

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

Featuring Disabled Women in Advertisements



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

Publication details

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315716008-5>

Ella Houston

Published online on: 20 Nov 2019

How to cite :- Ella Houston. 20 Nov 2019, *Featuring Disabled Women in*

Advertisements from: The Routledge Companion to Disability and Media Routledge

Accessed on: 22 Mar 2023

<https://www.routledgehandbooks.com/doi/10.4324/9781315716008-5>

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.

4

FEATURING DISABLED WOMEN IN ADVERTISEMENTS

The Commodification of Diversity?

Ella Houston

Introduction

Traditional analyses of mass media and advertising are frequently perceived as distinct areas of inquiry; the media is typically perceived in terms of communication influence, whereas advertising is commonly linked to consumerist patterns.¹ However, thinking about the media and advertising as inextricably linked practices can aid deeper understanding of both fields. Forms of media, for example, newspapers and television, can be seen as targeting a particular type of consumer, for example, “middle England or America.” Therefore, the discourses they carry are deliberately designed to appeal to the presumed characteristics, political concerns and interests of a particular social group.²

Disability studies scholar, David Bolt, suggests that advertisers are increasingly drawn to using disability imagery and models with visible impairments in fashion, beauty and lifestyle campaigns due to the emotional currency traditionally attached to disability in television, film and literature. Considering that disability was almost wholly confined to charity advertisements before the late twentieth century, the growing representation of disability in advertising may be seen as reflective of growth in disability policy, for example, the Americans with Disabilities Act (1990) and the Disability Discrimination Act (1995). However, Bolt suggests that disability representation in advertising is not without problems; advertisers frequently support medical model notions of disability, thus perpetuating the misunderstanding that disabled people are seeking to be “cured” and are unhappy with their impaired bodies.³

In her research on the representation of disabled women in advertising (specifically Dove’s “Campaign for Real Beauty” in 2004), Sarah Heiss adopts a feminist disability studies approach to explain the oppressive ways that advertisers commonly portray gender and disability. For Heiss, representations of disabled women in advertising dominantly pertain to normative beauty and body image standards.⁴ Writing about the sociocultural violation of the female and impaired body, Helen Meekosha suggests that disabled women’s bodies are constantly required to legitimize their place in society and culture; stereotypical narratives, such as, “overcoming adversity” and “superhuman strength” are attached to disabled women in order to promote commodities and increase attraction towards a brand.⁵

The role of advertising in constructing sociocultural attitudes and perceptions of disabled women cannot be underestimated. In his foundational writing on disability and advertising,

Harlan Hahn suggests that “acceptable” bodily aesthetics are majorly constructed by the pervasive presence of advertising in society. Hahn proposes that the continued subordination of disabled people in society is partly the result of advertising discourses and imagery. Advertising both supports and constructs sociocultural feelings, anxieties and beliefs towards certain identity groups; moreover, advertising imagery helps to sustain certain beauty standards that are applicable to only a very small portion of society.⁶

In her research on disability representation in advertising, Beth Haller contends that people with impairments are increasingly more likely to be included in advertisements; however, traditional and oppressive stereotypes attached to disabled people continue to pervade representations.⁷ Furthermore, Haller and Ralph report that UK advertisers have been less willing to progress the trend of greater disability representation, despite the understanding that the use of disability imagery in advertising positively affects consumerism and the overall brand image.⁸

My suggestion is that the voices of disabled women must be included in the developing debate surrounding disability representation in advertising. Researchers have richly contributed to the literature surrounding disability imagery, discourses and inclusion in advertising.⁹ I propose that including the reactions of disabled women to portrayals of disability and gender representation in advertising will further develop embodied knowledge of this phenomenon. Furthermore, by exploring how advertising portrayals of disabled women compare and contrast to the lived realities of women with impairments, critical analysis of the extent to which the makers of ads promote realistic and responsible representations is facilitated.

