

This article was downloaded by: 10.3.97.143

On: 22 Mar 2023

Access details: *subscription number*

Publisher: *Routledge*

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London SW1P 1WG, UK



## The Routledge Companion to Disability and Media

Katie Ellis, Gerard Goggin, Beth Haller, Rosemary Curtis

### Disability Narratives in the News Media



Edited by Katie Ellis, Gerard Goggin, Beth Haller and Rosemary Curtis

Publication details

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315716008-16>

Olusola Ogundola

**Published online on: 20 Nov 2019**

**How to cite :-** Olusola Ogundola. 20 Nov 2019, *Disability Narratives in the News*

*Media from: The Routledge Companion to Disability and Media* Routledge

Accessed on: 22 Mar 2023

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315716008-16>

**PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR DOCUMENT**

Full terms and conditions of use: <https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/legal-notices/terms>

This Document PDF may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproductions, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The publisher shall not be liable for an loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

## 15

DISABILITY NARRATIVES IN  
THE NEWS MEDIA

## A Spotlight on Africa

*Olusola Ogundola***Introduction**

Africa, a developing continent, is home to a high number of disabled people with about one in ten Africans living with some form of disability.<sup>1</sup> Disability is a prominent phenomenon here—you cannot hide it. This obvious manifestation notwithstanding, the news media in Africa are yet to find disability issues newsworthy enough, let alone devote a tangible amount of coverage to them. There is no doubting the fact they are symbolically annihilating issues about a significant number of people on the continent, and this calls for urgent concern. Whatever stories on disability exist in the news media in Africa, they are—more often than not—pejorative, stereotypically offensive and discriminatory. In filling the void created by this disturbing disinterest in disability, coupled with a dearth of scholarship on the subject matter, this chapter presents a comprehensive picture of *what* narratives shape disability stories when they make it onto the news agenda (cultural angle); *why* disability issues are being ignored (the economic equation); and *how* to make right the wrongs of several decades of “disability marginalization” in the news media (the civil rights agenda). The perspectives that follow throughout this chapter are my experiences navigating disability, media, culture and economics in Africa.

This chapter dwells on the relationship the news media share with disability in Africa. In assessing that relationship however, it is imperative we have a sense of how African society views disability from a cultural perspective. We need to examine the underlying ideology that has influenced what the average media worker rolls out as content. We cannot wish this away with a wave of hand because, as Beth Haller has cautioned, media practitioners give to society what they assimilate from society.<sup>2</sup> Shoemaker and Reese explicate further that “media content takes elements of culture, magnifies them, frames them and feeds them back to an audience.”<sup>3</sup> Most of my experiences have been in Nigeria, Africa’s most populated nation. The population of Nigerians living with disabilities was estimated to be around 19 million in 2018.<sup>4</sup> This is more than the entire population of some individual African countries and more than the entire population of some African countries put together.

A glimpse at the African culture from a historic perspective could unearth how disability issues have fared in the claws of the news media over the years. Culture in this chapter is conceptualized as the totality of how different members of society exist or continue to exist within a defined space. The term “continue to exist,” in this context, isn’t limited to mere physical existence alone. In order to “continue to exist,” members of the dominant class within that

defined space perpetually renegotiate the basis for their existence through hegemonic intricacies. Here is a caveat though: don't presume, by the term "African culture," that Africa is a homocultural society. Far from it! One culture varies from the other in several ways.

Let me illustrate this better by narrating an experience during a visit to Cotonou, the capital city of Benin Republic, a neighboring West African country to Nigeria. This was on the occasion of a cohort building meeting for the 2010/2011 Ford Foundation International Fellowship Fellows-Elect. I had just been awarded this prestigious fellowship and we were billed to lodge at the Hotel Du Lac in Cotonou for the event. The trip coincided with my birthday, February 6. What better way to celebrate than go on this trip with folks having almost everything settled—food, hotel bills—at no expense of mine! I had relished every moment until late in the day. For dinner, I ordered any African food, hoping to get something familiar. My background in military barracks (my Dad served in the Nigerian Army) had exposed me to several ethnic groups in Nigeria, including their food. To cut a long story short, I almost went to bed without food that night because I couldn't fathom what I was served. It wasn't anything Nigerian! That is how diverse Africa can be. Diversity is prominent in Africa if one truly knows the continent inside out. This is obvious in its tradition, religion and language and, like these variables, disability is a diversity issue but it is yet to attain that status.

