

Labeling and Framing Disability: A Content Analysis of Newspapers in Uganda

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Solomon Tsiwah Cobbinah

13414578

Prepared under the supervision of

Dr. Damalie Naggita- Musoke

Faculty of Law, Makerere University

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List of Abbreviations

Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities	CRPD
Universal Declaration of Human Rights	UDHR
Convention on the Rights of the Child	CRC
International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda	ICTR
International Convention on Civil and Political Rights	ICCPR
International Convention on Economic Social Cultural and Rights	ICESCR
International Classification of Impairments, Disabilities, and Handicaps	ICIDH
World Health Organization	WHO
Intelligence Quotients	IQ
National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda	NUDIPU
Non Governmental Organisation	NGO
Human Immunodeficiency Virus	HIV
Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome	AIDS

Table of Statutes/ Policies

1995 Constitution of Uganda
Uganda Penal Code, Section 130
Press and Journalist Act CAP 105
National Council for Disability Act (2003)
National Policy on Disability (2006)

Table of International Instruments

Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disability (CPRD)
Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)
Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons
International Convention on Civil and Political Rights
International Convention on Economic Social Cultural and Rights

CHAPTER I

The Convention on Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD and its Optional Protocol in acknowledging decades of stereotypes, hurtful labels and discrimination, instructs the media to be change agents and halt the use of offensive labels against people with disabilities.¹ Many disability group organisations have come up with acceptable language to change stereotypes about them; but whether or not the media are ‘encouraged’ to give up negative sensationalism and stereotype of disability issues is another issue. No matter how legal drafters and other experts brainstorm and adopt socially acceptable language, the media can easily thwart that effort. Should the media be forced to portray people with disabilities in a particular light or should it be left to the conscience of media?

This research examines how media portrayal of disabilities, in light of the many international classifications, guidelines on disability language and the CRPD, that are meant to guide their treatment of people with disability. For example, a Ghanaian news portal carried a headline that read ‘A cripple dressmaker graduates with honours’.² The news story intended to celebrate a woman with physical disability for her hard work leading to her graduating top of her class rather turned out to be a nightmare following the use of the word ‘cripple’. The word cripple put her disability first and the feat that she has achieved last. Such headlines are not only prevalent in West Africa as the media in East Africa are caught up in the same practice. An example is the headline ‘Iganga HIV man held over defilement of lunatic’ captured in Uganda’s News Vision newspaper.³ The story recounted how a man lured a girl with mental disability and defiled her. The unpleasant story is however made more unpleasant because of the word ‘lunatic’ used to describe the young girl. The Oxford dictionary defines lunatic as ‘a mentally ill or a very foolish person’. Clearly, there are many words that can be used to describe the young girl, or better: ‘56 year man defiles 14 year old girl’ may be enough to carry the import of the story. Unfortunately, the newspaper’s quest to sensationalise the story ends up insulting and even framing the 14 year old girl as ‘a very foolish person’ after she was defiled by a man who risked infecting her with HIV.

¹ Article 8 (d) and 21 of the CRPD Optional Protocol

² ‘Cripple dressmaker graduates top of her class’ edition.myjoyonline.com/pages/news/201101/58902.php (accessed on 15 August 2013).

³ ‘Iganga HIV man held over defilement of lunatic’ *The New Vision* 26 August 2013 <http://www.newvision.co.ug/news/646507-iganga-hiv-man-held-over-defilement-of-lunatic.html> (accessed on 26 August 2013).

With many Ugandans relying on the media (radio, TV, newspaper and online) for information, education and entertainment, repeated derogatory words used to label people with disability is likely to form negative labeling and framing. Research has shown that many people in rural Uganda rely on radio as the main source of information and entertainment.⁴ InterMedia estimated in 2005 that 100% of the population had listened to the radio in the past year, 92.8% in the past seven days, and 73.7% as recently as the day before⁵. The 2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census showed that about half of households (49.2%) in the country reported that ‘word of mouth’ was their main source of information, followed by radio (47.8%). The research stated that the same proportion was recorded for television. Considering the statistics given above, media influence on habits, language and attitudes towards people with disabilities can be far-reaching and perhaps difficult to argue otherwise. Unconsciously words and images used by the media go a long way to influence or reinforce behaviours and attitudes and even gets more offensive in some native African languages which have not fully evolved to include politically correct expressions. For example in Ghana people with intellectual disability are called ‘Jimijimi’ in the Akan language, which literally means a stupid person. In Uganda, the Luganda word ‘Kasiru’ also means a stupid person. One can imagine the emotional trauma people with disabilities face anytime hurtful labels are tagged on them. Okwemba in his work ‘Kenyan embrace the mentally ill’ stated that media portrayal of the mentally ill has sustained and reinforced stigma on mental disability.⁶ He explains that family members in an attempt to escape stigma and defamation of children with mental disability hide them and even chain them.

The examples, from Ghana to Uganda, give a general indication of how African media label people with disability. Media messages go beyond information, education and entertainment. Messages contain frames which are ‘manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotypical images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.’⁷

⁴ African Media Development Initiative downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/.../uganda/amdi_uganda5_radio.pdf (accessed on 19 August 2013)

⁵ Khamalwa, J.W ‘Uganda media research findings and conclusions’ (2010) African Media Development Initiative (AMDI). available on: http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/trust/pdf/AMDI/uganda/amdi_uganda_full_report.pdf

⁶ A Okwemba Kenyans embrace the mentally ill (2010). <http://www.awcfs.org/new/features/health/> (accessed 19 August 2013).

⁷ RM Entman (1993) Framing: toward clarification of a fractured paradigm, *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp 51–58.

Work on the impact of media on the public behavior and attitudes have long been established by authorities like Walter Lippmann in his 1922 book *Public Opinion* when he famously stated that ‘news media construct our view of the world’.⁸ Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw later developed this view and coined it, the media *Agenda Setting theory*, which in summary, states that the media tells the public what they should think about.⁹ The 1994 Rwanda Genocide clearly shows the power of the media, not only in the framing and forming of public opinion, but in calling the public into ‘action’ leading to the death of about 800,000 people.¹⁰ An extremist newspaper, *Kangura* referred to the Tutsis as *Inyenzis* meaning cockroaches to be totally wiped out and it happened.¹¹ Framing and labeling of individuals and groups of people certainly has an enormous effect. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) judgment of how the media contributed to the genocide stated.

The newspaper and the radio explicitly and repeated in fact relentlessly targeted the Tutsi population for destruction. Demonizing ‘the Tutsi’ as having inherently evil qualities, equating the ethnic group with ‘the enemy’ as portraying its women as seductive enemy agents, the media called for the extermination of the Tutsi ethnic group as a response to the political threat that they associated with Tutsi ethnicity.¹²

People with disabilities have long been taunted with negative and hurtful words like dumb, imbecile, lunatics, mute and host of other derogatory names. Use of words like handicap or dumb evokes feelings of pity and could be insulting respectively. These words, classified as medical labels of disability usually express ‘perceptions of helplessness and dependency: victim, abnormal, defective, infirm, invalid, unsound and maimed.’¹³

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This research is informed by two problems. Firstly, the media continues to stigmatise and defame people with disabilities in spite of Conventions and policies that instruct otherwise. Available literature seems to show how the media labels people with disabilities in spite of acceptable language guidelines.

⁸ Evolution of Agenda Setting/ www.4.ncsuedu/MccombsShawnew.pdf

⁹ M McCombs & DL Shaw ‘The Agenda-setting Function of the Media’(1972 *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 36, 176-87.

¹⁰ A Thompson, *The media and the Rwanda genocide*(2007) Pluto Press London, 2-4

¹¹ (n 10 above)

¹² *The Prosecutor v. Ferdinand Nahimana, Jean-Bosco Barayagwiza, Hassan Ngeze* International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) 2003 ICTR-99-52-T. ICTR, Arusha, Tanzania, 3 December. paragraph 72 Available at <<http://65.18.216.88/>> (accessed 16 August 2013).

¹³ PK Longmore, ‘A note on language and social identity of disabled people’ (1985) *American Behavioral Scientist*, 28(3), 419–423.

Secondly, the slow development of some African languages to change negative labels of people with disabilities as it has developed in the English language and other international languages is firming up stereotypes.

MOTIVATION

The motivation for the study flows from the problem statement. The research is driven by the need to find an intersection between the law and the media and the eventual promotion of human rights. Laws, Conventions and policies clearly play a critical role in the promotion of human rights, but ignoring the role of the media could be damaging. The research is motivated to find how the media could be used to reverse stigma and negative labeling of people with disabilities in African languages.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study makes use of the following methodologies:

- Literature review: The study relies on available books on the subject, academic papers and journals as well as relevant newspaper articles.
- Qualitative interviews with media personnel and persons with disabilities.
- Seminar, discussing disabilities and the media reports organised by the National Union of Disabled Persons in Uganda (NUPIDU).

Neuman defines qualitative content analysis as a method for collecting and analysing the content of text.¹⁴ He explains content as:

Words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communicated. The 'text' is anything written, visual, or spoken that serves as a medium for communication.¹⁵

From Neuman's definition, content analysis has the benefit of providing unbiased information to researchers because the data needed for research is readily available hence; it cannot be altered or withheld. This is an advantage over interviewing method of collecting information, where interviewees can withhold information. In the context of this research, content analysis is appropriate because the data for the research is already available for analysis and cannot be changed. According to Krippendorff,

¹⁴ W Neuman (1997) Social research methods: qualitative and quantitative approaches. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon 272–273)

¹⁵(n 14 above)

content analysis methodology helps researchers make valid inferences from materials collected with the purpose of providing new insights.¹⁶ Berelson suggested five main purposes of content analysis as follows:

- To describe substance characteristics of message content;
- To describe form characteristics of message content;
- To make inferences to producers of content;
- To make inferences to audiences of content;
- To predict the effects of content on audiences.¹⁷

Comparing Berelson's points above to the research questions of the study, which also aims at describing message content of how disability has been framed and the effect of the content on audiences clearly show the appropriateness of using content analysis for this research.

Interview is a qualitative research method that seeks to provide in-depth information than any other method of data collection, providing both facts and greater understanding of a subject.¹⁸ Since this research is about the news media, four journalists were sampled to provide more information beyond the text of newspapers of how disability has been framed and labeled. Also, three people with disabilities, with two belonging to NUDIPU were sampled to give information on how the media has framed them. A lecturer of local languages was also interviewed to provide knowledge on how Uganda local languages influence disability news reports.

In addition, the researcher attended a sensitisation seminar on disability reporting organised by NUDIPU for journalists in Uganda and observed interactions between the two groups.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research answers to the following questions:

- What influences the media language on disability?
- Do local language labels and frames of people with disability influence media reports in anyway?

¹⁶K Krippendorff *Content analysis: an introduction to its methodology* (1980) Sage Publications, Newbury Park.

¹⁷B Berelson (1952) *Content analysis in communication research* New York: Hafner 18-20.

¹⁸S Kvale *Interviews an introduction to qualitative research interviewing*, Sage Publications, 1996.

- How can the media be used to reshape attitudes or perceptions already formed in society?
- Should the media be given a guideline on how to treat disability issues or should it be left to their own conscience?

LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

The limitations of the study lie in choosing qualitative research methodology. Qualitative research is always criticised for not using large samples to ensure representativeness and generalization of findings. However, the sample of articles chosen for this research and the key individuals sampled for the interview provide information that a quantitative research cannot provide. Information provided by journalists, editors, a lecturer of Luganda language, people with disability, executives of disability civil society group, the Independent media commission make it possible to generalise the research findings. Also as journalist who has reported the disabilities stories and aware of how newsrooms discuss and frame disability stories I carry a bias yet the bias is not strong enough affect the work, rather it would enrich discussions.

I wish to state at this point that the abbreviation PWD meaning people with disabilities would be almost absent from this work, I would rather write persons or people with disabilities in full and not represent all forms of disability with a simple abbreviation.

LITERATURE REVIEW: Media framing and labeling of disability issues

The media simply describes the way or channel that large numbers of people receive news, information and entertainment. Examples include newspapers, magazines, books, radio, television and also films. The media does not operate in a vacuum but carries messages that shape people's ideas, expressions, beliefs, behaviours and attitudes and that eventually affects lives.