In this chapter, I will first offer an outline of how feminist disability studies theory may be applied to representations of disability and gender in advertising. I will then offer my own interpretations of a selection of advertisements (produced in the United Kingdom or United States, post 2000) featuring disabled women and focus on the responses I collected via semi-structured interviews with five women who self-identified as having mobility impairments: Helen, Joanna, Louise, Mary-Jane and Penelope (pseudonyms are used). The data shown in this chapter was gathered for the purposes of my PhD research—focusing on the representation of disabled women in Anglo-American advertising and the extent to which cultural stereotypes may impact on individual levels of subjective well-being.

Disability, Gender and Advertising: Taking a Feminist Disability Studies Approach

Feminist disability studies knowledge and theory is founded on the understanding that the disabled and female body is marginalized within society.¹⁰ Specifically, oppression is experienced by disabled women as a direct result of their disability and gender identity.¹¹ Strong correlations between the goals of feminist and disability studies are identified by Mary Boulton, namely a motivation to critically understand both disability and gender as social constructs and the aim to challenge specific inequalities that arise directly from disability and gender identity.¹² Feminist theory has powerfully addressed the issue of “commodification” of the female body throughout the media; however, media portrayals of disabled women have been insufficiently addressed thus far.

Understanding of the role that discourse plays in shaping reality and identity is a central feature of feminist disability studies; “gender” and “disability” identities are not understood as fixed, rather, they seen as borne out of cultural contexts. Disability studies scholar Tom Shakespeare pinpoints the culture of “othering” disabled people and women as a core foundation for societal stereotypes and oppressive attitudes.¹³ Indeed, medical and sexist discourses that suggest disabled women are naturally “inferior” to their non-disabled, male counterparts dominate disability and gender narratives in the media.¹⁴

Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, a key figure in the field of feminist disability studies, adds to the debate by suggesting that feminist disability studies encompasses a strong commitment to cultural analysis:

By probing the cultural meanings attributed to bodies that societies deem disabled, feminist disability studies does vast critical cultural work ... it understands disability as a system of exclusions that stigmatizes human differences ... it reveals discriminatory attitudes and practices directed at ... [disabled] bodies ... it frames disability as an effect of power relations.¹⁵

Bolt uses the term “normate reductionism” to articulate the process by which disabled people are reduced to a single “trait,” i.e. their impairment, through ableist assumptions and attitudes. For Bolt, a cultural approach to disability studies outlines the reduction of a complex person to their impairment or diagnostic label via a myriad of assumptions, myths, stereotypes and disability tropes. Leading on from this, Bolt suggests that the process of normate reductionism is influenced by the “normate’s” superior cultural position; non-disabled people may feel that they already *know* the stories and experiences of disabled people.¹⁶

It seems, then, that feminist disability studies progressively develop the work of cultural disability studies theorists. Cultural disability studies scholars Sharon Snyder and David Mitchell¹⁷ use the term “cultural locations of disability” to describe the oppressive spaces designated to disabled people in society. For Mitchell and Snyder,¹⁸ the impaired body is socially and culturally constructed as “deficient” and inherently anomalous. Therefore, the spaces dominantly occupied by disabled people in sociocultural contexts are marginalized. Through analysing UK and US advertisements containing representations of disabled women from a feminist disability studies perspective, I aim to argue that advertising is a key way through which the media “others” and creates stigmatized spaces for disabled women.

Advertisements Featuring Representations of Mobility Impairment

Nordstrom, July 2014: Print Advertisement

The July 2014 fashion catalogue issue of US fashion retailer Nordstrom featured fashion blogger Jillian Mercado. In her role as editorial director of “WeTheUrban” (a web-based article series on fashion, culture and design) and as a fashion blogger, Mercado is familiar with fashion circles and popular trends. She is in her mid-twenties and is represented by a modelling agency, having previously appeared in a fashion campaign for Diesel. Since she was 12 years old, Mercado has used a wheelchair. In the advertisement I will discuss, Mercado is shown sitting in her wheelchair.

