

**THEMATIC ANALYSIS OF DISABILITY COVERAGE:
HOPES AND HARDSHIPS OF
PEOPLE WITH DISABILITIES**

A Thesis By

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Abstract:

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) was used for analysis of themes and kinds of portrayal of people with disabilities in the written content, and audio and video transcripts of 31 placed entries for the National Center on Disability and Journalism contest from 2013-2020. With transitivity analysis as the method of analysis, there was uncovering of material goal not processes, relational identifying and behavioral processes that led to identifying themes of negligence, incompetence and violence against, and occasionally by people with disabilities. Implications for future research include using transitivity analysis in disability and journalism studies research to examine subjects as Actors, Behavers and more through the transitivity process. Additionally, further research can be conducted on the journalistic process of "calling out," a term coined as linked to transitivity analysis in this study to mean the identifying action when reporters highlight negative or failed actions on the part of people or corporations in news content.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	v
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
The Americans With Disabilities Act	1
Legal Ramifications of the ADA.....	1
Disability Coverage Before and After the ADA	2
Statement of the Problem	5
Significance of the Study	6
Purpose of Study	6
Exemplars in Journalism	7
“In the Wrong Hands”: Reporting with Silent Exemplars	7
Research Questions	8
Limitations.....	8
Conclusion	9
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	10
Speaking for People with Disabilities	10
Disability Representation Models	11
Medical Model	12
Social Model of Disability	12
Social Pathology Model.....	13
Supercrip Model	14
Minority/Civil Rights and Legal Models	15
Gatekeeping Theory	16
Social System Influences	17
Social Institutional Influences	17
Institutional Influences.....	18
Individual Influences	18
Critical Discourse Analysis.....	20
A Critical View of Disability Coverage Exemplar Practices	20
Reporting with Respect	20
Systemic Functional Linguistics.....	22
Metafunction	22
Stratification.....	22
Transitivity Analysis	23
Conclusion	23
3. METHODOLOGY.....	25
Qualitative Research	25
Phenomenology	25
Grounded Theory	26
Ethnography	26
Narrative Analysis.....	27
Case Study.....	28
Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).....	30
Critical Discourse Analysis and Disability Studies.....	30

Critical Discourse Analysis and Journalism.....	31
Positionality Statement	32
Research Questions	33
Method	33
Entries	33
Data Collection	34
Coding	34
Validity	35
Conclusion	35
4. FINDINGS.....	36
Material Process Goal	36
Causal Goals.....	37
Individual Goals.....	39
Organizational and State Goals	39
Event Goals.....	41
Material Process “Goal Not”	42
No Action (Neutral).....	42
Refused Action	42
Failed Action.....	43
Delayed Action	44
Partial Action (Only and Just).....	45
Could Not Act	45
Relational Process Attributive	47
Relational Process Identifying	48
Existential Process	49
Mental Process	50
Seeing	52
Positive Seeing.....	53
Behavioral Process.....	53
Violent Behavior	54
Positive Behavior.....	54
Crime and Death as Non-Transitive Codes	55
Crime.....	55
Death.....	57
Conclusion	58
5. DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS	60
Connecting Transitivity Analysis to Themes	61
Social Model of Disability in Themes	61
Injustice in Criminal Narratives: Interpersonal Violence	62
Injustice in Criminal Narratives: Testimonial Injustice.....	63
Denial of Vital Services	64
Denial of Care	65
Denial of Services and Access.....	66
Institutionally-Sanctioned Public Institution Violence.....	70
Detrimental Effects	70
Students with Disabilities as Underage Victims of Violence.....	71
Negligence and Incompetence by Caretakers and Law Enforcement Personnel.....	72
Neglectful and Incompetent Caretakers	72

Incompetent Law Enforcement Personnel	73
Hopeful Solutions.....	73
More Accessible Options.....	74
Non-Violent Conflict Resolution.....	74
Fighting Testimonial Injustice	75
Closing Poor Living Situations.....	75
Limitations.....	77
A Note About Silent Exemplars and Gatekeeping Analysis.....	77
Implications for the Field and Future Research	78
Conclusion	80
APPENDICES	82
A. ENTRY SUMMARIES.....	82
B. CODING ARTIFACTS	94
REFERENCES.....	97
ENTRIES REFERENCES	105

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Coding Variables Coverage Presence	37
2. Mental Process Comparative Thematic Analysis	52
3. Entry Citations	59

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This research focused on the portrayal of people with disabilities in 31 winning entries from the National Center on Disability and Journalism's annual contest from 2013-2020. When examining the entries, attention was given to how people with disabilities and their perspectives were portrayed in the entries. Transitivity analysis, a linguistic analytical framework based on systemic functional linguistics (SFL), was used for coding and analysis of themes.

The Americans With Disabilities Act

This study discussed the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) as a fundamental moment in disability advocacy and disability journalism in the United States. This is due to coverage of the act's signing changed how journalists portrayed people with disabilities in their content, and approached disability issues (Haller et al., 2006). While the act and its impact on disability reporting was discussed, it was not actively implemented as an analytical lens for the entries because that was not the focus of this study.

The ADA was important to this study because it introduced social, legal and activist disability frameworks into legislation and encouraged coverage of disability issues and the disability community in America. It also publicly articulated disability issues as human rights issues, which has influenced subsequent legislation, including the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA) in 2010. In fact, covering the ratification of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) was deemed the most monumental moment in recent US media coverage history of the disability community according to Haller, Dorries & Rahn (2006).

Legal Ramifications of the ADA

The ADA legally introduced the concept of people with disabilities having intrinsic human rights protecting them against discrimination and codifying what equal access to opportunities in the public sphere looks like. With this goal in mind the writers of the ADA mandated legally solidifying equal access to public transportation, job opportunities, education, housing and medical care (US Census

Bureau, 2020). By expanding people with disabilities' human rights protections beyond doctors' offices, the ADA also gives people with disabilities the support to legally fight for access to public spaces and resources. The need for this legal protection was made evident in other watershed disability reporting moments such as Denver wheelchair users protesting inaccessible public transportation (Brimberg, 1992), and the inhumane treatment of residents at Willowbrook State School (Clendinen, 1981). The ADA had both legal and journalistic ramifications because it articulated disability activist's ambition to reshape the problem of disability from an individually focused medical one, to a societal one.

The ADA also prohibits disability-based discrimination in major life sectors such as employment, housing and health care. Acts motivated by disability-based discrimination could be refusing to hire or lease an apartment to someone solely because they have a disability. Discrimination in terms of health care has another layer of complexity by being embedded in medical definitions of disability. Doctors who view disabilities through a purely medical lens, could view someone's abilities as "less-than" because they do not have the same ability potential as someone without a disability. This could lead to a medicalized denial of care.

Denial of care and assistance in a medical setting are why it is important to have well-articulated legal protection against discrimination for health care specifically. With legal recognition people could demand access to health care, and practitioners are legally obligated to address those demands. The ADA also gave legal precedence, and the linguistic framework for President Obama to create the ACA, which mandates equal access to health coverage for people with pre-existing conditions (Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act, 2010). The ADA enabled President Obama to articulate the problem of people with pre-existing conditions being denied healthcare in terms of basic human rights via the ACA.

Disability Coverage Before and After the ADA

The New York Times (Holmes, 1990) and the *Los Angeles Times* (Eaton, 1990) also covered other milestones leading-up to the signing. Eaton's (1990) piece was significant because it focused

on people with disabilities participating in visual activism by “crawling” to Capitol Hill, to display their symbolic and real struggle for equality (Garland-Thomson, 2002).

In the days after President Bush’s ratification of the act, coverage by *The Washington Post* (DeJong & Batavia, 1990), *Los Angeles Times* (Shannon, 1990) and *Newsday* (Shaw, 1990) mirrored the partial progress made by society in terms of recognizing people with disabilities. The pieces highlighted the progress made by the ADA (Shannon, 1990), showcased moments and opinions by people with disabilities (Shannon, 1990; Shaw, 1990) and discussed how the bill was only a partial victory (DeJong & Batavia, 1990).

Haller et al. (2006) also discovered that the ADA was a key component in shifting reporters’ (and the public’s) perceptions of people with disabilities from viewing them as “sick,” and non-able (Haller et al., 2006, p. 64-65), to capable citizens that were fighting for “rights,” (Shaw, 1990) and “equality,” (Shannon, 1990). President Bush was quoted for calling the signing “another Independence Day, one that is long overdue,” (*Telegram & Gazette*, 1990). Through broadcasting the signing, the ADA also exposed journalists to disability activism language and ideology with terms such as “people with disabilities,” (Holmes, 1990; Shannon, 1990; Shaw, 1990; *The Washington Post*, 1990; *Telegram & Gazette*, 1990) “access,” (Holmes, 1990; Holmes, 1992; Shaw, 1990) and “accommodation,” (Holmes, 1990; Holmes, 1992; Shaw, 1990). The most noticeable change was a shift from mainly reporting on someone’s disability to their personhood (Haller et al., 2006). Since the ADA, coverage of the US disability community and its issues has been uneven, and when present, not always recognizing the social disability and rights models that were championed by the groundbreaking act and previous disability activism (Butler & Bissell, 2015; Crow, 2014; Rees et al., 2019; Wang, 2020).

Disability Coverage Today

Despite a decrease in using derogatory terms when referring to the disability community in journalism content (Haller et al., 2006), there was still frequent use of negative disability representation models, namely the supercrip, medical and social pathological models. The “supercrip”

model views people with disabilities as superhuman for overcoming adversity often linked to their disabilities (Rees et al., 2019). The medical model medicalizes one's disability, views the disability in terms of needing treatment or cure, and views the person based on their disability instead of their personhood (Butler & Bissell, 2015). The social pathological model conveys a perspective of people with disabilities as burdens on society (Zhang & Haller, 2013), either through defrauding government benefits (Crow, 2014), or through suspicions that people with disabilities are violent (Wang, 2020), and more likely to commit crime (Skeem & Mulvey, 2019). Prevalence of these models in recent disability reporting indicate a need to address stereotypes and debunk false narratives to have more positive and true coverage of people with disabilities.

Supercrapping as "Positive" Coverage

When covering the 2012 and 2016 Paralympic Games in London, there was frequent use of the "supercrip" narrative (Carew et al., 2018; Pullen & Silk, 2020; Rees et al., 2019). While seemingly positive, "supercrip" narratives actually detract from viewing people with disabilities as agents that are fighting for political agendas (Haller et al., 2006). Also, with the prevalence of "supercrip" narratives in 2012 coverage (Carew et al., 2018, Rees et al., 2019), there was heightened focus on Paralympians that have "enhanced cyborgian parasport bodies," in 2016 Paralympic Games coverage (Pullen & Silk, 2020, p. 466). Both narratives indicate that even when viewed positively, people with disabilities are still viewed as not human, because they are instead seen as: human + super, human + technology.

Intellectual Disability Stereotypes Still Prevalent

There also still seems to be portrayal of intellectual disabilities with medical and social pathology models that portray having an intellectual disability as potentially correlating with committing mass shootings (Skeem & Mulvey, 2019), or in the case of autism spectrum disorders, correlating with getting vaccines (Mann, 2019). Additionally, even in narratives that focus on debunking medical myths related to autism, they still can portray people with disabilities poorly. For example, in a 2017 Editorial that refuted linking autism with becoming vaccinated, *The Washington*

Post “applauded” the President for “attacking” autistics (Editorial Board, 2017). With person-first disability identity language as the mainstream, that can complicate referring to someone who has autism as “autistic”. However, frequently in first-person narratives from people who have autism, there was frequent use of “autistic” as a way of embracing their diagnoses as their identity (AWN; no date given; Sinclair, 1993).

Consequences of Negative Disability Coverage

Negative coverage of the disability community can impact people with disabilities on several levels. It can first impact them on an individual level by influencing how the public views people that they perceive as having a disability (Aragones et al., 2014; Bos et al., 2013; Branco et al., 2019, Skeem & Mulvey, 2020, p. 100). This coverage can make the public suspicious or judgmental towards people who have an intellectual disability (Wang, 2020) and a disability in general (Crow, 2014).

Negative coverage also impacts how people with disabilities are legally recognized (Crow, 2014; Hallahan, 2015; Holland, 2018; Mann, 2019; Skeem and Mulvey, 2020; Kang, 2013). That legal recognition impacts people with disabilities’ access to government benefits (Crow, 2014) healthcare coverage (National Council on Disability, 2019), or even being able to give valid testimony in court (Davis, 2016).

Statement of the Problem

The problem this study examined was theming in entries about people with disabilities. It was also analyzed whether solutions for issues investigated were provided by reporters. For example, a theme in the entries was interpersonal violence. Depending on the narrative, people with disabilities were portrayed as victims of violence, or as people who committed acts of violence. A solution proposed in Shapiro et al. (2018) was to have a hotline so that people with disabilities could anonymously report experiencing sexual assault and receive access to recovery resources.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant in several ways. First, it is significant because it applied transitivity analysis, a subset system of analysis under Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), as a method for content analysis of disability coverage. Previous transitivity research in journalism has focused on comparing the structure of newspaper editorials in the United States and Iran (Ansary & Babaii, 2009) and transitivity analysis of article headlines in content that focused on the Battle of Tripoli (Seo, 2013). This method was used due to its focus on content as a function and reflection of societal norms. This method also can focus on diction choices and examines the impact those choices have on content portrayal of a group or idea.

This study is also significant because it studied texts that have been championed by journalists and disability activism scholars as above average reporting (NCDJ.org, n. d.). These entries uniquely won recognition from an organization that specializes in the intersection between disability issues and journalism, and whose mission is to increase the quality and quantity of disability reporting as well as increasing the quality of that reporting. Content reviewers used that mission as a lens when evaluating the content, implying in their evaluation and selection choices that the contest winners were by their judgment, appropriately representative of people with disabilities and their myriad of experiences.

Another aspect of the judging process that adds credibility to the entries that placed in the contest is the inclusion of Dr. Beth Haller on the review board. She has decades of experience analyzing specifically coverage of people with disabilities (Dorries & Haller, 2001; Haller et al., 2006; Haller & Ralph, 2001; Zhang & Haller, 2013). Her presence on the board as a pioneering disability activist academic gives credence to the winning entries.

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this case study was to identify how people with disabilities are portrayed in relation to societal issues that reporters investigate in the entries. Gatekeeping was originally a main analytical tool to analyze reporters' choices to include or exclude quotes from people with disabilities

in stories that spotlighted their narratives. In terms of the focus of the study, the goal was to focus on the issues reporters investigated as they covered people with disabilities, and examine potential solutions reporters provided for those issues.

Exemplars in Journalism

Exemplar reporting was an initial focus of this study due to the potential to analyze how subjects' first-person accounts were informative and persuaded audiences. Exemplifying is the process of providing a subject's first-person account of to persuade an audience in favor of the reporter's point of view or argument (Zerback & Peter, 2018). While it was an initial method of interest, there was also the possibility that journalists who wrote the contest entries would feature people with disabilities without a larger agenda to propose. With this in mind, this study did not focus on analysis of exemplars and instead had a broader focus on analyzing the portrayal of people with disabilities in the entries regardless of a journalists' use of exemplar reporting. Specific attention was given to the subjects' first-hand accounts and input in the entries when possible.

In the introduction section, this study adapted the term exemplar to recognize the exemplification of subjects that were never interviewed in content that featured them and their experiences. They were referred to as "silent exemplars". This journalistic decision raised potential questions about testimonial injustice, which is discrediting of someone's testimony as unreliable (Fricker, 2007). Discrediting that individual is then used to keep that person from testifying in a legal context, or when applying this term to media contexts, from being interviewed.

"In the Wrong Hands": Reporting with Silent Exemplars

Entries such as the 2013 winning entry, "In the Wrong Hands: How A Police Force Failed California's Most Vulnerable Citizens," by Ryan Gabrielson, illustrate the impact of reporting on silent exemplars. Silent exemplars are subjects died and/or did not communicate, verbally or with sign language. Since the subjects died and/or could not communicate when alive, this meant that not only could not give an interview. There also were no essays, speeches, diaries or other first-person account artifacts to reference when writing the story.

This is the case for subjects in Gabrielson's investigative series about three subjects' experiences at the state-run Sonoma Developmental Center: Van Ingraham, Timothy Lazzini and Jennifer (last name not given). Two of the three individuals who were featured in Gabrielson's investigative journalism series, Ingraham and Lazzini, were not quoted, nor were their first-hand accounts referenced otherwise, due to being deceased and mostly nonverbal when alive.

For Jennifer, the third subject in Gabrielson's series, the situation was more complex. She was diagnosed as severely intellectually disabled and bipolar, but according to her mother she gave testimony in court. Additionally, after the incident she conveyed through verbal and non-verbal communication that something was wrong. Based on the entry itself, it is unclear why Jennifer was not directly quoted in the entry. It was only mentioned that Jennifer's mother did not want her own name in the story, and that someone else read her video testimony to protect Jennifer's identity. Due to this study focusing on the content itself instead of interviewing the subjects, there was not enough context to determine whether Jennifer experienced testimonial injustice. However, this concept is being linked to portrayal of people with disabilities in media content, and analyzing the presence of "silent exemplars" in the entries is now a future research interest.

Research Questions

The research questions for this study focus on examining how the entries convey and address emergent themes about the experiences and hardships of people with disabilities.

- 1) How do the 31 placed entries of the National Center on Disability and Journalism contest portray people with disabilities according to the medical, social, social pathological, minority and or civil rights models?
- 2) How do the 31 placed entries of the National Center on Disability and Journalism contest indicate gatekeeping influences on journalists' decisions when crafting the content?

Limitations

Logistical limitations for this study are that since the texts are mostly intense investigative pieces, it is difficult to apply the lens and findings to arts and entertainment disability-focused content. The ability to extrapolate more general findings or suggestions for disability-related content moving

forward is also hampered by the emphasis on covering negative and potentially traumatic experiences (NCDJ.org, n.d., p. Contest Archive).

Conclusion

These entries were examined to test whether and to what extent there was evidence of societal, institutional and individual gatekeeping influences in the 31 winning 2013-2020 entries of the National Center on Disability and Journalism's national contest. Transitivity analysis, a sub-set of systemic functional linguistics, was used to analyze coverage themes in the entries, and how those themes impacted portrayal of people with disabilities, and what solutions reporters provided for the issues they investigated.

While individual gatekeeping analysis was mentioned in the Literature Review section, it was not a main focus of the study since analyzing individual author influences typically involves a phenomenological study to determine the subjects' perceptions of ideas, people, and their lived experiences. Instead, this study's main focus was on analyzing how disability models impacted the content and journalists' gatekeeping choices.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This research endeavored to critically and discursively discover thematic focuses in journalism entries about people with disabilities, and how that impacted the subjects' portrayal. Context for this analysis involved examining how usage of disability representation models, and gatekeeping influences have impacted journalists' portrayal of people with disabilities, and the evolution of disability reporting in the United States.

The literature explored the variety and depth of disability recognition, and consequences of negative recognition on people in the disability community. Those consequences stem from them not being quoted in content that focuses on them, or from coverage that validates the systems that discriminate against them. Additionally, in the literature review the impact of gatekeeping in regard to disability reporting was examined from legal, disability activist and journalistic lenses by examining the societal (e.g., laws, influential moments) and institutional (e.g., news values) influences on gatekeeping in disability reporting. For example, whether the ADA shifted reporting lexicon used when covering people with disabilities was examined in the literature review. Attention was also be given in the literature review, to how societal models of disability representation such as medical, social/pathological and civil rights models influence how people with disabilities were portrayed in news coverage.

Speaking for People with Disabilities

No need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself. No need to hear your voice. Only tell me about your pain. I want to know your story... Re-writing you, I write myself anew. I am still author, authority. I am still the colonizer, the speaking subject, and you are now at the center of my talk. (hooks, 1990)

hooks' quote is relevant to US journalism discourse when covering the disability community because people with disabilities criticize disability and mental health journalism for not always interviewing people with first-hand experience of a given disability (Hogan et al., 2020). In terms of how people with disabilities were represented in media, there was a mix of negative and positive portrayals of intellectual disability (Aragones et al., 2014; Mann, 2019; Skeem & Mulvey, 2020) and

physical disability (Butler & Bissell, 2015) in US (Mann, 2019; Skeem & Mulvey, 2020), UK (Butler & Bissell, 2015; Crow, 2014; Hughes, 2017) and Hispanic (Aragones et al., 2014; Maia & Vimiero, 2015) disability journalism.

In a Spanish study, media journalists more frequently used person-first identity descriptions (almost half the sample) and less frequently used medical terms pejoratively, or metaphorically (Aragones et al., 2014). However, in terms of theming Aragones et al. (2014) also discovered that people who have intellectual disabilities were viewed as dangerous or that having an intellectual disability was seen as leading to violence in almost half the content. This theming was also seen in analysis of US representations of people who have intellectual disabilities (Skeem & Mulvey, 2019; Wang, 2020). United Kingdom disability representations by contrast depicted people with disabilities as “scroungers” (Crow, 2014, p. 169) and “idle by lifestyle choice” (Hughes, 2017, p. 476). These depictions led non-disabled Britain citizens to assume British people with disabilities were undeservedly receiving government benefits. This led to a cut in federal welfare funding in 2012 which further impoverished British people with disabilities (Butler, 2012).

Topics of focus in disability representation literature spanned the impact of poor disability representation in the US federal censuses (Stavrakantonaki & Johnson, 2018), the challenge with receiving equal access to medical benefits (Branco et al., 2019), US media portrayals of people with disabilities generally (Zhang & Haller, 2013), whether people who had disabilities received UK government benefits (Crow, 2014; Hughes, 2017), the Americans with Disabilities Act (Haller et al., 2006) and equal access to opportunities within the journalism industry for reporters with disabilities (Jones, 2014; McEachran, 2012).

Disability Representation Models

Some societal influences on journalistic gatekeeping were so powerful, they were codified into disability representation models that journalists grapple with in their disability reporting. According to a 2010 survey about how people with disabilities perceive coverage of themselves, negative models

such as the medical, social pathology, supercrip, and business models were most present in the limited amount of disability coverage that respondents analyzed (Zhang & Haller, 2013).