Harold Mendelsohn expresses this view succinctly in a sociological study of the media by stating that the mass media affects the values and attitudes of people and in reverse people's values and attitudes in society also reflect mass communication adding, that the media is one of several influences of social behavior¹⁹. In essence attitudes that society express such as labeling of people with disability as dumb, lunatic, and other hateful labels are also reflected on the media. American media scholar Beth Haller

¹⁹H Mendelsohn 'Sociological perspectives on the study of mass communication' (1964) (eds) in LA Dexter & DM White *People, society, and mass communications* (1964) New York: Free Press of Glencoe 30- 32.

supports this claim and states that 'media content is shaped by dominant societal beliefs about disability that come from the power of the dominant able-bodied culture, which defines disability'.²⁰

Many scholars of disability and the media such as Beth Haller, John Clogston- both Americans and Collin Barnes a British have come out with numerous studies on how the media frames and labels disability issues. John Clogston and Collin Barnes' research on the media representation of disability, mostly conducted in the 1990's has, had laid a firm foundation for many other research works. It would therefore be relevant to review literature of these two scholars as they present the past and lay a foundation for future research in disability and the media. Beth Haller appears to be a leading authority on media and disability as she presents representations of disability in the media in the 1990's and also has tracked the progress of how people with disability are represented in articles she published in 2010.²¹

The search for literature on how media in Africa labels and frames disability has yielded very little result as most research is concentrated in the United States and the United Kingdom.

In Uganda research on how the media labels disability is almost non-existent. Relying on research of how the media in western countries portray disability issues could be valuable. Ghanaian disability researcher Mawutor Avoke's article; '*Models of labeling and Attitudinal Discourse in Ghana*' discusses a cultural perspective of labeling of disability in Ghana.²² Though the research does not focus on the media labeling it has already been established that the cultural attitudes and belief reflect on the media hence his work which investigates how Ghanaian languages labels people with mental disability would be crucial to this research.²³

From the above listed literature, I would analyse how the media has represented people with disability and define the concept of media framing, the concept and importance of labeling and views expressed by people with disability on how they have been labeled. Since research on how African media labels and frames disability is limited, this research will add up to the body of research and also present an intersection of the media and law on disability issues.

²⁰ B Haller Representing disability in an ableist world: Essays on mass media (2010) Louisville, KY: Advocado Press.

²¹ (n 20 above)

²² M Avoke 'Models of disability in the labeling and attitudinal discourse in Ghana'(2002) Disability & Society, 17:7, 769-777

²³ (n 22 above)

Media framing

The concept of media framing can be explained as how messages are presented, twisted and angled to guide audiences to interpret and understand an issue. Canadian Sociologist Erving Goffman, who is credited for developing the concept of framing, explains that framing is how stories are told in the media to define and construct issues to be understood by intended audiences.²⁴ Entman adds that framing 'offers a way to describe the power of a communicating text'.²⁵ He expounds that media messages are said to be framed when they are carefully structured to have a particular influence on the audience, adding messages could carry stereotypes images directing the audience to pass their own judgments. Framing has a strong effect on people governing every sphere of their lives, either 'sociologically, historically, bureaucratically medically and personally'.²⁶ The ingredients used in framing issues are words, language and images combined to create a desired effect. The words are not only contained in stories but are reflected in the 'windows of stories' which is called headlines. To explain why words are key in framing I question why a headline like "Iganga HIV man defiles a 14 year old lunatic" would be a favourable headline when the main import of the story was about HIV man defiling a 14 year old.²⁷ The intention of the newspaper can clearly be felt when the word lunatic was used to frame the 14-year-old girl. Barnes a British disability researcher work on media representation of disability concludes that framing of disability issues in the media in the UK are 'medicalised' treating people with disability as pitiable, passive and dependent.²⁸

He cites the *Daily Mirror* newspaper in the UK as exploiting emotions of people with disability by emphasising their disabilities to arouse sympathy from the public in a story headlined 'Sick! Why Chris Shames you Minister'. The article sought to give attention to Chris' plight, for not receiving treatment on national insurance but the story treated the boy as a 'special victim' whose only chance of living a normal life was through medical help. Barnes cites Wertheimer 's work that points out two thirds of

²⁴ E Goffman 'Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience' (1981) *Contemporary Sociology*, Vol. 10, No. 1 Jan, 1981) 60-68

²⁵ R M Entman 'Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm' (1993), *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.

²⁶ T Titchkosky *Reading and writing disability differently: The textured life of embodiment*. (2007) Toronto: University of Toronto Press Incorporated. 5-10

²⁷ (n 3 above)

²⁸ C Barnes 'Disabling imagery and the media: An exploration of the principles for media representations of disabled people' (1992) The British Council of Organisations of Disabled People

coverage on health stories about fund raising depicted disabled people as needing help from the public.²⁹

Barnes categorises news representation of people with disability into ten different frames; that is as 'pitiable and pathetic, object of violence, sinister and evil, atmosphere of curiosity and super cripple'.³⁰ He adds that the people with disability are framed as objects of ridicule, as their 'own worst enemy', as 'sexually abnormal', a burden and also 'incapable of participating fully in community life'. Barnes also found out that some media organisations have succeeded in framing people with disability as normal people. About images and photographs and used in the media Barnes, elucidates that the usage of 'perfect bodied models' presented in adverts creates the perception that people with disability have a problem. He points out those charity advertisers' continue to portray disabled people as pitiable to raise money and unfortunately recruit able-bodied volunteers to help. Barnes concludes that such gestures seem to entrench stereotypes that 'medicalise, patronise, criminalise and dehumanise' disabled people forming the bed-rock on which the attitudes towards, assumptions and about and expectations of disabled people are based.³¹ Thomson in his research 'Seeing the disabled: popular rhetorics of popular photography' in the United States writes that media in an attempt to tell personal stories of the disabled prefer stories that celebrate the disabled but unfortunately the messages that are published undermine disability identity because they are 'syrupy and infused with pity'.³²

Clogston and Haller's literature on the media framing of disability issues have also identified eight media models of disability reporting.³³ Clogston's categorisation of frames include what he tags: the social pathology model, which presents people with disabilities as charity cases who need donation from society before they can live a normal life. Second is the medical model framing, which presents disability as an illness and therefore people with disability need health professionals for cure. Another frame is disability as 'supercrip' model which projects people with disability as 'superhuman' or 'special' for achieving a feat that is considered normal in the world of the 'abled'. Clogston's fourth categorisation is

29 A Wertheimer, *According to the Papers: Press Reporting on People with Learning Difficulties*, (1988) London, Values Into Action. 35

30(n 28 above)

31 (n 30 above)

32 RG Thomson 'Seeing the disabled: popular rhetorics of popular photography, in: PK Longmore & L Umanski (eds) *The new disability history: American perspectives* (2001) New York University Press. 335-374.

33 B Haller 'If they limp, they lead; news representations and the hierarchy of disability images' in DO Braithwaite & TL Thompson (eds) *Handbook of communication and people with disabilities: Research and application*(2000) 273-287. Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. B Haller 'Rethinking models of media representation of disability' (1995), *Disability Studies Quarterly*, 15:2. JS Clogston 'Journalists' attitudes toward persons with disabilities: A survey of reporters at prestige and high circulation dailies (1992). Conference on Women, Minorities and the Mass Media, March 26-28, Atlanta, GA.

termed 'minority or civil rights model' which sees people with disability as having legitimate grievances and need to assert their right.

The 'cultural pluralism' model is Clogston's last categorisation, is when people with disabilities are presented in the same way non-disabled people might be portrayed with no emphasis on disability.

Haller's frame classification is in three model: the business model where the media present news such that making life easy for people with disability means incurring a great cost which is not worth it; then the legal model, suggest that more litigation in court is the only way that people with disabilities can assert their rights. Lastly, the consumer model which considers people with disabilities as an 'untapped consumer group' and that focusing on their needs could be profitable to businesses and society in general. It is obvious from the literature reviewed above that framing of disability has been largely negative and unfair to people with disability.

Media Labeling

Labels construct identity or in other words labels are languages used to classify people, objects, products and services. In the context of disability labeling has to do with words that are used to identify people with disability which either has a negative or positive effect. The word *disability* in itself is seen as problematic, taking into consideration the root meaning of the word.³⁴ US disability scholar Linton argues that the prefix 'dis' which has a Latin root means apart or asunder. Hence the word could be translated directly to mean 'without ability'. Linton therefore states that;

To use the verb disable, means in part to deprive of capability or effectiveness.

The prefix creates a barrier, cleaving in two, ability and its absence, its opposite. Disability is the 'not' condition, the repudiation of ability.³⁵

Linton examines other labels found in the media such as 'the man is a victim of cerebral palsy', and concludes that the word 'victim' denotes a sense of helplessness. She postulates that the use if the word 'victim' implies criminal action while also 'giving life, power and intention to the condition while rendering the person passive and helpless'. She also finds expressions such as 'suffering from' or 'afflicted as problematic' and suggest that language such as 'he has cerebral palsy', serves as a better descriptor because it does not impose negative labels yet presents accurate facts.

Ghanaian disability researcher Avoke states that labeling in disability in Ghana has strong socio-cultural underpinnings³⁶. He explains that the beliefs that disability is tied to spirits, religion and a punishment

³⁴ S Linton *Claiming disability* (1998) New York University Press

³⁵ (n 34 above)

from God form labels that are identify various forms of disability. Avoke cites an example of the Akan in Ghana (the dominant ethnic group) and how the label mental disability as “Nea wanyinagya n’adwene ho’, which means ‘the one who is retarded’ or ‘the one who has outgrown his other brain’³⁷. Such hurtful labels find their way in Ghanaian movies and local language news broadcast scaring people with disability. Other chapters of the research will delve deeper into how the societal labels influence the media and also what professional standards influence media people to label and frame disability issues.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

The study has five chapters. Chapter one introduces the study, discussing the crux of the research. The chapter discusses the motivation of the topic, problem statement and research questions the study seeks to answer.

Chapter two focuses on socio-cultural framing and labeling of disability in Africa and specifically Uganda by examining the various models of disability. The chapter relies extensively on existing literature on media labeling and framing of disability issues. Also, this chapter looks at media theoretical framework in light with CRPD expectations of the media.

Chapter three is dedicated to some news reports of labels given to disability issues. It also looks at how the media labels people with disabilities with local languages. The chapter also focuses on positive media labels of disability issues. Again, this chapter would examine the International Classification of Impairments, Disabilities and Handicaps (ICIDH) accepted language that eliminates negative labeling of people with disabilities.

Chapter four discusses findings of interviews of media personnel and people with disabilities. Chapter five is dedicated to research conclusion and recommendations.

³⁶(n 23 above)

³⁷ (n 36 above)

CHAPTER II

CRPD AND THE MEDIA

The CRPD was negotiated and carefully drafted over a period of 4 years after passionate calls for equality and elimination of discrimination against persons with disability³⁸. As of October 2013, 154 countries have signed the convention, and 126 countries have ratified it. Ninety countries have also signed the Optional Protocol to the Convention and 76 countries have ratified it.³⁹

Although the International Bill of Human Rights, which constitutes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Convention on Economic Social Cultural and Rights (ICESCR) have equality and non discrimination clauses, found in many national constitutions, the provision has not proved strong enough to ensure equality. Persons with disability need extra measures such as provision of Braille for the blind and disability friendly buildings, in order for persons with physical disability to live normal lives and make the clause ‘without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status’ meaningful.⁴⁰ Indeed the rights of persons with disability enshrined in the CRPD are not new rights; many of its provisions are already scattered in seven other Human Rights Treaties as acknowledged in its preamble.⁴¹ The CESCR General Comments on ‘Persons with Disability’ adopted in 1994 clearly showed that equality clauses were inadequate to do away with discrimination. The committee stated:

Disability is closely linked to economic and social factors - conditions of living in large parts of the world as so desperate that the provision of basic needs for all – food, water, shelter, health protection and education - must form the cornerstone of national programmes. Even in countries which have a relatively high standard of living, persons with disabilities are very often denied the opportunity to enjoy the full range of economic, social and cultural rights recognized.⁴²

The CRPD was therefore borne out of several injustices meted to persons with disability and the need to reverse inequality. Former High Commissioner for Human Rights, Louise Arbour, was very positive about the Convention stating that:

38 <http://www.un.org/disabilities> (accessed on 16 August 2013)

39 Convention and Optional Protocol Signatures and Ratifications <http://www.un.org/disabilities/countries.asp?id=166> (accessed on 16 August 2013)

40 UDHR Article 2

41 The Preamble of the CRPD recalls the following ICESCR, CESCR, CERD, CEDAW, CAT, CRC, CRMW

42 CESCR, General Comment 5, Persons with Disabilities.

This new treaty will play a key role. It will affirm the rights of persons with disabilities explicitly and spell out the action needed to implement them. It will also raise awareness about the human rights of persons with disabilities.⁴³

Perhaps the need to raise awareness and change stereotypes inspired drafters to make two broad provisions about media responsibility for better representation of persons with disability. Article 8 of the CRPD broadly headlined: 'Awareness-raising' which deals with changing stereotypes, societal and negative attitudes towards persons with disability, places a great deal of responsibility on media. Article 8(c) states: 'encourage' all organs of the media to portray persons with disabilities in a manner consistent with the purpose of convention'. The word 'encourage' may seem to suggest that the media is not bound by the convention and that media operators can use their discretion. However, article 4 of the convention headlined 'general obligations' sheds more light on whether the media can simply use their discretion when representing persons with disability.

