41 WERE THE PHYSICAL DIFFICULTIES OR GENERAL COPING DIFFICULTIES OF BEING DISABLED DISCUSSED?

0 = Not applicable
1 = Yes
2 = No

*42. DID THE STORY MENTION FITTING INTO NORMAL LIFE/BEING ABLE TO DO EVERYDAY THINGS?

0 = Not applicable
1 = Yes
2 = No
*43. DID THE STORY MENTION FINDING A CURE/EXPLANATION OR CURE/THERAPY?

0 = Not applicable
1 = Yes
2 = No

*44 ARE THE ATTITUDINAL BARRIERS DISABLED PEOPLE FACE DUE TO LACK OF UNDERSTANDING, CONCERN, ETC OF NON-DISABLED PEOPLE/SOCIETY DISCUSSED?

0 = Not applicable
1 = Yes
2 = No

45. ARE THE ARCHITECTURAL BARRIERS DISABLED PEOPLE FACE DUE TO CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY FOR NON-DISABLED PEOPLE DISCUSSED?

0 = Not applicable
1 = Yes
2 = No
*46. DOES THE STORY ACKNOWLEDGE THE FACT THAT DISABLED PEOPLE HAVE RIGHTS TO FIGHT FOR?

0 = Not applicable
1 = Yes
2 = No

47. MAIN LOCATION OF REPORT

0 = cannot tell location of report
1 = business
2 = court
3 = government meeting
4 = hospital
5 = nursing home
6 = person's private home
7 = school/university/college
8 = social protest
9 = meeting of private organization
10 = Other _______ _______ _______ _______
*48. DOES IT COME OVER IN THE STORY THAT THE DISABLED PERSON(S) WOULD RATHER BE NONDISABLED?

0 = Not applicable
1 = strongly
2 = to a certain extent
3 = not at all

49  DOES DISABLED PERSON USE NEW TECHNOLOGY (i.e., VOICE SYNTHESIZER OR LAPTOP WORD PROCESSOR) OR DIFFERENT LANGUAGE (i.e., SIGN LANGUAGE) WHEN SPEAKING?

0 = No disabled people in story
1 = yes
2 = no

50  CODER ID NUMBER

* Cumberbatch and Negmne code sheet (1992)
APPENDIX C
CODING SHEET (NEWS PHOTOS)

(Please use cutlme for mformat.Ion m answermg some quest.Ions)

1. CORRESPONDS TO ARTICLE NUMBER

2. PHOTO NUMBER

3 FRONT OF SECTION

0 = Can't tell
1 = yes
2 = no

4 SIZE OF PHOTO BY WIDTH

0 = Can't tell
1 = One column
2 = Two columns
3 = Three columns
4 = Four columns
5 = Five columns or more
5. PHOTOGRAPHER GENDER

0 = no photographer name
1 = male
2 = female
3 = can't tell from name
4 = wrre photo

6. WHAT TYPES OF SPECIFIC PUBLIC FACILITIES ARE PICTURED? (Circle all those that apply.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>None</th>
<th>Can't tell</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accountmg firm</td>
<td>Hotel/Motel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrlme</td>
<td>Industrial/Manufac. Plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney/law firm</td>
<td>Insurance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank/Savings and Loan</td>
<td>Museum/Tounst spot/stadmm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barber/harr salon</td>
<td>Nightclub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus</td>
<td>Nursmg home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>Pn.vate club</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construct.10n</td>
<td>Pnivate home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer company</td>
<td>Pnivate school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor/Dentist office</td>
<td>Real Estate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

251
Dry cleaner          Recreat10n/fitness club
Engineering firm     Rental agency (car, etc.)
Food store           Restaurant
Funeral home          Retail Store
Gas station          School (pubhc)
Government agency     Subway
Hospital              Telephone Company

7  IS THE DISABLED PERSON(S) PICTURED ON THE JOB?

0 = Cannot code
1 = Yes
2 = No

8  IS A SPECIFIC ORGANIZED DISABILITY GROUP NAMED OR PICTURED?

1 = Yes
2 = No
0 = cannot code
1 = 1
2 = 2
3 = 3
4 = 4-10
5 = 0
6 = Large group such as a crowd shot (10+)

10 AGE GROUP OF DISABLED PEOPLE PICTURED

0 = cannot code
1 = children under 13
2 = adolescents
3 = children and adolescents
4 = Adults over 18
5 = Mixture of adults and young people
**11 GENDER OF DISABLED PEOPLE IN THE PHOTO**

