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**Is there evidence to support the view
that the language and subject matter
selected by the Times and the Guardian
in relation to disabled people has
changed over the last twenty years?**

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Abstract

Following in the footsteps of previous research conducted by Smith and Jordan (1991), Cooke et al. (2000) and Haller et al. (2006) which examined the language and representation of disabled people in newspapers, this study sought to discover if there is any evidence to support the view that the language and subject matter selected by the Times and the Guardian in relation to disabled people has changed over the last twenty years, Using the method of qualitative context analysis (Mayring, 2000; Yan Zhang, 2006) an examination was made of the way the language and subject matter selected by the two newspapers depicted disabled people. Material collected over an eight week period from both newspapers for the years 1988 and 2008 were analysed in order to make comparisons in terms of use of language, type of stories and the differing 'styles' of coverage.

The analysis began from an understanding that there are opposing perspectives on what 'disability'. The dominant one which defines disability as "an individual personal tragedy" and one that has emerged from disabled people's experiences, therefore views disability as a "form of social oppression". (Oliver, 1990) This

underpinned the way in which both the language used in relation to disabled people and their representations in newspapers were approached. Attention therefore was paid to the categories developed by Clogston (1991) and Haller (1995) to examine how disabled people were viewed in news frames. These categories are divided into two types: traditional and progressive and are subsequently broken down into various “models” which depict disabled people in terms of stereotyping. The collected texts were examined to see if they fell within the two broad categories and whether or not disabled people were shown to be ‘active’ or ‘passive’ within the texts.

Because Qualitative Content Analysis is thematic in approach, another theme explored was the relationship between the subject matter and how disabled people were represented. Among the representations considered was the extent to which texts spoke of disabled people as specified individuals or groups or as unspecified individuals or groups. The role of language was explored as being a major factor in shaping these “identities”. By exploring a range of themes this study was able to identify both commonalities and differences with previous research and through this make a case for further more detailed study.

Is there evidence to support the view that the language and subject matter selected by the Times and the Guardian in relation to disabled people has changed over the last twenty years?

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Abbreviations

ABC1s – defined social status

ADA - Americans with Disabilities Act

BCODP - British Council of Organisations of Disabled People

DDA - Disability Discrimination Act 1995

ICDH - International Classification of Impairment, Disability and Handicap

RNIB – Royal National Institute of the Blind / Blind People

UK - United Kingdom

UPIAS - Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation

WHO - The World Health Organisation

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Chapter One: **Introduction to the Study**

Introduction

This dissertation opens with a presentation of the background to the study and will be followed by an outline of the research problem. The chapter will move on to introducing the methods used to collect the data and the strategies that were employed in analysing it. The final section explains the organisation of the study itself.

Background

My interest in the mass media began when studying at the Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies where I was involved in examining how “race” was being reported in newspapers. (Hall et al., 1978; Gilroy et al., 1982) I was also becoming increasingly aware of the existence of the Disabled People’s Movement and the critiques of disabled people’s experiences of discrimination and social oppression. (Hunt, 1966; Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation, 1976). As a result of this interest my attention turned to

how newspapers and wider media handled the issue of disability and the representation of disabled people. (Findlay, 1990a)

I decided to rekindle this interest and time was spent looking at what previous research had been undertaken. Smith and Jordan (1991: 7) commented that a number of studies have 'highlighted the way language is used to stereotype and discriminate against disabled people' and that their own study revealed that newspapers were 'extremely biased in the kinds of stories or subjects covered.' Many social changes have taken place over this period, therefore, it was considered worthwhile asking whether or not this is reflected in the way disabled people are currently portrayed in newspapers. As a result of that query, this study asks the question:

'Is there evidence to support the view that the language and subject matter selected by the Times and the Guardian in relation to disabled people has changed over the last twenty years?'

The next section explores how this question was addressed. It will outline the nature of the research problem in terms of its aims and objectives.

Research problem: research questions, aims and objectives

This study has sought to find out whether or not the representation of disabled people and their issues have changed over the twenty years within two British quality newspapers or is there evidence to suggest they continue:

Focusing on the experience of family, friends or professionals and their responses to a disabled person is felt to be closer to the experience of the average reader and therefore they will feel more comfortable with this 'peer' reportage. (Cooke et al, 2000: 6)

To discover evidence either way, two distinct approaches were undertaken. The first approach looked at specific words or phrases that are associated with disabled people. Some of the chosen words

have been singled out because they have been judged to contribute to the negative representation of disabled people while others were selected because they play a role in defining disabled people. (Smith and Jordan 1991; Cooke et al., 2000; Haller et al., 2006). The language was explored in the context of asking two interconnected questions:

- How does the language selected by the two newspapers depict disabled people?
and
- Is there evidence to suggest the selection of language has changed over the last twenty years?

Comparisons were made across the searches and between the broadsheets

The other approach was to place the items in which the words were found into subject areas. These areas were primarily based upon categories identified by Smith and Jordan (1991) and Cooke et al., (2000). In chapter six an outline of these categories will be discussed. This approach was adopted in order to identify the type of subject

matter that included disabled people and to test the claim made by Smith and Jordan (1991: 7) that the 'types of subjects relating to disability are more likely ... to contain derogatory language.' This was undertaken by asking similar questions to those relating to language:

- How does the subject matter selected by the two newspapers depict disabled people? and
- Is there evidence to suggest the selection of subject matter has changed over the last twenty years?

It was acknowledged that both sets of questions are interrelated however some distinct features exist which merited addressing them separately. It is believed that by exploring these distinct questions, it was possible to answer the research question itself.

In addition to asking how disabled people were depicted in the newspapers, time was spent considering the nature of the representation of disabled people in these papers. Cooke et al, (2000: 4) suggest, 'many disabled people feel the press does not

reflect the reality of their lives.’ This view led to an investigation into what kind of ‘news frames’ were found within the subject areas.

Entman (1993: 52) explains that media texts contain frames:

... which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements.

Clogston, (1989, 1990 and 1991) argued that news frames associated with disabled people tended to fall into two broad categories – traditional which represented disabled people as ‘malfunctioning in a medical and economic way’ – and progressive which ‘view people as disabled by society, not a physical attribute’.

(Haller, 2000: 60) In chapter three the concept of news frames will be discussed further, however, they have been introduced here because the items placed within subject areas were considered in terms of whether or not they fell within either category. Another theme, also based upon reading the subject area ‘texts’, is the extent to which

disabled people could be regarded as being either 'active' or 'passive' within the texts. 'Active' refers to evidence of disabled people contributing to the item either as a source or authorship and 'passive' means disabled people are reported or commented upon by a third party thereby having no influence on the text.

The study was judged to require the following objectives in order to address the research issues:

1. To collect data for analysis, using on-line computer searches within the Lexis-Nexis newspaper database, text containing specific words or phrases with the Times and the Guardian during the time frame of the 1st June through to 1st August – for the years 1988 and 2008.
2. To analyse the collected text with regards the 'subject agenda' or 'type of stories' and the 'language' or 'style' of the newspapers

3. To conduct selective readings of texts from across the time-span in order to identify themes and trends for further analysis and research.

The time-span was chosen to incorporate previous research and to access newspaper archive material prior to the passing of the Disability Discrimination Act 1995.

Data collection and strategies

The data was collected by using the on-line research tool provided by Lexis-Nexis and accessed through the University of Leeds library website. An initial search of both broadsheets – also referred to as qualities – was conducted through the employment of two lists. The prime list consisted of thirteen words, phrases or variations considered to be disability/ impairment related and a secondary list of ten words, phrases or terms that were considered to be associated with disabled people. The rationale behind the selection of items on each list will be discussed in chapter four of the dissertation.

Further refined searches were undertaken to check the validity of the data and to iron out identified problems found when using the research tool.

The organisation of the study

The dissertation therefore presents how the study was conducted and the findings that flow from the research. Chapter two opens with an overview of differences between 1988 and 2008 for disabled people before examining the theoretical issues around the function and importance of language, defining disability and the positioning of disabled people within society. Through this examination particular attention was paid to the cultural representation of disabled people and will draw upon the literature review.

Chapter three begins with an overview of the mass media before specifically addressing the coverage of disabled people in newspapers. Particular attention is paid to the role of news frames and stereotyping of disabled people. Chapter four introduces the

methodological choices available and explains how the research was finally conducted. The following two chapters outline the findings with chapter five addressing the question of language usage and chapter six considering the nature of the subject matter identified by the two searches and to what extent it provides answers to the questions and issues raised. The final chapter will present a summary of the study and then conclude by advocating further research.

Conclusion

The central aim of this chapter has been to outline the rationale for conducting the research and to introduce the chapters making up the dissertation. The study's research central question and related secondary questions have been outlined along with the study's aims and objectives. No study would be successful without a detailed literature review or consideration being given to appropriate methods for conducting research, therefore these issues were also discussed. Time was spent on introducing the organisation of the study and the steps that were undertaken. This chapter has sought to provide the necessary background information required for the journey ahead.

The study now begins in earnest with an outline of key issues underpinning the research.

Chapter Two: **Language, Disability and Culture**

Introduction

This chapter focuses on how disabled people are both seen and treated within society. As this study is a comparison between two historical periods, the starting point is a discussion on the extent which disabled people's lives may have changed over the years. The first section, therefore, 'sets the scene' before looking in more detail at the way "disability" and disabled people have come to be understood. Time is spent looking at the functions of language in relation to this research project.

The section on disabled lives outlines the basic approaches towards viewing disability as a prelude to presenting a case for seeing disabled people's 'unequal and differential treatment' as a form of social oppression. The chapter then examines the relationship between disability and culture before turning more specifically to the notion of an emerging disability culture.

Setting the scene

There is empirical evidence to suggest the period between 1988 and 2008 has seen improvements in the quality of life for sections of the disabled community, but overall disabled people's position within society remained the same. Oliver and Barnes (2006: 9) suggest, 'progress over the last 10 years has been more apparent than real.' Barnes (1991:1) had written earlier:

Throughout the 1980s there was a growing campaign to persuade the British Government to introduce anti-discrimination legislation in order to enable disabled people to participate fully in the mainstream economic and social life of society.

Through the British Council of Organisations of Disabled People (BCODP) and the Independent Living Movement self-organisation of disabled people gathered pace during the 1980s as recorded in a Guardian article. (Ryan, 1988) It was the same year as a "Rights Not Charity" march took place. Private Members' Bills seeking legislation

came and went. (Campbell and Oliver, 1996) Research commissioned by BCODP on the nature of discrimination in Britain and acted as a turning point. (Barnes,1991) Both MPs and the public began to take more notice and in 1992 a new umbrella organisation, Rights Now was established to promote a Civil Rights bill. (Evans, 1996) The outrage at the first defeat of this bill, forced the Government to produce its own legislation which became the Disability Discrimination Act 1995. The passing of the DDA did lead to a surge in awareness about “disability discrimination” among those who came to know about the Act’s existence, however, the nature of the Act itself made it unlikely to impact on the structures of society where institutional discrimination takes place. (Gooding, 1994) Oliver and Barnes (2006: 9) cite the Demos report (2006) as saying:

....despite all the apparent progress that has been made since the original report was launched, the underlying reality is that disabled people continue to face the same barriers that they have always faced and that ‘disablism remains rife throughout Britain’.

The mass media is viewed as one of the “sites” that has helped maintain “disablism” through discriminatory language and imagery. (Scope, 2009) To begin to understand how and why this has happened it is necessary to explore the role of language within society.

The importance of the functions of language

Any meaningful discussion on language in relation to disabled people requires the questioning of the role of language itself. Similarly, a discussion on language needs placing within the context of specific cultures because, according to Gramsci, (1971) the interests of ruling classes can be furthered by their power being not exercised directly by force, but rather through the dominance of their culture. This view leads to Oliver (1994: 4) asserting:

While it is undoubtedly true that communication is a function of language, it is not the only one. Language is also about politics, domination and control.

To understand the complex function language plays within societies one needs to consider the suggestion made by Foucault (1973) that, 'the way we talk about the world and the way we experience it are inextricably linked' (Oliver, 1994: 4) This gives rise to the notion of discourse which Huggan (1991: 37) explains:

... is about the interplay between language and social relationships, in which some groups are able to achieve dominance for their interests in the way in which the world is defined and acted upon.

In other words, language is socially constructed, therefore according to Fairclough (1989: 107):

the coherence of discourse is dependent on discursive common sense, (which is) ideological to the extent that it contributes to sustaining unequal power relations.

He suggests 'all ideologies are not naturally commonsensical, but are selected from struggles among ideologically diverse discourses and

become naturalized through common-sense' (Kang, 2008: 2) This ties directly into Gramsci's notion of 'hegemony'. Boggs (1976: 39) suggests hegemony at an ideological level can act as an 'organising principle' which means what '... is specific and partial is therefore universalized and what is cultural is naturalized to the point of being taken for granted in a view of the world as simply 'the way things are'.

What implications does this have in terms of the language used in relation to disabled people? Barnes (1993: 8) seeks to address this question when he states:

The first and most important thing to remember about discussions of language and disability is that they arise because disabled people experience discrimination daily and are denied the same rights and opportunities as the rest of the population

Put into context, language assists humans make sense of 'our world' and helps structure our perceptions. (Vygotsky, 1962) This introduces into the discussion the need to consider what is understood by the term "disability". It is argued that dominant ideas about disability and

the associated language stem from the establishment of the “disability category” which was:

...constituted by the organic ideology of individualism, the arbitrary ideologies of medicalisation underpinning medical intervention and personal tragedy theory underpinning social policy. (Oliver, 1990: 44)

Hence disability as “an individual tragedy” gained common sense acceptance thus establishing its hegemonic status. Disabled people and their lives become framed through well established stereotyped representations which are maintained because as Hall et al. (1978: 56) point out:

Events, as news ... are regularly interpreted within frameworks derive, in part, from this notion of *the consensus* as a basic feature of everyday life.

The consensus around “disability” is that disabled people cannot live ‘worthwhile’ lives. Within dominant discourses disability is viewed as

the explanation for people with impairments' social exclusion; it signifies the individual's non-conformity and inability to 'perform "normal" social roles'. (Williams-Findlay, 2008 unpagged) Abberley, (1987: 172) states that for 'disabled people the body is the site of oppression, both in form, and in what is done with it'. How did this situation arise and how is it maintained?

Disabling lives

Oliver, (1990: 25) acknowledges 'definitions and experiences of disability vary from society to society' but the crucial issue for him '... is why the view of disability as an individual, medical problem and a personal tragedy has been the dominant one in modern capitalist societies.' He suggests dominant ideologies and socio-political practices not only socially construct, 'disability as a personal tragedy', but at the same time create the material conditions that transform people with impairments into "disabled" people.

From this "social model of disability" perspective, disability is defined as:

The disadvantage or restriction of activity caused by a contemporary social organisation which takes little or no account of people who have impairments and thus excludes them from the mainstream of social activities.

(Barnes and Oliver, 1993: 14 citing UPIAS, 1976: 14)

Researchers on working within this tradition have articulated disability as social oppression. (Abberley, 1987; Erevelles, 1997; Findlay, 1994a; Finkelstein, 1980; 1981; 1993; Gleeson, 1997, 1999; Oliver, 1984, 1990, 1993, 1996; Russell 2002) The development of seeing disability as social oppression rather than an “individualised problem” have their roots in discussions from the late 1960s and early 1970s. (Hunt, 1966; Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation, 1976). UPIAS is given credit for originating the division between the existence of an impairment and the social restrictions defined as disability. (Campbell and Oliver, 1996)

Oliver used their insight to formalise both the “individual tragedy” and “social oppression” models of defining disability. (Oliver, 1990, 1996)

Within academic circles and wider society there is much debate about the nature, purpose, and usefulness of models of disability. (Armer, 2004; Finkelstein, 2001; Watson, 2004; Shakespeare, 2006) At the heart of the “individual tragedy” approach is a justification for people with impairments’ exclusion from and marginalisation within mainstream socialised activity which draws upon ‘a reinforcing ideology or “mode of thought” – ... a set of values and beliefs underpinning social practice ...’ (Barnes and Mercer, 2007: 25) This approach is critically discussed within Findlay, (1994); Priestley, (1998) and Sheldon, (2005). The World Health Organisation’s International Classification of Impairment, Disability and Handicap (ICDH) (Wood, 1980; WHO, 2001) is also criticised from this perspective. (Pfeiffer, 1998; Albert, 2004)

The social model on the other hand is concerned with all ‘the things which impose restrictions on disabled people’ (Oliver, 1996: 33) within the social organisation of society and how the consequences of the failure to appropriately address them fall upon disabled people as a group thereby resulting in the experience of institutionalised discrimination. (Barnes, 1991; Oliver, 1996) Criticism of the social

model includes its underplaying of the significance of impairment, sexism, homophobia and racism, (Corker and French, 1999; Crow, 1996; Hearn, 1991; Hill, 1992; Morris, 1991; Thomas, 2004) whilst others questions its usefulness altogether. (Hughes and Patterson, 1997; Shakespeare and Watson, 2002; Shakespeare, 2006)

Finkelstein suggests many criticisms levelled at the “social model” either misrepresent what the model is and represents or mistakenly fail to acknowledge that ‘interpretations’ in fact create new hybrid “models”. (Finkelstein, 2002; Horsler, 2003; Priestley, 1998)

The basic framework of this study accepts the idea that disabled people face ‘unequal and differential treatment’ because they have been historically excluded from and marginalised within mainstream society. (Bogdan and Biklen, 1977; Findlay, 1994b) This in turn has implications for the ways in which disabled people are culturally “made sense of” and their subsequent representation within the mass media. It also questions the positioning of disabled people within dominant culture and, subsequently, the possible emergence of a disability culture. Morrison and Finkelstein (1994: 4) contend:

... the day to day experiences of disabled people can be characterised as involving a unique tension which at one level involves the passive experience of being prevented from controlling one's own life while at the another level actively struggling to overturn this situation.

What this implies is that a form of duality exists; marginalisation and denial within dominant culture (passivity), whilst at the same time the formation of “disability identity” through the struggle against the experience of social oppression (activity). Morrison and Finkelstein (1994: 4) suggest:

Both the absence, and recent emergence, of disability arts and culture might be thought of as a mirror reflecting the current status of this tension between passive and active roles.

So what is meant by disability culture?

Disability culture

Among those who see disabled people as facing social oppression many advocate the view that there is an emerging disability culture.

The argument suggests that the self-organisation of disabled people and the development of the social model of disability gave rise to new cultural forms among sections of radicalising disabled people.

