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# Representation of people with disabilities: A content analysis of Russian press

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## **Abstract**

**Title:** Representation of people with disabilities: A content analysis of Russian press

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The aim of this study was to examine how Russian press represents people with disabilities. The study was conducted using the method of qualitative content analysis. The material for the analysis consisted of sixty articles selected from Russian's four national newspapers. The study covered a period of the year 2011. Labeling theory and stigma were used for the analysis of the results. The results showed that Russian press described discrimination of people with disabilities, social support provided to them by the Government and their active way of life. The newspaper articles mentioned that the Russian Government tries to integrate disabled people into society. The study did not find any significant differences in the representation of people with disabilities in various newspapers. It was found that the articles covered physical disabilities, such as mobility, hearing and visual impairments.

**Keywords:** content analysis, labeling theory, people with disabilities, Russian press, stigma

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## **Chapter 1 Introduction**

People with disabilities are a part of our society. They are just like us, they want to live fully and be useful. But due to the restrictions caused by the condition of health, they face barriers to inclusion and their needs are often given low priority (Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2010, p. 3). Typically, individuals with disabilities struggle for the opportunity to receive an education and get a job, experience violence and discrimination, have restricted participation in political and social life (The World Bank and World Health Organization, 2011, HRW, 2010). Exclusion due to stigma and prejudice about disability often leads to poverty (United Nations, 2011, p. 7).

According to the World Bank and the World Health Organization (WHO) (2011), there are more than a billion people or about 15 percent of world's population who live with some form of disability. The prevalence of disability both in global scale and in separate countries causes a concern (Khudorenko, 2011, p. 83). The World Report on Disability (The World Bank and WHO, 2011) revealed that the number of people with disabilities is growing worldwide. It stems because of ageing of the populations and the rise of chronic diseases as well as because of environment changes, natural disasters, road traffic accidents, conflicts, diet and substance abuse (ibid).

In the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, including the Russian Federation, disability is an important issue due to the fact that essential part of the working age population is either in poor health or disabled (Metelko et al, 2008, p. 3). High rates of alcohol consumption among youth and adult population is one of the factors resulting in a deterioration of health and an increase of number of disabled people in Russia (Badikova, 2011, p. 8). Therefore, the question regarding social protection of people with disabilities is urgent, and disability is considered as a social problem in the country (Zak, 2008, Iarskaia-Smirnova and Naberushkina, 2004).

My view on people with disabilities has developed by means of personal observation and experience while living in Russia. In fact, I had an impression that they are isolated from society. I have never seen people who use a wheelchair or a white cane in the streets of city of my birth, in public transport, educational institutions or in usual grocery store. The mass media was the only way to get awareness about the approximate numbers of disabled people in Russia and about their lifestyle.

I became acquainted with the issue of disability in Russia more closely, particularly with types of social support provided to people with disabilities by the Russian Government, during my field practice. Namely, the idea of writing a thesis on a topic of disability arose in

that period of time. When i was on the field practice I also reflected on where one can find information about problems of people with disabilities or about disability in general. The first thought which came to my mind was newspapers and television. Thereby, I became interested in the topic of disability and media.

Since I was familiar with newspapers published in Russia, it was easy for me to find the material for the research.

### **1.1 Aim**

The aim of the study is to examine how Russian press represents people with disabilities.

### **1.2 Research questions**

How are people with disabilities described in Russian press?

What are the differences between the newspapers?

What types of disabilities are covered in the newspapers?

### **1.3 Essay disposition**

This thesis consists of seven chapters. It starts with an introduction, which includes the aim of the study, research questions, explanation of concepts and connection to social work. In Chapter two titled “Background” the legislation on disability and the situation of people with disabilities in Russia are described. Previous research is described in Chapter three. In Chapter four the theoretical framework upon which study is based, is presented. Chapter five explains the methodology of the study. It contains several parts: research design, mode of procedure, study’s limitations, essay credibility, and ethical standpoints. Chapter six presents the results and analysis. Chapter seven describes the analysis from theories. The final chapter includes a discussion.

### **1.4 Explanation of concepts**

The concepts which I would like to explain in the beginning of this thesis are “a person with disabilities”, “press” and “mass media”.