- 0 = cannot code
- 1 = all female
- 2 = all male
- 3 = both male and female

**12 RACE OF DISABLED PEOPLE IN THE PHOTO**

- 0 = cannot tell
- 1 = white
- 2 = African-American
- 3 = Asian/east Indian
- 4 = Hispanic/Latino
- 5 = Native American
- 6 = mix of races pictured
13. MAIN LOCATION OF PHOTO

0 = cannot tell location of report
1 = business
2 = court
3 = government meeting
4 = hospital
5 = nursing home
6 = person's private home
7 = school/university/college
8 = social protest
9 = meeting of private organization
10 = Disability organization
11 = Other

*14. WHAT IS THE GENERAL FACIAL EXPRESSION OF THE DISABLED PERSON?

0 = cannot code
1 = positive/happy/smiling
2 = negative/sad/angry/grimace
3 = benign/calm/relatively unemotional
4 = confused/puzzled
5 = more than one close-up face
15 TYPES OF DISABILITIES MENTIONED OR PICTURED (Circle all those that apply.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>None</th>
<th>General -- people with physical and mental disabilities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alzheimer's</td>
<td>Ma.JOT Mental Illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Mental retardation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amputee</td>
<td>Mobility problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back mJury</td>
<td>Multiple Sclerosis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blmd/partially sighted</td>
<td>Muscular Dystrophy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cancer</td>
<td>Paralysis/paraplegic/quadnplegic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cane use</td>
<td>Poho/post-poho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerebral palsy</td>
<td>Speech impediment/no speech</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deaf/hearing impaired</td>
<td>Spma bifida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diabetes</td>
<td>Walker use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disfiguring disease</td>
<td>Walks with hmp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dwarfism</td>
<td>Water on bram/hydrocephalus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Down's Syndrome</td>
<td>Wheelchau use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epdepsy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facial disfigurement</td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
16. LANGUAGE ABOUT DISABILITY IN THE CUTLINE (circle those that apply)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS patients</td>
<td>m a wheelchair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abnormal</td>
<td>1s speech impaired</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brave</td>
<td>lame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cnppled/ cnpple</td>
<td>physically challenged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confined to bed</td>
<td>people with disabilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confined to a wheelchair</td>
<td>person who has ___ (1.e cerebral palsy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>courageous</td>
<td>person with AIDS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deaf and dumb</td>
<td>retarded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deaf person</td>
<td>special</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deformed</td>
<td>stncken with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>defective</td>
<td>suffers from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disabled person</td>
<td>The disabled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dummy</td>
<td>The handicapped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frustrating</td>
<td>unhappy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handicapped</td>
<td>unfortunate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>handicapper</td>
<td>uses a wheelchair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>has multiple disabilities</td>
<td>victim of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
has a sensory disability walks with a cane (walker)
has overcome the disability wheelchair-bound
m spite of (disability) wheelchair user

mspiratmnal

ls hearmg impalred

Other(s) ________________________________

17. IS FACIAL OR BODY DISFIGUREMENT APPARENT IN THE PICTURE?

0 = cannot code
1 = yes
2 = no

18 IS THE PICTURE SHOT FROM THE SAME LEVEL AS THE DISABLED PERSON OR FROM ABOVE OR BELOW?

0 = cannot code
1 = same level

258
2 = from above
3 = from below

19. IS THE DISABLED PERSON PICTURED ALONE OR WITH OTHERS?

0 = cannot code
1 = alone
2 = with other disabled people
3 = with other nondisabled people
4 = mixture

20. IS A NON-DISABLED PERSON SHOWN AS HELPING THE DISABLED PERSON?

0 = can't tell
1 = yes
2 = no
**21 ARE PEOPLE WITH A DISABILITY SHOWN CONFRONTING A PHYSICAL BARRIER TO PARTICIPATION? (e.g., someone who uses a wheelchair standing in front of a flight of stairs.)

0 = cannot code
1 = yes
2 = no

22 IS DISABILITY-RELATED NEW TECHNOLOGY PICTURED?

0 = cannot code
1 = yes
2 = no

**23 IS SOME ELEMENT USED IN THE PICTURE TO LABEL THE PERSON AS HAVING A DISABILITY?
24 OTHER UNUSUAL OR UNIQUE ASPECTS OF THE PHOTO?