(Hevey, 1992; Morrison and Finkelstein, 1992, 1994; Linton, 1998)

This dynamic is best captured by Morrison and Finkelstein (1993: 126) when they argued:

A developing disability culture can not only increase insight into the progress of disabled people becoming active in the area of civil rights, but can provide important opportunities for individuals to gain confidence by forming a new and independent social identity... (thus) ... the formation of a distinctive and vibrant disability culture is a vital component in the construction of an accessible route to empowerment.

There are also those who oppose this view for a number of reasons including different definitions of what constitutes a 'culture'. Among those who argue there is a Deaf culture, but not a disability culture is Bragg (cited in Peters 2000: 584). She argues that disabled people's assertion that they have a culture falls down because it fails to meet seven qualifying conditions, for example, a common language, cohesion, a historical lineage, political solidarity, genetic or generation ties. This view is shared by Bickenbach, (1999: 106) who states 'there is no unifying culture, language or set of experiences, people with disabilities are not homogeneous, nor is there much prospect of trans-disability solidarity.' Both of these positions raise questions as to how culture and disability is being "understood".

In Britain the notion of "disability culture" is politically based. (Barnes and Mercer, 2006; Findlay, 1994b) Addressing these questions is complicated by the fact that often the language used in texts does not share common meanings and there are different definitions at work between and within countries both within dominant and sub-cultures. An exploration of the arguments around disability culture do reveal there are conflicting concepts in play. However, there is also enough

evidence to suggest, depending on one's view of culture, social solidarity; an essential feature of membership to a specific culture, exists among communities of disabled people. Peters, (2000: 589) drawing upon McLaren (1997), argues 'solidarity does not mean consensus, but recognises multiple antagonisms and struggles that characterise both the notion of self and the wider social reality.'

With this in mind, one can consider Paulo Freire's (1993: 12) description of a 'culture of silence' which he saw as perpetuating the oppression of disadvantaged minority groups. Leaving aside for moment the issue of whether or not disabled people are a minority group, the various critiques of disabled people's social oppression would support the idea that historically they have been encouraged to be passive, subjected to external pressures to conform to norms and values of others and denied the opportunity and resources for self appraisal both as individuals and as a social group. (Barnes and Mercer, 2006)

Under these conditions the ability of disabled people to both reveal and develop their own culture has been prevented by the nature of their oppression. In a politico-cultural sense, Findlay (1990b) argued

that disabled people were experiencing a 'dual collective identity'; one imposed from the outside through attitudes, practices and imagery associated with "the disabled" (sic) and an emerging new identity that they are forging through their own cultural expression and politics. This imposed "identity" however is not one dimensional or singular in presentation. (Barnes, 1992: 7) The imposed identity uses "stereotypes"; a stereotype being a 'widely held but fixed and oversimplified idea or image of a particular type of person or thing.' (Pearsall, 1998 : 1823) Two key considerations were made during this study in relation to any shifts in the representation of disabled people in newspapers: to what extent does the imposed "identity" still existed and is there any evidence of the "new identity" emerging?

Conclusion

Attention has been paid to material that explores differing political, social and cultural approaches towards defining "disability" and the importance of language in shaping these approaches. From this backdrop there was a discussion on the relationships that exist between disability and culture before specifically addressing the

concept of an emerging disability culture. It is now time to consider the relationship between disability and the mass media, particularly the newspaper industry in terms of the influences that impact upon journalists writing about disabled people and the broader issue of the production of disability related news.

Chapter three: Through the Cracked Looking Glass?

Introduction

Chapter three builds upon arguments developed in the previous chapter by examining the relationship between disability, culture and the mass media in terms of representation. The literature and theoretical arguments around the role and functions of the newspaper industry are outlined before discussing issues relating to the industry's production of disability related news. The final section calls into question aspects of previous research into media representation. The chapter begins with an examination of disabled people's appearance or non-appearance within the mass media.

Disability, culture and the mass media

It has been noted that there are different 'interpretations' of the social model of disability. (Finkelstein, 2002) Thus UPIAS' view that the experience of disability arises because 'people with impairments are not taken into account' has been questioned by Findlay (1994b) who

argues it underplays the processes involved. This links with ideological and cultural views of disabled people as 'Other'. (Pointon and Davis, 1997; Shakespeare, 1994) Erevelles, (1997) speaks about 'the dialectics of difference', whilst Barnes and Mercer (2004) describe the cultural domination or what (Young, 1990) calls 'cultural imperialism'.

Many writers have written on cultural representation of disability since the nineteenth century within all forms of media. (Bogdan and Biklen, 1977; Klobas, 1988; Linton, 1998; Zola, 1985) Because of societal barriers the general public gets much of its information about the disability community from media sources rather than through interpersonal contact. (Haller, 1997, 1999; Haller and Ralph, 2001; Makas, 1988, 1993) Haller cites Higgins (1992) who says we as a society "make disability" through our language, media, and other public and visible ways.

Research from the United Kingdom on representation and language of disabled people falls into a number of categories. Clarke and Marsh (2002) for example explore the use of language whilst general

explorations of the media include Barnes, (1992, 1997) and Campbell (1990a; 1990b). Interest in film and television can be found in Darke, (1994), Cumberbatch and Negrine, (1992), Pointon and Davies, (1997) whereas Hevey, (1992) turned his attention to charity advertisement. Barnes (1992) for example claims there are twelve common media stereotypes of a disabled person. Many of these stereotypes correspond with representations that are found within news frames. There was a shared view among the writers that stereotype assumptions about disabled people are 'inherent to our culture and persist partly because they are constantly reproduced through the communications media.' (Barnes, 1992: 5) This raises issues regarding the influences that impact upon journalists writing about disabled people and links with Cooke et al., (2000: 4) comment about the press holding up a mirror to society. If disabled people are excluded and marginalised within society; what kind of social reality is being reflected in the mirror?

Disability and the press

Research conducted by Smith and Jordan (1991) and Cooke et al. (2000) was UK based and concerned language, imagery and the practice of the press. Cooke et al, (2000: 6) argue:

... disabled people are, of course, the subject of news items and occasionally of features but these stories tend to be on disability from a non-disabled perspective.

This supports the idea that:

... ideological concepts embodied in photos and texts in a newspaper, then, do not produce new knowledge about the world. They produce recognitions of the world as we have already learned to appropriate it" (Hall, 1981: 239).

To have a better understanding of the relationship between disability and the press, it is necessary to interrogate what goes into making news.

Making the news

A range of opinions have developed on how news is defined. Park (1999) saw news as a form of knowledge; drawn from events, he suggested it was like history but dealt with the present thus making it 'transient' and 'ephemeral' in its quality. He addressed "newsworthiness" in terms of impact upon the audience:

dog biting man would probably not be newsworthy,
whereas the opposite would, ...it will be remembered
and repeated. (Park, 1994: 13)

Lippmann (1965) is among the first to identify news as a product of journalistic routines and standardised procedures. Roshco (1975) makes the crucial point that news is time-bound, thus it differs fundamentally from knowledge that aspires to longevity.

What news is; the functions it plays within society, and the question of 'newsworthiness' cannot be considered in isolation. News production and the organisation behind this production are also important factors. White (1950) spoke about the "gatekeepers" involved in selecting the news, suggesting they decide the style of stories best suited for their particular paper. Shoemaker (1991) argued that the processes were more complex and whilst individual gatekeepers had their preferences, they worked with constraints within the bureaucratic routines of the news organisation. This in turn relates strongly to the social system a particular organisation works within. Hall et al., (1978 : 61) make an important point relevant to this study when they state:

Just as each paper ... has a particular organisational framework, sense of news and readership, so each will also develop a regular and characteristic *mode of address*.

Golding and Elliot (1979) expand upon this by suggesting news is the transmission of an ideology belonging to specific social groups and

arises from the production process and identified demands of the audience. Hall et al. (1978) offer a structural analysis of the social production of the news and whilst it features race and crime, the key arguments are worth noting. By exploring the structured relationship between the media and powerful sources, using the Gramscian concept of hegemony, they suggest certain social groups benefit through having special status. It is by having institutional power, being seen as a representative voice or laying claim to expert knowledge that confers this status and sees the exercising of ideological power.

Schlesinger and Tumber (1994) while looking at source – media relations put forward a critical critique of Hall et al. They raise concerns about the approach Hall et al take towards what are called “primary definers” who have influence within the media structures which *necessarily* secures strategic advantage for their ideological or political viewpoint. Hall et al. saw “primary definers” as representatives of ‘the powerful’ who put forward their ‘world view’ and promote their ‘interests’. Government ministers, business and trade union leaders, for example, can play this role. Nevertheless they argue:

The media, then, do not simply 'create' the news; nor do they simply transmit the ideology of the 'ruling class' in a conspiratorial fashion. (Hall et al., 1978: 59)

It is the 'structured relationship' the media has with those that exert power that gives the media a crucial, but secondary role of *reproducing* the 'definitions' that stem from 'accredited sources'. This, they argue, suggests that "counter definitions" are not in a position to dislodge the primary ones.

Schlesinger and Tumber believe the concept of primary definers make the activities of sources attempt to generate counter definers invisible and therefore ignores 'the strategies of negotiation between journalists and their sources' (De Burgh, 2000: 100) They believe Hall et al. fail to take account of 'contention between official sources' which may influence a story and nor do they adequately address 'off the record' influences which may not be apparent. (Schlessinger and Tumber, 1994: 260) The extent to which primary definers shift, is also queried; partly because access is not equal and also because spheres of influence can change. They give as an example the wane in the influence of the Trade Union Congress.

However Oilen, Tichenor and Donohue (1989: 21) suggest: 'Media reports social movements as a rule in the guise of watchdogs, while actually performing as "guard dogs" for the mainstream.' Hence disabled people and their lives become framed through well established stereotyped representations which are maintained because, as Hall et al. (1978: 56) point out:

Events, as news, ... are regularly interpreted within frameworks derive, in part, from this notion of *the consensus* as a basic feature of everyday life.

To what extent then do the dominant ideologies associated with disabled people co-exist with "common sense" ideologies within the construction of disability related 'news frames'?

News frames and disability

The relationship between journalists, sources and audiences is complex however research acknowledges the location of the news media as agents in the social construction of reality (Hartley, 1988; Tuchman, 1978) and by the same token the role it plays in the

creation of a societal worldview (Cohen & Young, 1982). Gamson speaking about the relationship between the journalist and the audience explains that they are like to share the same culture therefore enabling an exchange of meanings. Thus, echoing the sentiment expressed by Cooke et al., (2000) he states: 'The frames for a given story are frequently drawn from shared cultural narratives and myths' (Gamson, 1989: 161). It is therefore argued that many journalists continue to represent disability as a medical problem or social deviance which denies disabled people's own perspectives.

Media researchers have employed the notion of "framing" to describe how social phenomena, such disability, can be presented in ways which can influence or shape their readers' attitudes towards that phenomena. (Sieff, 2003)

When [disability] labels are negative or derogatory, they may have a negative effect ... perpetuating negative stereotypes, prejudices, inferior status and dependency.

(Auslander and Gold, 1999: 1396 cited by Power, 2007: 2)

A number of researchers argue these news frames are created at an unconscious level by news workers who gravitate toward familiar understandings, rather than new or unique frames. (Clogston, 1990; Entman, 1993; Gans, 1980; Shapiro, 1993) As we saw with Hall et al. (1978) and Schlesinger and Tumber (1994), journalistic routines and practices lead them to official or 'authoritative' sources rather than those who would be considered marginal or minority ones. This suggests newspapers are more likely to approach disability charities rather than disabled people's organisations.

When labels and other forms of language assist in shaping a news frame, these frames 'may have profound influence on the way the issue is perceived and acted upon by various audiences'. (Blood, Putnis and Pirkis, 2002: 78) Often these labels support well established stereotyped images.

Stereotypes within news frames and society

Clogston (1991) offered a set of five categories or models which reveal dominant attitudes within news frames. The first three are

called “traditional” because they all correspond to the dominant ideologies which define disability as “an individualised tragedy”. The first category is the “medical model” which presents disability as illness or malfunction. This was very evident through all three searches; not just under the medical subject area. The second, “social pathology model” where disabled people are viewed as disadvantaged; in need of care and support, (charity or state intervention) again this figured in the majority of subject areas. The “supercrip’ model” operates within the duality of “tragic, but brave” where disabled individuals are portrayed as ‘deviant’ because they go “beyond expectations’ and do ‘incredible feats”. (Haller, 2000; Times, 28/7/88)

The next two categories are viewed as “progressive” and whilst they were used in this study, the usage was less culturally based than the meanings offered by Clogston. The “minority/civil rights model” sees disabled people as part of a disabled community with legitimate civil rights grievances. The second “progressive” category – “cultural pluralism” – is where disabled people are considered to be multifaceted and there is not a focus on their impairments. (Haller,

2000; Power, 2007) Haller (1995) following the passing of the Americans with Disabilities Act, introduced three further models which related to the responses in society to the ADA. Barnes (2008) suggests that while some of these may appear 'positive', dominant ones remain negative. It has been important, however, to acknowledge '...broad differences (that) remain between the cultural studies approach to disability representation in America, and the more politically-based explanations of disabling imagery provided by British writers.' (Barnes, 2008 : 305)

Acknowledging the stereotypes employed within news framing however does not tell the whole story. Some research studies address stereotyping by suggesting the use of more "positive" language and imagery, (Smith and Jordan, 1991; Barnes,1992) however, this has faced criticism from a variety of perspectives. (Hevey, 1992; Wilde, 2007)

Disabling language and representation

Clogston's categorisations of traditional and progressive news frames correspond with Hevey's view that:

...disability imagery can comprise multiple viewpoints or gazes, ranging from the impairment and the body to the disabling social environment, is not yet clear to many people concerned with this area. (Hevey, 1992: 17)

The place of the "impaired body" within the politics of disability has further significance when considering how "the body" is viewed in mainstream art and culture, let alone when placed alongside dominant ideologies and practices associated with disability. As Hevey (1994: 118) points out: 'the tragedy principle uses the impairment as a metaphor and a symbol for a socially unacceptable person and it is the tragedy principle which is the bone-cage surrounding historical and current representation.' Wood (2006) cites the Council of Europe's Disability Action Plan (2006) which states:

Disabled people need to be present in advertising, on screen, on radio and in print to bring about a paradigm shift in perception for disability and disabled people; a real change in attitudes by all members of society can then become a reality.

One reading of this quotation could be that all disabled people need to do is move from virtual invisibility to greater visibility in order to create a 'paradigm shift' in perceptions and attitudes. Being present, from the perspective of both Hevey and Findlay, would be considered not enough; crucial would be the actual representation itself. A similar issue arises with those who advocate more positive language and imagery as a means of improving disabled people's representation. Hevey (1992: 29) states:

All the efforts of the media and the charitable organisations have been to turn the political discourse on disability imagery into, at best, a superficial debate on 'positive' or 'negative' imagery ...

Jordan and Smith (1991) speak of “positive images” as a counter to stereotypes and derogatory language, but fail to explain what, in their opinion, would constitute a “positive image”. Haller et al., (2006: 66) cite Corker (1999: 193) who argued, ‘that issues of linguistic and cultural difference go well beyond “nice” words and “nasty” words ... that are in cultural circulation.’

In this study the research problem is about finding evidence to show change in the use of language and subject over the last twenty years, however one could have equally asked what pressures have there been to bring about change in the newspaper industry? Disabled people’s marginalisation with society continues to reinforce the industry’s questioning of their “newsworthiness”.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the newspaper industry and how it determines what is news and what is considered “newsworthy”. This placed the use of language and the construction of representations of disabled people into the context of news frames. It also suggests

news is not simply about providing information, but it includes presenting a view of the world from specific perspectives. Given this situation the chapter concluded with a consideration of idea of positive imagery as a counter point; what would constitute “positive imagery” within an industry and society that perpetuates disabled people’s social oppression? Having presented the framework for the study, the next development is an outlining of the research process.

Chapter Four: Lifting the Stones

Introduction

In this chapter I will outline my methodology by explaining the nature of my ontological and epistemological focus before examining the method used to collect and analyse the data. Attention will also be paid to other research issues such as ethics and research dissemination.

Background

Previous research, for example, Jordan and Smith (1991), Cooke et al., (2000) and Haller et al, (2006) had employed a mixture of quantitative and qualitative methods to study disability related language and representation in newspapers. Undertaking research requires the addressing ontological and epistemological issues and therefore a number of choices had to be made. Firstly, to make connections between previous research on language and representation of disabled people and this study's research problem,

it was necessary to undertake some form of content analysis.

Krippendorff, (2004: xvii) states that content analysis 'is an empirically grounded method, exploratory in process, and predictive or inferential in intent.'

From this perspective the research problem suited an interpretative approach with an ontological view of reality which recognises that '... social facts are concrete actions, since a reflexive relationship between social structure and acting prevails.' (Sandhoff; 1999: 1)

Nevertheless the theoretical underpinning of my research was based upon disability theory which, as we have seen, centres on the structures and processes of social exclusion which in itself has a specific ontological and epistemological focus. In addition, the theory I have employed comes from the social-materialist position which sees disability as 'the material relations of power arising from the development of political economy and/or patriarchy within a specific historical context'. (Priestley, 1998: 80) This is different from a social-idealist position which has a central concern with cultural representation and how the construction of disability 'is a product of specific cultural conditions'. (Priestley, 1998: 81) However as

Priestley notes, there are people like myself who accept the importance of cultural factors from a materialist perspective.

My approach has much in common with what is called, “emancipatory disability research” apart from the fact my research subject is newspapers as opposed to direct experience of disabled people themselves. Stone & Priestley, (1996) identified six core principles which they felt characterised the emancipatory research paradigm and I believe my research contains five out of the six of these principles as outlined by Priestley (1997: 90). I also share the view expressed by Niglas (2004: 6) that:

... depending on the nature and complexity of the problem, the design can be either qualitative or quantitative or a combination of both.

I am mindful of the fact that the majority of dominant paradigms used in social research have tended to work within ‘the personalised individual tragedy’ approach towards disability (Stone and Priestley, 1995: 703) and this includes the interpretative paradigm.

Methodological choices

The time and resources available to my research study led me to conclude I was unable to replicate the methodology used by Smith and Jordan (1991) or Cooke et al. (2000), however, I was able to use aspects of Haller et al., (2006) as a template. Among the differences was the decision to concentrate on two national qualities: The Times and The Guardian. Noting comments from Smith and Jordan, my decision to use the qualities was largely based upon the assessment that the type of storylines appearing in them was likely to produce richer data. Similarly, my literature review revealed that Johnson and Ensslin (2006: 3) had followed a similar thought pattern to my own when selecting their sources; namely,

... because the actual breadth of political coverage within the British press it is continually open to debate, we decided to focus on ... two particular newspapers ... commonly classified as 'of the right' (*The Times*) and 'of the left' (*The Guardian*), and hence representative of the British broadsheet landscape.