It is necessary to note that in Russian language a person with disabilities is usually named “invalid” while this word is practically out of use in Europe (Iarskaia-Smirnova and Naberushkina, 2004, p. 8). It is originated from Latin “invalidus”, which is literally translated as weak (Linton, 1998, p. 28). This word is associated with an inadequacy and people are regarded as not “suitable” for a life in a society. But nowadays, along with a term “invalid” such term as “individual with limited health capacities” is also used in Russian legislative acts (Egupova, 2010, p. 35). When I was analysing the newspaper articles for this research I also found another term - “person with limited physical capacities”.

Russian legislation connects disability primarily with infringements of health of the person (ibid.). The Federal Law No. 181 “On the Social Protection of Invalids in the Russian Federation” defines an invalid as “a person who has health conditions with persistent derangement of body functions caused by diseases, injuries, or defects that leads to life activity limitation and generates a need for invalid’s social protection”. Whereas, the international humanitarian law mainly considers a social component in understanding of disability (ibid, p. 36). According to the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, persons with disabilities include those who have “long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments which in interaction with various barriers may hinder their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with others” (United Nations Enable, 2008).

I was guided by the definitions mentioned above during writing of the thesis. I intended to include into the analysis the newspaper articles devoted to different impairments of health.

The term press implies periodical print publications, such as newspapers and magazines and is a part of mass media (Zasurskii, 2003). The term mass media, in its turn, means “any form of communication that simultaneously reaches a large number of people, including but not limited to radio, TV, newspapers, magazines, the Internet, billboards, films, recordings, and books” (Wimmer and Dominick, 2006, p. 2).

### **1.5 Connection to social work**

Journalists can report about a person overcoming an illness or about organizations working with disabled people. Thereby, on the one hand, healthy people can improve their knowledge and awareness about disability and life of people with disabilities. On the other hand, people with disabilities can learn about their rights and benefits, services and activities carried out in certain organisation from mass media.

Regardless of how the information is presented, negatively or positively, the mass media are able to influence people (Van Dijk, 2000, p. 36). Information regarding problems of disabled people reported by mass media can reach, for example, social services agencies, politicians and sponsors. Thus mass media can act as a powerful tool in drawing attention to the problems of people with disabilities.

## **Chapter 2 Background**

The aim of this chapter is to create awareness regarding the legislation on disability and the situation of people with disabilities in Russia.

### **2.1 Legislation on disability**

In order to create the conditions needed to meet the needs of people with disabilities, the United Nations adopted the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities on December 13 2006 (Khudorenko, 2011, p. 83). Its purpose was “to promote, protect and ensure the full and equal enjoyment of all human rights and fundamental freedoms by all persons with disabilities, and to promote respect for their inherent dignity”. The countries that ratified the Convention were obligated to provide a full realisation of all human rights for people with limited possibilities without any discrimination on the basis of disability (ibid.). The Russian Federation signed the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities on September 24 2008 and ratified it on September 25 2012 (United Nations Enable, 2012).

Contemporary Russian legislation provides significant amount of rights, benefits and compensations to persons with disabilities (Iarskaia-Smirnova and Naberushkina, 2004, p. 73). The basic law in the sphere of social protection of persons with disabilities, federal law “On the Social Protection of Invalids in the Russian Federation” was accepted in 1995. Essentially new state policy concerning people with disabilities was formulated in this law as well as new concepts of disabled people and their rehabilitation were generated (ibid, p. 41). For the first time the purpose of state policy was declared not as help to the invalid but “to provide invalids with equal opportunities with other citizens in realization of civil, economic, political and other rights and freedoms provided by Constitution of Russian Federation” (ibid.). Thereby, this law incorporated the most progressive rules of law of foreign countries and the international documents, and in this sense the legislation in Russia has been as much as possible approached to the international standards (Malaeva and Vasin, 2001, p. 84).

### **2.2 The situation of people with disabilities in Russia**

There are a lot of problems encountered by Russian people with disabilities nowadays. First of all, their number was steadily growing last years (Khudorenko, 2011, p. 84). According to the Ministry of Health and Social Development of the Russian Federation (2012), it reached approximately 13 million or 9 percent of country’s population in the beginning of 2012. And the number of disabled children according to the Russian Federal State Statistics Service (2012) is about 590 thousand.