For featuring Jillian Mercado, a disabled model, in their advertising, Nordstrom received a substantial amount of positive press coverage, throughout both the United States and United Kingdom. In the United Kingdom, tabloid newspaper the *Daily Mail* included statements that identified the fashion company as a historical champion of disability inclusion, in both fashion campaigns and employment. Interestingly, the article also used a statement drawing attention to the “billion pound” potential of targeting disabled people in business marketing. While in US media outlets, Nordstrom was praised for being “aware of diversity” and leading the way for forward-thinking fashion companies. Internet forums also housed multiple threads about the advertisement, with one forum user declaring that Nordstrom should be celebrated for its “morals.” It should also be noted that Mercado is not the first visibly disabled model featured in Nordstrom’s advertising campaigns and catalogues; disabled models have been used by the company since the early 1990s.

Mercado is positioned at the right side of the ad's frame; it appears as if she is emerging from the right side as part of her wheelchair is outside of the frame. She is against an empty background and her shadow can be seen on the wall behind. Mercado is wearing a short, black leather jacket, a black skirt made out of a thin and patterned material and black chunky boots. Noticeably, Mercado has short, choppy cut purple hair. The wheelchair she is using is black, with grey wheels and is electronic. Her body faces the left side of the frame and her head is turned to directly face the observer.

A medium shot is used in the advertisement—a technique commonly used for its ability to create a “safe” and non-intrusive distance from the model and reader.¹⁹ By using a medium shot, the audience is kept at a reasonable distance from Mercado, thus inhibiting the traditional close, voyeuristic images that are usually attached to disabled people in advertisements. Representations of disabled people in advertising have traditionally been restricted to charity campaigns, which favour close, personal shots, often showing signs of “sadness” on the disabled person's face.²⁰ Therefore, by presenting a disabled woman as composed and at a neutral distance from the reader, the traditional “pitiable” and “passive” representations of disability in charity advertising is rejected. When discussing this advertisement, in particular how Mercado is represented and what she may be doing in this scene, all of the disabled women I interviewed responded positively and brought attention to the natural confidence Mercado appears to hold:

Mary-Jane: Okay, it's a young woman in her perhaps early twenties wearing high-fashion clothes of a particular fashion. I don't know what the fashion is but, yeah, I like it. And she's sitting in what looks like quite a heavy-duty wheelchair. She is looking very happy and very natural ... She looks much more relaxed and human than that woman there [pointing to Kenneth Cole's advertisement featuring Amy Mullins].

Louise: She's happy, she looks comfortable doing what she's doing and I don't think anyone would look at that image and have anything negative to say about it. I think you could say it's showing that they're trying to be positive about impairment.

The advertisement seems to encompass a “slice-of-life” approach. Mercado is fashionably dressed and her outfit appears suited for a range of scenarios, for instance, going to a party, a trip to the cinema, going for a date or a shopping trip. The women with mobility impairments that I interviewed unanimously agreed that the relaxed and everyday aspect of the advertisement and Mercado's appearance was something they could relate to:

Helen: She might be going to a party because she looks quite dressed up. Her hair is done, she has her makeup on ... so the fact that she's portrayed as a party-going, electronic wheelchair user is quite a big step forward ... She looks a bit like a punk, rock star fan. So like that's quite nice because leather jackets and purple-bluish dyed hair is usually associated with a subversive, rebellious subculture and wheelchair users are not usually perceived as rebellious. So it's nice that that's part of her identity and she might just be going to a rock concert, just like anyone else would ... She's not this calm, passive, young, innocent wheelchair user—she looks like a rock star [laughs]. That's quite nice!

Penelope: She looks like she knows she looks good and she's confident. She's trendy, but she's not over-doing it. When I wear certain clothes, particularly my leather jacket, for some reason, I feel like that.

From a feminist disability studies perspective, a striking aspect of this advertisement is Mercado's strong and confident way of staring back at the camera lens. Interpreting this action alongside Garland-Thomson's “staring” theory²¹ suggests that this device effectively places Mercado as

holding power and agency. In Heiss' feminist disability studies analysis of Dove's beauty campaign,²² she engages with "staring" theory to suggest that Dove encourages the reader to objectify the disabled women by staring at their near naked bodies. I would suggest that Mercado's direct stare at the camera lens is a key, progressive feature of this advertisement. By doing this, the advertisement does more than simply integrate a disabled woman into their brand image. Instead, Mercado is portrayed as an "equal player"—she is aware of the audience stares and actively participates in the visual communication.