The provision charges the State to take relevant actions to 'eliminate discrimination by private enterprises and public organisations'. The point here is that though the media is encouraged to be responsible when representing people with disability, the State has the power and responsibility to guard people with disability against hurtful representation of the media to achieve the object and purpose of the convention. Article 4(1) (a) affirms this position by urging all state parties to adopt measures either 'legislative or administrative to undo years of misrepresenting disability. The above provision can be traced directly to the Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons paragraph 10 which declares that: 'Disabled persons shall be protected against all exploitation, all regulations and all treatment of a discriminatory, abusive or degrading nature'.⁴⁴ The declaration is not binding but serves as a soft law which is logically convincing to media organizations and journalists not to exploit, discriminate, abuse and degrade persons with disability.

The CRPD provision encouraging media is not new; a reporter and a member of the negotiating team of the CRPD Marianne Schulze points to the fact that the provision is similar to article 17 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), which urges the mass media not to promote materials that would harm children.⁴⁵ Further, the CRPD encourages the media to promote equality in terms of making information

43 Statement by Louise Arbour, High Commissioner for Human Rights, General Assembly Ad Hoc Committee, Seventh Session, New York, 27 January 2006.

44 Declaration on the Rights of Disabled Persons

45 M Schulze Understanding the UN convention on the rights of persons with disabilities' (2010) Handicap International 74

accessible to persons with disability. Operators of television media have the responsibility of providing sign language interpreters to communicate with people who are Deaf.⁴⁶

LANGUAGE OF DISABILITY

‘Sticks and stones may break my bones, but names will never hurt me’ is an English adage that means that language or labels have no effect. Many have argued that re-naming an object does not make the object less or more of what it is. For example using politically correct expressions such as a person with mental disability to replace degrading tags such as lunatic or imbecile would be of no consequence if attitudes toward persons with mental disability do not change. This view is similarly reflected in Shakespeare’s famous quote; ‘What is in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet’. What really is in a name? I state that there is indeed a lot in a name!

Names and language are tags used for identification but they are not empty labels because they carry meanings that reinforce a behavioural pattern. Calling an object by a name determines the nature of the response because of years of association which its use conjures. For instance, the word ‘dumb’ which is used to refer to people who are unable to voice out words evokes different meanings of lack of intelligence and stupidity. The Oxford dictionary for instance explains the expression ‘playing dumb’ to mean ‘pretending to be unintelligent or unaware in order to deceive someone or gain an advantage’. It is indeed demeaning and unacceptable to describe someone who is unable to voice out words as unintelligent. It is therefore important to re- represent people with disability who have endured years of stereotype and negative name calling such as dumb, moron, imbecile, lunatic, cripple among many others. However, it would be baseless to have a cosmetic change of terminology if societal attitudes towards those persons with disability do not change.

ICIDH and ‘disabling language’

It is trite to say that people with disability have been negatively represented. Languages which negatively reflect how people perceive disability, perpetuating stereotypes, myths and discrimination is what has been termed ‘disabling language’ by disability scholars.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Article 21 CRPD

⁴⁷ G Manus ‘Is your language disabling?’ (1975) *Journal of Rehabilitation* 41 (5), 35 and J La- Forge, ‘Preferred language practice in professional rehabilitation journals’ (1991) *Journal of Rehabilitation* 57 (1), 49-51.

Identifying appropriate terminology has opened up discussion and controversies, as different Disability Rights Movements have different terminologies they deem appropriate. The World Health Organization (WHO) contributed immensely to the development of disability language, following the publication of the International Classification of Impairments, Disabilities, and Handicaps (ICIDH) in 1980.⁴⁸ The ICIDH was essential because it provided information in the fields of health care, social service delivery, social security, welfare, health planning and health statistics. The classification was broadly done under three umbrella terms, impairment, disability and handicap.

Impairment was defined as; any loss or abnormality of psychological, physiological or anatomical structure or function.

Disability was defined as; any restriction or lack (resulting from an impairment) of ability to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for a human being.

Handicap was also defined as: a disadvantage for an individual resulting from impairment or disability, that limits or prevents the fulfillment of a role that is normal (depending on age, sex and social or cultural factors) for that individual'.⁴⁹

These definitions have been criticised for 'medicalising' disability, misrepresenting disability and begs for deeper understanding as to what constitutes normal and abnormal. Scholars such as Pfeiffer criticise the ICIDH for equating poor health to disability, giving control to medical professions to improve the lives of people with disability.⁵⁰

Degener criticises part of the ICIDH as revealing military character following the use of words such as 'eradication policy' and 'detection and management of common blinding disorder'.⁵¹ She stated that the WHO wording seems to suggest that their 'policy leaves no room for individual variation from what is considered normal health status'.⁵² Describing the experiences of Canadian veterans who fought in the World War II, Disability Scholar Tremblay states that after the war, veterans who had spinal cord injuries used wheelchairs which made their life logically normal; bringing back the question of what ICIDH deems normal.⁵³

⁴⁸ P Wood 'International Classification of Impairments, Disabilities, and Handicaps: A manual of classification relating to the consequences of disease' (1980) Geneva, World Health Organization.

⁴⁹ (n 48 above)

⁵⁰ D Pfeiffer 'The ICIDH and the need for its revision' ((1998) *Disability & Society*, 13:4, 503-523

⁵¹ T Degener & Y Koster-Dreese 'Human rights and disabled persons: Essays and relevant human rights instruments' (1995) Martinus Nijhoff Publishers 23-25

⁵² (n 51 above)

⁵³ M Tremblay 'Going back to civvy street: A historical account of the impact of the Everest and Jennings wheelchair for Canadian World War II veterans with spinal cord injury' (1996), *Disability & Society*, 11, 149 -169.

ICIDH's language influence globally cannot be in doubt since it was translated into 16 languages worldwide.⁵⁴ It was therefore not surprising that Disability Rights Movement in the 1980's did not favour the use of the term 'handicapped' which was alluded to 'cap in hand' and begging.⁵⁵ Pfeiffer has argued that ICIDH blames the victim instead of focusing on how society has framed disability as a disadvantage adding that the challenges that people with disability face are not caused by the impairment or the disability, but are a societal creation.⁵⁶

These criticisms backed calls for review of the ICIDH in order to change the language from medical to social model of disability. Social model of disability highlights constraints that people with disability face because of societal discrimination and not the physical impairments. What is considered appropriate disability language varies and changes with time. Auslander and Gold write that those terms such as 'retarded', 'wheelchair bound' were considered appropriate in past are now seen as offensive.⁵⁷ Just below is a brief look at the history of disabling words.

History of 'disabling' words

'Lame'

The word lame was used in the 17th century to describe persons with physical impairment but later evolved to take other hurtful meanings⁵⁸. For example, the Oxford dictionary defines the phrase 'lame excuse' as an excuse that is 'uninspiring and weak'. With such negative associations over the years, lame does not only refer to people who have physical impairment but is now considered an insult.

'Cripple'

Crowley and Crowley trace cripple from the old English word 'crypel' which means creep or crawl.⁵⁹ The word was simply used to describe people with physical impairment but the words have taken a different twist and has been given a strong negative meaning. Expressions such as 'a crippling economy' and 'crippling effect' which suggests total breakdown has made the word cripple insulting.

'Moron'

⁵⁴ D Pfeiffer 'The ICIDH and the need for its revision' (1998) *Disability & Society*, 13:4, 503-523.

⁵⁵ (n 31 above)

⁵⁶ (n 54 above)

⁵⁷ GK Auslander & N Gold 'Disability terminology in the media: a comparison of newspaper reports in Canada and Israel' (1999) *Social Science & Medicine* 48 (1999) 1395-1405.

⁵⁸ W Little et al in (1969) 'The shorter Oxford English dictionary on historical principles (1969) (ed. Onions, C.T.), 3 edition, Oxford: The Clarendon Press.

⁵⁹ M Crowley & M Crowley 'The crippled creep' (2000) *Take Our Word For It*, 94, <http://www.takeourword.com/Issue094> (accessed on 19 August 2013)

The word moron now sounds very insulting and demeaning but it was accepted as a science terminology to describe the 'feeble minded' and was accepted by the American Association for the feebleminded in 1910⁶⁰. Although Dr. Henry H. Goddard, the scientist who coined the word, coined it to describe people with Intelligence Quotients (IQ) below 75, it has evolved into an insulting language and has therefore been rejected as a scientific terminology. Moron takes its root from the Greek word 'moros' meaning 'fool, stupid'.

'Retard'

Retard in English means to delay, under-development or keep back and it originates from the Latin verb 'retardo' meaning, 'to delay', taken from the root word 'tardus', meaning 'slow or late'.⁶¹ The word was used mildly to describe people who have intellectual disability as being 'slow' as compared to 'normal' people. Disability rights movements have rejected the word and criticised its use as superficially creating a dichotomy of what is normal and abnormal'⁶²

'Deaf and Dumb'

Hard of hearing people have been labeled deaf and dumb for many years. Breaking the phrase apart means people who cannot hear and speak. Worldwide disability right movements especially the American National Association of the Deaf disagree with such expressions arguing that the use of sign language is a form of communication hence cannot be equated with silence. Greek philosopher Aristotle is said to be the first person to put together 'deaf with dumb' and associated it with lack of intelligence when he stated that of all persons who are poor from birth, the blind is more intelligent than the 'deaf and dumb'.⁶³ Deafness and dumbness have since then been associated with lack of intelligence and is regarded as insulting and unacceptable.

A shift from insulting labels saw the emergence of nouns like the 'disabled', which has also been criticised for equating people with whatever disability they have. Acceptable disability language as advocated by People First is to put 'people first' ahead of their disability. Instead of disabled people,

⁶⁰ M Crowley & M Crowley 'Words to the wise'(2001) *Take Our Word For It*, 132

⁶¹ L Clark & S Marsh 'Patriarchy in the UK: The Language of Disability' (2002). www.leeds.ac.uk/disability-studies (accessed on 3 September 2013)

⁶² R. Reiser & M Mason *Disability equality in the classroom: a human rights issue* (1990) London: Inner London Education Authority. 91-93.

⁶³ In On the Soul, Book II, 420b.5, and 420b.29 421a.1, Aristotle also said that the soul resides in the windpipe and the areas of the body that create speech, and that "voice is sound with a meaning. Cited in BL Gracer 'What the Rabbis Heard: Deafness in the Mishnah'(2003) *Disability Studies Quarterly* Volume 23, No. 2 192-205

'people with disability' is deemed more appropriate terminology.⁶⁴ Proponents of people first terminology have argued that for example 'children who are deaf' or 'people who are blind' focus more on the individuals than the functionality or disability. Some however disagree with such views arguing that the focus should rather be societal barriers and not the individual; scholars like Kailes claim that 'people-second' terms are 'sloppy short-cuts'.⁶⁵ The point in her argument is that people who have been historically oppressed for a long time need to face real issues and not simply changing names or terms. La Forge also argues that the use of such euphemisms or the whole point of putting disability second reinforces the notion that having a disability is negative.⁶⁶ An example is that black people do not refer to themselves as 'people who are black' but claim the label black and are therefore proud of it so the disability community should claim identity as disabled and stop cutting and pasting words to make them feel better. The debate on 'disabled' and 'disability' continues but the term people with disability seem to be more favoured by many professionals and authors.