Currently children with disabilities in Russia go more often to special educational institutions, i.e. to boarding schools. These aim to prepare children with limited possibilities to be able to

have an independent life, to work and to integrate into society (Averina, 2011, p. 9). However, children become isolated there and do not get appropriate social experience (ibid.). Inclusive education, that is, when children with disabilities study in the common school, is still not widely prevalent (Khudorenko, 2011, pp. 86-87).

Despite the existing federal legislation guaranteeing privileges for enrollees with disabilities, a variety of factors makes admission to higher educational institutions for them problematic (Iarskaia-Smirnova and Naberushkina, 2004, p. 102). It concerns primarily inconvenient architecture of buildings and rooms, doorways and stairs. Besides, there is a lack of college instructors who are trained to deal with disabled people (Khudorenko, 2011, p. 87).

Lack of higher education essentially reduces the chances to find worthy job. According to the data of Khudorenko (2011, p. 85), approximately 15 percent of working-age disabled people have jobs in Russia, but those jobs are not permanent, not prestigious and low-paid. Other meaningful reasons which hinder active social involvement of people with disabilities and ability to compete in the labour market are the difficulties in moving about or getting transportation to workplace, inaccessibility or inconvenience of various objects and facilities of social infrastructure, and lack or poor condition of required technical devices (Aleshina and Pleve, 2010, p. 42, Iarskaya-Smirnova and Romanov, 2005, p. 9).

To sum it up it is also important to note that a special role in the life of people with disabilities, especially children with disabilities, is played by their families. The majority of children with disabilities in Russia live either in their parents' home or in the home of relatives (Kulagina, 2003, p. 44). Family is a basic social institution for them (ibid.). Russian state leaves to a family the right to solve problems of disabled family members, in particular, material, pedagogical and psychological issues (Averina, 2011, p. 8). The position of family concerning the disabled person influences his further life, the choice for a place to study and work and the relation with other people (ibid.). Thus, the family is one of the most powerful resources for the integration of disabled people into Russian society.

### **Chapter 3 Previous research on disability and media**

The aim of this chapter is to examine studies conducted in the field of media and disability. The search of studies was carried out through “Discovery”, the database available in the website of University of Gävle and “Google Scholar”, a freely accessible database in internet. Such word-combination, as “disability and media” was applied for the search of literature both in “Discovery” and “Google Scholar”. This word-combination was also typed in Russian language when using a “Google Scholar”. I narrowed down search area by establishing the dates from 1980 to 2012. In order to find relevant literature I looked through all publications appeared after using of “search”. As a result, I included nine scientific publications into previous research chapter.

The study of Keller et al. (1990) investigated how people with disabilities are portrayed in American newspapers. The method which was used in their research was quantitative content analysis. The material for the analysis consisted of 428 articles selected from twelve American daily newspapers for the year 1987. The results of the study indicated that the majority of the articles portrayed people with disabilities as individuals who are suffering or as individuals who became victims of something. Newspapers described that disability contributes to negative social-emotional impact on the life of the individuals with disabilities and/or their family members. In some articles people with disabilities were portrayed as persons who represent a threat to a society or as devastated persons.

Zalkauskaite (2012) conducted a content analysis of Lithuanian press in order to disclose stereotypes of disabled people. Her study included the articles selected from two Lithuanian newspapers for the years 1995, 2003 and 2010. The results revealed that mentally disabled people were presented as threatening the society, as people who should be isolated from the society and who require institutionalization. Some articles included in the study represented disabled people as a burden to their family members or as victims of outrage, particularly, of sexual abuse. In the few articles people with disabilities were presented as people who do not have access to labour market or as recipients of social benefits. Disabled people were also portrayed as those who are not capable of taking care of themselves, who require treatment and assistance and who experience difficulties in movement of people with disabilities on the city streets. Besides, couple of articles characterized people with disabilities as people who are not able to take care of their children.