Medical Model

The medical model claims people with disabilities have a medical impairment which may hinder how they accomplish tasks and function in society (Butler & Bissell, 2015). While this could help people with disabilities receive medical treatment for disability-related issues, it is still a negative model because people with disabilities attest that medical professionals use the medical model to view them as less-than human (Branco et al., 2019; Kafer, 2013). This means that while someone's disability was not made invisible, this model made invisible the rest of their personhood if the patient had a disability. That is why people with disabilities struggle for recognition that shifts from that already ingrained "medical model" (Butler & Bissell, 2015). Physicians who use the medical model rely on physical standards of normativity (what is deemed as "normal," medically or in other senses, [De Schauwer et al., 2017]) to diagnose someone with a disability, and handle their care in ways that are unfair. Disability activists and scholars have been moving away from the medical model (Butler & Bissell, 2015) and standards of normativity regarding body-type and lived experience because when their bodies were classified as non-normative according to those standards, barriers they might experience in life were attributed to that non-normativity instead of the society that built infrastructure which labeled and disadvantaged the non-normativity in the first place.

Social Model of Disability

The social model of disability shifts the blame and responsibility for disability away from an individual to the environment and society that envisions spaces and occupations without people who have disabilities in mind (Dirth & Branscombe, 2017; Shakespeare, 1997). This model has led to not just a revolutionary shift in conception of "disability" and how we as a society approach it. It also inspired landmark legislation such as the ADA (Dirth & Branscombe, 2017; Haller et al., 2006), and an inclusion of disability rights as a human rights group.

This model has multiple versions that are based on how disability is perceived by society. The version of the model mentioned above that sees society as disabling by creating barriers for participation in society for people who have disabilities, would be the material social model of disability (Gabel, 2010). This is because the focus of the material social model of disability is on the impact of materials structures on people who have disabilities. There is also the social constructionist model, coined by Michael Oliver in the 1980s (Anastasiou & Kauffman, 2011), which focuses on the implications of cultural representation of people with disabilities in media and society (Gabel, 2010). It also the cultural version also emphasized disability as a social construct and focuses on the cultural and individual impacts of the social construct.

Social Pathology Model

The social pathology model portrays people with disabilities as burdens on society (Zhang & Haller, 2013). In England, when budget cuts for federal benefits to people with disabilities was proposed, along with that proposal came slanted coverage of the UK's disability community as manipulating and taking advantage of the UK's benefits system (Parkes, 2011). In addition, claimants who were not defrauding the system directly were socially pathologized by being labeled as lazy and undeserving of the federal assistance (Crow, 2014). This negative framing rooted in social pathologizing, affected public perceptions of people with disabilities, and in that instance also impacted their access to federal benefits (Crow, 2014; Hughes, 2017; Parkes, 2011). There was also negative coverage of dementia (Brookes et al., 2018), and about participants in medical research (Kumari Campbell, 2004; Hanson et al., 2016). While US coverage of depression has become more positive and informative in recent years, there is also still strong usage of the social pathology model tied to scapegoating people with intellectual disabilities (Aragones et al., 2014) or who have schizophrenia as violent (Wang, 2020). This stereotyping of people with intellectual disabilities is enacted by mentioning a "[history of mental health issues]" when reporting on crime (Holland, 2018, p. 1333).

Supercrip Model

The supercrip model emphasizes people with disabilities and their accomplishments as superhuman (Zhang & Haller, 2013), Supercrip narratives can chronicle people with disabilities' accomplishments as significant in two ways. First, those narratives treat feats by people with disabilities as noteworthy by mentioning that the task could not be completed by someone who does not have a disability. Second, those narratives can describe people with disabilities' everyday life as a series of supercrip accomplishments by praising them for doing what people who do not have a disability can do with ease. From a critical disability standpoint, supercrip narratives harm the perception and treatment of people with disabilities by creating unrealistic images of people with disabilities and what their lives are actually like (Zhang & Haller, 2013).

In regard to the perception of supercrip narratives in recent media, participants with disabilities rated their self-perception favorably after viewing supercrip narratives (Zhang & Haller, 2013). Participants viewed media that utilized the supercrip model as acceptable and beneficial to their self-perception. This positive perception of the model by people with disabilities is a grounded counter to the philosophical resistance of the supercrip model as problematic. Canadian disability journalists also countered activist objections to the supercrip model by encouraging the balanced usage of the supercrip model in journalism by balancing harsher narratives with supercrip-positive ones (Jones, 2014). Journalists also recognized the value of supercrip narratives because they convey the reality that sometimes living with a disability can be inspirational, because people with disabilities can be innovative to find a work-around for managing their disability in a specific context (Jones, 2014, p. 1214).

A contemporary positive adaption of "crip" is Kafer's (2013) concept of "crip futurism" which envisions a future that includes and celebrates people with all ability levels. Concepts like crip futurism that create space for people with disabilities in constructs and discussions of reality and future are still needed in contemporary disability discourse. In the autism and MMR vaccine debate, the rhetoric reporters and subjects used about having autism was that the experience was inherently

negative and should be eliminated (Mann, 2019). This is a contemporary example of envisioning a future without people who have disabilities, specifically autistics. Crip futurism importantly combats this idealized vision of a world without people with disabilities while reclaiming the term “crip.”

Minority/Civil Rights and Legal Models

Stemming from the social model of disability, the minority/civil rights models advocate that people with disabilities are worthy of equal respect and have inherent human and legal rights to access to public spaces and government based or funded job opportunities. In addition, the social model of disability extends legitimacy to these claims as civil rights claims that are just as legitimate as women’s civil rights claim to equal voting access, and minorities’ civil rights claim to equal access to public spaces (Zhang & Haller, 2013). Haller et al., (2006) showed in their research the impact the civil rights model had on legislation through the ratification of the Americans with Disabilities Act, which had both legal and journalistic discourse impacts by framing disability issues as civil rights issues. Through using civil rights framing in the document, creators of the ADA forced government officials and reporters to talk about disability issues, not as individual medical dilemmas, but as collective rights issues that demanded government action.

This leads to the legal model of disability, which is that people with disabilities have legal rights to public access and other accommodations (Zhang & Haller, 2013). Framing access and accommodations as civil rights and legal issues forces people without disabilities to see people with disabilities not as struggling with their disability, but struggling with how other people view that disability, and the barriers that perception creates for them in society. By changing the framing of disability from medical and a product of bad luck to one that is structural and due to someone in power not giving someone equal say validates the disability community’s claim for equal access to public spaces. Extending this framing to media coverage of people with disabilities is about examining what the texts and recordings potentially say about the US’s disability community, and how that coverage shapes the current public perceptions of people with disabilities in America.

Gatekeeping Theory

Gatekeeping theory encompasses the levels and kinds of factors that influence journalists' story decisions in the creation and editing processes as information gatekeepers (Tandoc, 2018). This process of determining what is worth covering and how it is covered is influenced by societal norms of the given time period (Parks, 2019). In today's journalism discourse, reporters have come to increasingly consider audience preferences (Pearson & Kosicki, 2016; Wendelin et al., 2017), transnational impacts and audiences (Hellmueller, 2017), technological effects on journalistic gatekeeping (Pearson & Kosicki, 2016; Vos & Russell, 2019) and other influences that impact reporting on certain kinds of content, such as large-scale catastrophes. For example, when reporting on catastrophes like food contamination, reporters consider the level of risk perception in that story, and frame their telling of it to mediate the level of risk audiences perceive and react to by considering the audiences' potential "outrage factor" (You & Ju, 2015). It is important to analyze what social institutional, social system, institutional, and individual factors are influencing how journalists gatekeep disability content, and subsequent perceptions of people with disabilities by their myriad of audiences. Also, while organizational and communication routine gatekeeping influences are also potential factors to consider (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009), they will not be focal points for this study.

Social system gatekeeping influences are states, nations and large-scale government organizations that shape the culture of the area the news organization is inhabiting. By shaping the culture of the regions, these social system influences affect how news is produced in that area (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). By contrast, social institutional gatekeeping influences are individual laws such as the ADA and cultural moments such as the emergence of "citizen journalists" who disrupt journalism norms, and provide an opportunity for local and subject reporting that focuses on what mainstream media does not cover (Johnson & St. John, 2017). Institutional influences, like news values (Brighton & Foy, 2007; Parks, 2019), are mechanisms within a given institution (US journalism), that define norms and practices that gatekeepers (journalists) follow. These norms can lead journalists to cover news value-rich "violent extremism" content (Abubakar et al., 2020).

Individual influences are journalists' personal experiences, beliefs and ways of seeing the world that uniquely inform their reporting (Cuillier, 2012). Since the journalists of the entries could not be interviewed for this study, the ability to conduct individual gatekeeping analysis was limited to start, and ultimately deemed not viable for this study. For example, sourcing choices, which are individual gatekeeping choices, are evident in the texts. However, it was unclear why journalists made some of those choices, and whether those choices were influenced or made by parents of subjects instead. Due to this ambiguity regarding sourcing choices in the entries, analysis of this individual gatekeeping phenomenon could not be conducted.

Social System Influences

Societal system influences are national norms and characteristics about a nation or state that influence journalism in that area. For example, a social system influence in Russia today is a shifting national attitude that views representation as a political act, and a national atmosphere of openness about sexual experiences (Iarskaia-Smirnova & Verbilovich, 2020). In South Africa, ironically journalism has become a social system, because nations created "ubuntu journalism" to use journalism as a medium for building a post-colonial national identity rooted in African history and cultural values (Chasi & Rodny-Gumede, 2016). Since in that example journalism is a part of nation building, the social system influence on journalism in that area would be the nation's decision to create a form of journalism that is rooted in the people's heritage.

Social Institutional Influences

While the idea of news values is under institutional influences because they are industry standards that are utilized in the story-choosing process, some values such as reader expectations and media markets (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009) fall under gatekeeping's social institutional influences, because they are factors outside the newsroom that are impacting content decisions. An example of a social institutional influence is data usage by journalists to impact their content in a variety of ways. Today data's influence extends beyond tailoring what reporters cover (Pearson & Kosicki, 2016). Data has been used to maintain an edge over audience members that are taking a more active

readership role by becoming citizen journalists that disrupt media coverage. Citizen journalists are also disrupting journalists' reliance on the institutional norm of objectivity by taking an "amateur" personal lens to their reporting (Johnson & St. John, 2017).

Institutional Influences

Institutional influences are conceptual and actual mechanisms that set parameters for the institutional process of journalism. News values for example act as an institutional influence by defining content as newsworthy (Bright & Foy, 2007, Chapter 8). The AP Stylebook and National Center on Disability in Journalism Style Guides also act as institutional gatekeeping influences by determining what is being covered (through inclusion or lack of inclusion of guidelines for reporting on a given topic), and how that topic is covered. While news values, the AP Stylebook and National Center on Disability in Journalism Style Guides are institutional gatekeeping influences, they will not be a lens of focus for this study.

One key component of gatekeeping is determining whether a story is newsworthy enough to warrant coverage. Journalists use a variety of news values to help make those decisions that are centered around the idea that the story is applicable to the time, location, audience interests and moment in history, and emphasize a central conflict (Bright & Foy, 2007). Another news value is to it captivate audiences by presenting readers with a topic that is "weird" (Parks, 2019) and "unusual" (Bright & Foy, 2007). This news value can be implemented by presenting non-normative content or giving a non-normative perspective on otherwise "normal" content.

Individual Influences

Individual gatekeeping influences in disability reporting are reporters' specific characteristics and preferences that directly impact the content they write (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Characteristics that studies have shown can influence one's reporting include gender (Kim, 2010), and whether or not they have a disability (Jones, 2014). How and to what extent those characteristics impact their reporting decisions is still up for discussion. Aside from concrete characteristics, there are

perceptions of ideas—even other gatekeeping influences—that journalists make which influence their reporting choices at the individual gatekeeping level.

Perception of Instability

Tandoc (2018) focused on journalists' perception of economic and cultural instability as a powerful individual gatekeeping moment because he viewed that reporter's that perception of instability as a motivator to give in to societal and institutional gatekeeping pressures at the individual level. While the concepts of cultural and economic capital could be societal gatekeeping influences, Tandoc focused on journalists' individual perceptions of those resources to recognize the impact of the journalist in allowing those concepts to impact their gatekeeping decisions. More directly, he focused on journalists' "perceived instability" to show the impact of their phenomenological experience on the reporting process (Tandoc, 2018 p. 2348).

Using Exemplars

Another reporting decision that journalists contemplate at the individual level is whether or not to use exemplars in their writing. To summarize, exemplars are first-hand accounts of an event or issue that flesh-out details of the story and give audiences a subject to relate to (Hinnant et al., 2013; Zerback & Peter, 2018). Current research focusing on exemplars, a process known as exemplification (Andersen et al., 2017) involve comparing the effect of interviews given by affected and unaffected exemplars (Reinhardt, 2015), how observers perceive the exemplar and community the exemplar is from (Zerback & Peter, 2018), and the mixed effectiveness of using exemplars in news (Skovsgaard & Hopmann, 2020) and health news reporting (Hinnant et al., 2013). Exemplars can make a story more compelling and even help journalists persuade readers to accept the argument they are making (Hinnant et al., 2013; Wang, 2020). It also can however distract readers from basic facts about an issue in favor of the unique exemplar case (Hinnant et al., 2013). In addition, Wang, (2020) discovered that people's experiences with depression were used as exemplars to support negative journalism coverage of depression. This was done by linking having depression to violent and suicidal tendencies (Wang, 2020).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is analysis of content to identify and confront themes of oppression, prejudice and/or inequality between individuals or groups of people (Saulnier, 2020). Saulnier used a critical lens when analyzing health care narratives to identify moments that autistics were discredited when giving their own health care narratives, an example of testimonial injustice. Saulnier argued that autistics can experience testimonial injustice in two ways. Medical providers exhibit testimony-inhibiting prejudice by assuming that autistics are not capable of giving first-hand narratives of their experiences. If an autistic can provide that narrative, this prejudice leads the medical provider to believe the patient is not actually autistic. Another example of prejudice and erasure that Saulnier (2020) highlighted was the lack of visibility of female autistics which can lead to later diagnosis and confusion that comes from not having that diagnostic clarity until then, sometimes decades later. In this study, CDA is being used in conjunction with discourse analysis (DA) to analyze emerging themes in the entries, and the impact of societal issues on people with disabilities.

A Critical Analysis of Disability Reporting Exemplar Practices

Since people with disabilities can have trouble communicating, journalists could challenge the model of having someone else speak for them, by instead using a critical disabilities informed usage of dyadic or triangulated interviewing techniques (Caldwell, 2014). Caldwell notes that having a secondary person involved in an interview with someone who has trouble communicating can potentially facilitate answers in a negative way or even suppress their voice. However, using this technique with the intention of “[recognizing] the construct of interdependence and the role that it plays in independence and social participation for people with disabilities,” (Caldwell, 2014 p. 489), gives people who have trouble communicating more agency in pieces that are about them in contrast to pieces that focus on them, but only have input from secondary sources.

Reporting with Respect

Critical analysis could also critique how reporters describe and address subjects with disabilities who may be victims of sexual abuse, abuse, or other sensitive situations, and compare

those descriptions with how reporters are advised to handle instances of sexual abuse when interviewing people who do not have disabilities. Critical analysis of reporters' coverage of these moments within the texts could involve analyzing whether people with disabilities are given the same respect that reporters give people who have experienced sexual abuse, or who have died by suicide (Daniszewski, 2018). This respect is shown by reporting these circumstances with discretion. As discussed by the AP Style blog, when covering instances of violence or sexual abuse, the source advises that instead of detailing objects and specific wounds, reporters are encouraged to only using general descriptors to give privacy to the subjects, and in the case of suicide, to not encourage vulnerable readers to commit suicide after reading the content. Another respect tactic reporters have used when writing obituaries can also be utilized in disability reporting: focusing on the lives the deceased subjects lived as much as, or more than the circumstances of their deaths (blog.ap.org, 2018). Using these principles when reporting on these circumstances aligns with disability linguistic advocacy that champions writing about people with disabilities as people first, and their disability second, if the disability is relevant at all (NCDJ.org, n.d.).

Furthermore, it is important to examine whether journalists use minority, civil rights and legal models when describing people with disabilities and the central story issues, or medical and social pathological models which view people with disabilities by their disability in the entries. Examining if, and potentially to what extent, the medical model is evident in the texts and recordings is also important, because that model and other detrimental ones have been used to foster "ableism," the idea that people with disabilities are inherently inferior to people without disabilities due to their medicalized evaluation as "lacking" in some way. Critical scholars of disability issues and people with disabilities themselves have been resisting this rhetoric by reframing disability not as a physical trait they have, but as a limitation imposed on people with non-normative bodies by society (Butler & Bissell, 2015).

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a linguistic analytical tool that was refined and coined by MAK Halliday in the 1960s to analyze the intended impact of text from a linguistic perspective (O'Donnell, 2012). Since then, in journalism it has been used to analyze online news photo galleries (Caple & Knox, 2015), and compare international narratives of a historical event (Seo, 2013).

Caple and Knox's (2015) study captures the format of macro and micro SFL analysis of content, using photo gallery attributions as an example. Facets of online news galleries that they wanted to examine were "image sequencing," "text cohesion," and "news type." These elements of the artifacts were classified as "systems" by SFL. Those systems were then broken down into sub-systems or sub-classifications. Using "news type" as an example, that system was broken down into sub-systems of "hard" "soft" or "sport" news. "Soft" news was then further broken down by what the primary focus of the content was, namely "personality" "time" "issue" or "topic". SFL can also be used to do sentence-by-sentence or single-image analysis, as shown in Caple and Knox's (2015) study. In addition to coding for news type and theme, Caple and Knox (2015) also utilized SFL to analyze each image's subject composition and framing.

Metafunction

According to Halliday, a "metafunction" of a linguistic part (word or phrase) is the functional meaning of that part. The three main metafunctions are: ideational, interpersonal and textual. Mortensen (2005) explains that the ideational metafunction analyzes how the world is created via the diction and tenses used, and the interpersonal metafiction analyzes how those diction choices convey and maintain the social dynamic between the writer and reader/speaker and listener, etc. The textual metafunction also focuses on the functional components and impact of structural choices on how the content was conveyed (Mortensen, 2005).

Stratification

Mortensen (2005) also described the stratification (categorization) of technical, functional and other aspects of language. There are the "semantic," "lexicogrammar" and "phonology" or

“graphology” stratas (kinds of stratification). These aspects of language build off of each other. The semantic stratification (meaning) of the content is conveyed through the lexicogrammatic stratification (diction and grammar choices) that the writer/orator makes, based on the phonologic/graphologic stratification (choice to convey content through speech or text). Context is a fourth “stratum” that impacts the semantic strata of the content that will also be examined when applicable.

Transitivity Analysis

A subsection of analysis in SFL, transitivity analysis analyzes the function of diction and grammar choices by first categorizing moments in texts based on whether they are a part of material, mental, behavioral, existential, relational attributive, relational identifying or verbal processes (Eggin, 2004). After categorizing moments based on these processes, further analysis involves determining for example what kind of material process moments (actions) were most prevalent or who were the main Actors in the entries. Another kind of analysis could involve categorizing moments as violent or non-violent, and determining who were the main Behavers in the entries.

Conclusion

Previous research in disability reporting and media representation has examined portrayals of mental health issues (Brown, 2020; Vyncke & Van Gorp, 2018; Wang, 2020; Zimbres et al., 2020) and negative perceptions of people with disabilities based on media portrayal (Brookes et al., 2018; Carew et al., 2018; Ralph et al., 2016; Wang, 2020 for schizophrenia). What is interesting is that despite an increase in positive coverage (Haller, et al., 2006; Carew et al., 2018; Rees et al., 2019), that coverage can still fall short in terms of actually changing the public’s perceptions of people with disabilities (Reinhardt, 2015; Zerback & Peter, 2018).

In addition, sourcing problems like focusing on stories that are more sensational and negative (Kleemans et al., 2017; Thorbjørnsrud & Ytreberg 2020) draw readers but overemphasize portrayals of sorrow and hardship. This could be seen as an improvement from painting people with disabilities as inept, or unstable, but do not help advance the narrative that people with disabilities are capable and deserving of respect, not pity. With this disability representation research in mind, this study will

examine themes that emerge in the entries, and how those themes impact representation of the subjects with disabilities.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this study is a qualitative case study that utilizes critical discourse analysis and discourse analysis to examine themes in the National Center on Disability and Journalism's contest 31 winning entries. Systemic functional linguistics is a linguistic theory and analytical tool that will be used to critically and discursively analyze the overall themes in the content, focusing on how people with disabilities were portrayed in relation to those themes. While SFL can be used to do line-by-line analysis, the tool will primarily be used to ascertain overall theming in the entries.

Qualitative Research

Qualitative research is the empirical examination of the quality and kind of content that is being studied (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Unlike quantitative research, the conclusions from qualitative studies are not generalizable due to the focused sample size and the subjectivity of the data. Examples of qualitative research are: studying people with intellectual disabilities' perception of their behavior (Clarke et al., 2019) law enforcement versus media accounts of a rally that escalated police involvement (Santa Ana et al., 2010), and visual subjects' expectations of being photographed or recorded (Thomson, 2019). Five kinds of qualitative research are: phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, narrative analysis and qualitative case study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

Phenomenology

Phenomenology is a kind of qualitative study that involves analyzing participants perceptions and descriptions of experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). An example of a topical study that uses this research method would be a study analyzing participants with intellectual disabilities' perceptions of their challenging behavior (Clarke et al., 2019). This research method could be helpful in ascertaining how people with disabilities feel to be interviewed, and how they perceive the process of sharing their stories. However, this research method is not being used for the current study due to

difficulty finding participants to interview and the decision to focus on the content first, then reach out to entry exemplars or reporters in a subsequent study.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a method that involves finding insights regarding the data based solely on the data by categorizing keywords into codes and comparatively analyzing to see if any larger themes are already apparent in the data (Reynolds, 2018). Hinnant et al. (2013) used the grounded theory approach to compare two sets of interviews with healthcare reporters to determine whether any themes emerged in each, or both data sets. This method was used to clarify which questions to ask in the survey portion of the study, which would give the survey portion more direction, and their preliminary themes more validity if the survey results supported them (Hinnant et al., 2013).

Grounded theory was used in this study to identify themes of interpersonal and state-sanctioned violence, denial of service and care, negligence and incompetence on behalf of caretakers and law enforcement personnel, and moments of hope, as conveyed by providing solutions for issues that reporters investigated.