Would differences in *mode of address* (Hall et al., 1978) reflect in the newspapers' approaches towards 'disability' and disabled people? A further consideration was the varied audiences of the newspapers, the Guardian readership included people from the public and voluntary sectors involved in health and social care; the Times having its share of the management of the private sector. Both sets of readership was considered likely to have an impact upon the lives of disabled people. Statistical data collected reveals that the Guardian reader is typically young, well educated, upmarket and professional. Excluding the Financial Times, it has 'the highest proportion of ABC1s, readers aged 35-44, and ABC1 readers with a terminal education age of 21+.' The Guardian's readership is 1,206,000 which is a '14.3% share of total daily quality press circulation.' (Adinfo, 2009) By contrast, the Times attracts 187,000 business executive readers each day and also claims 83,000 so-called C-Suite readers, namely board level executives holding positions such as chief executive and chief financial officer . It has a daily circulation of 1.81 million. (Mediaweek, 2008)

It was not just in the selection of newspapers where difference between this study and previous research lay but also in relation to methodology. Rather than employ the traditional quantitative approach often used in content analysis, it was felt the research problem would be best addressed through a qualitative research method. Qualitative content analysis is:

... a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005:1278).

By employing a systematic coding process the validity of the inferences drawn from the texts can be ensured. This permits researchers to 'interpret social reality in a subjective but scientific manner'. (Yang Zhang, 06: 1) Qualitative content analysis begins with observations, and searches for patterns and themes which assist in building up a tentative hypothesis as a contribution to developing new theory. Because this method is based upon drawing inferences from raw data it is generally viewed as being inductive. Its aim is to

condense the raw data into categories of valid inference and interpretation by identifying topics and themes which relate to the research problem and associated questions. Weber (1990) concluded that the best content-analytic studies use both qualitative and quantitative operations. The various samples were collected by following a step by step approach based upon the qualitative content analysis method (Mayring, 2000; Yan Zhang, 2006).

The third difference with two of the previous studies lay with the method for collecting the data. They had scanned newspapers to identify “disability related issues” before coding and categorising them. This piece of research starts with word searches from the Lexis-Nexis newspaper database. How this was conducted will be discussed in the next section.

Data Sources and Collection Method

The Lexis-Nexis newspaper database is an on-line tool which was accessed via the University of Leeds website. Using two distinct search lists the Guardian and Times were explored over an eight week period from the first of June and to the first of August for the years 1988 and 2008. A transitional search for 1998 was conducted, however, a number of difficulties arose when trying to analyse the data and therefore it has been excluded from the study. The primary list was drawn from disability or impairment related words, phrases or terms discussed in previous research or Disability Equality Training, and were frequent examples appearing in on-line debates about terminology. (Gillespie-Sells and Campbell, 1991; BBC Ouch, 2003)

Primary List

The Disabled

Disabled people

People with disabilities

Crippled

Handicapped

The blind

Blind people

Visually impaired

Visual impairment

Spastics

Cerebral Palsy

A secondary list of non-disability or impairment related words associated with disabled people was compiled. This list consisted of words considered 'negative' (Smith and Jordan, 1991) and selected terms which have been associated with disabled people's campaigning and self-organising activities. The purpose of searching with these terms was to attempt discover if there was evidence of the emerging disability culture, spoken about earlier, in the newspapers' coverage. With the initial search producing data for the majority of these terms I decided not to record them.

Secondary list

Suffer(s)

Sufferer(s)

Tragic

Brave

Victim

Afflicted

Wheelchair / Wheelchair user / Wheelchair bound

Disability Rights

Disability Discrimination or civil rights

Excluded from study after search:

British Council (of Organisations) of Disabled People/

United Kingdom Disabled People's Council

Royal Association for Disability and Rehabilitation

Campaign for Accessible Transport

Direct Action Network

Independent Living

When conducting the searches it was acknowledged that using computer generated material carried the risk that some relevant data may be missed or irrelevant material might be caught in the trawl. This could arise from human error when conducting the search, misspelt terms or to do with the actual database. To minimise the risk the searches were repeated. All searched items were checked to ensure the words or terms were being used in a “disability context” within texts and if not, they were disregarded.

The texts were made up of articles, news stories, reviews, notices and letters. The searches, being based on individual terms, led to certain texts being recorded more than once because a variety of terms had been employed. As this is not a quantitative study, the data does not have statistical value; it is being employed in a thematic manner. The processes involved were extremely labour intensive. A second acknowledgement was the fact the sample taken from an eight week period was only a “snap shot” and therefore only certain seasonal or cultural events would be captured alongside current “issues”. The scope of this research study is recognised as being limited, therefore has been viewed as being no substitute for a

detailed longitude study which would enhance the exploration of the research question.

Having collected the data the second step was to determine the units of analysis. A unit is specific things that can be identified within a text, for example, key words, themes, imagery, etc. so that they can be classified during the content analysis. (Yan Zhang, 2006: 3). Each search term became a unit that was investigated in terms of its usage. The second unit was the placement of a key word or phrase within the newspaper; was it found in the heading as well as the main text? My third unit consisted of the majority of subject categories adopted by Smith and Jordan (1991). As this study is concerned with national and not local newspapers certain categories – fund raising, individual interest, and mobility – were replaced by the broader categories – charity, human interest and transport.

Given the fact the two newspapers being studied were the Guardian and the Times, I thought it appropriate to add the categories of ‘mainstream politics’ and ‘government policy’. Another change was to combine ‘rights’ with ‘campaigns’ and put ‘crime’ and ‘legal’ together

because they shared common features. Cooke et al, (2000: 12) acknowledged that, 'The 1991 subject criteria did not always reflect the way disabled people and disability issues are reported in 1999.' They elected not to resign the subject categories in order to 'gain a broad comparison over the decade', however I decided it was necessary to make some minor adjustments as this study was over two decades.

Other units of analysis emerged from reading the texts. The aim was to look for the 'expressions of an idea' which correspond to the research problem and associated questions. (Minichiello, 1990)

Themes were developed, for example, in terms of the type of language used and the subsequent 'representations' of disabled people found within the content of a text and the context of the category. This was coded in terms of fitting into the 'traditional' or 'progressive' categories or not. Another theme focus upon the positioning of disabled people in texts in terms of their appearance as: specific individuals, (including fictional ones), identifiable specific groups, that is to say, impairment based or as, for example, "disabled sailors"; and finally, could they be categorised as part of an

unspecified general group such as “the disabled” or “disabled people”?

Once the units of analysis were identified, it was necessary to code the items before analysing the data. Both processes are discussed in the next section.

Analysing the Data

It was noted from my review of the methodology that the most crucial step would be shifting from identifying the units to be worked with to developing categories and coding scheme and so it proved. The coding scheme I employed drew inductively from my collected sample. Additional categories and coding emerged from a closer examination of the data, for example, placing some key words in the context of how specific individuals or groups were framed. Hence, “the disabled”, “disabled people” along with adjuncts to “disabled” were all coded separately. It was understood that the coding of the data had to follow established rules because without doing this the validity and reliability of the process could be challenged (Mayring,

2000: 5). After undertaking a test run to ensure clarity and consistency of category definitions I ironed out one or two problems that had arisen, for example, acknowledging some examples would need to be recorded as 'non-evident', (that is to say no obvious contextual 'reading' could be made), before moving onto coding all of the available texts. It was also important to acknowledge that my sample was drawn from edited material which means it had already been 'viewed' and 'categorised' into topic headings therefore this could influence my 'reading' of them.

The crucial thing about qualitative content analysis is that it does not need to produce counts and statistical significance, but instead its purpose is to uncover patterns, themes, and categories of social realities and I believe I have successfully employed it in this way.

Ethical considerations and research dissemination

There were few ethical considerations to be made as I did not work with research participants. Nevertheless, I believe collecting my data

and ensuring its consistency and trustworthiness, have ethical dynamics.

It is difficult to determine the final audience for my study, but it is hoped that within the areas of disability studies, communication and media studies, as well as sections of the Disabled People's Movement, it will generate some interest. With this in mind, my main aim is to write an abridged version for publication in *Disability and Society* and to have the paper available on-line at the University of Leeds.

Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been to explain the methodology behind the study and how the research was carried out. An outline was giving of how and why two search lists were developed, the tools used to collect the data and the difficulties encountered. The limitations of the study were acknowledged before presenting a detailed account of the coding of the collected. The chapter concluded with a number of statements about other research issues.

The dissertation will now turn its attention to the study's findings in the following two chapters.

Chapter five: Language and Representation

Introduction

Previous chapters discussed the functions of language and through the notion of “discourse”, it was suggested that structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control can be manifested through culturally defined language. (Fairclough, 1989; Oliver, 1994) In other words, disabled people are usually ‘defined’, ‘described’ and ‘made sense of’ through language which represents the dominant culture within society and are therefore misrepresented and silenced in the process. (Barnes and Mercer, 2007: 90) Haller et al. (2006: 62) explain that, through ‘their selection of certain words over others, the media make certain terms more salient or memorable for their audiences’. They go on to argue that language ‘about groups engaged in social movements has always been a site of struggle’.

As Findlay (1990) argued there is the imposed identity, created and maintained by language and representations which, for example, portray disabled people as “other” or ‘disadvantaged’ (Clogston, 1991 cited in Haller, 2000: 61) and the emerging identity which sees them as ‘members of the community that have legitimate political grievances. (Clogston, 1991 cited in Haller, 2000: 61)

Linton (1998) who maintains the view that:

... wrestling for control of language and attempting to reassign the meaning of terminology used to describe disability and disabled people is vital to show how language reinforces dominant culture’s views of disability.

Drawing upon these arguments this chapter outlines the findings of the word searches and explores the language selected by the two newspapers to depict disabled people as well as asking if there is any evidence of change over the last twenty years. Each word will be discussed in terms of the context in which they are used before looking directly at the findings.

Disability-impairment related language

Table 1

<i>Term</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>2008</i>
	The Guardian	The Guardian
The disabled	15	7
Disabled people	12	24
... disabled ...	12	37
People with disabilities	2	7
	The Times	The Times
The disabled	25	15
Disabled people	3	28
... disabled ...	15	47
People with disabilities	2	2

Among the objections to the “the disabled” is the fact it acts to dehumanise and objectify disabled people. (Barnes, 1992: 43) The suggestion is they become presented as a homogeneous group who

then are subjected to stereotyping. Linton (1998: 9) says the terms 'have been used to arrange people in ways which are socially and economically convenient to the society.'

In Table 1 there is evidence of a decline in both newspapers of the use of the phrase "the disabled". However taking comparisons from the Guardian it can be shown that the usage in some instances remained the same: 'Local authorities may be allowed to continue contract compliance policies to help job prospects of blacks, women and the disabled...' (Wintour, 18/6/88) and 'Under the scheme, unemployed youngsters and school dropouts would be paid to work with the elderly and disabled...' (14/7/08) Haller et al. (2006: 70) point to 'another problem in how "the disabled" is used – it seems partnered with powerless social groups.'

Within the Times a different comparison can be made. The words '... advanced robotics system could help change the lives of the disabled;' (Warren, 21/7/88) appeared in the headline, but not in the content where she spoke of 'disabled children' and 'disabled people'. Nevertheless she did write: 'The frustrated lives of those

with active minds but helpless bodies could soon be radically changed...’ which presents a “uniformed image” just the same. Following a feature entitled: ‘Who’ll be first to offer disabled people a job?’ (Miles, 23/7/08: 23) a series of letters appeared under the heading: ‘We must change our attitudes to the disabled’ (28/7/08: 25).

If the usage of “the disabled” appears to have declined, Table 1 shows the reverse for “disabled people”. In the newspaper industry’s guidelines and many other sectors of society, “disabled people” is the preferred choice of a term for talking about people with impairments. The use of “disabled people” is not unproblematical because, as we saw in chapter two, differing definitions of ‘disability’ exist and therefore what is meant by “disabled people” is contested. (Bolt, 1999; Findlay, 1994b) The different notions of disability inform Clogston’s separation of ‘negative’ and ‘progressive’ news frames, however, when analysing certain texts taken from the searches which contained the term “disabled people” there was found to be no clear indication of the context in which it was being used, therefore, a degree of ambiguity existed which made it unsafe to classify.

In terms of the research questions the increase in the use of “disabled people” does suggest greater awareness among journalists not to use “the disabled”, however, when it came to analysing the relationship between language and representations in terms of ‘traditional’ or ‘progressive’ news frames and whether or not disabled people were merely “reported on” (passive) or “speaking through the text” (active), the Guardian had a slight increase in “progressive” frames, (although a small percentage overall), but only one item, ‘Guardian Tomorrows: A last civil rights battle’, (Ryan, 20/788) saw disabled people as a “collective voice” speaking for themselves. By contrast, for 1988, the researcher found the Times used “disabled people” within “traditional” news frames, but found the 2008 items difficult to categorise without risking making assumptions or using personal prior knowledge.

The most significant change has been the increase in volume of items from 1988 to 2008 which saw the word “disabled” attached to others to create multidimensional representations. Some, for example, “physically disabled” (Times, 28/7/88) often help frame

traditional perceptions, whereas within: 'Disabled teenagers should still get a real education' (Guardian, 22/7/08), "Disabled teenagers" requires context signposting because a certain degree of ambiguity can exist within the framing. (Versley, 2006)

The Guardian no items within progressive news frames in 1988 and the majority of its items were about unspecified groups. The items from 2008 in terms of framing proved more difficult to categorise.

There was a more even spread of items referring to specified or unspecified groups and individuals. Within the Times both searches were similar and mirrored the 2008 Guardian description apart from the fact that the second search contained items where disabled people were judged to have an "active" role within the text. Further research is needed before any meaningful conclusions could be drawn, however, these findings do suggest the style within the Times has not changed as much as the Guardian's had.

Table 2

Term	1988	2008
	The Guardian	The Guardian
The blind	9	5
... blind ...	15	20
Blind people	2	5
	The Times	The Times
The blind	6	6
... blind ...	10	18
Blind people	3	2

The use of “the blind” faces similar criticism to those levelled at “the disabled”. In addition the term covers those without sight and those considered to have one tenth or less of 20/20 vision; this means it open to reinforcing negative assumptions and associated stereotyping of those grouped under this label. (Farlex, 2009; Bolt, 2006) The label therefore is socially constructed through medical and cultural meanings. Table 2 shows a decline in usage in the Guardian, but not the Times. Within the Guardian and the Times for both 1988

and 2008 the majority of items were traditionally framed and saw people with visual impairments within passive representation and spoken about as an identifiable specific group. The majority of Times' items in 2008 that used "the blind" were charity related.

The word "blind" used alongside other words, similar to "disabled" discussed earlier, appeared the most. Again, within both newspapers, usage either supported what were viewed as traditional news frames or were open to interpretation, thus making a decision regarding the type of news frame employed difficult or unsafe. What was unexpected was the limited use of "blind people". Initially, the researcher believed this term may have been superseded, but there is no supporting evidence for this view.

Table 3

<i>Term</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>2008</i>
	The Guardian	The Guardian
Visual impairment	0	1
Visually impaired	0	1
Partially sighted	6	3
	The Times	The Times
Visual impairment	0	5
Visually impaired	0	1
Partially sighted	1	2

The separation of impairment and disability from a social model perspective has seen an increase in usage of “impairment”, for example, some people saying they are “visually impaired” rather than “blind” or “partially sighted”. Table 3 sees neither newspaper employing “visual impairment” or “visually impaired” in 1988. The Times did use “visual impairment” five times in 2008 with single item for the other term. The Guardian had single items for both. In the majority of cases the usage of these terms had little sway in

determining whether or not items fitted into either traditional or progressive categories because they were mainly factual descriptions.

Clark and Marsh (2002: 11) also note that, ‘...the term “partially sighted” is based on a concept of deviation from the “normality” of being “sighted”’, yet many including the RNIB, regard it to be a more ‘positive’ term. The Guardian employed the term more than the Times as Table 3 shows. However, because of the differing perspectives on usage, it made it difficult to classify the items. Nevertheless the research did not identify its usage in any progressive news framing. Both newspapers appear to prefer to employ “blind” rather than any alternative term.

Table 4

<i>Term</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>2008</i>
	The Guardian	The Guardian
Crippled	2	2
Handicapped	5	2
	The Times	The Times
Crippled	13	6
Handicapped	2	0

The BBC website Ouch often debates the word “cripple” and the notion of “Crip” as a reclaimed political identity. (Linton, 1998; Diary, 2008) Table 4 shows the Guardian had two items in each search. In 1988 it appeared as a headline: ‘Crippled services disable people’ (Beardshaw, 20/7/88). The play on words sought to construct as progressive news frame to match the content of the article, however, Ben-Moshe (2005: 108-9) points out:

When we use [negative] terms ... even if we are referring to acts or ideas and not people at all –

we perpetuate the stigma associated with disability.

The two items from 2008, it could be said, used “crippled” in an ‘historical context’. It can be seen that the Times makes liberal usage of the term. All items had traditional news frames and in all but one, they related to specific individuals, including two fictional characters, or unspecified groups of disabled people.

The number of incidents where “the handicapped” was limited and, perhaps surprisingly, found in greater numbers in the Guardian. The term within an article within the Guardian which was, ironically, considered to have “progressive” news frames. (Ryan, 20/7/88) All the others usages reinforce negative stereotypes apart from an item from 2008 concerned with, again ironically, discriminatory language. The Times used the term twice within texts that supported stereotyping.

Table 5

<i>Term</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>2008</i>
	The Guardian	The Guardian
Spastic/ Spastics	9	5
Cerebral palsy	15	20
	The Times	The Times
Spastic/ Spastics	6	6
Cerebral palsy	0	18

The Guardian had three items referring to the Spastics Society in 1988, two of which were traditionally framed, and the third, was from Ryan’s “progressive” article (20/7/88) By contrast the Times had two items, one that used ‘spastic’ as a factual description of a type of cerebral palsy, and the other referred to the charity. In 2008, “spastic” was used in the item on derogatory language; a Times’ item spoke of a “spastic” colon. The most negative usage was the name of

the charity now known as Scope. What about the alternative term, cerebral palsy?

Table 5 shows the Guardian had a single items for 1988 and 2008.

The first has a doctor referring to children 'suffering from cerebral palsy'. (Guardian, 5/7/88) and the second, speaking factually about a disabled person with CP. The Times had two items in 2008 which spoke factually about the condition itself, but were 'medical' in focus within traditional news frames. One item, 'Disability dolls: a blessing for kids, or just a sick joke?' (Times, 25/6/08), sat on the fence in terms of societal attitudes towards 'impairments'.