Brouhaha over disability language

With all the brouhaha over terminologies, many US Disability Rights groups forged together and came out with a guideline for journalists when reporting disability issues in 2002. Over 40 disability groups endorsed the guideline for reporting and writing about people with disabilities, commonly referred to as a 'Disability Bible' and has been published into Associated Press Stylebook to guide journalists.⁶⁷ The Stylebook favours the term 'people with disability' over disabled, deaf is favoured over the use 'hearing impaired', Mongol, Mongoloid, and Downs child according to the book is wrong rather 'person with Down syndrome is acceptable'.⁶⁸ The book also discourages the use of words such as dwarf to describe people with short stature. It is argued in the book that dwarfism is an accepted medical term, but it should not be used as general terminology; instead 'little people' is acceptable. It has been noted that labeling of disability in the United States news media has improved with time following the adoption of guidelines for reporting and that acceptable disability language within the media signals a new paradigm in the way people with disabilities will be framed in the future.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ People First *These look just as sickening to people with learning difficulties* (1992) London: People First.

⁶⁵ J Kailes, (1985) Watch your language, please. *Journal of Rehabilitation* 41 (5)pp 68- 69.

⁶⁶ J La Forge 'Preferred language practice in professional rehabilitation journals' (1991). *Journal of Rehabilitation* 57 (1) 49-51

⁶⁷ N Goldstein (ed) *The Associated Press stylebook and briefing on media law* (2002) Cambridge,MA, Perseus.

⁶⁸ (n 67 above)

⁶⁹ B Haller et al 'Media labeling versus the US disability community identity: a study of shifting cultural language' (2006) *Disability & Society*, 21:1, pp 61-75,

Analysing the history of disabling words, intense discussions by disability rights groups on appropriate terminologies and adoption of guidelines for journalists to improve representation of people with disability shows how far fighting for suitable representation has come. The same however cannot be said about African countries, where Disability Rights Movement are less active and less influential and thus negative cultural framing persists.

The next chapter looks at the general framework for the protection of disability rights in Uganda. It would assess the various laws, policy and institutions responsible for ensuring that people with disability are represented appropriately. Also, the next chapter looks at cultural framing of disability in Uganda and in addition examine how newspaper in Uganda have framed disability.

CHAPTER III

FRAMEWORK FOR DISABILITY RIGHTS IN UGANDA

Uganda is located in East Africa with a population of 33 million.⁷⁰ It is estimated that persons with disability make up 16 percent of the population; which is significant.⁷¹ Uganda ratified the CRPD and its Optional Protocol on 25 September 2008 without reservations.⁷² This means that Uganda has committed itself to obligations enshrined in the CPRD. In the context of this research, the government of Uganda has an obligation to portray people with disability with dignity. The National Constitution of Uganda also places an obligation on government to ensure people with disability are treated equally.⁷³ For example, the Constitution provides representation for marginalized groups on all state recognised bodies as well as recognition and promotion of sign language for the deaf.⁷⁴ The constitution also provides affirmative action to address inequalities that exist against people with disabilities. For example, the Parliamentary Elections Statute of 1996 has assigned five seats for representatives of people with disabilities in Parliament, with at least a woman as well as people who use sign language.

Uganda also has a National Council for Disability Act of 2003, which mandates the Council to bring issues affecting people with disabilities to the attention of Government. Further, a National Policy on Disability is also in place to guide implementation of the disability rights. Section 4 of the National Policy on Disability focuses on awareness creation programmes to reduce all forms of discrimination and change societal attitudes through radio, television and other media outlets.⁷⁵ The National Media Council Uganda established under the Press and Journalist Act CAP 105 has a duty of ensuring for promoting media responsibility and instilling high sense of professionalism among media practitioners.

The point here is that Uganda has institutions to ensure media professionalism hence the body is also responsible for guaranteeing suitable representation of persons with disability according to standards laid down in the CRPD. The above framework such as the CPRD, the constitution, and the national policy listed above, points to the fact that Uganda has an adequate framework to change societal perception and also represent disability positively.

⁷⁰ Uganda Demographics Profile 2013 <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/> (accessed on 10 October 2013)

⁷¹ (n 5 above) and Uganda Demographic and Household Surveys 2011

⁷² (n 39 above)

⁷³ Article 21(1) 1995 Constitution of Uganda

⁷⁴ Article 32 1995 Constitution of Uganda

⁷⁵ National policy on disability(2006)

Cultural framing of disability

To understand the context of media framing and labeling of disability in Uganda, it is important to look at cultural attitudes and beliefs towards disability based on the assertions that media content reflects values and attitudes of society.

Examination of proverbs reflect attitudinal pattern of a group towards particular issue and so it will be appropriate to rely on them to explain values and attitude towards disability.⁷⁶ Uganda has many ethnic groups and at least 44 languages but I choose Luganda, a Bantu language spoken by the Baganda people who constitute the largest ethnic group in Uganda.⁷⁷

According to a Luganda lecturer at the Makerere University, Dr Kizza Jackson, the prefix 'Mu' in Luganda introduces a person while the prefix 'Ki' (pronounced chi) refers to an object. Therefore 'Muganda' means a person from the *Ganda* tribe. 'Muzibe' also means person who is visually impaired. The Luganda word for a person with physical disability is 'Mulema'. Another Bantu prefix *Ka* introduces something little or something considered excessively strange. In Luganda, a person with no speech is referred to as 'Kasiru', which literally means a stupid person. The *Ka* prefix is derogatory, but in the case of *Kasiru* there is no better way of putting it. Reasonably, 'Musiru' can be used to show respect but that word is an insult meaning 'stupid' and addressed to all persons irrespective of disability. 'Kiggala' also in Luganda refers to people who are hard of hearing but it literally means 'close' or a person whose ears are closed. *Kiggala* also has the prefix *Ki*, which means that people who are hard of hearing are also qualified as objects and not humans. 'Muggala' could be an appropriate expression but there is no such word in Luganda. 'Kikulekule' in Luganda also refers to a person with multiple forms of disability, it literally means something strange. Another Luganda word 'Kateyamba' is used to label people with multiple forms of disability. The word *Kateyamba* means helplessness or someone who cannot help him or herself. This study of the how Luganda language sheds light on attitudes and societal meaning of disability. Perhaps people with visual impairment and people with some degree of physical disability are more 'fortunate' because Luganda accords them the *Mu* prefix (humans; *Muzibe and Omulema*) while other forms of disability are tagged disparagingly as objects, little or strange (*Ki or Ka* prefixes). As to

⁷⁶ J Kisanji 'Attitudes and Beliefs About Disability in Tanzania, in B O'Toole and R McConkey (eds) *Innovations in developing countries for people with disabilities* (1995) Bologna, Italy: Lisieux Hall Publications in association with Associazione Italiana Amicidi Raoul Follereau 51-70.

⁷⁷ Interview with Dr Kizza Jackson Lecturer Makerere University, Department of Linguistics 10 October 2013.

why the Luganda language would discriminate against person with disability by regarding one form of disability as human and another as an object is highly unclear.

Other African countries have similar disabling culture and language, which expose negative attitudes towards disability. For example among the *Ga* ethnic group in Ghana, a person who has no speech is called ‘mumu’, which means a stupid person, similar to Luganda’s *Kasiru*. The largest ethnic group in Ghana, the Akan also refers to person with physical disability as ‘bafai’ literally meaning ‘half’ or a person who is born incomplete. It is also a taboo for any persons with disability to visit a chief Palace and so by inference people with disability cannot be chiefs.⁷⁸ The explanation behind this taboo is that the chief’s eyes must only see what is considered culturally wholesome.⁷⁹

However, some proverbs in Luganda also suggest positive frames and attitudes towards disability. The proverb: ‘Omulema y’amanya bwa’genda’ means everybody with disability finds a way around it, suggesting that disability should not be a limiting factor. Another proverb is quoted: ‘Awali omulema tewafu nyiriwa nwe’, meaning ‘you should not mock a ‘lame’ person in his presence’. That proverb calls on society to respect people with disability and it is considered a taboo for children to mock people with disability else they will also be disabled in the future or give birth to disabled children. Although the taboo conveys a message that people with disability should not be mocked, it also frames disability as a condition that one should never have, inculcating and upholding the negative frame of disability as ‘unfortunate’.

Away from culture, the language of the Ugandan Penal Code Act, to some extent, is disabling and negatively frames and labels disability. The heading of section 130 of the penal code screams; ‘defilement of idiots or imbeciles’ and the full provision states that-

Any person, who knowing a woman or girl to be an idiot or imbecile, has or attempts to have unlawful carnal knowledge of her, under circumstance not amounting to rape but which prove that the offender knew at the time of the commission of the offence that the woman was an idiot or imbecile, commits felony and is liable to imprisonment for fourteen years.⁸⁰

The language used in the Penal Code Act ‘idiots and ‘imbeciles’ is highly insulting and does more harm by placing labels on people it seeks to protect. Also, the offence of engaging in sexual intercourse with

⁷⁸ D Dartey ‘Disability taboos are not fit for middle-income Ghana’ (2009) *Star Ghana*

⁷⁹ (n 78 above)

⁸⁰ Uganda Penal Code Acts, Section 130

'idiots' and 'imbeciles' amounts only to defilement not rape, suggesting a lenient punishment, unlike rape which attracts stiffer penalties. Many have also argued that the Penal Code is discriminatory because it assumes that every sexual affair with a person with mental disability constitutes defilement leaning on to the assertion that they are not capable of giving consent.⁸¹ The Penal Code largely contributes to derogatory labels like 'idiots' and 'imbecile', seen in newspaper headlines such as; 'No sex with imbecile women' in the *New Vision* newspaper, published on 5 December 2008.⁸² The example shows how language in laws could influence news reports but it does not also take away the fact that the media should be responsible when reporting on issues of disability. The next section of this chapter will focus on how the media in Uganda has framed disability.

HOW THE MEDIA HAS LABELLED AND FRAMED DISABILITY IN UGANDA

The term media is very broad and includes radio, television, newspaper, magazine, film production and the new media such as social media. However, this study is a textual analysis of disability terminologies in the print media, sampling three major Ugandan newspapers over a five-year period. I selected the *New Vision* newspaper, the *Daily Monitor* and the *Observer* newspaper because they are considered to have large circulation figures.⁸³ Although majority of Ugandans rely extensively on radio for news because it is more accessible on mobile phone handsets and affordable to many rural households, I chose the print newspaper media for this research.⁸⁴ The reason for preferring the print news media is because radio stations in Uganda rely on newspaper content for news analysis programmes especially in the mornings and so newspaper content extends to radio, the most popular media in Uganda. Also, because many newspapers publish their content online and provide links to social media platforms such as *facebook*, the content is exposed to wide readership. Search words to gather data on disability is the reliance on disability terminologies such as 'disabled', 'disability', 'cripple', 'lame', 'blind', 'deaf', 'dumb', 'deaf and dumb', 'lunatics', 'mad', 'handicap', 'physically challenged' and 'mentally retarded'.

Data was collected for the period between 2010 and 2013 and the reason for limiting the research to 2010 is because Uganda signed the CRPD in 2008 and hence it is essential to know how the media reported disability at least two years away from the time the convention was signed and ratified. The

⁸¹ Unpublished: D Naggita-Musoke 'The States The law; the case for the protection of the rights of persons with disabilities in Uganda Unpublished SJD Thesis 2012 University of Wisconsin-Madison

⁸² 'No sex with imbecile women' *The New Vision* 5 December 2008. <http://www.newvision.co.ug/D/9/500/662966>

⁸³ <http://www.acme-ug.org/news/item/389-daily-monitor-gets-british-editor?tmpl=component&print=1> (accessed on 25 October 2013)

⁸⁴ (n 5 above)

listed terminologies which have nothing to do with disability in various news articles, were eliminated. For example, 'Vandalism could cripple power supply' or 'ICC will cripple Kenyan government' were eliminated from the data.

It is also important to note that this work employs a qualitative research method that is 'concerned with developing an understanding of the meaning and experience dimensions of human lives and social worlds'.⁸⁵ The research is not interested in number of times or frequency a disability terminology was used in various newspapers but rather explore descriptive trends of newspapers and how they frame stories.

20 articles from the *New Vision* newspaper and 10 from the *Daily Monitor* and 15 from the *Observer* were sampled for this research. *New Vision* newspaper has the largest sample because it had more news stories on disability than the other two newspapers. The results of the analysis would be discussed in various labels and thematic frames.