Ethnography

An ethnographic study utilizes a variety of methods for gathering data (interviews, observation, focus group, etc.) to study a cultural phenomenon or issue from a cohesion of data standpoints (Brenman et al., 2017). For example, the previously cited researchers took an ethnographic approach to studying the intersection of “D/deaf” and “autism” identity formations in UK children to examine the “cultural systems that surround [the children],” (p. 433). They did this by interviewing and observing the mental health providers regarding their work, as well as gathering data about Deaf culture and its intersection with autism in that circumstance. This choice to do an ethnographic study was guided by the intention to view the issue of providing mental health services to children who are “D/deaf,” and potentially on the spectrum as an issue at the nexus of disability identities and cultures.

It would be interesting to conduct a study using this methodology with these entries by analyzing the cultural significance of specific US history moments and their impact on disability

reporting in the entries. However, that is not the focus of this study, because the goal in this case study is to solely examine the entries with multiple lenses with transitivity analysis and a focus on emergent themes.

Narrative Analysis

A narrative analysis is the analysis of first-person (or third-person) (Dorries & Haller, 2001) accounts about a given subject, issue or moment (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Narrative analysis has been used in disability journalism scholarly research to analyze the US national and local narratives about inclusive education (Dorries & Haller, 2001).

Silent Exemplar Missing from Narrative

Dorries and Haller (2001) noted that while they considered their study to be a narrative analysis, the articles they analyzed did not contain first-person accounts by the child involved in the legal dispute, Mark Hartmann. This is another example of a “silent exemplar” because while Hartmann’s story as a child navigating public education with a disability is used to drive home arguments for or against inclusive education, his direct opinion was never quoted. In this case, what complicates the issue is as Dorries and Haller (2001) mention, Hartmann is also under the legal age to consent to an interview.

Without his perspective, the narratives for inclusion relied on indirect narratives: testimony about Hartmann’s documented academic progress at a previous school, analysis of the economic benefits of widespread implementation of inclusion policies, and a first-person column by another student with multiple disabilities in an inclusive environment. In Vass-Gal’s narrative readers learn the personal value of a policy that was otherwise discussed from an unaffected exemplar perspective (Zerback & Peter, 2018).

Affected and Unaffected Exemplar Perspectives

Affected exemplars have first-hand experience with the effects of a policy or scenario (Zerback & Peter, 2018). Unaffected exemplars do not have first-hand experience with the effects of a policy or scenario, but still comment on it. Affected exemplars, also called “experiencers” (Reinhardt, 2015),

and “subjects” (Thomson, 2019) provide added insight into an issue or policy that second or third-hand experience accounts miss (Gosselin, 2019). However, having affected exemplars in media has mixed results in terms of positive audience persuasion. In the context of people sharing first-hand experiences with others to add greater complexity when philosophically analyzing an issue, Gosselin mentions that if affected exemplar “speakers” (also referred to as “knowers” by Li to avoid linguistic prejudices with the terms “speaker” and “hearer”) share stories of mental impairment, they can become vulnerable to criticism, prejudice, and testimonial injustice, which is injustice from one’s account being discredited as unreliable givers of information (Fricker, 2007).

If “knowers” (Li, 2016) share personal accounts that may indicate an impairment, it can motivate receivers to re-evaluate the relationship (if there is one), the community the knower belongs to, and suspect that the knower is not competent professionally or otherwise. Also, sharing first-hand experiences has mixed results in terms of affecting audience perception of the exemplar with some scholarship indicating it does (Tan, 2015; Kallman, 2017) and others that it does not (Zerback & Peter, 2018). In addition, the media has been used to moderate accounts by exemplars in their stories and to inform exemplars’ own perception of their experiences. This occurred because hearing input from media motivated exemplars to modify their perception of events to include or take into account context provided by the media (Reinhardt, 2015).

Case Study

A case study focuses on one event or phenomenon, with an emphasis on analyzing a pre-established number of texts, interviews, artifacts or other units of analysis (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). A case study fits the methodology of this study well due to the finite number of entries to be analyzed, and a focus solely on those entries’ content. This research will be conducted using the case study model because analyzing the entries as units of analysis gives the opportunity to examine whether the cases indicate a genuine improvement in disability reporting in recent years. Using the case study method is useful in this research, because it focuses the analysis on the entries and enables in-depth analysis across a period of time.

Previous case studies relevant to this study include: (a) a decades-long analysis of Brazilian disability coverage (Maia and Vimiero, 2015); (b) a case study content analysis of people with disabilities' perceptions of media depictions of them (Zhang & Haller, 2013); (c) and a comparative case study of two accounts of the 2007 immigration rally and police response (Santa Ana, Lopez & Munguia, 2007).

Maia and Vimiero (2015)

Maia and Vimiero's (2015) case study analyzes decades of disability-related coverage with frame analysis to identify frames of integration or inclusion in the content, as well as varied implementation of the medical frame in multiple decades of content (Maia and Vimiero, 2015). Their study informed this one by encouraging a longitudinal analysis of disability frames in journalistic content, and by incorporating social contexts in their analysis to give more nuances to their contextualized conclusions. The choice to focus on changes in depictions of people with disabilities in journalism content will be adapted for this study, with a hyper-focus on the portrayal of the individual subjects versus finding trends of portrayal across decades of content.

Zhang and Haller (2013)

Another case study that informed the current study is Zhang and Haller's (2013) media content analysis of people with disabilities' perceptions of media examples that were intended to portray them. While the method of interviewing participants to directly discover their phenomenological viewpoint to journalistic portrayals of themselves will not be used in this study, there is interest to use that methodology in future research. Also, Zhang and Haller's (2013) case study influenced this study specifically by critically evaluating the portrayal of people with disabilities using multiple disability representation models as frames of reference. This study utilized some disability representation models when analyzing the prevalence of emerging themes in the entries.

Santa Ana, Lopez and Munguia (2007)

Santa Ana, Lopez and Munguia's (2007) comparative case study of two accounts of the 2007 immigration rally and police response showed not only the power of framing, but how visual

representation of issues and people impacts public perception of them. This case study contributed to my research by introducing social semiotics, visual coding based on social semiotics and visual activism to my lexicon and as tools for analyzing pictorial and video artifacts. While these analytical tools were ultimately not used because my focus was solely on written content in the entries, these concepts provide useful frameworks for analyzing visual media in future research.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Carvalho (2008) captured the intended use of critical discourse analysis to examine the entries with, “CDA often involves a search for aspects or dimensions of reality that are obscured by an apparently natural and transparent use of language” (p. 162). Carvalho’s (2008) description of this form of analysis as questioning what’s “natural,” or the norm aligns with the intention of this research to examine norms for how people with disabilities are treated in medical educational and other settings. Critical discourse analysis enables discussion of how respectability silences (Richardson, 2019), and how “producers of discourse” can subtly participate in advocacy through their work by refining how they cover and frame societal and identity differences (Thonus, 2019, p. 177).

Critical Discourse Analysis and Disability Studies

Disability representation models are created by critically examining how portrayal of people with disabilities in media impact their access to government resources, and the public’s perception of them. Whether disability representation and reporting is as poor in 2020 as it was in 2010 is complicated by research that indicates an increase in rights framing of Canadian disability coverage (Jones, 2014) and that organizations like the NCDJ provide free, publicly-accessible resources regarding implementing a “disability angle”, including a database of almost 200 disability-related terms, a blog that offers disability issue story ideas, and a disability journalism contest that is meant to incentivize an increase in disability reporting. (NCDJ.org, n.d.).

What complicates assessing the impact of these models post the 2010 survey is that how people view these models is changing, which could be influencing disability reporting in general. In the 2010 survey mentioned above people with disabilities who read content that utilized the supercrip

model had positively influenced self-image, despite the representation problems that model creates for the disability community (Zhang & Haller, 2013). Also, some disability reporters encouraged the balanced usage of “supercrip” to have positive disability content, and recognize the reality that sometimes living with a disability can be inspirational, because people with disabilities can be innovative through finding a work-around for managing their disability in a specific context (Jones, 2014). It would be interesting to also examine whether usage of the medical, social pathological or business models that stigmatize people with disabilities as “non-able-bodied” (Zhang & Haller, 2013) has decreased since the 2010 study. While presence of those models was not ultimately analyzed in this study due to a shift in focus, it would still be important to know their prevalence in disability journalism today.

Critical Discourse Analysis and Journalism

Botma (2017) used CDA with an intriguingly parallel examination of arts journalism contestants’ performance in the 2014 “South African Arts Journalism Awards” competition. Botma (2017) examined the distribution of journalistic “cultural capital” (investigative reporting and commentary about an issue that would warrant a Pulitzer Prize) by examining the judging standards, how those standards are conveyed and validated by the entries submitted, and how those entries are judged. Since the contest occurred in a post-colonial environmental, the contest creators encouraged and rewarded reporting that countered colonial norms and indicated a post-colonial “transformation” of the reporting and commentary content (Botma, 2017, p. 212). Since evidence of racism was a lack of Black representation in the pool of contest participants, the competition’s main marker for transformation was based on demographics. If they were able to solicit and recognize a significant number of Black art journalists for the competition, the “transformation” component in the post-colonial contest was met (Botma, 2017). In light of this study, it would be interesting for future research to examine how judging criteria for the NCDJ contest entries was followed and judged.

Another example of critical journalism discourse analysis was critical narrative analysis of television versus official police report depiction of the May Day marches in 2007 (Santa Ana et al.,

2010). The researchers noted a parallel relationship between negative stereotypes perpetuated by news media against Latinos, and the community's reduced access to media, a claim made by the National Council of Raza's report in 1994 that Santa Ana et al., (2010) upheld as still true at the time of their research. The elements of news dissemination they analyzed were the "stories told," (narratives created from the facts, which supported or devalued the facts as more or less true [p. 72]) "visual codes" for depicting the actors on screen, and "language" used to describe them. Since they had access to the official police report of incident, titled, "Examination of May Day 2007: MacArthur Park" (LAPD 2007), they also did a critical comparative analysis of the narratives conveyed by TV news stations, and the narrative conveyed by the LAPD (Santa Ana et al, 2010).

Positionality Statement

As a researcher with multiple disabilities, and who has experience as a journalist, I come to this study with a wish to know how people I can relate to professionally understand this part of my and so many others' identities. To elaborate, I have disabilities related to being born severely premature, at 26 weeks. Due to this severe premature birth, I have a minor case of cerebral palsy, and a chronic lung condition that when I was younger contributed to becoming sick quicker and needing regular breathing treatments to recover. As I matured, my immunity did as well. I now manage both conditions as a part of "my normal," and want to use those experiences to empathize with people that have disabilities I can and cannot relate to.

As I entered college, I learned about disability studies. This was eye-opening for me because I was able to discover and articulate moments where I was struggling because of a disability and realized that part of the issue was that my disabilities were minimized by others almost to the point of invisibility. I have accepted this as something that happened, advocate for myself and empathize with others who have faced hardships because society did not recognize their disabilities, and that this kept them from receiving medical care or special education services. While I do not want mine or other people's disabilities to be medicalized, I believe there is value in recognizing and responding to someone having a disability in medical and other contexts.

Through my research in disability issues, I have noticed the importance of covering issues in our community to shed light on our injustices, but to also execute that coverage in a way that recognizes our humanity, our strength (but not in a way that fetishizes it) and our equal personhood, which fights against medical and ableist narratives that people with disabilities are “inferior” for being disabled, because we don’t embody normative body standards (Butler & Bissell, 2015, p. 229).

Research Questions

The research questions for this study focus on examining how the entries’ issues and themes are addressed by reporters, and how that thematic coverage impacts portrayal of subjects with disabilities in the entries.

- 1) How do the 31 placed entries of the National Center on Disability and Journalism contest portray people with disabilities according to the medical, social, social pathological, minority and or civil rights models?
- 2) How do the 31 placed entries of the National Center on Disability and Journalism contest indicate gatekeeping influences on journalists’ decisions when crafting the content?

Method

The method for this study involved analyzing the 31 winning entries of the National Center on Disability and Journalism’s contest from 2013-2020 for emergent themes and examining the implications of those themes for people with disabilities. The analytical frameworks utilized were discourse and critical discourse analysis, with systemic-functional linguistics as the analytical tool to identify themes that influence the portrayal of people with disabilities.

Entries

The entries examined were winners (1st-2nd or 1st-3rd place) for the general award in either small or large media market reporting, the Katherine Schneider Journalism Award for Excellence in Reporting on Disability or other applicable awards as determined by the judging process or funding that year (NCDJ.org, n. d., p. Contest Archive). The years 2013 and 2014 only have first and second place winners, but the years 2015-2020 have 1st-3rd placements as well as judging divided by small and large media market coverage (NCDJ.org, 2018-2020). The sample size was 31 winning contest entries. Since a majority of these texts used long-form investigative journalism, some of the entries

were a series of audio or written pieces covering a disability-related issue. Entries covered topics such as disabled persons' experience with public transportation, investigations of deplorable conditions in assisted-living facilities, how businesses are accommodating people with disabilities and others, and being victims of interpersonal violence due to having a disability.

Data Collection

The data collection started with selecting entries in first through third place that were available in the sample timeframe from 2013-2020. This study skews towards studying more data in years 2015-2020 because in 2013 and 2014 there were only two winners each, and there was no division between small and large media markets (NCDJ.org, n. d. p. Contest Archive). By comparison, later years had three (2015-2017) or six winning entries (2018-2020).

Coding

For ease of coding and analysis, the transcripts for two of the audio entries were screenshotted. Nvivo was utilized to code the entries by parent and child codes that were based on transitivity analysis processes, or emergent themes such as crime and death. The Nvivo transcription service was used when needed, or transcripts were acquired for audio entries to analyze the written version of audio entries. While Nvivo was useful for estimating coverage of coding variables for audio entries, NVivo's formula for assessing coverage in PDFs made conveying coverage percentages for entries in that format more difficult. More on this issue will be explained in the limitations section.

Systemic functional linguistics was used in the coding and analysis of the textual elements of the entries to focus on the purpose and goals achieved by the texts (O'Donnell, 2012). This functional orientation to content analysis is highly flexible and solidifies this study's focus on the subjects in the entries and can be used to give an overarching view of an entry.

In terms of how the content coding was accomplished first there was transitivity process analysis based on the six processes: material, mental, verbal, existential, behavioral, relational attributive and relational identifying (attributive and identifying are sub-processes of the relational process). As I continued the coding process, I realized that coding for the verbal process could be a

study on its own, and it would be more beneficial to exclude that coding process for this study to give adequate focus to it in a future study. I also decided that I wanted to focus on actions, moments and behaviors in the entries, not verbal moments in the entries.

Due to the number of entries, and length of each one (one entry is over 50 pages long), and some entries being a series of articles, micro-level SFL analysis of the entries was not feasible. There was micro-level analysis of selected excerpts. That analysis was used to extrapolate grander themes in the entries.

Validity

This study ensured validity of the thematic findings by having a second round of review after finalizing the themes, that confirmed the presence of applicable themes in the entries. I have also attached a coding coverage sample to illustrate coding validity for coverage percentages of PDF documents. Additionally, a reference frequency section further illustrates the relative prevalence of coding variables in the entries.

Conclusion

My analysis of the National Center on Disability in Journalism contest entries used critical and discursive lens, with systemic functional linguistics as the analytical tool to examine the 31 placed written and audio investigations. The focus of analysis was on the presence and representation implications of emergent themes in the entries. SFL was used to analyze the function of the themes and to what extent the entry themes inhibit or aid in appropriate recognition of the disability community, and issues that matter to them. An example of how themes were evaluated in the entries, was analyzing whether and how the person's disability was solely discussed in medical terms, and whether violence was interpersonal or institutionally sanctioned, and how that affected the ways the issue was addressed.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

31 winning entries from the Disability in Journalism contest were analyzed for multiple variables in systemic functional linguistics. The variables rooted in transitivity analysis were:

- Material Process Goal/Goal Not
- Relational Process Attributive/Attributive Possessive/Attributive Causal
- Relational Process Identifying/Identifying Circumstantial
- Existential Process
- Mental Process
- Behavioral Process

See Table 1 for descriptions, examples and presence statistics for each of the coded variables. Additionally, the Verbal Process was not coded for, because during the coding process I realized that the Verbal Process was no longer a focal point of my study. My focus shifted from who said what to the content of verbal process moments. There was also coding for death and crime in the entries.

The intent of this research was to analyze the portrayal of people with disabilities in the sample of entries. Originally, this was intended to be accomplished by giving and analyzing profiles of a subject in each of the 31 entries. While that is still a goal I have, I eventually decided to condense the analysis by using moments from those profiles to show themes in the entries. Below is a table of the coding variables, and their presence in the entries.

Material Process Goal

Goals were completed by individuals, organizations, and states. Goals as seen in the following excerpt, could done by actors mentioned or events that occurred. The presence of complex clauses in much of the content added another layer of complexity to the coding process. As an example, this is one complex clause. "In 2011, a lawsuit brought by individuals who wanted to leave state-funded facilities resulted in a court decree that has forced Illinois to move more people into community settings," (Berens & Callahan, 2016, par. 27). In just this sentence there are five different goals.

Table 1. Coding Variables Coverage Presence

Coding Variable	Description	Example	1/10+ Frequency
Material Process Goal	Actions, positive or neutral	“A lawsuit brought by individuals...”	31/31
Material Process Goal Not	Refused, failed actions, negative events	“Jacob Jacobson... didn’t respond to messages...”	28/26
Relational Process Attributive	When someone is in a class or has an attribute	“[Their] needs are often hard to diagnose...”	31/31
Relational Process Identifying	Identifying person/event, calling out failed actions	“[As] many as 45 percent of employees simultaneously hold other jobs in the community...”	30/26
Existential Process	Fact stating with “There was...” or existing	“There was a huge eugenics craze in America in the early 1900s...”	31/11
Mental Process	Thoughts, feelings and beliefs	“I think a lot of our trans students especially suffer...”	31/29
Behavioral Process	Action done with feeling/thought	you “see” with mental process, but “watch” with behavioral process	31/27
Crime	Mention of crime, crime stats, victim of crime, evidence crime occurred	“Cases investigated as possible crimes include the death of a severely autistic man whose neck was broken.”	14/5
Death	Mention of death, death stats, suicide	“Three medical experts said the 50-year-old patient, Van Ingraham, likely had been killed.”	19/4

a - Existential Process: the last audio file was an outlier with 7, b - Behavioral Process: the last audio file was an outlier with 5, c - Crime: the last audio file was an outlier with 7, d - Death: only two audio files had stats for this variable, not a full enough spread for quantifiable analysis

Casual Goals

The excerpt is also an example of actions taken in response to events or other persons or entities’ actions. Analysis for the excerpt is that the individuals’ goal caused “resulted in” the state of Illinois to act. The significance of causal goals is that they indicate a relationship between more than one action, and by indicating that one directly influenced the other, causal goals show the power/influence of the previous action. In this case, individuals bringing a lawsuit against the state of

Illinois had power, because it created a decree, which then “forced” the state of Illinois to do what the lawsuit requested.

In terms of prevalence of causal goals, while the coverage percentage varies, these goals were evident in 22 entries at least once. In Conlon’s (2019) entry there were 9 instances of causal goals. A majority of them used the word “forced,” such as when referring to students being forced to attend mainstream education because South Dakota chose to close the South Dakota School for the Deaf. This state action was taken despite collective protests, and a lawsuit by individuals and families who wanted the school to remain open (see Appendix A: Summary A29: Ignored: South Dakota is Failing Deaf Children). In those instances, using “forced” highlights the lack of available options, and that closing the school (and decisions that closing the school influenced parents and students to make) was done without approval from deaf and deaf ally South Dakota constituents. Examples of causal goals in the entry are, “... the decision gave the "appearance of a back-door move to force the school's closing” (Part 2, par. 32) ; “Students who had planned to get a diploma from the campus had been forced back to a local school district...” (Part 2, par. 27); “With two more large denials behind them, this forced the Nold family to the Harrisburg School District,” (Part 2, section More than 400 families took their fight to court, par. 10); and “School officials told Shawna she should force her son to wear his cochlear implants,” (Part 1, section Refusing to be ignored, par. 2).

Additionally, “should force” was used in the last excerpt to indicate the same conformity dilemma on an individual level. In the larger issue, parents and student had no say over the closing of the South Dakota School for the Deaf and were forced to utilize inadequate public-school options for deaf education. School officials prompted Shawna to create the same situation with her son, by motivating her to force him, without his consent to wear the cochlear implants, a symbol of conformity that he was literally rejecting. A method for determining if something is coded for one transitivity process over another, is by substituting in similar verbs to determine which process a coding moment exemplifies (Eggs, 2004, p. 245). While “force” does not exactly match the meaning of “cause” in those examples, if the word cause were substituted for force in those excerpts, it would not change

which transitivity process was chosen for those moments. This indicates that the term “force” had the same functional outcome as cause in the excerpts mentioned.

Individual Goals

While individual goals may have a smaller impact than organizational or event goals, they still importantly give agency to the Actor involved, or indicate individual level consequences of a larger negative decision or circumstance. “[Sebastian Montano] disassembled his mother’s laptop and melded it with the innards of an Xbox gaming console, creating his own portable gaming system,” (Williams, 2019 “Criminalizing Disability”, par. 4). “Campos-Lucas needed to wheel her 82-year old mother to the doctor...” (Cancino & Yousef, 2018, par. 2).

These goal process excerpts convey something different about each story. For Montano, mentioning two goal processes, “[disassembling]” and “creating” Williams (2019, “Criminalizing Disability”), which also differed from describing his encounters with police and restraint at school, showed an intelligent, competent and imaginative side of Montano. The second excerpt gave context for the larger issue of elevators not working in the senior apartment building (see Appendix A, Summary A19: Trapped). First, “need” was referring to a necessary thing that Campos-Lucas’ mother had to do, go to the doctor’s appointment. Second, “needed to wheel” also is referring to the fact that her mother was unable to take the stairs to leave the building. This makes using an elevator her only option if Campos-Lucas’s mother wanted or needed to do something outside her apartment. This highlights the severe consequences of having only one working elevator in a building with “senior” residents that primarily need elevators in a building that is over 20 stories high. If the elevators are not accessible for residents that do not have other mobility options, it essentially traps them in their apartments, and keeps them from essential activities like doctor’s appointments.