25. CODER ID NUMBER

* Cumberbatch and Negrme code sheet (1992)
** Knoll coding scheme (1987)
APPENDIX D
CODING SHEET (TELEVISION)

(Please use both images and anchor or reporter vmce over for mformatton in answering some questions)

1 TV REPORT NUMBER

2. TV NETWORK

1 = ABC
2 = CBS
3 = NBC

3. DATE

4. LENGTH OF STORY

1 == Less than 30 seconds
2 == 30 sec to 1 minute
3 == 1-3 minutes
4 == more than 3 minutes
5 ADA ORIENTATION

0 = No mention of ADA
1 = Act is main focus of story
2 = Act is a secondary focus of the story
3 = Act is only mentioned briefly in the story

6 TOPIC OF STORY

1 = Business
2 = Civil rights
3 = Government decision
4 = Health Care
5 = Health Insurance
6 = Individual person
7 = Travel
8 = Politics
9 = Real Estate
10 = Technology
11 = Employment
12 = Other

7 GEOGRAPHIC ORIENTATION

0 = Can't tell
1 = National, impact focused on entire U S society
2 = State, impact focused on one state alone
3 = Local, impact focused on city or regional concerns
8 NEWS PEG

1 = Business such as industry concerns
2 = Event such as rally or protest
3 = Government decision -- Federal level
4 = Government decision -- state level
5 = Government decision -- local level
6 = Individual such as personality profile
7 = Institution such as university or hospital
8 = Lawsuit such as court case
9 = Meeting/event nonce
10 = Presidential statement
11 = Technological innovation
12 = ADA Implementation date
13 = ADA signing
14 = Government report
15 = Other

9. SOURCES CITED (Circle each type of source in the story)

None

Academic/University research report
Academic/University researcher
ADA resource center
Activist organization - general
Americans with Disabilities Act
Architect/Designer

Government document/report
Independent researcher
Independent research report
Job coach/coordinator
Lawsuit/Legal document
Legislation - Federal
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attorney for business/business group</td>
<td>Legislatmn - State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney for disabled person/disability grp</td>
<td>Legislat.Ion - Local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney - General</td>
<td>Media report</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney for government</td>
<td>Medical offic1al/Hosp1tal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average person (no affhatmn)</td>
<td>Non-profit orgaruzat.Ion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author of book</td>
<td>Person with disab1hty-no affihat10n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business person</td>
<td>Personal attendant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civtl rights group - general</td>
<td>President of the U S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>Rehab1htation specialist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor/Dentist</td>
<td>Representative of business group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected official -- Federal level</td>
<td>Representative of d1sab1hty group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected official -- State level</td>
<td>Teacher/educator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected official -- Local level</td>
<td>Transportat.Ion official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected official spokesperson</td>
<td>Uruon official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Famtly of person with d1sab1hty</td>
<td>University official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundat.Ion</td>
<td>White House official</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay nghts group</td>
<td>Other_______________________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government agency spokesperson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
10. SOURCE CONNECTION
(Is any non-disabled source's relationship or family connection to a disabled person mentioned?)

1 = Yes
2 = No

11. IS THE COST OF IMPLEMENTING THE ADA MENTIONED OR IMPLIED AS HIGH?

1 = Yes
2 = No

12. ARE THE SOCIETAL BARRIERS TO DISABLED PEOPLE MENTIONED?

1 = Yes
2 = No

13. IS THE ADA CALLED OR IMPLIED TO BE A CIVIL RIGHTS BILL?

1 = Yes
2 = No
14 IS THE REHABILITATION ACT OF 1973 (ALSO KNOWN AS SECTION 504) MENTIONED IN THE STORY?

1 = Yes
2 = No

15 ARE OTHER FEDERAL LAWS/PROTECTIONS RELATED TO DISABILITY MENTIONED?

1 = Yes
2 = No

(If yes, name law ________________________________ -

16. ARE OTHER STATE OR LOCAL LAWS RELATED TO DISABILITY MENTIONED?

1 = Yes
2 = No
17 WHAT ARE CITED OR IMPLIED AS THE REASONS FOR THE ADA? (The most important reason should be high in the story, in the first few paragraphs. The next most important reason should come later in the story.)