The study of Nelson (2003) explored stereotypes of disabled people by reviewing American movies and television. The methodology used by the researcher was not specified. It was found that a stereotype “the disabled person as a victim” is observable in the fund-raising

telethons, in the programs on American television, which contain the appeals for funds to benefit, for example, victims of some disease. Those people who manage to live happy and productive lives despite having a disability are rarely featured on such television programs. The study indicated that a stereotype “the disabled person as a hero” arises from the stories presented on television programs about those who heroically struggle with own disabilities. Stereotype “the disabled person as a threat” occurs due to the fact that the villains in various movies and television shows were portrayed with some obvious physical limitation, such as limp, a hook for a hand, or a black patch over the eye. It was also revealed that people with disabilities were presented in movies and television as people who are unable to adjust and who need to be cared for. Some television shows presented people with disabilities as bitter and full of self-pity because they have not yet learned to handle their trauma or problem.

Clogston (1994) in his study analysed the portrayal of individuals with physical disabilities in American press. The author examined 362 articles which were selected from sixteen daily American newspapers for January, February and March of 1990. It was found that such traditional issues as medical treatment and institutionalization, government and private support programs, and victimization of disabled persons were predominated in nearly 60 percent of the articles, and the progressive topics - discrimination, access issues, and integrated education, employment and consumer issues – were covered in approximately 40 percent of the articles. The results of the study also showed that persons with disabilities were portrayed as “recipients of medical and economic support”, “supercrips” and political activists.

The researchers Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov (2006) carried out a quantitative content analysis of mass media in order to find out how the image of invalid in Russian media is presented. For this study they selected 106 articles from the newspaper “Izvestia” for the period from January, 1995 until September, 2005. According to the results, the majority of the articles presented invalids as recipients of social benefits. Some articles described various aspects of infringement of the rights of invalids and subjected to criticism the actions of the authorities. Several articles portrayed invalids as active, creative and interesting people achieving something in their lives. In particular, the results showed that people with disabilities are active in sports, tourism, art and business. Only few articles presented invalids as a burden for the state and society. In addition, some articles were focused on description of such themes as creation of barrier-free environment for the invalids, formation of tolerant relation to invalids, new technologies in rehabilitation of invalids, training and education of invalids, and creation of workplaces.

One study investigated how disability is portrayed in Romanian media. Ciot and Hove (2010) conducted their research by the method of content analysis. They analysed articles selected from Romanian written press for the years 1989, 1990 and 2003. It was found that the majority of the articles represented people with disabilities as people who use professional help. Some articles revealed that people with disabilities are socially protected by the government or exposed to discrimination and abuse. People with disabilities were also portrayed as “fighters” or “victims”. In the few articles disability was presented as human degradation.

Another study examined how issues of disability are treated in Ukrainian print media (Phillips (2012)). It was conducted by the method of narrative discourse analysis. The material used in the analysis consisted of 81 articles selected from Ukraine’s seven most popular newspapers between the years 2000 and 2010. The author found that people with disabilities are frequently exploited and abused by others and “are prone to do stupid things”. They might also be portrayed as criminals, aggressive and dangerous. Ukrainian media highlighted the problem of violence directed against people with disabilities and perpetuated by them. Some articles, as the author found, were focused on the violation of the rights of people with disabilities, such as, withdrawal or late payment of disability benefits. They criticized the state’s failure to accomplish its responsibilities toward people with disabilities, who are considered as highly dependent on the state and, in the most cases, are unemployed. Newspaper articles often emphasized the need for citizens with disabilities to form their own civic and economic organizations, and they underlined the autonomy and productivity of those individuals with disabilities “who have been able to thrive ‘through their own means’ and ‘against the odds,’ with minimal or no help from the state” (Phillips, 2012, p. 494). In some articles people with disabilities were also positioned as “heroes” who have been able or are trying to overcome their disabilities. They were referred to as a “heroine”, a “knight”, or a “living legend”. In addition, a few articles described persons with disabilities living in nursing homes because they have been ‘abandoned’ by their families or there is no one left to care for them.