Derogatory labels of disability

As a follow up to disabling language as discussed in chapter two, this section focuses on the language used to label persons with disability in the Ugandan media. Words such as deaf and dumb, lame, lunatic, mad man, dwarfs, imbecile can be found in many headlines and captions in news stories between 2008 and 2013 though many such words are considered insulting to persons with disabilities. The examples;

'Soroti deaf and dumb couple to wed'.⁸⁶ 'Kaberamaido's deaf, dumb couple love each other to death'.⁸⁷ 'Dwarfs want laws for protection'.⁸⁸ 'Deaf and dumb Muslims to get aid'.⁸⁹ 'Deaf and dumb but an efficient receptionist'.⁹⁰ 'Deaf and dumb girl abandoned in hospital'.⁹¹ 'Blind, deaf, dumb, but often raped'.⁹² 'Mad man drives taxi in the city'.⁹³ 'The pains of raising a mentally retarded child'.⁹⁴ 'Lunatic worry Bugiri town'.⁹⁵ 'KCCA to relocate lunatic people'.⁹⁶ 'Amaru lunatic torches staff room'.⁹⁷ 'Lame defiler asks for

⁸⁵ E Fossey *etal* 'Understanding and evaluating qualitative research' (2002) *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry* 36: 717–732

⁸⁶ 'Soroti deaf and dumb couple to wed' *The New Vision* 28 June 2013

⁸⁷ 'Kaberamaido's deaf, dumb couple love each other to death' *The New Vision* 25 July 2013

⁸⁸ 'Dwarfs want law for protection' *The New Vision* 10 January 2010

⁸⁹ 'Deaf and dumb Muslims to get aid' *The New Vision* 15 March 2013

⁹⁰ 'Deaf and dumb but an efficient receptionist' *The Daily Monitor* 6 November 2011

⁹¹ 'Deaf and dumb girl abandoned in hospital' *The New Vision* 20 February 2012

⁹² 'Blind, deaf, dumb, but often raped' *The New Vision* 22 June 2013

⁹³ 'Mad man drives taxi in the city' *The New Vision*

⁹⁴ 'The pains of raising a mentally retarded child' *The New Vision*

⁹⁵ 'The pains of raising a mentally retarded child', *The New Vision* 11 June 2012

⁹⁶ 'Lunatic worry Bugiri town' *The New Vision* 18 October 2013.

lighter verdict'.⁹⁸ 'Born deaf and dumb, abandoned by his parents, he now faces a 12-year prison sentence for alleged defilement'.⁹⁹

These insulting labels in headlines are as recent as 2013, indicating that the media in Uganda has not moved away from using archaic insulting words which the many media organisations worldwide especially the western media are moving away from.¹⁰⁰ The headline 'Amuru 'lunatic' man torches staff room' published in the *New Vision* on 7 January 2013 is unacceptable.¹⁰¹ The quotation marks on lunatic may seem to suggest that it does not qualify the man in question as a person with mental disability but the opening sentence lays bare the intention of the writer. The journalist states; 'Amuru district will have no staff room when school opens for first term after the only one at the school was lit by a man said to be mad'. The story does not end there as it continues saying; '24-year-old Wilfred Omony, whom the residents said was a lunatic, set the room on fire on Saturday'. Such insulting labels should not be regarded as harmless because it carries strong meanings that stigmatise persons with disability. Ben-Moshe argues that some words may not directly mean to cast a slur on person with disabilities but they eventually do:

When we use terms like 'retarded,' 'lame,' or 'blind' – even if we are referring to acts or ideas and not to people at all – we perpetuate the stigma associated with disability. By using a label, which is commonly associated with disabled people to denote deficiency, a lack, or an ill-conceived notion, we reproduce the oppression of people with disabilities.¹⁰²

Dilemma: To use 'people with disabilities' or 'disabled persons'

Occasionally newspapers in Uganda have been sensitive to disability terminologies and framing of disability. 'Value children with disabilities', 'Are children with disabilities given enough attention', 'are stories that place emphasis on people and not their disability'.¹⁰³ The first story draws the attention of the public and government to the challenges children with disability face in terms of education and urges parents not to abandon their children because of disability. The story does not use any insulting

⁹⁷ 'KCCA to relocate lunatic people' *The New Vision* 15 August 2011.

⁹⁸ 'Lame defiler asks for lighter verdict' *The New Vision* 1 September 2012

⁹⁹ 'Who will hear my cry' *The New Vision* 1 September 2010.

¹⁰⁰ (n 69 above)

¹⁰¹ 'Amaru lunatic torches staff room'. *The New Vision* 7 January 2013.

¹⁰² L Ben-Moshe *Lame idea: Disabling language in the classroom*, in: *Building pedagogical curb cuts: incorporating disability into the university classroom and curriculum* (2005) (Syracuse, NY, Syracuse University Press), 107–115.

¹⁰³ 'Value children with disabilities' *The New Vision* 18 June 2012 and 'Are children with disabilities given enough attention' *The New Vision* 12 September 2013

label, rather puts children ahead of their disability. The story is an exemplary story of how disability stories should be told, making use of terminologies such as ‘hard of hearing’ to replace deaf, ‘speech impaired’ to replace dumb as is commonly found in many pieces. Perhaps the only word that takes away the shine from the story, ‘are children with disabilities given enough attention’ is the use of the word ‘mental retarded learners’ instead of persons with learning disability. That aside, the story could be a model story on disability. ‘Nothing could come between Rev Mutagulwa and his Alice’ is another interesting headline that talks about the social life of a couple who are hard of hearing.¹⁰⁴ The headline carries no labels and treats the couple as humans first. Unfortunately, however the body of the story refers to the couple as deaf and dumb. It is a departure from the use of negative labels in many headline stories cited earlier.

Many equally good stories about disability had the terminology ‘disabled’ but it does not suggest that such stories are negative or should be dismissed. This is because many disability rights movements are divided over the use of disabled persons or people first terminologies. In the United Kingdom for instance ‘disabled’ is preferred over people first terminologies and argument expounded by British disability scholars like Michael Oliver is the fact ‘disabled’ should not be blamed on individual impairment but rather a societal creation reinforced through negative attitudes which limit people from progressing in society. He therefore defines disabled as ‘ranging from individual prejudices to institutional discrimination, from inaccessible public buildings to unusable transport systems, from segregated education to excluding work arrangements, and so on’.¹⁰⁵ The national disability group in Uganda calls itself ‘National Union of Disabled Persons of Uganda’ (NUDIPU), an indication of the view that they embraced the disabled terminology. In fact many stories written by the *Observer newspaper* with guidance from NUDIPU had the following headlines; ‘Disabled persons’ agony of criss-crossing city roads’ and ‘Report: city buildings inaccessible to disabled’.¹⁰⁶ In an article titled ‘One more label’ by a US disability writer Sylvia Caras, she prefers ‘disabled’ over people first terminologies, arguing that as a bipolar person, the tag disabled had been extremely beneficial to her.¹⁰⁷ She said embracing the term exposed her to many affirmative action programmes that placed her equal with people who call

¹⁰⁴ ‘Nothing could come between Rev Mutagulwa and his Alice’ *The Observer* 13 March 2012

¹⁰⁵ M Oliver *Understanding disability from theory to practice* (1996) (London, Macmillan) 33.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Disabled persons’ agony of criss-crossing city roads’ *The Observer* 6 March 2013 and ‘Report: city buildings inaccessible to disabled’ *The Observer* 1 September 2013.

¹⁰⁷ S Caras ‘Disabled: One more label’ (1994) *Disability & Society*, 9:1, 89-92.

themselves 'nondisabled'. Caras argued that while accepting the disabled term she internalised social definitions of disability and so did not feel negatively labelled. Sylvia Caras writes that;

Labels are used to oppress and dominate. I want to diminish this discrimination and increase inclusion through activism. To achieve this goal, I am using the label 'disabled'.¹⁰⁸

The views raised above should not engineer ideas of confusion in terminologies or difficulties in using labels rather it acknowledges diversity of ideas, pointing to the fact that people with disabilities do not want to be represented negatively as they interpret labels to favor them. It is however important for journalists to know terminologies that people with disability prefer so they get the labels right. It would be however be difficult to have people embracing archaic terminologies like deaf and dumb, lunatic, mad man imbecile and lame as many headlines have labeled people with disability but that is exactly what the media is doing.

Having looked at labels, the next section of this research will analyse how stories have been framed and this will be done along identified themes of frames.

Disability as 'Loveless and Sexless'

'When a dog bites a man it is no news but when a man bites a dog then that is news' is an illustration that journalists rely on to explain the unusual component of what is news. Perhaps that may explain the headline 'Soroti deaf and dumb couple to wed' in the New Vision newspaper¹⁰⁹. Apart from the labeling 'deaf and dumb', the story has been framed to portray the curiosity of two people with disability falling in love and deciding to marry. Perhaps the reason why the two people deciding to marry is considered newsworthy by the journalist is found in the opening of the story;

This will not be your usual wedding ceremony, no doubt ... It is understood that such a rare union, of two deaf and dumb lovers, will be the first in region. But the question on most people's minds is how such a couple can take vows – vows that are normally proclaimed through speech.¹¹⁰

This quote without a doubt depicts a notion that people with disability are supposed to be 'loveless' and hence should not marry. The story reflects that society does not expect them to marry, so their finding a

¹⁰⁸ (n 107 above)

¹⁰⁹ (n 86 above)

¹¹⁰ (n 109 above)

partner becomes so important that it needs to be published. According to the writer, what makes the story rare is 'how such a couple can take vows; evidently perpetuating the stereotypes of what is considered 'normal' as if to suggest that vows should only be taken verbally. The story further states that the man whose name is Enganyu 'can write his name and even use a calculator.' The word even also has another frame to suggest that people with disability are not intelligent enough to use a calculator so the man using a simple calculator becomes so important that it had to be captured in the piece. Another story that perpetuates the stereotypes of 'lovelessness' is: 'Kaberamaido's deaf and dumb couple love each other to death'.¹¹¹ The journalist reported that many people thronged the church to witness the union and this begs the question why would many people fill the church to witness a marriage ceremony. The journalist supplied that information by stating 'loud cheers filled the air from excited Christians as the couple answered to the bishop through an interpreter'. The curiosity here was to find out how the couple would exchange vows, forgetting that sign language is also a language.

Pictures speak for themselves and convey a thousand words. This picture below perhaps explains the curiosity of people with disability marrying .

¹¹¹ (n 87 above)



A little person says: I am a little person but I married a beautiful tall woman. This picture is credited to *Bukedde* news website.¹¹²

¹¹² 'When true love happens' *The New Vision* 7 October 2013



The bride lifts the groom! The picture is credited to Bukedde online.¹¹³

The above picture cannot be described as innocent rather it carries unspoken messages of enforcing stigma because 'normal' stare with intrigue and pass judgment according to what they consider normal or abnormal. Disability scholar Garland-Thomson explains that:

Photography mediates between the viewer and the viewed by authorizing staring... With the actual disabled body absent, photography tends to stylize staring, exaggerating and fixing the conventions of display and eliminating the possibility for interaction or spontaneity. Indeed, photographs of disabled people invite the viewer to stare without inhibition or contrition. They absolve viewers of responsibility to

¹¹³ Bukedde is a Luganda news media affiliated to *New Vision* the covered the story and the pictures and New Vision provided the English version of the story <http://www.bukedde.co.ug/news/74464-omulema-awasizza-embooko-ne-yeewaana-teri-musajja-ansinga-kumanya-mukwano.html> (accessed on 7 October 2013)

the objects of their stares at the same time that they permit a more intense form of staring than an actual social interchange might support.¹¹⁴

Garland-Thomson explains that starers look at people with the social expectations pass prejudicial judgment against those appearing different from the 'normals.'¹¹⁵ The picture of the woman lifting her husband up seems to suggest the unusual; particularly since society has framed the notion that men should rather be seen caring their wives because they are biologically build up. Publishing this picture seems to suggest the opposite and though it challenges societal framing of what is considered normal, the photographs rather give starers the opportunity to pass judgment against social milieu.

Indeed the picture and story of the little person marrying was sensationalised and hyped as if to imply that the little man is not 'man enough' to marry the beautiful woman. The news reporter exposes his curiosity by inquiring how the couple can make love, so the woman answers the reporter by saying 'as I speak to you I am two months pregnant'.

A similar story is found in the *New Vision* newspaper with an introduction that says 'for a long time this story will be told.... On Sunday Kyengera town on the outskirts of Kampala was the scene of what many men are yet to believe'. He continues by writing; 'the story of the two love birds is amazing and mind boggling for most.' It is obvious that the journalist relying on societal perception of people with disability not fit for marriage or perhaps should only marry their kind to filter through the story. The story succeeds by framing people with disability as 'loveless' hence any decision or plan on their part to marry should to make the headlines.