Channel 4, "Born Risky," December 2014: Television Advertisement

In December 2014, Channel 4, a UK television channel, ran a "Born Risky" brand campaign featuring an extended advertisement intended to promote disabled pop artist, Viktoria Modesta's song, "Prototype." Channel 4 was established as an Act of Parliament in 1982 and is obliged to fulfil various public obligations, including appealing to "the tastes and interests of a culturally diverse society." Channel 4 also received a high volume of media coverage for its coverage of the 2012 Paralympics. However, many disabled activists and supporters of the disability studies community have criticized the way that Channel 4 represented athletes with impairments as "supercrips," including a promotional advert named "Meet the Superhumans."

Myself and some of the disabled women I interviewed identified similar aspects of the "supercrip" stereotype in the "Born Risky" advertisement. Colin Barnes, a highly regarded disability studies scholar, uses the term "supercrip" to describe a dominant stereotype the media attaches to disabled people:

[T]he disabled person is assigned super human almost magical abilities. Blind people are portrayed as visionaries with a sixth sense or extremely sensitive hearing. Alternatively, disabled individuals, especially children, are praised excessively for relatively ordinary achievements ... by emphasising the extra-ordinary achievements of disabled individuals ... the media implies that the experiences of "ordinary" people—disabled or otherwise—are unimportant and irrelevant.²³

The advertisement begins with white text on a black screen, reading "forget what you know about disability." Following this, Modesta, who uses a prosthetic limb, appears on screen, walking in a white room and wearing one black stiletto and a prosthetic limb that is black, shiny and pointed. In the first frame, only Modesta's legs are shown and the sharp noise of the pointed prosthetic hitting the floor is heightened. Text then follows, reading "Channel 4 Presents a New Kind of Pop Artist." One of the disabled women I interviewed expressed concern regarding the link between disability and risk:

Penelope: [T]he idea of risk, to me ... is really problematic. I don't think it's very empowering. Although ... I get it ... in terms of an individual, in a very individualistic kind of way. Some people are born to take risks [caption used in advertisement], kind of like, you're embodying the risk. So I understand that—that could be empowering for individuals, but I don't see that idea as an empowering idea.

The representation of disabled people as "risky" may be interpreted as doing little to challenge the historical and oppressive "freak" discourse that is attached to people with impairments, explains Garland-Thomson.²⁴ Attaching risk to the disabled body seems to support the "freak" stereotype by suggesting that the life of a person with impairments is ulterior to the "norm" and inherently inspires curiosity.²⁵ It could be argued that Modesta is consistently portrayed as "risky" and rebellious within the advertisement. The clothes and accessories she wears, for example, a black mask that covers most of her face, a shiny, black, spiked prosthetic limb and stiff, pointed

shoulder pads contribute to a subversive, almost aggressive, attitude. The disabled women I interviewed held varying reactions towards this:

Mary-Jane: But this has been directed in a way, I think, to show how powerful disabled women can be ... doing things that, perhaps, they thought they couldn't do and probably society thought or didn't expect them to do.

While another participant expressed concern with the representative link between disability, gender and "rebellion":

Helen: I think she plays very much on being perceived as dominant and threatening, maybe because "Oh, society perceives my missing limb, my 'defect' as threatening so I will show them what really to fear, namely my power and my dominance and the fact that I don't care" ... And surely it's associated with a certain aesthetic and it almost reminds me of, like, a BDSM, eroticization of the dominant. To each their own, if that's her thing then fine—it's wonderful to see her embrace that, but I don't think it serves to create a dialogue and it doesn't serve to empower disabled women who might not feel comfortable in that dominant role or who might not even be able to create that image of dominance because they require assistance or because they require different access than she does.

