Newspaper Coverage of People with Disabilities

A New Zealand Perspective

A thesis
submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree
of
Masters of Social Sciences in Psychology
at
The University of Waikato

By

Stacey L Wall

University of Waikato
Te Whare Wananga o Waikato

2007

Abstract

Throughout history the science of mass communication has been a topic of public and academic interest. In the past 3 decades portrayals of various minority groups have been of concern to researchers, health professionals and member of these groups. This study examines how people with disabilities are portrayed within the New Zealand print media and whether or not a traditional (often negative) or progressive (often positive) modes of representations predominate in coverage. Progressive focus views disability and the problems surrounding it as being located in society's failure to accommodate all members of the population. In contrast, traditional focus views people with disabilities as dysfunctional because he or she is unable to function in an environment designed by or for people without disabilities. The research corpus comprises relating to intellectual and physical disabilities and people with disabilities published in three major newspapers of New Zealand; The New Zealand Herald, The Dominion Post and The Sunday Star Times between the 1st of June and the 1st of August 2006 (N=101). These articles were collected and the content of each article was analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. Aspects such as structure, content, terminology, sources used and attributes assigned to the people with disabilities were analysed within each article as a means of determining whether an article was positive, negative or neutral. Results show that within the New Zealand print media disability is generally portrayed in a positive or neutral manner. Moreover, it was discovered that Clogston's (1989) classifications of traditional and progressive focus were problematic because results indicated that a traditional mode of focus was dominate but this did not reflect a negative portrayal of disability. This may have been due to the disparities between the findings of this thesis and previous research conducted in other countries over a decade ago. Furthermore, it was found that the main source within each article was the government and this supported past research (Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien, 1980).

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

Chapter 1. Literature Review

Chapter 2. Methodology

Chapter 3. Results

Chapter 4. Discussion

References

Appendix A

Appendix B

Appendix C

Appendix D

Appendix E

Tables & Figures

Chapter 1.
Literature review

"To add glumness to disability is to double its crippling power"

Clara Claiborne Park (2000), p.3.

1.1 Introduction

Media content often reflects prevailing norms and values as well as providing information to the general public which helps generate public attitudes (Auslander & Gold, 1999). This study examined representations of people with disability (excluding mental illness) in the news print media within New Zealand. The focus of this study was on three main areas; structure of articles, content variables and focus of the article. This method of analysis was derived from Gold & Auslander's (1999) study which examined the print media and compared newspaper coverage of people with disabilities in Canada and Israel. This study aimed to investigate the way in which disability is represented in the print media and to determine if disability is portrayed in a positive or negative light.

This chapter sets the context for the research by considering the history of disability. It also considers how disability is defined as it has been suggested that the term disability is a social construction and as a result changes depending on the culture, era of time and attitudes surrounding disability (Albrecht & Levy, 1981). The prevalence of disability within New Zealand is outlined as a means of showing the relevance of disability studies and literature regarding social attitudes towards disabled people and associated media portrayals are revised. The last section considers common source relations with regards to journalism. This is reviewed because it is important to consider what news is and its function in society.

1.2 History of Disability

Throughout history, people with disabilities have often been viewed as incapable and child-like in their capacity for decision-making and development (Tennant, 1996). Until the Enlightenment in Europe, care and asylum was provided by families and the church (in monasteries and other religious communities), focusing on the provision of basic physical needs such as food, shelter and clothing. Stereotypes such as the dimwitted yokel, and potentially harmful characterizations (such as demonic possession for people with epilepsy) were prominent in social attitudes of the time (Tennant, 1996).

Social shifts in many societies during the 18th and 19th centuries associated with industrialization and increased emphasis on individualism, led to the fragmentation of traditional community based support systems and increased reliance on professionally regulated housing and care strategies dominated by the asylum model (National Health Committee Report, 1997). People were placed by, or removed from, their families (usually in infancy) and housed in large institutions (of up to 3000 people, although some institutions were home to many more, such as the Philadelphia State Hospital in Pennsylvania which housed 7000 people through the 1960s), many of which were self-sufficient through the labor of the residents. Some of these institutions provided a very basic level of education (such as differentiation between colors' and basic word recognition and numeracy), but most continued to focus solely on the provision of basic needs. Conditions in such institutions varied widely, but the support provided was generally non-individualized. Problem behaviour and low levels of economic productivity were regarded as burdening society. Heavy tranquilization and assembly line methods of support (such as 'bird-feeding' and cattle herding) were the norm, and the medical model of disability prevailed. Services were provided based on the relative ease to the provider, not based on the human needs of the individual (National Health Committee Report, 1997).

This segregation of people with disabilities was not widely questioned by academics or policy-makers until the 1969 publication of Wolf Wolfensberger's seminal work "The Origin and Nature of Our Institutional Models" drawing on some of the ideas proposed by S.G. Howe a hundred years earlier. This book proposes that society

characterizes people with disabilities as deviant, sub-human and burdens of charity, resulting in the adoption of that 'deviant' role. He argued that this dehumanization, and the segregated institutions that result from it, ignored the potential productive contributions that all people can make to society. He pushed for a shift in policy and practice that recognized the human needs of 'retardates' and provided the same basic human rights as for the rest of the population. The publication of this book may be regarded as the first move towards the widespread adoption of the social model of disability in regard to these types of disabilities, and was the impetus for the development of government strategies for desegregation. The first successful lawsuits against governments within the US and an increasing awareness of human rights and self-advocacy also contributed to this process, resulting in the passing in the US of the *Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act* in 1980 (Tennant, 1996).

By the mid-1970s, most governments in the Western world had committed to de-institutionalization, and had started preparing for the wholesale movement of people into the general community, in line with the principles of normalization. In most countries, this was essentially complete by the late 1990s (Tennant, 1996).

Within a New Zealand historical context attitudes toward people with disabilities have evolved drastically since 1840 where government policies aimed at monitoring the number of intellectually disabled people living in New Zealand and keeping financial aid to a minimum. Furthermore, legislation discouraged people with disabilities from settling in New Zealand. The *Imbecile Passengers' Act 1882*, for example, required a bond from the person responsible for a ship that discharged any person 'lunatic, idiotic, deaf, dumb, blind or infirm' who might become a charge on public or charitable institutions. The *Immigration Restriction Act 1899* included in its list of prohibited immigrants any idiot or insane person, as well as those suffering from contagious diseases. Support for people with intellectual disabilities was expected to be met by their families. Any financial support was usually small and temporary, and was given by charitable organisations, not the taxpayer. Institutions offering support for orphans, unmarried mothers and destitute older people began to be set up from the 1860s. Some people with intellectual disabilities ended up in these places as well. From 1854, institutions were established for people with experience of mental illness. The *Lunatics Ordinance 1846* provided for the safe custody and prevention of

offences by persons dangerously insane, and for the care and maintenance of persons of unsound mind. These people were initially housed in jails and later in designated institutions (Tennant, 1996).

The eugenics movement became popular in the 19th century. Eugenics applied the ideas of biological natural selection to people (also known as 'racial fitness'). It advocated preserving good genetic stock by weeding out weak traits such as ill health or mental deficiencies. People with less desirable traits were to be prevented from having children – one way was for these people to be removed from society by placing them in purpose built institutions. Towards the end of the 19th century, people with intellectual disabilities began to be admitted to institutions previously reserved for people with mental illness. Men and women were strictly kept apart so they could not have children (Tennant, 1996).

Worldwide, social beliefs in racial fitness increased in the 1900's, becoming reflected in the government's social policy on people with disabilities (Tennant, 1996). This was connected to concerns at the trend of decreasing family size (until the 1930s), and the failure of a large number of conscripted men to meet the minimum health standard for the armed forces in World War I (57 per cent were rejected as unfit for service). Incidents like this fuelled a growing belief that the new country's pioneering spirit had become weak and infected by bad genetics and moral failings.

Until 1916, the New Zealand Census identified people who were deaf and dumb, blind, lunatics, idiots, epileptics, paralysed, crippled and/or deformed. In 1929, Templeton Farm in Christchurch was opened for 'high-grade imbeciles and low-grade feeble-minded cases without psychotic complications', under the administration of the mental health system. The general population became increasingly aware of mental illness and physical impairments as experienced by solders returning home after the world wars. There was a need for better services, including psychiatric treatment, physiotherapy and plastic surgery. The rehabilitation of the mentally and physically impaired into society was emphasised.

From the 1970s, the government's approach to services for people with disabilities became more community and rights based. Following the *1972 Royal Commission into Psychopaedic Hospitals*, government funds were increasingly channelled into

building small residential facilities rather than large institutions. A principle of entitlement was established through the *Accident Compensation Act 1972*. People whose impairment was caused by injury through accident were now able to receive assistance on an individual entitlement basis. The need for people with disabilities to have access to a wide range of community-based support was increasingly being recognised. The *Disabled Persons Community Welfare Act 1975* gave people with disabilities, who were not ACC claimants, access to services to help them stay in the community. There was also increasing recognition of the need for people disabilities to have opportunities for mainstream employment. The *Industrial Relations Act 1973* established the under-rate workers' permit. This enabled a person with impairment to work in the open labour market and receive a wage that matched their productivity. Activities promoting the International Year of the Disabled in 1981, and the associated Telethon, provided a focus for people with disabilities. Awareness was raised on disability issues that had not happened before. The move away from institutionalised accommodation for people with disabilities continued during the 1980s (also known as deinstitutionalisation). At the same time government support for community-based services increased. This was reinforced by an amendment to the Education Act enabling the mainstreaming of disabled children into a 'normal' school environment. Through the 1990s more concerns were expressed about the limitations of the government provision for reducing social barriers experienced by disabled people. Government funding for support services for people with disabilities moved from the welfare agency (Department of Social Welfare) to health agencies (Regional Health Authorities) (Tennant, 1996).

In 2000/2001, the government developed the New Zealand Disability Strategy. The New Zealand Disability Strategy was based on the social model of disability, which makes a distinction between impairments (which people have) and disability (which lies in their experience of barriers to participation in society). In 2002 the Office for Disability Issues was set up. Its purpose is to provide a focus on disability across government and to lead the implementation and monitoring of the New Zealand Disability Strategy. New Zealand has taken a leading role at the United Nations in the development of a convention making explicit the rights of disabled people. A review of long-term disability support services was begun in 2004. Led by the Office for Disability Issues and working across government agencies, the review aims to

improve the fragmentation and incoherence of services as experienced by people with disabilities (retrieved from http://www.odi.govt-New Zealand /disability-perspective/disability-New Zealand .html).

The New Zealand Disability Strategy is the foundation document guiding the government's initiatives for people with disabilities. The *No Exceptions* strategy has a wider mandate – its focus is on getting more people involved in recreation and sport. The No Exception strategies, once implemented, are designed to deliver a wide range of positive outcomes – all of which link to Sporting and Recreation New Zealand's (SPARC) vision of New Zealand being the most active nation, having the most effective sport and physical recreation systems, and having athletes and teams winning consistently in events that matter to New Zealanders (Beatson, 2000).

While the history of disability, within New Zealand, has presented new and more effective methods of ensuring the rights of people with disabilities, there has yet to be a universal definition of disability established. This may be due to disability being culturally defined and therefore a social construction (Albrecht and Levy, 1981) or simply due to the diversity of human nature and the ever-changing trends of modern times. Either way, there are numerous definitions of disability and these are worth while exploring.

1.3 Defining Disability

> "We contend that disability definitions are not rationally determined but socially constructed. Despite the objective reality, what becomes a disability is determined by social meaning individuals attach to particular physical and mental impairments. Certain disabilities become defined as social problems through the successful efforts of powerful groups to market their own self interests. Consequently the so-called 'objective' criteria of disability reflects the biases, self-interests, and moral evaluations of those in a position to influence policy"

> Albrecht & Levy (1981), p.14.

It is difficult to easily define what is meant by a 'disability'. However, in general terms disability can be considered as a condition that in some way hampers or hinders a person in terms of their ability to carry out day to day activities. The extent to which a

condition hinders a person will vary from individual to individual and the general range of disabilities varies from conditions that are mild (for example, the need to wear reading glasses) to severe (for example, some forms of brain injury). In recent times various definitions or classifications of disability have been negotiated displaying how definition of a term is often a result of social constructivism.

The first international classification relating to disability was provided by the International Classification of Impairments, Disabilities and Handicaps, initially published in 1980 by the World Health Organisation (WHO). The 1980 classification was a framework for disability described in three dimensions: impairment, disability and handicap. The Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Survey of Disability, Ageing and Carers in 1981, 1988 and 1993 was based on this classification. A revised classification— the International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health (ICF)—was adopted by the World Health Assembly in May 2001, after several years of international revision.

Disability is conceptualised as being a multidimensional experience for the person involved. There may be effects on organs or body parts and there may be effects on a person's participation in areas of life. Correspondingly, three dimensions of disability are recognised in ICF: body structure and function (and impairment thereof), activity (and activity restrictions) and participation (and participation restrictions). The classification also recognises the role of physical and social environmental factors in affecting disability outcomes.

The ABS (1998) Survey of Disability, Ageing and Carers defined disability as any person with a limitation, restriction or impairment which has lasted, or is likely to last, for at least six months and restricts everyday activities.

Self care, mobility and communication are defined as core activities. The ABS defines levels of core activity restriction as follows:

- *mild* — where a person has no difficulty with self care, mobility or communication, but uses aids or equipment;
- *moderate* — where a person does not need assistance, but has difficulty with self care, mobility or communication;

- *severe* — where a person sometimes needs assistance with self care, mobility or communication; and
- *profound* — where a person is unable to perform self care, mobility and/or communication tasks, or always needs assistance.

The New Zealand Disability Strategy (2000) defines disability in a much different way to this and it is worth noting such difference,

> "Disability is not something individuals have. What individuals have are impairments. They may be physical, sensory, neurological, psychiatric, intellectual or other impairments. Disability is the process that happens when one group of people create barriers by designing a world only for their way of living, taking no account of the impairments other people have.
>
> Our society is built in a way that assumes that we can all move quickly from one side of the road to the other; that we can all see signs, read directions, hear announcements, reach buttons, have the strength to open heavy doors and have stable moods and perceptions..... Disability relates to the interaction between the person with the impairment and the environment. It has a lot to do with discrimination, and has a lot in common with other attitudes and behaviours such as racism and sexism that are not acceptable in our society."

This definition of disability shifts blame from the individual to their environment, which precedes the change from stigma to rehabilitation. As this definition is the most modern and positive definition this is the definition used in this study.

Prevalence rates of disability differ depending on the definition used. While some definitions include a wide range of disabilities and therefore include more people, other definitions include only a selection of disabilities and therefore less people. Prevalence rates are important as these statistics give an indication of how many people with disabilities live in a given country and they help minority groups become more visible. Therefore, prevalence rates of disability within New Zealand will be examined and discussed next.

1.4 Prevalence of disability in New Zealand

In 2001 a self report questionnaire was designed by the government as a means of collecting information on disability within New Zealand. From this is was found that

22% of adults, or an estimated one in five people aged 15 years and over, and 11% of children (people aged 0–14) living in households had a disability. This was an estimated 716,500 people: 626,500 adults and 90,000 children. Of these, males have a slighter higher rate of disability than females, with an age-standardised rate of 18,000 per 100,000, compared with the female rate of 17,000 per 100,000. An important factor contributing to this is the higher prevalence of disability among boys (13%) compared with girls (9%). Furthermore, older people are substantially more likely than younger people to experience disability, with just 9 % of adults aged 15–24 having a disability, compared with 87% of people aged 85 and over. An estimated 106,500 Māori have a disability, as do 27,700 Pacific people, 551,100 Pakeha, and 21,100 Asian/Other peoples. These totals include substantial numbers of children, with an estimated 28,400 Māori and 5700 Pacific children having a disability, along with an estimated 52,300 Other and 2200 Asian/Other children. Of the four main ethnic groups, Māori have the highest age-standardised rate of disability (24,100 per 100,000). The Asian/Other ethnic group have the lowest rate (13,400 per 100,000). (All of these statistics were taken from the 2001 New Zealand Disability Strategy, Ministry of Health.)

Prevalence rates can be affected by societal attitudes toward disability. If disability is deemed as undesirable and something to be ashamed of then it is less likely that people with disabilities are going to come forth with issues concerning their disability. This then creates inaccurate statistics for the respective country due to people not coming forth about disability issues. It is important for each country to know the exact statistics of the population as this helps determine what support/resources are available to any given group. Generally, more people in a group equal more perceived need for such support and resources. With this in mind, societal attitudes toward disability will be discussed in the following section.

1.5 Societal Attitudes toward Disability

The literature on attitudes toward people with disability is primarily focused on so called western societies. Less is known worldwide about attitudes toward people with disabilities (Johnson, Henry, Yamaki, Watanabe, Shimada & Fugjimura, 2002). It has

been suggested that societal attitudes toward people with disabilities are among the key barriers obstructing their full participation in the societies in which they live, and their political equality as citizens with rights (Barton, 1996; Berzon and Maran, 1989; Byrd & Elliot, 1988; Lepofsky & Bickenbach, 1985; Tait, 1992; Thomson, 1997; Yoshida et al, 1990; Zola, 1985;). Studies in pursuit of understanding such attitudes suggest that public attitudes toward people with disabilities are influenced by a range of factors. Examples of such factors include a person's class, age, religion, gender, education, culture, the amount of direct contact one has with disabilities, the context within which the disability has occurred and the type/severity of the disability involved, to name a few (Albaz et al, 1992; Aminidav & Weller, 1995; Eichinger, Rizzo & Sicotnik, 1992; Florian, 1978, 1987; Gilad & Lazar, 1993; Johnson & Lambrins, 1987; Mar'I, Reiter & Rosenberg, 1986; Rimmerman & Yanai, 1997; Shurka & Katz, 1982).

The principle of normalization (Nirje, 1985; Wolfensberger, 1972) is the suggestion that people with disabilities have the right to those patterns of life and conditions of everyday living that are as close as possible to (or indeed the same as) the regular circumstances and ways of life for their communities and culture. This principle advances Carter, Parameter & Walter's (1996) claim that persons with disabilities should have access to the patterns of life and daily activities that are available to other members of society. Moreover, the acceptance of this principle has lead to increased integration of persons with disabilities into school and the general community (Carter et al, 1996). Policy and legislation has been acknowledged as having a significant role in the facilitation of social change (Parmenter, 1991) but the importance of community attitudes and their effects on people with disabilities has long been overlooked. It is argued that such attitudes and their effects should not be underestimated as they have just as much impact on barriers which prevent the inclusion of people with disabilities (see Gleeson, 1995).

In recent times there has been a substantive increase in research conducted on the place of people with intellectual disabilities within many countries. The Multinational Study of Attitudes toward Individuals with Intellectual Disabilities (2001) is by far the largest cross-cultural study conducted to date. This study documents how the general population across (different) cultures view persons with intellectual disabilities, and

how they should fit into society. The study was conducted in 10 countries (Brazil, China, Egypt, Germany, Ireland, Japan, Nigeria, Russia and USA) across the world, with 8,000 persons responding. Across every continent, the survey shows that each individual's image of people with intellectual disabilities affects the degree to which they believe persons with intellectual disabilities should be included in society. A serendipitous finding within this study is that most respondents believe that it is others' attitudes about persons with intellectual disabilities, and not necessarily their own, that affect how persons with intellectual disabilities are included in general society. This was found in respondents' answers across the three areas of work, school and community. They also felt that the lack of resources affected inclusion across the three areas. Furthermore, the study found that attitudes of others (and not that of their own) and negative attitudes of the media are major obstacles to inclusion. Overall this study concluded that there was a general lack (across countries) of appreciation for the vast capabilities of individuals with disabilities. Within a study such as this there is the potential for perceptions and attitudes to get lost in translation and as a result of this many conclude that large scale cross-cultural studies often ignore the variability within a single culture for ease in coding uniformity, and the variation across cultures (Levinson, 1980). Although there is this limitation this study has provided very important information concerning cross-cultural attitudes towards disability. As this study is the largest to date it gives valuable insight into cross-cultural comparisons of societal values and practices concerning disability and the issues surrounding it.