Non disability-impairment related language associated with disabled people

Table 6

<i>Term</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>2008</i>
	The Guardian	The Guardian
Suffer(s)	10	9
Sufferer(s)	12	16
	The Times	The Times
Suffer(s)	6	20
Sufferer(s)	0	0

This list begins with a series of words considered to be “negative”. (Smith and Jordan, 1991) Table 6 shows the extent to which externally imposed assumptions about impairment experiences – “suffers from” – help frame disabled people. Culturally, the media employ these terms frequently for any ‘negative’ experience, not just in relation to disabled people, however, when the common sense

meanings combine with the 'individual tragedy' ideologies to result in a series of oppressive stereotypes. (Ben-Moshe, 2005; Haller et al., 2006) Despite objections to these subjective descriptions there seems to be an increase not a decrease in usage. (Barnes, 1991)

Table 7

<i>Term</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>2008</i>
	The Guardian	The Guardian
Tragic	4	4
Brave	0	0
Victim	11	3
Afflicted	1	3
	The Times	The Times
Tragic	1	1
Brave	0	0
Victim	11	1
Afflicted	1	5

With the exception of “afflicted”, most of the other words appeared less. It was surprising to see an absence of “brave” and a steep fall in using “victim”. The overwhelming majority of items using “tragic” or “afflicted” promoted negative stereotypes. Two items from 2008 in the Guardian saw disabled individuals use the word “tragic”; one was to describe the failure to spot their cancer and the other was a rejection of the label. A third item saw an individual speak of being ‘badly afflicted’.

Table 8

<i>Term</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>2008</i>
	The Guardian	The Guardian
Wheelchair ...	3	8
Wheelchair user	0	2
Wheelchair bound	1	0
Confined to a wheelchair	2	0
	The Times	The Times
Wheelchair ...	0	2
Wheelchair user	0	2
Wheelchair bound	0	0
Confined to a wheelchair	0	0

The use of “wheelchair” with other words can either create a neutral representation or a negative stereotype. In 1988 the Guardian had six items using “wheelchair” in various forms. One these was recorded as from a progressive news frame. Two separate items saw disabled women were described as being ‘confined’ and ‘bound’ to their wheelchairs; as these are well known activists personally known to the researcher, it is highly unlikely these were their descriptions. (Guardian, 7/6/88; Guardian, 13/6/88) Both newspapers employed “wheelchair user in 2008 and three of the Guardian’s items were framed as “progress”; by contrast, the Times had one. All the other items in the Times saw factual descriptions of wheelchair users, however, the news frame was traditional.

Table 9

<i>Term</i>	<i>1988</i>	<i>2008</i>
	The Guardian	The Guardian
Disability Rights	1	2
Disability	2	1
Discrimination		
	The Times	The Times
Disability Rights	0	0
Disability	0	5
Discrimination		

Only the Guardian had an item from Table 9 in 1988 which was ‘A last civil rights battle’ (Ryan, 20/7/88). All the Times items and one from the Guardian refer to the Disability Discrimination Act 2005. The remain two, one concerning mainstream politics, the other about the death of an activist, were framed as “progressive”. (Jones, 14/7/08; Vasey, 19/7/08)

Overall there is little evidence to suggest there has been a shift in the usage of language to the extent that it has undermined traditional

news frames; offered a challenge to stereotyping or provided disabled people with a platform for control over their representation.

Conclusion

Simply drawing on the limited sample of the two searches there are signposts to suggest some change in the use of language however it is not consistent across the board. The newspapers whilst cutting down on certain terms appear less open to embracing language preferred by disabled people. The next chapter builds upon these observations by exploring the subject matter the language was employed within.

Chapter six: Placing Disabled People in Boxes

Introduction

The previous chapter explored the use of language in relation to disabled people and it was suggested that specific forms of language assisted in the construction of “news frames”. In this chapter the exploration is taken a stage further by looking at which subject areas the items collected were allocated. Our interest in this chapter is the subject matter allocation and depiction of disabled people rather than actual numbers and the main reason for this has two elements.

Firstly, the focus is on answering the research questions and secondly, the numbers in Appendix A relate to “hits” with a subject area. For example, an article on Housing using “victim” and “sufferer”, would record two hits.

The main part of the chapter is organised around blocks of subject areas and within them there will be a discussion on the general approach taken in each subject area within the newspapers and where possible comparisons between them and across the time

frames. The final section prior to the conclusion will offer general observations on the subject matter and the relevant data appears in the Appendices.

Analysing the subject areas

Health – Medical research – Medical negligence

Health saw the most hits in the Guardian for 1988 and second highest for both years in the Times. Items followed a similar pattern with 'tragic' and 'cure' as constant themes: '...an employee who has suffered some devastating accident' (Times, 21/7/88) or 'Stroke sufferers respond best to medication effects' (Guardian, 28/7/08).

Texts tended to focus on specific medical conditions and, as Cooke et al. (2000: 14) suggested, 'This high number of stories may be reflecting a misconception that disabled people are sick or are always looking for a cure.' The 'sick role' (Parsons, 1951)

Medical research had fewer hits but were all within the framework of 'tragedy' versus 'cure'. (Barnes, 2006) For example: 'Brain cell

implants may help victims of Alzheimer's disease' (Guardian, 2/6/88).

Wiby (2008: 7) comments: 'Medical research doesn't fit the conventional news frame, which demands crisp intros, novelty and immediacy.'

Findings in Cooke et al. (2000: 19) on **Medical negligence** noted items 'placed their main emphasis on the level of compensation' which result in a failure to 'focus on the extra cost which disabled people have to face or the future potential of the person.' The only item from 1988 was in the Guardian and conformed to this pattern. The Times had nothing within either subject area.

Benefits – Mainstream politics – Government policy

Under **Benefits**, apart from the occasional information item within the Guardian, both newspapers approached the subject in a similar fashion with an emphasis on cutbacks, changes in benefits and perceived attacks on disabled claimants. Seldom did items focus on individuals and generalised terms such as 'the disabled' or 'disabled

people' were used. The 2008 search, particularly in the Guardian, saw an increasing number from a 'Rights' perspective, although sourced mainly from non-disabled led organisations. (Guardian, 22/708) The Times items were within traditional news frames or difficult to classify. A common 'undercurrent of acceptance' seemed to prevail which framed disabled people as 'dependent' on benefits rather than being scroungers. (Times, 5/708) This fits into Clogston's "social pathology model" (1991).

Mainstream politics in both newspapers displayed a similar pattern with a decrease in items between searches. Many of the items were international and the UK items in the Guardian from 1988, with the exception of David Blunkett, did not feature disabled individuals. International stories featuring disabled individuals or groups from the Times saw the use of traditional news frames and often linked in with or seen as "social comment" on a specific country. For example: 'Police repress women's march; Protest in Pakistan' (Times, 27/6/88); the text begins: 'Wiping away a tear at the plight of the disabled and widowed, President Zia ...'

Some Times' items about the UK could have been recorded under "Government policy", for example, protests against the Poll Tax were often mentioned in relation to disabled people. Like the Guardian, David Blunkett was the most recorded disabled individual and there was a small diary entry about his first 'public' guide dog (Times, 8/7/88) Specifically on **Government policy**, subjects ranged from a Lord being concerned about the ban on firearms hurting disabled sports (Times, 1988) through to Welfare Reform (Times, 2008). Each item saw the concerns relating to disabled people portrayed through stereotypes.

Several items under **Government policy** in the Guardian were thematic; their use of language saw disabled people being 'partnered with powerless societal groups.' (Haller et al., 2006: 70) For example: '... pensioners, the unemployed, disabled and parents claiming child benefits' (Guardian, 25/7/88) The style of reporting appeared to create a certain "distance" between the "targeted group" and the audience. Three items from June 2008 on the Government's Equality agenda featured disabled people and were in sharp contrast to anything within the Times. (Guardian, 17/6/08; 20/6/08; 27/06/08)

Campaigning/rights – Employment – Education

The Guardian article: 'The last civil rights battle' (G Ryan, 20/7/88) stood out because it was the sole example among the searches that gave representatives of the Disabled People's Movement an actual voice. The Times in 2008 did feature a number of factual items on the European court ruling on "carer's employment rights" (Times, 18/6/08)

The subject area of **Employment** had few hits for both newspapers for 1988. The Guardian the items featured specific individuals from within traditional news frames, whereas the Times covered featured disabled people in groups. The Times in each search had an item on equal opportunities which had a "progressive" news frame in terms of subject, but the style and language were "traditional". (Times, 7/6/88) 2008 saw a real contrast between the newspapers when Times had almost three times more hits. A Times' article in entitled, 'Who'll be first to offer disabled people a job?' (Miles, 23/7/08) could have contributed to the difference as it provoked a flurry of letters. The focus within this subject area from both newspapers was on a narrow

segment of the disabled community – those needing support to enter or remain in the labour market. Smith and Jordan (1991) suggest interest in this area was hard to maintain and often linked to policy changes or campaigns.

The Guardian sole item under **Education** in 1988 concerning a specific individual and contained a traditional news frame. The 2008 search was difficult to classify, although two were considered within traditional news frames and another progressive. A “blind person” studying in prison featured in one item (Guardian, 1/8/08) and could be read from a ‘triumph over tragedy’ perspective. (Barnes, 1992; Clogston, 1990) The majority of the Times’ hits fell within traditional disability framing, for example, ‘Blind girl is university's best student’ (Times, 8/7/88) however some were purely factual as with a feature on ‘the Good University Guide, 2009’ which listed the top disabled students. (Times, 19/6/08)

Services – Charity

The **Services** subject area saw the majority of the Guardian items relate to local authority, health or voluntary sector services such as 'wheelchair services'. One headline read: 'Crippled services disable people' (Guardian, 20/7/88) The 2008 search picked up upon the impact of the DDA in terms of 'reasonable adjustments' within services (Guardian, 11/7/08) which illustrated a slight shift in emphasis. Interestingly, the Times' items in this subject area tended feature the business sector, for example post office closures, rather than social care. (Times, 28/6/08)

Under **Charity**, both newspapers were comparable in terms of hits for 1988, however, 2008 saw the Guardian have just two hits whereas the Times had twenty. The overwhelming emphasis in this area was seen as non-disabled people doing charitable deeds.

(Guardian, 14/7/88; Guardian, 20/6/08) Perhaps a major contributing factor to the Times have more items is the fact it carries more charitable events; a reflection of both the newspaper's culture and audience. The RNIB and Guidedogs for the Blind featured highly both

as sources for articles and as benefactors. One item from 2008 did demonstrate a possible “conflict of interest” by reporting: ‘The British give more to animal charities than to charities for the disabled.’ (Times, 4/6/08) One could question whether or not the usage ‘the disabled’ rather than ‘disabled people’ was deliberate; thus giving it a harder edge.

Housing – Community care – Local authorities – Transport

Smith and Jordan (1991: 26) suggest that most of these areas are more likely to be the concern of local news coverage, unless the focus is upon national policy. Among the Guardian articles on **Housing** in 1988, a number had a focus on research carried out regarding disabled people’s housing needs. One article paid particular attention to the researcher’s impairment: ‘The author, who is wheelchair bound, warns “there is yet worse to come”.’ (Kennedy, 6/7/88) All the articles were framed as “social commentary” with disabled people being viewed as the objects of concern. The Times had single items and although they covered different subject matter within the housing subject area – buying adapted council housing

and a homeless blind man – the commonality was the news frame which depicted disabled people's experience of 'disadvantage'.

(Clogston, 1991)

Within the **Community care** subject area the Guardian had a sole item addressing the difficulty of living in community as older disabled people. It employed the device of using a 'disabled voice' to illustrate the arguments. (Guardian, 11/6/08) It was a similar picture with the Times where its single article focused on the Law commission's concern over the complexity of community care law. (Cragg, 8/7/08) Once again, disabled people were framed within the 'disadvantaged' category. Both Smith and Jordan (1991) and Cooke et al., (2000) recorded low interest in this subject.

There was a slight difference in approach between the broadsheets in terms of **Local Authorities** and again, this might be to do with their audiences. The broadsheets also recorded a slight increase between 1988 and 2008. The Times, for example highlighted of good practice (Times, 29/7/88) and in 2008 carried items on legal rulings impacting in local authorities' service delivery. (Times, 10/6/08) None of these

were read as being framed as progressive. The Guardian, by contrast, had a single feature in 1988 which addressed issues around contract compliance. (Guardian 7/6/88) Money was the main issue in 2008 with elderly and disabled people struggling with social care charging (Guardian, 4/6/08) and how disabled people's 'Blue Badges' scheme featured within a report by the Audit commission on fraud. (Guardian, 5/6/08)

Transport coverage within both newspapers followed a similar pattern to Government policy where disabled people were used as examples. The Guardian reported on a transport magazine which mentioned making buses 'more accessible to the elderly and disabled' (Guardian, 25/6/88) and in 2008 there were expressed concerns over return of London Routemaster. (Guardian, 5/7/08) All four items from the Guardian could be said to be framed within the 'doing to or for' disabled people category. (Haller, 1995) The only difference found was that in 2008, the Times carried a feature which sparked a series of letters concerning the Blue badge parking scheme. This was judged to be more transport than local authority focused. (Times, 10/6/08; 12/6/08)

Smith and Jordan (1991: 17) grouped together **media and art** items because 'they often overlapped'. Neither they, nor Cooke et al. (2000), provided enough information on their data to enable this study to compare the findings. My searches collected together all material addressing the media and the arts under this subject area. The volume of material gathered within this subject area sprung the greatest surprise. Various themes emerged from reading the texts:

1. Had the newspapers' reviews of material containing disabled fictional characters changed over the years?

From the data collected, with very few exceptions, the answer has to be no. The majority of the reviews failed to address the presence of negative stereotypes. (Barnes, 1992)

2. How were disabled artists and performers presented?

Very few were present within texts and those that were appeared mainly from within traditional news frames. (Guardian, 8/7/88; Times,

30/7/08) Another theme which deserves further examination is whether or not the increased interest in 'celebrity status' has led to a shift in emphasis vis-à-vis disabled people. The media have always favoured "rags to riches" stories, but there has now been an incorporation of "triumph over tragedy" news frames where non-disabled celebrities are seen as succeeding despite of, or because of, having a disabled family member . (Guardian, 26/6/08) Both newspapers carried reviews of the BBC series, *Britain's Next Top Disabled Model*. Some reviews expressed shock and horror at the very idea of disabled women as models; others took the opposite view by being critical of how the disabled women were treated. (Guardian, 28/6/08; Times, 15/7/08)The description of the progressive category, of "cultural pluralism" found in Clogston (1991) was brought to mind by the latter.

The **Human interest** subject area's material reflected previous research observations. The focus being on individuals, either disabled people or those associated with them, and generally speaking, negatively framed by "triumph over tragedy", "supercrip" or "against all odds" stereotyped representations.(Barnes, 1992;

Clogston, 1991) However in 2008 the Guardian carried obituaries for two disabled activists which broke the mould of the traditional framing of 'disabled lives'. (Guardian, 16/6/08)

The Times carried an interesting headline: 'Wheelchair traveller is bound for Australia' (Times, 28/7/88) Was the use of 'bound' conscious or not? The message within the text was clearer: 'She said that travelling was 'not something the disabled do.' This fits into the 'supercrip' category and supports the idea: 'Disabled people are passive and do not participate in "regular" activities because of disability' (Haller, 2000: 61) In contrast, the Times decries 'disabled soldiers being insulted in a town swimming pool' (Times, 18/7/08). A textual reading of the article might suggest the image presented here is not of a "regular" activity, but that of "rehabilitation" framed by "personal tragedy" and "overcoming disability". (Findlay, 1994b)

The Guardian approached the subject of **Sport** mainly from either a social or political perspective rather than a pure sporting issue: ' ... special sports facilities for the disabled and minority groups were highlighted ... as some of the most likely casualties of privatisation'

(Guardian, 1/7/88) The Times featured slightly more items on “disability sports”, for example, a disabled volleyball coach was mentioned in: ‘England's top coaches are honoured; Coach of the Year awards’ (Times, 20/7/88). Returning to the issue of celebrities, an article on Lewis Hamilton mentions the fact that his brother ‘suffers from cerebral palsy’. (Times, 7/7/08)

Legal or crime items in the Guardian centred upon violence and disabled people. (Elliot, 2007; Guardian, 30/7/88; 30/7/08) Another theme investigated was the number of items which employed derogatory language within reports on compensation claims.

(Guardian, 24/7/08; Times, 15/6/88) Its function appears to be to either entice empathy or act as an ‘legitimising’ frame for the claim.

Miscellaneous contained all items which did not fit into any of the existing subject areas. It was never assumed that items found from the searches would fall naturally within any specific subject area and a number could have gone into more than one area. What was surprising was the low numbers recorded with the Guardian having five and eighteen hits compared to five and nine in the Times. Only

three hits in the Guardian for 2008 were considered to fit within progress news frames. No progressive news frames appeared in the Times. Nevertheless the 2008 search, following the passing of the DDA, did see an increase in items relating to access needs.

What general impressions can be drawn from the subject matter and allocation into subject areas? Are disabled people still placed within boxes which create and maintain their representation largely through stereotypes?

General observations and conclusions

It is impossible from a snap shot to draw too many conclusions, however, from the data collected it would seem there is an increase in visibility of disabled people, however, the majority of subject matter remains within news frames that promote traditional stereotypes.

Disabled people remain “reported about” rather than appear influential within the text or as the possible source. (Appendix B) Most subject matter falls within categories deemed “newsworthy” by the industry, therefore maintaining the same bias Smith and Jordan

(1991: 7) spoke of, and as a result, fails to give a rounded picture of disabled people's lives and experiences. (Cooke et al., 2000: 12)

When it comes to being represented, there is some evidence to suggest that the subject matter itself, along with the choice of language and style of presentation, can influence disabled people's representation in terms of being viewed as a specific individual (human interest stories), specific impairment groups (health) or unspecified group e.g. "the disabled" (benefits). (Appendix C)

What this study does show is that there is a need for further detailed research. There have been changes in the usage of certain words has declined but it could be argued they have simply replaced by other terms such as "vulnerable" (Clark and Mash 2002). Some journalists have taken onboard the criticisms and altered their language and approach to subject matter, (Quinn, 2009) but overall the status quo remains. The next chapter offers a summary of this study.