In the beginning scenes of the ad, Modesta is depicted as sitting on a throne with people in red gowns bowing down to her. This is followed by scenes depicting a young girl watching a cartoon video of Modesta and then attempting to pull the leg off her doll, her mother enters the room and angrily turns off the television. Modesta's legs are often solely shown and fill the ad's frame. She wears an array of elaborate prosthetics, including one that lights up, one that is diamante encrusted and another that is surrounded by moths. It is interesting that this advertisement is not part of a fashion or beauty campaign, yet still promotes a consumerist and materialist culture through the use of glamorous and aesthetically rich accessories. An interpretation of the overuse of decadent and expensive clothes and props could draw links between the commodification of disability and gender in an ever-expanding consumerist culture. Penelope articulates this process further: "Advertising itself conforms things ... commodifying the non-conformity ... that's what advertising does because it's trying to sell something."

Modesta's song "Prototype" that is the soundtrack to the advertisement features lines, such as, "Provocatively I deny your effort, I'm dedicated/Coz I'm not restricted by your method/I ain't another project, just messing with your logic/I'm progressive, not aggressive," and the chorus line: "I'm the pro ... I'm the pro ... I'm the prototype." Alongside singing, Modesta is shown dancing and scenes of a sexual nature, for instance, at one point she appears naked on a bed kissing a man and woman who are also naked. This is the only scene where Modesta is shown without wearing a prosthesis. In following scenes, Modesta is presented as a kind of cultural icon that is feared by the state; she is interrogated by males who appear to represent soldiers or officials. The final scene depicts Modesta dancing against a red background in a manner that seems deliberately provocative, to the point of being intimidating as she is covering her face with a mask and repeatedly stabs her prosthesis against the floor. In the excerpt below, Joanna explains how the risky and glamorized portrayal makes her feel alienated from the advertisement's narrative:

Joanna: For me this [ad] had a negative impact on my subjectivity ... The overriding message for me ... was this is so desirable and I'm so different from what is desirable that for me, it was quite a negative message. And I can never be this person, in any way. So, this is what is "good disability" and I am what is "bad disability."

Kenneth Cole Fashion, Spring 2008: Print Advertisement

The third advertisement is produced by Kenneth Cole (2008), a fashion designer and retailer based in the United States. Bearing the slogan “We All Walk in Different Shoes,” in large, black, handwritten-style writing, the advertisement’s purpose is seemingly to promote Cole’s latest fashion range, while promoting the idea that the company has a 25-year history of “non-uniform thinking” (this text is included in a smaller size, at the bottom right of the page).

Aimee Mullins is featured in the advertisement, an image of her wearing professional, trendy-style clothes dominates the center of the frame. Mullins is wearing a black blazer and knee-length skirt with a bright red top. She is using prosthetic limbs, designed to resemble the same shade as her skin and wears her hair neatly tied back, with a flash of red lipstick. Mullins also appears to be wearing black, high-heeled shoes. A small caption towards the right hand side of Mullins reads, “Aimee Mullins, Paralympic Athlete, Actor, and President of the Women’s Sports Foundation.”

The image of Mullins is shot from a slightly low angle, giving the impression that she is “looking down” at the reader. Her professional appearance suggests that the format of this advertisement is “slice of life”—Mullins could be ready to go to work, a meeting or a smart occasion. Advertisers commonly use a slice-of-life format to enhance the brand’s approachability factor, in other words, to create a friendly and natural image.²⁶ Additionally, the makers of advertisements are consciously aware of the pressure to create an instant impact effect. Typically, readers will glance at print advertisements for one and a half seconds.²⁷ In fashion advertisements, such as this one, it is important that the reader—a potential consumer—instantly feels a connection and is able to identify with the person and style shown in the advertisement.²⁸

Advertisers tend to use well-known or famous figures in order to powerfully add to the “personality” of a brand, by using a face that readers feel they can “trust” or relate to.²⁹ Mullins is a well-known US Paralympic athlete, model and actor who has appeared in various “big-brand” campaigns, for example Alexander McQueen (a high fashion brand) and L’Oréal (a beauty and hair brand).