Consider, for instance, the work of Chomba Muny (a lecturer of special education at Kenyatta University in Kenya), which exposes a variation of attitudes towards people with disabilities in Africa through an extensive review of literature on cross-cultural factors that impact disability perception from historic perspective. These varying attitudes could be condensed into two major themes of "tolerance" and "revulsion," working to perpetuate the ideology of oppression.

Perceptions that linked disability to "the supernatural" basically account for tolerance in some African communities. For instance, the Chagga people in East Africa believed that people with disabilities have powers to pacify evil spirits, therefore care was taken not to harm them; in Dahomey (now Benin Republic), people with physical challenges were conscripted into the local police, apparently to help unravel mysterious cases employing their presumed mystical prowess; some communities in Nigeria's Benin City assumed that children with disabilities bring good luck because they were perceived as having supernatural protection; and the Ga people from the Accra region in Ghana held people with intellectual disabilities in awe because they were perceived as the reincarnation of some deities.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, perceptions that linked disability to "evil" account for revulsion in other African communities. The Ashanti people of Ghana precluded people with physical impairments from holding chieftaincy positions and promote eugenic practices by eliminating children with congenital and intellectual impairments; in Kenya and Zimbabwe, disability was perceived as a curse and shame on any family having a member with disability; and Nigeria and Africa in general have held beliefs that disability is a consequence of activities of witchcrafts, jujus and other evil forces.<sup>6</sup> News reports of killings of people with albinism for ritual purposes in Tanzania have been rife in recent times. In the same vein, some African communities have had cultural practices where body parts of people with certain forms of disability are considered suitable for sacrificial and other ritual purposes.

With these kinds of components, the ideology of oppression has remained the undercurrent force fuelling these cultural attitudes toward people with disabilities in Africa. It is from this same ideological perspective that journalists and other media workers produce content for audiences' consumption. The danger with ideologies, as Kellner observes, is that they "make inequalities and subordination appear natural and just and thus induce consent to relations of domination."<sup>7</sup> African culture is replete with negative stereotypes of disability and its news media have reinforced them by encoding them through representation.

### **Why the News Media Ignore Disability Stories**

I was appointed chairman of the Association for Comprehensive Empowerment of Nigerians with Disabilities (ASCEND), Oyo state chapter, in 2007. Our core objective in ASCEND is to ensure full participation of Nigerians with disabilities in all sphere of life—particularly in politics. As chairman of ASCEND in the state, I was expected to lead a delegation to join the national body in Nigeria’s federal capital territory—Abuja (led by the president, Mr. Cosmas I. B. Okoli) to mark the 2008 International Day for Persons with Disabilities. Among several options on the table to get our state government’s attention to sponsor our trip to Abuja, we opted for a protest action.

Early enough, we had identified the media as a critical partner capable of purveying our agitation for an inclusive society across to the public. Without prior knowledge of news media practice, I had presumed rightly that “unusual events” sometimes make it onto the news agenda. This is because journalists include on their news agenda mainly stories that measure up to indicators of newsworthiness, including the “unusual” that tells “us that something is happening that is different from our day-to-day lives.”<sup>8</sup> Shoemaker and Reese assert that “news selection criteria themselves may be said to be based on ... the ... unusual,”<sup>9</sup> a view corroborated by Heider with his suggestion that television news thrives on conflict and visual spectacles.<sup>10</sup> Consequently, we opted for a protest action to attract news media attention. In Nigeria, and I guess the same holds for most African countries, it is unusual to find people with disabilities employing public protest as a tool for driving home their demands to government.

We adequately informed both the print and electronic news media in our domain of our protest plan and excitedly looked forward to a beam of television cameras and an array of press microphones to give our protest a global audience. Beside the Broadcasting Corporation of Oyo State (BCOS—the official mouthpiece of the state government), no news media organization graced the event when we eventually took our protest to the governor’s office. But for total calm while keeping tabs on the BCOS television programs for the rest of that day, I could have missed our protest when it snappily breezed through the airwaves that night. The BCOS did not deem our protest to be “breaking news” or even to include it in the major news headlines. I was left wondering if our protest did not meet the news selection criteria for “unusual events” or we simply did not fit the mold of activists in the eyes of the news media.