Chapter seven: **Summary and conclusions**

Introduction

The purpose of this final chapter is to provide a summary of the study and its findings. Each section will address the salient points within the appropriate chapter before concluding with a justification for further research. The chapter begins with an overview of the reasoning behind the study.

The study: an overview

Having undertaken previous research into how “race” was reported in newspapers I turned by attention towards the language and representations of disabled people. (Findlay, 1990a) Over twenty five years had passed since my criticism of the Guardian’s review of *My Left Foot*, a film interpretation of Christy Brown’s autobiography; had anything fundamentally changed? Previous research by Smith and Jordan (1991) and Cooke et al., (2000) had explored language and subject matter relating to disabled people in both the broadsheets and tabloids; the nature of this study in terms of time, resources and length restricted what I was able to achieve therefore the study was limited to investigating two broadsheets – the Guardian and the

Times by making a comparison between two time frames set twenty years apart.

The research question was: Is there evidence to support the view that the language and subject matter selected by the Times and the Guardian in relation to disabled people has changed over the last twenty years? To obtain evidence to either support or challenge this view, two lists of words were searched; the first list contained disability-impairment words or phrases and the other of non-disability or impairment terms associated with disabled people. Within the second list a group of terms were removed after the initial search – terms associated with the Disabled People’s Movement – because insufficient data had been collected.

The collected data was then analysed and allocated to subject areas largely based upon those found within Smith and Jordan (1991).

Once placed within the subject areas each item was read in order to evaluate the language used to depict disabled people by the two newspapers and to see if it was possible to determine whether or not the selection of subject matter has changed over the last twenty

years. In addition a range of themes were explored to assist with addressing the research question. Firstly, the central argument had been that the usage of language can contribute to how disabled people are “viewed”. Within newspapers ideas, values and “making sense of the world”, is conducted through “news frames”. Clogston, (1989, 1990 and 1991) argued that news frames associated with disabled people tended to fall into two broad categories – traditional which represented disabled people as ‘malfunctioning in a medical and economic way’ – and progressive which ‘view people as disabled by society, not a physical attribute’.

The texts were analysed to see if they could be allocated to either of the two broad categories. Secondly, within these news frames were disabled people simply being “reported on”; thus ‘passive’ within the texts or were they viewed as being an ‘active’ part of the construction of the item itself? Lastly, within the representation of disabled people were they being viewed as specific or unspecific groups or individuals? The evidence suggests that the choice of language, style of presentation and subject matter all influence how disabled people are represented.

Each subject area was also discussed in terms of whether or not they featured in either newspaper or time frame and the extent to which the subject matter, including the nature of the news frames had altered from 1988 to 2008. Certain subject areas, such as health and benefits, tended to reinforce stereotyped images and representation of disabled people found within both newspapers and wider society. Why this type of stereotyping occurred was investigated as part of the background to the study.

Disability, culture and identity

Through the conducting of a literature review time was spent examining the different ways in which “disability” has been historically and culturally defined. A critique of disabled people’s positioning within capitalist societies, focusing on the nature of economic and social relations, which were supported by dominant ideologies, argued people with impairments became excluded from and marginalised within mainstream society. (Finkelstein, 1980; Oliver, 1990) From this “social model” perspective, people with impairments were transformed into “disabled people” – within dominant ideologies as “incapacitated burdens” – and subjected to ‘unequal and

differential treatment'. (Findlay, 1994b) Hevey (1994: 118) points out: 'the tragedy principle uses the impairment as a metaphor and a symbol for a socially unacceptable person and it is the tragedy principle which is the bone-cage surrounding historical and current representation.'

This was used as a starting point for a discussion on the relationships that exist between disabled people, the mass media and society. It was argued that within mainstream culture disabled people are either absent or subjected to negative stereotyping. However, it has been suggested that as disabled people began to challenge their positioning within society and the causes behind it, a new "disability culture" emerged which began challenging how disabled people were both seen and treated. This challenge brought a new identity where "disabled people" were those viewed as *disabled by society*. Using this analysis of disabled people's relationships with the media and society attention was then focused upon the role newspapers' play within society: did they simply hold a mirror up to society as Cooke et al. (2000) suggest.

Disabling news

Drawing upon the discussions around language and discourse, the study introduced Gramsci's notion of hegemony and the concept of common sense. Within the news frame categories outlined by Clogston as "traditional" there was evidence of the dominant ideologies associated with "the disabled" co-existing with "common sense" views. Thus the 'structured relationships' the newspaper industry has with sources and audiences either leads to disabled people being "ignored" or results in their "presence" through the reliance on external non-disabled sources and/or shared "stereotypes" that socially construct "the disabled" (sic).

In general terms, disabled people's experience of disablism and its consequences acts like a "cracked mirror" and it is often this that is reflected through their supposed lack of "newsworthiness" within newspapers. This means disabled people and their organisations are rarely used as sources, not viewed as part of the "audience" and have little influence over the language, subject matter or representation that does appear.

Conclusion

The nature of this study, through the employment of a qualitative content analysis of only two broadsheets over narrow time frames, does not allow for any firm conclusions to be drawn. There is some evidence to suggest a reduction in the use of derogatory language, however, it has not been removed altogether. The language that is used either reinforces negative stereotype representation or is ambiguous because it can operate within either traditional or progressive news frames; thus the audience 'interprets' according to their readings of the texts or newspapers and their sources intentions.

Disabled people's "newsworthiness", based solely on the data collected, corresponds with the majority of subject areas identified by Smith and Jordan (1991). There was little or no evidence of subject material sourced by disabled people or their organisations from a political or cultural perspective. Without a longer and more detailed study, it is not possible to know if this "snapshot" over twenty years has captured the real picture or not.

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Appendix A

1988 Terms by Subject Area in both Newspapers (Table 3 of 4)

	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	
					M	M			W	W			C	C					
				e	e			i	i	G	G		a	a					
			M	M	d	d		n	n	o	o		m	m					
			e	e	i	i		s	s	v	v		p	p					
			d	d	c	c		t	t	e	e		a	a					
			i	i	a	a		r	r	r	r		i	i					
			c	c	l	l		e	e	n	n		g	g					
			a	a				a	a	m	m		n	n					
			l	l	n	n		m	m	e	e		i	i	E	E			
					e	e				n	n		n	n	m	m	E	E	
			r	r	g	g	B	B	p	p	t	t	g	g	p	p	d	d	
			e	e	l	l	e	e	o	o			/	/	l	l	u	u	
			s	s	i	i	n	n	l	l	p	p	r	r	o	o	c	c	
			e	e	g	g	e	e	i	i	o	o	i	i	y	y	a	a	
			a	a	e	e	f	f	t	t	l	l	g	g	m	m	t	t	
			r	r	n	n	i	i	i	i	i	i	h	h	e	e	i	i	
			c	c	c	c	t	t	c	c	c	c	t	t	n	n	o	o	
			h	h	e	e	s	s	s	s	y	y	s	s	t	t	n	n	
Suffer(s)	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0
Sufferer(s)	9	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tragic	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
Brave	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victim	6	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Afflicted	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wheelchair ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Wheelchair user	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wheelchair bound	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Confined to	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Disability Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disability Discrim/Civil Rights	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix A

2008 Terms by Subject Area in both Newspapers (Table 3 of 4)

	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T
	C	C	H	H	C	C	M	M	H	H	S	S	L	L	L	L	T	T	M	M
	h	h	o	o	o	o	e	e	u	u	p	p	e	e	a	a	r	r	i	i
	a	a	u	u	u	u	a	a	h	h	o	o	g	g	u	u	a	a	s	s
	r	r	s	s	s	s	/	/	i	i	s	s	/	/	h	h	n	n	c	c
	i	i	i	i	i	i	A	A	n	n	p	p	c	c	o	o	s	s	e	e
	t	t	n	n	n	n	r	r	t	t	o	o	r	r	r	r	p	p	l	l
	y	y	g	g	e	e	t	t	e	e	r	r	m	m	e	e	o	o	a	a
Suffer(s)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sufferer(s)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Tragic	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brave	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Afflicted	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wheelchair ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Wheelchair user	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wheelchair bound	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Confined to	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disability Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disability Discrim/Civil Rights	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix A

2008 Terms by Subject Area in both Newspapers (Table 4 of 4)

	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T	G	T
	C	C	H	H	C	C	M	M	H	H	S	S	L	L	L	L	T	T	M	M
	h	h	o	o	o	o	e	e	u	u	p	p	e	e	a	a	r	r	i	i
	a	a	u	u	u	u	a	a	h	h	o	o	g	g	u	u	a	a	s	s
	r	r	s	s	s	s	/	/	i	i	s	s	/	/	h	h	n	n	c	c
	i	i	i	i	i	i	A	A	n	n	p	p	c	c	o	o	s	s	e	e
	t	t	n	n	n	n	r	r	t	t	o	o	r	r	r	r	p	p	l	l
	y	y	g	g	e	e	t	t	e	e	r	r	m	m	e	e	o	o	a	a
Suffer(s)	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Sufferer(s)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Tragic	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Brave	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Victim	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Afflicted	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wheelchair ...	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Wheelchair user	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Wheelchair bound	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Confined to	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disability Rights	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disability Discrim/Civil Rights	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix B

Breakdown of Readings of Items in Subject Areas: Guardian 2008

	H	M		M	M	G	C							C			L		M		
	e	e	B	a	a	o	a	E	E	S	C	H		o	M	H	L	T	M		
	a	r	e	i	i	t	n	y	n	e	t	o	u	t	s	r	t	e <p>po</p> <th>r</th> <p>sp</p>	r	o	u
	l	c	n	n	s	ti	g	o	u	r	h	o	u	ti	ti	er	ri	ti	ce		
	t	h	e	s	s	ci	ht	ym	at	vi	ar	u	ti	ca	ar	er	ti	po	po		
Total	18	2	0	9	4	7	5	7	9	10	2	0	1	36	14	4	1	3	3	17	
Traditional	14	2		3	2	2	2	3	2	2	1		0	16	4	2	1	1	0	5	
Progressive	0	0		3	1	0	1	1	1	0	0		0	0	8	0	0	0	0	3	
Non Evident	4	0		3	1	5	2	3	6	8	1		1	20	2	2	0	2	3	9	
Passive	17	2		8	4	7	4	6	8	10	2		0	34	7	4	0	3	3	16	
Active	1	0		0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		1	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	
Non Evident				1			1	1						1	6					1	

Appendix B

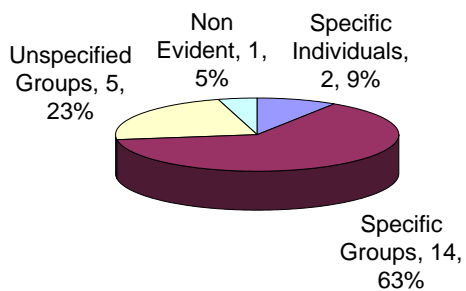
Breakdown of Readings of Items in Subject Areas: Times 1988

	H	M	M	B	M	G	C	E	S	C	H	C	H	C	M	H	L	T	M	
	e	e	e	e	a	o	a	m	e	r	h	o	o	o	u	u	a	r	s	
	a	d	d	n	i	v	p	p	p	a	a	a	a	n	n	n	u	a	e	
	l	r	r	e	n	e	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	l	
	t	e	e	n	s	n	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	i	
	h	h	h	s	s	s	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	t	
Total	16	0	0	2	17	3	1	3	10	2	7	1	0	9	5	7	11	2	1	5
Traditional	16			0	15	0	0	2	7	2	3	1		5	4	3	7	0	1	3
Progressive	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Non Evident	0			2	2	3	1	1	3	0	4	0		4	1	4	4	2	0	2
Passive	16			2	17	3	1	3	10	2	7	1		9	5	7	11	2	1	5
Active	0			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0	0	0
													0							