With this in mind, smaller (but still significant) scale research has been conducted in the quest to identify public perceptions toward people with intellectual disabilities within respective countries. An Indonesia study investigated the social geographies of people with intellectual disabilities in Bandung, Indonesia. Three schools in the northern part of the city, the part that citizens surmise to be occupied mostly by intellectual, powerful and rich inhabitants, and therefore considered as an elite territory, was used for recruitment of participants. Interviews were carried out within the schools. The school building and its surroundings, particularly the access to the building, were observed in order to gauge whether there was an intention of physical segregation. It was found that in a collectivist culture, conformity and shame tend to provide powerful forms of social control. Therefore, the concept of 'segregation and control by institutions", which have dominated much in the United States until the

1970s (Metzel and Walker, 2001), is a contemporary ideal for people with intellectual disabilities in Bandung (Komardjaja, 2004). This study supports the conclusions drawn in the Multinational Study's (2001). It appears that within Indonesian society there too is a lack (across countries) of appreciation for the vast capabilities of individuals with disabilities as it is seen as 'shameful' to have a disability.

Additionally, and closer to home, an Australian (Yazbeck, Mcvilly & Parmenter, 2004) study investigated the attitudes toward people with intellectual disabilities among students, disability services professionals, and the general Australian population. Three previously validated questionnaires and a measure of respondent self-reported social desirability were used. Students and disability services professionals exhibited similar attitudes, with both groups reporting significantly more positive attitudes than members of the general population. More positive attitudes were evident among younger people, people with higher educational attainment, and individuals with a prior knowledge of or regular contact with people with intellectual disabilities. These respondents were less likely to support the principles of eugenics and more likely to support the paradigm of community inclusion. There appears to be a direct link between social attitudes of disability and the level of education received by the public. This is exemplified by the results of a Japanese study (Hornor-Johnson, Keys, Henry, Yamaki, Watanabe, Shimada & Fugjimura, 2002). This study investigated attitudes of Japanese students towards people with intellectual disability (ID). This study also examined how these attitudes are related to individual characteristics, such as experience with people with ID, major field of study and career interests. The participants completed a series of measures developed in the USA: three measures of attitudes toward people with ID, a demographic questionnaire and a social desirability scale. This study found that the factor structures of all three attitude scales replicated the structures found in the USA. Attitudes toward community inclusion of people with ID were negatively correlated with an endorsement of eugenics. In addition, students in social work and psychology had more positive attitudes than other students which indicates that through education of disability such attitudes are slowly changing.

Governmental reports have also being commissioned to gain a better understanding of societal attitudes towards disability. One such study was commissioned by the Office

for Disability Issues in Canada (1998). The purpose of this research was to gauge Canadians attitudes towards persons with disabilities and awareness of disability-related issues, and in particular identify how these compare between individuals with and without disabilities. The study was conducted in two parts: a) a national public opinion survey of Canadians (quantitative); and b) in-depth focus groups with selected groups of Canadians in four locations (qualitative). This study found that people who had first-hand experience with disability were knowledgeable about the specific disability and its impact on the life of the individual but were usually not aware of the issues related to other forms of disability. Most participants stated that they like to think of themselves as being open to the idea of integration of persons with disabilities into their day-to-day activities, but many were uncomfortable with some aspects involved in developing relations or communications with those who have various types of disabilities. Furthermore, most felt that there has been a significant positive movement towards accepting those with physical disabilities into more mainstream activities, school, work, cultural activities and social environments.

Overall, previous research indicates that public perceptions and societal inclusion of people with intellectual disabilities are generally more positive in contemporary times and this appears to be due, in part, to education on disability. In saying this, there is still a lot of room for improvement when dealing with societal attitudes.

Mass media are central channels for education initiatives often used in attempts to foster public dialogue and for members of the public to consider alternative was of looking at and engaging with specific groups of people such as those living with disabilities (McQuail, 2000). Witness the recent campaign with John Kirwan, better known as the 'know me before you judge me' Like Minds campaign. The campaign was designed as a way of decreasing the stigma, prejudice and discrimination surrounding mental health by using well known New Zealand celebrities who have personally faced the challenges of mental illness. These include the likes of sports players, musicians and everyday members of New Zealand society. This campaign is stated to play an integral part in the process of creating a nation that values and includes all people with experience of mental illness by 'normalising' the issues of mental illness (Clements, 2007). Educational campaigns (like this one) have the

potential to produce positive outcomes for disability and it appears that in modern society the media is being utilized more as a means of raising awareness for disability.

Within the disability field, while acknowledging such positive potential for media portrayals, the overly pessimistic idea that media have a powerful and uniform effect on unsuspecting publics in dictating attitudes adopted still dominates (Clogston, 1989; Crowley, & Blandford, 1990; Donaldson, 1981; Elliott & Byrd, 1982; Keller, Hallahan, McShane, Yoshida, Wasilewska, & Friedman, 1990). It is important to note that research in this area is dominated by assumptions regarding media effects that are not adequately researched. General media research points to a far more complex function of media as a forum for cultivating public images rather than a source of influence from outside of society. Media coverage is often approached somewhat uncritically by researchers unfamiliar with media theory as having the potential to reinforce negative and inappropriate stereotypes of persons with disabilities (Benkert, 1997; Domino, 1983; Elliott & Byrd, 1982; Granello, Pauley & Carmichael, 1999; Granello & Pauley, 2000; Keller *et al.,* 1990; Margolis, Shapiro, & Anderson, 1990; Philo, 1996; Steadman & Cocozza, 1977; Thornton & Wahl, 1996; Wahl & Lefkowitz, 1989), or alternatively, it may disseminate knowledge while facilitating social awareness (Elliott & Byrd, 1982; Keller *et al.,* 1990; Lopez, 1991) and attitude change (Donaldson, 1981; Elliott & Byrd, 1982). Researchers need to be careful not to overstate the power of the media to impose attitudes or perceptions on an unsuspecting public. In a recent keynote addressed to the American public Fischoff (1999) coined the term 'fundamedia attribution error' to question the tendency in psychological research to blame the media for negative or discriminatory public attitudes. He pointed a lack of evidence for such negative media effects. In fact, audience research has demonstrated that rather than being manipulated by media messages, audiences more often actively work to alter and modify the product of the media production for their own purposes (Hodgetts, Bolam & Stephens, 2005). This is a well supported stance within the field of audience research (Livingstone, 1999).

Regardless of whether past researchers were optimistic or pessimistic about the function of news media in society, they have often recognized content analysis as an essential step in understanding the orientation of media constructions of specific groups of people. With print media being a common mass communication source of

messages regarding disability newspapers provide an appropriate focus for content analysis. Moreover, the technique of content analysis has commonly been used within past print media as outlined in the next section.

1.6 Media Portrayal of Disability

In modern times, news media play an important role in not only reflecting public attitudes regarding disability, but also in hosting public deliberations regarding the role of people with disability in various spheres of public life, and appropriate public responses to peoples' needs (Hafferty & Foster, 1994). The volume and content of press coverage regarding disability can be seen as a reflection of the importance journalists place on related issues and the assumptions these communications professionals have regarding disabled persons (Neuendorf, 1990). For instance, people with intellectual disabilities have often been portrayed as dependent, abused or deviant (Byrd, 1989; Gardner & Randel, 1978), and many are depicted as having no families and no work life, reinforcing the image of people with disabilities as non-productive (Zola, 1985). Such media portrayals may reflect social barriers to people with disabilities participating fully in social life, including gaining full employment and integration into society (Hafferty & Foster, 1994).

For some time, portrayals of disabilities in the media have been criticised for being inaccurate, demeaning, and reinforcing negative stereotypes while at the same nurturing such stereotypes (Biklen, 1986; Byrd & Elliot, 1988; Panitch, 1995; Yoshida *et al.*, 1990). Studies have shown that the media presents disabled people in a variety of stereotypical ways. These include being weak, helpless and powerless, as victims, geniuses, superheroes (Tait, 1992), as objects of pity, humour and ridicule, and very often as dangerous (Bogdan, Biklen, Shapiro, & Spelkoman, 1982; Byrd & Elliot, 1988). Conversely, news reports have been found to also portray disabled people in a more positive light. For example, because the media is under pressure to avoid controversy over the presentation of `minority' characters, it sometimes depicts disabled people in `unrealistic sanitized portrayals' (Hafferty & Foster, 1994, p. 187). This is to say, successful and socially integrated characters presented by the media implicitly create the impression of a barrier-free world, and send the message to both disabled and non-disabled people that if a person with disabilities is not as successful

as the individual portrayed in the media, the problem is one of individual failure and not social barriers. `Ultimately, these depictions absolve society and its agents from its responsibility to acknowledge and remediate its disabling social environment' (Hafferty & Foster, 1994, p. 202). This is a problematic line of argument in which journalists simply cannot win. First they are criticised for negative portrayals and then for positive ones. This argument appears to be in need of revision. Literature also suggests that disability issues generally tend to be covered in newspapers in soft, feature-style stories rather than in harder, more issue-orientated ones (Clogston, 1993). According to Gold & Auslander (1999), this has been a source of frustration to activists: 'The disability-rights movement has longed for [coverage as] straight news, with little of the soft, human-interest approach that affects too many stories about disability issues' (Johnson & Lambrinos, 1987, p.21).However, this could be viewed differently as personalising a story is a way of making it real and a rhetorical strategy for emphasising its importance.

There has been a substantial amount of research conducted in the field of mass media and mental illness. Such research indicates the presence of both positive (Allen & Nairn, 1997; Berveridge, 1996; Bokey, 2000; Day & Page, 1986; Dienfenbach, 1997; Hazelton, 1997; Hyler, 1991; Nairn, 1999; Philo, 1996; Rose, 1998; Rosen, 1997; Rosen & Walter, 2000; Signorilelli, 1989; Ward, 1997; Wilson, 1999, 1999a, 2000;) and negative (Allen et al, 1997; Coverdale et al, 2002; Wilson et al, 1999) depictions suggesting that the media is a site for working through a range of issues.

On closer analysis, it is evident that there are more studies supporting positive depictions of disability than there are for negative depictions. For example, Meagher's (1995) study involved a content analysis of 380 mental health related items from selected Irish newspapers from July to December 1993. This study found that portrayal of mental illness was either neutral or positive overall. Wahl & Kaye's (1992) quantitative analysis study of mental health articles from popular periodicals (1965, 1970, 1980 and 1988) found that there were indications of positive changes in the portrayal of mental health over time. However, criticisms have been presented for inappropriate and stereotyped portrayal of persons with disability in analysis of coverage in television and film (Donaldson, 1981; Elliott & Byrd, 1982) as well as popular literature (Elliott & Byrd, 1982). Further, limited reviews of newspaper

coverage currently available have suggested that both the content of media reports (Yoshida *et al.,* 1990) and portrayal of persons with disabilities are overtly negative in tone (Keller *et al.,* 1990). Whilst some professional journals (e.g., *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps)* have been relatively aggressive in promoting the use of more contemporary terminology, the research of Keller *et al.* (1990) would suggest that questionable or derogatory terminology is still prevalent in newsprint in North America. The extent to which recent shifts in philosophy and perception of disability amongst professionals is reflected in media coverage of persons with disability in general, and more particularly in New Zealand coverage, remains largely to be determined.

In addition to the negative tone of articles, research suggests that often articles are lacking in `completeness, comprehensiveness, and broadness' (Tait, 1992, p. 11). Biklen (1986) notes, with reference to two landmark cases about disabled people, how much the newspapers did *not* report, and cites a media analyst, Steven Baer, who called the reporting of one of them `the half-told story' (p. 47). An example of such a half told story is that of Elizabeth Bouvia, a disabled woman with cerebral palsy who wanted to end her life; yet the newspapers made no mention of the fact that a crucial factor in her decision to die was her inability to access competent and reliable personal assistance which would enable her to live a relatively independent life. Also missing from the stories was any kind of broader debate over the rights of disabled people to service and the society's lack of responsiveness to their needs. Despite these serious difficulties with the media's approach to disability issues, some perceive that gradual improvement is underway (Byrd, 1997; Duvdevany, Rimmerman & Portewicz, 1995; Eichinger *et al.*, 1992; Michael-Smith, 1987; Quart & Auster, 1982). One indicator of this is the linguistic guidelines now in effect in many places which require that people with disabilities be referred to in terms that emphasise their abilities, rather than their limitations (Canadian Press, 1998; McFarlane & Clements, 1990; Toronto Star, 1998; University of Kansas, 1987; Yoshida *et al.*, 1990).

While the way in which the media portrays disability is an interesting issue, the process of deciding what events are going to make news becomes even more pressing. There is the question of how do stories/events become news? Some may assume that this is a simple process; events which are prominent make the news. However, the

word prominent is very subjective as what one person may deem as important may be deemed as insignificant by someone else. For example, while a person who is blind may state that the closure of their main walkway is important as it means that they have to find another path to get to their destination (a major disadvantage for those who can not see), another person without disabilities may find such events irrelevant to their daily news. This complicated process of deciding what makes the news will be examined and discussed in the next section.

1.7 The process of deciding what is news

The process of deciding what is news, and what should get covered and how, is not a straightforward one (Desbarats, 1990). Ericsons (1987) study found that when asked about this, journalists' answers were frequently 'that it was obviously or evidently newsworthy as an 'important story'. Assignment editors found it hard to articulate reasons of why and how a story was deemed important (Ericson, 1987). As Gold & Auslander (1999) note, they also found that both story selection and how a story was covered were significantly influenced by the availability of resources, such as time and money. With time being of the essence, journalists' 'generally shield away from documents' (Ericson et al., 1987), 'even when they were made available to them, preferring a quick interview to a lengthy reading of complex material' (Desbarats, 1990, p.113). In accordance with Gold and Auslander, 'the structure of the industry works against the development of journalist with specialised, in-depth knowledge in a given area (such as disabilities), since the usual practice is to rotate beats and bureau assignments so that journalists' can be generalists (Desbarat, 1990).

Journalists also ask 'questions designed to confirm [their] preconceived notions rather than to elicit new information' (Ericson et al., 1987, p.246). Ericson (1987) noted that 'often the significance of an event is prejudged [by the journalist] to the point where the reporter will visualise what is going to happen and then produce a report which makes the outcome apparent regardless of what else has transpired'. This process is stated to be consonance (Ericson, 1987). Furthermore, the findings at the *Globe* state that more than half the story ideas originate internally with the reporters and editors, another 20% are follow-ups on earlier stories, 13% are derived from scanning other

news media (other papers or the news service) and the balance (7.4% are from press releases, calls from other organisations (2.2%) or calls from individuals (2.2% Ericson, 1987, pp.182-183). However, it would be misleading to assume that journalists simply impose their own prejudices in the framing of coverage. Newspapers are commercial enterprises and journalists often operate from what has been referred to as a "sphere of consensus" (Schudson, 2003) or what are perceived as majority opinions regarding an issue. It is the job of journalists to gage what readers might expect or want to read about. It is also their professional obligation to challenge prejudices and to contribute to positive social change by providing citizens with accurate and useful information (Schudson, 2003). The issue here is that minority groups are often faced with the terrine of the majority whose perspectives are often reproduced in the framing of concerns regarding these minorities.

After deciding what events should become news the print media relies largely on sources. Such sources include government agencies, family members, organisations and the person involved in the event. The selection of these sources is worth examining because the source can effect the overall portrayal of disability by giving a one sided perspective or opinion. Oilen, Tichenor and Donohue (1989) propose that: "Media reports social movements as a rule in the guise of watchdogs, while actually performing as 'guard dogs' for the mainstream interests" (p.21). Gusfield (1981) explains that a component of public application is mass media. Media helps construct the 'reality' of a public crisis. In the case of the Americans with Disabilities Act, news media had only a little knowledge of the disability rights at the inception of the act, so they had to begin to develop some news sources within the disability community. However, past research on news sources illustrates that news media prefer sources from government and other elite sources rather than those in the community. An example of a study supporting such claims is that of Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien (1980). This study found in stories about conflict 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. Oilen, Donohue and Tichenor confirmed that the media lean in favour of the status quo and the 'mainstream' when covering public protests. Such study found the media are watchdogs on behalf of the mainstream groups. This is to say that newspaper

coverage of disability tend to stay with mainstream topics that are not controversial (adhering to a utilitarian perspective).

Many disability issues are tied to government, and some disability laws have implications for New Zealand business interests, which mean sources from business and the government are expected in many disability-related stories. News about disability also deals with social groups that have been traditionally marginalised and a social issue that has not received much press attention in the past. Typically, social issues take up less space in the newspaper than other types of news (Haller, 1999). Ryan and Owen (1979) found that only 8.8 percent of metropolitan daily newspapers' news holes were devoted to social issues such as health, housing, education, crime-law, poverty-welfare, ecology, mass transit, racism-sexism and drug abuse. With even more unfortunate implications for disability coverage, Ryan and Owen (1979) found in a follow-up study that coverage of social issues contained more errors than general coverage. The accuracy of 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 have been treated.

News media have been criticised for functioning as instruments in the social control of deviance. In labelling deviance, for example, "mass media labelling is nothing more than journalists' normative judgements, and these judgements will draw and define the attention of those who control social change. The journalist acts as a surrogate judge of deviance for his or her audience members" (Shoemaker, 1987).

In terms of disability-related stories, this has implications for whether journalists present disability issues in a positive or negative light. In Visualising Deviance, Ericson, Baranek, and Chan (1987) explain how journalists help shape definitions of social deviance. The authors argue that journalistic methodology is one of visualisation- that is making something visible to the mind even when it is not visible to the eyes. This would account for journalists need to write about the most visible disabilities.

In addition, because most journalists do not actually see the original event of a story, they are left to construct it from the accounts of authoritative sources. They also learn

from the norms of journalism and their particular newsroom what stories get play, what sources get used, and what representations get chosen. It has been long understood that the organisational and cultural practice of journalism influence the sources used for stories. Roshco (1978) points to the institutional constraint of timeliness as giving already newsworthy sources greater saliency for reporters. Therefore, sources who have established their newsworthiness, because of their high rank in the social structure most likely, will dominate the news even if they are involved in less newsworthy events. In line with this, Roshco argues that sources with little newsworthy status must act deviantly to gain the attention of the press. However, in these circumstances, reporters tend to focus on the deviant event rather than the issue. Roshco calls these symbolic protests 'news management by the socially invisible'. In this way, both the authoritative sources and the low status sources make it into the news.

In light of the above, this study examines newspaper coverage of disability in New Zealand. The aim of this study is to investigate how people with disabilities are portrayed in New Zealand print media.

Chapter 2.

METHODOLOGY

2.1 Content analysis

"The content of the mass media are a reflection of the social organization and value system of the society or group interest involved. Simultaneously, the contents of the mass media are purposive elements of social change, agents for modifying the goals and values of social groups"

Morris Janowitz (1968), p.26.

Mass communication is thousands of years old. Research on mass communication can be traced right back to the Romans and Greeks. Moreover, modern researchers from other disciplines, such as sociology and geography, have focused on mass communication processes, enriching and defining mass communication as a field by contributing their own most productive theoretical perspectives and research methods (McQuail, 2000).

Content analysis of media is a traditional mass communication research method used to assess a wide range of media content. "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 indicator analysis is often to test propositions about effects from the media on society over time, but it is also a method for the study of social change in its own right and for comparison of different national societies and culture" according to mass media scholar Denis McQuail (2000).

It should be remembered that content analysis does not make claims about the effects of news stories on audiences. Content analysis simply provides an indication of how various perspectives on disability contribute to the characterization of disabled people in news reports (Haller, 1999). Journalists select the content and frame of the news, thereby constructing reality for those who read, watch, or listen to their stories (Haller, 1999).