Organizational and State Goals

This category of goal processes is intended to capture and analyze goals made at larger societal levels that have significant consequences on local and individual issues. While there were many organizational and state goal not processes, my focus when analyzing the goal not process,

was to focus on the kinds of goal not processes that occurred instead of focusing on who or what entity was acting in the goal not processes. Subsequently, the impact of organizational and state goal processes will be discussed in this section. The first example of organizational goals focused on how Florida government responded to allegations of abuse at an institution for people with disabilities, Carlton Palms. “The Florida Agency for Persons with Disabilities, the state agency that’s supposed to be overseeing Carlton Palms, seemed hesitant to take any real action,... [Carlton Palms was] achieving successive settlements that were keeping things quiet,” (Quinn, 2018, par. 5). The second excerpt examines how an organization, Albuquerque Public Schools, responds to a New Mexico state law. “Under state law, [restraint] is allowed only in extreme circumstances...” and, “[yet] in [Albuquerque Public Schools], restraint and seclusion are used to manage the behavior of difficult students on a nearly daily basis,” (Williams, 2019 “Restraint, Seclusion, Deception,” par. 10).

Within the larger contexts of these excerpts, there are at least two organizational goal actors in each excerpt that indicate reporter choices to discuss those organizational goals in tandem. In the first excerpt, the two actors are the Florida Agency for Persons with Disabilities and Carlton Palms, an institution for people with disabilities in Florida. In the second excerpt, the two actors are New Mexico state and districts and schools within that state that frequently use restraint when disciplining students. Due to state or larger entities’ potential to influence local goals, these organizational goals were often discussed together to highlight the impact of one organization on the other.

In Quinn’s (2018) investigation of the conditions of institutions and group homes in Florida in the first excerpt, a key focus was on how local government was responding to allegations of crime and abuse at the Carlton Palms. In the excerpt given, she mentioned their lack of response in context of what the agency was expected to do to illustrate that not only that there was not a meaningful response to what was happening to people with disabilities at the Carlton Palms facility. That lack of meaningful response contradicted their role as a state agency with power, to monitor the actions taken in facilities like Carlton Palms. By extension, the state agency’s lack of response enabled

Carlton Palms to keep doing their goal processes, which was to cover up and reach settlements for violent actions done at individual levels against people with disabilities at the facility (Quinn, 2018).

In the second excerpt, Williams (2019 “Restraint, Seclusion, Deception,”) uses the state government’s action of allowing restraint in only certain circumstances to emphasize that districts which used restraint in non-extreme situations are violating state law. Highlighting that they are violating the law counters districts and schools’ arguments that they are using state allowed tactics in appropriate ways when disciplining students. The excerpts indicate that state and larger societal actions function as control mechanisms for actions by smaller organizations, such as districts or institutions.

Event Goals

Event goals are statements of events that happened, and a sentient actor is not causing the goal. This classification of goals helps to further categorize the kinds of actors in the content and enables analysis of how events impact actors’ choices and other transitivity processes. “The media coverage of her advocacy for her son quickly reached a director at one of the area’s largest and most innovative employers,” (Austermuhle, 2016, Part 4 section Making employment a priority, par. 3). “Under the old system, Texas used state and federal tax dollars to pay doctors directly for billed services. The state’s share of the costs was rising...” (McSwane & Chavez David, 2018, Part 6, section A monopoly over foster kids, par.4).

These material process goal event excerpts show that action can be taken not just by people and organization, but abstract concepts such as “media coverage” and “costs.” Additionally, the excerpts show that event actors can influence organizational and individual decisions. Popular media coverage of people with disabilities’ issues finding decent work motivated Microsoft to employ Dan Thompson, who had Down Syndrome (Austermuhle, 2016). Also, rising costs for Texas state funded healthcare was a motivating factor for bringing in Superior healthcare to manage state healthcare options, and for Texas to keep the healthcare company on the state payroll despite rising objections about quality of care (McSwane & Chavez David, 2018).

Material Process “Goal Not”

Moments that were coded as goal not, were moments where someone did not do something, someone failed to do something they should have done, refused to do something, delayed in doing something, only partially did something, or could not do something.

No Action (Neutral)

This category was created during the coding process for coding moments that had negative effects, or for actions that were not taken, but in the reporter’s account, did not immediately indicate a failure on the Actor’s part, or was otherwise ambiguous in terms of the kind of “not action”. Under this umbrella of no action, there are refused, failed, delayed and partial actions, as well as moments where someone could not act. While there are potentially other ways to classify kinds of action, these were identified in the coding moments because there was a prevalence of describing a multitude of negative actions and events. Examples of neutral non-action in the entries were, “Fairview police did not secure Ingraham’s room to protect evidence...” (Gabrielson, 2012, Chapter 3, par. 29); “Joseph Jacobson of Black Wood Smokehouse, a James Island restaurant that reportedly gave up part of its dining room in order to create an accessible bathroom, didn’t respond to messages...” (Raskin, 2018, section Dinner conversation, par. 2); and “... the children slipped behind their peers in their behavioral and social development, often dramatically.” (Eldeib et al., 2018, par. 7).

These excerpts show a myriad of goal not process moments that need further categorization to do meaningful analysis. As discussed further below, whether using a neutral or critical lens also impacts whether an action, such as properly securing a crime scene, is classified as a neutral not action, a failed action, or a different goal not action. Would choosing not to properly train someone be a refused, failed, or neutral goal not action? Excerpts that illustrate each of the categories defined will be analyzed in greater detail below to clarify the role of Actors actions and discuss their impacts.

Refused Action

Most commonly, refused actions involved people declining to do an interview, such as in, “The commissioner declined to speak with The News for months...” (McSwane & Chavez David, 2018,

Part 4, section A new ‘methodology’, par. 11). Occasionally, a refusal would involve a company or entity refusing to do something, such as a mother’s request that school officials stop using harmful methods when disciplining her child. “... She asked school officials to stop using the chair, but they didn’t agree to do so...” (Vogell, 2014, par. 57). Since these actions could not be directly interpreted as failed actions, it was important to create a separate category for actions where someone did not do something, but it was not a failure on their part, just them choosing not to act.

Failed Action

A number of failed action moments were identified. There was a frequent emphasis on societal mechanisms, or people in those mechanisms failing people with disabilities in a variety of ways. Examples of failed action moments were, “How a police force failed California’s most vulnerable citizens,” (Gabrielson, 2012, subheading 1); “Long before Sebastian Montano sat in handcuffs and leg shackles following his arrest at Alamogordo High, teachers, administrators and police missed countless opportunities to address his outbursts...” (Williams, 2019, “Criminalizing Disability” section A product of societal neglect, par. 12); and “One young man said he had to repeat a year of school after being held in the hospital for months longer than necessary,” (Eldeib et al., 2018, par. 8).

The choice to have “goal not” as a larger umbrella code was done for two reasons. First it was done to have a parent code for multiple kinds of negative goals and goal outcomes. Second, this was done to recognize the ambiguity in some coding moments. For example, there are some moments that were coded as goal not, because a more specific interpretation depended on whether a neutral or critical lens was used when assessing the content. If a neutral lens was used, that would code the moment as goal not completed. However, if a critical lens was used, the moment could be coded as goal failed. “A juvenile court judge granted DCFS permission to move him to a facility in Indiana. But that never happened,” (Eldeib et al., 2018, section Substantial challenges, par. 20 & 21).

Since there was no explicit mention of DCFS failing to do something, a neutral lens would categorize this as a moment where something was not done by DCFS. However, with a critical lens, it could be argued that not moving the child to a secure facility was something that DCFS failed to do,

because having the child in a secure facility is part of their job and that was something they did not do. By consequence, this could be interpreted as a goal failed moment even though failure to complete the goal was not explicitly stated.

Delayed Action

Depending on one's interpretation, delayed actions could be seen as goals that were just delayed, or goal notes that emphasize the deficit of the delayed action. The focus of this study has delayed actions under the goal not process, because frequently when there was a delayed action, there was mention of a negative consequence, or how that delayed action fell-short of established standards. The excerpt below displays both criteria for being a goal not delayed action.

“IDEA requires schools to identify children by age 3 and create an Individualized Education Program, or IEP, to ensure their learning will not be disrupted by their disability. In Alamogordo, the school staff didn't identify Sebastian as a candidate for special education until he was a seventh grader at Mountain View Middle School,” (Williams, 2019, “Criminalizing Disability” section Too little too late, par. 2-3).

I chose to include the following excerpt under the goal not process because the delayed action had a severely negative consequence, and Williams emphasized that. He set up that moment by linking early identification of a disability with learning that “[would] not be disrupted by their disability.” For context, he then mentioned that Montano was not identified as someone who qualified for the Individualized Education Program (IEP) until he was a seventh grader, which means he was approximately 11-13 years old. While Williams did not mention the direct consequences of that, it is implied that he did not get a learning experience that was not impeded by his disability due to the delay in identification. This is one of multiple instances where Williams (2019) highlights that Montano in many ways is a product of his public school environment that did not provide appropriate services until years later, and frequently inappropriately used force and restrained him which led him to distrust the public school system.

Partial Action (Only and Just)

This section is for moments where journalists want to highlight that although people are doing things or receiving services, it is not to the standard that was established, and falls significantly short of what should be happening. Writers conveyed this partial goal achievement by including terms such as “just” and “only” that are used to highlight a discrepancy between what should have happened, and what actually happened. “... [One] 8-year-old girl who, in 2015, spent 153 days in a psychiatric hospital — only 20 of them medically necessary,” (Eldeib et al., 2018, section “Stuck Kids,” par. 1). “While confined to a psychiatric hospital, some children received just an hour or two of educational instruction a day, if that,” (Eldeib et al., 2018, par. 8).

These partial actions highlight larger issues with hospitalization of kids with disabilities. As mentioned, there was a systemic issue of struggling to find stable housing for wards of the state that also have disabilities and can have more complex needs. These moments highlight that partial actions still have negative consequences that need to be addressed. As argued in Eldeib et al.’s (2018) investigation, difficulty in finding lasting placement does not warrant confining children in hospitals for longer than necessary or depriving them of quality education.

Could Not Act

Goal not moments that indicated an inability to act occurred at organizational and individual levels. In the first organizational example below, the LA County’s inability to find a case referred to them rebuts a narrative by investigators that when needed, they did outsource cases to official channels. This counter to their narrative functions by questioning the Lanterman investigators’ credibility as sources via other evidence gathered. The second organizational could not act coding moment is more nuanced. It could be coded as an attributive possessive moment because the focus is on not having the system needed to complete the goal. However, I chose to code it as a could not act moment by shifting the emphasis of “not” from having to doing, since not having the system kept the government agency from tracking supported housing residents. In other words, I emphasized the consequence of not having the system, which was being able to complete the action of tracking

people with disabilities in supported housing. The organizational could not act coding moments were, “But the Los Angeles County district attorney’s office was unable to find a single case referred by Lanterman investigators in the past decade,” (Gabrielson, 2012, Chapter 8, par. 19); and “the Department of Health and the Office of Mental Health — did not have a system to track serious problems among people who entered supported housing,” (Sapien, 2018, par. 16).

There were also many individual level could not act moments, especially in stories like D’ashon Morris’. McSwane & Chavez David (2018) focused on what Morris could not do as a severely premature baby that needed extensive around the clock medical care. This was done so that readers could understand his frailty and how necessary the medical care was, that he was being denied. The hook for his story, “He was born three months too early, unable to breathe or eat on his own,” (Part 1, par. 1) emphasizes that choice to focus on what Morris could not do. McSwane & Chavez David (2018) also emphasize his need for care to directly counter the healthcare company Superior’s rationale for denying him care. “That was before a giant health care company decided he didn’t need round-the clock nursing care to keep him from suffocating,” (Part 1, par. 3).

In the excerpt above, McSwane and Chavez David (2018) juxtapose Superior’s rationale for denying care with a potential consequence of that care denial. Even in the same sentence, they did not want readers to forget the stakes, the consequences of Superior’s organizational goal. McSwane and Chavez David (2018) also had a strong emphasis on Morris’ main action of pulling out his tracheostomy tube, and the potentially dangerous effects of that action (see Appendix A, Summary A15: Pain and Profit). In this way, he was portrayed as an actor that was unknowingly risking his life via his actions. Apart from this main action, Morris was portrayed him mostly as a Behaver, and as someone events happen to, because he had not yet developed or could not yet communicate grander ambitions, or give greater insight into how he felt. These could not act process moments illuminate larger themes in the entries of ineptitude on the part of those who were tasked with caring for people with disabilities, or moments of powerlessness experienced by people with disabilities that has functional purposes in the entries, like in McSwane and Chavez David’s (2018) entry. While there was

also ineptitude at organizational levels, the theme will focus on individual ineptitude that had significant, even dire consequences for people with disabilities.

Relational Process Attributive

This process involved coding for someone belonging to a specific group, having an attribute, or in the attributive proper possessive sense, having an object. For example, this was often a code for mentioning someone having a disability. In Epstein's (2016) portrayal of Jill Viles in "The DIY Scientist, the Olympian, and the Mutated Gene," he utilized the relational attributive process when describing Viles' identity and body as counters to what society expects of people with disabilities. Epstein started his attributive narrative of her by describing her as "a nutjob" (par. 13) and an "Iowa housewife" (par. 12) to contrast other roles she later adopted as "scientist" (par. 25) that researches highly technical medical phenomena and "police officer" (par. 25) that diligently searches for the needle in a haystack. Epstein also used the attributive process to compare her atrophied muscles with Priscilla Lopes-Schliep, an Olympic medalist who had a variation of the condition that led to drastically different physicalities.

Epstein also utilized the attributes "crazy" (par. 4, from the Lopes-Schliep marathon photo) and "nutjob" (par. 13) when describing Viles and her actions to set up expectations for readers to question her credibility which mirrored Viles' life experiences of having medical professionals continually questioning her credibility. Epstein showed that the medical community deemed Viles as not capable of making the medical diagnoses and discoveries that she did, because she did not have a traditional medical background, and was only utilizing her family's medical history, and dogged determination to uncover what medical communities could not: her diagnosis—her medical and disability identities clarified.

"No, you don't have that," Jill recalls the neurologist saying sternly. And then she refused even to look at the papers. It might seem rude that a doctor refused just to hear Jill out and glance at the papers, but, at the time, most doctors believed Emery-Dreifuss only occurred in men. Plus, this was a self-diagnosis of an obscure disease coming from a teenager. (par. 34)

Epstein knew both Vile's struggle of being continually questioned throughout her journey for medical answers, and her successes. He used that knowledge to respond to that act of questioning

her credibility with an answer: she was right. Viles was right about her and her family's medical diagnosis. Then she utilized that knowledge to identify her father had a heart condition and insisted he be fitted with a pacemaker—she was right then too. She later successfully identified a variation of the medical condition in Lopes-Schliep, an Olympic athlete who had also spent her life not knowing her medical background. This questioning and responding built up to a point Epstein wanted to make through a quote from Harvard Medical School geneticist Heidi Rehm. “Physicians are recognizing the very important role of the patient in being not only an advocate for themselves, but really a source of relevant information,” (Epstein, 2016 par. 21, from the Lopes-Schliep marathon photo).

This addresses a facet of the social model of disability that centers people with disabilities as authoritative knowers of their experiences and pushes for them to have active roles in their own care. This shift towards patient vocalization impacts people with disabilities' care in a direct way and the medical community by bringing their newly validated perspective into the field. While this quote does not directly refer to Viles, it was included because Epstein (2016) depicted Viles as an embodiment of being an advocate and an underestimated yet valuable source of medical information as an Iowa housewife.

Relational Process Identifying

This process involved identifying specifically who did an action, or to what specific degree something was done or not done. A neutral example would be identifying Roanin Walker as the child that was being discussed in Rosenthal's (2016) entry, “Denied.” “During the first week of school at Shadow Forest Elementary, a frail kindergartner named Roanin Walker had a meltdown at recess,” (Rosenthal, 2016, par. 1). However, with the identifying process, there was another phenomenon where the reporter would “call-out” a person, organization or state that did a negative action or experienced a negative phenomenon. Since this theme of calling-out was discovered during the analysis stage instead of the coding one, it is difficult to say how prevalent of a phenomenon it was in the entries, since not all entries that had the relational identifying process, had that identifying theme of calling out actions, people or larger entities.

Often, the relational identifying process involved calling out a specific person, organization or state for not completing an action, or doing a negative action. Calling-out actions on the part of organizations, people or states, or phenomena experienced by a certain demographic or in a certain area, was common in Rosenthal's 2017 entry, "Denied." Examples of calling out in the entry include "Texas is the only state that has ever set a target for special education enrollment, records show," (Part 1, par. 12); "In all, among the 100 largest school districts in the U.S., only 10 serve fewer than 8.5 percent of their students. All 10 are in Texas," (Part 1, par. 24); and "In Texas, 12.1 percent of kids got services that year, the ninth-lowest rate in the nation," (Part 1, section Moving the number, par. 5). Calling-out, the process of "[calling] somebody out (on/for something)" (Oxford Learner's Dictionaries, no page given), was a relational identifying process that has implications for future journalism research. Reporters used this transitive process to functionally cast judgement on negative actions or circumstances without inserting first-person views into the entries. While this is not a theme that will be thoroughly discussed due to delay in identification of it as a theme, examining the dataset again with this phenomena in mind could provide valuable insight into journalism gatekeeping processes, and transitivity processes that journalists use to hold a person or organization accountable in investigative pieces.

Existential Process

The existential process was not widespread in the entries, appearing ten times or more in a third of the entries (see Table 2. Coding Variables Coverage Presence and Percent in Entries). This is likely because the format for existential moments is was limited, with "There was, there were or this is..." to signify a fact, or summary of a historical moment. While this process was not the main process in "G-Unfit," it was in this entry more than any other, likely due to the fact that historical background was given about the etymology of eugenics.

There was a huge eugenics craze in America in the early 1900s, and what historians have explained is that there were all these things going on. There was this wave of immigration, there were—you know, it's just after the Civil War, so there are freed slaves integrating into society. There were Christians freaking out about crime and promiscuity and drinking. (Miller, 2019, 10:22)

Miller (2019) used the existential format to state historical moments as facts and keep building to the moment of interest. In the larger context of Miller investigating the presence of eugenic practices present day, Miller sought to question our assumptions about eugenics practices and ideas being only of the past or believed only by Nazi Germans during World War II (Miller, 2019). This historical background building via the existential process indicated that Americans were at one point strong believers in eugenic practices and ideology, which helps explain why it was still prevalent in some states in the early 2000s.

Mental Process

For the mental process, due to length differences between some audio entries and other entries, there was a significantly higher prevalence of the mental process in those entries versus the rest of the entries. With the highest coverage amount being approximately 80% for the first podcast in the series “Abused and Betrayed,” with the lowest coverage percentage of the mental process in an audio entry being about 18%, for another podcast in that series entry. Other full-length (or parts of full-length) non-audio entries have a range of about 22% -- 2% of coverage that included the mental process. This table comparatively examines the presence of the mental process in two written entries that were chosen because they focus on the same disability in different contexts: autism. The first entry, “Autism Advantage,” Cook (2012) examines the potential that autistics have to enter the workforce with the help of companies like Specialisterne that evaluates their potential for certain roles and helps find work that matches their strengths and habits. In “Saving Evan” Kovner (2015) focuses more on struggles related to having autism, and uses Evan’s personal story navigating school and learning to regulate his emotions to highlight difficulties with the disability, and how personal and family struggles are compounded by inconsistent systemic support for Evan.

Table 2. Mental Process Themes in “Autism Advantage” versus “Saving Evan”

Entry	Autism Advantage	Saving Evan
Percent coverage	14	12
Mental process feelings references	Relief, sadness, fear (2), happiness, want (4), didn't want, victorious, frustration, not happy, fascinated, annoyed, enjoyed, astonished, sad, eager, crushed, inspired, overwhelmed, depressed, anxious, proud, loves; feeling touched, “good”	Anguish, love (5), depression, hope, want (6), not want (3), were hurtful, unnerve, like, happy, fear (2), concern (2), obsessed, frustration (2), angry, inspire, could not stand, mortified, not relax, anxiety, pissed, validated, optimistic, hope
Mental process cognition references	Knew, amazed, conceived, planned, think, see (5), not see (2), believe, recall, underestimated, learned, not understand, mystify, think (4), identify, known, struggled, realized, was aware, insight	Know (7), not know (2), recognize (3), understand (3), not understand, see (9), think (4), accept, recall/remember (5), identify, did not discount, learn/figure out (7), believe, realize (2), picture, find

This comparative table indicates that there was a higher level of both feeling and cognition in the piece “Saving Evan,” versus “Autism Advantage.” Additionally, there was a higher emphasis on negative emotions in “Saving Evan” versus “Autism Advantage,” which correlates with the focus of the entries. To elaborate, “Autism Advantage,” was about Lars Sonne’s father, Thorkil Sonne, creating a company for people who have autism to find work after being inspired by Lars’ unique abilities as someone who has autism. The entry mostly follows Thorkil creating the company, Specialisterne, and people with intellectual disabilities who found work with the company. Even though Cook (2012) highlighted that not everyone with autism has the skillsets to work with Specialisterne, the overall perception of people with autism was that they have something positive to offer, and with proper support, can find work that not only suits them, but that “neurotypical” workers would not be well-suited for.

While “Saving Evan,” also takes time to focus on Evan’s positive moments, when he’s at a school that is providing them the support he needs, or having fun at the park, Kovner (2015) does not shy away from Evan’s challenging moments: “violent outbursts,” “psychiatric hospitalizations,” being restrained frequently in fourth grade for aggressive behavior (see Appendix A, Summary A6: Saving Evan). Since Kovner focuses on Evan’s struggles, he also shows Evan’s mom Carol fighting to get

special education services for him in public schools. Kovner describes his mother's perception of Evan's outbursts, her paralleling that with the Sandy Hook shooting that happened in 2012, and not being able to take him home from the hospital right away. After Sandy Hook happened, and Carol learned that the shooter Adam Lanza had an autism spectrum diagnosis, she vocalized not underestimating how Evan could act if he did not get the proper support with, "I didn't discount that Evan wasn't capable of more extreme violence," (Kovner, 2015, Chapter 2, par. 25). Another example of the mental process by Carol, "I didn't want to give him back," (Chapter 2., last par.) also emphasizes Carol implementing the counter to a mental process. With "didn't discount" Carol used the double negative to emphasize her perception by vocalizing what it was not. Also, by saying "didn't want to give him back" instead of "wanted him to come home," Carol's word choice indicated awareness of what she needed to do while voicing difficulty accepting it.