Why the news media in Africa ignore disability stories is made plain in a second noteworthy experience. In readiness for the 2011 general elections in Nigeria, several organizations—government and non-government—were mobilizing and sensitizing marginalized groups on the need to get involved in the voters registration exercise being conducted by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), the body saddled with the responsibility of managing elections in Nigeria. If politics is a game of numbers as it is often opined here, I perceived we could explore ways of utilizing our huge population of persons with disabilities to our advantage in the elections.

We set out to organize a seminar in the city of Ibadan. Soon after the event, we embarked on a “house-to-house” campaign to encourage eligible persons with disabilities to register and obtain their temporary voters card (TVC). During this campaign, we observed that a lot of persons with disabilities within the Hausa community of Sabo Area in Ibadan would be excluded from the voters’ registration exercise largely because they lacked awareness of its importance. Consequently, we decided to make a courtesy visit to the traditional ruler as well as leaders of the various disability groups in the community. On this occasion, however, we succeeded in persuading some news media organizations to cover our event. To my chagrin, soon after we rounded off our visit, I was accosted by two reporters (obviously acting as spokespersons for the others) to either compensate them for their service (this is what is referred to as “brown envelope

syndrome” in Africa) or lose the chance of getting coverage of our visit aired or published at all. “That is how it is done,” retorted one of the spokespersons at my seeming confusion. “So, how much money should we pay to all of you in order to air this event?” I asked in return, in an effort to appease them. Terje S. Skjerdal sheds more light on this syndrome as it is conceptualized in Africa:

[I]t is safe to say that the following three characteristics are usually involved if we speak about the original “little” brown envelope: the practice occurs on the personal level, it has some degree of confidentiality, and it denotes an informal contract between the source and the reporter whereby both parties have certain obligations. These three characteristics are visualized through the image of a brown envelope containing cash physically handed over from a source to a reporter.<sup>11</sup>

As these two stories indicate, the lack of coverage of disability stories could be attributed to a number of factors, some obvious and others not so obvious. A key starting point, however, is the news media workers’ economy in Africa.

### **News Media Workers’ Economy in Africa**

News media practitioners in Africa operate within one of the most hazardous environments in the world. They operate in a system that places little or no value on the job they do, thereby endangering their lives and that of immediate family members. Journalists and their family members are often in harm’s way for the public service they perform in Africa. As precarious as the communication industry appears in Africa, it remains a robust site for intense business activities.

“Commercial journalism” is an appropriate label to apply to some news media organizations in Africa. This category is skewed toward profit making, and therefore more likely to ignore disability stories that, for the most part, make it onto the news agenda based on the corporate social responsibility (CSR) obligations of news media organizations. The desire to make profit at any cost is the major objective of their news operations, and this profit-making orientation is inimical to the journalistic ethics of fairness and balanced reportage. The effect of this posture is that news coverage has become “commodified” and only a privileged few get to air their opinions.

In terms of remuneration for news reporters in Africa, their take-home pay, which really never takes them home, is far less relative to what their colleagues in developed nations earn. Worse still, there are no job security and long-term retirement benefits like pensions, particularly for those in the private sector. The plethora of challenges confronting the average news media worker may have contributed to the development of what is today termed “brown envelope syndrome” in Africa. The import of this syndrome is that some news media reporters in Africa prefer to give coverage to events/issues of “worthy groups” with the financial wherewithal to oil their palms.

Due to physical and social barriers, particularly in the area of education and employment, militating against people with disabilities in Africa, they appear too poor in the perception of the average news reporters to be categorized as a “worthy group.” This situation resonates with Haller’s position that the mainstream media have not considered people with disabilities a worthy group to discuss as yet.<sup>12</sup> Consequently, as I found in a study on disability underrepresentation in Nigeria’s news media, disability issues/events sponsored by people with disabilities or their organizations have less chances of making it on the news agenda when compared with similar issues/events sponsored by powerful non-disabled entities such as government or non-government organizations.<sup>13</sup> In Africa, the news media prefer to depend on “others” (though regrettably not

people with disabilities) as gatekeepers of disability experience. I will discuss such “others” in more detail below. This treatment of disability by the news media in Africa suggests “symbolic annihilation.” This concept, first introduced by George Gerbner, indicates a mere absence in representation.<sup>14</sup> Gaye Tuchman, in her essay titled “The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media,” expanded the concept when she observed that “women are not important in American society, except perhaps within the home. And even within the home, men know best,”<sup>15</sup> suggesting insignificance. The concept of symbolic annihilation of disability as applied by the news media in Africa can be summarized as follows:

The concept of symbolic annihilation can be viewed from two angles: non-representation and underrepresentation by the media. Non-representation occurs when the media ignore a people or group’s voice ... Underrepresentation suggests some amount of coverage or presence in the media. However, in the case of disability news stories, opinions of others and not the self advocacy of people with disabilities, make up the little amount of coverage that underrepresentation suggests. In other words, instead of opinions of people with disabilities themselves, it is that of the “ableist,” which is replete with stereotypically offensive language that influences disability news stories.<sup>16</sup>

In effect, the news media in Africa have perceived people with disabilities as “infants” (dependents) who require others to think and decide on their behalf in spite of notable feats made in areas of education, sports and businesses by some Africans with disabilities. This is so in Africa because the cultural norms regarding disability are shaped by the ideology of oppression, and the disability rights movement is still in its nascent state.

### **Narratives that Shape Disability Stories in the News Media**

Both John Clogston and Beth Haller (pioneer media and disability scholars) have provided us with a spectrum through which we may locate news frames as an approach to disability media analysis. This ranges from non-representation to misrepresentation. In unpacking this parlous situation of people with disabilities in African new media, it is important to note that non-representation and underrepresentation of people with disabilities alone do not constitute marginalization—misrepresentation accounts for a huge part of the blame. Misrepresentation by the news media can be widespread, having capacity to percolate deep into audiences’ subconscious. With respect to disability, misrepresentation occurs when the news media feed distorted frames of disability to audiences, resulting in erroneous attitudes and actions toward people with disabilities. There has been a great deal of misinformation on issues around disability in Africa, and this has translated into marginalization of persons with disabilities, especially in public spaces where access to schools, workplaces and worship centers calls for concern.

As underscored earlier in this chapter, cultural beliefs held about disability from historical times in Africa play a critical role in how society, including media workers, relate with people with disabilities. These beliefs have demonized disability to say the least, and persons with disabilities still suffer marginalization even in climes where they are no longer practiced. How much of these have changed over time is yet to be ascertained; however concerns are growing over how the news media reinforce them through representation.

From such a perspective, it is clear where narratives that shape disability stories in the news media in Africa come from. It is certain that those narratives do not emanate from the disability community because the “disability rights movement” is still in its nascent stage. The concept of disability as a “minority rights” issue is still being overshadowed by the charity and medical paradigms that disparage the person. The social model that indicts society for the

marginalization that persons with disabilities suffer is not even yet celebrated; otherwise there would have been a radical change in physical infrastructures to promote access. The disability culture domain remains an uncharted space urgently requiring a sense of identity to be shaped by disability activists and scholars. People with disabilities have been reticent in coming up with appropriate language for the news media in Africa to utilize in framing their experiences.

Do news media reporters in Africa go out deliberately to denigrate the disability experience? I do not support the position that they do (arguments on this will be fully discussed in the next section). In my judgment, they are totally exonerated from any wrongdoing. They are simply reflecting what society has imposed on a community whose culture has remained obscured. Except people with disabilities in Africa assert themselves and chart a formidable and positive identity for their community, the news media will perpetually revert to cultural narratives about disability in Africa. An important finding in a content analysis of the framing of disabilities in Nigeria's newspapers in my earlier research revealed that

the media in Nigeria employ stereotypically offensive language when reporting disability stories. This, no doubt, has negative impact in how society relate with people with disabilities. People with disabilities in Nigeria are perpetually marginalized and discriminated against partly as a result of how the media have represented them to the society. Media frames that emphasize frailty, charity, disparity and derogatory labels leave room for stereotype, prejudice and stigma.<sup>17</sup>

As long as media content remains a reflection of culture, so will it remain a mockery for a marginalized class who attempt to reshape media content without first investigating and understanding the ideology fueling the unequal power relationship in culture.