Disability as 'unfortunate overcoming force'

'Eating right saved Zzalwango from the claws of disability' is a headline that appeared in the *New Vision* newspaper; projecting a strong imagery of disability with claws, seizing and capturing an individual and overpowering him or her.¹¹⁶ The story's focus was not disability but about how poor nutrition hampered the growth a young girl, yet it produced an overcoming frame of disability worth discussing. The main story said the baby's inability to walk prompted the family to consult traditional healers because many said the baby had been bewitched and cursed. This illustration shows that to some communities in

¹¹⁴ R Garland-Thomson 'Seeing the disabled; visual rhetorics of popular disability photography in the New Disability History: American Perspective ' (2006) (eds) P Langmore & L Umansky New York University Press 335-74

¹¹⁵ R Garland-Thomson (2009) Staring; how we look, *Oxford University Press* 45-46

¹¹⁶ 'Eating right saved Zzalwango from the claws of disability' *The New Vision* 26 August 2013

Uganda, disability is still a curse from the gods. The story also states that the baby-girl's mother was driven away from her matrimonial home by her in-laws because of superstition. Though society may have its negative attitudes towards disability, the media choice of the words, 'saved from the claws of disability' shows disability as a powerful force that preys on weak or passive individuals. A headline like 'Community blames disability on evil curse' would provide a positive frame by urging people not to blame disability on external forces. The frame reflects negative societal views about disability and the media does not exonerate itself but gets caught up in the societal frame.

A previous story already cited: 'Soroti deaf and dumb couple to wed' also perpetuates the view that disability is unfortunate. A quote from the story; 'all his brothers have no form of disability, which leaves a puzzling question of 'why only him?' 'Why only him' presents a picture of unluckiness of a person who was unfortunately caught up by disability when the entire siblings had no form of disability. Another quote 'the couple have five children; luckily, none of them were born with disabilities' is found in the story 'Kaberamaido's deaf and dumb couple love each other to death'. Obviously, disability in the lens of the journalist is unfortunate and people who have disability are regarded as 'unlucky'.

Another story that carries the unfortunate frame is the headline; 'Tied to a rope because she is disabled' in the Daily Monitor newspaper.¹¹⁷ The piece talked about parents mistreating their young girl by chaining her to a tree to restrain her from straying in the neighbourhood. The story states that the parents leave for work while the girl is chained to the tree exposing her to the vagaries of the weather. The journalist painted a vivid picture of the young girl making bleating sounds like that of a goat and walking round tree when left alone. As sad as the story is, the quote; 'perhaps the saddest part in this story is that this slender and tall teenager was not born with any abnormality', reinforces the notion of societal framing of what is normal or abnormal. 'Mulago's complicated cases: Namulindwa, the deaf, mute mother' published in the Daily Monitor newspaper in September 2013 is another story to consider.¹¹⁸ From the headline the word 'complicated' frames disability as a negative phenomenon. Interestingly, what the newspaper considers complicated is the fact that the woman, who is hard of hearing, without speech and has delivered a baby had no relatives to contact. Apparently, the woman also has a mental disability and so the newspaper paints a picture of helplessness to contact her relatives. The headline 'A woman seeks to contact her family' with a picture would send out the desired

¹¹⁷ 'Tied to a rope because she is disabled' *Daily Monitor* 8 November 2012

¹¹⁸ 'Mulago's complicated cases: Namulindwa, the deaf, mute mother' *Daily Monitor* 8 September 2013

impact but the newspaper rather chose to complicate the story with so many adjectives that adds nothing to the story but carries an insulting label and frames disability as complicated.

Disability as an object of pity

The needs of people with disability have been neglected for many years. Roads do not have disability sections, toilets are inaccessible, transportation is a big challenge and many people with disability face discrimination and cannot find jobs in spite of their education. The media in Uganda tries to tell their story to draw attention to their needs but many of the stories carry frames of pity. If the media in Uganda fail to report on difficulties of persons with disability, it will constitute what feminist writers call symbolic annihilation, which simply means under representation or absence of representation in order to maintain social inequality.¹¹⁹ The media therefore has a responsibility not to ‘symbolically annihilate’ people with disability by misrepresenting and treating them as objects of pity or charity cases but also not neglect them. The issue here is to creatively frame stories in ways that will not evoke pity. For example a sense of pity is invoked in this story headlined ‘Blind, deaf, dumb, but often raped’.¹²⁰ The story is about a young girl with disability who has been raped several times by unscrupulous young men. Though the story already presents a sad picture of rape, adding ‘but raped often’ suggests that the young woman should have been pitied by rapists because of her disability and perhaps also suggesting that it is a lesser crime to rape women who do not have any form of disability. The quote ‘how can people live like animals waiting to take advantage of the unfortunate’ affirms the point that I am making that ‘the young girl is so unfortunate and does not deserve to be raped’ as if other girls deserve rape. The use of ‘blind, deaf and dumb’ also carries archaic strong and insulting labels that should be done away with.

‘Charity framed stories’ usually seek funds for persons with disability for either startup capital for businesses, wheelchairs and many other needs. For example, the headline ‘Denied jobs because of disability’ in the New Vision newspaper focuses on the difficulties of a young man who has university qualification but has no job because of discrimination.¹²¹ The young man at the centre of the story is frustrated because no one would employ him and so out of desperation he appealed for funds from the public to help him set up his own business. The intention of the news piece is to raise funds and make

¹¹⁹ G Tuchman ‘Women’s depiction by the media’(1979) *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 4 (3), 528-542.

¹²⁰ (n 92 above)

¹²¹ ‘Denied jobs because of disability’ *The New Vision* 21 February 2013

the young man independent but if most stories focus on appeal for funds for persons with disability, then they will only be seen as charity cases. Indeed there are quite a number of stories focusing on raising funds for persons with disability and the content of the piece as well as interviews conducted for this study shows that people with disability would rather prefer to be used as charity cases so they can receive the necessary help. The fear with the charity frame is that people would continue to view people with disability as charity cases, inhibiting social barriers that limit them will not be addressed, and the political will of government to fulfill obligations under the CRPD will not be met. Another charity story is headlined; ‘Disabled and riding in a wheelbarrow’, which tells the story of how a young girl is wheeled around in a wheelbarrow because she cannot afford a wheelchair.¹²² Aside that, the story focusing on her difficulty with mobility that has forced her out of school, the story calls on individuals to finance her since government and non –governmental organisations have failed to help. The picture below is worth many words.



¹²² ‘Disabled and riding in a wheelbarrow’ *The New Vision* 26 May 2013

Ekolu pushing his daughter, Atim, in her wheelbarrow. Atim says like her sister, Ationo, she too wants a wheelchair. PHOTO: Andrew Masinde¹²³

It may be true that the government of Uganda had not placed the needs of persons with disability high on their agenda hence the reason to cry for public assistance. If the media fails to find creative and aggressive ways of compelling government to fulfill obligations under the CRPD it will forever run charity stories, which will not improve the needs of persons with disabilities. The results of framing and treating disability as sympathetic, informs many corporate organisations' social responsibility programmes of giving to the 'needy'. Headlines such as therefore common to see titles like 'Ecobank supports the deaf' published by the Observer newspaper.¹²⁴ 'Disabled get 92 wheelchairs' published in the *New Vision* newspaper. 'Deaf and dumb Muslims to get aid' also published in the *New Vision* newspaper on 15 March 2013. Another important question is how far corporate organisations will go to better the lives of people with disability since such acts are usually viewed as acts of tokenism.

News on negative disability culture

It is not all gloomy in terms of misrepresentation and negative framing of disability. The media should be credited for exposing negative attitudes of disability. For example, the *New Vision* published a story titled 'Disabled, pregnant and scoffed at' which exposed how health professionals mistreat people with disability when they visit hospitals.¹²⁵ The woman at the centre of the story stated that because the hospital had no wheelchairs or stretchers, she was lifted to the labour ward and as if that was not humiliating enough, a nurse asked why she bothered to be pregnant with such a disability. The woman narrated in the story that because the labour bed was not accessible, she delivered on the bare floor. The story was positive in the sense that it exposed the need to get accessible labour beds and also exposed how nurses treat persons with disability on delivery wards. The *Observer* newspaper headlined a similar story: 'Disabled decry harassment at hospitals'.¹²⁶ In the story pregnant women complained that nurses vilified them for becoming pregnant when they have physical disability. The women said because they could not stand the humiliation and discrimination they use traditional birth attendants who are more friendly but sadly they said their babies die at birth out of complications, which could have been prevented if they had delivered in hospitals.

¹²³ (n 122 above)

¹²⁴ 'Ecobank supports the deaf' *The Observer* 21 July 2013.

¹²⁵ 'Disabled, pregnant and scoffed at' *The New Vision* 1 August 2013.

¹²⁶ 'Disabled decry harassment at hospitals' *The Observer* 20 July 2011.

Disability framed as ‘not inability’

To reverse the trends of disability viewed as a state of helplessness and dependent on ‘able bodied’ people in Uganda, the media tells different stories of people with disability braving the odds and stereotypes in schools and in their workplaces. A story like, ‘Wasige overcame disability to shine in education’, published in the *New Vision*, tells an exemplary tale of how Wasige was not limited by crutches but graduated with a degree.¹²⁷ Although graduating from the university can be seen as a mere achievement and not extraordinary, it is a big story to tell because people with disability are not privileged enough to have an education, let alone a university degree. The opening paragraph makes the intention of the journalist clear from the quote;

While several Ugandan students drop out of school for reasons like lack of lunch, or lack of transport to school, Stephen Wasige beat all odds, including disability, to reach heights in education.¹²⁸

The story ends by calling on people with disability not to allow their disability to limit them since Wasige has a degree, works as a teacher, plans of doing his masters degree, and is married with children. The reason why this story is considered a super achieving story is that because of how disability has been framed, common achievements are framed as grand. Another ‘super achievement’ story can be found in the headline; ‘Catering institute passes out 400’ in the *Observer* newspaper on November 6, 2011.¹²⁹ The focus of the story is on a woman who is hard of hearing being part of the graduating class. The story states that; ‘Bonabana scaled the heights to attain a diploma in Food Production and Management despite her disability’ adding after her internship she worked hard and so was retained. The girl’s mother who was excited about her daughter’s achievement said ‘they used to call my daughter *kasiru* and no school will accept her, they all rejected her.’ It is important to recap that *Kasiru*, a Luganda word, means a stupid person. So this could explain the motivation for focusing on Bonabana to show how persons who are hard of hearing are not stupid and can work as efficiently as any other person. Perhaps what takes the shine from the framing of the story is the use of the terminology deaf and dumb to describe the young girl who has braved the stereotype to find something profitable to do with her life. Thus in one breath the journalist frames the young girl as intelligent but relies on an archaic expression that labels her as unintelligent. The story to consider under this section is from the *Observer* newspaper publication on August 22, 2013 headlined; ‘Women businesses find hope in Coca-cola’.¹³⁰ This piece is a

¹²⁷ ‘Wasige overcame disability to shine in education’ *The New Vision* 12 November 2012.

¹²⁸ (n 127 above)

¹²⁹ ‘Catering institute passes out 400’ *The Observer* 6 November 2011.

¹³⁰ ‘Women businesses find hope in Coca-cola’ *The Observer* 22 August 2013.

departure from the generic headline of using the disability, disabled or any other disability label. The story recounts how a woman with physical disability overcomes stereotypes and becomes an entrepreneur and starts a livestock farm. The lead of the story is problematic; 'Twenty-seven-year old Dorothy Namuwonge walks fast, but chooses carefully where to place her walking stick. Namuwonge is lame'. The 'lame' label perhaps kills the joy of the story since lameness means lack of intelligence and has nothing to do with being smart to be an entrepreneur.

Crime and disability

It is common to find headlines like 'Man arrested for murder' or 'Man jailed for defilement' yet headlines change when the person involved in a crime has any form of disability. The practice in newspaper is that disability qualifies the crime committed. For instance, 'Disabled man on defilement charge' and 'Lame defiler asks for lighter verdict' are found in the *New Vision* newspaper.¹³¹ The same applies when people who have suffered a crime have any form of disability. In an already cited as story; 'Blind, deaf and dumb but often raped' the disability of young lady qualifies her as a victim of a crime. Use of disability first to qualify a criminal or a victim takes away the main import of the story, which in this case is defilement and rape. Headlines like these seem to imply that the crime report is important because it was committed or inflicted on a person with disability, taking away the major point that they are also humans.