The portrayal of blind people in American media was investigated in the study of Wilkins (2003). The researcher analysed articles selected from two American national newspapers and news stories retrieved from three American national television networks for the years 1993 and 2001. The methodology applied in this study was not indicated. It was found that media portrayed blind persons as those who actively engage in sports. Pictures that appeared in the articles and news stories presented blind persons as physically vigorous people. In particular, some articles and news stories were accompanied by pictures of blind persons playing

musical instruments, or by pictures of their works of art. Blind persons were also depicted as happily married, raising families, and achieving in their chosen profession. Blindness was portrayed in medical news either as a symptom of particular diseases, or as the focus of new treatments, intended to cure blindness.

In the study of Wahl (1992) depictions mentally ill persons in the mass media were examined. The researcher used a method of literature review. The results indicated that mentally ill people were depicted in the mass media both positively and negatively. However, the positive images of mentally ill persons, such as honest, loyal or friendly people were less frequently found in the mass media. Mentally ill persons were mostly depicted as social and occupational failures that possessed some undesirable traits. It was found that the journalists described them as inadequate, unlikable, aggressive, violent and dangerous. Their bizarre symptoms and psychotic disorders were emphasized. In addition, mentally ill persons which were presented in some television programs were typically single or of unknown marital status and unemployed.

## **Chapter 4 Theoretical framework**

This chapter presents theories which were used in the study. It is divided into two parts, first of them describes labeling theory, second - stigma.

### **4.1 Labeling theory**

Labeling theory is one of the theories which were used in this study. Through this theory I intended to interpret the results and tried to understand how press took part in labeling process of people with disabilities.

Mass media express public interests of a society. Journalists do not simply report on certain information but they comment on this information in a way that purports to reflect the public opinion (Laughey, 2009, p. 101). They reflect collective judgements of people about what is good and bad, acceptable or unacceptable, normal and deviant. Mass media can also report on certain group of people who are labelled by the rest of society and, thus, can reinforce labels given to them (ibid., p. 102). Media itself do not create labels, but it definitely influence on them (ibid.).

Outlined by American sociologist Howard Becker, labeling theory asserts that people's actions are judged and "labelled" by the reactions of others (Laughey, 2009, p. 101). There are some people within a society who have greater power than others to attach labels (ibid.). Labels are placed on individuals and groups by others "in response to all sorts of action and behaviour" (ibid.). For example, if appearance or acts of certain persons are considered as something inadmissible or as deviation from norm, people attach labels on them.

Becker (1963, p. 1) claimed that all groups of people create rules and try, at some times and under some circumstances, to enforce them to others. These rules specify what kind of actions and behaviour are "right" and what kind of actions and behaviour are "wrong" according to their opinion. A person who breaks these rules may be seen by other people as a special kind of person, who cannot be trusted to live by the rules agreed on by the group (ibid.). "He is regarded as an "outsider" (ibid.).

In the context of labeling theory a concept of deviance is defined as "a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'" (Becker, 1963, p. 9). "The deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label" (ibid). Becker (1963, pp. 19-20) defined four types of deviant behaviour: "falsely accused", "conforming", "pure deviant" and "secret deviant". The "falsely accused" behaviour is the behaviour when "a person is seen by others as having committed an improper action, although in fact he has not done so" (Becker, 1963, p. 20). "Conforming" behaviour is the behaviour which obeys the rule and which is perceived by others as obeying

the rule (ibid, p. 19). “Pure deviant” behaviour is the type of behaviour which disobeys the rule and which is perceived by others as doing so (ibid, p. 20). “Secret deviant” behaviour happens when an improper act is committed, but no one notices it (ibid.).

According to Becker (1963, p. 34), a person who was identified as deviant by other persons in the group tends to be cut off from participation in this group. He can find it “difficult to conform to other rules which he had no intention or desire to break” (ibid.).

Labeling theory confirms that the rules of behaviour applied by people are socially constructed, because “definitions of deviant behaviour vary across time and place, people must decide what is deviant” (Ferrante, 2011, p. 178). Labeling theory also suggests that these rules are not enforced uniformly and consistently due to the fact that some people can be treated as offenders even though they have not broken any rules (ibid.). Besides, different groups of people can judge different things to be deviant (Becker, 1963, p. 4). Therefore, it is difficult to establish what types of behaviour are considered as deviant in our society.