### **Making Right the Wrongs of Several Decades of Disability Misrepresentation in the News Media in Africa**

Concerns over how the news media in Africa represent disability are growing. On my return to Nigeria from the United States in 2013—after a master's degree in media studies from Syracuse University in New York—I set out to establish a disability and media research center (DMRC) as an arm of my disability rights organization—Project Restoration International (PRI). One of our early activities at DMRC was to engage management of news media organizations in Nigeria, through emails, on negative disability representation in news reports. Of note is the response from Ekiti State Broadcasting Service (ESBS) to our email, pointing to a laundry list of negative disability terms it had employed for the past six months. In an email message to the author on May 30, 2014, the general manager of the FM station advised: "We are in total agreement with your concern and will make a stronger effort to ensure a sensitive treatment across the board of issues affecting people with disabilities." He further requested a list of situation-specific references to guide members of staff at ESBS in reporting disability. In a similar vein, my attention was drawn to a report on disability representation in Ghana's news media. The report, according to Vibe Ghana, an online news site, revealed that the Disability Rights Fund (DRF—a US-based disability rights organization) and the Ghana Federation of the Disabled have collaborated to provide training to a section of Ghanaian journalists on a series of topics on disability to promote a positive disability representation in the news media.<sup>18</sup> All of these are indicative of the fact that a new season is dawning—the era of positive disability representation in the news media in Africa is approaching.

As indicated earlier, I am not of the opinion that news media reporters in Africa go out to deliberately frame disability stories in a negative light. What I have gathered from informal interviews of some journalists on the issue is that the subject of disability appears “murky” with no clear-cut authority to turn to for guidance. There are divergent opinions on the subject, all shaped by the ideology of oppression from a cultural standpoint. The last two decades have witnessed a proliferation of organizations—government and non-government (including faith-based groups)—championing the “disability cause.” These are the “others” gatekeeping the disability experience. A good number of them, with predominantly non-disabled facilitators, employ the charity model to sustain their welfare obligations to persons with disabilities. Others, who are not so altruistic, express their “love” of people with disabilities in ostentatious ways. Some utilize the medical/exorcism models in order to “cure disability,” in a bid to restore “wholeness” to the person with disability. These are the gatekeepers of the “disability experience” the news media in Africa turn to for guidance when reporting disability stories.

### **Conclusion**

There are a number of initiatives that would contribute to a better representation of disability in the news media in Africa.

First, news coverage is a scarce commodity and understanding how to attract it is critical for improved and positive disability coverage. In other words, successfully selling disability stories to news media workers is a necessity if people with disabilities or their organizations are to improve coverage in the African context. Heider advised that in order to successfully sell a story one must be able to convince news workers that such stories are not only current but also newsworthy and that “professional public relations firms offer clients that expertise.”<sup>19</sup> Because of the perception that people with disabilities or their organizations lack the financial wherewithal to reward news workers who indulge in the practice of “brown envelope syndrome,” employing the services of professional public relations firms will go a long way toward reversing this patronizing perception. First, this has capacity to give events/issues of people with disabilities the desired “newsworthy status” they require to make it onto the news agenda—it indicates people with disabilities are not outside the norm of media practice. Second, it can help improve their economic worth and status in the perception of news media practitioners in Africa—it truly costs something to get anything worthwhile. Third, engaging the services of professional public relations firms can help people with disabilities avoid being complicit in “brown envelope syndrome,” which has been widely condemned as not only corrupt but unprofessional in practice—their role as a mediator will ensure professionalism.

Guidelines on portraying disability in the media no doubt are a great idea and often advanced as a tool of change. Caution, however, is the watchword to ensure media practitioners don’t misconstrue the idea as an attack on press freedom.<sup>20</sup> One way to ensure this is to carry media practitioners along as the guidelines are developed. Good-enough media practitioners in Africa are beginning to own up to the fact that the disability terrain is a murky one. Taking them by the hand to traverse the disability experience is not a bad idea. A synergy between the press and disability organizations does not come naturally in Africa: people with disabilities and their organizations must be proactive to initiate, nurture and sustain it. That way, the news media in Africa get to be part of the development (for instance, of the guideline) process and come to adopt it as their own document. In the same vein, the news media can be a powerful tool for disability empowerment by first helping to self-define people with disabilities and also improving the audience’s perception, which could in turn impact legislation.