Seeing

There was an emphasis on "seeing," in both entries. Seeing was a neutral, negative and positive mental process. "... I remember, before one of Evan's hospitalizations, seeing that empty look in my son's eyes. Evan wasn't Evan," (Kovner, 2015, Chapter 2, par. 24). "It is Sonne's ultimate goal to change how 'neurotypicals' see people with autism..." (Cook, 2012, par. 9). These seeing moments could be neutral or negative mental process moments that examine how people with disabilities being are perceived by people who do not have disabilities.

In literal moments, of seeing, where Carol sees the "empty look in her son's eyes," there is emphasis on her linked perception of Evan and Lambda, the Sandy Hook shooter. For her, this mental process motivated her to get Evan the support she knew she needed. In the second example, a synonym for seeing could be perceiving, that Sonne wanted to change how autistics are viewed in society. While it seems like the more appropriate term is perceive, which is a behavioral process, it is possible Cook used the mental variant to emphasize the visual act, and to link it to his seeing metaphor discussed under Positive Seeing.

Positive Seeing

In terms of positive seeing, there was a continual theme of seeing people disabilities as competent or as not fully encumbered by their disabilities in the entries mentioned. Examples of positive seeing include, “‘See how social he’s being, and his laughter?’ Flanagan said, gazing at Evan on the slide,” (Kovner, 2015, Chapter 6, last par.); and “Every one of us has the power to decide,” [Sonne] said to the audience, “do we see a weed, or do we see an herb?” (Cook, 2012, par. 8). Both of these mental process seeing moments focus readers on the positive traits of autistics. They either focused on positive behaviors, such as in Kovner’s (2015) excerpt, or in Sonne’s analogy, challenged readers to reexamine how they perceive autistics, which he compared to dandelions, a plant that could be deemed a weed or herb in the eyes of the beholder. In both examples, the verb see was used to simplify the evaluative process. In Evan’s case, to experience his funny side, all readers need to do is see it in action. While Sonne’s use of “see” again emphasized the perception process, he still simplified it by bifurcating the choices, and indicating that the judgements we make about people, and plants, can happen in that moment of initial perception. While seeing as a mental process was only in less than one percent of coverage of most of the content, it was included in this analysis section because when present, it played a significant role in portraying people with disabilities, specifically autism, in the entries. It is also another example of how people with disabilities are represented and perceived by the general public via a transitive process.

Behavioral Process

The behavioral process is known as in between the mental and material goal processes because it involves action motivated by feeling or cognition (Eggins, 2004). In terms of prevalence in the entries, the behavioral process had a similar range phenomenon to the mental process, where due to significant length differences, there was a wide discrepancy in coverage prevalence. The entry with the highest prevalence at approximately 80% was “Dorian Wants Transit Policy Towards Disabled Persons to Change,” and the entry with lowest prevalence at less than one percent was “Right to Fail – living apart, coming undone.”

Violent Behavior

As I was coding, I noticed that a number of behavioral process moments were committed by Behavers who had disabilities, and Behavers that were being violent to people with disabilities. The excerpts display the variety of violent behavior coding. “[When] you grab a person’s wheelchair who uses a wheelchair all day, every day you’re grabbing their body,” (Yeh et al., 2016, by Taylor, 1:41). “I’ve been stomped over basically my whole life,” (Zeitlin, 2020, Part 5, by Anber, par. 12). “Often, attention comes her way for darker reasons: running away, displays of rage or threatening suicide,” (Zeitlin, 2020, Part 1, par. 6). “Jacob's irritation boiled... he balled his hand into a fist as if to hit her,” (Hopkins & Lester, 2014 section Jacob age 9, par. 6).

The first two excerpts depict violent behaviors done to people with disabilities. Taylor described being grabbed while using public transportation in Washington, and made a parallel between her experience, and how someone who does not have a disability might experience the harassment. In the second excerpt, Anber does not say who or what entity the Behaver is, but conveys her experiences growing up using behavioral language. Using the physical act of violence, “[being] stomped over,” as a metaphor of her life indicates not just the hardship, but that she perceived her life as consistently violent (in metaphorical and literal ways).

The second set of excerpts indicate violent behaviors by people with disabilities. The first of the pair spotlights Anber again, who instead of experiencing violence, is being violent, or responding to her life circumstances in drastic ways. The three strong behavioral moments in that excerpt show the multitude of ways that Anber responded to trauma (Zeitlin, 2020, Part 2), neglect (Zeitlin, 2020, Part 2) and in her words, “being stomped over,” (Zeitlin, 2020, Part 5, par. 12).

Positive Behavior

Reporters also in some instances balance those moments, by also providing behavioral moments of positive behavior. “There are nine adults in a row moving their arms and bodies to the music,” (Shapiro et al., 2018, 5:01). “... [A] teenager giggled at a frog cartoon,” (Zeitlin, 2020, Part 5,

par. 1). “Every few steps, a worker stopped him for a high five,” (Serres & Howatt, 2015, section A closed system, par. 1).

The examples function as moments of levity, for the subjects and readers because they draw attention away from experiences of sexual assault (Shapiro et al., 2018), trauma and hardship related to being in foster care (Zeitlin, 2020, Part 5) and “dead end” sheltered workshop jobs (Serres & Howatt, 2015, Part 1, title). Other than providing levity, or another perspective of the subjects’ worlds, it is unclear whether these positive behavioral moments aid or inhibit driving home reporters’ main narratives of violence, systemic issues and injustice.

Crime and Death as Non-Transitive Codes

To distinguish crime and death coding moments from other transitive moments in the entries, I created separate codes for them, which were originally “Material Process Crime” and “Material Process Death.” During the analysis process, my coding for these variables extended beyond coding the descriptions of crimes taking place or deaths occurring, to include counting the number of deaths, or coding for other implications of crime outside the action, such as reference to “victims” of crime or “cases of sexual abuse”. Since those coding instances indicated a crime or death occurred, but did not involve the material process explicitly, it became more appropriate to refer to these codes as “Crime” and “Death” without mentioning a specific process.

In terms of the prevalence of crime and death in the entries, crime was evident in 14 entries, and death was mentioned in 18 entries. While there was a significant overlap of crime and death, where a crime such as negligence led to someone’s death, or people were murdered, there were also instances of death coding where someone died, and it was not related to crime or a larger issue like being deprived life-sustaining medical care.

Crime

When coding for crime, moments of alleged crime were coded, along with descriptions of crimes in progress and other indicators of crime. The focus for this analysis will be on allegations of crimes committed against people with disabilities that have evidence supporting the claim but are not

always prosecuted due to victim's inability to testify. I chose to focus on this phenomenon due to this issue being a unique struggle specific to people with disabilities that have trouble communicating if they experience crime.

It was important to recognize the presence of crime, alleged or not, in the applicable content to code for realities as experienced by people with disabilities. Additionally, while there was no coding distinction between alleged and proven crimes, alleged crime was coded as such when applicable. If a crime was alleged, the fact that it was alleged was included in the portion highlighted to note a reality for people with disabilities: crimes are committed against them that may not be proven in court due to the victim's struggle or inability to give testimony, or other influences keep the case from being prosecuted. "Much of the alleged sexual abuse in the California institutions has occurred at the Sonoma Developmental Center," (Gabrielson, 2012 Chapter 7, par. 5). "... [Two] patients accused a caregiver of forcing them to perform oral sex on him," (Gabrielson, 2012, Chapter 7, par. 14). "Client reported to staff that she saw (the caregiver's) genitals and was asked to perform oral sex for a dollar,' the records said. 'Client reports that she did,'" (Gabrielson, 2012, Chapter 7, par. 15).

As a note, the third excerpt was included under crime because even though the client agreed to perform the action, it was still noted in the investigation as a crime. These excerpts all indicate crimes that took place at the Sonoma Developmental Center in California, yet were not prosecuted initially, or did not lead to convictions due to facility officials and workers using internal processes to handle the cases without prosecution and impede the investigation process (Gabrielson, 2012). They used tactics such as manipulating evidence (Chapter 11), mending injuries without forensic investigation (Chapter 4) and neglecting to realize/report evidence of crime (Chapter 1). These actions on the part of those in power at institutions indicate the latter barrier to successful prosecution of crimes people with disabilities. Even if the victim was able to give testimony about what happened, other actors could keep the alleged crimes from getting to a court room, or successful prosecution, as in the case of Van Ingraham's death (Gabrielson, 2012).

Death

It was decided to code specifically for death, instead of having the “event” coded under material process goal because in the other instances of material process coding, someone was accomplishing a goal, or something was happening in someone’s life, but that happening was not the end of their life. The finality of it, and the fact that frequently people died either through negligence or murder, I felt coding it as material process death to recognize the injustice in that action, or in that moment. Then during the analysis process, that code was shortened to death, to reflect that coding for death in the content expanded beyond the material process. When coding for death, I coded for mentions of death, murder, suicide, as well as suicide attempts that were unsuccessful. This coding choice was made by applying logic with material process goal coding, that goals that were unsuccessful, were still coded with a goal label. These excerpts are examples of suicide and death coding. “But I know students that have killed themselves because nobody was willing to pay attention,” (Rosenthal, 2016, section Mentally ill lose as special ed declines, par. 8, under “Help for mental illnesses” chart); and “Three medical experts said the 50-year-old patient, Van Ingraham, likely had been killed,” (Gabrielson, 2012, Chapter 2, par. 4).

These moments highlight the high stakes of the issues being reported. In Rosenthal’s (2016) investigation about students being denied special education services in Texas public schools, there was frequent mention of students becoming discouraged and depressed, and in some instances that led to suicide. This highlights that providing appropriate services to students to facilitate their learning experience helps them emotionally and mentally as well as academically, because they develop confidence and pride in their work and themselves. In the second excerpt, Van Ingraham’s death, likely through murder, indicates a number of issues at the Sonoma Developmental Center (Gabrielson, 2012). Not only was Ingraham killed while in state care. Employees and officials at the center tried to cover it up or failed to properly investigate the crime. These choices and mistakes led to no one being prosecuted for the crime. The second excerpt highlights themes of malicious intent,

violence and incompetence in entries that coded for crime and death. These themes will be discussed in greater depth in the next chapter.

Conclusion

Utilizing the transitivity process when coding these entries enabled analysis of multiple actors, kinds of actions and identifying how people with disabilities were portrayed, as actors (Williams, 2019 “Criminalizing Disability”; Yeh et al., 2016),. , behavers (Zeitlin, 2020, Part 1; Hopkins & Lester, 2014), and holders of attributes (Epstein, 2016). In entries that focused on kids with disabilities, portrayal was either of kids as through the lens of parents and other subjects, or reporter’s portrayal focus shifted from the person with a disability to their parent. This happened with children under 18 (Kovner, 2015; McSwane & Chavez David, 2018; Hopkins & Lester, 2014), and adults with disabilities whose parents or family were interviewed for their stories (Gabrielson, 2012; Quinn, 2018; Mennel, 2014). Separately coding for crime and death also highlighted these themes separate from the transitivity process. In some moments, people with disabilities were portrayed as victims (Gabrielson, 2012; Zeitlin, 2020; Shapiro et al., 2018, Sapien, 2018; Berens & Callahan, 2016) or perpetrators (Zeitlin, 2020; Sapien, 2018; Berens & Callahan, 2016) of violence, but reporters also balanced those portrayals by sharing moments outside crime narratives. Other themes discovered in the entries were state-sanctioned violence denial of vital services, and negligence and incompetence on the part of caretakers and law enforcement personnel. Negligence and incompetence, as well as denial of care or services were uncovered while coding for the material goal not process and were categorized as failed and refused actions respectively. See Table 3 for a reference key, and a glimpse at the scope of themes discovered in the entries.

Also, the material version of the social model of disability provides a framework for identifying disabling structures and organizations that through policies and denial of services keep people with disabilities from living life to the same extent as their non-disabled peers. The prevalence of these themes will be discussed in the subsequent chapter, as well as how these genre focuses highlighted injustices experienced by people with disabilities in those circumstances.

Table 3. Entry Citations

Entry	Entry Title	Themes	Citation
1	Broken Shield	negligence and incompetence, PWD experience violence	(Gabrielson, 2012)
2	Autism Advantage	Perception of PWD	(Cook, 2012)
3	The 'Boys' in the Bunkhouse	crime, poor working and living conditions, PWD experience violence	(Barry, 2014)
4	State of Intoxication – Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorders	Perception of PWD	(Hopkins & Lester, 2014)
3	The 'Boys' in the Bunkhouse	crime, poor working and living conditions, PWD experience violence	(Barry, 2014)
3	The 'Boys' in the Bunkhouse	crime, poor working and living conditions, PWD experience violence	(Barry, 2014)
4	State of Intoxication – Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorders	Perception of PWD	(Hopkins & Lester, 2014)
5	Violent and Legal: The Shocking Ways School Kids are Being Pinned Down, Isolated Against Their Will	State sanctioned violence, perception of PWD, PWD experience violence	(Vogell, 2014)
6	Saving Evan	perception of PWD	(Kovner, 2015)
7	Why Some NC Sterilization Victims Won't Get Share Of \$10 Million Fund	perception of PWD, trauma	(Mennel, 2014)
8	A Matter of Dignity	crime, PWD experience violence, negligence and incompetence	(Serres & Howatt, 2015)
9	From Institution to Inclusion	Implementing public housing solutions	(Austermuhle, 2016) (Epstein, 2016)
10	The DIY Scientist, the Olympian, and the Mutated Gene	perception of PWD, becoming an advocate and informant	
11	Suffering in Secret	PWD experience violence, perception of PWD	(Berens & Callahan, 2016)
12	Denied	Denial of vital services, perception of PWD	(Rosenthal, 2016)
13	Dorian Wants Transit Policy Towards Disabled Persons to Change	perception of PWD	(Yeh et al., 2016)
14	Abused and Betrayed	PWD experience violence, perception of PWD	(Shapiro et al., 2018)
15	Pain and Profit	Denial of vital services	(McSwane & Chavez David, 2018)
16	Stuck Kids	Organizational ineptitude	(Eldeib et al., 2018)
17	Nowhere to Go	Organizational ineptitude	(Jewett, 2017)
18	Back of the Class	Denial of vital services	(Frame et al., 2018)
19	Trapped	negligence and incompetence	(Cancino & Yousef, 2018)
20	Right to Fail – living apart, coming undone	negligence and incompetence, PWD experience violence	(Sapien, 2018)
21	Trapped: Abuse and neglect in private care	PWD experience violence, perception of PWD	(Quinn, 2018)
22	G: Unfit	trauma, Coming to terms with trauma, PWD experience violence	(Miller, 2019)
23	You're Not Alone	navigating public schools with intellectual disabilities and trauma	(Linnane, 2019)
24	We dined with wheelchair users at 4 of Charleston's top lunch spots. Here's what they experienced	PWD Navigate public establishments	(Raskin, 2018)
25	Criminalizing Disability	navigating public schools with disabilities, traumatic solutions	(Williams, 2019 "Criminalizing Disability")
26	The Quiet Rooms	traumatic solutions, navigating public schools with disabilities	(Smith Richards et al., 2019)
27	Two Boys with the Same Disability Tried to Get Help	navigating public schools with disabilities	(Elsen-Rooney, 2020)
28	COVID-19 is a Disability Issue	Navigating healthcare with a disability	(Shapiro, 2020)
29	Ignored: South Dakota is Failing Deaf Children	navigating public schools with disabilities	(Conlon, 2019)
30	Forsaken	PWD experience violence, perception of PWD	(Zeitlin, 2020)
31	Restraint, Seclusion, Deception	navigating public schools with disabilities, traumatic solutions	(Williams, 2019 "Restraint, Seclusion, Deception")

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Within coverage themes, more nuanced themes related to the treatment of people with disabilities emerged. The transitivity process illuminated the first theme of violence via the behavioral process. Additionally, the material goal not process illuminated two more themes: denying vital services and care, and negligence and incompetence by those who were supposed to care for and protect people with disabilities. Also, while a majority of the focus of this study was on individual actors' decisions and the consequences of those decisions, the constructionist version of the social model of disability gave a lens for identifying disabling policies and norms that led to denial of services, which had significant consequences for the people with disabilities involved.

Additionally, the crime code identified themes of interpersonal violence and testimonial injustice. There was also a separate theme of violence in public schools that is distinguished from interpersonal violence in crime narratives. Institutionally-sanctioned violence is different from interpersonal violence because higher organizational levels deem the violence as permissible, and hence perpetuate the violence. This contrasts cases of interpersonal violence where the violent act is not sanctioned, and institutional mechanisms that support prosecuting those crimes are either ignored or followed.

Another theme that was evident across genres was denial of an important service or opportunity that led to or exacerbated people with disabilities' current hardships. Denial will be analyzed in three subsections focusing on denial of care, access, and accommodations. The fifth theme, which will be broken into multiple sub-themes, was negligence and incompetence on behalf of caretakers and law enforcement personnel. It was decided that negligence and incompetence of those groups of people would be an overarching theme to have the thematic analysis focus on people's actions, instead of viewing those actions in relation to specific genres or settings.

The final theme in this study is hope. In the midst of violence and hardships experienced by people with disabilities, reporters also took time to highlight moments of hope, or solutions to issues

faced by people with disabilities. These moments of hope show that progress towards including people with disabilities, valuing their opinions equally, and providing adequate support in daily life, education and healthcare is being made.

Connecting Transitivity Analysis to Themes

The previous chapter utilized transitivity analysis to examine the presence of various transitivity processes in the entries. While that analysis did not always lead to discovering themes such as crime or death in the entries, it did help identify other themes in the entries. For example, identifying negative actions or inaction helped identify themes of denial, and negligence and incompetence by caretakers and law enforcement personnel. The behavioral process helped identify themes of violence. The relational attributive process also identified moments of testimonial injustice experienced by people with disabilities.

Social Model of Disability in Themes

The social model of disability also shows presence of other themes in the entries in both material and cultural senses. The material version of the social model of disability focuses on dismantling institutional mechanisms and structures that disable people by keeping them from having full participation in society (Gabel, 2010). This version indicates the presence of denial of services due to exclusionary institutional mechanisms such as special education percentage benchmarks (Rosenthal, 2016) or Superior Healthcare's requirements for requesting care and appealing care denials (McSwane & Chavez David, 2018). The cultural version of the social model of disability focuses on how cultural values and moments of representation exclude people with disability from the main discourse by defining what is normal, and not including people with disabilities in that definition of normality (Gabel, 2010). Cultural values that stem from that lead to someone failing to recognize when someone has a disability, devaluing their knowledge or input because they have a disability, and assuming they know more about the disabled person's experience than the person themselves. There is some overlap in terms of the presence of material and cultural aspects of the social model of disability in the entries since institutional policies (material) can carry exclusionary cultural values.

The impact of the material and cultural versions of the social model of disability on the themes will be discussed further.

Injustice in Criminal Narratives: Interpersonal Violence

People with disabilities frequently experienced violence at the hands of people that knew them, and often at the hands of people that cared for them and were supposed to keep them safe. These phenomena were most profound in narratives that focused on people with disabilities' treatment in institutions, group homes and supported housing. The entries that addressed this theme of violence state run or sanctioned housing at some point were 1, 3, 8, 11, 20, 21 and 30. Additionally, Shapiro et al.'s (2018) investigation into high rates of sexual assault of people with intellectual disabilities also mentioned moments of interpersonal violence experienced by people with disabilities outside those settings. In these entries, people with disabilities experienced violence by caretakers (Gabrielson, 2012; Barry, 2014; Berens & Callahan, 2016; Quinn, 2018), other residents (Serres & Howatt, 2015; Berens & Callahan, 2016; Sapien, 2018; Quinn, 2018; Zeitlin, 2020) or family members (Shapiro et al., 2018).

Gabrielson's (2012) investigation of treatment of people with disabilities at the Sonoma Developmental Center was chronologically speaking the first entry to address this issue of violence against people with disabilities at government-funded facilities. The center was a state-funded and run facility that was intended to provide 24/7 care and safety for its residents, but instead malicious caretakers molested, raped, choked to death, and abused people with disabilities with tasers. Investigations into these crimes were either not conducted or not properly handled, another theme that will be discussed in *Negligence and Incompetence By Caretakers and Law Enforcement Personnel*.

Subsequent entries that addressed the same theme mentioned moments of violent "punishment" or response by caretakers or other residents. Barry's 2014 investigation criticized the living conditions and treatment of over 20 men with disabilities who worked for decades at a turkey processing plant in Atlassia, Iowa. In Serres and Howatt's (2015) investigation into the conditions of

Minnesota group homes and sheltered workshops called “A Matter of Dignity,” group home residents in isolated areas were not kept safe from aggressive roommates that would “lash out at each other,” aggressive actions which prompted a third of the 911 calls in St. Louis County (Part 2: “Alone and At Risk,”). In Illinois, group home residents also experienced violence and sexual abuse by roommates, sometimes fatally (Berens & Callahan, 2016). While violence was not something caretakers necessarily encouraged, if it happened, unless there was neglect involved they were not required by the state of Illinois to report it (Berens & Callahan, 2016).

Protocol with loopholes regarding reporting violence in Illinois group homes is an example of the material version of the social model of disability, since it is an institutional mechanism that facilitates violent treatment of people with disabilities. Another example of institutional protocol that indirectly perpetuates violence against people with disabilities is in Gabrielson’s (2012) investigation crimes that occurred in California’s Sonoma Developmental Center. The center had protocol of internally investigating incidents. This enabled investigators to attempt to call the death of Van Ingraham an accident, then frame someone with a disability for murder, when evidence suggested a caretaker committed the crime. The impact of Sonoma Developmental Center’s institutional protocol was that no charges were brought against anyone in the criminal investigation of Van Ingraham’s death. In this case, institutional protocols discriminated against the disability community by not adequately protecting residents with disabilities from violence in their daily lives.

Injustice in Criminal Narratives: Testimonial Injustice

As defined by Miranda Fricker, testimonial injustice is the injustice of someone not being believed as competent or sincere in a testimonial setting (Fricker, 2007). This phenomena of not being believed then reduces a person’s validity as knowers of knowledge and experience which can have practical consequences, such as losing a case (Shapiro et al., 2018). Without using the term, Shapiro et al. (2018) mentioned an example of testimonial injustice in the series, “Abused and Betrayed,” when an unnamed woman was assaulted, then during the trial was not believed by the jury because she was perceived as “weird,” (Shapiro, et al., 2019, Part: “From The Frontlines”). The

consequence is that those who assaulted her were acquitted. This woman experienced testimonial injustice because the receivers of her knowledge perceived her as an unfit “knower” of knowledge (it is unclear whether that knowledge was general or specific to her experiences).