Most of vivid examples of deviation are acts which cause condemnation, such as, for example, rape and murders (Smelser, 1998). Concept of deviant can be also applied for designation of people with disabilities (Reut, 2008, p. 50). Disability is considered as a deviation from social norm, and label is applied to persons with disabilities (ibid.). Even those individuals who suddenly became disabled may be treated differently by people they knew before their disability (Andersen and Taylor, 2008, p. 183).

## **4.2 Stigma**

Second theory which is used in this study is stigma. The basis of this choice is that this theory considers disability as one type of stigma. With help of this theory I intended to understand and interpret the results received in the research.

A description of concept of stigma can be found in the book called “Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity” (1963) written by Erving Goffman. Stigma, according to Goffman, is used to refer an attribute of a person which makes him different from others, for example, that makes him thoroughly bad, dangerous, or weak. People can consider that person who possesses this attribute is tainted and discounted (Goffman, 1990, p. 12).

Stigma “constitutes a special discrepancy between virtual and actual social identity”, which promotes cutting the person off from the society (ibid.). Virtual social identity is a character that one can falsely attribute to the individual; whereas an actual social identity means the attributes that he in fact possesses (ibid.).

According to Goffman (1990, p. 14), there are three different types of stigma. First type is various physical deformities; second – blemishes of individual character, such as weak will,

domineering or unnatural passions, treacherous and rigid beliefs, and dishonesty; third type of stigma is stigma of race, nation and religion (ibid.).

There can be different attitudes towards people with stigma in a society. They can be exposed to varieties of discrimination or treated with disrespect due to the assumption of others that they are not quite human (Goffman, 1990, p. 15, p. 19). In some cases person who is stigmatized can attempt to correct what he sees as basis for his failing (ibid, p. 19). For example, physically deformed person makes a plastic surgery, or a blind person make an eye treatment (ibid.). Stigmatized person can also try to change his condition by making much effort to learn different areas of activity, which he considers inaccessible for him due to the shortcoming (Goffman, 1990, p. 20). For example, it can be the lame person who learns to swim, ride and play tennis, or the blind person who learns to ski and climb (ibid, pp. 20-21).

People with stigma can also meet “sympathetic others” who can share their standpoint in the world and the feeling that they are normal people (ibid, p. 31). To those Goffman (1990, p. 31) refers people who have the same stigma and “wise” people, who perceive stigmatized individuals as ordinary persons, for example, medical workers or their family and relatives. People who have the same stigma can provide individual with advice, or listen his complaints (ibid, pp. 31-32). They also can appear as “speakers” before various audiences of normals and of the “stigmatized” (ibid, p. 37). They can show how they have heroically coped with adaptation, their achievements.

People with different impairments of health can be exposed to stigmatization because of widespread representation of disability as a sign of weakness and dependence (Reut, 2008). Healthy people can perceive physical deformities as a threat to own well-being and health condition (Reut, 2008, p. 51). Therefore, they can try to avoid a meeting with a disabled person. As a result, people with disabilities could feel excluded from the society.

## **Chapter 5 Methodology**

This chapter presents the methods used in the study. The chapter includes the description of the chosen method, the process of selecting newspapers and articles, processing of data, study's limitations, the essay credibility and ethical standpoints.

### **5.1 Research design**

After formulation of the aim of the study and research questions I decided to use a content analysis as a method. This method is intended for the analysis of documents and texts including a variety of different media (Bryman, 2008, p. 274). Apart of written material, works of art, images, maps, sounds, signs, symbols, and even numerical records may also be included as data in content analysis, that is, they may be considered as texts (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 19). Since I chose to investigate press in the study, this method was found the most suitable.

I discovered some advantages of the use of content analysis in my study. Firstly, I considered that the advantage of this method consisted in possibility to use the material from a year 2011 in my research. Content analysis allows the researcher to use a material from any period of time, as long as it is available (Grinnell Jr., 2001, p. 380). Secondly, content analysis appeared as the most economical and time-efficient data collection method in my case due to the fact that I did not have the need to travel anywhere or to visit any places in order to collect the data. It has to be pointed out that I got an access to internet at home.