This thesis draws upon both quantitative and qualitative content analysis techniques. Quantitative content analysis is a research method defined in brief as 'the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods'. Quantitative content analysis transforms observations of found categories into quantitative statistical data. More often than not quantitative content analysis involves drawing representative samples of content, training coder's to use the category rules developed to measure or reflect differences in content, and measuring the reliability (agreement or stability over time) of the coder in applying the rules. If the categories and rules are theoretically and conceptually sound and are reliably applied, the researcher increases the chance that the study's results will be consistent and accurate. The object of quantitative content analysis can be all sorts of recorded communication (transcripts of interviews, discourses, protocols of observations, media analysis, video tapes and documents). Such analysis attends not only the manifest content of the material, as its name suggests, but also levels of content and the communicative techniques and forms through which that content is presented (Becker & Lissmann, 1973). Levels include themes and main ideas as primary content and content information as latent content. The analysis of formal aspects of the material belongs to its aims as well. While this technique is a very useful way of analyzing content it is not without its limitations. One very significant limitation of quantitative content analysis is the fact that this technique often hides complexities and contradictions which lie within the respective content. It is often hard to make categories mutually exclusive as some of the content may fall into two or more of the categories. Furthermore, the prevalence of a theme is not necessarily associated with its importance or influence on the framing of a message as this technique often suggests. Therefore, it is important to understand these limitations before undergoing quantitative content analysis. The main point to note with quantitative analysis is that it provides a general indication of trends but it oversimplifies what is going on in the text.

Quantitative techniques have been most commonly used in psychological research while fields such as media and communications have generally opted to use more qualitative approaches (McQuail, 2000). Both techniques have strengths and weaknesses and integrating both techniques strengthens the overall analysis as they

compliment each other well. This is why I have supplemented the quantitative analysis with a qualitative content analysis.

Qualitative content analysis is stated to 'embed the text into a model of communication within which it defines the aims of analysis' (Mayring 2000). Moreover, Krippendorff (1969) defines qualitative content analysis as 'the use of replicable and valid method for making specific inferences from text to other states or properties of its source'. Additionally, as Mayring (2000) points out 'qualitative content analysis defines itself within this framework as an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within their content of communication, following content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification'. This suggests that qualitative analysis allows the researcher to observe the text and make inferences in relation to the main themes without placing emphasis on the statistics of such themes.

While quantitative content analysis transforms observations of found categories into quantitative statistical data, the qualitative content analysis focuses more on the direct text and its implications. Although both methods transform and interpret aspects of data they are both subjective at some level. When combined, these methods allows for a more comprehensive analysis to be established and therefore for more insights to be generated in terms of the amount of coverage of disability, prevalence of specific sources, reliance on specific perspectives and privileging of these within news coverage.

2.2 Main Study

Preliminary work

Initially, a selection of keywords (see Appendix D) was identified by creating a list of the most common disabilities and names for people with disabilities (within New Zealand). These keywords were identified by asking my supervisor and another psychology master's student to examine the keywords and add or remove any words which they considered useful or irrelevant. These were the same people used for interrater reliability. These keywords were then entered into the Newztext primary search section to determine which keywords brought forth relevant articles. This was

carried out over a week (everyday) to get a feel for the amount of articles each word retrieved and to determine which keywords should be kept or deleted for the main study.

The main study examined articles relating to intellectual and physical disabilities and people with disabilities published in three major newspapers of New Zealand. Data collection commenced on the 1st of June 2006 and finished on the 1st of August 2006. Newspaper articles were accessed weekly via the University of Waikato library database called NewzText Sources.

Articles were accepted into the study sample if they included a reference to a specific disability or chronic illness which incurs disabilities or to disability in general. They could relate to a broad range of disabilities and conditions which lead to disability-physical or developmental-from any cause and at all levels of severity. The reference to disability could appear anywhere in the article (in the headline or text).

A total of 101 articles were collected and analyzed altogether. The Dominion Post produced a total of 50 (50%) articles, The Sunday Star Times produced a total of 12 (12%) articles, and the New Zealand Herald produced a total of 39 (39%) articles. It is important to note here that The Sunday Star Times is a weekend only paper. The average number of articles per edition of newspaper was 1 for The Sunday Star Times, 1.5 for The New Zealand Herald and 1.2 for The Dominion Post.

Many of the articles retrieved using the selected keywords were not relevant to this study. Such irrelevant retrieval of articles were produced from keywords such as 'blind', 'deaf', 'stuttering', 'handicapped' and 'impaired'. Examples of non relevant use of keywords included 'blind corner', 'turning a blind eye', 'a stuttering start', 'fallen on deaf ears', 'after being handicapped with 2 less players' and 'their decision seemed somewhat impaired'. Each week at least 1 non relevant article was retrieved and it was therefore worth analysing.

2.3 Categorization of Articles during data collection

Articles were examined as to the extent of coverage, the way they related to people with disability and the disability model expressed in the article. Data was categorised into six main groups of variables as suggested by Carter (1996) and Gold & Auslander (1999). From this, each of the categories listed below were analysed. This

categorization technique was derived from previous studies which used the same method successfully. As such studies were similar to this one it was concluded that the use of this technique was only logical.

(1) Firstly, the Structure of the articles was examined to determine such aspects as placement (section, page), day (weekday or weekend), type of article (news, opinion, feature or other), length (pages), whether the article was accompanied by visual effects/illustrations and the length of the article (A4 pages).

(2) Secondly, variables such as the main character in the article (specific person/s with disability, family members, groups of disabled individuals or organisations), the kind of details used to describe main characters who were persons with disabilities (for example name, age, gender, occupation, ethnicity), the source of the information provided (governmental agencies, service providers, person, family member), specific problems experienced by disabled people and people quoted verbatim in the article were examined and documented.

(3) Thirdly, the terminology used within each article was examined to determine the kind of inferences and language used in relation to disability. For this purpose, headlines and captions were considered in the analysis. The following categories of terminology were coded;

Medical terminology.

- Medical terminology was considered to occur when it implied that developmental disabilities represent a disease state and would be used to describe someone with an illness. For example, '*suffers* from Down syndrome', '*afflicted* with mental retardation', '*defective*', '*patient*' (non-hospital context), an '*invalid*', '*stricken*', '*victim*'. This did not include descriptive clinical terminology such as mental retardation, autism, or visual impairment.

Disability-person or disability-alone references.

- Disability-person references referred to the disability before the person (e.g., autistic child, retarded adult). Disability-alone references referred to an

individual or group in terms of their disability without references to the person or people (e.g., a spastic, the retarded, the handicapped, a down's).

Derogatory or questionable references.

- Derogatory or questionable terms were those that could be considered derogatory in normal (non-technical) use or which implied that a disability in itself should be regarded as socially devaluing or a source of pity. These included disaster terminology (e.g., trapped, prisoner of…, mind locked by nature, insurmountable obstacles, wheelchair-bound, confined) and derogatory non-medical descriptive terms (e.g., deaf and dumb, idiot, stupid, dumb, spastic, Mongoloid, normal school-implying other schools are abnormal).

Person-disability references.

- Person-disability references were sentences that did not contain any of the above and referred to an individual's humanity before their disability (e.g., child with autism).

Sentences were counted only once for each category of terminology even if several examples of that category were present in the sentence. For example, if the article used multiple medical terminology such as "a '*victim*' who '*suffers*' from Down syndrome" this counted as medical terminology being used overall and not as medical terminology being used *x* number of times. The number of occurrences made no difference because the article has (no matter how many times) implied the person with the disability to be in a diseased state.

Derogatory/questionable terminology was counted as many times as the terms occurred within each sentence. As the frequency of derogatory/questionable terminology used within an article affects the overall portrayal of disability it was only logical to analyse the occurrence of such terms. For example, if the article used multiple derogatory/questionable terminology to denote a person with autism, such as a '*prisoner*' '*trapped*' in a '*mind lock*' of nature", this makes the article more negative than an article which used derogatory/questionable terminology on one occasion (e.g., " '*prisoner*' of the disability"). Moreover, lists of the specific derogatory/ questionable terms were complied from the terminology identified.

In addition, a single sentence could be coded for more than one category of terminology with the exception of person-disability references. For example, the sentence 'a '*paraplegic boy*' '*afflicted*' by the '*horror*' of being '*wheelchair-bound*' at the age of 2" would be coded for medical terminology (afflicted), derogatory/questionable terminology (wheelchair-bound) and disability before person terminology (paraplegic boy).

(4) Fourthly, each article was examined to determine who the main source of information was within the article. This was conducted as a means of examining whether there was a dominate source in which the newspapers commonly relied on. The categories for source information were government agencies, legal systems, personal stories, family members, sports organisations, business/employment and citizens.

(5) The next category examined was the topic of each article. In order to analyse analysing whether the article was progressive or traditional in focus. The original categories for this variable were derived from Clogston (1989, 1992) who identified a broad range of topics which he classified as traditional vs. progressive (summarised in Appendix A). These are briefly outlined below.

(a) *Progressive foci*: "based on a minority or civil rights perspective, they see disability problems as located in society's failure to accommodate all members of the population. This included articles about discrimination, awareness, integration, mainstreaming, sports, arts, adaptive technology, independent living and non-disability (articles about disabled individuals that do not relate to their disabilities)", (Clogston, 1989, 1992).

(b)*Traditional foci*: "based on a deviance perspective, they consider the person with a disability as dysfunctional, because he or she is unable to function in an environment designed by or for people without disabilities. This includes articles about special attention paid to a disabled person focusing on the disability, victimization or disabled people, special employment, special education, charity or government support, medical or disease and rehabilitation" (Clogston, 1989, 1992). To this was added the categories, financial compensation, and the portrayal of disabled persons as dangerous or threatening.

This allowed each subtopic of progressive and traditional focus to be analysed to determine which areas of life people with disabilities were presented. During the course of coding data, additional topics were added by the researcher such as social support and crime.

After categorising the specific foci in each article, all the articles were classified into one of two groups. Those which included only progressive foci were classified as progressive and those which were only traditional in focus were classified as traditional

(6) The final category of analysis was the coding of each article as positive or negative, as defined by Clogston (1989, 1992), and an additional code of neutral which was added in this study to identify those articles which merely reported the events as they occurred.

Positive Articles

- Positive articles were articles which were generally progressive in focus (although not always), used person before disability references, created awareness for people with disabilities, generally did not use derogatory/questionable terminology (although there were some articles which did) and/or celebrated people with disabilities in some way (e.g., achievements, contributions).

Negative articles

- Negative articles were the reverse of positive articles. They were generally traditional in focus (although not always), used disability before person references, created stigma for people with disabilities (e.g., crime association), used derogatory/questionable terminology and/or generally did not present a positive outlook for people with disabilities.

There were some articles which presented with disability before person or derogatory/questionable references but were generally positive and vice versa. In these situations the positive and negative aspects were counted and weighed up against each other to determine if the article was positive or negative. If this could not be decided (with interrater reliability) then the article was coded as neutral.

- Neutral articles were articles which could not be declared positive or negative. Neutral articles merely stated the facts (news) as it happened and did not give information (either way) which might sway the reader's perspective on disability. Neutral articles tended to be a mix of progressive and traditional focused articles and were either traditional or progressive in focus because they focused on particular areas of disability (e.g., rehabilitation verses awareness regarding disabilities, respectively).

In addition to these six categories the articles were also analysed to determine how many had accompanying illustrations/visual effects.

2.4 Illustrations/visual materials

Each week hardcopies of the three newspapers were retrieved via the University of Waikato's library to examine the articles accompanying illustrations/visual materials. Each accompanying illustration/visual material was photocopied and the number of articles which had accompanying visual materials was documented. The illustration/visual materials were then analysed to determine how the picture portrayed disability. Positive illustration/visual materials showed the person's ability and the positive aspects of disability (e.g. winning a sporting event) whereas negative illustration/visual materials showed the negative aspects of disability (e.g. unable to compete in a sporting event).

All six of these categorisations and coding techniques were assessed to make sure that they had been done accurately. This was undertaken using interrater reliability.

2.5 Interrater reliability

Interrater reliability is the extent to which two or more individuals (coders or raters) agree. It can be used to address the consistency of the implementation of a rating system. In this study it was also used for the identification of appropriate coding of articles between two raters. This was conducted every second week of this study to ensure that coding and analysis of the articles were correct (50% of the articles). Reliability on selection of material from this sample was calculated by dividing the agreements by agreements and disagreements and expressing the result as a

percentage. The interrater reliability was 81% for the sample (41 agreements and 9 disagreements).

2.6 Determining main themes for qualitative analysis.

Main themes were drawn from the quantitative content analysis by determining what issues of disability were prevalent within the New Zealand print media. These issues became apparent when examining the occurrence of certain issues (e.g., positive articles verses negative articles) and through examining the categories within the quantitative analysis (e.g., structure, content and terminology). From this, it was determined that the main themes for the qualitative analysis were the same as the themes in the quantitative analysis. This included examining why articles were coded as positive, neutral and negative, determining what the main topics of disability were within the New Zealand print media and how these topics were portrayed, determining what sources were relied on within each article, and examining the content of each article with regards to the terminology used. All of these themes were demonstrated within the qualitative analysis by using examples of the text used within appropriate articles.

Chapter 3.

RESULTS

Part 1- Quantitative Content Analysis

Each article analysed within this study covered a topic relating to disability. The way in which the article did this led to an article being coded as positive, negative or neutral. Variables such as structure, content and terminology were analysed to determine whether an article was positive, negative or neutral. Additionally, as sources often provide a perspective which can also result in a positive or negative portrayal of disability this too was analysed. It was hypothesised that articles which were positive in the portrayal of disability would be generally progressive in focus and articles which were negative in the portrayal of disability would be generally traditional in focus. This hypothesis was aroused by Clogston's (1989) classification of traditional and progressive focus which supported the idea that traditional focus was based on a deviance perspective while progressive focus was based on a minority or civil defence perspective (see p.36). Another aspect of newspaper articles analysed within this study was the attributes assigned to people with disabilities. These also help shed light on the overall image of the person involved. Such attributes include the person's name, gender, age and disability. Furthermore, the order in which these attributes are discussed within an article help determine the overall portrayal of disability. Additionally, it was initially hypothesized that traditional articles would be overtly negative and progressive articles would be overtly positive. These issues of disability will be analysed next.

Firstly, the distribution of the articles over the 3 month period will be examined. This will be followed by an examination of the topics presented within each article. Subsequently, positive, negative and neutral portrayals of disability within each article will be presented and the focus of each article will be discussed. Additionally, the source of each article's information will be examined along with the attributes given to people with disabilities. Lastly, variables of each article such as structuring, content analysis and terminology will be discussed.

3.1 Distribution of Articles over the 3 month period

A total of 101 articles were collected and analyzed altogether. The Dominion Post produced a total of 50 or just under half the articles, The Sunday Star Times produced a total of 12 (12%) articles, and the New Zealand Herald produced a total of 39 (39%) articles. Figure 1 shows the distribution of articles (for all three newspapers) for the designated 3 month period. From this, it is evident that there was an increase in articles relating to disability in week 4 and 8. When researching this increase there was no conclusive evidence which accounted for this peak. There was no charity/disability awareness week during this period which could account for such a burst nor were there any reported deaths of famous people with disabilities. Overall, the articles received during this time were relatively consistent in comparison to weeks 4 and 8.

Figure 1. Total Number of Articles per Week for all Three Newspapers
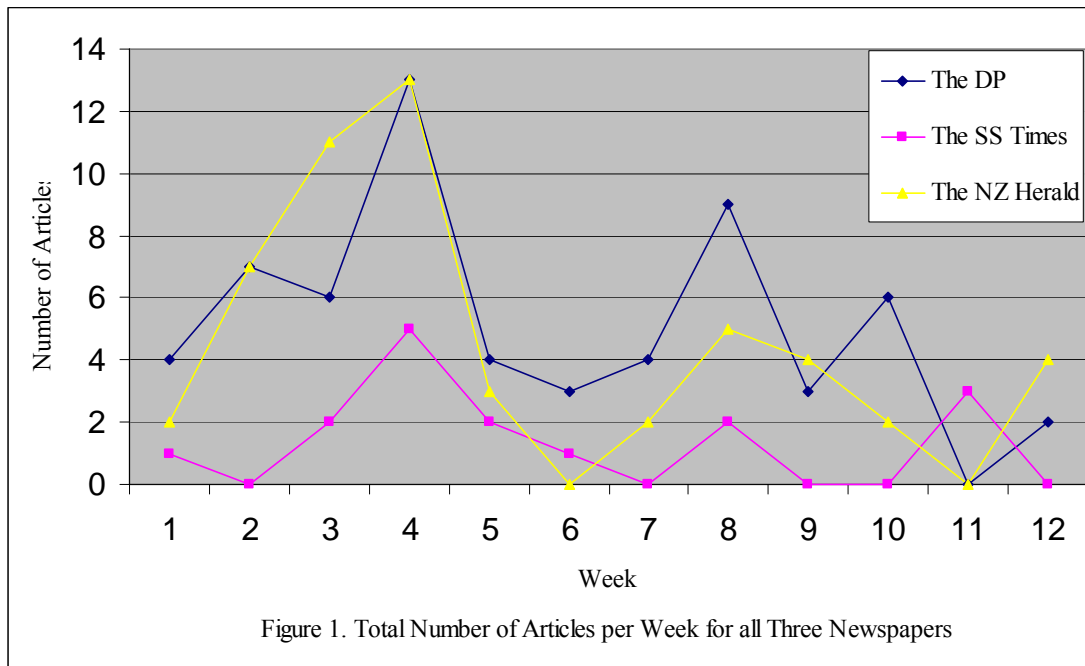
3.2 Topic

Within the accumulated articles, there were 23 topics covered. Each topic was classed, as defined by Clogston (1989), as either a progressive topic or a traditional topic. In addition, there were extra topics were added as a result of Gold and Auslander's (1999) work and topics which came to light from the present study.

Table 1.

Topics of articles by newspaper (n=101)

Topic	DP n	%	N Z n	%	SS n	%
Progressive						
Discrimination	0	0	0	0	0	0
Awareness of disabilities	6	12	10	26	6	50
Integrated programs	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mainstream education	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sports	5	10	5	13	4	33
Arts	1	2	1	3	0	0
Adaptive technology	2	4	0	0	0	0
Independent living	3	6	0	0	0	0
Discrimination, non-disability	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non-disability	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	17	34	16	42	10	83
Traditional						
Special attention	12	26	4	10	0	0
Special employment	0	0	2	5	0	0
Segregated programs	0	0	0	0	0	0
Special education	0	0	0	0	0	0
Charity support	2	5	0	0	0	0
Government support	6	12	3	8	0	0
Compensation for disability	1	2	0	0	0	0
Medical or disease	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rehabilitation	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victimization	6	12	3	8	0	0
Disabled persons as dangerous*	4	8	2	5	0	0
Personal stories	3	6	2	5	0	0
Crime**	4	8	2	5	0	0
Total	38	79	18	46	0	0

* Topics not included in Clogstons (1989) original schema and added by Gold & Auslander (1999).

**Topics included from current study

Table 1 shows the distribution of such topics, by newspaper. It is evident that awareness of disability, sports, special attention and government support received the most amount of coverage within the 3 month period. Moreover, 9 (39%) of the topics received no coverage at all within the 3 month period. Furthermore, The Dominion Post had the majority of its articles based around special attention while The New Zealand Herald and the Sunday Star Times had the majority based around awareness of disability.

3.3 Positive, negative and neutral portrayals of disability within each article

Within this analysis newspaper portrayals of disability were classed as either positive, negative or neutral. This classification depends on aspects of the article such as structure, content and terminology. Results show the Dominion Post produced thirty-one (62%) positive articles, 2 (4%) negative articles and 17 (34%) neutral articles. The Sunday Star Times produced six (50%) positive articles, 3 (25%) negative articles and 3 (25%) neutral articles. The New Zealand Herald produced19 (50%) positive articles, 4 (11%) negative articles and 15 (39%) neutral articles. With this in mind, it was concluded that the majority of articles within this study were positive representations of disability within the New Zealand print media (see Figure 2) and there was little negative portrayals.