In her writing on disability discourse and the media, Jan Grue comments that Aimee Mullins was frequently represented as a kind of “superhuman” in promotional material for the 2012 London Paralympics. Grue suggests that, especially during this period, Mullins developed an icon status and was used by the media as a symbol of the notion that disabled people have “no excuse” for not achieving transcendental feats, completely on their own.³⁰

When discussing this advert, the disabled women that I interviewed found it difficult to identify with Mullins and the depiction of mobility impairment:

Mary-Jane: I know loads of disabled women and I don’t know many disabled women at all who look like that.

Helen: You have to look at it very closely to even realize she is wearing prosthetic legs... Yes, we all walk in different shoes, it’s true, but barriers aren’t put into everyone’s way. And it, again, like she’s walking in shoes, she isn’t using a wheelchair. Yes, she might look different but people might not sometimes notice that she is wearing prosthetics. I would say often she has the ability to appear as normal, or as without impairment.

Louise: You know, she [Aimee Mullins] has probably got a very good self-well-being, happy and she’s out there “doing it” but that’s not necessarily depicting what a person in everyday life who doesn’t do that would be feeling, necessarily.

Additionally, the use of “we” in the main tagline of the advertisement, “We All Walk in Different Shoes,” creates an assumed relationship between the content and the reader.

Advertisers are keen to capitalize on the feeling of intimacy and familiarity that potential consumers can attach to brands, in order to sustain trust and maximize the probability that the person will remember the brand. However, by assuming that “we” all “walk,” the advertisers are seemingly supporting ableist discourses that fail to register the diverse ways that disabled women may choose to move around. Bolt uses the phrase “normative positivisms” to describe the act of reinforcing traditional standards of behaving, acting or appearing that are exclusionary to disabled people.³¹ I propose that in order to create progressive representations of disabled women, advertisers must focus on subverting ableist stereotypes and embracing the naturalness of bodily diversity, rather than reinforcing traditional and oppressive discourses.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have offered my own interpretations alongside the personal and insightful responses of disabled women to the representation of disability and gender in three advertisements. By fusing my own thoughts with the narratives and embodied experiences of disabled women, I have aimed to highlight cultural representation of disability and gender as a personal, social and political issue. The representation of disabled women in advertising has been outlined as a complex process that does not gather simplistic “yes”/“no” reactions or “good”/“bad” evaluations. A common theme running throughout the responses of disabled women to advertisements is critique of—to use Heiss³² term—“naïve integration” of bodily diversity. Alongside my own analyses of ads, these reactions indicate that the bodies of disabled women are not yet included in advertising representations in a progressive way.

I hope that this chapter has made a good case for the inclusion of the strength of subjective experiences, thoughts and views of disabled women in shaping and navigating cultural representations of disability and gender. If advertising is to truly embrace the representation of disability and gender, it is my proposition that any portrayals should communicate more clearly the everyday and lived experiences of disabled women. I recommend future research in the field of disability and gender representation in advertising focus on the extent to which advertising narratives are comparative to the embodied realities of the individuals they purport to represent. Furthermore, it would be useful for the makers of ads to include a spectrum of input from disabled women, within the process of creating advertisements, in order to promote authentic inclusion of human diversity, as opposed to the commodification of diversity.

Notes

- 1 Elizabeth Hirschman and Craig Thompson, “Why Media Matter: Toward a Richer Understanding of Consumers’ Relationships with Advertising and Mass Media,” *Journal of Advertising* 26, no. 1 (1997): 43–60.
- 2 Sean Brierly, *The Advertising Handbook* (London: Routledge, 1995).
- 3 David Bolt, “An Advertising Aesthetic: Real Beauty and Visual Impairment,” *British Journal of Visual Impairment* 32, no. 1 (2014): 25–32.
- 4 Sarah Heiss, “Locating the Bodies of Women and Disability in Definitions of Beauty: An Analysis of Dove’s Campaign for Real Beauty,” *Disability Studies Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (2011), doi: <http://dsq-sds.org/article/view/1367/1497>.
- 5 Helen Meekosha, “Body Battles: Bodies, Gender and Disability,” in *The Disability Reader* ed. Tom Shakespeare (London: Continuum, 1998), 163–181.
- 6 Harlan Hahn, “Advertising the Acceptably Employable Image,” in *The Disability Studies Reader* ed. Lennard Davis (London: Routledge, 1997), 172–187.
- 7 Beth Haller, *Representing Disability in an Ableist World: Essays on Mass Media* (Louisville, KY: Advocado Press, 2010).
- 8 Beth Haller and Sue Ralph, “Profitability, Diversity, and Disability Images in Advertising in the United States and Great Britain,” *Disability Studies Quarterly* 21, no. 2 (2001), doi: doi.org/10.18061/dsq.v21i2.276;