I also found one disadvantage of the use of content analysis in my study. I had no information regarding the total number of articles written by journalists in the chosen newspapers in the year 2011. It might be the case that some articles were unavailable or no longer existed in the websites of these newspapers.

In particular, qualitative approach of content analysis was applied in the research. Patton (2002, p. 453) defines it as “any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings.” By core meanings in this definition are implied patterns or themes. Alternatively, a process of searching for patterns and themes may be determined, respectively, as pattern analysis or theme analysis (ibid.). The term “pattern” is usually referred to a descriptive finding; while a theme is presented in a more categorical or topical form (ibid.). I chose to do a theme analysis and illustrated extracted themes by quotations from newspaper articles.

The term “theme” was quoted by Patton (2002), however, among works of other authors (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008, Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009, Grinnell Jr., 2001) one can meet a similar

term “category”. In order to be consistent in the study I decided to use the term “category” further in the chapter of methodology.

The categories were developed inductively from the raw data, that is, through my careful examination (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009, p. 309). This choice I made being guided by Lauri and Kyngäs (2005, in Elo and Kyngäs, 2008, p. 109), who recommend to use inductive approach when “there is not enough former knowledge about the phenomenon or if this knowledge is fragmented”.

## **5.2 Mode of procedure**

### ***5.2.1 Selection of newspapers and articles***

In the analysis were used publications from four Russian national newspapers, namely, “Izvestia”, “Komsomolskaya Pravda”, “Nezavisimaya Gazeta” and “Rossiyskaya Gazeta”. The choice in favour to these newspapers was made due to their availability in internet and orientation on wide variety of topics, including disability.

The short information about chosen newspapers is presented below <sup>1</sup>:

- “Izvestia” (Izv) is a daily newspaper founded on March 1917. Its subjects are coverage of events in Russia and abroad, analytics and comments, review of business and economic issues, events of cultural and sports life.
- “Komsomolskaya Pravda” (KP) is a daily tabloid newspaper, founded on March 13, 1925.
- “Nezavisimaya Gazeta” (NG) is a daily edition devoted to urgent problems of social, political and cultural life in Russia and abroad. The first release was on December 21<sup>st</sup>, 1990. Materials of leading journalists, political scientists, historians and critics are published in the newspaper.
- “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” (RG) is a daily socio-political edition founded by the Government of the Russian Federation. The first release appeared on November 11<sup>th</sup>, 1990. The newspaper has the status of official publisher of the state documents. But at the same time it is intended for the general reader, one can find there everything: from news and reportings to competent comments on documents. It is printed in 41 Russian cities (daily edition) and in 46 cities (weekly edition). Regular releases are provided with regional supplements and special features.

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<sup>1</sup> Information is derived from the official websites of the newspapers.

The study covered the period of a year 2011, that is, from January 1<sup>st</sup> 2011 until December 31<sup>st</sup> 2011. Due to often varying legislation it seemed for me necessary to choose a year that can reflect the most actual information. I also noted that a year 2011 was important year in a field of state social policy in relation to disability questions in Russian Federation. On March, 17<sup>th</sup>, 2011 was confirmed the state program “Accessible environment” for the years 2011-2015 by governmental order. This program was directed to the improvement of quality of a life of people with disabilities (The Government of the Russian Federation, 2011).

All the articles were derived from the websites of the newspapers. At first, I typed a word ‘invalid’ in the icons for the search on their web archives. Newspaper “Komsomolskaya Pravda” gave approximately 113000 results while “Nezavisimaya Gazeta” – 2030. With the help of the function “expanded search” in “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” I was able to narrow down a little bit a search area by choosing necessary range of dates. In this newspaper I received 1502 results.

In order to find relevant material I had to go through all these publications appeared in the “search”. Pictures which were accompanying the articles I included in the analysis. Publications not primarily focused on disability were overlooked. The articles devoted to the topic of disability in another country were excluded from the analysis. Short notices, pure interviews, letters to the editor and documents were also omitted. Besides, due to the large amount of editions of the newspaper “Rossiyskaya Gazeta”, I decided to choose articles only from one edition, Federal edition, which tells about the issues of the whole country.