Figure 2. Portrayal of Disbaility Within the NZ Print Media
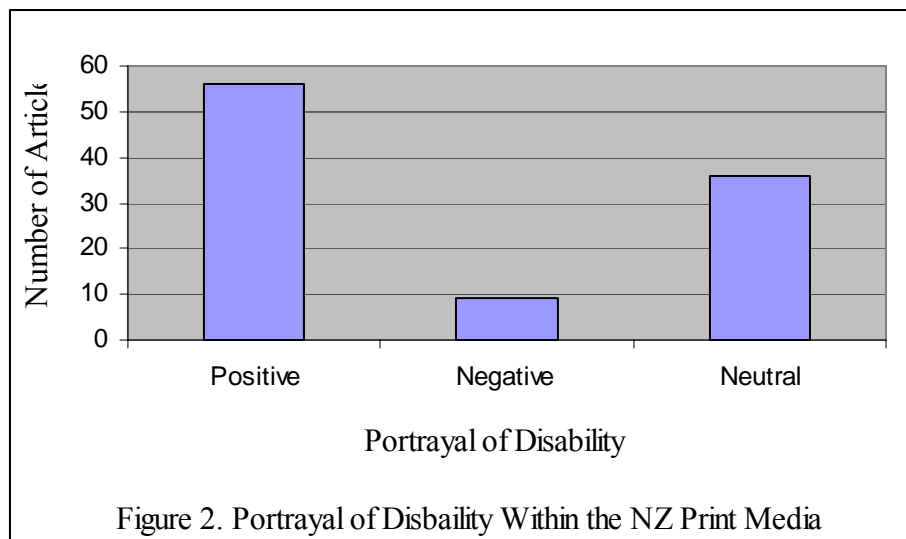
3.4 Traditional and Progressive articles

The topic of each article was coded as either progressive in focus or traditional in focus. Progressive in focus was when the article was based on a minority or civil rights perspective, the article portrayed disability problems as located in society's failure to accommodate all members of the population. On the contrary, traditional in focus was when the article was based on a deviance perspective, they considered the person with a disability as dysfunctional, because he or she was unable to function in an environment designed by or for people without disabilities.

When reviewing table 1 it is clear that The New Zealand Herald produced 19 (45%) traditional focused article and 23 (55%) progressive focused articles. The Sunday Star Times produced 2 (20%) traditional focused articles and 10 (80%) progressive focused articles. The Dominion Post produced 31 (62%) traditional focused articles and 19 (39%) progressive focused articles. There were more progressive focused articles (54%) than traditional focused articles (46%).

Using Clogston's (1992b, 1993) definitions of traditional and progressive foci in newspaper articles, the overall findings of the present study showed that the traditional foci dominated. This is in contrast to Clogston's (1993) work which showed that disability coverage was divided about equally between traditional topics and progressive ones. The disparities between this study's findings and that of Clogston's may be due to the fact that he examined indexes where this study examined the actual articles. The present study's results are also in line with Gold & Auslander's (1999) study where they found the same disparities occurred. With this in mind, some of Clogston's classifications may need revising. An example of this is Clogston's assumption that 'compensation' necessarily reflects a traditional focus. In this study there was an article which discussed a man being awarded a large sum of money in a court battle against ACC who claimed that his disability was a fraud. This article was about a person with a disability organizing himself against a government agency to get his rights recognized, in the form of financial support and compensation from the government. As Gold and Auslander (1999) point out, there is nothing 'traditional' in the focus of this kind of article. A further example of such disparities is Clogston's assumption that personal stories (once again) necessarily reflects a traditional focus. With regards to past research (Donohue, Tichenor & Oilen, 1989) it has been acknowledge that traditionally the media often works to reflect and protect mainstream interests. These include those of the government and business interests. With this in mind, to observe articles within the print media which focus on smaller and more individualised stories it is apparent that there is nothing traditional in this. Within this study the second largest source of information was personal stories. This indicates that in modern times the print media has progressed in ways which also reflects minority interests; even if these interests conflict with the power elite.

Although Clogston's (1989) work contributed towards the field of disability and the media immensely it appears to be time for development of a new classification

system. While Clogston's (1989) classification may have worked for content analysis based on indexes, which yield one focus per article, it appears to be less effective when working from the articles themselves. In this study, a complete examination of the articles text often illuminated much different results.

3.5 Source within articles

Sources within print media are very important as they often determine the perspective of which the article is written from. Additionally, sources can indicate why certain conclusions have been drawn and justify the context of the information reported. From examining Figure 3, it is evident that the majority (35%) of the articles used government agencies as their source. The person whom the article was based on was the second most used source (25%), while sports organizations and businesses were the least used source (2%).

Figure 3: Primary Source of each Article for all three Newspapers
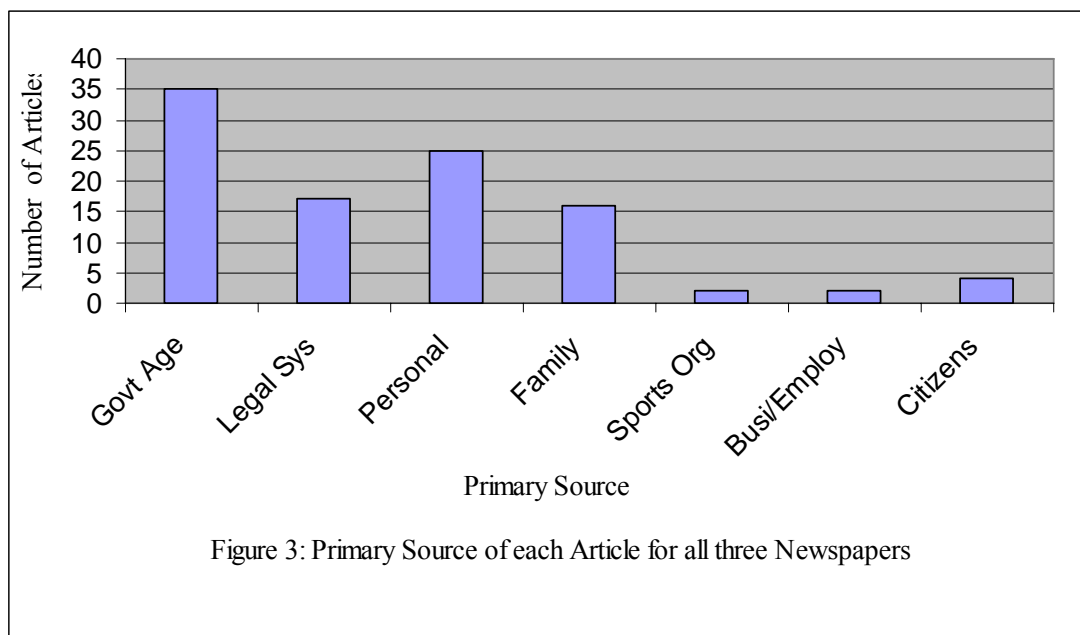
Thus the New Zealand print media appears to rely largely on government agencies as their main source of information. This suggests that the New Zealand print media does in fact reinforce the outlook of the dominant power in the community as Tichenor, Donohue and Olien (1980) maintained within their research. This appears to be a way of ensuring that there is as little controversy within society concerning the articles content as possible. Moreover, as disability issues have many implications for the New Zealand government and business interests it seems logical that the government would be used as the main source in the majority of the articles.

However, it was encouraging to find that the second main source of information was the person with the disability. This ensures that the person's best interests are the focus and (the majority of the time) that the person has a fair reporting within the print media. With this said, many of the article did not directly quote the person involved and therefore did not give the person a voice of their own. It seemed unusual that an article discussing a personal story would not use the person's own statements to emphasis their point or case. Additionally, in many instances it is not possible for the person with the disability involved to have their own say due to their disability and in these cases it is expected that a family member speak on their behalf. This appeared to be the case within this study as family members were also commonly used as a source of information. It is also important to note that in some cases it is not the source of the information which determines the tone of the article but rather the sources rhetorical positioning. Articles used multiple sources as a means of covering an event from all angles. This ensured that a neutral account of the event was obtained (untainted by biased reporting).

3.6 Attributes of the people with disabilities within each article.

One important aspect in the portrayal of disability is the attributes assigned to the person with the disability within the article. While some articles attribute humanistic qualities (e.g., name, gender) to people with disabilities others merely refer people with disabilities in terms of their limitations (e.g., blind, deaf) and therefore create a tunnelled vision of disability as a whole. This can lead to unfounded stigma, prejudice and stereotypical propaganda. Moreover, referring to a person in terms of their limitation has a dehumanising effect which reduces the person to nothing more than what they can not do.

Humanistic attributes include name, age, gender, ethnicity and occupation. Within articles that discussed specific people with disabilities (57% of the total articles) personal details such as name, age and gender were always given. Attributes such as ethnicity were mentioned on one occasion (1% of the total articles) and the person's occupation was mentioned in 2 (2%) of the total articles retrieved. The remaining 40% did not mention humanistic attributes and therefore referred to the individual in terms of their limitations

Furthermore, another very important attribute to assign any person discussed in an article is their voice. If that is not possible, the article would be expected to have the voice of a family member or friend who has that person's best interests at heart. This gives the person in the article a sense of individuality, a feeling of importance and the competence to have their say. When reviewing common sources within the articles of this study it was evident that 25 (25%) of the articles used the person with the disability as the main source so it was expected that most (if not all) of these articles would use direct quotations. Results show that only thirty-five (35%) of the articles which involved a specific person used direct quotations from the person with the disability, an immediate family member or a friend. Thus the majority (65%) of the articles did not quote the person with disabilities involved and therefore did not give the person a voice. Additionally, some of the articles involved a group of people with disabilities rather than an individual. In these articles only 20 (20%) used direct quotations indicating that, once again, the majority of the articles did not assign a voice to the people involved.

In addition, many of the articles involved more than one person. Fourteen (14%) of the articles involved a specific person with a disability as well as a group of individuals with disabilities. Fifty-one (51%) of the articles involved a group of individuals with disabilities. Twenty-six (26%) of the articles involved an organization for people with disabilities and 8 (8%) of the articles involved an organization for people with disabilities and a group of related people with disabilities. In these articles, it was expected that a voice would be assigned to the people with disabilities and once again if this was not possible then a family member or friend (of the person with disabilities) would speak on their behalf. Results show that only 42 (42%) of these articles used direct quotations from the person with the disability, an immediate family member or a friend.

It has been suggested that the print media has the tendency to present disability issues in a soft feature-like way rather than giving hard facts and the specifics problems of an issue at hand (Clogston, 1993). This does not appear to be the case within this study as seventy-one (71%) of the articles within this study discussed specific problems faced by people with disabilities.

3.7 Structuring

The structuring of each article was analyzed to determine the importance of disability articles within the print media. Articles printed on weekdays are often recent news, and therefore of high priority, whereas articles printed on the weekend are often review articles summarizing the week's events. With this in mind, the placement of disability articles within the print media was analyzed to determine how much importance is placed on disability and related issues of disability. Of the 101 articles collected, 66 (65%) were printed on a weekday and 35 (35%) were printed on the weekend indicating that the majority of disability issues are viewed as high priority issues within the New Zealand print media.

Whether on a weekday or weekend, newspapers are commonly read from front to back and as a result the front section of any newspaper contains events which are the most important at the time. In light of this, category placement of each article was examined as a means of analyzing how disability was presented within the print media. Seventy-five (74%) of the articles were news items, 12 (12%) were feature items, 6 (6%) were business items and 12 (12%) of the articles were other items such as sports. This indicates that the majority of disability issues are presented within the New Zealand print media as important issues. This was a very positive finding as it shows that disability issues are becoming more mainstream news and not as soft features which did not give hard facts as Clogston (1993) has previously suggested.

While category placement of articles is of importance the length of each article is also important. When considering the average length of New Zealand newspapers (40 Pages) it becomes evident that the length of each article reflects the importance placed on the event by the respective newspaper. It is highly unlikely that a top news story will be less than 1 page long, just as it is highly unlikely that a feature item will be longer than 2 pages. With this in mind, each article's length was examined as another means of determining the importance placed on disability issues by the print media. From this, the average (mean) length of each article analyzed was 2 pages (A4 equivalent). This indicates that disability issues are not presented in short articles and because of this it appears that disability issues are discussed thoroughly.

Additionally, while category placement and length are important in determining the structure of an article both refer to the text within the article. Another important aspect of in analysing the structure of an article is the illustrations/visual materials which accompany the text. These can support a positive or negative article by relating the picture to either positive or negative aspects of disability (e.g., sporting success or loss of function). With this in mind, thirty-six (36%) of the articles were accompanied by an illustration/visual materials. From this thirty-four (34%) of the illustrations/visual materials were positive and two (2%) of the articles were negative. This indicates that the majority of the illustrations/visual materials were positive and were placed in the print as a means of supporting positive articles.

3.8 Terminology

Within any media portrayal of disability there is the potential for inappropriate terminology to be used, whether intentional or not. Such terminology includes the use of medical terminology (implying a diseased state) and derogatory/questionable terms. Ten (10%) of the articles within this study used medical terminology such as 'suffered' and 'afflicted'. Eighteen (18%) of the articles used derogatory/questionable terms, for example 'able-bodied' and 'a result of demons from his past'. Another way in which the print media may misuse terminology was disability before person references. Overall, 29 (29%) articles employed disability before person references. This is where the print media tends to reference people with disability in terms of their disability first and humanity second. This reduces people with disabilities to their limitations rather than who they are. Twenty-eight (28%) of the articles within this study made disability before person references while the remaining 73 (73%) articles made person before disability references. This suggests that the New Zealand print media generally tends to refer to people with disability in an appropriate manner. Examples of these references are outlined in part II of the results section.

3.9 Section summary

Together these results suggest that the overall portrayal of disability within the New Zealand print media is positive. Further, as neutral articles were found to be generally more prominent within the New Zealand print media than negative articles this suggests that the majority of the time portrayals of disability are positive or neutral

accounts. One aspect which appears to be related with the portrayal of disability is the sources used within each article. Many of the articles retrieved their information from the person (with the disability) directly so it seems fair to conclude that the New Zealand print media reports disability with regards to relevant issues of disability. Furthermore, by referencing the person (with the disability) directly the media allows that person to voice their own opinions and concerns. This is a positive aspect of any article as it promotes people with disabilities as competent and capable rather than limited.

Findings also suggest that certain topics of disability are portrayed more positively (e.g., sports) than others (e.g., special attention) and this will be examined more in depth within the qualitative analysis. Moreover, when examining the distribution of articles it appeared that coverage of disability issues was sufficient because every week articles relating to disability were retrieved. This suggests that disability issues are prominent within the New Zealand print media and are being more openly discussed in New Zealand society. With regards to the focus of each article traditional focus dominated. This was surprising to find as it contradicted this study's initial hypothesis. It was first thought that traditional focus necessarily related to an overtly negative portrayal of disability. This hypothesis was reinforced by Clogston's (1989) original conclusions that progressive focus indicated positive portrayals of disability and traditional focus indicated negative portrayals of disability. It was found that although the majority of the studies were traditional the overall portrayal of disability was positive. These themes will be analysed more critically by using examples of article content in the next section.

Part II- Qualitative Content Analysis

The aim of this section is to further explore the data which was outlined in the previous section. The qualitative content analysis will be presented in the same order as the quantitative content analysis to ensure that the results section is as coherent as possible. The main themes of this section develop the analysis further by unfolding aspects such as the topics covered by the New Zealand print media, the coding of positive, negative and neutral articles, the analysis of traditional and progressive focus and sources used within each article. This will be carried out by providing examples of article content as a means of supporting the quantitative content analysis.

3.10 Topic

From examining the quantitative data it is evident that an array of topics exists within the New Zealand print media. These topics range from highly covered topics (special attention towards disability and awareness of disability) to less covered topics (sports). Although some topics receive more attention than others this is not the only important factor in the analysis of articles. Rather it is the manner in which the topic is reported which may indicate its positioning within society. Within this category the topics that will be examined are those which were highly covered within this study's sample (refer to table 1) and those which received less coverage but were still viewed as important due to their contents.

There were many articles within this study which were based around special attention given towards a person's disability(s). These article discussed disability (in some manner) when the article had no basis for mentioning disability. In all of the articles, mentioning disability served no purpose and there was a very weak link between the story at hand and the issues of disability. Within Clogston's (1989) original schema this particular topic was classified as traditional and was based on a deviance perspective which considers disability a product of the person rather than of the environment. When relating Clogston's theory with the quantitative data obtained it was hypothesized that the majority of traditional articles would be overtly negative in their reporting. This appeared to be the case within some of the articles but not all. In other articles special attention was not directly negative towards disability but rather questionable.

In one article titled "*Mia Farrow raising hell as Damien's nanny*" retrieved from The New Zealand Herald gave special attention towards disability which was highly questionable. The article was a review of the film *The Omen* with regards to Mia Farrow's character within it. The article states

> "*As an avid supporter of children, healthy and challenged (she has one blind child and one paraplegic in her own brood) Farrow had to reconcile with the idea that children can be evil in order to play this role.*"

The reason for stating disability within this quote is highly confusing. Not only is there no linkage between disability and its relevance to the film the terminology used

to briefly discuss disability is shocking. In the first instance the article employs disability before person references (e.g., "*blind child*") and in the second instance there is no mention of any humanistic quality only reference to the child's disability (e.g., "*one paraplegic*"). This is what is known as a disability alone reference where an individual is referred to in terms of their disability without reference to the person themselves (e.g., '*the handicapped*' or '*a spastic*'). The article does not discuss personal attributes about these children (e.g., name, gender or age) which also reduce them to their disability. The term '*brood*' takes away the feeling of a loving family and replaces it with one strain and hardship. This then implies that disability is a strain on a family unit. While there is no arguing that in many cases disability does take a toll on the family at hand, this article is not dealing with these issues so to reference disability in such a way appears to serve only as a deterrent of disability. Additionally, when reviewing this term (e.g., '*brood*') it is evident that this term may refer to a 'litter' as one of the dictionary's meanings would suggest. This has obvious implications for disability as there is the likening of families whom people with disability's are a part of to that of animals; clearly a negative comparison. Furthermore, the pairing of these two sentences seems rather ironic in that it discusses disability (briefly) on the one hand then discusses children as being '*evil*' on the other. Although some may assert that this is a very harsh analysis of the material at hand it undeniably displays how disability is used within the print media when in some cases there is no linkage between the issue at hand and the issues of disability. Another prime example of this is an article titled "*Air New Zealand sacking ruled out*". The article deals with a complaint which was lodged in January last year asserting

> "*that customer services agent Yvonne Sparrow, who had worked in the job at Auckland International Airport for 13 years, had smacked the girl before she boarded a plane to Sydney with her mother. The mother of the child, who suffers from mild autism, said her daughter let out a high-pitched scream while standing near the luggage counter. An airline employee then smacked her in the thigh and buttocks area, causing the girl to start crying. Ms Sparrow was sacked but denied assaulting the child, saying she reached out and touched her intending to restrain her from potentially dangerous rollers on the baggage line... The Employment Relations Authority ruled that Air New Zealand failed to establish that any blame should be attached to Ms Sparrow*".

This article is a clear example of special attention towards disability. The article states the young girl's disability when this is of no relevance to the event. This suggests that

her behaviour is the result of the disability (e.g., disability is the result of '*the high pitch scream*' the young girl let) which creates a very negative portrayal of children with autism. It gives the illusion that this behaviour is typical of children with autism and as a result these children need help ('*restraining*') from potentially danger. Most children at some point in their lives need protection from harm and this is all part of the process of learning and childhood development. Such behaviour is not specially related to children with autism so the mention of this child's disability is questionable in this case. Furthermore, the article states that the child has '*mild*' autism which suggests the child is capable of living an independent and functional life. In one's own opinion all this reference does is attribute the event to be a direct result of the child's autism which creates blame towards the child and negative connotations for autism. There is no direct relation between the girl's autism and the event that took place so mentioning the girl's disability appears to serve as a means (e.g., reason for the scream) to a self-centred end (e.g., judge ruling in favour of the employee). Although it was found the employee was not guilty of case in question this would have been based on evidence other than the girl being autistic so it is questionable as to why her disability was mentioned when this was irrelevant to the case. A further example of disability being used as a means to a self-centred end is in an article titled "*Wind Farm assurance to school*". This article was centred on a tiny rural school which was located near a planned $260 million wind farm and the school was concerned that this would affect the pupils of the school. This concern seemed reasonably at first but then disability was used as an excuse against the wind farm when it was obvious that this was just an attempt at making the wind farms an issue of safety rather than inconvenience. The article reads

> "*Te Pohue School board chairwoman Tania Kerr said the school's concerns would not be entirely allayed till the wind farm was operating. 'One concern we looked at was the sun being behind turbines causing a flickering that could affect children with epilepsy,' Mrs Kerr said. 'What happens if the wind farm affects the school and parents move away?'*".