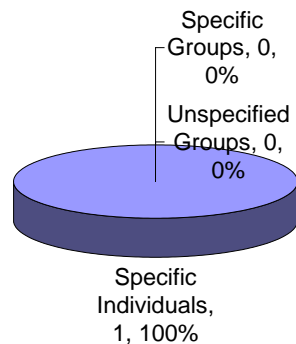
Appendix C

Representation of Disabled Status People by

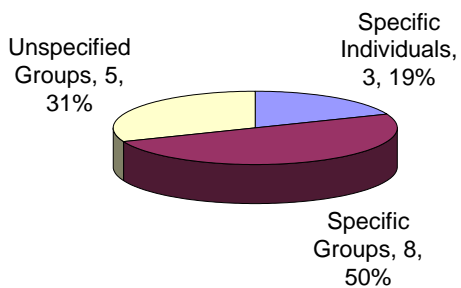
Guardian - 1988 - Health



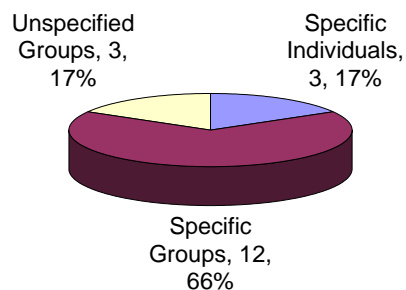
Guardian - 1988 - Medical negligence



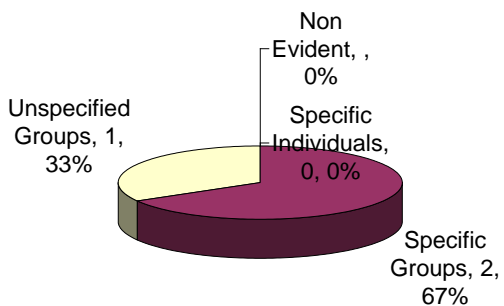
Times - 1988 - Health



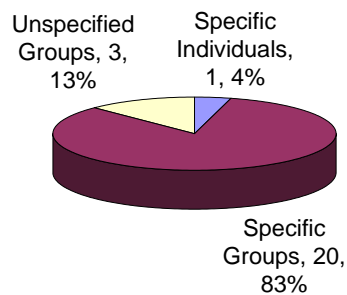
Guardian - 2008 - Health



Guardian - 1988 - Medical research



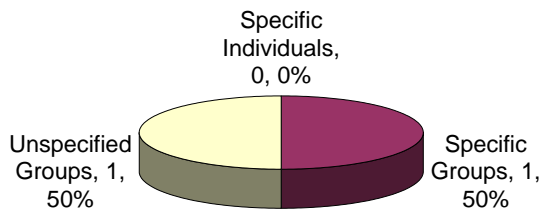
Times - 2008 - Health



Appendix C

Representation of Disabled Status People by

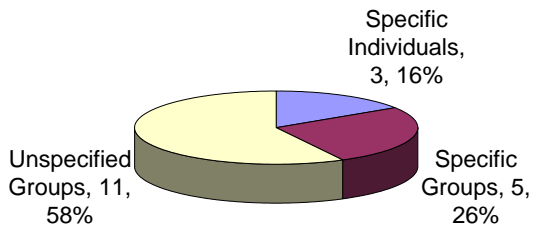
Guardian - 2008 - Medical Research



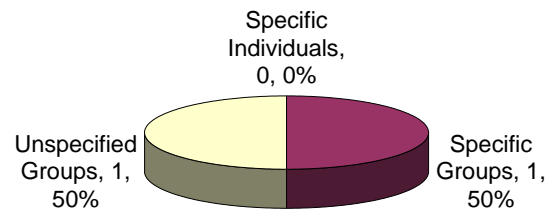
Appendix C

Representation of Disabled Status People by

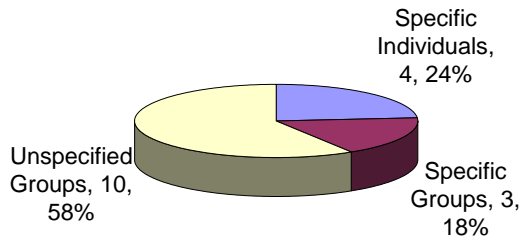
Guardian - 1988 - Mainstream politics



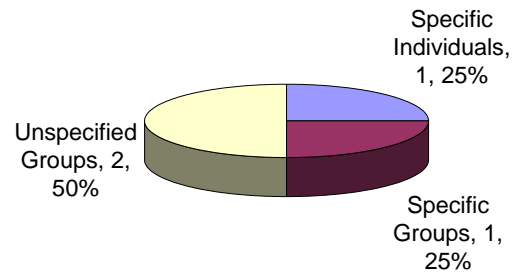
Times - 1988 - Benefits



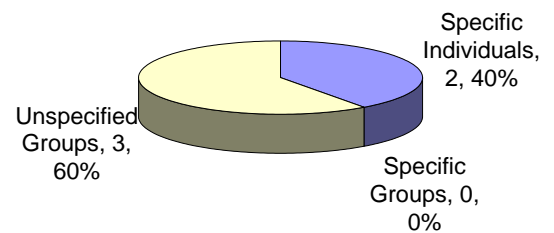
Times - 1988 - Mainstream politics



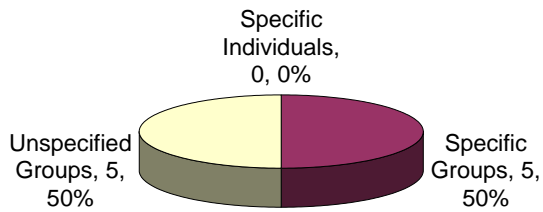
Guardian - 2008 - Mainstream Politics



Times - 2008 - Mainstream politics



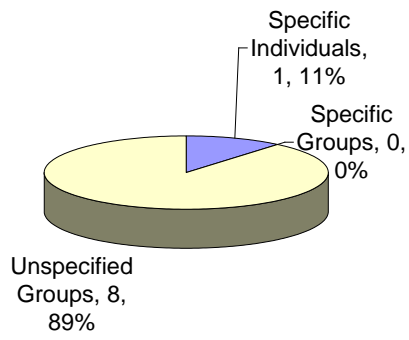
Guardian - 1988 - Benefits



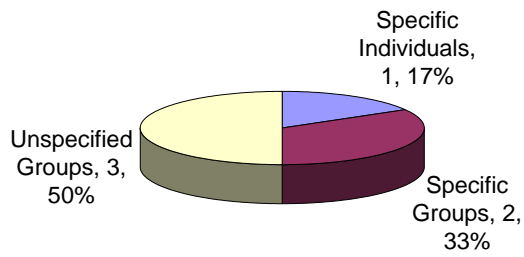
Appendix C

Representation of Disabled Status People by

Guardian - 2008 - Benefits



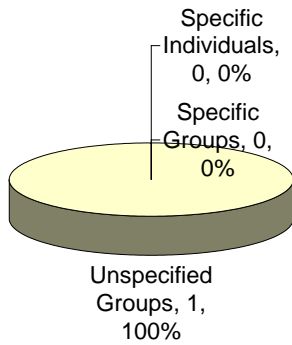
Times - 2008 - Benefits



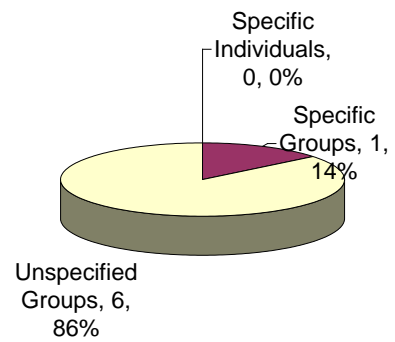
Appendix C

Representation of Disabled Status People by

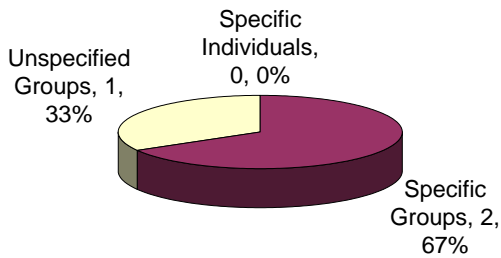
Guardian - 1988 - Government Policy



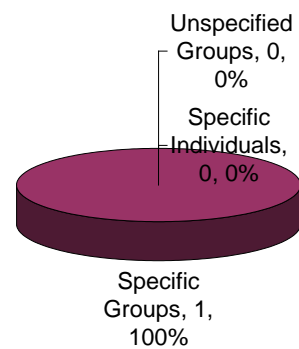
Guardian - 2008 - Government policy



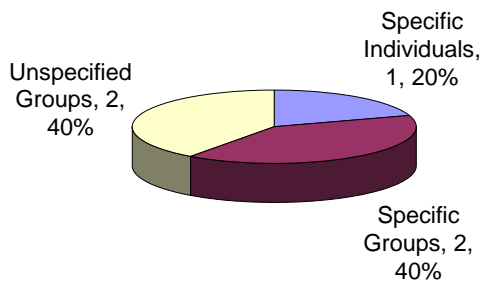
Times - 1988 - Government policy



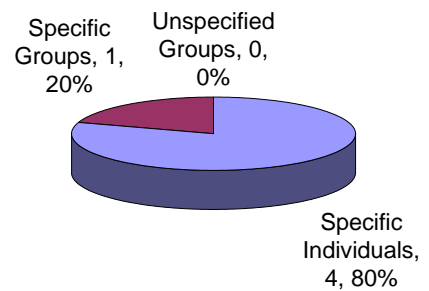
Times - 2008 - Government policy



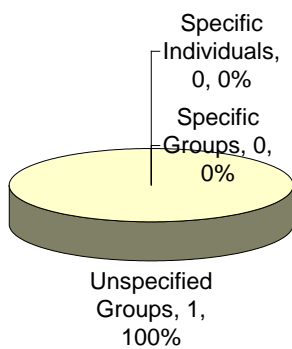
Guardian - 1988 - Campaigning / Rights



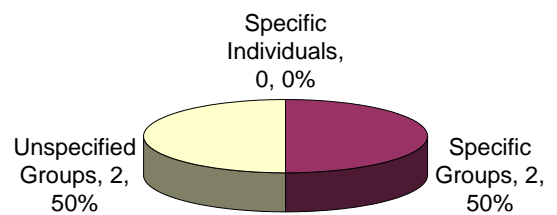
Guardian - 2008 - Campaigning / Rights



Times - 1988 - Campaigning / Rights



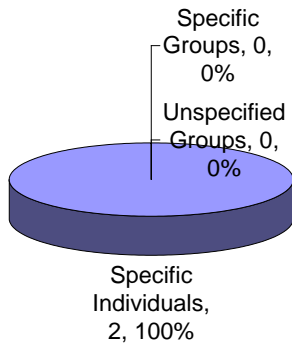
Times - 2008 - Campaigning / Rights



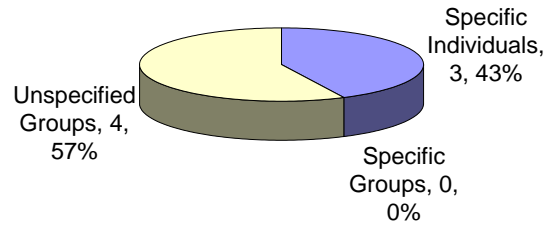
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Representation of Disabled Status People by

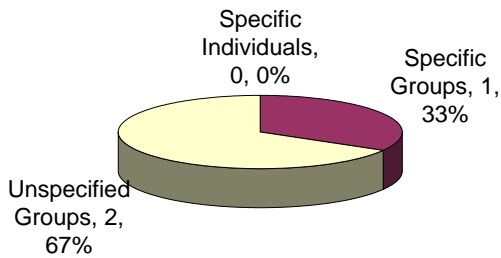
Guardian - 1988 - Employment



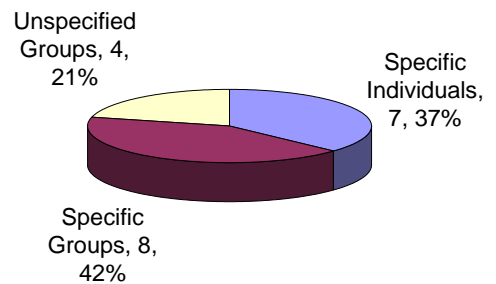
Guardian - 2008 - Employment



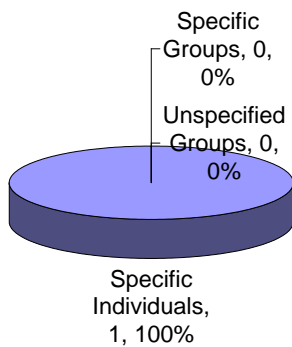
Times - 1988 - Employment



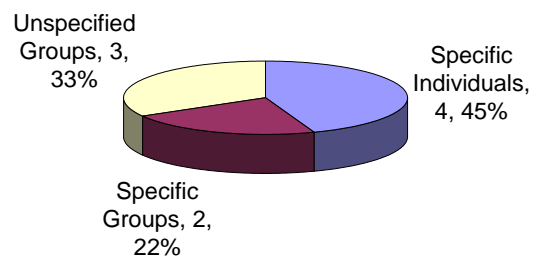
Times - 2008 - Employment



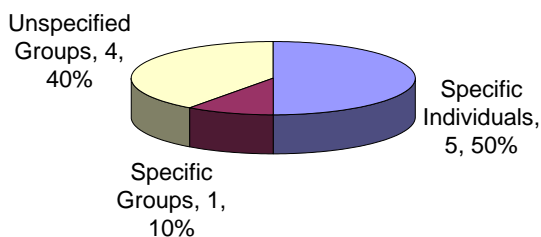
Guardian - 1988 - Education



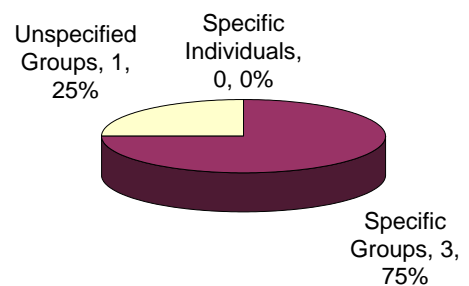
Guardian - 2008 - Education



Times - 1988 - Education



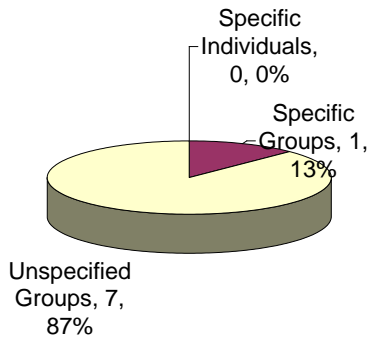
Times - 2008 - Education



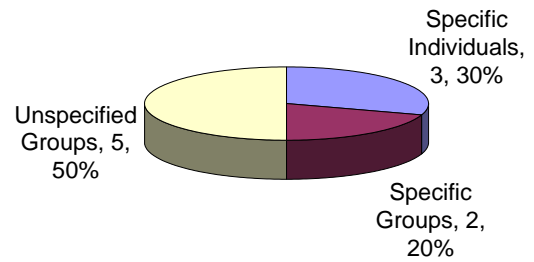
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Representation of Disabled Status People by

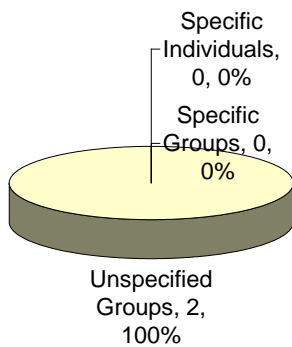
Guardian - 1988 - Services



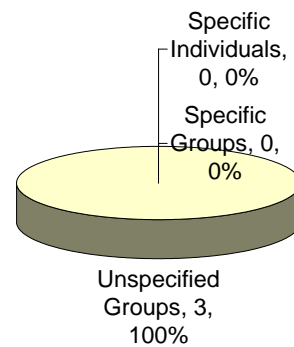
Guardian - 2008 - Services



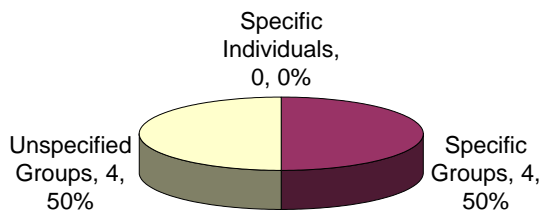
Times - 1988 - Services



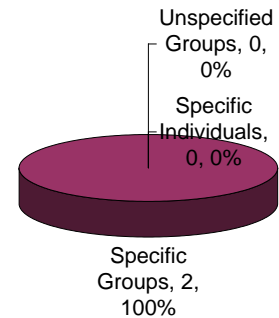
Times - 2008 - Services



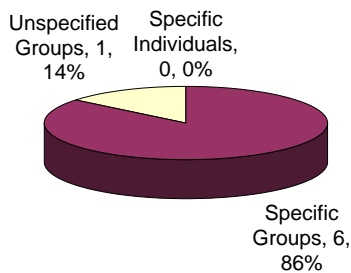
Guardian - 1988 - Charity



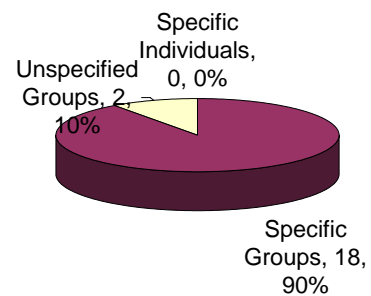
Guardian - 2008 - Charity



Times - 1988 - Charity



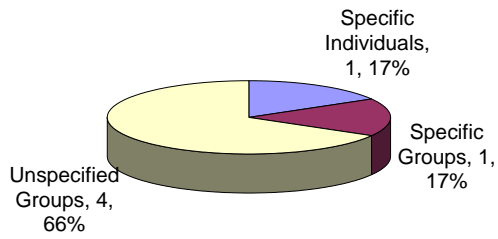
Times - 2008 - Charity



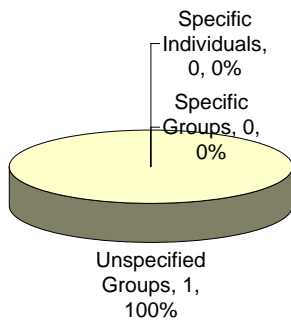
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Representation of Disabled Status People by

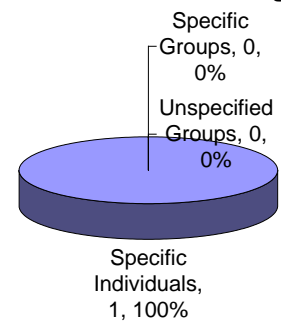
Guardian - 1988 - Housing



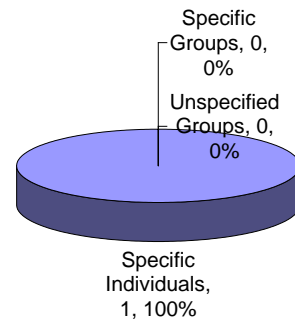
Times - 1988 - Housing



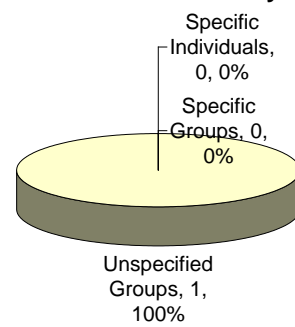
Times - 2008 - Housing



Guardian - 2008 - Community Care



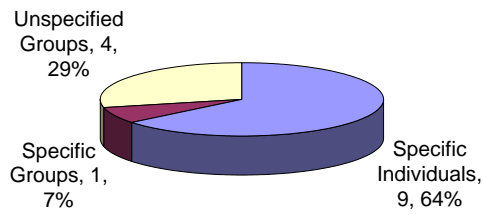
Times - 2008 - Community Care



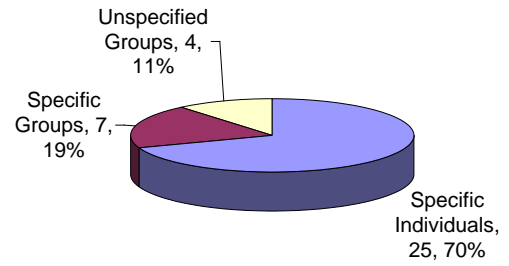
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Representation of Disabled Status People by