- Beth Haller and Sue Ralph, "Are Disability Images in Advertising Becoming Bold and Daring? An Analysis of Prominent Themes in US and UK Campaigns," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (2006), doi: <https://doi.org/10.18061/dsq.v26i3.716>.
- 9 Bolt, "An Advertising Aesthetic"; Haller, *Representing Disability*; Haller and Ralph, "Are Disability Images in Advertising"; Haller and Ralph, "Profitability, Diversity, and Disability Images"; Heiss, "Locating the Bodies of Women and Disability."
 - 10 Kim Hall, "Reimagining Disability and Gender through Feminist Studies: An Introduction," in *Feminist Disability Studies*, ed. Kim Hall (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 1–11.
 - 11 Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, "Integrating Disability, Transforming Feminist Theory," in *Feminist Disability Studies* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 13–48.
 - 12 Mary Boulton, "Feminism," in *Encyclopedia of Disability*, ed. Gary L. Albrecht (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2006), 723–725.
 - 13 Tom Shakespeare, "Cultural Representation of Disabled People: Dustbins for Disavowal?" *Disability & Society* 9, no. 3 (1994): 283–299.
 - 14 Helen Meekosha and Leanne Dowse, "Distorting Images, Invisible Images: Gender, Disability, and the Media," *Media International Australia* 84, no. 1 (1997): 91–101.
 - 15 Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, "Feminist Disability Studies," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture & Society*, (2005): 1557–1587.
 - 16 David Bolt, *The Metanarrative of Blindness* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2014).
 - 17 David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder, *Cultural Locations of Disability* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
 - 18 Sharon Snyder and David Mitchell, *Narrative Prosthesis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
 - 19 Nick Lacey, *Image and Representation: Key Concepts in Media Studies* (London: Macmillan, 1998).
 - 20 Haller and Ralph, "Profitability, Diversity, and Disability Images."
 - 21 Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, *Staring: How We Look* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
 - 22 Heiss, "Locating the Bodies of Women and Disability."
 - 23 Colin Barnes, *Disabling Imagery and the Media: An Exploration of the Principles for Media Representations of Disabled People* (Halifax, UK: Ryburn, 1992).
 - 24 Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, "Introduction: From Wonder to Error—A Genealogy of Freak Discourse in Modernity," in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body* ed. Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 1–19.
 - 25 Robert Bogdan, "The Social Construction of Freaks," in *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body* ed. Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 23–37.
 - 26 Lacey, *Image and Representation*.
 - 27 Sean Brierly, *The Advertising Handbook* (London: Routledge, 1995).
 - 28 Manuel Kauffmann, *Semiotic Analysis of Fashion Advertisements* (Marburg, Germany: University of Marburg, 2006).
 - 29 Jagdish Agrawal and Wagner A. Kamakura, "The Economic Worth of Celebrity Endorsers: An Event Study Analysis," *Journal of Marketing* 59, no. 3 (1995): 56–62.
 - 30 Jan Grue, *Disability and Discourse Analysis* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015).
 - 31 David Bolt, "Not Forgetting Happiness: The Tripartite Model of Disability and Its Application in Literary Criticism," *Disability & Society* 30, no. 7 (2015): 1103–1117.
 - 32 Heiss, "Locating the Bodies of Women and Disability."