As the school consisted of 50 pupils in total the likelihood of there being a high prevalence rate of epilepsy within the school is slim (0.5%) when considering epilepsy affects 1 person out of every 100 people in New Zealand. Given the benefit of the doubt, even if there was 1 student within the school who had epilepsy, reference to such disability is highly irrelevant and seems to serve only as a means of

legitimizing their disapproval of the wind farm. Furthermore, if the statistics of epilepsy were high within this school this would surely be stated as this would serve to justify their '*concern*' but it is not which suggests the lack of statistics. Moreover, the school appears to be using epilepsy as a source of pity (Bogdan *et al.*, 1982; Byrd &Elliot, 1988) in order to stop the wind farms from proceeding.

All of the examples given within this section appear to use disability as a bargaining tool. While the first articles use disability to validate an event the latter uses disability to validate concerns of a proposed event. Whilst this may not be the intentions of the New Zealand print media when giving special attention to disability within an article this is the way it is received and is therefore an issue which is in need of revision. A suggestion for such revision is that if articles are giving special attention towards disability it is done in a way which promotes awareness of disability and therefore the reference to disability is meaningful. As awareness of disability was also one of the more frequently covered topics within this study it was pleasing to see that these articles framed disability in a positive manner and created awareness for disability. In cases where disability was subjected to special attention it was carried out in a way which promoted relevant issues of disability and the articles did not attend to disability as a means of justifying an end. An example of an article which created awareness of disability in a positive light was titled "*Archer's death highlights problems*". This article discusses issues surrounding the lack of resources available within the New Zealand spinal injury system. It states

> "*Despite a long list of medical complaints and doctor's best efforts, Fairhall, 61, was refused admission to Burwood Hospital's spinal unit in the months leading to her death because there was no room…The Commonwealth Games gold medallist's health was deteriorating before her death but she could not get medical help…friend Chloe Smith…gave a statement to police…'It made me really angry. She had a list of medical complaints, how much do people have to go through to be recognised?'…She was the name of Archery New Zealand. As soon as you mentioned you shot arrows, people always remembered her. New Zealand Spinal Cord trust chief executive Andrew Hall, a tetraplegic, said Fairhall's case highlighted multiple problems in the spinal injury system*".

This article (like many) raises awareness regarding the lack of help available for people with spinal injuries. The manner in which this is achieved is one which promotes dignity for people with spinal injuries and highlights the achievements of a

highly regarded sportswoman within New Zealand society. Fairhall is referred to as *"The Commonwealth Games gold medallist"* rather than a paraplegic which not only acknowledges her contribution to New Zealand sporting society but also refers to her abilities and humanistic qualities rather than her limitations. Furthermore, this article employs person before disability references not only for Fairhall but also the New Zealand Spinal Cord trust chief executive Andrew Hall which conveys the message that people with disabilities are humans first and foremost rather than greater prominence being placed on their disability. It is clear within this example that reference towards disability is relevant as it promotes change in New Zealand society's disability resource management. Moreover, this is conducted in a way which does not demote people with disability(s) humanistic qualities and achievements but rather promotes it.

Such promotion of disability was not limited to article which dealt with awareness of disability as it was also evident in articles which discussed disability and sport. Often people with disabilities who participated in sports were portrayed as 'hero's' and very much as valued members of New Zealand society. Although disability and sports was not a widely covered topic within this study it is important to point out that the prevalence of a given topic is not the only importance aspect of that topic. As past research suggests the amount and *nature* of press coverage an issue receives draws parallels to the importance placed on the issue by individuals in the society (Neuendorf, 1990). Although sports was not one of the most covered issues of disability within this study the positive *nature* of the articles drew parallels to New Zealand's 'can do' attitude and the importance placed on being a fit nation. All too often the media is criticized for framing disability negatively but never given credit when disability is framed positively. The promotion of disability and sports within the New Zealand print media highlights the abilities and successes of people with disabilities and emphasizes their positive contribution to New Zealand.

An article dealing with the death of Fairhall demonstrates how disability and sports appears to be reported in a positive manner. The article was titled *"Games hero Neroli Fairhall dies"* and discusses the death of New Zealand's *"Golden girl of archery"*, a person who will be remembered as the *"Hero of the Olympics"* and never be forgotten as *"a leading New Zealand sporting personality"*. This article not only promotes

awareness of disability but adheres to the idea that people with disabilities are worthy citizens of New Zealand and can contribute significantly to society when given the chance. Moreover, it shows that a person with a disability can still live a successful and active life. In many of the articles which portrayed people with disabilities as '*hero's*' or '*inspirations*' awareness of disability was created which was seen as a positive aspect. A further example of sporting recognition can be found in the account of Ken Browne's (a celebrated horse trainer and rider who was a quadriplegic) death and the accomplishments he made in life.

> "*Browne, one of New Zealand's most remarkable sportsmen, died at his Cambridge farm yesterday, aged 72…Browne trained more than 700 winners, a wonderful achievement for an owner-trainer, but it was his longevity as a jumps rider that stood him apart from his contemporaries*".

This article, along with the previous article, shows the passion felt by New Zealand towards the sporting industry. Once again the article employs person before disability references which give humanistic qualities where due. The term "*most remarkable sportsmen*" gives credit to the accomplishments made by Browne and recognises the void left by his departure. These examples of sporting success and positive print media coverage are in accordance with New Zealand's disability strategy and the No Exceptions strategy. These strategies aim to deliver a wide range of positive outcomes, all of which link to SPARC's vision of New Zealand being the most active nation, having the most effective sport and physical recreation systems, and having athletes (disabled or not) and teams winning consistently in events that matter to New Zealanders. It is positive to see that the New Zealand print media supports these strategies even if this is mere coincidence it gives the print media an aspect of disability to start endorsing. Previous research has suggested this type of reporting has been viewed as an '*unrealistic sanitized portrayal*'. It is stated that this can often shift the blame and problems faced by people with disability from the environment to the individual. The media often creates the illusion of a barrier-free world through such portrayals which sends the message to both disabled and non-disabled people that if a person with disabilities is not as successful as the individual portrayed, the problem is one of individual failure and not social barriers (Hafferty & Foster, 1994, p. 202).This criticism appears to create a no-win situation for the media in that no matter how they frame disability they are in the wrong. Psychologists and sociologists need to start using past research in a way which gives journalists a template of how disability

issues are best reported and controversy therefore avoided. The way sports and disability is framed within the print media is a prime example of how disability can be positively portrayed through mass media. This is not to say that aspects relating to disability which are overtly negative should be withheld from society (e.g., crime) only that the way in which they are reported should be carefully examined to make sure that disability is not implied to be the reason for the issues at hand.

While there were topics of disability framed by the print media in positive and negative ways, there were also many topics which were not covered at all. As Gold and Auslander (1999) point out 'Biklen (1986) forcibly makes the point that what is *not* covered in the news is just as significant as what is'. Within this study there were ten topics which were not presented in the print media. Of these, 2 were topics which would be expected to be in the print media while the remaining 8 were topics which were positive omission. The 2 topics which were expected to be within modern print media were mainstream education and integrated programs. With integration rather than segregation being introduced to New Zealand in the mid-1970's it was expected that this would largely be represented within the New Zealand print media when in fact it was not. Moreover, the government increased funding for special education by one-third since 1999, with total funding rising from $290million in 1999 to $388million in 2005. Furthermore, this increase of $16.9million goes to Supplementary Learning Support to increase the number of students eligible for this funding from 1000 to 1500. These are students with high levels of need but who do not qualify for Ongoing and Reviewable Resourcing Schemes (ORRS) funding which has a certain criteria (Benson-Pope, 2005). With such a large proportion of government funding being designated to public schools as a means of providing resources to aid in the integration of people with disabilities it was surprising to see that this was not promoted within the New Zealand print media. Additionally, as most governmental issues are prominent within the media it was surprising to see it lacking with regards to disability and mainstream education.

Overall, within the modern print media an array of topics concerning disability are evident. In accordance with past research, disability issues generally tend to be covered in newspapers in soft, feature-style stories rather than in harder, more issue-orientated ones (Clogston, 1993). With this in mind, there were a lot more issue-

orientated articles within this study than there have been in the past which suggests a positive change in the portrayal of disability. Although many of these topics are positive there are still some topics discussed which create negative connections with disability and this issue needs revising. These portrayals of disability will be discussed in the next section.

3.11 Positive, Negative and Neutral portrayals of disability

When determining whether an article was positive, negative or neutral it was important to keep in mind that such terms are on a continuum. Within this study the majority of articles collected portrayed disability in a positive manner. An article which exemplifies this portrayal is below. This article tilted "*Obituary: Neroli Fairhall*".

> *Neroli Fairhall, MBE, archer. Died aged 61. Neroli Fairhall was the first paraplegic to win a gold medal at a Commonwealth games, for archery at Brisbane in 1982.The reaction of the world's media was immediate and hysterical. A British journalist asked if, in the windy conditions that day, shooting sitting down was a help or a hindrance."I don't know," replied Fairhall. "I've never shot standing up."...Fairhall's life in a wheelchair was the result of a motorbike accident in 1969, when she failed to take a bend on the top of the Port Hills in Christchurch...Fairhall represented New Zealand at the Commonwealth Paraplegic Games in 1974 and at a world paraplegic event in Heidelberg in Germany. "I performed in the shot and discus and wheel dashes," she said in an interview in 1979, "but I found I didn't have the build for events like that." The switch to archery was not easy. Her arms became tired and her stomach muscles ached. Swimming up to four times a week at her local pool in Christchurch built up the muscles, and her archery scores soared. In 1980 Fairhall was selected for the New Zealand team to compete at the Olympic Games in Moscow...She won a gold medal, and set world, Olympic and New Zealand records with a score of 2404. She was again selected for the Olympic Games in Los Angeles in 1984...Again competing against the able-bodied, she finished 35th overall...Fairhall was the national archery champion for many years, and only retired from international competition in 2001...She was awarded the Lonsdale Cup in 1982 for the most meritorious performance in an Olympic or Commonwealth Games that year, and was made an MBE for services to archery and the disabled.*

This article is a good example of an overall positive portrayal of disability within the New Zealand print media. It provides a record of this person's accomplishments within New Zealand sport and proves that people with disabilities can be valued members of New Zealand society. This is what helps create a positive representation of disability within the New Zealand print media as it highlights a person with disabilities abilities rather than their limitations. This article initializes its reporting by stating humanistic qualities of Fairhall rather than labelling her disability first. For example,

"Neroli Fairhall, MBE, archer. Died aged 61. Neroli Fairhall was the first paraplegic to win a gold medal at a Commonwealth games, for archery at Brisbane in 1982".

The initial sentence of this article states Fairhall's name, occupation and age first. This is an example of person before disability references and acknowledges Fairhall as a person with a disability rather than a disability of a person (e.g., '*girl who is blind*' rather than '*blind girl*'). Throughout this study many instances of person before disability references were found and contributed to the majority of the articles being coded as positive. However, not all articles employed this terminology and some articles went as far as using disability alone references such as '*the deaf*', '*the disabled*' and the '*paraplegic one*'. A further example of this terminology within the New Zealand print media is from an article retrieved from The Dominion Post titled "*Sex attack on <u>blind women</u>*". This title reduced the sexually violated women to her disability. This was coded as a definite negative frame of disability as the person involved was seen for her limitations rather than her humanistic qualities. This is in breech with the linguistic guidelines (People First Language) which state that people with disabilities must be referred to in terms of their abilities rather than their limitations. This terminology was first prompted by the Civil Rights Movement (1980) which fought to see changes made to languages and attitudes regarding disability. The Disability Rights Movement (1970) carried on with this work and reiterated the idea that people with disabilities are people first. This is where the People First Language (1991) was created by individuals who said, "We are *not* our disabilities" (Snow, 1991). Although some people rejected the People First Language, saying it is unimportant; others say they prefer descriptors like 'special needs'. But as Snow (1991) points out "the feelings and preferences of people *without* disabilities are irrelevant… [It is] the *feelings* of the people we're talking *about* and the *perceptions* of them which we create with our words" which is important. Using people before disability references ensures that people with disabilities are regarded as people first and therefore the use of these references within the New Zealand print media is very important in providing a positive portrayal of disability. In saying this, these references alone did not constitute as being an overall negative portrayal of disability but rather counted as a negative aspect of the article at hand. Medical terminology was another aspect of the articles which were analyzed. The above article does not employ this terminology and, as a result, does not imply that Fairhall was in a

diseased state. A prime example of this terminology at work is in an article titled "*Ex-All Black's battle with brain damage*".

> "*Boroevich <u>suffers</u> from forgetfulness and fatigue, and has trouble sleeping. He has filled numerous diaries with notes and reminders to overcome his poor memory. For nearly a year after being pummelled by Australian league legend Mal Meninga at the inaugural 2001 Fight for Life, Boroevich denied his injuries and spiralled into a state of anger and depression that almost tore apart his family*".

This article employs medical terminology such as '*suffers*' which suggests that the person involved is in a diseased state when recovery was due to 'meditation, relaxing and reading books on positive thinking' and thus not as a result of medication as a person in a diseased state would recover. Furthermore, as the term '*suffers*' implies a diseased state this contradicts the nature of the disability involved which is brain *injury* not brain *disease*. A further example of this terminology being used within the New Zealand print media was found in an article titled "*New spin on an old dream*".

> "*About 20 years ago he lost his father John…two years ago another Brother, Michael, 41, died after a life spent <u>battling cerebral palsy</u>*"

This quote shows how in some of the articles medical terminology was employed to the point of referring to the disability as a grief stricken way of life. This was a very negative portrayal of disability because although many people who have a disability do in fact find life hard (due to the unaccommodating environment) this can not be generalized across all people who have the same disability. This form of generalization was found within most of the articles where disability was portrayed as a '*terrible consequence*', suggesting that disability is a consequence of an inappropriate action or behaviour. This terminology was found in the same article titled "*Ex-All Black's battle with brain damage*". This article generalizes the issue of brain damage to include all cases of brain injury when the article is a personal account of this issue.

> "*The former rugby hard man has spoken publicly for the first time about his injury to publicize Brain Injury Awareness week*".

This article is meant to create awareness of brain injury and how to prevent unnecessary brain damage. It does this but one has to question whether such publicity is positive and worthy when the nature of the article is one which creates many negative connotations for people with brain injuries. A prime example of cases where

brain injury was reported as less detrimental was in articles where people were born with brain damage. Although in these cases such injury is still hard to understand it is often the family and not the individual who is affected by such injury as the person with the injury knows nothing other than what they have lived. This is where the difference between early onset of disability and late onset of disability emerged and it was evident that the way in which these accounts were reported differed immensely. It was found that late onset of disability was portrayed in a negative way in comparison to early onset which was portrayed in a positive light. Moreover, the source of such representation (of disability, e.g., late verses early onset) was found to be the person with the disability. Therefore, such representations were the person with the disability's perspective rather than the newspapers perspective or portrayal. Additionally, articles dealing with early onset of disability were often accompanied by positive visual images and articles dealing with late onset of disability were often accompanied by the images which compared the person's life before and after the onset of their disability. The use of imagery within articles has a very powerful effect on the reader's. It is yet another aspect of an article which has the potential to portray disability in a positive or negative manner. This aspect was also examined within this study when determining the overall tone of the article. For example, in the first article which discusses Fairhall there is a photograph of her with her bow and arrow. This photograph captures Fairhall in her prime when her archery career was at its peak. This image conveys Fairhall as a fit and healthy person who was very much capable of a living a happy and fulfilled life. On the contrary, Boroevich's article ("*Ex-All blacks battle with brain damage*") was accompanied by photographs of him at the peak of his rugby career, fit and happy, and then of him after the onset of his disability. This gives the reader a comparison of his life before and after his disability which in turn portrays his disability in a negative manner. It is acknowledged that this again comes down to the person involved and their attitude towards their own disability. From this it became evident that late onset of disability was related with loss and this may be the reason for the negative attitudes associated with late onset of disability. In these cases a person who has experienced late onset of disability has in fact lost some form of ability which they had before the onset of their disability. In contrast to this, a person who has known only a life with their disability does not have this sense of loss and therefore proceeds on in life with a much more positive attitude. When considering this, it seems obvious why such a difference in the portrayal of

disability (late verse early) is apparent in New Zealand print media. For example, in one of the articles titled "*Bitter Battle to the End*", disability was seen as being '*demons*' of a lifelong punishment.

> "*seeing Ken like this it is easy to forget <u>the demons of paralysis</u> he battled for five years…being confined to a wheelchair was a horrendous sentence*"

When referring back to the article titled "*Ex-All Black's battle with brain damage*", portrayed late onset of disability in much the same negative light.

> "*After a career of rugby concussions, Kevin Boroevich's <u>luck finally ran out</u> during a charity boxing match. He tells about the terrible consequence of thinking you're indestructible*"

This conveys how disability is portrayed as a consequence of a reckless action, which is not always the case. Furthermore, it suggests that not having a disability is related with luck, which in turn suggests that people with disabilities are therefore unlucky.

In contrast to late onset of disability there is early onset and its portrayal within the New Zealand print media. This was much more positive and, in some instances, diagnosis was seen as a blessing. For example, an article discussing a seven year old boy's journey with Asperger described this disability as a bond shared with his father who was also diagnosed with Asperger's. Although the article's title, "*Locked in to a life less ordinary*", was somewhat questionable the overall contents of this article painted a different picture.

> "*There are advantages to Luke's condition, she says. Some children with autism spectrum disorders are hyperactive but Luke is a perfectly obedient child. 'He wouldn't get out of bed till he had permission from us' John says. Imagine if you could have a child you could tell once 'don't go on the road' and that was enough for a lifetime. Johanne remembers appreciating Luke's behaviour in the supermarket, where other toddlers were running and screaming. 'He's a brilliant child for someone over 40'.*"

This example illustrates how the disability is seen for its positive aspects and how the child is appreciated because of these aspects of his disability. Furthermore, in an article discussing an eight year old's journey with Prader-Willi Syndrome, disability is portrayed in a positive manner.

> "*When she [Rachael] is not around the whole house is like something is wrong. She is so cheerful. She is always happy all the time*".

This quote from the mother of the young girl displays how the child's disability has not stopped her living a happy life so far. Although this may be the case the articles does convey that disability can have a huge affect on the family.

> *"Is a burden when you have other kids…You constantly have to keep on eye on her …it is not fair for her because it is not her fault"*

This quote shows how in some cases disability affects the family more than the person with the disability and this may account for some of the negativity surrounding disability within the print. When reviewing the initial article on Fairhall it is interesting because although Fairhall developed her disability later in life the article portrays her disability in a positive light. This may be due to the article being based around sport because as previously mentioned sports and disability received positive attention within the print media. Another explanation for this disparity may be due to Fairhall's positive attitude towards her own disability in comparison to the other people's attitudes previously discussed. In Fairhall's article

> *"A British journalist asked if, in the windy conditions that day, shooting sitting down was a help or a hindrance. "I don't know," replied Fairhall. 'I've never shot standing up.'"*.

Fairhall's quote conveys how Fairhall appeared to view her disability as an event within her life that she could not have foreseen and as a result can not change in comparison to Boroevich's (*Ex-All blacks battle with brain damage*) article which quotes him as saying

> *"You would get home at the end of the day tired and angry, your brain is saying `no more', you are screaming at your children and shouting at your wife. It was just ugly, ugly, ugly"*.

It is evident from this quote the way in which Boroevich feels about his disability. Both viewpoints are much different ways of viewing their life altering disabilities. With this in mind, the important point is that both articles used direct quoting. While one the first article was overall positive and the second was negative both articles reference the person directly and give them their own voice. This conveys the message that most people with disabilities are in fact capable of having their opinion and voicing these. Moreover, direct quotations give the person within the article a sense of individuality, a feeling of importance and the competence to have their say. This is a very important issue within the print media because it can help in justifying

the tone of the article at hand. When using the two previous examples (*Ex-All blacks battle with brain damage* and *Obituary: Neroli Fairhall)* it is evident that whilst the tones of the articles are different this is a direct result of the source of information.