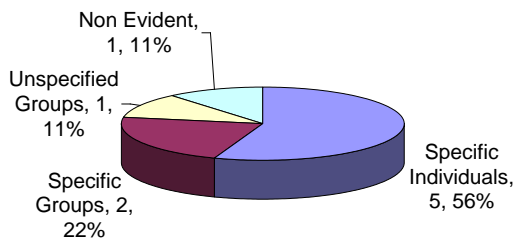
Guardian - 1988 - Media / Arts



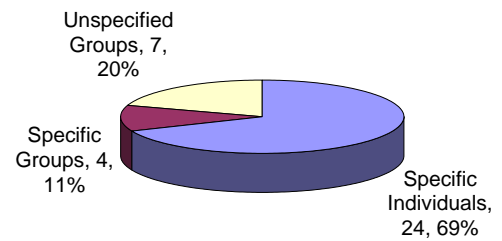
Guardian - 2008 - Media / Arts



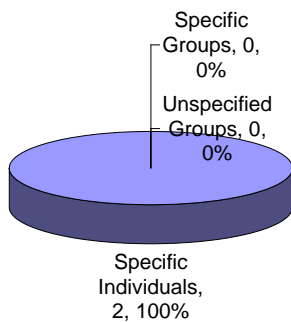
Times - 1988 - Media / Arts



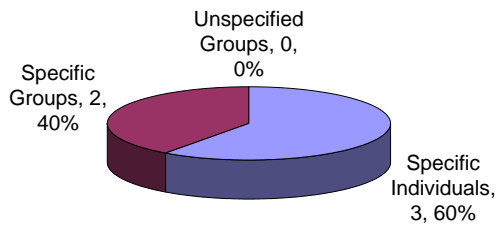
Times - 2008 - Media / Arts



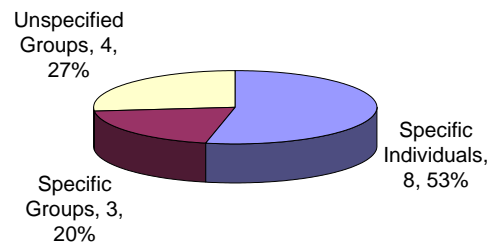
Guardian - 1988 - Human Interest



Times - 1988 - Human Interest



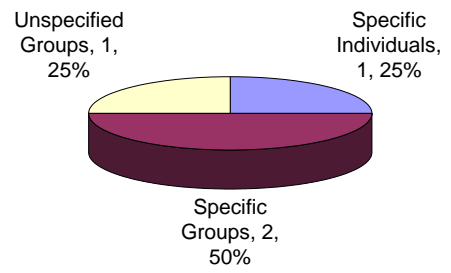
Times - 2008 - Human Interest



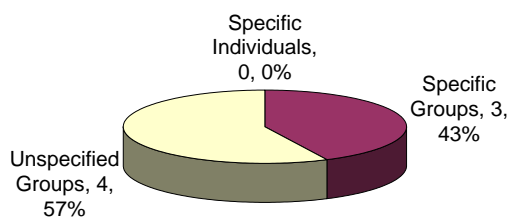
Appendix C

Representation of Disabled Status People by

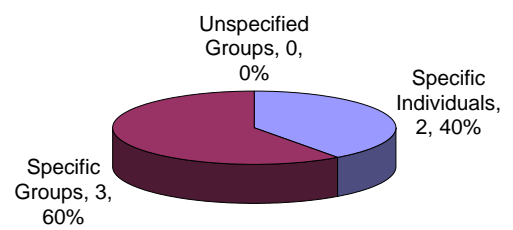
Guardian - 2008 - Sport



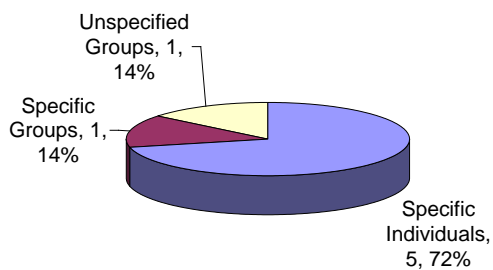
Times - 1988 - Sport



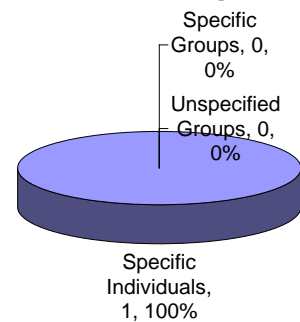
Times - 2008 - Sport



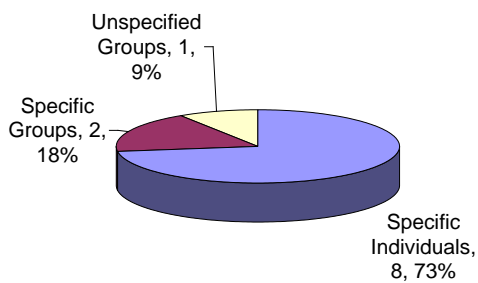
Guardian - 1988 - Legal / Crime



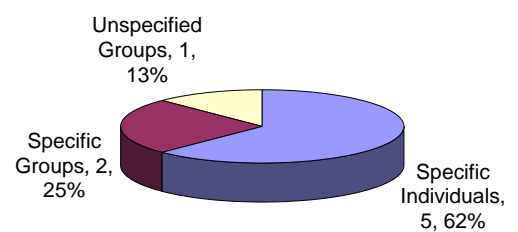
Guardian - 2008 - Legal / Crime



Times - 1988 - Legal / Crime



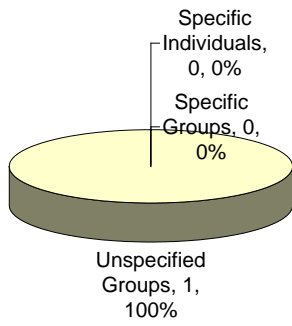
Times - 2008 - Legal / Crime



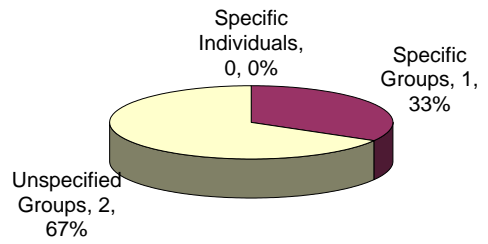
Appendix C

Representation of Disabled Status People by

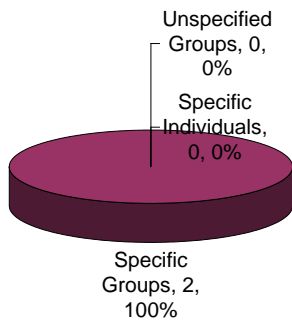
Guardian - 1988 - Local Authorities



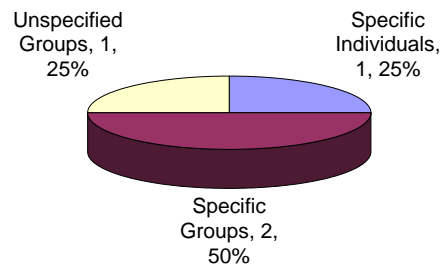
Guardian - 2008 - Local Authorities



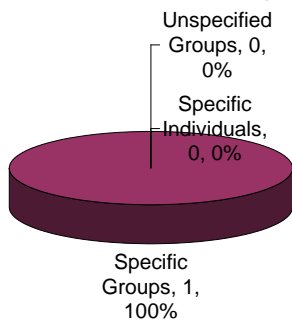
Times - 1988 - Local authorities



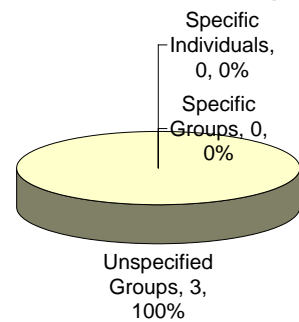
Times - 2008 - Local Authorities



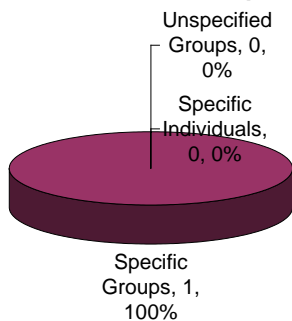
Guardian - 1988 - Transport



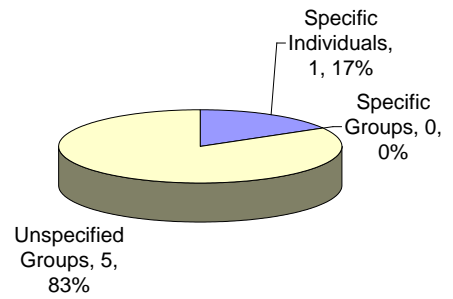
Guardian - 2008 - Transport



Times - 1988 - Transport



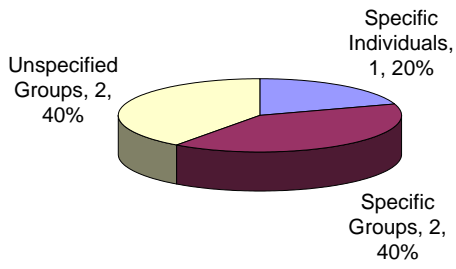
Times - 2008 - Transport



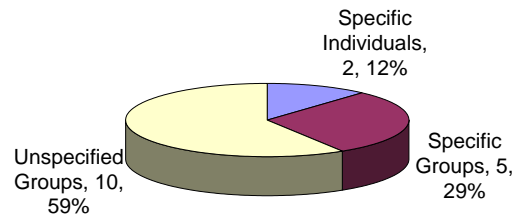
Appendix C

Representation of Disabled Status People by

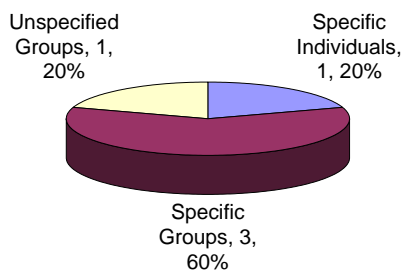
Guardian - 1988 - Miscellaneous



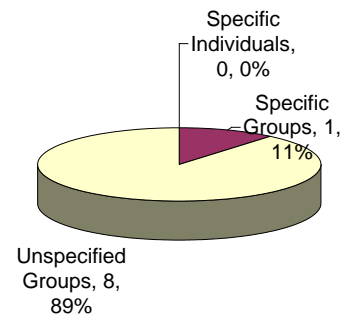
Guardian - 2008 - Miscellaneous



Times - 1988 - Miscellaneous



Times - 2008 - Miscellaneous



APPENDIX D

SELECTED GUARDIAN ITEMS - 1988

JUNE

June 1, 1988

Young Guardian: What's going on

BYLINE: By STEPHANIE NETTELL

June 2, 1988

Brain cell implants may help victims of Alzheimer's disease

By PAUL HOYLAND

June 2, 1988

Thursday Women (Health Watch): Victory and the making - A new Government move means diabetics have finally won another vital battle to improve their lives

BYLINE: By WENDY COOPER

June 3, 1988

Consultants seek better deal for brain-damaged

BYLINE: By AILEEN BALLANTYNE, Medical Correspondent

June 3, 1988

Frontiers: The appliance of science? - How the gap between the potential and reality of technology has become a chasm

BYLINE: By PROFESSOR MIKE COOLEY

June 7, 1988

Disabled lose in 'survival of fittest' housing policy: Government rethink 'essential' to halt big rise in homelessness among the handicapped

BYLINE: By MAEV KENNEDY

June 8, 1988

Reader's Digest finds animal suffering too hard to swallow

BYLINE: By JAMES ERLICHMAN, Consumer Affairs Correspondent

June 8, 1988

EEC ministers to do away with work restrictions

BYLINE: By ALEX SCOTT

Commentary: Agonies of conscience recalled

June 9, 1988

Moore hints at fresh cuts

BYLINE: By DAVID BRINDLE, Social Services Correspondent

June 10, 1988

Books: Tunnel visions / Review of 'The Tunnel' By Ernesto Sabato, translated from the Spanish by Margaret Sayers

June 10, 1988

US cuts TV adverts aimed at children: Bid to cut link between programmes and toy sales

By MICHAEL WHITE

June 11, 1988

Birthday Honours: A life peerage for the TV watchdog

June 11, 1988

UK News In Brief: First Aids victims 'infected in 1960s'

June 11, 1988

BIRTHDAY HONS

June 11, 1988

Swots and sex maniacs

BYLINE: By DEREK MALCOLM

June 13, 1988

News Business: The entrepreneurs who find disability is no handicap - Disabled entrepreneurs

BYLINE: By ANN HILLS

June 14, 1988

Futures: An epidemic in the wings - The widening menace of a mystifying farmyard disease

June 15, 1988

The Day in Politics: MP accuses tape levy opponents

June 18, 1988

Weekend Arts: The heartbreak outlived - John Heath-Stubbs, 70 this year, has just published his collected poems

BYLINE: By JOHN EZARD

June 18, 1988

Obituary of Thomas McKeown: Medicine and science of social change

June 18, 1988

Loophole may thwart council jobs law

BYLINE: By PATRICK WINTOUR and Political Staff

June 22, 1988

Guardian Tomorrows: The facts of life - including Aids - The official thinking internationally

BYLINE: By LARRY GOSTIN

June 24, 1988

Trusts face a quandary

June 24, 1988

Obituary of TE Utle

June 25, 1988

Property: Bronze-age Woopies make their mark - Sheltered Housing

BYLINE: By DAVID LAWSON

June 25, 1988

Motoring: Taking a back seat

BYLINE: By JUDITH JACKSON

June 29, 1988

Obituary of Hugh Bartlett: Runs machine

BYLINE: By JOHN ARLOTT

June 28, 1988

UK News in Brief: Blind conquest

June 29, 1988

Guardian Tomorrows (The Cleveland Child Abuse Controversy): Test that can't bear the load - Doubts about the emphasis placed on the crucial clinical technique

BYLINE: By AILEEN BALLANTYNE

June 29, 1988

Guardian Tomorrows (Advance Notice): Boarders-in

JULY

July 1, 1988

The Day In Politics: Should Nigel stay or should he go? - Points of order

BYLINE: By IAN AITKEN

July 1, 1988

Parliamentary Sketch: Thatcher of a day as the traffic jam goes on and on

BYLINE: By ANDREW RAWNSLEY

July 2, 1988

Financial News In Brief: BT aid plan

July 5, 1988

BMA to fight move on advertising

BYLINE: By AILEEN BALLANTYNE, Medical Correspondent

July 5, 1988

Education Guardian (Careers): Changing support for under-18s

BYLINE: By JACK CROSS

July 6, 1988

Guardian Tomorrows: Backs of beyond - The work of the Royal National Hospital for Rheumatic Diseases

BYLINE: By ANTONIO DE FIGUEIREDO

July 6, 1988

Wednesday Women: A touch of working class - Carol Bell has made it in the glamorous world of interior design but she remains unimpressed by the pressures her up-market customers face

BYLINE: By HELEN FRANKS

July 6, 1988

Dying to please in a keen-edged market: Can hospital cost-cutting kill patients? - We may find out

BYLINE: By DAVID BRINDLE

July 6, 1988

The Day In Politics: Tory peers in rebellion - Poll Tax

July 7, 1988

Thursday Women (Behind the Lines): A big row waiting to happen - Couples who fear genetic disorders in their babies can take fresh hope from current embryo research

By POLLY TOYNBEE

July 8, 1988

Friday People: Space role led to great escape - Nabil Shaban

BY DENNIS BARKER

July 9, 1988

Weekend Money: Tax deal set up a new structure

BYLINE: By TERESA HUNTER

July 9, 1988

Weekend Arts: Review of 'The Parasol' in Scarborough

BYLINE: By ROBIN THORNBUR

July 13, 1988

The Day in Politics in Brief

July 14, 1988

Thursday People: 12 fast talkers facing a listener - Lady Marre

BYLINE: By DENNIS BARKER

July 15, 1988

Books: Prisoners of a Lagos nightmare

By LINDA TAYLOR

July 15, 1988

Books: Whinges of love / Review of 'Our Song' by Keith Waterhouse, 'The Parable of the Blind' by Gert Hofman and 'Emperor of the Air' by Ethan Canin

BYLINE: By LUCY ELLMANN

July 15, 1988

The Day In Politics In Brief

July 16, 1988

Weekend Money: A tangled web of support - Social Security

BYLINE: By LINDA LENNARD

July 19, 1988

The Day in Politics: Poll tax point taken on nurses

BYLINE: By JOHN CARVEL

July 19, 1988

Tuesday Women: Talking to the animals

BYLINE: By HILARY MACASKILL

July 20, 1988

Guardian Tomorrows: A last civil rights battle

BYLINE: By MARLE RYAN

July 20, 1988

Guardian Tomorrows: Crippled services disable people

By VIRGINIA BEARDSHAW

July 19, 1988

Tuesday People: Best of both worlds - Richard Best

BYLINE: By DENNIS BARKER

July 20, 1988

Guardian Tomorrows: Welfare that pays the rich - Let the poor decide

By BOB HOLMAN

July 21, 1988

The Day in Politics: Rooker hints Labour may boycott Queen - Poll tax

July 21, 1988

Solicitors press Sellafield families to sue BNFL over children who suffer leukaemia

BYLINE: By PAUL BROWN

July 21, 1988

Thursday Women (Behind The Lines): Life after Suzie Wong - What happened to a Sixties star when reality destroyed the fantasy

BYLINE: By POLLY TOYNBEE

July 22, 1988

Books: No going back / Review of 'Radical Records - Thirty Years of Lesbian and Gay History' Edited By Bob Cant and Susan Hemmings

BYLINE: By MARGOT FARNHAM

July 23, 1988

School cleared over pupil's crippling rugby injury

July 23, 1988

Moore cuts come home to roost

BYLINE: By DAVID BRINDLE

July 25, 1988

Lobbyists with designs on the complex art of copyright

BYLINE: By JAMES ERLICHMAN, Consumer Affairs Correspondent

July 25, 1988

Leading Article: Taking liberties

July 26, 1988

Careworn Newton too loyal to be rated as a 'wet'

BYLINE: By JOHN CARVEL, Political Correspondent

July 26, 1988

Law Report: Tackling the issue of school rugby injuries

BYLINE: By SHIRANIKHA HERBERT, barrister

July 26, 1988

The Day in Politics: Rogue elephant bowing out / Profile of Cyril Smith, who insists he really is going to retire this time

BYLINE: By SUSAN TIRBUTT

July 26, 1988

Olympics fuel a dream more potent than fear of Aids

July 26, 1988

Olympics fuel a dream more potent than fear of Aids: In a country where they outnumber soldiers, Seoul's prostitutes are expecting a lucrative spin-off from the forthcoming Olympics

BYLINE: By MIKE BREEN

July 26, 1988

Dominican Republic's poet president teeters on edge of volcano

BYLINE: By GREG CHAMBERLAIN

July 28, 1988

Seen Guardian (Second Sight): Herzog and the demons - Cobra Verde, a ballad of death and desire

BYLINE: By HERBERT GOLDBER

July 28, 1988

Diary

BYLINE: By DAVID ROSE

July 30, 1988

Gardening: Get a whiff of this - Roses, wisteria and honeysuckle are among the plants which can turn any garden into a haven of fragrance all summer long

BYLINE: By ROGER DAVIES

July 30, 1988

Weekend Money: Cutting the cost of going to law - The civil justice reform proposals

July 30, 1988

'Helpless' victim set for damages

BYLINE: By CLARE DYER, Legal Correspondent

July 30, 1988

UK News in Brief: Rape case quashed

SELECTED GUARDIAN ITEMS - 2008

JUNE

June 3, 2008

Education: Giving unhappy children a chance to xl: As ministers kill off pupil referral units, could they learn from the Prince of Wales's favourite charity?

BYLINE: Janet Murray

June 16, 2008

Obituary: Other lives: Alan Desborough

BYLINE: Alastair Levy

June 16, 2008

Obituary: Sue Maynard Campbell: Lawyer and champion of disabled people

BYLINE: Sian Vasey

June 17, 2008

Education: Schools: Credit where credit's due: This year's Teaching Awards winners confirm that innovation, dedication and inspiration abide

BYLINE: Jessica Shepherd

June 30, 2008

Media: 'It has to be right on the edge': Has Love Productions' new show, marrying disability and fashion, taken the reality genre a step too far?

BYLINE: Maggie Brown

JULY

July 1, 2008 Tuesday

G2: Television: Watch this

BYLINE: Gareth McLean

July 5, 2008 Saturday

Weekend: Food: AROUND BRITAIN WITH A FORK: Matthew Fort on a food community with a difference in Dumfries

BYLINE: Matthew Fort

July 5, 2008 Saturday

National: London return for Routemaster by 2012 as Johnson declares demise of bendy bus: Mayor invites bids for new version of legendary bus: Bank warns that switch will lead to 11% fare rise

BYLINE: Dan Milmo, Transport correspondent

July 22, 2008

Education: Opinion: Disabled teenagers should still get a real education

BYLINE: Jane Muir

July 26, 2008

Money: Exposed: the high-pressure sales tactics that target the disabled: Disability: Mobility scooters, stairlifts and adjustable beds are all sold to make life easier. But as Tony Levene reports, they can bring misery

Joanna Pearl, the senior health researcher at Which? magazine

APPENDIX E

SELECTED TIMES ITEMS - 1988

JUNE

June 1 1988, Wednesday

A view from the Bridge over the abyss; Pat Nevin, Chelsea's winger gives reasons why his club has slid into the second division; Football

June 1 1988, Wednesday

Truth is no matter of fact; Tumbledown; Television; The Arts

BYLINE: MARTIN CROPPER

June 1 1988, Wednesday

Prof Ana Aslan; Obituary

June 1 1988, Wednesday

Teaching maths the hi-tech way; Institute of Education; Focus

BYLINE: DAVID WALKER

June 3 1988, Friday

Research brings the bionic man closer; Materials Science and Engineering; Focus

BYLINE: PEARCE WRIGHT

June 4 1988, Saturday

Killer son; Adrian Taylor

Adrian Taylor, aged 39, a schizophrenia sufferer, of Daryngton Drive, Merrow, Guildford, strangled his crippled mother

June 7 1988, Tuesday

The old are still the losers; Institute of Personnel Management; Focus

BYLINE: PATRICIA TISDALL

June 8 1988, Wednesday

Too many inner-city GPs' surgeries 'sub-standard'

BYLINE: MARTIN FLETCHER and JILL SHERMAN

June 9 1988, Thursday

Uprising gets Arafat back to centre of Arab stage; Algiers summit focuses its spotlight on six months of violence in the Israeli-occupied territories

June 10 1988, Friday

The Times good university guide; A to Z; Spectrum

BYLINE: SARAH DRIVER

June 10 1988, Friday

Mystery of increase in diabetes

BYLINE: THOMSON PRENTICE, Science Correspondent

June 11 1988, Saturday

20,000 pounds in will fails to save dog that pined; Yorkshire terrier Benjy

ROBIN YOUNG

June 13 1988, Monday

Service areas fail to assist disabled; AA Roadwatch; Motorway repairs

BYLINE: RODNEY COWTON, Transport Correspondent

June 13 1988, Monday

Wealth and spiritual health; Wealth and Christianity

CLIFFORD LONGLEY

June 13 1988, Monday

An unenforceable law; Leading Article

June 15 1988, Wednesday

Tobacco firm's legal defeat gives hope to crippled smoker; John Dean

BYLINE: JILL SHERMAN, Social Services Correspondent

June 15 1988, Wednesday

The pathfinder laying a trail of success; Salford and the Quays; Focus

June 15 1988

Heart girl refuses operation; Sonia Reading refuses to jump the queue for heart surgery