In the past, an overall impression of testimonial injustice regarding people with intellectual and developmental disabilities (along with inability to or difficulty communicating in some cases) meant that cases where there was evidence a crime was committed against them went unprosecuted. This phenomena, along with societal perception of people with intellectual and developmental disabilities is slowly changing. This is due to prosecutors learning how to work with people with intellectual disabilities and with DNA evidence to win these cases, which will be discussed in great depth in the theme *Hopeful Solutions*.

While the theme of testimonial injustice was evident in legal settings in only two of the entries (Gabrielson, 2012; Shapiro et al., 2018), when expanded to include moments of being invalidated in everyday life, at work or in healthcare settings, its presence was evident in eleven entries: 1, 3, 10, 12-15, 21, 25, 28, 29 (see Thesis Entries Citation Table). When people with disabilities experienced testimonial injustice outside the courtroom, they then experienced a variety of negative circumstances. In some instances, experiencing testimonial injustice led to people with disabilities being denied medical treatment (Epstein, 2016; McSwane & Chavez David, 2018; Shapiro, 2020) and educational support (Rosenthal, 2016; Williams, 2019 “Criminalizing Disability”; Conlon, 2019). The impact of that denial will be discussed in the next section.

Denial of Vital Services

Another theme is that people with disabilities were continually denied vital services. In healthcare settings they were frequently denied vital care (Gabrielson, 2012; McSwane & Chavez David, 2018; Shapiro, 2020; Epstein, 2016). In educational settings they were either denied special education services, also known as accommodations, (Kovner, 2015; Rosenthal, 2016; Williams, 2019 “Criminalizing Disability”; Williams, 2019 “Restraint, Seclusion, Deception”; Conlon, 2019; Eisen-Rooney, 2020; Smith Richards et al., 2019) or the opportunity (access) to interact with students who

were not in special education (Frame et al., 2018). Additionally, in public settings such as restaurants and a transportation system in Washington, people with disabilities were denied access to those public places (Raskin, 2018) and resources (Yeh et al., 2016).

Denial of Care

Frequently in McSwane & Chavez David's (2018) investigation "Pain and Profit," patients in foster care or who otherwise depended on state healthcare plans were denied essential care and medical services that medical personnel and patients advocated for as medically necessary. D'ashon Morris' foster mom continually advocated for him that he required around the clock qualified nursing supervision to keep his newly developed habit of pulling out his trach from causing long term effects, such as brain damage or death. The stakes were high, and Morris' foster mom and medical professionals were clear about what was needed to medically ensure his quality of life.

In denying that care, Superior Healthcare, denounced many claims as invalid (McSwane & Chavez David, 2018). They rejected Morris' foster mother's claim that he needed 24-7 care. They attempted to manipulate doctors so that they would side with the company over Morris (source). They ridiculed nurses as incompetent. They demeaned Morris' foster mom, and medical professionals as inadequate knowers of what D'ashon Morris needed.

Shapiro (2020) also focused on how people with disabilities in America navigate the healthcare system, and that appealing denials was a common practice. Lex Frieden was denied surgery to repair a broken hip after his was in a car accident because he was a quadriplegic at the time, and doctors did not see it as necessary despite the injury causing lasting pain. Michael Ogg was denied a physical exam to detect cancer because he could not get out of his wheelchair. While he later received treatment for the cancer, that moment that could have helped him get treatment sooner instead became a roadblock to receiving it. These moments and more were backdrops to states' COVID-19 responses, like New York state that at the beginning of the pandemic enabled personal ventilators to be taken from people with disabilities and given to other patients because the state was in such short supply. At one point in Washington state during the pandemic, whether someone was old, or had a

disability, was a factor in whether they would receive treatment. Shapiro (2020) uses these denials of care to illustrate a complicated relationship people with disabilities can have with the medical community: they can require medical treatment and assistance due to a disability, but it is precisely due to the medical community's perception of that disability and how they think the disability affects one's quality of life, that can keep people with disabilities from getting the care they need. Since Shapiro (2020) focused on subjects' medical hardships and journeys, they were portrayed as advocates for their care, and sufferers, who have to live with very real consequences of being denied medical care. Epstein, 2016 and Gabrielson, 2012 also address moments of denial of care in larger narratives about discovering one's disability identity (Epstein, 2016) and needing medical care after sexual assault (Gabrielson, 2012).

Denial of Services and Access

Entries that mentioned being denied special education services were, "Denied," "Ignored: South Dakota is Failing Deaf Children," "Criminalizing Disability," "Restraint, Seclusion, Deception," and "Saving Evan." These entries focused on denial of special education services (Rosenthal, 2016; Williams, 2019 "Criminalizing Disability," and Kovner, 2015) and other accommodations for a disability, such as a sign language interpreter (Conlon, 2019). Additionally, "Back of the Class," focused on a different denial issue, being in special education classes and environments to such an extent that students were being denied the opportunity to interact with peers outside those classes.

Denial of Special Education Services

Denial of special education resources in public schools in Texas was the focal point of Rosenthal's (2016) series, "Denied." He focused on those acts of denial on individual and institutional levels. On the individual level, he captured students' specific struggles with autism, depression another other intellectual disabilities. He focused on those struggles to give an experiential counter to the narratives by schools and school districts that the children in question did not need or qualify for special education services.

He also gave more context to those struggles by revealing that a primary motivator for denying services, was that the state had set a target for how many students would receive special education services: 8.5 percent. When asked the benchmark's influence on districts' and schools' decisions to deny student services to meet it, the state of Texas continually said that the percentage was not a benchmark or a requirement, but a goal districts aspired to meet, and that teachers were not forced to deprive students of special education services to meet that goal. Rosenthal used narratives from teachers and administrators to confront and question that narrative's truthfulness. Former teachers spoke of being pressured to deny services to students they knew needed them (Rosenthal, 2016, section "Targeting the disabled,"), or when they chose to advocate for students they faced the same roadblocks, they experienced the same arduous process. Some eventually gave up by retiring, like 4th grade teacher Catherine Rodriguez or Christine Damiani, the former special education chair of Alief Independent School District.

While Evan did not have state benchmark standing in the way of him receiving services, his mother fought continually to give him support to manage his emotions and learn life skills while navigating the classroom (Kovner, 2015). Access to or denial of services also paralleled how well Evan was coping with himself and his environment. His mother described third grade as a good year for him because he was in a less stimulating classroom and lunch area at school and they developed a routine at home to support him. In fourth grade those services stopped, and his coping abilities followed suit.

Denying with Alternative Options

Denying students special education services sometimes came with providing alternative solutions, like enrolling a student who had autism in "Section 504" (Rosenthal, 2016), or recommending that deaf students wear a cochlear implant (Conlon, 2019). The issue with these solutions is that they did not adequately accommodate for students disabilities. In Jade Blouin's story (Rosenthal, 2016), enrolling in Response to Intervention (RTI) and Section 504 instead of special education gave her extra reading sessions and more time for test-taking, but did not help her learn to

read. To make matters worse, when the teacher in charge of the program quit during the year, the school did not find a replacement to follow-through on providing those services. After learning that the services offered to replace the services denied were also not given to Blouin, the family chose to transfer Blouin to a more affluent school, and eventually move to Pennsylvania to give her an education with accommodations that would appropriately address her academic struggles. That response to denial of services will be discussed further later in the chapter.

Conlon (2019) also found that South Dakota school districts denied appropriate educational services in a variety of ways. First, families' pleas—and a lawsuit—to keep the state's School for the Deaf open were denied by referencing the movement to integrate people with disabilities into mainstream classrooms, and promising that support would be provided. One example that illustrates the problem with that alternative solution is Trey Diedrich's experience learning in a mainstream school. Without a sign language interpreter Diedrich struggled to keep up in class even with the school's proposed alternative, having him wear a cochlear implant and providing notes for each class. These examples of alternative options to the support students request emphasize why it is important that when crafting educational curriculum and services that we have direct input from people with disabilities and have that take precedence over other factors. Students and parents of students respond to denial of services and inadequate alternatives by leaving.

Leaving: A Response to Denial of Services

Texan teachers were not the only ones who left their school or area in search of better circumstances. A family in "Denied," moved states to seek better support for their daughter who had a disability (Rosenthal, 2016). Additionally, in Conlon's (2019) investigation of how deaf students were treated in public school settings, one family moved to another state to seek better services, and a student chose to attend school out of state for the same reason.

Other families have a similar response, though not as drastic. Steven Smith's Family (Rosenthal, 2016) moved from Austin ISD to Leander ISD in search of better accommodations for their son who had non-functional hands since birth and other disabilities. In Elsen-Rooney's (2020)

comparison of services that two students receive who have dyslexia, both students enrolled in schools that catered specifically to dyslexia because public education had limited resources at best. Kovner's (2015) story, which follows Evan's personal growth and struggles with autism, also illustrates the happy ending as one where he qualifies to go to a private school that provides highly tailored services and support. This support system helps him navigate education and learn how to better manage his emotions. When it came to denial of educational support for disabilities, these stories illustrate that often the best solution was to leave the inadequate educational setting to find a better one. This is a solution, but only one that is a realistic option for families that can afford it, or have access to other ways to get the services without paying for them. Another family in "Denied" paid a steep price to enroll their son in a school that met his needs (Rosenthal, 2016). The father flew to Dallas and lived there five days a week to work in a position that paid enough to provide for the family, and that specific education.

Lack of Disability Recognition Leads to Denial of Vital Services

Priestly's social constructionist model of disability, also called here the cultural model of disability, captures the cultural perception issue related to recognition of having a disability (Gabel, 2010). This lack of procedural recognition of having a disability in the entries led to people with disabilities being denied vital services such as medical treatment, or special education accommodations.

These entries highlight a need to implement a cultural shift in terms of policy and institutional training that promotes inclusion and recognition of people with disabilities by moving away from compliance models for disability identification. Entries that discuss denial of education accommodations highlight the compliance model process as a stumbling block to receiving those services. For example, if students are not able to be evaluated for services by a psychiatrist, or other procedural roadblocks are implemented (such as removing forms for requesting an accommodation evaluation from school premises in Rosenthal, 2016), then students are deprived of even the opportunity for services.

Institutionally-Sanctioned Public Institution Violence

A darker narrative for students' struggles in public schools, is state or local-sanctioned use of restraint and seclusion as discipline techniques, which was a focus for entries 5, 25, 26 and 31. These narratives occurred in New Mexico (Williams, 2019 "Criminalizing Disability"; Williams, 2019 "Restraint, Seclusion, Deception"), Virginia (Vogell, 2014) and Illinois (Smith Richards et al., 2019). While these narratives take place in different states, they share a similar thread of using restraint in inappropriate circumstances, such as in response to a student throwing a tantrum (Williams, 2019 "Restraint, Seclusion, Deception"), talking back (Vogell, 2014), or even spilling milk (Smith Richards et al., 2019). And it is mentioned in multiple narratives that using restraint on a student when they do not pose an immediate safety threat to themselves or others also violates federal law (Vogell, 2014; Williams, 2019 "Restraint, Seclusion, Deception"; Smith Richards et al., 2019), and in some cases, state law as well (Williams, 2019 "Restraint, Seclusion, Deception").

Reporters quantified how many student experience restraint and seclusion, and how many times a student has experienced it to give a sense of the prevalence of the issue. Smith Richards et al. (2019) as an example, analyzed over 20,000 documented instances of restraint or seclusion in Illinois schools in the 2017-2018 school year, through December of the fall 2018 semester. They also shared personal narratives from students (Smith Richards et al., 2019) and parents of students (Williams, 2019 "Criminalizing Disability" & "Restraint, Seclusion, Deception"; Vogell, 2014) to capture that restraint and seclusion have severely detrimental effects on students that experience it.

Detrimental Effects

As discussed in these narratives, there are many detrimental effects to using restraint and seclusion frequently on children, in scenarios that do not warrant their use. One effect is injuries that are potentially serious enough to require hospitalization (Williams, 2019 "Restraint, Seclusion, Deception") or surgery (Vogell, 2014). There can also be serious, even deadly psychological effects. Vogell (2014) mentions that a Georgian student committed suicide while in seclusion.

Vogell (2014) also mentioned that students would be diagnosed with PTSD following restraint and seclusion experiences. Sebastian Montano, who has autism and struggles to regulate his emotions, developed mistrust towards school officials and chose after being released from jail to get his GED and pursue other goals (Williams, 2019, “Criminalizing Disability”). Williams (2019) also discussed Montano having a criminal record to show that in addition to using restraint on Montano, school officials, and even someone on his special education support team called the police for reasons that warranted medical help and support, like threatening to commit suicide, or cutting himself. These moments of tension started in middle school, when Montano head-banged due to sensory overload, and was sent to detention. Around that time Montano was also finally assessed for a Behavioral Intervention Plan (BIP), but at the time of the article, it was never mentioned that he received services, despite his mother continually advocating for that, and the school psychologist making an official referral for the evaluation two years after the initial assessment.

Students with Disabilities as Underage Victims of Violence

Frequently people with disabilities in these narratives were depicted as victims of violence by school officials and teachers. They were also portrayed as people trapped, literally and metaphorically in schools—and “quiet rooms”—that they did not have the agency to leave themselves (Smith Richards et al., 2019). Williams (2019, “Restraint, Seclusion, Deception”) also described injuries in great detail, like mentioning an “avocado shaped bruise” on a student’s arm (par. 2), or finger-shaped bruises to indicate the severity of the violence (section Parents kept in the dark, par. 5). He also captured moments from parents, such as one mother seeing her child being restrained by three adult males when she arrived to pick him up from school (Rosenthal, 2016).

These moments were included to illustrate not just the violent experience, but students’ lack of agency in those moments. Students were underage and largely viewed as subordinate in contrast to teachers and school officials. This is significant because when Urijah Salazar tried to leave school, instead of asking him why and working to address the underlying issues, school officials restrained him (Williams, 2019 “Restraint, Seclusion, Deception”). Another factor is that Salazar and Montano

were treated violently, because they were viewed as students who either did not have disabilities' or whose disabilities did not need educational assistance. Montano for example, was not provided a Behavioral Intervention Plan (BIP) despite a school psychologist determining he was eligible for one (Williams, 2019 "Criminalizing Disability"). The school's reason for not giving Montano the accommodations requested was that they saw him, not as a student in need of disability accommodations, but as a "bad kid" who had "a chip on his shoulder" (pg. 8).

Vogell (2014) also highlights the importance of viewing students with disabilities as in need of support and tools to navigate social and educational spaces. Vogell (2014) discussed how a district switched from using restraint and seclusion as discipline methods to using non-violent methods that focused on communicating with the student to address underlying issues. A key component to that policy change was changing how teachers viewed the students. Moments like these highlight that a care issue for people with disabilities, is that they are not always taken seriously, or recognized as people with agency. Smith Richards et al., 2019 focused on getting direct experience and insight from the children themselves by quoting records of them begging to be let out of quiet rooms, and capturing how they feel. "Please someone respond to me. ... I'm sorry I ripped the paper. I overreacted. ... Please just let me out. Is anyone out there?" This unnamed quote from a student in seclusion highlights an example of a trivial reason that students were secluded as punishment and, how powerless the student felt in that moment.

Negligence and Incompetence on Behalf of Caretakers and Law Enforcement Personnel

This complex theme is meant to identify another side to the hardships that people with disabilities experience. They not only can experience violence, but harm by well-meaning individuals that are either neglectful, or do not perform their jobs well. This theme became evident while coding for material process goal not.

Neglectful and Incompetent Caretakers

These serious issues of neglect and incompetence on the part of caretakers highlight that caregivers need to be properly trained to recognize moments of potential danger when providing

care, and vigilant about providing quality care at all times. Another layer to this vigilance is recognizing that people who need assistance with basic activities such as eating and bathing can be at risk for serious injury or death if not properly supervised or assisted. Since people who did not have disabilities do not remember being in a state where they needed help with basic activities, a part of that training especially in moments that people who do not have disabilities would see as not being potentially dangerous to someone who depends on others, like bathing or eating.

In Berens and Callahan's (2016) investigation of group homes in Illinois, they mention multiple instances of neglect on the part of caregivers that can have serious, even fatal consequences. In one, a woman died days after a caregiver put her in scalding water for a bath, put socks over her bleeding feet after, then did not seek medical help for her for at least an hour. Another caretaker did not properly supervise Loren Braun while eating a hamburger, who had documented issues with swallowing fast, and fatally choked on the meal.

"A Matter of Dignity" also shows consequences of negligence and incompetence on the part of caretakers for people with disabilities. A resident at a group home died after falling seven times in the residence's kitchen. Caretakers knew about the falls, but did not take the injuries seriously, and did not request medical attention for him. Another resident was found dead on the floor of his room after caretakers lost contact with him for almost two days. Other deaths happened after residents ran or wandered away from group homes.

Incompetent Law Enforcement Personnel

While law enforcement did not have the same opportunity as caretakers to treat people with disabilities neglectfully, if they do not do their jobs well, in entries it led to evidence not being collected (Gabrielson, 2012), suspects not being properly interviewed (Gabrielson, 2012; Berens & Callahan, 2016) and other errors that contribute to a legitimate case falling apart.

Hopeful Solutions

The theme of hope mainly was conveyed in these narratives by reporters providing hopeful solutions to the issues they covered. The hopeful solutions were having more accessible

transportation options, non-violent alternatives for conflict resolution in a classroom setting, combatting testimonial injustice and closing institutions and living areas that were not enhancing quality of life for people with disabilities. Entries 9 and 20 highlight the dangers of pursuing solutions that are not fully developed (Austermuhle, 2016) or that treat people with disabilities as a monolith group, instead of addressing individuals' diverse needs (Quinn, 2018).

More Accessible Options

In Dorian Taylor's narrative about her struggles with public transportation in Washington state, she referenced other states as examples for how transportation can better accommodate people with disabilities (Yeh et al., 2016). Raskin (2018) conveyed hope by including subjects' remarks about what businesses are doing well in terms of accommodation. Raskin also highlighted that a restaurant owner who did not comment for the story turned a dining room into an accessible restroom. Including this detail showed that accessibility improvements are being made, and that there are many reasons why someone would decline to comment for a story.

Non-Violent Conflict Resolution

In Vogell (2014) and Smith Richards et al.'s (2019) narratives, they also provided hope for stopping inappropriate use of restraint and seclusion by providing examples where non-violent resolution tactics worked. In Illinois the North DuPage school district, with Lincoln Academy as an example, turned seclusion areas into sensory rooms where students voluntarily took breaks (Smith Richards et al., 2019). Jim Nelson, who took over the district in 2016, also changed how teachers responded to student disruptions, by viewing them as learning opportunities. This helped de-escalate scenario before force was used, and motivated teachers to build deeper connections with their students. Smith Richards et al. (2019) noted that implementing these tactics, while challenging, did not lead to more students being transferred to schools that use different discipline tactics.

Another tactic proposed by Zac Barry, who taught Therapeutic Crisis Intervention, was that teachers should not argue with students, or have posture that is "[threatening]" to them. This advice is meant to move teacher-student issues away from power or dominance struggles, which can

needlessly escalate issues. While a small moment in the story, this shows another facet of classroom dynamics that can help or seriously harm students. In Virginia, Montgomery Public Schools was spotlighted for implementing Positive Behavior Interventions (PBI), which function the same as the methods implemented in Illinois that work to address the underlying issues that lead to aggression, versus using restraint and seclusion when the aggression surfaces (Vogell, 2014).

Fighting Testimonial Injustice

In Shapiro et al.'s (2019) investigation of high rates of sexual assault among people with developmental and intellectual disabilities, they highlighted a case that made prosecuting crimes against people with disabilities more possible, and mentioned advocacy efforts to spread awareness about the issue and provide better services to victims of sexual violence that have disabilities. Incorporating the successful case and interviews with the prosecutor Robert Laurino that won it, gave concrete hope that cases where people with disabilities were victimized could be won. It also helped change narratives about people with disabilities in legal settings. This is because Laurino and others now work with people with disabilities to give quality testimony, which confronts the narrative that people with disabilities cannot give reliable testimony and that they are not reliable knowers of their experiences. The angle also highlighted the importance of DNA evidence, which helps with cases when the subject cannot testify.

Closing Poor Living Situations

Other solutions came in the form of closing poor housing situations, such as the Sonoma Developmental Center in California (Gabrielson, 2012), the "old schoolhouse" where 20+ men with disabilities lived for decades while working at a turkey processing plant (Barry, 2014), or Washington DC's Forest Haven institutional campus (Austermuhle, 2016). Austermuhle (2016) and Sapien (2018) investigate living conditions in housing options that are supposed to be better than their predecessors. The living conditions in those housing options highlight that while group homes and supported living options could be viewed as solutions to housing issues, people with disabilities can face realities that do not support that rhetoric.

In “From Institution from Inclusion,” which investigates the aftermath of closing the Forest Haven facility, housing solutions in the 1980s for residents that lived there were well-intentioned, but vague (Austermuhle, 2016). Following disability advocacy rhetoric and legislation that promotes integration of people with disabilities into society when possible, those tasked with finding somewhere for these residents to go had them living in group homes. This “solution” caused many problems and for decades did not improve the quality of life for some residents that lived in them. This narrative highlighted the need to implement solutions to closing facilities that are well-developed and actually provide quality care for residents, instead of having them move from one poor living situation to another.

Sapien (2018) also shows the danger of not having a fully developed monitoring system for resident in supported housing. In New York when the push to move people with disabilities out of group homes into supported housing was implemented, some people with disabilities thrived. However, Sapien mainly focused on those that did not thrive to show that while the idea of fully integrating every person who has a disability is nice, the reality is that not everyone can. This reality underscores the importance of remembering that people with disabilities have diverse needs, and that policy needs to be created with that diversity in mind.

Limitations

Due to the number and length of texts, and to ensure there was an appropriate amount of context to analyze coding moments, in some instances a sentence was coded once for a certain code even though there were multiple examples of that code in the sentence, or that sentence was coded in its entirety for each different code present. With this in mind, the coding coverage percentages are estimates that are meant to give a general indication of how much of each process was evident in the entries. Another issue that makes quantifying the presence of variables in the entries is that some entries had to be downloaded and evaluated per page or screenshot. For example, one entry that has over 40 screenshots of text, has coverage percentages for each screenshot, but no aggregated stat for the prevalence of the variables in the entry as a whole. Due to this, the prevalence of the coding

variables in those entries is not included when quantifying the presence of coding variables. However, excerpts from them can be used when illustrating how the coding variables were used in the entries.