On February 22, 2016, the DMRC arm of PRI organized a training workshop for over 150 journalists in Nigeria with a grant of \$1,000 from the International Fellowship Program (IFP)



Alumni Award of the Ford Foundation. The event was a collaborative effort between the DMRC and the Nigeria Union of Journalists (NUJ; Oyo State Chapter). A guideline for reporting disability was developed (adapted with permission) from the work of the National Center on Disability and Journalism at the Walter Cronkite School of Journalism and Mass Communication at Arizona State University in the United States. The DMRC's ultimate goal is to help the Nigerian Broadcasting Commission (NBC) and by extension other broadcasting regulatory commissions in Africa to gain deeper understanding of conditions of disability and adopt a guideline for writing or talking about disability.

## Notes

- 1 Economic Commission for Africa, *The Demographic Profile of African Countries* (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Economic Commission for Africa, 2016), 15, [www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/PublicationFiles/demographic\\_profile\\_rev\\_april\\_25.pdf](http://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/PublicationFiles/demographic_profile_rev_april_25.pdf).
- 2 Beth Haller, *Representing Disability in an Ableist World: Essays on Mass Media* (Louisville, KY: Advocado Press, 2010), 43.
- 3 Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content* (New York: Longman, 1996), 60.
- 4 National Population Commission of Nigeria (NPC), "NPC Puts Nigeria's Disabled Population at 19 Million," October 6, 2018, [www.vanguardngr.com/2018/10/npc-puts-nigerias-disabled-population-at-19million](http://www.vanguardngr.com/2018/10/npc-puts-nigerias-disabled-population-at-19million).
- 5 Chomba W. Munyi, "Past and Present Perceptions Towards Disability: A Historic Perspective," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (2012), <http://dsq-sds.org/article/view/3197/3068>.
- 6 Munyi, "Past and Present Perceptions Towards Disability."
- 7 Douglas Kellner, "Cultural Studies, Multiculturalism, and Media Culture," in *Gender, Race, and Class in Media: A Critical Reader*, ed. Gail Dines and Jean M. Humez (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2011), 9.
- 8 Pamela J. Shoemaker, "Hardwired for News: Using Biological and Cultural Evolution to Explain the Surveillance Function," *Journal of Communication* 46, no. 3 (Summer 1996): 36.
- 9 Shoemaker and Reese, *Mediating the Message*, 225.
- 10 Don Heider, *White News: Why Local News Programs Don't Cover People of Color* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000), 48.
- 11 Terje S. Skjerdal, "Research on Brown Envelope Journalism in the African Media," *African Communication Research* 3 (2010): 369, [www.academia.edu/486564/Research\\_on\\_brown\\_envelope\\_journalism\\_in\\_the\\_African\\_media](http://www.academia.edu/486564/Research_on_brown_envelope_journalism_in_the_African_media).
- 12 Haller, *Representing Disability in an Ableist World*, 119.
- 13 Olusola Ogundola, "Symbolic Annihilation of Disability in Nigeria's News Media" (paper presented at the twenty-fifth annual conference of Society for Disability Studies, Denver, Colorado, June 20–23, 2012).
- 14 George Gerbner, "Violence in Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions," in *Television and Social Behavior*, ed. George Comstock and Eli Rubinstein (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1972), 44.
- 15 Gaye Tuchman, "Introduction: The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media," in *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media*, ed. Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Daniels and James Benét (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 17.
- 16 Olusola Ogundola, "Framing Disability: A Content Analysis of Newspapers in Nigeria" (Master's Thesis, Syracuse University, 2013), 85, 86, [http://surface.syr.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1014&context=ms\\_thesis](http://surface.syr.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1014&context=ms_thesis).
- 17 Ogundola, "Framing Disability," 87.
- 18 "DRF Educates Ghanaian Journalists on Disability Reporting," Vibe Ghana, accessed July 12, 2015, <http://vibeghana.com/2015/04/14/dr-f-educates-ghanaian-journalists-on-disability-reporting>.
- 19 Heider, *White News*, 56–57.
- 20 Shawn Burns, "Commentary: Words Matter: Journalists, Educators, Media Guidelines and Representation of Disability," *Asia Pacific Media Educator* no. 20 (2010): 281, <http://ro.uow.edu.au/apme/vol1/iss20/28>.