(Most important reason) (Next most important reason)

0 = None cited
1 = Access to Jobs
2 = Architectural access
3 = Congress pushed for it
4 = Disability activism
5 = Educational discrimination
6 = Governmental decision making
7 = General inaccessibility of society for disabled people
8 = General discrimination against disabled people
9 = Health care concerns
10 = Health insurance discrimination
11 = Job loss
12 = New technology for disabled people
13 = President George Bush pushed for it
14 = Unemployment numbers among disabled people
15 = Other __________________
18. OTHER SOCIAL ISSUES MENTIONED IN STORY

(Circle those mentioned)

None

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abortion (pro abortion)</td>
<td>Government Corruption</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion (anti-abortion)</td>
<td>Health Insurance costs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Inflation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business costs</td>
<td>Overabundance of lawsmts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime</td>
<td>Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug/Alcohol abuse</td>
<td>Racial discrimination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Recession</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay rights/homosexuality</td>
<td>Unemployment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19  IS A ORGANIZED DISABILITY GROUP NAMED?

1  = Yes
2  = No

20  HOW MANY DISABLED PEOPLE ARE IDENTIFIED AS SOURCES IN THE STORY?

0 = 0 3 = 3
1 = 1 4 = 4 or more
2 = 2
21. WHICH DISABILITY MODELS APPEAR IN THE STORY?

Please assess the prevalence of each model in the story and then place the corresponding number next to each of the models.

1 = Model ts prevalent in the story  2 = Model ts only evident m the story  
3 = Model is not evident at all m the story

Medical Model (Disability ts an illness or malfunction. persons who are disabled are dependent on health professionals for cures or maintenance. Disabled mdiv1duals are passive and do not participate m "regular" actv1ttes because of disabihty.)

Social Pathology Model (Disabled people are disadvantaged and must look to the state or to society for economic support, which ls considered a gift, not a right.)

Supercnp Model (The disabled person is portrayed as deviant because of "superhuman" feats (1 e ocean satlmg blmd man) or as "special" because they hve regular hves "m spite of" disabihty (1 e deaf high school student who plays softball). This role remforces the idea that persons with disabtlities are deviant -- that the person's accomplishments are amazmg for someone who ts less than complete.)
Busmess Model (Disabled people and their issues are costly to society and businesses especially Malung society accessible for disabled people ts not really worth the cost and overburdens businesses It ts not a "good value" for society or businesses. Access lbidity 1s not profitable.)

Minority/Civil Rights Model (Disabled people are seen as members of the disability community, which has legitimate political grievances They have civil rights that they may fight for, just like other groups Accessibility to society is a civil right.)

Legal Model (It is illegal to treat disabled people in certain ways They have legal rights and may need to sue to guarantee those rights ADA is presented as a legal tool to halt discrimination.)

Cultural Pluralism Model (People with disabilities are seen as a multifaceted people and their disabilities do not receive undue attention They are portrayed as ablebodied people would be.)

Consumer Model (People with disabilities represent an untapped consumer group. Making society accessible could be profitable to businesses and society in general. If disabled people have access to Jobs, they will have more
disposable income. If disabled people have jobs, they will no longer need government assistance.)

22 LANGUAGE ABOUT DISABLED PERSON(S) OR DISABILITY ISSUES
(Circle all those that are used in story)

None

AIDS patients
abnormal
brave
confined to bed
confined to a wheelchair
physically challenged
people with disabilities
person who has ___   (i.e. cerebral palsy)
courageous
person with AIDS
defeated
defective
person who has ___
suffers from ___
disabled person
The disabled
dummy
The handicapped
frustrating
unhappy
handicapped
unfortunate
handicapper uses a wheelchair
has multiple disabilities victim of ___ ___ ___
has a sensory disability walks with a cane (walker)
has overcome the disability wheelchair-bound
in spite of (disability) wheelchair user
inspirational Other(s) ____________________

TYPE OF STORY

1 = Hard News
2 = Feature
3 = News analysis
4 = Other ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___ ___

*24. WERE THE PHYSICAL DIFFICULTIES OR GENERAL COPING
DIFFICULTIES OF BEING DISABLED DISCUSSED?

0 = cannot code
1 = Yes
2 = No
*25. DID THE STORY MENTION FITTING INTO NORMAL LIFE/BECING ABLE TO DO EVERYDAY THINGS?

0 = cannot code
1 = Yes
2 = No

*26. DID THE STORY MENTION FINDING A CURE/EXPLANATION OR CURE/ THERAPY?