Having looked at how the media frames and labels disability, the next chapter will explore why journalists frame and label disability the way they do. Some journalists will share views on what influences them when writing stories about disability. The limitation here is that not many journalists were interviewed to representativeness and generalisation of the outcome. What is important to this research is not tabulation and calculation of views of journalists but to find reasons why journalists will use a label or frame a story in a particular way. In addition, the next chapter will delve into how the media can be used to reshape attitude already formed in the Ugandan society and whether journalist should be given a guideline to report disability or not.

¹³¹ 'Lame defiler asks for lighter verdict' *New Vision* 1 September 2012

CHAPTER IV

What influenced media to frame and label disability in Uganda

Review of how the media has framed and labeled disability in the previous chapter confirms that traditional framing of disability culture in Uganda is not very different from what the media has portrayed. To recap, while Luganda tags people as ‘stupid’ that is *Kasiru* just because they are hard of hearing and the media also wades into the same condescending label by using ‘deaf and dumb’ to describe people who are hard of hearing and have no speech. *Kateyamba* which means helplessness in Luganda describes people with physical disability; the term is not different from lame used in the Ugandan media to labeled people with physical disability. With such frames in Uganda, it is therefore not surprising that the media would sensationalise two people with disability deciding to marry.

The Deputy Editor of the *New Vision* Catherine Mwesigwa Kizza acknowledges that many journalists do not have knowledge on disability terminologies hence it accounts for labels like ‘deaf and dumb’, lunatic, ‘mad man’ as published in the many newspapers including the *New Vision*. She states that:

English language is not our first language, so when we use words like lunatic it does not necessarily mean that our reporters want to be abusive, many journalists innocently use words to describe the disability without considering the reactions it may evoke from western countries that have English as their first language. Lunatic or mad may be harmful terminologies but we do not mean to insult them¹³².

The response may seem to suggest that local language labels of disability carry different meanings from archaic hurtful English expressions but the truth is that both languages are derogatory. While some labels may be accepted in certain cultures because they carry no condescending meaning, others carry coded meanings and are prohibited in other jurisdictions. For example, in South Africa the term ‘coloured’ is almost institutionalised and not considered derogatory but in the UK ‘coloured’ is unacceptable, rather ‘mixed race’ is preferred. ‘Coloured’ may be offensive in UK because of how the terminology may have contributed to discrimination but in South Africa it is a sign of recognition and hence accepted. It would therefore be disingenuous to justify the use of local words, which are directly insulting; for example lunatic, ‘deaf and dumb’ and then suggest that they are not meant to be offensive but only seeking to describe.

¹³² Interview with Catherine Mwesigwa Kizza, Deputy Editor, *New Vision* 16 September 2013

Perhaps what seems to be working well for countries like the UK and US is that they have strong disability rights groups that have engaged the media and society more on how they should be framed and labeled unlike African countries like Uganda where disability groups are weak.

Catherine Kizza said; 'NUPIDU has not engaged us on terminologies. I am aware of negative terminologies and I try to change bad labels when journalists submit stories for editing but occasionally it slips through and I only see it in print'.¹³³ In fact, another disability reporter at the *New Vision* Gloria Nakajubi who carried a story titled 'deaf and dumb muslims get aid' admitted the terminology she used was wrong but she added that her knowledge on correct disability labels was limited.¹³⁴ Gloria said though she knows it is wrong to use labels like 'deaf and dumb' sometimes rushing to meet daily deadlines compels her to use just any word that comes to mind. She stated:

Sometimes I don't have time to 'google' to find the correct term to use because I have a strict deadline so when I am under intense pressure, I just use any word that comes to mind and I am good to go.¹³⁵

If reporters race against time and fail to use appropriate labels and editors show laxity in righting wrong expressions for publication, then wrong labels would persist and contribute to stereotyping of persons with disability. Catherine Mswegiwa adds that sometimes script editors' may correct wrongful terminologies but when people in charge of crafting headlines get to work, they change the terminologies. For example, headlines like 'a person with mentally health disability dies in a car crash' may be shortened to read 'lunatic dies in a car crash'.

Catherine and Gloria have explained that sometimes the 'newsroom pressure experience', which is driven by meeting deadlines and sometimes the need to have shorter or catchy headlines affects how people with disability are represented. According to Catherine, headlines should always tell stories directly yet in few words; unfortunately, the quest to achieve that is sacrificed for what is right. The features editor of the *Daily Monitor* Carol Beyanga agrees that sometimes headlines about people with disability in Ugandan media can be careless but adds that sometimes there are good reasons for using some insensitive labels:

Sometimes the Daily Monitor has used negative disability labels though that is not the practice here. So to avoid that we creatively allow pictures to tell the story. Sometimes I have to justify why certain labels

¹³³ (n 132 above)

¹³⁴ Interview with Gloria Nakajubi, Journalist *New Vision*, 17 October 2013

¹³⁵ (n 134 above)

like deaf and dumb are used to the editor. Sometimes you cannot avoid those terminologies the communicate directly and people first terminologies may confuse readers.¹³⁶

Carol Beyanga agreed that the Uganda cultural setting and framing of disability issues has a strong influence on how reporters view disability and so it reflects in their stories. She however nurtures the idea of employing a person with disability in the newsroom so the person can direct and help her team of reporters on how to frame disability stories. Though none of the editors would agree that they sometimes sensationalise headlines to grab the attention of the public and move sales of newspapers, the long lists of condescending headlines says it all.

The Chairman of the Independent Media Council Haruna Kanaabi, who is championing self-regulation in Uganda conceded that, persons with disability in Uganda are negatively represented because of lack of knowledge about disability issues. He stated: 'We don't even know the obligations in the CRPD and what is expected of us. We can't blame it on ignorance but the truth is that we don't have the knowledge.'¹³⁷

The researcher attended a workshop organized by NUPIDU aimed at educating the media on disability issues and laws on 17 October 2013 and deduced from the meeting that many journalists had never laid eyes on the CRPD not to talk about reading it. Some did not know that Uganda had signed the CRPD and also aware of an obligation to change negative societal perceptions of disability. The Deputy Executive Director of NUPIDU, Martin Babu Mwesigwa in an interview said engaging the media was critical because they had contributed largely to the stereotype perpetuated in the society. He was worried that statutory bodies who have the power to call the media to order had not done so and the independent media council; a self-regulatory body had also failed to act.¹³⁸

Do people with disability care about how they have been labeled and framed?

The question of whether people with disability cared about how the media had labeled and framed them over the years touched their nerves and they passionately condemned the media. The Deputy Executive Director of NUPIDU, Martin Babu Mwesigwa wondered how the media would be concerned about petty issues such as people with disability marrying should make news and why they would be labeled negatively as if they were not humans:

¹³⁶ Interview with Carol Beyanga Feature Editor, Daily Monitor, 9 October 2013

¹³⁷ Interview with Haruna Kanaabi Chairman Independent Media Council, Kampala Uganda, 13 October 2013.

¹³⁸ Interview with Martin Babu Mwesigwa Deputy Executive NUDIPU Kampala, 17 October 2013

People with disabilities go to school, get married, work, have families, do laundry, grocery shop, laugh, cry, pay taxes, get angry, have prejudices, vote, plan and dream like anyone else. People with disability like other people can have children naturally or through adoption and are also sexual beings so why do we make news when we do any of these things.¹³⁹

A visually impaired man, Boaz Muhumuza said he is always unhappy about how the media portrays people with disability as ‘extreme heroes’ or ‘super achievers’, when what they have achieved is nothing extraordinary:

When I graduated from law school, the newspapers carried a piece about me saying, ‘Blind student graduates on top of his class at Makerere law school.’ Is it an achievement no one has ever achieved, or is it because I am blind, or is it to suggest that a person who is blind cannot graduate on top of his class? I know it is an advocacy for disability empowerment but it also contributes to negative stereotyping.¹⁴⁰

It is therefore wrong to assume that people with disability are happy with how they have been framed and labeled over the years because they have not complained. The programme manager of NUPIDU Martin Ssenoga affirms that they have not complained about how the media labels them because they have been obsessed with drawing attention to issues such as HIV and AIDS, poverty, accessibility to facilities and many other issues affecting people with disability.¹⁴¹ He however added that they are now drawing the attention of the media because the misrepresentation was getting out of control.

From the narrative, lack of knowledge on disability terminology and general unawareness of provisions in the CRPD that encourages the media to project disability positively also accounts for patronizing representation. What is interesting about this observation is that the obligation that CRPD places on the media is relatively unknown to many Ugandan journalists so it is somehow impossible to play a key role of raising awareness and changing societal perceptions about disability. Sensitisation of the media on issues concerning disability is therefore important. Although, many journalists say people with disability do not complain about how they have been negatively represented it does not necessarily mean that the media should be careless in the discharge of their job. Journalist should not allow pressure from the job to determine how they represented people with disability. Choosing negative labels because they are familiar with the public and choosing labels because they are shorter, simple and use of attention grabbing phrases instead of people first terminologies, which are generally longer, is unacceptable. This

¹³⁹ (n 138 above)

¹⁴⁰ Interview with Boaz Muhumuza, Lawyer, Kampala Uganda, 13 September 2013.

¹⁴¹ Interview with Martin Ssenoga, Programme Co-ordinator NUDIPUI, Kampala Uganda, 17 October 2013.

leads to another important question that is begging for answers on media responsibility: should the state regulate the media or is self-regulation the way to go. The next sub-section deals with such questions and how the media can be used to change societal perceptions.

Ensuring media responsibility

Ensuring media responsibility has been a historically topical subject with many varied opinions on how to achieve it. To understand the issue of responsibility it would be important to discuss briefly, the four theories of the press as propounded by Siebert, Peterson, and Schramm.¹⁴² The four theories are the authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist theory.

The authoritarian theory of the press states that, the media is owned and controlled by the elite political class of a society who guide the media on what and how to present stories. The elite class controls all information that is published and the public have no say on what happens in the media. The authoritarian theory of the press is believed to have evolved in the 16-century England and it has a disadvantage of not considering the views of the people.¹⁴³

The Soviet communist theory also submits that media is owned by the people but the state is entrusted to secure the publications in interest for the people.¹⁴⁴ This, as the name suggests works in communist countries or tightly controlled states like China, Russia and other communist countries.

The exact opposite of the authoritarian theory of the press is the libertarian theory, which postulates that government exists to serve the individual hence people should be given the power to own the media and publish what they want.¹⁴⁵ The theory suggests that the public is wiser and therefore, know what is right and can choose what is best for them. The libertarian theory of the press existed in the US in 1800's. Plaisance in his article 'the concept of media accountability reconsidered' argued US president Thomas Jefferson suffered incessant attack from a 'monster' that he had created that is, the free

¹⁴² F Siebert et al. (1956) Four theories of the press: The authoritarian, libertarian, social responsibility, and Soviet communist concepts of what the press should be and do. Urbana: University of Illinois.

¹⁴³ (n 142 above)

¹⁴⁴ (n 143 above)

¹⁴⁵ (n 144 above)

press.¹⁴⁶ Irresponsibility of the free press later led to finding ways to make the media responsible yet free; a phenomenon called the social responsibility theory.

The social responsibility theory allows the media to criticise government, inform the public freely and also respond to the needs of the public. Under social responsibility theory, government has the power to regulate the media according to national interest. Many western countries and African countries including Uganda have embraced social responsibility theory by establishing statutory regulatory mechanism.

Has regulation of media content on disability worked?

The Ugandan 1995 Constitution guarantees Press freedom:- 'every person shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, which shall include freedom of the Press and the Media'¹⁴⁷. Ugandan parliament has enacted the Press and Journalist Act CAP 105 to ensure freedom, which eventually established the Media Council as a statutory regulation body. The functions of the Media Council as listed in section 9 of the Act the Press and Journalists are:

- a. To regulate the conduct and promote good ethical standards and discipline of Journalists
- b. To arbitrate disputes between the public and the media; and the state and the media
- c. To exercise disciplinary control over journalists, editors and publishers.
- d. To promote the free flow of information
- e. To censor Films, Video Tapes, Plays and other related apparatuses for public consumption.