June 16 1988, Thursday

ILEA failed to decide whether to make grant; Law Report

June 16 1988, Thursday

New businesses should be started to take on the long-term unemployed; General Appointments

BYLINE: IVOR COHEN

June 16 1988, Thursday

High prices for the painters; Medical Briefing; Health

BYLINE: DR THOMAS STUTTAFORD

June 16 1988, Thursday

IRA murders six soldiers in fun run blast

June 17 1988, Friday

Temperament awake!; Galina Vishnevskaya directs Iolanta at Aldeburgh; The Arts

HILARY FINCH

June 18 1988, Saturday

MPs complain about tourist workers' pay; Parliament

June 20 1988, Monday

Concept fails to find its voice; Tchaikovsky opera and a Britten ballet; Aldeburgh Festival

NOEL GOODWIN

June 22 1988, Wednesday

BBC to debate bias; Media & Marketing

BYLINE: NICK HIGHAM

June 22 1988, Wednesday

Wide-eyed voyeurism; Crystal Clear; Television

BYLINE: ANDREW HISLOP

June 23 1988, Thursday

Thatcher tribute after death of TE Utley

June 24 1988, Friday

Patriot and prophet; Tribute to TE (Peter) Utley

JOHN BIFFEN

June 24 1988, Friday

Scrumpy hit eyesight; Michael Goodhind

June 25 1988, Saturday

'Public enemy No 1' given jail sentences of 159 years; Wayne Hurran

BYLINE: ANDREW MORGAN

June 23 1988, Thursday

Cash for disabled athletes demanded; Colin Moynihan; Parliament

June 27 1988, Monday

Shooting which reopened racial wounds; Washington View

June 27 1988, Monday

Police repress women's march; Protest in Pakistan

BYLINE: From MICHAEL HAMLIN, Lahore

June 29 1988, Wednesday

Renaissance man

PETER BALL

June 30 1988, Thursday

DR THOMAS STUTTAFORD

Left depressed?; Medical Briefing

JULY

July 4 1988, Monday

Workplace stress worse for women; Report from the Labour Research Department

BYLINE: JOHN SPICER, Employment Affairs Correspondent

July 5 1988, Tuesday

Dreams and nightmares

PAUL GRIFFITHS

July 6 1988, Wednesday

Ridley fights poll tax cut for disabled

BYLINE: SHEILA GUNN, Political Staff

July 6 1988, Wednesday

Poll tax defeat in Lords for Government; House of Lords; Parliament

July 8 1988, Friday

Telecom freezes charges; British Telecom

BYLINE: MARK ELLIS

July 8 1988, Friday

Times Diary

MARTIN FLETCHER

July 8 1988, Friday

Blind girl is university's best student; Anna Lawson

July 11 1988, Monday

Sara Keays' girl has brain tumour

July 12 1988, Tuesday

Times Diary

Tuesday BARBARA AMIEL

July 12 1988, Tuesday

Nine killed in terror attack on cruise ship; Britons among 78 injured on a Greek pleasure boat

July 13 1988, Wednesday

Thirsting for a new dawn; Quietly building bridges to bring peace to the province; Northern Ireland; Spectrum

BYLINE: PAUL VALLELY

July 14 1988, Thursday

Thoughts for food; Do we have an unhealthy obsession with with our diet?; Health

July 14 1988, Thursday

Maker's myths of fur and fowl;

ANDREW SINCLAIR

BYLINE: ANN KENT

July 16 1988, Saturday

Squeeze on orange badges thanks to parking pirates; Disabled parking badges; Family Money

BYLINE: CHARLES JACKSON

July 16 1988, Saturday

TV helps to spread the word; Sports promotion

BYLINE: JOHN GOODBODY

July 19 1988, Tuesday

Peers plead for their guns; Legitimate use of certain firearms; House of Lords; Parliament

July 20 1988, Wednesday

England's top coaches are honoured; Coach of the Year awards

July 21 1988, Thursday

Labour outrage as poll tax guillotine falls; Local Government Finance Bill; Parliament

July 21 1988, Thursday

The robot arm that listens and obeys; A voice-activated computer and an advanced robotics system could help change the lives of the disabled; Health

BYLINE: RACHEL WARREN

July 21 1988, Thursday

Small ads, big gain?; Doctors advertisements; Health

BYLINE: LIZ GILL

July 21 1988, Thursday

Government defeats rebate move for the disabled poor; Local Government Finance Bill; House of Lords; Parliament

July 21 1988, Thursday

Labour's poll tax alternative targets homes and incomes

BYLINE: PHILIP WEBSTER, Chief Political Correspondent

July 23 1988, Saturday

School is cleared in rugby case; Bedford School

July 23 1988, Saturday

Former pupil loses rugby injury claim against his school; Simon Van Oppen; Bedford School

BYLINE: JOHN GOODBODY, Sports News Correspondent

July 23 1988, Saturday

India pays a high price for Gandhi writings; Saleroom

BYLINE: SARAH JANE CHECKLAN

July 23 1988, Saturday

Baker faces peers' clash;

SHEILA GUNN, Political Staff

July 25 1988, Monday

Dr Victor de Stankovich; Obituary

July 26 1988, Tuesday

Six years for white who refuses to 'die for apartheid'; David Bruce

From MICHAEL HORNSBY, Johannesburg

July 26 1988, Tuesday

Racing for wheelchair records; Three wheel racing wheelchair

BYLINE: ANDREW MORGAN

July 26 1988, Tuesday

Divided Spoils; Leading Article

July 27 1988, Wednesday

Anger as blank-tape levy falls; Copyright, Designs and Patents Bill; Parliament

July 27 1988, Wednesday

Lords approve poll tax Bill; Parliament

July 28 1988, Thursday

Unlocking a family secret; Schizophrenia; Health

BYLINE: MARJORIE WALLACE

July 28 1988, Thursday

Camera convicts traffic light jumpers

BYLINE: CRAIG SETON

July 29 1988, Friday

Saving for the future; Judging The Times/RICS annual conservation awards; Spectrum

GEORGE HILL

July 29 1988, Friday

Disabled march against cutbacks

SELECTED TIMES ITEMS - 2008

JUNE

June 2, 2008 Monday

Men of courage moving on from the exhibition stand

BYLINE: Tom Dart

SECTION: SPORT; The Game; Pg.18

June 3, 2008 Tuesday

Viewing guide

Paul Hoggart

June 3, 2008 Tuesday

Villain

SECTION: FEATURES; Public Agenda; Pg.7

June 3, 2008 Tuesday

In the professional press

SECTION: FEATURES; Public Agenda; Pg.5

June 4, 2008 Wednesday

Music for the mind

BYLINE: Andrew Billen

June 4, 2008 Wednesday

Topless Mum

BYLINE: Benedict Nightingale

June 4, 2008

Disability bias law applies to those in detention

June 4, 2008 Wednesday

Charity doesn't begin at the dogs' home

BYLINE: Alice Miles

June 5, 2008 Thursday

Adult care reform

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg.29

June 5, 2008 Thursday

Mel Ferrer

June 6, 2008 Friday

Anna Brynberg

June 6, 2008 Friday

Brief encounter

BYLINE: Mark Loveday

June 6, 2008 Friday

A blind radio DJ, a wrestling announcer and Big Brother's first couple all line up for 'evil' series 9

June 7, 2008 Saturday

Top Dance

BYLINE: Debra Craine

CHINA DISABLED PEOPLE'S PERFORMING ARTS

June 7, 2008 Saturday

Disabled face hatred

SECTION: HOME NEWS; Pg.37

June 7, 2008 Saturday

Hunger to put faith into action is frustrated by secularist agenda

BYLINE: Ruth Gledhill

June 9, 2008 Monday

'We are baffled about the decision not to contribute anything'

BYLINE: Josef Baines, UKDS secretary, and Philip Gerrard, Great Britain Deaflympic Organising Committee chair

June 9, 2008 Monday

Elderly denied care

SECTION: HOME NEWS; Pg.4

June 10, 2008 Tuesday

Disabled man denied wedding

SECTION: OVERSEAS NEWS; Pg.33

June 10, 2008 Tuesday

"The ruling shields authorities from actions when they fail to provide a welfare service"

BYLINE: Stephen Cragg

June 12, 2008 Thursday

How to get hold of the blue stuff

June 14, 2008 Saturday

Podcast of the week

BYLINE: Chris Campling

June 14, 2008 Saturday

Special needs? We're in this together

BYLINE: Harriet Addison

June 16, 2008 Monday

Offenders face wearing 'badge of shame'

BYLINE: Richard Ford Home Correspondent

June 17, 2008 Tuesday

To say that we're not allowed to mock posh people is anti-political correctness gone mad

BYLINE: Sathnam Sanghera sathnam@thetimes.co.uk

June 17, 2008 Tuesday

Lawyer 'faked nervous breakdown to claim ...'

BYLINE: Michael Herman

June 17, 2008 Tuesday

Free bus travel for the over-60s under threat from budget cuts

BYLINE: Angus MacLeod, Scottish Political Editor

June 19, 2008 Thursday

Saimo Chahal

BYLINE: Linda Tsang l_tsang@hotmail.com

June 19, 2008 Thursday

The daily grind

BYLINE: Josephine Moulds

June 19, 2008 Thursday

Law lords reject plans to protect witnesses from gang retaliation

BYLINE: Frances Gibb, Sean O'Neill and Richard Ford

June 20, 2008 Friday

Jean Delannoy

June 20, 2008 Friday

Future of free bus travel in doubt after Salmond refuses to give guarantee

BYLINE: Angus MacLeod, Scottish Political Editor

June 21, 2008 Saturday

Royal rebel in sharp focus

BYLINE: Valerie Grove

June 21, 2008 Saturday

Ninety and still not out

BYLINE: Celia Dodd

June 21, 2008 Saturday

Danger of more abortions but choice can be protected

BYLINE: Ainsley Newson

June 24, 2008 Tuesday

Suddenly you're employers

SECTION: FEATURES; Public Agenda; Pg.4

June 24, 2008 Tuesday

Otherviews

SECTION: FEATURES; Public Agenda; Pg.2

June 24, 2008 Tuesday

"We used the unscripted voices of disabled people talking about their priorities"

SECTION: FEATURES; Public Agenda; Pg.5

June 25, 2008 Wednesday

Doctors take three times longer to spot child brain cancer than foreign medics

BYLINE: David Rose

June 26, 2008 Thursday

Disabled tenant was not discriminated against

June 28, 2008 Saturday

Wheel clamping is abolished in Central London

June 28, 2008 Saturday

Model behaviour

BYLINE: Caitlin Moran

SECTION: FEATURES; The Knowledge; Pg.4

June 28, 2008 Saturday

Hawk-Eye

SPORT Giles Smith

June 28, 2008 Saturday

Post office closures

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg.21

June 30, 2008 Monday

The dream is the best medicine for all – but who pays?

JULY 2008

July 1, 2008 Tuesday

Sheila Mary Cochrane

July 1, 2008 Tuesday

A haunted visionary

Rachel Campbell- Johnston

July 2, 2008 Wednesday

Colonel Sir Geoffrey Walter FownesLuttrell

July 2, 2008 Wednesday

What has the race debate got to do with race?

BYLINE: Kenan Malik

July 2, 2008 Wednesday

Ducking the issues

BYLINE: Andrew Billen andrew.billen@thetimes.co.uk

June 4, 2008 Wednesday

The winner must shake off the Sixties

July 4, 2008 Friday

Chinese picnic is over as Steiff bears toddle off home

BYLINE: Carl Mortished

July 5, 2008 Saturday

A life less ordinary

BYLINE: Ginny Dougary

July 5, 2008 Saturday

Cabinet's youngest star wants work for all - but what job would he like?

BYLINE: Alice Thomson Rachel Sylvester

July 5, 2008 Saturday

Jesse Helms

He became a Southern Baptist of the hellfire school and deacon of his church. He was active in charitable works, and adopted a disabled boy but voted against federal measures to help the disabled.

July 5, 2008 Saturday

Work-for-dole will force the benefit cheats to start earning their keep, says jobs minister

BYLINE: Rachel Sylvester, Alice Thomson

July 5, 2008 Saturday

Slimmer, fitter, happier

BYLINE: Hilly James Editor Body&Soul and Harriet Addison

July 7, 2008 Monday

Brother's words inspired Briton to master rain

BYLINE: Kevin Eason, Sports News Correspondent

July 7, 2008 Monday

Leftwinger Scudamore defends the cries of greed in fight for all

BYLINE: Matthew Syed

July 8, 2008 Tuesday

Community care law is difficult to understand and apply, for both users and service providers

BYLINE: Stephen Cragg

July 8, 2008 Tuesday

'Maybe I am pregnant or maybe I have HIV now. No one can help'

BYLINE: Catherine Philp

July 8, 2008 Tuesday

Councils take aim at teenagers

SECTION: FEATURES; Public Agenda; Pg.6

July 9, 2008 Wednesday

Child-abuse father 'took a fatal overdose in the dock'

BYLINE: Lucy Bannerman

July 9, 2008 Wednesday

SECTION: OVERSEAS NEWS; Pg.11

Prince Harry with youngsters in Lesotho, where he is helping to renovate the only school for disabled children.

July 10, 2008 Thursday

Film choice

July 10, 2008 Thursday

Tips for safer cycling

BYLINE: Tom Whipple

July 10, 2008 Thursday

The difficulties of family court proceedings

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg.27

July 11, 2008 Friday

Sight drug challenge

SECTION: HOME NEWS; Pg.8

July 12, 2008 Saturday

Rhyme and reason back for more

BYLINE: Peter Millar

July 12, 2008 Saturday

War and peace

BYLINE: Chris Steele-Perkins

July 14, 2008 Monday

Is Society Really Broken?

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg.2

July 14, 2008 Monday

The champions of a new golden age

BYLINE: Michael Binyon

July 14, 2008 Monday

Gay American bishop accuses opponents of idolatry

July 14, 2008 Monday

Justice

BYLINE: Pete Paphides

July 14, 2008 Monday

Automatic successes

ASIMO

June 14, 2008 Saturday

Wild and Welsh

BYLINE: Chris Ayres

July 15, 2008 Tuesday

Digital choice

BYLINE: James Jackson

July 16, 2008 Wednesday

Sue Maynard Campbell, MBE

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg.54

July 16, 2008 Wednesday

Mother 'invented children to claim ...'

HOME NEWS; Pg.19, 142 words

July 16, 2008 Wednesday

Bad news for Big Pharma as men who would be president go to war on drugs

July 18, 2008 Friday

Working mother's fight for time with son wins new right for carers

BYLINE: Frances Gibb Legal Editor

July 18, 2008 Friday

Brown approves plan to make the unemployed look for work or risk losing their benefits

BYLINE: Philip Webster Political Editor

July 18, 2008 Friday

Toying with the future would be much more than a game

July 18, 2008 Friday

Why we should salute our Forces

BYLINE: Michael Evans

July 18, 2008 Friday

Thomas M. Disch

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg.58

July 18, 2008 Friday

'I'm angry because, 12 years on, I could still be working'

BYLINE: Jack Malvern

July 19, 2008 Saturday

I'm writing about deafness. What? Deafness

BYLINE: Janice Turner

July 19, 2008 Saturday

Digital Choice

BYLINE: James Jackson

July 21, 2008 Monday

The Seventies are back, with less good cheer

BYLINE: Libby Purves

July 22, 2008 Tuesday

The radical way to beat benefit culture

BYLINE: Frank Field

July 22, 2008 Tuesday

Digital choice

BYLINE: James Jackson

July 22, 2008 Tuesday

Many social enterprises transformed the design and delivery of our public services

BYLINE: Campbell Robb

July 22, 2008 Tuesday

Jobs funding 'fanfare' dropped over by-election fear

BYLINE: Angus MacLeod, Scottish Political Editor

July 22, 2008 Tuesday

Back to Beveridge

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg.2

July 23, 2008 Wednesday

A bone to pick...

BYLINE: Andrew Billen

July 23, 2008 Wednesday

Who'll be first to offer disabled people a job?

BYLINE: Alice Miles

July 23, 2008 Wednesday

Unions call for Hutton's head amid 100 demands

BYLINE: Sam Coates Chief Political Correspondent

July 22, 2008 Tuesday

Zena de Groot

July 23, 2008 Wednesday

Solomon Stern
Eileen Carrie Cissie Jenkins

July 24, 2008 Thursday

Today's debate

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg.29

June 24, 2008 Tuesday

The peril of children who insist that they are fat

BYLINE: Siobhan Mulholland

July 25, 2008 Friday

One single way to improve IVF treatment

BYLINE: Mark Henderson

June 25, 2008 Wednesday

Disability dolls: a blessing for kids, or just a sick joke?

BYLINE: Carol Midgley

DOWN'S SYNDROME DOLLS, BLIND DOLLS AND CHEMOTHERAPY DOLLS ARE A GROWING MARKET. THEY HAVE THEIR CRITICS, BUT SUPPORTERS SAY THEY HELP CHILDREN TO COPE WITH DISABILITY.

25th July, 2008

The Princess Royal, President, Riding for the disabled Association, today opened Penniwell Group's new building at Penniwells Farm Riding Centre, Edgwarebury Lane, Elstree, and was received by the Reverend Edward Faure Walker (Vice Lord-Lieutenant of Hertfordshire).

July 26, 2008 Saturday

In Moss Side and Rio, the young find there's more than one way to live and die

BYLINE: Murad Ahmed

July 26, 2008 Saturday

Access all areas

SECTION: FEATURES; Travel; Pg.14

July 26, 2008 Saturday

Top five events

BYLINE: Nancy Durrant

July 26, 2008 Saturday

Why pain can linger on the brain

BYLINE: Vivienne Parry

SECTION: FEATURES; The Knowledge Wales/West; Pg.29

July 28, 2008 Monday

We must change our attitudes to the disabled

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg.25

July 28, 2008 Monday

A Slight Ache

BYLINE: Benedict Nightingale

June 28, 2008 Saturday

The NHS is 60. Respect...

BYLINE: Dr Copperfield

July 29, 2008 Tuesday

Digital choice

BYLINE: Ed Potton

July 29, 2008 Tuesday

What worked for us

BYLINE: Penny Dobson

July 29, 2008 Tuesday

In the professional press

July 29, 2008 Tuesday

Disability discrimination ban applies to carers too

July 29, 2008 Tuesday

London aims for smooth handover

BYLINE: Ashling O'Connor, Olympics Correspondent

August 1, 2008 Friday

Janet Askham

SECTION: FEATURES; Pg.57

August 1, 2008 Friday

Bourne in Legoland

Alexi Mostrous

This list excludes 14 further items where "suffers" was employed to describe a range of medical conditions - RWF