Additionally, when analyzing the coverage of nodes, the percentages for PDF entries were significantly lower than expected, even when calculating coverage for a majority of the coding variables. This is potentially due to Nvivo coverage calculation parameters for PDFs is different than other documents. In Nvivo, coverage calculation for PDF documents, which most of the text entries were formatted as, is “[the] percentage of characters coded (as text selections) at the node, and the percentage of the page area coded (as region selections) at the node,” (Nvivo 12 [Windows], “Review the references in a node”). Since I coded the text portions of the PDF entries, excluding photos, photo captions and headlines (and PDF formatting sometimes left awkward gaps in the documents), it is possible that the spaces not coded counted against my coverage percentages despite coding a majority of text in the entries. Due to how coverage percentages for PDFs is calculated via amount coded in text and area coded in non-text portions of the entry, the coverage percentages for the text entries, which were in PDF format, are significantly skewed. An example of the coverage percentage issue is given in Appendix B.

A Note About Silent Exemplars and Gatekeeping Analysis

Originally, I wanted to analyze the presence and implications of silent exemplars in the entries. As I coded the entries, I found more instances of silent exemplars in entries about students’ experiences accessing services or experiencing abuse, and in some adult children narratives such as “Jennifer’s Story” in *Broken Shield* (Gabrielson, 2012). However, frequently it was unclear why people with disabilities, who were the subjects of the entries, were not quoted. Due to the ambiguity of why people with disabilities were not voiced in stories about their experiences and struggles, I determined I could not do thorough analysis of those moments without interviewing journalists or others involved in the interview process.

Additionally, while coding my focus shifted from analyzing the presence of news values in the entries, to addressing emergent themes, such as crime, negligence and incompetence, and denial of

services and care. However, coding the entries changed my focus. It was heartbreaking to read so many stories of abuse and neglect. I decided to focus on those moments, as well as other emerging themes to bring attention to their prevalence in disability journalism and discuss potential solutions for these issues that were important enough to be covered.

Implications for the Field and Future Research

This study has a variety of implications for disability studies, journalism studies, and intersections of those fields. In terms of contributing to the field of disability studies, this research complicated the claims that we can make as researchers in the field. It did this by focusing on stories with opposing narratives. For example, some of the education narratives in the series focused on student with disabilities being denied special education services (Rosenthal, 2016; Williams, 2019 “Criminalizing Disability”). But “Back of the Class” focused on receiving those services to the exclusion to everything else (Frame et al., 2018).

An underlying theme from all these narratives could be that we need to listen to what people with disabilities want and create policies that give them greater agency. Those in power could start that process by investigating instances of abuse and modifying or implementing new policies that have layers of accountability for caretakers and others in direct contact with residents that have disabilities. Also, in terms of healthcare, since a significant portion of the denial of care stemmed from judgements that people either did not have disabilities they did have or were deemed as not in need of their requested treatment, I recommend addressing this issue on two levels. First, we need a system that tracks denials of care and evaluates those decisions in real time to address the lack of care in a timely manner. This is the short-term mechanism to address the current discrimination while policymakers create and lobby for legislation that articulates what medical professionals need to do differently to appropriately understand and respond to medical care requests by people with disabilities.

Another solution to these systemic problems, specifically poor living conditions for people with disabilities in facilities could be moving residents towards increasingly integrated housing solutions

that give caretakers another layer of public accountability while giving residents the opportunity to be a part of their communities. With this suggestion in mind, Sapien's (2018) investigation into the pitfalls of supported housing cautions disability activists to temper inclusion goals with feedback from constituents in the community and people with disabilities affected by it. People interviewed in the investigation noted that there can be variables besides ensuring emotional wellbeing of the resident that should be considered when determining policies that affect them and the communities they will inhabit. For example, they argued that someone with a disability could be happy living in supported housing, but if that is having a negative impact on the general public, that needs to be addressed as well (Sapien, 2018). This illustrates that policies which seek to enhance people with disabilities' quality of life from a housing perspective need to also consider potential impacts those housing choices will have on the community at large.

Since this study only focused on analyzing the entries for a few emergent themes, future research endeavors also includes analyzing for the presence and impact of disability models on disability reporting, either in this or other samples of content. Additionally, it would be intriguing to see a comparative study that analyzes the themes present in honorable mentions versus winning entries. This could indicate what judges determined to be worthy of placing, versus receiving an honorable mention.

This study also contributes to journalism studies in a variety of ways. First, it uses transitivity analysis, a linguistic analytical tool, to analyze a large number of journalism investigations. I found it helpful in terms of identifying themes that were heavily subject-focused and recommend it for future research if they want to examine subject portrayals in journalism content. I also recommend that researchers wanting to analyze larger amounts of data do a preliminary round of coding testing or find other ways to reduce the number of variables being analyzed to facilitate in-depth analysis of the one or few variables that are chosen.

I also still want to analyze for the influence of gatekeeping mechanisms on reporters' decisions in the reporting process and what affect that might have on interviewing and writing about people with

disabilities. To elaborate, this study has sparked a need to do further journalism research on the use of exemplification as a gatekeeping practice, and how its role in stories about people with disabilities is complicated by them experiencing testimonial injustice, or guardians' decisions that the subject is not interviewed. Additionally, it would be interesting to research whether journalists' coverage choices are influenced by people who are non-verbal using alternative communication methods such as typing or dyadic interviewing, where someone they trust is their "mouthpiece" or interpreter for the interview (Caldwell, 2014). While dyadic interviewing is questionable because it strictly relies on the ally fully focus on what the subject wants to communicate and not voice their own agenda, in the right context it has the potential to help people who cannot or choose not to verbally communicate.

Also, there were a few themes that warrant their own studies, either with this set of entries, or other disability coverage. I look forward to potentially participating in, or at least seeing future disability journalism research that focuses on the presence and impact of: silent exemplars, reporters "calling out" actions by a person or organization, material goal not process moments in investigative journalism content, and the use of attributive and behavioral language when describing people with disabilities. Additionally, it would be interesting to see a separate but related study that examines the impact of parental gatekeeping on how underage and adult children with disabilities interact with journalists. This could be done by interviewing journalists and/or parents of children with disabilities who were approached because their loved one who had a disability, also had a story to tell.

Conclusion

I went into this study wanting to do so much. Originally for this study, I intended to analyze 31 in-depth entries from three different lenses, that each had multiple variables to code and analyze. The beauty of research is that it changes. As I began coding, it became clear that in order to develop a coherent vision for the study, I chose to use one main linguistic analytical tool for coding, and in the analysis and discussions sections, endeavored to incorporate the other lenses when plausible. As previously discussed, after starting the coding process, seeing the prevalence of emerging themes in the entries motivated me to switch my focus from analyzing presence of disability models and

gatekeeping mechanisms to content analysis, and discussion of issues that people with disabilities faced in the entries. Despite the overwhelmingly negative emergent themes in the entries, moments of hope in those stories also impacted those narratives by showing people with disabilities as more than just victims. They are survivors, knowers of their experiences and advocates.

APPENDIX A

ENTRY SUMMARIES

Summary A1: Broken Shield

Gabrielson (2012) investigates cases of abuse and murder that occurred at the Sonoma Developmental Center in California. His main focus is episodic, on three cases involving the rape of Jennifer (last name not given) and deaths of Timothy Lazzini and Van Ingraham. Timothy Lazzini died by choking on a lozenge that he was not authorized to have. Van Ingraham, according to medical professional assessments, died from injuries sustained after being either put in a choke hold or hanged. No one was criminally prosecuted in any of the cases. Gabrielson also discussed wages for Sonoma Developmental Center caretakers and law enforcement personnel, and how the investigation for Van Ingraham's death was handled by internal and local investigators.

Summary A2: Autism Advantage

The entry follows the story of Lars Sonne who has autism, and his father, Thorkil Sonne, who created a business called Specialisterne in Denmark to help people with autism achieve gainful employment in positions that utilized their strengths. Cook interviewed Lars, and other people with autism who found work with Specialisterne, like Steen Iversen and Christian Anderson. Other interview moments that discussed a blunder by an employee, or how Legos helped a child be more expressive were anonymous. Cook also followed Sonne's journey expanding the company to the United States and ends with Anderson reflecting on how far he has come, and what his job means to him.

Summary A3: The 'Boys' in the Bunkhouse

Barry (2014) investigates the conditions 20+ men with disabilities experienced while living and working at a turkey processing plant in Atalissa, Iowa, and their subsequent journey to freedom and compensation for decades of wage withholding (documentation of workers receiving the same pay in different pay periods despite working a different number of hours), poor living conditions,

infantilization and abuse. Barry addressed a subject as Mr. Berg and used a mix of first and last names when appropriate. He also gave a snapshot view of how some of the subjects are doing now.

Summary A4: State of Intoxication – Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorders

This series follows the stories of four mothers, then four children grappling with diagnoses of fetal alcohol disorder. The first part followed the journey of soon-to-be mothers who drank either while not knowing they were pregnant or were in difficult situations and drank to abort the pregnancy. The second part focused on the struggles of subjects who were diagnosed with a version of Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder (FASD), and their families, who struggled to provide care that adequately addressed their issues.

Summary A5: Violent and Legal: The Shocking Ways School Kids are Being Pinned Down, Isolated Against Their Will

This investigation chronicles Virginia state-sanctioned use of seclusion and restraint to discipline kids in public schools. Injuries from these practices have needed medical attention, and even surgery. Vogell (2014) focused on significant under-reporting of the use of these tactics in schools, and provided an alternative for addressing student behavior, called Positive Behavior Intervention, which Montgomery County Public Schools in Virginia had been using for a few decades at the time of the investigation. This approach, like conflict resolution strategies, seeks to address and resolve the underlying issue that is causing the behavior. The schools that used that approach viewed it as a less violent approach that also helped the students.

Summary A6: Saving Evan

“Saving Evan,” focused on Evan and his mother's challenges finding special education services for him in public schools. That entry also focused on Evan's struggles related to his disability. Kovner (2015) does not shy away from Evan's challenging moments: biting, kicking and screaming as a toddler, “violent outbursts,” that would lead to being restrained frequently in fourth grade, and psychiatric hospitalizations. In one of those moments, his mother called 911 after he pinned her against a wall with a table, then laughed (Kovner, 2015). Evan improved after moving to a

facility that helped him learn how to cope with his specific struggles. The other large focus of the article was on his mother continuously working to provide him the support needed to succeed academically and learn how to become independent. Eventually he went to a school that provided the services he needed and he was portrayed as flourishing there.

Summary A7: Why Some NC Sterilization Victims Won't Get Share Of \$10 Million Fund

The writers share Blackmon's story of being forcibly sterilized as a teenager, and the present-day legal journey for compensation. She has documentation that the procedure happened, that a local government official approved the procedure, and that it was labeled a eugenics procedure. However, since North Carolina created the compensation fund only for sterilizations that were approved by the State Eugenics Board, at the time of the article it seemed unlikely that she and others in her situation would receive compensation, despite having documentation of the injustice.

Summary A8: A Matter of Dignity

This investigative series focused on the conditions of sheltered workshops and group homes in Minnesota through the eyes of people with disabilities that worked and lived in them. This series also devoted a part of the series to examining how neighboring state Vermont has abolished sheltered workshops and pursued other avenues for finding work for people with disabilities as a way to highlight a potential alternative to sheltered workshops in Minnesota.

Summary A9: From Institution to Inclusion

This investigation follows the decades-long process after the closure of Forest Haven, an institution for people with disabilities Washington DC. The father of Joy Evans, whose name is on the lawsuit against DC was interviewed, along with officials that helped close the institution. The lawsuit motivated the capitol to close the institution and create a sustainable housing program for former Forest Haven residents and other individuals that need supported housing. This journey to fulfilling those requirements spanned decades, and at the time of the investigation, the 40th anniversary of the lawsuit, it had not been dismissed. There was focus on organizational issues, such as high leadership turnover that kept the city from creating quality and safe housing for disabled residents in need. There

was also focus on the effects of not creating that program in a timely manner, such as residents living squalid conditions, and some even dying while in supported housing.

Summary A10: The DIY Scientist, the Olympian, and the Mutated Gene

Epstein's (2016) entry chronicles the journey of Jill Viles, who in college identified a rare condition that she and family members had, and went on to make other medical discoveries. Epstein (2016) captured the struggle to be validated in the medical community, before and after diagnosing herself and her father with (rare disease), and discovering a genetic link between her and an Olympic medalist, Priscilla Schleips-Lopes (check). Epstein (2016) at times described her as "a nutjob" or "crazy" to convey the unlikeliness of the discoveries she made, potentially give an impression of how others underestimated her. Viles continually fought for recognition in the medical field and appropriate medical care for herself and family members.

Summary A11: Suffering in Secret

In this three-part investigative series, Berens and Callahan (2016) investigate deplorable conditions of neglect at Illinois group homes, and abuse and neglect on the part of caretakers—sometimes lethal. Another issue that was investigated was the practice of having lethal incidents be investigated by group home employees, who would interview witnesses and collect evidence. It came to light that these practices enabled group homes to keep serious incidents from being successfully prosecuted. Another incident, like the death of Thomas Powers, was officially investigated, but his family never knew about the investigation until they were told by Berens and Callahan (2016). After presented with this entry's findings, Human Services officials with the state of Illinois, that investigates abuse and crime in group homes, reportedly retracted five years of investigations and promised to implement policies with better accountability.

Summary A12: Denied

This investigation by Rosenthal (2016) chronicles in a multi-part series how Texas' target of 8.5% for special education service usage in the state denied many students support that they need to flourish academically. Tactics for denying services at the organizational level included saying that

certain students did not have, or were cured from disabilities, or changing policy to exclude students with certain disabilities from receiving services in the first place. Another method was to suggest students enroll in Section 501, which is an accommodation program that for example gives students more time on tests but does not work with the student to address more nuanced issues related to a disability. Rosenthal (2016) also showed how those policies implemented at the individual level severely affected students, and teachers that were forced to implement them. Students and teachers responded to denial of services by leaving the current situation, by transferring to a neighboring school, or in one case highlighted in the series, moving across the country.

Summary A13: Dorian Wants Transit Policy Towards Disabled Persons to Change

This Washington state investigative podcast focuses on the public transit stories and struggles of Dorian Taylor, a wheelchair user who recently moved to Washington and had had a myriad of issues accessing Washington state's Metro bus system. Due to the podcast format, and gatekeeping choices by the reporter, Taylor was the main voice of the entry. She recounted experiences with public transportation in other states that provided a solution to a logistical problem she was having with Washington state transportation. But more than logistical issues, Taylor emphasized how poorly bus drivers treated her while riding in Washington. She attributed the frequent negative experiences to a lack of policy that taught bus drivers how to interact with people with disabilities and best serve them. While Taylor mentioned that bad experiences on the bus could trigger her PTSD, Taylor still used it to do errands and travel to kayaking practice, an important refuge for her.

Summary A14: Abused and Betrayed

This investigation by Shapiro et al. (2018) put names and stories to an unofficial statistic they received from the Department of Justice that said people with intellectual disabilities have the highest rates of sexual assault in the nation. They told survivors' stories and incorporated clinical and legal perspectives into the investigation by interviewing licensed therapists of people with disabilities who experienced sexual assault, and prosecutor Robert Laurino, who won the nationally-known case as the

Glen Ridge rape case. This case was about a New Jersey high school student who had Down Syndrome being sexually assaulted by members of the school's football team.

Survivors' stories focused on how people with disabilities perceived, and in some cases came to terms with their trauma. The investigation also focused on the importance of sex education for people with intellectual disabilities by focusing on a class session that subjects attended, as well as incorporating moments where people with disabilities mentioned that they did not know that they experienced sexual assault until after learning what sexual assault was. Shapiro et al. (2018) also focused on the heartbreak that subjects experienced in these situations due to estrangement from loved ones, or family shunning them for voicing their trauma. The sections that incorporated Laurino's story was hopeful because those moments focused on how winning that case made prosecuting cases where people with intellectual disabilities experienced sexual assault possible. Also, that angle tied into a larger effort to reduce the high rate of sexual assault experienced by this group in America by creating a national summit to address the issue (which was also highlighted in the investigation).

Summary A15: Pain and Profit

This investigation by McSwane and Chavez David (2018) spotlights the consequences of denial of medical care by Superior Healthcare. They focused on the consequences of those decisions by highlighting stories of Texans who were negatively, sometimes gravely impacted. The first of the eight part series focused on D'ashon Morris, a severely premature baby who his foster mom and medical professionals argued required around the clock care to keep him from removing a tracheal tube (which he would do many times an hour), and suffering complications due to lack of oxygen. Superior only approved the care he needed after he pulled the tube out one day, and lack of oxygen for too long caused irreversible brain damage. Other patients that relied on Superior Healthcare that were spotlighted in the series were Heather Powell, George Berry, an unnamed foster care child in need of psychiatric medication, Velma Castillo, and Jessica Lukefahr. Each of their stories illustrate that Superior Healthcare denied claims for medical support and equipment despite medical recommendation for it, and even court orders requiring they provide it. Not having an enforcement

mechanism at the time meant that even when patients legally won access to that care, Superior Healthcare could refuse to deny it, again and again. At the time of the article, Gov. George Abbott had responded in a written statement after learning about how Superior Healthcare was systematically denying needed care, However, at that time there was no change in how many patients they handled care for, and fines that an accountability group recommended they pay, were either reduced or not paid.

Summary A16: Stuck Kids

This investigation examines children with disabilities being held in hospitals and inappropriate facilities for longer than medically necessary in Illinois. While there children cannot go outside or wear shoes and largely do not receive an education. Eldeib et al., (2018) mentions not just how long the stays are, but the length of time after subjects were medically cleared to leave. Gabriel Brasfield for instance spent eight extra weeks in a Chicago psychiatric hospital, because the state of Illinois, his legal guardian, could not find him a home. The Illinois Department of Children and Family Services was criticized in the entry for failing to place %30 of children in their care who had been hospitalized in a timely manner. Resolution for kids often was leaving the hospital for a residential facility or foster home. Eldeib et al., (2018) ended the entry with Brasfield getting to feel the sun on his face while at a hospital.

Summary A17: Nowhere to Go

This investigation examines children with disabilities being held in hospitals and inappropriate facilities for longer than medically necessary in New York state. One subject, Ben Cohen, spent 304 days in a Buffalo, NY emergency room. Tyler Stolz and Alex Sanok also had extended stays at hospitals. The solution proposed in this investigation was being transferred to a facility that addressed subjects' needs. There were no reports of abuse or negative experiences after leaving hospitals settings that were mentioned in this investigation. Another solution proposed was an organization that helped families find services and help adjust medications to avoid escalation to an emergency room visit.

Summary A18: Back of the Class

This entry investigated how students in special education were treated in Washington state schools. The mother of the subject, Sam Foster? called what Sam and other students were experiencing segregation. The entry focuses on Sam attending a school dance, being in the middle of the dance floor, and no one approaches him, which was a video component of the investigation. In contrast with other entries that focus on students' lack of access to special education services, Sam receives those services, with zero integration into mainstream spaces at school. This entry was one of a multi-part investigative series into the experiences of students with disabilities in Washington state schools.

Summary A19: Trapped

This investigation by Cancino (2018) focused on deplorable conditions of elevators in Chicago Housing Authority senior housing facilities. The entry also discussed the effects of that issue on quality of life for seniors and people with disabilities who need them to access the community. Using resident accounts of their experiences with elevators and detailed descriptions of how the buildings neglected to maintain and inspect the elevators led to a larger structural problem of access that could have been avoided. Residents and loved ones of residents recount being trapped in elevators, learning a routine of calling the fire department for assistance, and how not having working elevators led to them being trapped—in apartments or waiting lobbies to return home. The investigation highlighted that records for elevator maintenance were inconsistent, or in 2016, nonexistent. The entry ended with an account from a resident who remarked that a building received funds for renovation, and they used it to fix other things and update the interior of the elevators, but not address the underlying issue.

Summary A20: Right to Fail – living apart, coming undone

Sapien (2018) investigates how Abraham Clemente and other people with disabilities have integrated into New York's new supporting housing initiative. Sapien spotlights Clemente and others who did not acclimate well to supported housing to highlight an underlying issue with the initiate:

pushing people who are not ready to integrate, or who are better with other options, does not help them, despite legislators willingness to do so. Sapien also discusses an important disability studies concept, the “right to fail,” how the entry was potentially an example of that, and shows the effects of policies that do not account for a diversity of housing needs.

Summary A21: Trapped: Abuse and neglect in private care

This entry investigated abuse—sometimes lethal—and neglect of people with disabilities who lived at facilities managed by Bellwether Behavioral Health in Florida and New Jersey. They also investigated a suicide case at a Georgia correctional facility. At the Florida facility, Carlton Palms, William Lamson died from traumatic asphyxiation after a caregiver used his weight to suffocate the resident. New Jersey group home resident Abdulaye Saccoh suffered abuse at a Bellwether facility. The last story was about Jean Carlo, who had unmanaged schizophrenia while at a correctional facility. Signs of depression and suicide attempts were unrecognized by staff or improperly addressed. He asked to see a psychiatrist to get help, but a few days before the appointment, he committed suicide.

Summary A22: G: Unfit

This investigative podcast by Miller (2019) discusses the history of Buck V Bell, which legalized eugenics sterilization of people with disabilities and others deemed “unfit” to reproduce. Miller (2019) also interviewed Mark Bold, who motivated West Virginia to overturn laws enabling eugenics practices in 2012, and Anna Seal, a Virginia resident who was forcibly sterilized at the age of 19. Bold lobbied for a bill for victims of forced sterilization to be compensated. He won, and Seal among others received compensation for what happened to them. Miller also focused on Seal trying to come to terms with what happened by bringing baby dolls with her everywhere.

Summary A23: You’re Not Alone

This entry focused directly on four students with disabilities in Wisconsin who were navigating their own hardships and making an impact at their local schools. The students are TJ Esser, Reyna Saldana, Alex Hart Upenda and Barrett Poetker. Most of the students interviewed struggled with

bullying, but they also had additional hardships. After coming out as trans, Esser struggled with anxiety due to lack of acceptance. Saldana struggled with post-traumatic stress and bipolar disorder. Hart Upenda experienced bullying that he believed was due to him being autistic. Barrett struggled with suicidal thoughts and obsessive-compulsive disorder. These students worked to manage their issues and brought awareness to kids experiencing intellectual disabilities and suicidal thoughts.