This is where the importance of the source is examined. Within this study it was noted that the source(s) used in an article reflected the overall portrayal of disability within the print media. The source(s) had the potential to reflect either positive or negative issues of disability and within those articles which used multiple sources a neutral account of disability was gained. As shown in the article titled "*Ex-All blacks battle with brain damage*" using a single source within an articles more often than not leads to a one-sided account of disability. Within this article brain damage was portrayed as a horrible disability which ruined many lives. If multiple sources had of been used within this article then perhaps a more neutral account of brain damage may have been gained. The article could have explored sources such as The New Zealand brain damage association and the person's family as a means of gaining a more centred overview of the situation. Although the person who has the disability is the person who best knows what life is like living with that disability it is unfair for the print media to portray a personal story as a general account of that disability (as previously mentioned). Although the article was giving a personal account of the disability as a means of raising awareness it only reported one case which suggests to the readers that this is a typical case of the disability. Whether this is something the print media do intentionally is a question yet to be answered however this gives the New Zealand print media something to examine in the future. With regards to the articles which used multiple sources, all of the articles were neutral accounts of an event. In an article titled "*Man accused of raping disabled*" disability was framed in a neutral manner with the use of multiple sources.

> "*Johnathan Steven Pickering, 29, was arrested on June 16 for allegedly raping and sexually violating a 36-year-old woman belonging to the Paraparaumu branch of People First New Zealand on two consecutive nights this month...According to police, when the group heard about the charges and believed Pickering had been placed in custody, another member came forward and told police she had been raped and sexually violated by him in December last year. She told police he had threatened her with a knife, saying he would kill her if she told anyone about the incident...Detective Sergeant Marc Hercock said police would continue to oppose bail. He said Pickering had used psychological and physical pressure on both women, who because of their disabilities and his position in the organisation found it difficult to stop him....People First New Zealand executive assistant Janet Doughty said the organisation's board was appalled. "We feel the same as anyone else in the community -- appalled and very upset by the alleged rapes," Ms Doughty said. "We do not endorse this type of behaviour. We do not want to be attached to these crimes, it is not what we stand for."...According to the*

organisation's website, People First groups have one or two people who help to run meetings. These assistants do not have any power over the group".

This article uses 5 different sources of information to allow a neutral account of disability to be established. These sources include the district police, the Pouirua District Court, People First New Zealand executive assistant Janet Doughty, People First's organizational website and Sergeant Marc Hercock. All of these sources help create an accurate depiction of the event in question. The sources used all have the same perspective on the event, thus being that the man involved has committed a devastating crime worthy of jail. The use of supporting sources helps create a conclusive perspective of the event overall. Within this study this was not always the case. There were articles which used multiple sources but the sources had differing views. This was common in articles which discussed disability issues concerning the government's views in contrast with social views. In an article titled "*Genetic testing with birth of healthy twins*" these differing views between government and society was evident.

> *"The first woman to use a controversial form of genetic testing during fertility treatment in New Zealand has produced healthy twins..."She has delivered twins and they are both doing very well," said fertility specialist Dr Richard Fisher...The Catholic Church opposes pre-implantation genetic diagnosis (PGD) because unwanted embryos are discarded, which the Catholic Bioethics Centre says is unacceptable to the church. The Right to Life group opposes the procedure for the same reason, and because it involves discrimination against some embryos on the grounds that they have a potential disability. PGD and the associated IVF costs around $12,000. The Government has budgeted $500,000 to pay for PGD where there is a risk of passing on a serious genetic disorder.... A further 110 cycles are expected to be paid for privately, mainly to detect chromosomal disorders that can lead to miscarriage with increasing maternal age. Dr Fisher said that while his patient's treatment happened before the Government funding, she would probably qualify because the chromosomal disorder was unrelated to her age"*

This article shows how multiple sources often present with contrasting views of an issue. In this example the Catholic Church presents views opposing the use of technology to test for pre-natal defects. On the other side of this argument the government is funding such testing which suggests they accept this practice. This example contradicts Oilen, Donohue and Tichenor's (1980) study which advocates that newspaper coverage of disability tend to stay with mainstream topics that are not controversial. From examining this article it is apparent that the issue at hand is a very controversial one. This article involves extensive moral questioning of humans right to 'play God'. Moreover, the idea of choosing the sex of a baby before it is conceived it yet another controversial question which will, more than likely, never be agreed

upon. With this in mind one can see that the New Zealand print media's positioning of controversial topics has moved from the stage of being 'watchdogs on behalf of the mainstream groups'(Oilen, Donohue & Tichenor, 1980) towards a practice which covers the important issues, whether controversial or not. This progress is one which would not have been imagined 15 years ago and this is encouraging when assessing the future of the New Zealand print media and it's coverage of the minority. Furthermore, when examining controversial issues evident within society it is important to give all accounts of the issue in order to confidently represent the issue at hand. This ensures that a non-bias account of the issue is reported and allows the readers to make an informed judgement on their own accord. From this example it is clear that this is happening within the New Zealand print media and this is yet another positive progression of the media. Overall, the use of multiple sources helps immensely in presenting accurate and neutral accounts of an event. This is the case regardless of whether the sources agree or disagree with one another on a given issue.

As the last example showed, when reviewing neutral accounts of disability the number of sources used were analysed and often multiple sources led an article to being coded as neutral. However, this was not the only factor analysed when determining whether an article was neutral in its portrayal. Neutral articles were ones which merely stated the facts of an event and if any opinions/perspectives were discussed then all sides of the argument were given. A further example of a neutral article can be seen in an article titled "*Recipe to prevent disability 'flawed'*". This article deals with the proposal from the government which looks at dosing the nation's flour with a synthetic vitamin to prevent birth defects. It has been suggested by the government that this vitamin may prevent up 70% of neural tube defects (NTD's). This article uses multiple sources (5) which help capture all of the issues and perspectives surrounding the synthetic vitamin. As expected, within any governmental issue looking to intervene with societal choice there are many people for and against the idea. This is why it is important for any article to provide an array of contradicting perspectives and facts to ensure the reader is well informed and has a true understanding of the issues at hand. Moreover, when reviewing the headline of this article one can see that the word '*flawed*' is in quotation marks, implying that this is not the opinion of the newspaper but rather one of the numerous opinions surrounding the issue. The article presents the arguments for and against the synthetic

vitamin and intertwines the opposing sides through using rhetorical questioning. Examples of this can be seen in questions such as *"But are their objections valid?"* and *"How much is the right dose?"*. These questions help lead the reader from one side of the argument to the other in a neutral manner. Furthermore, the article quotes the people involved within *all* sides of the argument. This ensures that the views expressed within the article are purely those of the individual but also that every side of the argument is given its own voice. Within this study the articles with neutral accounts of an event largely outweighed the negative accounts. This a positive move within the research field of media and disability because in the past (although not in New Zealand) negative portrayals of disability have largely outweighed positive portrayals let alone neutral accounts (Allen & Nairn, 1997; Berveridge, 1996; Bokey, 2000; Day & Page, 1986; Hazelton, 1997; Hyler, 1991; Dienfenbach, 1997; Philo, 1996; Rose, 1998; Rosen, 1997; Rosen & Walter, 2000; Nairn, 1999; Signorilelli, 1989; Ward, 1997; Wilson, 1999, 1999a, 2000).

Another aspect which aided in determining the nature of an article was the placement of it within the paper. All weekday placements were classified as being a positive portrayal of that article because this is when the major issues are reported due to more people buying the paper on a weekday (Clogston, 1980). Usually, the weekend paper is an overview of the issues presented during the week and therefore less popular. With this in mind, it was established that if articles on disability were placed in the weekday issue of a paper then this articles were seen as important. However, if the articles were placed in the weekend issue (with the exclusion of The Sunday Star Times) the articles were seen as less important. This classification was again derived from Clogston's (1980) original schema. It was found that the majority of the articles were placed in the weekday issues suggesting that these articles were seen (by journalists) as important. This was a positive finding because it showed that disability issues are giving greater prominence within the media in modern times. Moreover, the majority of the articles were news items (as opposed to business, feature or other) once again suggesting that disability issues are important within modern New Zealand society. Furthermore, the majority of the articles were an average length of 2 A4 pages. This suggested that not only are disability issues placed as leading news but that the articles are reasonable in length as well which allows a thorough examination of the issue at hand.

When referring back to the initial article on Fairhall it is clear that this article was shorter than the average length but was still coded as positive. When weighing up the positive and negative aspects of the article it was determined that the positive aspects by far outweighed the negative aspects and an overall a positive portrayal of disability was gained. This demonstrates how an article was analyzed for a number of aspects when determining the overall tone of the article.

Once the tone of the article was analysed each article was then analysed to determine whether it was traditional in focus or progressive in focus. As mentioned previously, it was initially hypothesised that traditional focus overtly represented a negative portrayal of disability and progressive focus overtly represented a positive portrayal of disability. When reviewing the results of this study it was found that while progressive focus reflected a positive portrayal of disability traditional focus did not necessarily reflect a negative portrayal of disability. The majority of traditional articles were found to be positive indicating that Clogston's (1989) original classification only appears to work when dealing with indexes rather than actual article content. Additionally, many of the traditional articles retrieved within this study were not based on deviance perspective and therefore did not see the person with the disability as dysfunctional. An example of a traditional focussed article (e.g., compensation) which is overtly positive can be seen in the case of the man challenging the Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC) in search of compensation (see pp.42-43). This article clearly demonstrates how disability compensation has (for a long time) been traditionally an extremely long and draw out process. As the article states

> "After 31 years of campaigning, Terry Sandilands finally got an Accident Compensation Corporation apology for a mix-up over his right to benefits...In 1975 he was left permanently disabled and unable to work as a storeman-driver, when an operation to correct leg stiffness went wrong...He was referred to ACC in 1976 but the ACC official he saw told him to go to the Social Welfare Department for an invalids benefit."

This quote shows how in the past people with disabilities were traditionally viewed being an invalid. This was regardless of whether they were born with the disability or the disability was a result of a life experience. When considering these issues, these are the only traditional aspects of this article. This article not only deals with a man positioning himself against a governmental agency but also with appropriate

compensation being granted which raises very progressive issues. First of all, within granting such compensation the government acknowledged that *"He was a victim of a medical misadventure"* and secondly *"that there was an error of that needed to be addressed"* within the treatment of future claims. These issues reveal a very positive advancement within two areas; governmental agencies and the New Zealand print media. Firstly, it seems fair to conclude that ACC has progressed to a stage of accepting that there are some cases in which compensation is necessary. Secondly, it appears that the New Zealand print media are reporting such issues. This shows that the modern print media are not looking to 'safeguard' mainstream interests (e.g., governmental interests) but rather to report on the real issues of New Zealand society. This article was found to be a progressive focus of disability because of the issues aforementioned. Moreover, this article was also found to be a positive portrayal of disability because it discussed disability as a progressing issue. Additionally, the article employed person before terminology acknowledging his humanistic qualities before his limitations. Direct quotations from the man involved were used which gave him a voice and displayed his competence as a person. Moreover, these quotes help convey the hardship that he and his family have endured. For example Terry states

> *"The pain that I had then is nothing like the pain my family has been through since…they never bothered to train me in doing anything. I was just slung at home and left, now that I'm at an age where I need super I've got nothing."*

These references show Terry as a person who has feelings just like anyone else and these feelings extend to his family which again shows his competence as a person. As this article was found to be a positive representation of disability within the New Zealand print media this went against the initial hypothesis which suggested that a traditional focus indicated a negative portrayal of disability. As previously mentioned (see p.42) this contradicted Clogston's (1989) earlier work. However, Clogston's (1989) classifications for progressive focus (see p. 34) proved to be rather useful. This study supports Clogston's (1989) claim that progressive focus reflects a positive portrayal of disability. In every case of progressive articles retrieved within this study it was found that a positive representation of disability prevailed. A prime example of a positive progressively focused article can be seen in the article titled *'Seeing beyond the surface'*. This article focused on women named Amy who has a mild intellectual

disability and who is a very good artist. Amy entered the Intellectually Handicapped (IHC) Telecom Art Awards and her entry was

> *"praised as 'irresistible', focusing on celebrity—a collage depicting her life and those of famous people"*

The article is progressive because it portrays disability as being a problem located in society's failure to accommodate all members of the population. An example of this is a direct quote of Amy's in which she states

> *"Some people just can't see past [Dominic Bowden] him being a celebrity and some people can't see past me being disabled".*

This quote conveys the message that often it is society's lack of empathy which poses as a major barrier for people with disabilities. As a result, this quote creates awareness towards some of the negative attitudes within society which can limit people with disabilities. Furthermore, in using a direct quote this article assigns a voice to Amy. This shows that she is capable of having her own opinions on relevant issues and this was seen as a very positive aspect of this article. Additionally, this article presents disability in a manner which promotes the capabilities of people with disabilities. The article states that

> *"Awards judge Dick Frizzell said her artwork was irresistible as a collage of narrative outpouring and commentary on her pursuit of stardom".*

This shows how her artist abilities are showcased over her intellectual limitations and this is another positive aspect of this article. Finally, this article conveys the problems faced by people with disabilities. Amy states *"I'd like to get off the benefit, but it's hard"*. This quote helps show that often people with disabilities are unable to work due to their disability. All too often there is the assumption that people with disabilities put a huge strain on society finically. While it may be the case that people with disabilities often rely on finical assistance from the government it is important to note that in many instances this is not the choice of the individual but rather a direct result of their disability (cannot work due to their disability, e.g., blind).

3.12 Summary

In conclusion, negative and positive portrayal's of any societal issue within the print media can lead to positive and prosperous advancements (progressive) or derogatory and stereotypical advancements (traditional) within societal attitudes. Although negative portrays are still found within the New Zealand print media such portrayals are few and far between. Moreover, when comparing positive, neutral and negative articles it is evident that the negative articles are largely outweighed by the positive and neutral portrayals of disability. However, negative portrayals of disability are still evident within the New Zealand print media and these are in need of revision. Additionally, the New Zealand print media appears to report certain topics (e.g., sport) more positively than others (e.g., special attention) and this may be due to current legislations and governmental policies in force (e.g., SPARC and push play) which require the promotion of such topics.

Furthermore, when reviewing articles and analyzing the data presented, there are many aspects of an article which help make up the overall portrayal of an issue. These aspects include the content, structure and terminology used within each article. Additionally, the illustrations/visual materials which accompanied some of the articles were found to be generally positive. This indicated that (more often than not) the illustrations/visual materials are designed to positively support each article and convey positive messages of disability issues. Examining these aspects ensures a comprehensive analysis of the data is conducted and allows main themes and underlying focus (traditional/progressive) to be presented.

While it was initially hypothesised that traditionally focused articles reflected a negative portrayal of disability was later found to be incorrect. In many instances traditional articles were positive representations of disability and this conflicted with Clogston's (1989) original study. The disparities between the present study's results and that of Clogston's (1989) appear to have arisen from the main material analysed. Clogston (1989) worked with indexes while this study examined article content. In light of this a revision of the classification systems used for media content analysis is called for. In contrast, the progressively focused articles retrieved from this study were positive representations of disability. This supports Clogston's (1989) claim that

progressive focus indicates a positive portrayal of disability. Because of this, Clogston's (1989) progressive classification was very useful within this study.

In summary, when reviewing this the results (quantitative and qualitative) of this study it appears fair to say that the New Zealand print media are reporting disability issues in a reasonably positive way and therefore portraying disability in an appropriate manner. This contradicts past research but provides New Zealander's with the reassurance that the print media is not as harsh as is often made out. The next chapter will develop this discussion further in relation to the contributions made to existing academic knowledge in the area of disability. In addition, the implications of this study's findings will be reviewed and discussed.

Chapter 4

Discussion

This chapter draws together the main findings from the current study and considers these in relations to previous published work in this area. In addition, it makes recommendations for improvements within the field of New Zealand print media and its representations of disability. The limitations of this research are considered and future research endeavours are presented.

It is encouraging to consider why New Zealand newspapers may be presenting positive perspectives on disability than have been reported in previous international research. Whilst news coverage has been reported to rely upon negative and inappropriate stereotypes of people with disabilities in the past, these stereotypes had little or no currency in the research corpus. Moreover, the present results suggest that the New Zealand print media offers insights into the lives and issues faced by people living with disabilities that were absent in previous news samples (Elliot & Byrd, 1982; Keller, 1990; Lopez, 1991).

From this study's results it is evident that there is an array of topics covered within the modern New Zealand print media. Sports and disability appears to have a lot of emphasis placed on it as this topic received the most amount of positive representation. This may be due to the No Exceptions (SPARC and push play) notion currently in force within New Zealand which aims to get everyone (disabled or not) active within their community. Moreover, New Zealand has long been famous for its 'can do' attitude which appears to be passed down through generation. This way of thinking is especially evident within New Zealand sports and has been responsible for many sporting successes; disabled (e.g., Mark Ingills) or not (e.g., Sir Edmond Hillary). Being healthy and fit is somewhat of a virtue amongst New Zealander's and this is why the New Zealand government supports and endorses such strategies. This is another positive element of coverage in that it does not restrict public representations of people with disabilities to the spheres of rehabilitation and medical care.

In addition to topics which appeared to be major issues of disability covered in the New Zealand print media there were many topics which were not covered at all. These topics included mainstream education and integrated programs. It was surprising to see that these topics were not evident because in today's age New Zealand society promotes integration and one would have expected this to be reflected within the print media. In accordance with Biklen (1986) topics which are not covered in the news are just as significant as those that are. With this in mind, it is concluded that while the New Zealand print generally presents disability in positive terms there is still room for improvement.

In light of the above, the majority of articles within this study were positive. As previously stated this contradicts past research. This disparity may be due the wider efforts of professionals, community groups and the government in promoting the social integration of people with disabilities. On the other hand, it may be the case that the New Zealand print media is more positive in it's portrayal of disability when compared with other countries. In sum, this study suggests that greater prominence is placed on positive items (e.g., sports achievement) in comparison to negative items (e.g., violence). This opposes the views of past research which suggest that prominence is given in the reverse order (Allen & Nairn, 1997; Berveridge, 1996; Bokey, 2000; Day & Page, 1986; Dienfenbach, 1997; Hazelton, 1997; Hyler, 1991; Nairn, 1999; Philo, 1996; Rose, 1998; Rosen, 1997; Rosen & Walter, 2000; Signorilelli, 1989; Ward, 1997; Wilson, 1999, 1999a, 2000). In light of this, it appears that this reversal may offer audiences alternative resources for making sense of disability and the issues faced by people living with disabilities (*cf.*, Edney, 2004). These positive items are representations of disability in general and do not appear to be expressions of compassion and grief as past research has suggested (Wilson, 1999).

With regards to past research, a minority of the articles were concluded to be negative but these were largely outweighed by positive or neutral articles. These results oppose Bogdan (1982) and Byrd & Elliot (1988) whom previously suggested that portrayals of disability in the print media promote the idea that people with disability's are weak, helpless and powerless, victims and very dangerous. Rather, disability was presented in a very realistic manner. This again is in opposition with Hafferty & Foster (1994) who argue that disability is often presented in an 'unrealistic sanitized' (p. 187) way.

The findings of this thesis also supports Meagher's (1995) study which examined 380 mental health related items from selected Irish newspapers from July to December 1993. Although the sample size was much larger in Meagher's study both studies yield similar results. These results suggest that overall portrayals of mental health/disability are generally positive or neutral. Results from this study also reflect the findings in the USA. For example Wahl & Kaye (1992) study showed that there had been an increase in the number of mental health related items over this period of time. Furthermore, it was found that there were indications of positive changes in the portrayal of mental health issues over time.