0 = cannot code
1 = Yes
2 = No

*27. ARE THE ATTITUDINAL BARRIERS DISABLED PEOPLE FACE DUE TO LACK OF UNDERSTANDING, CONCERN, ETC OF NON-DISABLED PEOPLE/SOCIETY DISCUSSED?

0 = Not applicable
1 = Yes
2 = No
28 ARE THE ARCHITECTURAL BARRIERS DISABLED PEOPLE FACE DUE TO CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY FOR NON-DISABLED PEOPLE DISCUSSED?

0 = Not applicable
1 = Yes
2 = No

*29. DOES THE STORY ACKNOWLEDGE THE FACT THAT DISABLED PEOPLE HAVE RIGHTS TO FIGHT FOR?

0 = cannot code
1 = Yes
2 = No

30. DOES DISABLED PERSON USE NEW TECHNOLOGY (i.e. VOICE SYNTHESIZER OR LAPTOP WORD PROCESSOR) OR DIFFERENT LANGUAGE (i.e. SIGN LANGUAGE) WHEN SPEAKING?

0 = cannot code
31 IS DISABILITY-RELATED NEW TECHNOLOGY PICTURED?

0 = cannot code
1 = yes
2 = no

**32. IS SOME ELEMENT USED IN THE PICTURE TO LABEL THE PERSON AS HAVING A DISABILITY?**

* Cumberbatch and Negrme code sheet (1992)
** Knoll coding scheme (1987)
# APPENDIXE

## CODING SHEET (INTERVIEWS WITHIN TV NEWS STORIES)

1. **TV STORY NUMBER**

2. **WHAT TYPES OF SPECIFIC PUBLIC FACILITIES ARE MENTIONED OR SHOWN IN THE INTERVIEW?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 None</th>
<th>19 Hotel/Motel</th>
<th>37 Theater</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 Accounting firm</td>
<td>20 Industrial/Manufacturing Plant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Airline</td>
<td>21 Insurance</td>
<td>38 Tram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Attorney/law firm</td>
<td>22 Museum/Tourist spot/landmark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Bank/Savings and Loan</td>
<td>23 Nightclub</td>
<td>39 City Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Barber/hair salon</td>
<td>24 Nursing home</td>
<td>40 Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Bus</td>
<td>25 Private club</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Church</td>
<td>26 Private home</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Construction</td>
<td>27 Private school</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO Computer company</td>
<td>28 Real Estate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Doctor/Dentist office</td>
<td>29 Recreation/fitness club</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Dry cleaner</td>
<td>30 Recreation/fitness club</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Engineer/Arch firm</td>
<td>31 Rental agency (car, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
14. Food store
15. Funeral home
16. Gas station
17. Government agency
18. Hospital

32. Restaurant
33. Retard Store
34. School (pubhc)
35. Subway
36. Telephone Company

3. WHAT DISABILITY GROUP(S) ARE REPRESENTED BY THE DISABLED PERSON?

1 None
2 General -- Disability activists
3 Local group
4 ARC (Association for Retarded Citizens)
5. ADAPT
6 Barner Free Environments
7 Children's Defense Fund
8. DeafPnde, Inc
9 Disabled in Action
10 Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund
11 Easter Seals
12 Epilepsy Foundation of America
13 Independent Living Center
15. National Alliance for Mental Illness
16. Muscular Dystrophy Association
17. National Association of the Deaf
18. National Center for Law and the Deaf
19. National Disability Action Center
20. National Federation of the Blind
21. National Organization on Disability
22. National Right to Life Committee
23. Paralyzed Veterans of America
24. President's Committee on Employment of P. w/ Disability
25. Speaking for Ourselves
26. United Cerebral Palsy Association
27. Variety Club
28. World Institute on Disability
29. Other
30. Gay rights group

4. AGE GROUP OF DISABLED PEOPLE INTERVIEWED
   0 = no disabled people
   1 = children under 13
   2 = adolescents, 13-18
3 = children and adolescents
4 = Adults over 18
5 = Mixture of adults and young people

5 GENDER OF DISABLED PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

0 = no disabled people
1 = all female
2 = all male
3 = both male and female
4 = cannot tell from name

6 RACE OF DISABLED PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

0 = no disabled people
1 = white
2 = African-American
3 = Asian/east Indian
4 = Hispanic/Latino
5 = Native American
6 = mix of races pictured
7 = cannot tell
7. TYPES OF DISABILITIES REPRESENTED BY INTERVIEW