Summary A24: We dined with wheelchair users at 4 of Charleston's top lunch spots. Here's what they experienced.

This entry by Raskin (2018) chronicles the experiences of wheelchair users in Charleston, SC at popular dining establishments. This entry importantly highlighted an issue in terms of access to public spaces and used subject input to articulate where there is progress and room for improvement in a local sense. Raskin (2018) also tried to interview multiple owners of local restaurants. However, only one actually went on the record. This pulled the narrative towards people with disabilities' experiences and voices.

Summary A25: Criminalizing Disability

Williams (2019) investigates the use of restraint and seclusion in New Mexico public and private schools, using Sebastian Montano's experiences being restrained, and arrested as a juvenile as a focal point for the story. Williams highlights how not receiving special education services, despite a school psychologist and his mother requesting them for years, was a factor that an expert argued in the article, could have prevented the escalations, and Montano starting a rap sheet in middle school. The entry ended with Montano being released early from jail. However, Williams also noted a Catch-22 that Montano experienced, that the treatment programs he needed to attend as a condition for release would not accept him because he had a criminal record.

Summary A26: The Quiet Rooms

This investigation by Smith Richards et al. (2019) focuses on the extreme overuse of restraint and seclusion in public schools in Illinois. The reporters anonymously quoted students who begged to be let out of "quiet rooms" and detailed injuries received due to restraint, as well as some of the

ridiculous reasons that received restraint or seclusion as a punishment, such as talking back or spilling milk. They also discussed the psychological impact those experiences had on students. Smith Richards et al. (2019) also gave a positive solution to the problem by sharing how one county stopped using those techniques in favor of conflict resolution strategies. Not only have students responded better. Smith Richards et al. (2019) also noted that schools in that district did not have higher rates of transfers to other schools due to behavioral issues.

Summary A27: Two Boys with the Same Disability Tried to Get Help

This investigation follows Isaac Rosenthal and Landon Rodriguez as they and their families navigate dyslexia diagnoses. Elsen-Rooney (2020) also highlights the more challenging hurdle—acquiring adequate services for the students to learn how to read, which is a fundamental academic and life skill. Since both families realized public schools could not adequately help their children, they chose to get a “private placement” for their sons. “Private placement” is when the government pays, or reimburses tuition for a private school education because a public one cannot provide the services a student with a disability may need. This comparative investigation followed each family’s journey in the private placement process, and consistently compared the advantages one had over the other due to resources, and awareness about the disability and what options were available to them. Both students eventually received private placement, but this entry argues that income and privilege are still factor that make the journey easier.

Summary A28: COVID-19 is a Disability Issue

Shapiro (2020) covers people with disabilities’ experiences at the start of the COVID-19 pandemic. He also gives context for their skepticism about being given fair treatment if they happened to catch COVID-19 and needed medical assistance. He shares moments of discrimination, and how those moments led to experiencing unnecessary pain, and increased risk of medical complications.

Summary A29: Ignored: South Dakota is Failing Deaf Children

This investigation by Conlon (2019) follows deaf students and their families as they navigate mainstream education in South Dakota after the closure of the South Dakota school for the Deaf. Parents lobbied to keep the school open, but it was still closed. Students like Trey Diedrich were forced to acclimate to mainstream schooling, that did not have the funding to provide needed resources and did not understand deaf culture. Trey Diedrich finally got an interpreter after protesting the lack of services by not wearing his cochlear implant for three weeks. Other students transferred to other schools, or left the state to get appropriate services. The entry ended with recommendations for how South Dakota can improve services for deaf students, which includes being receptive to students' and families feedback.

Summary A30: Forsaken

This entry chronicles the journey of Anber (last name not given), who made national headlines when she was 9 for being arrested after throwing objects at a school bus and police officers. The series mentions that moment, with a main focus on Anber's journey through Florida's foster care system, moving between group homes, being admitted to hospital psych wards for threatening to commit suicide, and eventually being reunited with her mom before her 18 birthday.

Summary A31: Restraint, Seclusion, Deception

Williams (2019) investigates the use of restraint and seclusion in New Mexico public and private schools, using the experiences of Urijah Salazar as a focal point for the story. Salazar was quoted for describing the pain when being placed in a team control position, but otherwise did not give direct input for the investigation. Williams (2019) also discussed that many parents do not even know when instances of restraint or seclusion happen because schools are not required to notify them.

APPENDIX B

CODING ARTIFACTS

Artifact A: Trapped: Abuse and neglect in private care, had a coverage percentage of 36.42% for the variables coded below:

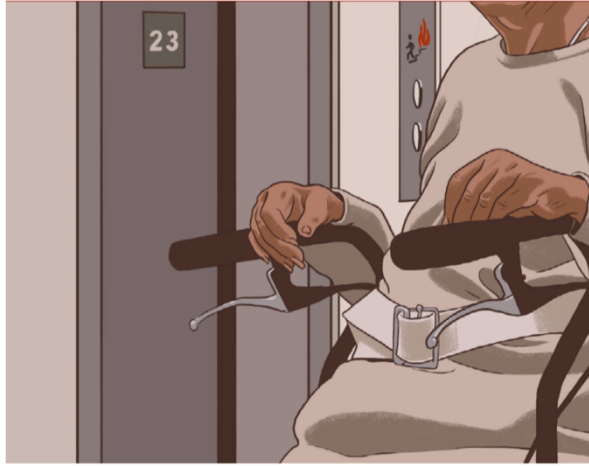
TRAPPED

Neglected elevators put Chicago's public housing residents at risk

BGA WBEZ91.5 CHICAGO

A joint project of

Part 1 ▾



—911 call

'Get us out of here!'

—911 call

BGA/WBEZ investigation exposes unsafe elevators, shoddy record keeping, and failed oversight at the CHA where many elderly tenants live in fear of their own buildings.

<https://projects.bettergov.org/2018/trapped/neglected-elevators/>

Page 1 of 9

Trapped: Neglected elevators put Chicago's public housing residents at risk | Better Government Association

3/24/20, 2:52 PM

By **Alejandra Cancino**, Better Government Association

June 4, 2018

The first time Kim Campos-Lucas was trapped inside an elevator at the government-owned Chicago senior high-rise where her mother lives, she was agitated. By the third time, she knew the drill: Press the emergency call button, hope for an answer and wait for firefighters to come pry her loose.

By the spring of 2017, however, her annoyance with chronically failing elevators became infuriating. Campos-Lucas needed to wheel her 82-year-old mother to the doctor, but couldn't because two of the three elevators in the 449-apartment building in Rogers Park were out of order at the same time. Every time the only functioning elevator landed on the 23rd floor, where her mother lives, it was so crammed there was no room to get in, she said. After an hour of waiting, they gave up and decided to stay home.

"It's not like I can get her down the stairs," said Campos-Lucas. "It was awful."

Campos-Lucas and her mother are among hundreds of Chicago Housing Authority residents trapped in recent years inside failing and unsafe elevators at high-rises owned and operated by the agency, according to a Better Government Association/WBEZ investigation. And that doesn't even count the many routinely trapped in lobbies or in their apartments waiting for broken elevators to be repaired.

Most of the CHA's residents are elderly — often frail. For them, stairs are rarely an option.

The CHA's failed elevator oversight is documented in elevators that remained in disrepair despite repeated citations for safety violations, flunked safety inspections, and hundreds of panicked calls to 911, the investigation found. The probe also found numerous instances where required maintenance and safety test records are missing altogether or often not legible.

"Get us out of here!," one trapped woman screamed to 911 dispatchers on March 5 at Zelda Ormes Apartments on the city's North Side. "I can't take it!"

An analysis of 911 calls throughout the city reveals firefighters in 2015 were dispatched to pry open elevator doors to rescue trapped passengers at a rate more than four times higher at CHA buildings than other elevator-equipped buildings throughout the city.

The CHA in recent years has owned as many as 88 buildings, most occupied by seniors, equipped with 153 elevators. That count fluctuates slightly from year to year, but clearly comprises just a tiny subset of elevator equipped buildings across Chicago. In 2015, records show, there were a total of 10,296 buildings with elevators elsewhere in the city.

More from this series

Articles in this series explain how neglected elevators put Chicago's public housing residents at risk.

- Part 1: Neglected elevators
- Part 2: Failed inspections
- Part 3: Politics, connections
- 🔊 Hear from CHA residents
- Explore CHA elevator data

Do you have an elevator horror story?

The BGA and WBEZ would like to hear from you. Text ELEVATORS to (312) 275-4864 to share your story. (Your privacy and responses will be protected.)

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That year, records show firefighters were dispatched for elevator rescues at least once at 54 different CHA buildings with elevators, almost two-thirds of the total. Citywide, rescuers were sent at least once to 1,529 buildings with elevators, 15 percent of the total.

Those statistics — while striking — aren't the only measure of an elevator-oversight program in disarray.

CHA officials declined repeated interview requests for this report, but in a written response defended the safety record of the agency's elevators.

"While it is true that elevators are aging and require frequent maintenance and repair, at no time has a resident been injured by a CHA elevator," the agency said in a written statement in response to questions. "CHA is fully aware that access to working elevators is an important quality-of-life issue... this is the reason that elevator repairs are a priority."

In May, the CHA unveiled a \$25 million elevator modernization initiative, an announcement made as reporters for the BGA and WBEZ were wrapping up a months-long investigation into the agency's elevators and seeking answers from officials.

Chicago Building Commissioner Judy Frydland, who is responsible for overseeing elevator safety throughout the city, acknowledged after being presented with the WBEZ/BGA findings that the CHA has a problem.

"The CHA needs to work on it," Frydland said. "They have had issues. We keep a close eye on them, the fire department goes out. But the good news is they have to modernize all elevators... You're right. They need to modernize elevators. We'll be partners and elevators will be replaced."

Frydland said CHA residents should feel safe to ride their elevators regardless of the problems.

"I think we do an excellent job," Frydland said. "We take elevator safety very seriously... I think we run a very good program and our elevators are safe."

'That is not OK'

Though the CHA is a government body, it is also a landlord bound by the same rules as any other property owner. As such, it is required by city ordinance to retain elevator maintenance records, documentation showing the results of safety tests and private inspection reports so city inspectors have ready access. But the investigation found the CHA routinely ignores such requirements and is often unable to document when and how many of its elevators are maintained, tested and inspected.

The agency's new elevator initiative comes after residents said frequent complaints about elevators were largely ignored, the investigation found. Such complaints mounted even as the agency spent \$480 million in recent years to modernize its buildings. It is on-track to complete another \$152 million in upgrades this year.

A slice of those payments went to improve the appearance of high-rise elevators, records show, but balky mechanical systems were not addressed.

"They are putting the residents at harm," said Kelly Viselman, an organizer with Jane Addams Senior Caucus, a grassroots

BGA sues for citywide data

Mayor Rahm Emanuel's administration denied as "hardly fundamental" the BGA's request for citywide elevator inspection data. The BGA sued the city to challenge that denial. [See the lawsuit.](#)

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3/24/20, 2:52 PM

organization that advocates for seniors living in public housing. "That is not OK."

"CHA and the city need to address that problem immediately and there needs to be oversight to ensure that any public dollars spent to fix this problem actually prevent residents from living in danger," she said.

Records indicate taxpayers shell out nearly \$1 million a year on maintenance and inspection contracts for CHA elevators, in what has become a disjointed system that offers little assurance elevators are safe and reliable.

"The elevators have been subject to monthly maintenance contracts, different contractors, without a systematic or network-wide program," CHA's Chief Construction Officer Diana Liu told her board members in September in seeking approval to hire a consultant to assess the condition of CHA elevators.

"And that's why you see that even though buildings have undergone modernization, the elevators are still antiquated and often break down, which is very frustrating when I go to the sites and see our seniors have to wait a long time," Liu said in the open meeting. "Or having elevators just not functional, and I see that every week."

The board approved the contract and the agency signed a deal that sent more than \$3.5 million to Globetrotters Engineering, a Chicago architectural engineering firm owned by a prominent Democratic fundraiser, to assess the scope of elevator problems and prepare a comprehensive plan for repairs. The company's president declined to be interviewed.

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In a 2½-page written response to the BGA/WBEZ questions, the CHA did not address why firefighters are called to its buildings so often, and acknowledged inspection "delays associated with procuring a new vendor" in 2016. But the agency insisted that "CHA elevators are safe."

The CHA said its aging elevators have not been overhauled since buildings opened, some as far back as 1956.

"Most of the elevators date back to the original construction of the buildings," the CHA wrote in its statement, which was provided by a CHA spokeswoman. "They are used 24 hours a day, seven days a week, by thousands of residents and their guests."

"Prior to 2017, CHA last undertook an elevator improvement program in 2000, which included general repairs and cosmetic improvements," the statement said. "It did not include a complete overhaul of the elevator system."

Chief Executive Officer Eugene Jones, in a separate statement announcing the agency's new elevator modernization program, acknowledged problems.

"We are just like all other responsible owners of high and mid-rise properties throughout the city," Jones said. "Our properties are aging, and while our systems are safe and sound and have served us well for the past 50 years, it's time to employ the new technologies and materials of today so that we can ensure the continued safety and well-being of our residents."

That does little to console Campos-Lucas and angry CHA residents who have spent years coping with — and complaining about — problems they say bureaucrats have been slow to acknowledge.

"It's becoming worse," said Jacqueline Cobbins, 64, who lives on the 20th floor of the Patrick Sullivan Apartments on the Near West Side. Cobbins said she suffers from chronic lung disease so carries two inhalers as insurance whenever she gets on an elevator.

"At least I'll be able catch my breath," said Cobbins. She said she was recently trapped in an elevator known to break down so often that the building manager takes it offline on weekends whether it's working or not.

"I know it's been going on for two years and I complain weekly," she said.

Her 482-unit building — with three elevators in total — has been repeatedly cited for failing elevator alarm systems and non-working emergency phones and emergency lights, records show.

The same scenario plays out in building after building throughout the agency's vast real estate portfolio, records show, with fearful residents complaining and the CHA making promises residents say are rarely kept.

In addition to dozens of interviews, WBEZ and the BGA examined thousands of pages of records dating to 2010 obtained under the Illinois Freedom of Information Act. They include contracts with property management firms hired to take care of buildings, maintenance contracts and logs, and inspection records required under city rules to be kept by building owners.

That examination revealed an elevator safety system compromised by hundreds of cases of missing documents and logs. Most glaringly, the CHA could not provide documents that demonstrate safety inspections were performed on any of its elevators for the entire year of 2016.

Likewise, the agency could provide no maintenance records for elevators in 10 of its 88 total buildings that have elevators. The city requires safety test records for elevators be kept on site for six years. But only a handful of CHA buildings had the required archive, and none had all six years.

Records, or lack of them, tell the story

Elevator experts say any system with so many missing records suggests lax enforcement at best, and, at worst, raises questions about whether maintenance and the required safety checks are actually being done.

"Elevators don't run if you don't do maintenance," said Dick Gregory, a Chicago-based elevator consultant who has testified as an expert witness in lawsuits involving elevator injuries throughout the country. "And they're not safe if you don't do maintenance."

"Records are crucial!"

In its written statement, the CHA did not address the missing maintenance and inspection reports it is required to keep on hand, only referring to "654 inspection reports and more than 5,000 maintenance records" it did provide pursuant to public records requests.



Jacqueline Cobbins, a tenant on the 20th floor of Patrick Sullivan Apartments on the Near West Side, said she complains weekly about elevators in her building being broken. Credit: Yousef/WBEZ

"Assertions that CHA has failed to provide you with broad categories of records are without merit," the statement reads.

Elevator scrutiny in Chicago relies on an army of licensed private inspectors hired by landlords to conduct annual inspections. They follow a city-prescribed checklist of dozens of potential problems ranging from faulty stop switches to worn-out cables. Inspectors also check for a required annual safety test, in which hired mechanics are supposed to put elevators through their paces to ensure safety mechanisms function properly.

The results of each inspection are then recorded by inspectors on a special Annual Inspection Certification website maintained by the city building department. Elevators deemed in safe operating condition get a certificate of compliance, while repairs are required within 60 days for those that fail inspections.

Those annual compliance certificates, when issued, are required to be displayed inside the cabin of elevators to assure riders that they have been deemed safe — a requirement that the CHA sometimes ignores.

Elevator owners who do not comply face administrative hearings and fines, according to the city's code. According to data on the city's website, officials have filed administrative charges for elevator problems at the CHA a total of 27 times in the past decade, including 15 at seniors-only buildings. Two ended in fines for a total of \$700, including for failing to display a certificate at a senior building in the Near North Side.

All this regulatory regimen runs on an honor system. Building owners and the inspectors they hire are required to retain all maintenance logs, reports and inspection records to provide for city inspectors if they follow up on the work with an audit or respond to resident complaints.

The BGA/WBEZ investigation reveals a system that rarely checks whether inspections are conducted or required paperwork kept. At the CHA, for instance, such records frequently go missing — even for elevators that have been certified safe, the investigation found.



CHA released no records of maintenance being performed in 2016 on the two elevators that were previously found to be in "very poor condition" at Vivian Gordon Harsh Apartments in the city's Oakland neighborhood. Resident Carolyn Crane, 66, said she once had to wait six hours for a working elevator. Left: Memphis Carver/WBEZ. Right: Melissa Hopkins/WBEZ

Consider Vivian Gordon Harsh Apartments in the city's South Side Oakland neighborhood. When asked by reporters, the CHA could not locate any records of maintenance performed on the buildings' two elevators for 2016, even though the agency pays a private contractor roughly \$1,300 every month to do just that. The previous year, records show, an elevator

consultant found the building's two elevators in "very poor condition."

Residents in the 124-unit high rise have long complained about near daily elevator problems that disrupt their routines.

Carolyn Crane, 66, said she waited six hours in the building's ground-floor social room one day last year because both elevators were down when she returned from shopping.

"At the time I was having problems with this hip and I could not walk up," said the retired paralegal, adding the building is full of seniors in their 80s and 90s who are completely dependent on the elevators. "I'm one of the younger ones here."

Kevin Brinkman, vice president of codes and safety for the industry trade group National Elevator Industry Inc., said regular maintenance is key to ensuring elevator safety and performance.

"The less it's maintained, the less it's looked at, the less it's inspected — is it going to increase the likelihood something happens? Yes," he said. "The requirement for periodic tests and inspections are there for a reason, and that's to make sure that the elevators are operating the way they're intended to operate."

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Chicago-based Mid-American Elevator Company, Inc. is the company hired to perform maintenance on more than half of CHA elevators, records show. M. Cullen Bailey, the company's vice president, said its technicians are required to conduct monthly maintenance on all those elevators, although a review of the company's contract with the CHA revealed no such stipulation.

Bailey said there has been a recent spike in maintenance calls to CHA buildings, but attributed that to construction work.

"You got a lot of construction workers in there running in and out. You tend to get more shutdowns in those situations," he said. "But we are not talking about dramatic spikes, we are talking about a little bit of a spike. And a little bit of a spike tenants notice."



Moe Shanfield, 85, lives in Caroline Hedger Apartments in Rogers Park. The CHA building has had numerous problems with its elevators despite the building going through a \$45 million overhaul. Credit: Yousef/WBEZ

At the Caroline Hedger Apartments, one of those tenants is 85-year-old Moe Shanfield, who lives on the 11th floor. Over the last five years, his building went through a sweeping \$45 million overhaul. Records show none of that money was used to upgrade elevator mechanics, but \$162,354 was spent to spruce up trash chutes and improve the look of elevators with new stainless steel walls and flooring.

"If you look at the interior of the elevators, it's glitzy," said Shanfield, a retired writer. "So they spent that money and they couldn't find enough money to install reliable elevators."

WBEZ's Colette Yousef and Elliott Ramos contributed to this report. The BGA's Gabrielle Saul and Patrick Judge also contributed.

at these stories

While this report, reporters from the Better Government Association and WBEZ spent seven months collecting and analyzing stacks of available public records and databases from the city's building and fire departments, the Illinois Fire Marshal, the city Office of Emergency Management and Communications, and the Chicago Housing Authority.

In addition, they conducted dozens of interviews with industry experts, government officials, contractors and residents of CHA buildings.

The analysis compared maintenance records and inspection reports available at the CHA to data available at City Hall, which has utility records for ensuring elevators throughout the city are safe and reliable. Also analyzed were emergency calls to 911 from people who needed the doors of stuck elevators pried open.



Artifact B: Coverage Percentages: This artifact gives greater understanding to how Nvivo calculates coding coverage for PDF documents. The files that had one reference utilized “select all” when highlighting for text coverage. The entries that had a percentage other than %50 utilized line by line highlighting.

Coding Query Criteria Run Query Save Results...

Search in: **Files and Externals** Selected Items Items in Selected Folders

For content matching these criteria:

All of the following are true

Coded to: all of these codes (1) Text

File Name	In Folder	References	Coverage
1st Place 12 PARTS CIR...	Files	1	50.00%
1st Place 5 PARTS PDF...	Files	67	42.24%
1st Place Nowhere To G...	Files	7	47.45%
1st Place Suffering in Se...	Files	1	50.00%
1st Place The 'Boys' in L...	Files	1	50.00%
1st Place Violent and Le...	Files	1	50.00%
2019 1st Place G- Unfit...	Files	1	50.00%
2019 LM 1st Place Livin...	Files	1	50.00%
2020 Forsaken Pt 2	Files	1	50.00%
2020 Forsaken Pt 3	Files	1	50.00%
2020 Forsaken Pt 4	Files	1	50.00%
2020 Forsaken Pt 5	Files	1	50.00%
2nd Place A Mother And...	Files	1	50.00%
2nd Place The-Autism...	Files	1	50.00%
3rd place Criminalizing...	Files	1	50.00%
3rd Place Hundreds of Il...	Files	1	50.00%
3rd Place The DIY Scien...	Files	1	50.00%
3rd Place Trapped- Neg...	Files	22	36.30%
3rd Place Why Some N...	Files	1	50.00%
Fetal Alcohol Syndrome...	Files	1	50.00%
Fetal Alcohol Syndrome...	Files	1	50.00%
LM 1st Place Children ar...	Files	1	50.00%
LM 2nd Place Special e...	Files	1	50.00%
LM 3rd Place People Wi...	Files	1	50.00%
SM 2nd Place System fa...	Files	1	50.00%
SM 3rd Place Restraint...	Files	1	50.00%

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