These studies, and the present study, clearly contrast with the results of Coverdale, Nairn & Claasen's (2002) study. This study set out to prospectively collect and analyse a near complete New Zealand sample of print media over a 4 month period. Furthermore, it focused on mental illness and found that negative depictions of mental illness which predominate confirm the stereotypical understanding of mental illness that is stigmatizing. Coverdale, Nairn & Claasen (2002) conclude that such findings underscore the challenge facing mental health professionals attempting to change attitudes towards mental disorders when stereotypes are so regularly reinforced. When comparing these results to the present thesis it is apparent that there are considerable differences. Firstly, while Coverdale, Nairn & Claasen (2002) found negative depictions of *mental illness* the present study found positive depictions of *disability* within the New Zealand print media. Since past research suggests that people with physical disabilities are portrayed generally more positive in the media than those with other kinds of disability such as mental health (e.g., Gardner & Radel, 1978) this may account for the disparities. Secondly, there is a four year difference between studies which may indicate a positive change in the portrayals of minority groups within the New Zealand print media over the last few years.

However, this study also supports Tait's (1992) argument that articles often lack 'completeness, comprehensiveness and broadness' (p. 11). This deals with the issue of articles often being very narrow and one-sided. There was evidence to suggest that often articles result in a 'half-told story' (p. 47). A prime example of this can be seen in the article titled '*Air NZ sacking ruled out*' (see p. 51). This article lacked

'completeness' because it gave no mention of the mothers side of the story. The article merely focused on the reasons why the court had ruled against Air NZ's sacking of an employee which meant that it only presented evidence against the 'smacking' of the young girl. This left the other side (mothers) of the story a mystery suggesting that the article reported in a way which resulted in a 'half-told story'. Furthermore, because the article does not give the mother's side of the story it is hard to comprehend what she feels was the reason for the smacking, therefore resulting in the story lacking comprehensiveness. This is another area within the print media which is in serious need of revision. Despite such anomalies in the media's approach to disability issues, this study supports the idea that gradual improvements are underway (Byrd, 1997; Duvdevany *et al.*, 1995; Eichinger *et al.*, 1992; Michal-Smith, 1987; Quart & Auster, 1982). These improvements are evident when reviewing the linguistic guidelines which require people with disability's to be referred to in terms of their abilities rather than their limitations (Canadian Press, 1998; McFarlane & Clements, 1990; Snow, 1999; Toronto Star, 1998; University of Kansas, 1987; Yoshida *et al.*, 1990). Although such guidelines are now in effect the results of this study suggest that there are still cases in which these guidelines are not adhered to. One such example is the use of disability before person references within articles. This again is in need of revision.

The current study supports the findings of several studies. However, there are many studies which contradict the current study's results. One researcher in particular is worth comparing as it appears to be the only New Zealand research conducted within this field. Wilson's (1999a, 1999b, 2000) study examined entertainment media/television within New Zealand. A case study of one television drama program was conducted using discourse analysis. Results indicated mental illness was strongly associated with violence and dangerousness in this example. When comparing studies it is evident that the sample size of Wilson's (1999a) study was extremely small and this is a very serious limitation within Wilson's study. There are considerable differences when comparing the present study to that of Wilson's (1999a) study. Wilson (1999a) used *television* (drama) forums instead of *newsprint* forums as its main media. When considering this, a very important point to note is that researchers need to be careful when locating findings within specific media forums which are similar to their study. Furthermore, there have been a number of films and drama's

containing positive portrayals of disability and mental illness. Therefore, it is important to realise that samples (within studies) are only part of the picture as media imaging is constant and ongoing. Another important issue worthy of noting is that Wilson (1999a) examined *mental health* in comparison to *disability*. Although mental health is a form of disability it is very different to general disability as a whole and may be viewed different within New Zealand society (e.g., violent and dangerous). However, with these differences in mind, a comparison between both studies can be made on the basis of television being another form of media from which society gains information about disability.

A further study of television and mental health was conducted by Wilson in 2000. This study conducted a discourse analysis of a one week sample of children's television programs. Results of this study indicated that almost half of these programs portrayed mental illness and such portrayals were generally negative. The sample size of Wilson's (2000) study was much larger in comparison to his previous work. When comparing Wilson's recent study to the present study it is evident that there is one main difference. Portrayals of disability have been shown to be generally positive within the current study whereas portrayals of mental health have been shown to be generally negative in all of Wilson's studies (1999a, 1999b, 2000). These differences can be attributed to one of two things. On the one hand, it can be assumed that there has been a change in the way disability is presented within the New Zealand media. On the other hand, such differences can be a result of different media's being examined within each study. Another point to note is that Wilson's study is rather dated and within the last few years there has been substantial efforts aimed at decreasing the stereotypes and stigma that surrounds mental health. This can be seen when reviewing the 'know me before you judge me' advertisements which show successful and well respected New Zealand celebrities who have a mental health disability. It is highly likely that a modern review of Wilson's (1999a) study would produce different results. An accurate conclusion can not be drawn because of the lack of New Zealand research available within this field. The area of disability within New Zealand seems to be much understudied and it is therefore called for more research to be conducted.

Although studies concerning disability and the media are limited within New Zealand there is a vast amount of studies which have been conducted internationally. The majority of international studies involving media coverage of people with disability's claim that there is a relationship between negative portrayals of disability within the media and the attitudes towards their integration into society (Coverdale, 2002; Dienfenbach, 1997; Olstead, 2002; Wahl, 1989; Wahl, 1995; Wahl, 2003; Wilson, 1999). While this appears to be the case, the results from this study may be drawn upon in the future to determine if the same can be said for positive portrays and the relationship between the attitudes towards their integration into society.

As suggested earlier, the articles source of information is important to the overall nature of the article. With this in mind, the majority of the articles within this study used government agencies as their source. In accordance with Tichenor, Donohue, and Olien (1980), most articles about conflict were fuelled by the power elite which helped form the media position. The news media tended to reinforce the outlook of the dominant power in the community (e.g., the government) and lean in favour of the status quo and the 'mainstream' when covering public protests and disability issues. As previously stated, many disability issues are tied to the government, and some disability laws have implications for New Zealand business interests, which mean sources from business and the government are expected in many disability-related stories. This contributes to either a widening or narrowing of differences in the knowledge within the system, and as the majority of these articles (within this study) were positive it appears that using governmental agencies as the main source of information widens the field of knowledge on disability. Although this is so, the print media needs to start using direct sources (e.g., people with disabilities for personal stories, legal system for crime) on disability issues to allow for an accurate account of the event to be gained and thus reported.

While the source of an article is important, the attributes mentioned within each article is also important as they help create the overall nature of the article. In relation to this it appears that the majority reported the persons name, age and gender. These attributes are the most important as they are humanistic and (when mentioned) they insure that the person involved is not reduced to their disability. Such attributes as

ethnicity and occupation are somewhat less important as they are extra information and not always necessary.

Finally, it is acknowledged that Clogston's (1989) work highlights the importance of theoretically grounding studies of media portrayals of disability, and asking whether such portrayals are traditional (medical model) or progressive (social). These concerns are important, and not entirely theoretical, since it has been shown that repeated exposure to consistent images in the media do create beliefs and expectations about the real world (Byrd & Elliot, 1988; Giles & Byrd, 1986; Neuendorf, 1990; Tait, 1992). When examining Clogston's (1992b, 1993) definitions of traditional and progressive foci it is apparent that there are discrepancies between this studies results in comparison to Clogston's study (see results). Clogston's original work made use of only secondary sources (indexes rather than the newspaper articles themselves). This is a serious limitation of Clogston's work as this limits the depth and detail of his analysis (Gold & Auslander, 1999). Furthermore, Clogston included only physical disabilities within his studies which creates another important gap, since past research suggests that people with physical disabilities are portrayed generally more positive in the media than those with other kinds of disability such as mental health (e.g., Gardner & Radel, 1978). It is suggested that a modern definition of traditional and progressive foci is determined with regards to the actually content of each article and not merely indexes (Auslander & Gold, 1999). It is acknowledged that certain differences within any study can be attributed to cultural difference and as a result such cross cultural disparities may never be overcome. However, even taking this into account, there needs to be an accurate way of insuring that comparison between studies within the same country produce similar findings.

4.2 Limitations and Future Research

The present study sought to determine how disability was portrayed within the New Zealand print media and whether coverage contained more progressive representations of disability than indicated in previous research. It was found that overall disability is relatively positive then has been indicated in previous research. However there are still many articles within the New Zealand print media which portray disability issues in a negative way. With this in mind, one limitation of this

research is the issue that whether articles are positive, negative or neutral one cannot assume the effects that such media portrayals have on the public (Livingstone, 1999).

This study could have been carried out for a longer period of time which may have increased its validity. However, it gives an important snapshot into the field of disability and the New Zealand print media. A number of factors may have influenced the nature of the newsprint coverage of persons with disability that was retrieved within this study. These include sporting successes and deaths of sporting hero's whom faced disabilities (e.g., Neorli Fairhall). This is in accordance with Carter, Paramenter and Watters (1996) study which advocates that the nature of press coverage of disability related issues appears to vary depending on specific promotional activities of various interest groups or major but infrequent events such as the Para-Olympics. It is hypothesised that the specific nature of press coverage would be different if another period was sampled (disability awareness week) which ties in with this study's recommended future research.

Within this study many areas of future research have emerged. Firstly, it would be very interesting to research whether there is a difference in the number and nature of article concerning disability issues during disability awareness week. This is interesting because it is hypothesized that there would be a considerable difference in the number of articles within the New Zealand print media during this time and as a result the nature of the articles could produce connotations (whether negative or positive) for people with disabilities. Secondly, as this study does not give any insight into how these images are received, reinterpreted and made sense of by actual audiences. We do not even know if they are read or discussed. Further research concerning how the news print media affects audiences would be worthy because although many studies have been conducted in relation to the way in which issues are portrayed there appears to be no studies which relate these portrays to the effects it has on the intended audiences. There appears to be a lot of speculation of these effects with no solid evidence supporting such claims (within New Zealand). Thirdly, it would be very interesting to determine how New Zealand journalists train to report on issues such as disability. It is all very well scorning the media for negative portrayals of minorities but this may be due to the education in the initial stages of this profession. With this in mind it would be useful to research this area to determine if changes are needed. Last of all, further research into the disparities between early and

late onset of disability (refer to results pp. 64-66) would be a worthy area for future research. As this study has shown there are differences in the way these two onsets are portrayed within New Zealand print media however these disparities on a larger scale are unknown. These disparities may exist as a result of the person's (with the disability) own attitudes toward their disability or it may be due to an issue yet unknown.

In conclusion, this thesis highlights the importance of ensuring that the New Zealand print media represents disability in a safe and accurate manner. Although this study's sample size is relatively small in comparison to similar research (Clogston, 1989, 1993; Hafferty & Foster, 1994; Meagher, 1995; Wilson, 2000) it shows that the print media has gone from soft-feature like representations of disability (Clogston, 1993) to more straight factual news as the disability-rights movement has longed for (Gold & Auslander, 1999). As this study's results show, in modern times it appears (at least within a New Zealand context) that the media has advanced from its past negative outlook of disability (Wilson, 1999) towards a more positive one which encompasses accurate and relevant issues of disability. Although there appears to be areas of the New Zealand print media which are in need of revision (e.g., terminology) it seems fair to conclude that overall the New Zealand print media portrays disability in a relatively positive manner when comparing this to past research (Wilson, 1999a; Wilson, 1999b; Wilson, 2000).

References

Albaz, D., Kravitz, S., & Katz, S. (1992). Attitudes toward disabled army veterans in Israel: The impact of the military context of the injury. *Society and Welfare, 13*(1), 49-57.

Albrecht. G. L., & Levy. J. A. (1981). Constructing disabilities as social problems. *American Behavioral Scientist, 28,* 347-366.

Allen, R., & Nairn, R. G. (1997). Media depiction of mental illness- an analysis of the use of dangerousness. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 31*(3), 375-381.

Aminidav, C., & Weller, L. (1995). Effects of country of origin, sex, religiosity and social class on breadth of knowledge of mental retardation. *The British Journal of Developmental Disabilities, 41*(80), 48-56.

Barton. L.(1996). *Disability and Society: Emerging Issues and Insights.* London: Longman.

Beatson, P. (2000). *The Disability Revolution in New Zealand: A social map.* Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Becker, J., & Lissmann, H, J. (1973). *Inhaltsanalyse - Kritik einer sozialwissenschaftlichen Methode. Arbeitspapiere zur politischen Soziologie 5.* München: Olzog.Berzon,

Benkert, O., Graf-Morgenstern, M., Hillert, A., Sandmann, J., Ehmig, S. C., Weissbecker, H., Kleppingeer, H. M., & Sobota, K. (1997). Public opinion on psychotropic drugs: an analysis of the factors influencing acceptance or rejection. *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease, 185*(3), 151-158.

Benson-Pope, H. D. (2005). School operational funding increases 18.5 per cent in real terms per student under Labour. Retrieved April 23, 2007, from http://www.beehive.govt.New Zealand /ViewDocument.aspx?DocumentID=22437e.

Berveridge, A. (1996). Images of madness in the films of Walt Disney. *Psychiatric Bulletin, 20*(10), 618-620.

Biklen, D. (1986). Framed: Journalism's treatment of disability. *Social Policy, 13,* 45-51.

Bogdan, R., Biklen, D., Shapiro, A., & Spelkoman, D. (fall, 1982). The disabled: Media's monster. *Social Policy*, 32-35.

Bokey, K. M., Walter, G., & Rey, J. M. (2000). From *Karraeingi the emu* to *Care factor zero*: Mental health issues in contemporary Australian adolescents literature. *Medical Journal of Australian, 173*, 625-628.

Byrd, E. K., & Elliott, T. (1982). Media and disability. *Rehabilitation Literature, 43*, 348-355.

Byrd, E. K., & Elliott, T. R. (1988a). Television news reports related to disability. *International Journal of Rehabilitation Research, 20(*1), 81-84.

Byrd, E. K., & Elliott, T. R. (1988b). Disability in full-length feature films: Frequency and quality of films over 11 year span. *International Journal of Rehabilitation Research, 11*(2), 143-148.

Canadian Press. (1998). *CP Style Book: a guide for writers and editors.* Toronto.

Clogston, J. (1993). Changes in coverage patterns of disability issues in three major American newspapers, 1976-1991. *Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication* (Kansas City, MO).

Clogston, J. (1992a). Fifty years of disability coverage in *The New York Times*. *Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication Convention* (Montreal, PQ).

Clogston, J. (1992b). Coverage of persons with disabilities in prestige and high circulation dailies. *Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.* Montreal.

Clogston, J. (1989). A theoretical framework for studying media portrayal of persons with disabilities. *Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication.* Washington, DC.

Coverdale, J., Nairn, R., & Classen, D. (2002). Depictions of mental illness in print media: a prospective national sample. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 36,* 697.

Day, D. M., & Page, S. (1986). Portrayal of mental illness in Canadian newspapers. *Canadian journal of psychiatry. Revue canadienne de psychiatrie, 31*, 813-817.

Desbrarats, A. J. (1990). Macrodispersion in sand-shale sequences. *Water Resources Research, 26*(1), 273-286.

Diefenbach, D. L. (1997). The portrayal of mental illness on prime-time television. *Journal of Community Psychology, 25*(3), 289–302.

Domino, G. (1983). Impact of film *One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest* on attitudes towards mental illness. *Psychological Reports, 53,* 179-182.

Donaldson, J. (1981). The visibility and image of handicapped people on television. Exceptional Children, 47(6), 413-416.

Duvdevany, I., Rimmerman, A., & Portowicz, D. (1995). Knowledge about and attitudes toward persons with developmental disabilities: an assessment of Israeli social work students, *International Journal of Rehabilitation Research, 18,* 362-367.

Edney, D. R. (2004). Mass Media and Mental Illness. Retrieved September 28, 2006, from http://www.ontario.cmha.ca

Eichinger, J., Rizzo, T., & Sirotnik, B. (1992). Attributes related to attitudes toward people with disabilities. *International Journal of Rehabilitation Research, 15,* 53-56.

Ericson, R. V., Baranek, P. M., & Chan, J. B. L. (1987). *Visualizing deviance.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Fernald, J. L. (1995). Interpersonal heterosexism. In Lott, B. & Maluso, D. (eds.), *The Social Psychology of Interpersonal Discrimination*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Fischoff, S. P. (1999). Gangsta' rap and murder in Bakersfield. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 29,* 795-805.

Florian, V. (1987). Cultural and ethnic aspects of family support services for parents of a child with a disability. In D. Lipsky-Kerzner (ED.), *Family supports for families with a disabled member* (pp. 37-53). New York: International Exchange of experts and Information in Rehabilitation.

Florian, V. (1978). Employers' opinions of the disabled person as a worker. *Rehabilitation Counseling Bulletin, 22*(4), 39-43.

Florian, V., & Katz, S. (1983). The impact of cultural, ethnic, and national variables on attitudes towards disabled in Israel: A review. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 7,* 167-179.

Florian, V., Weisel, A., Kravetz, S., & Shurka-Zernitsky, E. (1989). Attitudes in the kibbutz and city toward persons with disabilities: A multifactorial comparison. *Rehabilitation Counselling Bulletin, 32*(3), 210-218.

Gardner, J. M., & Radel, M. (1978). Portrait of the disabled in the media. *Journal of Community Psychology*, *6*, 269-274

Gilad, D., & Lazar, A. (1993). Evaluation of a fieldwork program in the area of rehabilitation. *Society and Welfare*, *14*(1), 55-65.

Giles, F., & Byrd, E. (1986). Disability and human services in popular literature in *Nora Gold and Gail Auslander 95* relation to recent presidential administrations. *Journal of Applied Rehabilitation Counseling*, *17*(4), 54-56.

Gleeson, B. (1995). "Disability: A State of Mind?". *Australian Journal of Social Issues, 3*(1), 10-23.

Gold, N., & Auslander. G. (1999). Gender issues in newspaper coverage of people with disabilities: A Canada-Israel comparison. *Women & Health, 29*(4), 75-96.

Granello, D. H., Pauley, P. S., & Carmichael, A. (1999). Relationship of the media to attitudes towards people with mental illness. *Journal of Humanistic Counseling, Education & Development, 38,* 98.

Granello, D. H., & Pauley, P. S. (2000). Television viewing habits and their relationship to tolerance toward people with mental illness [Electronic Version]. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling, 22*(2), 162-175.

Gusfield, J. (1981). *The culture of public problems*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hafferty, F.W., & Foster, S. (1994). Decontextualizing disability in the crime mystery genre: The case of the invisible handicap. *Disability & Society*, *9*(2), 185-206.

Haller, B. A. (1999). *News Coverage of Disability Issues: Final Report for The Centre for an Accessible Society*. Retrieved August 25, 2006, from http://www.accessiblesociety.org/topics/coverage/0799haller.htm

Hazelton, M. (1997). Reporting mental health: a discourse analysis of mental health-related news in two Australian newspapers. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Mental Health Nursing, 6*(2), 73-89.

Hodgetts, D., Bolam, B., & Stephens, C. (2005). Mediation and construction of contemporary understandings of health and lifestyle. *Journal of Health Psychology, 10,* 123-136.

Horner-Johnson. W., Keys. C., Henry. D., Yamaki. K., Oi. F., Watanabe. K., Shimada. H., & Fugjimura. I. (2002). Attitudes of Japanese students toward people with intellectual disability. *Journal of Intellectual Disability Resources*, *46*(5), 365-78.

Hyler, S. E., Gabbard, G. O., & Schneider, I. (1991). Homicidal maniacs and narcissistic parasites: stigmatization of mentally ill persons in the movies. *Hospital and community psychiatry, 42*(10), 1044-1048.

Janowitz, M. (1968). *"Armed Forces and Society: A World Perspective."* In Armed Forces and Society: Sociological Essays. The Hague: Mouton.

Jones, R.A. (1985). Archival research and content analysis. *Research Methods in the Social and Behavioral Sciences, 4,* 116-135.

Johnson,W. & Lambrinos, J. (1987). The effect of prejudice on the wages of disabled workers. *Policy Studies Journal, 15*(3), 98-93.

Katz, I. (1997). *Summary of report of the Commission on Comprehensive Legislation concerning the rights of people with disabilities*. Jerusalem: Author.

Keller, C. E., Hallahan, D. P., McShane, E. A., Crowley, E. P., & Blandford, R. J. (1990).*The Journal of Special Education, 24*(3), 272-282.