Media Council has the power to:

- a. Compel journalists to apologise to people who are aggrieved following the publishing of a negative story.
- b. Suspend practicing certificate of a journalist for six months.
- c. Order the Media organisation to pay damages to people who are hurt by a news report.¹⁴⁸

Journalists also have the opportunity to appeal against the ruling of the Media Council to the High Court if they are not satisfied with the decision. Suspension of licence for journalists means the Media Council give licence to journalists. Giving certificates to journalists to practice their profession is a serious limitation of the freedom of expression, an upfront to the tenets of democracy. This is not to suggest that freedom of expression should not have any limitations but the key question is should power be

¹⁴⁶ PL Plaisance 'The concept of media accountability reconsidered : Exploring questions of media morality' (2009), *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, 15:4, .257-268

¹⁴⁷ Article 29 1995 Constitution of Uganda

¹⁴⁸ Section 9 Uganda Press and Journalist Act CAP 105

given to a governmental body to decide who should express him or herself through journalism? It can be argued that not regulating the media could spell anarchy and promote media tyranny. The question is should a government body be given the power to decide what and how a journalist should do its work or should it be left in the hands of journalists to self regulate themselves just as other professionals such as lawyers and doctors do. The problem with self-regulation is also problematic, as it has been tagged as a club of 'old boys' defending their own. With the social media gaining so much power and the growing trend of citizen journalism on platforms like *facebook*, *twitter* and *youtube* where controlling content is almost impossible, how can arguments for statutory regulation hold? The independent media council established for self-regulation has not corrected the media on how they frame disability stories. The Chairman of the Independent Media Council, Haruna Kanaabi states that:

I must confess we seem to have forgotten about disability reporting, it is unfortunate but that is the truth. Many of our people are not conversant with how disability should be portrayed and even terminologies that should be used. We have failed in that area.¹⁴⁹

The Independent Media Council has a code of ethics to guide the journalists to report disability in ways that do not encourage discrimination and portray negative stereotypes but it has failed to hold its own people accountable.

The numerous institutional failures of guaranteeing proper representation of disabilities present a hopeless situation. Perhaps what makes the situation worse is that the National Council for Disability, which has the power to ensure that all actors involved in the enforcement of disability, laws either local or international has not achieved its stated objective. The National Council for Disability has an objective to:

Promote implementation and equalisation opportunities for persons with disabilities.
Monitor and evaluate the impact of policies and programmes designed for equality and full participation of persons with disabilities
Advocate for and promote effective service delivery and collaboration between service providers and persons with disabilities.¹⁵⁰

Assessing the trends in the media, clearly shows that the objectives of the council have not been met.

The council is also empowered by the Act to:

Act as a body at national level through which the needs , problems concerns, potentials and abilities of persons with with disabilities can be communicated to government and its agencies. Monitor and

¹⁴⁹(n 137 above)

¹⁵⁰ National Council for Disability Act (2003)

evaluate the extent to which government and NGO's and the private sector include and meet the needs of persons with disabilities in their planning and service delivery. Carry out or commission surveys and investigations in matters or incidents relating to violation of rights of persons with disabilities. Non compliance with programmes, policies or laws relating to disabilities. Take appropriate action in relation thereto refer the matter to relevant authority.¹⁵¹

It is obvious that the laws, policies and bodies in charge of making the lives of people with disabilities have gone to sleep hence the media also have field day infringing on the rights of persons with disabilities.

In the face of serious many institutional failures in ensuring that people are represented appropriately how can the media be used to reshape attitudes or perceptions already formed in the society?

Using the media to reshape attitudes and behavior about disability

The media is a market place where journalists tell stories that inform educate entertain or influence the behavior of the society. It is true that the media represent values and beliefs of society but it is also true that the media also reflect their own thinking and ideology through various messages they carry. This means that the media can impose their views through continuous discussion of a particular issue to engage the attention of the public who are subtly influenced to open debates. Based on how issues are framed and discussed opinions are formed leading to eventual manifestation of behavior in society. Following the influence that the media has on society, knowledge and attitudes of journalists should not be taken for granted but reshaped so they can also pass on the needed change to society. Higgins states that society 'makes disability' through our language, media and other visible ways and so arguing from her premise, logically to 'unmake disability' it should be done through reshaping on language and attitude of the media.¹⁵²

If the media is that powerful, which is undeniable, then the language and labels they use should not be glossed over since it may exclude and include people. If labels have no power, then why would the Hutus of Rwanda label the Tutsis as *inyanzi* meaning cockroaches and start a genocide reinforced through the media? If language was powerless, why would there be a global change of the terminology 'HIV/AIDS victims' to 'people living with HIV'. In fact, during the early years of the discovery of HIV and

¹⁵¹ (n 150 above)

¹⁵² PC Higgins *Making disability: exploring the social transformation of human variation* (1992) Springfield: IL: Charles C. Thomas Publisher.

before research proved that the disease can be managed, the media framed it as a death sentence. The effect was that people who carried the virus were shunned and that increased discrimination and stigmatisation, killing infected people even more than the virus itself. Globally campaigns were launched to reverse HIV presented as a death sentence to a manageable disease. Correct terminologies were thrown around and with rigorous campaigns on how to frame HIV stories in the media. In Ghana for instance, the first advert on HIV depicted extremely lean people dying on hospital beds, however that type of images changed to images of business working class people in suit living and managing HIV well. Though there is no research to show how it has impacted stigmatisation of people living with HIV, it has led to a change of behavior and more acceptance than the early days of HIV when people believed that touching could transmit the virus. If language labels were so powerless, then why would there be a change from *Negro* which carried the coded meaning of black slaves to Black and eventually to African – American. Why would the Hispanics prefer ‘Spanish speaking people’ and later change to ‘Latino’? This is an indication that labels are important and the people who bear labels should be given the chance to determine what people should called them.

The first step of using the media to reshape the attitudes of the society is through education. Civil society groups should take it upon themselves to educate and sensitise the media on the labels and frames that affect them. One big mistake civil society make is that they always assume that the media should be aware and they criticise them for intentionally focusing on negative reports when sometimes truthfully journalists do not have the knowledge. The point here is that not all framing or labeling is planned, some are innocent yet carry devastating effect. I agree with Dajani, who argues that:

The use of traditional, stereotypic terms to refer to people with disabilities may result not only from traditional cultural norms and habits, but also from disability activists not pushing to educate journalists¹⁵³.

Dajani further supported his claim with Haller’s view that disability leaders have left the media in the dark while busily organising themselves and still learning how to fashion appropriate image.¹⁵⁴ This assertion is true in Uganda as the first time NUDIPU engaged the media about disability terminology was in October 2013.¹⁵⁵ Article 33 of the CRPD, urges civil society especially those in disability rights fraternity to participate fully and monitor implementation of provision in the convention. It is clear that the Ugandan government has not fulfilled the obligation of changing societal perception and attitudes

¹⁵³ KF Dajani ‘What’s in a name? Terms used to refer to people with disabilities’ (2001), *Disability Studies Quarterly* 196-209

¹⁵⁴ B Haller ‘Crawling toward civil rights: news media coverage of disability activism (1998) In *Cultural Diversity and the U.S. Media*, ed. Yahya R. Kamalipour & Theresa Carilli. Albany: SUNY Press 97

¹⁵⁵ (n 138 above)

against people with disabilities. This can be inferred from the ineffectiveness of the Media Council to hold the media accountable and also the failure for the media to fulfill its obligations under the CRPD and the dormancy of civil society too. It is important for disability rights movements in Uganda to initiate the implementation of the correct representation of persons with disability. Change in attitudes will not happen overnight, it involves continues education of language labels which will change thoughts leading to change in actions. Haller quotes a former deputy director in New York's Mayor office for people with disability Susan Scheer in the work of Fleischer and Zames when she stated that there was good correlation between educating the media on disability and improved coverage of issues in the New York media:

Litigating cases and lobbying elected officials were the traditional techniques that the community used in the past. But now these techniques are used in combination with establishing connections with television, radio, and newspaper reporters and educating them. The language in the news accounts and editorials, although far from perfect, is much improved; for example, 'wheelchair user' is finally beginning to replace 'wheelchair bound.' Also, stories have more balance, and the result is that the public is beginning to understand disability issues.¹⁵⁶

If education of the media in the US has improved disability representation, then Uganda can emulate the example and later evaluate the correlation between education and improved coverage of disability.

¹⁵⁶DZ Fleischer & F Zames *The disability rights movement: From charity to confrontation*(2001) Philadelphia, PA, Temple University Press 208

CHAPTER V

Should the media be given a guideline on treatment of disability issues or should it be left to their own conscience?

Leaving disability representation to the conscience of journalists has historically not been effective. Worldwide the media has contributed to discrimination and stigmatisation through mislabeling and wrong framing of disability issues. The findings of this research postulate that misrepresentation of people with disability has persisted because journalists have used their wrong judgment, which has not inured to the benefit of people with disabilities. The media in Uganda has relied on societal framing of disability and has therefore engrained wrong representation of disability. To reverse the trend there is a need to guide journalists to bring change through formulation of guidelines for disability reporting. Perhaps the Ugandan media need to adopt a guideline on disability terminology similar to the Associated Press stylebook in the US, which was crafted and agreed on by over 40 disability right groups. Many researchers like Dajani, Ogundola, have suggested development of guidelines for the media to aid reporting and I agree with that suggestion.¹⁵⁷ People with disability and journalists at a workshop organised by NUDIPU agreed that both groups have to jointly draft a guideline for disability representation in the media.¹⁵⁸ While proposing that guidelines of terminologies could be a step in changing disability representation, it is important to note that, guidelines will not whisk away inappropriate representation. The *Ten Commandments*, a guide to Christians has not stopped even most fanatical Christians from committing crimes such as stealing, murder, adultery and lies. The point here is that though it is important to have a guide to language, which will have an effect on behavior, it will not be a perfect antidote to misrepresentation.

Also, because disability comes in different forms and no list can be exhausting enough to describe every disability, journalists would have to rely on their personal judgment and at the heart of judgment is attitude.¹⁵⁹ Bowe states, if society believes that people with disabilities are not normal words will not change their situation and they will be treated separately and differently from 'non –disabled people' which will breed discrimination.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ (n 137 above) and Unpublished: OJ Ogundola 'Framing disability: a Content analysis of newspapers in Nigeria, Unpublished MA thesis, Syracuse University

¹⁵⁸ Sensitisation workshop for the media on disability, Sports View hotel, Kampala Uganda 17 October 2013

¹⁵⁹ Without Bias: A Guidebook for Nondiscriminatory Communication. (1977). New York: John Wiley Sons pp 79.

¹⁶⁰ F Bowe (1978) Handicapping America: barriers to disabled people. New York: Harper & Row pp 111.

However, what happens to local news reporters of disability in Uganda who may be stuck with hurtful labels of Luganda and other local languages. Does it mean a re-development of the Luganda language to re-define people with disability? While this may difficult to address I suggest that disability rights movement should engage local language academicians to fashion out people first languages to change condescending labels and the media should be involved to aggressively use appropriate terminologies and change the local language labels of disability. If it has been done in English, it can be done in Luganda. While providing guidelines for disability terminologies, it essential not to dictate to the media rather, persuasive ways to make them conscious of disability representation.

Conclusion and Recommendations

The Ugandan media frames disability as charity cases, unfortunate tragedies and projects abnormality of disability creating room for stereotyping and discrimination. Although, media sometimes portray 'disability as not 'inability', negative framing has outweighed positive framing. The research has also shown that the story of disability in the media is largely influenced by cultural framing of disability in Uganda.

Also, this research has shown that the many Ugandan journalists have no knowledge on correct framing and labeling of disability stories and also do not know that the CRPD has placed a responsibility on them to change societal perception of disability. The research has shown that government bodies like the National Council for Disability, the Media Council and the media itself have failed to regulate media content on disability issues.

This study further shows that Disability Rights Groups in Uganda have not been at the forefront of changing negative societal attitudes towards them. In the light of these findings, I make the following recommendations.

1. The media should be sensitised on disability issues to engineer the needed change in societal perceptions. Since people with disabilities always say that nothing about them should be without them then they need to engage the media on how they should be represented. NUPIDU should help journalists have a guideline to report disability and also periodically research on how they have been framed.

2. It would also be necessary for media owners to employ people with disabilities in mainstream media so they guide journalists to appreciate disability issues.
3. The Media Council and the Independent Media Council in Uganda should also establish and publish a complaints procedure to make it easy for people who have complaints to report cases of bad reporting and deal with such cases appropriately.
4. The National Council for Disability should also live up to its duties of making sure that all agencies perform their duties of presenting disability accurately.

WORD COUNT (from Chapter one to Conclusion, foot notes inclusive) =19,294

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APPENDIX

SPEECHES

Statement by Louise Arbour, High Commissioner for Human Rights, General Assembly Ad Hoc Committee, Seventh Session, New York, 27 January 2006.

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