1. None
2. Alzheimer's
3. AIDS
4. Amputee
5. Back Jurty
6. Bhd/parttally sighted
7. Cancer
8. Cane/crutch use
9. Cerebral palsy
10. Deaf/heanng impatred
11. Diabetes
12. Disfigunng disease
13. Dwarfism
14. Down's Syndrome
15. Epltlesy
16. Facial disfigurement
17. HIV positve
18. Learnmg disabihty
19. Major Mental Illness
20. Mental retardatton
21. Mobhty problems
22. Multiple Sclerosis
23. Muscular Dystrophy
24. Paralysis/parapleglc/quadrtpleg1c
25. Poho/post-poho
26. Speech impediment/no speech
27. Spina btfida
28. Walker use
29. Wheelchair use
30. Other ___ ___ ___ ___
8. DISABILITY ISSUES OTHER THAN ADA MENTIONED IN INTERVIEW

(Circle all those that apply.)

None

Abort10n (abortion nghts) Independent hvmg
Abortion (ant.1-abort10n) Inst.J.tut.J.onahzat.J.on
Accessible housmg International disab1hty nghts
Accessible public fac11it.1es Language about disab1hty
Access to recreatmn Medical insurance for PWD
Accessible transportation Numbers/demographic

AIDS

Architectural changes Portrayal m media
Commumcat.J.on Private support for PWD
Consumer nghts/tssues Right to dte
Deaf culture Rightto hve
Defimt.J.on of d1sabihty Societal acceptance of PWD
D1scriminat.J.on Sports
Educat:Ion (general) Technology
Educat.J.on--mainstreammg Telethons
Famtly support Travel
Governmen support to disabled people Unemployment/Jobs
Health care access Other_________
9 IS THE DISABLED PERSON PICTURED ALONE OR WITH OTHERS FOR INTERVIEW SEQUENCE?

0 = cannot code
1 = alone
2 = with other disabled people
3 = with other nondisabled people
4 = mixture

10. IS FACIAL OR BODY DISFIGUREMENT APPARENT IN THE INTERVIEW?

0 = cannot code
1 = yes
2 = no

11. IS THE VIDEO FOR INTERVIEW SHOT FROM THE SAME LEVEL AS THE DISABLED PERSON OR FROM ABOVE OR BELOW?

0 = cannot code
1 = same level
2 = from above
3 = from below
4 = more than one shot

*12 WHAT IS THE GENERAL FACIAL EXPRESSION OF THE DISABLED PERSON?

0 = cannot code
1 = positive/happy/smile
2 = negative/sad/angry/grimace
3 = bemgn/calm/relattvely unemotional
4 = puzzled/confused
5 = more than one close-up shot

**13 ARE PEOPLE WITH A DISABILITY SHOWN CONFRONTING A PHYSICAL BARRIER TO PARTICIPATION? (1 e someone who uses a wheelchator sitting in front of a flight of starrs.)

0 = cannot code
1 = yes
2 = no
*14. WERE THE PHYSICAL DIFFICULTIES OR GENERAL COPING DIFFICULTIES OF BEING DISABLED DISCUSSED?

0 = cannot code
1 = Yes
2 = No

*15 DID THE STORY MENTION FITTING INTO NORMAL LIFE/BEING ABLE TO DO EVERYDAY THINGS?

0 = cannot code
1 = Yes
2 = No

*16. DID THE STORY MENTION FINDING A CURE/EXPLANATION OR CURE/ThERAPY?

0 = cannot code
1 = Yes
2 = No
17. Are the attitudinal barriers disabled people face due to lack of understanding, concern, etc of non-disabled people/society discussed?

0 = Not applicable
1 = Yes
2 = No

18. Are the architectural barriers disabled people face due to construction of society for non-disabled people discussed?

0 = Not applicable
1 = Yes
2 = No

19. Does the interview acknowledge the fact that disabled people have rights to fight for?

0 = cannot code
1 = Yes
2 = No
20 DOES DISABLED PERSON USE NEW TECHNOLOGY (1 e VOICE SYNTHESIZER OR LAPTOP WORD PROCESSOR) OR DIFFERENT LANGUAGE (1.e. SIGN LANGUAGE) WHEN SPEAKING?

0 = cannot code
1 = yes
2 = no

21. IS DISABILITY-RELATED NEW TECHNOLOGY PICTURED?

0 = cannot code
1 = yes
2 = no