Komardjaja, I. (2004). The place of people with intellectual disabilities in Bandung, Indonesia. *Health and Place, 11*(2), 117-120.

Lepofsky, M. D. & Bickenbach, J. (1985). Equality rights and the physically handicapped. *Equality rights and the Canadian charter of rights and freedoms*. Toronto; Carswell.

Lopez, L. R. (1991). Adolescents' attitudes toward mental illness and perceived sources of their attitudes: an examination of pilot data. *Archives of psychiatric Nursing, 5*(5), 271-280.

Margolis, H., Shapiro, A., & Anderson, P.M. (1990). Reading, writing, and thinking about prejudice. *Social Education, 54*, 28-30.

Mar'i, S. Kh., Reiter, S., & Rosenberg, Y. (1986). Cross-religious study of parental attitudes toward their developmentally disabled children among Muslim, Christian, and Druze Arabs in Israel. *Special Education and Rehabilitation, 1*(1), 87-96.

Mayring, P. (2000). *Qualitative Inhaltsanalyse. Grundlagen und Techniken* .Weinheim: Deutscher Studien Verlag.

McFarlane, J. A., & Clements, W. (1990). *The Globe & Mail Style Book.* Toronto, Globe.

McQuail, D. (2000). McQuail's Mass Communication Theory. London; Sage.

Mcvilly, K., Parmenter, T. R., & Yazbeck, M. (2004). Attitudes toward people with
Intellectual Disabilities: An Australia Perspective. *Journal of Disability Policy Studies, 20*(2), 390-498.

Meagher, D., Newman, A., Fee, M., & Casey, P. (1995). The coverage of psychiatry
in the Irish print media. *Psychiatric Bulletin, 19*(10), 642-644.

Metzel, D. S., & Walker, P. M. (2001). The Illusion of Inclusion: Geographies of the
lives of People with Developmental Disabilities in the United States.
Disabilities Studies Quartely, 21(4), 114-128.

Michal-Smith, H. (1987). Presidential address 1987: Hollywood's portrayal of
disability. *Mental Retardation, 25*(5), 259-266.

Multinational Study of Attitudes toward Individuals with Intellectual Disabilities.
Journal of Policy and Practice in Intellectual Disabilities, 3(2), 143.

Nairn, R. (1999). Does the use of psychiatrists as sources of information improve
media depictions of mental illness? A pilot study. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 33*(4), 583-589.

Nairn, R. (1999). From source material to news story in New Zealand print media: a
prospective study of stigmatizing processes in depicting mental illness.
Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 35(in press).

National Health Committee. (1997). Part one – Historical overview in *Who is
Responsible for the Provision of Support Services for People with
Disabilities?* Retrieved October 15, 2006, from http://www.nhc.govt.New
Zealand /Publications/annual6/concl.html

Neuendorf, K. A. (1990). Health images in the mass media. In A. Berlin Ray & L.
Donohew (Eds.), *Communication and health: Systems and applications*
(pp.111-135). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Nirje, B. (1980). *"The Normalization Principle",* in R. Flynn and K. Nitsch (Eds)
Normalization, Social Integration, and Community Services, Baltimore:
University Park Press.

Olstead, R. (2002). Contesting the text: Canadian media depictions of the conflation
of mental illness and criminality. *Sociology of Health & Illness, 24,* 621-643.

Park, C. C. (2000). Existing Nirvana: A Daughter's Life with Autism. USA; Sage.

Parmenter, T. (1991). "Has Social Policy Left Research Behind?" *Australia and New
Zealand Journal of Developmental Disabilities, 17*(1), 1 - 6.

Panitch, M. (1995). Policy as if disability mattered. In L. Lee (Ed.), *As if children matter: Perspectives in children, rights, and disability* (chapter 16, pp. 129-140). North York, Ontario: Roeher Institute.

Philo, G. (1993). *Mass media representations of mental health: A study of media content*. Glasgow: Glasgow University Media Group.

Philo, G., Secker, J., Platt, S., Henderson, L., McLaughlin, G., & Burnside, J. (1996). *Media Images of Mental Distress*. In Heller, T., Reynolds, J., Gomm, R., Muston, R., Pattison, S. (eds). Mental Health Matters. London: Macmillan Press.

Quart, L., & Auster, A. (1982). The Wounded Vet in Post-War Film. *Social Policy, 13*, 24-31.

Rimmerman, A., & Yanai, M. (1997). Employability of individuals with mental retardation. *Social Security–Journal of Welfare and Social Security Studies*, *49*, 52-64.

Rose, D. (1998). Television, madness and community care. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 8,* 213-228.

Rosen, A., Walker, G., Politis. T., & Shortland, M. (1997). From shunned to shinning: doctors, madness and psychiatry in Australian and New Zealand cinema. *Medical Journal of Australia, 167*(11/12), 640-644.

Rosen, A., & Walker, G. (2000). Way out of tune: lessons from shine and its expose. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 34*(2), 237-244.

Ryan, M., & Owen, D. (1977). A accuracy survey of metropolitan newspaper coverage of social issues. *Journalism Quarterly*, *54*, 27-32.

Ryan, M., & Owen, D. (1979). A content analysis of metropolitan newspaper coverage of social issues. *Journalism Quarterly, 53*, 634-640.

Schudson, M. (2003). *The sociology of news*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Shoemaker, P.J. (1987). The communication of deviance. In B. Dervin and M.J. Voigt (Eds), *Progress in communication sciences*, volume VIII (pp. 151-175).

Shurka, E., & Katz, S. (1982). Evaluations of persons with a physical disability. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *13*(1), 105-116.

Signorielli, N. (1989). The stigma of mental illness on television. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media, 33*(3), 325-331.

Snow, K. (1991). *People First Language*. Retrieved 13 May, 2007, from http://www.disabilityisnatural.com

Steadman, H., & Cocozza, J. (1977). Selective reporting and the public's misconceptions of the criminally insane. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 41*(4), 523-533.

Tait, A. A. (1992). Persons with disabilities and mass media: Literature review. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication* (Montreal).

Tennant, M. (1996). Disability in New Zealand: An historical survey *New Zealand Journal of Disability Studies*, 2.

The New Zealand Disability Strategy. (2001). New Zealand: The Ministry of Health.

Thomson, R. G. (1997). *Extraordinary bodies: Figuring physical disability in American culture and literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Thornton, J. A, & Wahl, O. F. (1996). Impact of a newspaper article on attitudes toward mental illness. *Journal of Community Psychology, 24,* 17-24.

Tichenor, J. P., Donohue, G. A., & Olien, C. N. (1980). Community conflict and the press. Beverly Hills; Sage.

Toronto Star. (1998). *Toronto Star Style Book*, Toronto: Toronto press.

University of Kansas, the research and training centre on independent living. (1987). *Guidelines for Reporting and Writing About People with Disabilities* , 2nd edition (Lawrence, Kansas, University of Kansas, The Research and Training Center on Independent Living).

Yoshida, R. K., Wasilewski, L., & Friedman, D. L. (1990). Recent newspaper coverage about persons with disabilities. *Exceptional Children, 56*(5), 418-423.

Wahl, O. F. (1995). *Media Madness: Public Images of Mental Illness*. Rutgers University Press.

Wahl, O. F. (1992). Mass Media Images of Mental Illness: A Review of the Literature. *Journal of Community Psychology, 20,* 343-352.

Wahl, O. F. (2003). News Media Portrayal of Mental Illness. *American Behavioral Scientist, 46,* 1594.

Wahl, G., & Kaye, A. (1992). Mental illness topics in popular periodicals. *Community Mental Health Journal, 31*(3), 230-248.

Wahl, O. F. & Lefkowits, J. Y. (1989). Impact of a television film on attitudes toward mental illness. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 17,* 521-528.

Ward, G. (1997). *Making headlines. Mental health and the national press*. London: Health Education Authority.

Wilson, C., Nairn, R., Coverdale, J., & Panapa, A. (1999). Mental illness depictions in primetime drama: identifying the discursive resources. *Australian & New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 33,* 232.

Wilson, C., Nairn, R., Coverdale, J., & Panapa, A. (1999). Constructing mental illness as dangerous: a pilot study. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry, 33,* 240-247.

Wilson, M. (2000). "The policy response to the Employment Task Force and changing patterns of Domestic Purposes Benefit receipt: a cohort analysis" *Social Policy Journal of New Zealand, 14*, 78-103.

Wolfensberger, W. (1972). *The principles of normalization in human services*. Toronto, Ontario: National Institute on Mental Retardation.

Zola, I. K. (1985). Depictions of disability-metaphor, message, and medium in the media: A research and political agenda. *The Social Sciences Journal, 22* (4), 5-17.

Appendix A

Structure Data

Date:	Placement							Section				PG	VE	S/M	Length	Overall P/N
	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	News	Feat	Business	Other					
Article 1																
Article 2																
Article 3																
Article 4																
Article 5																
Article 6																
Total																

*Overall P/N refers to the overall portrayal of disability within each article; PG refers to the page the article was on; VE refers to whether a visual effect/illustration was accompanied with the article and S/M refers to whether the article was reported by a solo/multiple reporter.

*Extra rows for the articles were added when needed (depending on the number of article retrieved for that week).

Appendix B

Content Data

Date:	Specific Person	Group	Org	Details of PWD					Quote From PWD	Specific Problems Faced by PWD	Source Of the Article
				Name	Gen	Age	Race	Occ			
Article 1											
Article 2											
Article 3											
Article 4											
Article 5											
Article 6											
Total											

* Extra rows for the article were added when necessary.

Appendix C

Terminology Data

Date:	Medical	Disability/ person	Derogatory/ questionable	Person/ disability	Traditional	Progressive
Article 1						
Article 2						
Article 3						
Article 4						
Article 5						
Article 6						
Article 7						
Total						

*More rows for articles were entered when necessary.

*This form was completed by yes/no in the box and the number of occurrences.

Appendix D

References for Articles Retrieved within this study.

Andrew, K. A. (2006, June 14). First step toward better health care. *The Dominion Post*, p. 4.

Andrew, K. A. (2006, July 2). Archer's death highlights problems. *The Dominion Post*, p. 3.

Andrew, K. A. (2006, August 7). Hit hard by pneumococcal disease. *The Dominion Post,* p.10.

Barton, T. (2006, June 21). The end of an era. *The Dominion Post*, p. 1.

Beston, A. (2006, June 15). Japanese man jailed for internet hit. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.4.

Binning, E. (2006, June 12). Govt wants toll cut to 300 by 2010. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.3.

'Blind' rapist to be monitored. (2006, July 11). *The Dominion Post*, p.6.

Blundell, K. (2006, June 6). Air New Zealand sacking ruled out. *The Dominion Post*, p. 6.

Blundell, K. (2006, July 21). Diver heads home with help from his friends. *The Dominion Post*, p.5.

Boland, M. A. (2006, July 9). Alarm over Ritalin for 2-year-olds. *The Sunday Star Times,* p.4.

Booker, J. (2006, June 22). Pioneer psychiatrist brought families in. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.5.

Booker, J. (2006, June 22). Patience runs out for 85 year old shoplifter. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2

Booker, J. (2006, June 26). Relaxed Inglis faces more painful surgery. *The New Zealand Herald,* p.2.

Bombs strikes elderly in Basra. (2006, June 21). *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2.

Boyes, N. (2006, July 28). Anti-drug activist used home to make P. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.4.

Britton, B. (2006, July 1). Konia off medication when he killed. *The Dominion Post*, p.2.

Brown, M. (2006, June 11). League: The Kangaroo that bounced back. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2.

By George, there's no need to worry. (2006, June 28). *The Dominion Post*, p.7.

Chalmers, A. (2006, June 26). Job scheme a 'success'—but no one's keeping count. *The Dominion Post*, p.3.

Chapple, I. (2006, July 2). Fury at parliament's lack of disabled ramp. *The Sunday Star Times*, p.8.

China jails leaders of deaf-mute child thieves. (2006, June 22). *The New Zealand Herald,* p.5.

Churchouse, N. (2006, July 29). A gutsful of being ignored. *The Dominion Post*, p.7.

Clifford, A. (2006, August 23). Impossible to join the dots. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.6.

Collins, S. (2006, June 27). Technology to help disabled have their say on services. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.4.

Collins, S. (2006, July 28). Child murder rate falls-slightly. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.3.

Collins, S. (2006, August 22). Sylvia Park design fault leaves disabled shoppers out in cold. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.3

Connor, S. (2006, June 15). Scientist and daughter to write children's story. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.3.

Day 20 in Lebanon. (2006, August 1). *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2.

Dearneley, M. (2006, June 20). Closure of Newmarket footbridge upsets travellers, businesses. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.5.

Driver was legally blind. (2006, July 21). *The Dominion Post*, p.5.

Dudding, A. (2006, July 23). Recipe to prevent disability 'flawed'. *The Sunday Star Times*, p.7.

Dumbstruck at the criticism. (2006, June 3), *The Dominion Post*, p.4.

Gibbson, A. (2006, June 1). Deane a key driver in steering NZ to market –driven economy. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.4.

Gibbson, A. (2006, 31 July). Endless Hunger. *The Dominion Post*, p. 15.

Giblin, R. (2006, June 29). Blind, but gold in sight. *The Dominion Post*, p.1.

Gorrie, A. (2006, July 17). Hobbled hospitals. *The Dominion Post*, p.5.

Gray, W. (2006, June 17). Obituary: Neroli Fairhall. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2

Gray, W. (2006, June 19). Paralympic medals for Kiwis. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2.

Grunwell, R. (2006, August 13). Undercooked lamb shanks leave engineer paralysed. *The Sunday Star Times*, p.7.

Haines, C. (2006, August 6). The gospel according to Ian Grant. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.5.

Hasting, D. (2006, July 21). A tolerant society. *The Dominion Post*, p.4.

Hitchhiker missing. (2006, July 24). *The New Zealand Herald*, p.3.

Hodge, K. (2006, June 1). Wind Farm assurance to school. *The Dominion Post*, p. 4.

Jacobson, J. (2006, August 3). In style. *The Dominion Post*, p.2.

Johnston, M. (2006, June 9). Tests put unborn babies 'at risk'. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.3.

Johnston, M. (2006, July 3). Vaccine campaign beating meningococcal epidemic. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2.

Johnston, M. (2006, August 19). Genetic testing with birth of healthy twins. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.3.

Kearns, B (2006, August 9). ACC apology 'not enough'. *The Dominion Post*, p.6.

Kiong, E. (2006, June 2). Clean bill of health for care provider. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2.

Kiong, E. (2006, July 22). Grieving mother begs Government to fund vaccine. *The New Zealand Herald*, p. 3.

Kiong, E. (2006, July 25). Public asked for views on embryo cell research. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2.

Letters to the editor. (2006, July 9). *The Sunday Star Times*, p.8.

Lichter, B. (2006, June 25). Bitter battle to the end. *The Sunday Star Times*, p.14.

Martin, J. (2006, June 15). 17,000 patients turned away as junior doctors strike. *The New Zealand Herald,* p.2.

Martin, Y. (2006, July 1). Games champ died in pain. *The Dominion Post*, p.3

Macdonald, N. (2006, June 3). Getting-off-the-benefit scheme works for some. *The Dominion Post*, p.17.

Man accused of raping disabled. (2006, June 27). *The Dominion Post*, p. 6.

Maori patients suffer more hospital mistakes: study. (2006, June 10). *The New Zealand Herald,* p.4.

McCarthy, A. (2006, July 31). Diploma in Sign Language Interpreting. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.4.

McCarthy, A. (2006, June 21). Job hunters look for a sign. *The New Zealand Herald*, p. 4.

Meylan, G. (2006, June 4). Ex-All Blacks battle with brain damage. *The Sunday Star Times*, p.3.

Mia Farrow raising hell as Damien's nanny. (2006, June 6). *The New Zealand Herald*, p.4

Michael Laws riles…and pleases big issue. (2006, August 13). *The Sunday Star Times*, p.8.

Mills, C. (2006, June 24). Somme visitors face battle with over-the-top French security. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2.

Millmow, J. (2006, August 5). New Spin on an old dream. *The Dominion Post*, p. 1.

Missing man sighted. (2006, July 25). *The Dominion Post*, p.5.

Morgon, J. (2006, June 22). Steiner's legacy. *The Dominion Post*, p.7.

Murphy, A. (2006, June 24). Focus still short of the answer.*The New Zealand Herald*, p.2.

Nichols, L. (2006, July 29). 'Guinea pig' glad of Outward Bound. *The Dominion Post,* p.3.

Offender won't accept guilt and is expected to remain a long-term risk. (2006, July 26). *The Dominion Post*, p.8.

O'Rourker, S. (2006, August 8). House fire leaves solo mum with only her tears. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.4.

Palmer, R. (2006, June 5). Putting a human face on madness. *The Dominion Post*, p.14.

Palmer, R. (2006, July 18). Unhealthy migrants gain visas. *The Dominion Post*, p.5.

Palmer, R. (2006, June 26). Locked in a life less ordinary. *The Dominion Post*, p. 8.

Palmer, R. (2006, August 21). Dyspraxia a victim of confusion. *The Dominion Post*, p.4.

Patterson, C. (2006, July 10). Disability hopes to settle. *The Dominion Post*, p.6.

Patterson, C. (2006, July 22). Upgraded space in heritage building. *The Dominion Post*, p.12.

Police disgusted by attack on visually impaired women. (2006, July 13). *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2.

Property problems: Who pays for providing wheelchair access? (2006, July 15). *The New Zealand Herald*, p.4.

RSVP. (2006, June 11). *The Dominion Post*, p.3.

Ruscoe, K. (2006, July 21). The alarming toll of medical errors. *The Dominion Post*, p.3.

Seeing beyond the surface. (2006, July 1). *The Dominion Post*, p.1.

Sex attack on blind women. (2006, July 13). *The Dominion Post*, p.3.

Sideswipe. (2006, June 16). *The New Zealand Herald*, p.10.

Sigourney hopes autistic role will help understanding. (2006, August 18). *The New Zealand Herald*, p.5.

Sports briefs. (2006, July 23). *The Sunday Star Times*, p.15.

Talyor, M. (2006, June 19). Rest homes are audited. *The Dominion Post*, p.4.

Torbit, M. (2006, June 15). My father died to escape abuse. *The Dominion Post,* p.4.

Todd, R. (2006, June 9). Stroke treatment could help more. *The Sunday Star Times*, p.6.

Tributes flow for archery legend Fairhall. (2006, June 13). *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2.

Wall, T. (2006, August 13). Distraught dad's deadly drive. *The Sunday Star Times*, p.9.

Watt, E. (2006, June 11). Caught on tape secret recordings reveal abuse at rest homes. *The Sunday Star Times*, p.3.

Watt, E. (2006, June 18). No rest for the elderly who need our care. *The Sunday Star Times*, p.8.

Watt, E. (2006, June 18). Inquiry demanded over elderly abuse. *The Sunday Star Times,* p.6.

Walker, K. (2006, June 19). City council housing plan condemned as social engineering. *The Dominion Post*, p.3.

Welham, K. (2006, June 23). Dog owners vow to flout chipping law. *The Dominion Post,* p.2.

Welham, K. (2006, June 24). The problem child. *The Dominion Post*, p.1.

Welham, K. (2006, August 9). Controversial drugs given to man who sets himself alight. *The Dominion Post*, p.5.

Werner, R. (2006, July 5). Paraplegic v amputee. *The Dominion Post*, p.4.

Wood, A. (2006, July 21). Sounding out new capital. *The Dominion Post*, p.3.

Woodham, K. (2006, July 2). Pentagon finally admits being gay doesn't make you doolally. *The New Zealand Herald*, p.2.

Appendix E

List of Keywords Used to Retrieve Articles.

1. Disability
2. Disabled
3. Autism
4. Autistic
5. Wheelchair
6. IHC
7. Downs syndrome
8. Paraplegic
9. Handicapped
10. Retarded
11. Epilepsy
12. Blind
13. Deaf
14. Stutter
15. Speech Disability
16. Mute
17. Developmental Disability
18. Learning Disability
19. ADHD
20. Disability and Education
21. Disability and Employment
22. Disability and Sports
23. Developmentally Delayed
24. Tetraplegic