Later I used other words and word-combinations in Russian language for the search such as “disability”, “children with disabilities”, “wheelchair users”, “people with limited possibilities of health” in order to find out whether some articles were not missed. Thereby, selection of articles was made through relevance or purposive sampling, which implies a selecting of textual units that contribute to answering research question (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 119).

In total, 60 articles were included in the study, 20 of them were from “Izvestia”, 17 - from “Komsomolskaya Pravda”, 10- from “Nezavisimaya Gazeta” and 13 - from “Rossiyskaya Gazeta”. All these articles have different length; the shortest article consists of 214 words and the largest article consists of 1148 words.

### ***5.2.2 Processing of data***

After selection of newspapers and articles I conducted several procedures common for content analysis for processing data.

I started with defining of the unit of analysis. According to Zhang and Wildemuth (2009, p. 310), “qualitative content analysis usually uses individual themes as the unit for analysis,

rather than the physical linguistic units (e.g., word, sentence, or paragraph) most often used in quantitative content analysis”. Themes can be expressed in a single word, a phrase, a sentence, a paragraph, or an entire document (ibid.). Being based on these statements of Zhang and Wildemuth, I chose themes as the unit of analysis.

After that, I made an open coding. This procedure involved a process of writing down notes or headings while reading a material (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008, p. 109). I read the articles several times and wrote down as many headings as necessary in the margins to describe all aspects of the content. It was common in the analysis that I derived a number of different headings from one article.

Then, I collected these headings from the margins to the coding sheets and developed from them categories. The purpose of creating categories was to increase the understanding of the topic and to generate knowledge (Cavanagh, 1997, in Elo and Kyngäs, 2008, p. 111).

Grouping of categories was the next step, which I did. Its aim was to reduce the number of categories by eliminating those with similar content. Through own interpretation of data I made a decision, as to which things to put in the same category. Subcategories with similar events were grouped together as main categories. Each main category and subcategory was named using content-characteristic words (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008, p. 111).

Some categories which I received in this study were more comprehensive than others, and therefore, I described them in more details.

### **5.3 Study’s limitations**

The first limitation of the study consisted in that I did not use any computer programmes in order to support the analysis. There are different programmes which vary in their complexity, but their “common purpose is to assist researchers in organizing, managing, and coding qualitative data in a more efficient manner” (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009, p. 313). By means of this programmes one can make text editing, note taking, text retrieval and category manipulation (ibid.).

The second limitation was that the translation of quotations in this study may be not authentic owing to syntactic distinction in languages. In some quotations it was necessary to add or exclude one or few words to make their meanings understandable. In other quotations some sentences were excluded; I indicated this by sign [-].

### **5.4 Essay credibility**

#### **5.4.1 Validity**

The essence of validity is that research should speak as truthfully as possible to as many as possible (Riffe, Lacy and Fico, 1998, p. 150, in Krippendorff, 2004, p. 313). “Validity has in

the social sciences pertained to whether a method investigates what it purports to investigate” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p. 246).

Validity of content analysis can be assessed as face validity (Weber, 1990, in Elo and Kyngäs, 2008, p. 112). Face validity means “obvious” or “common truth” (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 313). Researchers appeal to face validity when they “accept research findings because they make sense” - that is, they are plausible and believable “on their face” - usually without having to give or expecting to hear detailed reasons” (ibid.).

I tried to achieve validity in my study through careful selection of sample of media content (Macnamara, 2005, pp. 12-13). I selected those articles that contributed to the answering of the aim and the research questions. As I mentioned earlier, I did not include those articles which were not primarily focused on the subject which I investigated. Thus I kept in mind the aim and the research questions in order to study what I purported initially.

Since content analysis is “a method that does not entail participants in a study having to take researcher into account” (Webb et al, 1996 in Bryman, 2008, p. 289), I could not influence on data collection process. Thereby, the use of content analysis in the study helped me to present the results as truthfully as possible. I also examined the pictures which accompanied the texts and tried to transmit their content into the results chapter. In addition, I aspired to be impartial and objective when i created the categories from the newspaper articles. Hence, i think that validity was achieved in this study.

#### **5.4.2 Reliability**

Reliability concerns the consistency and trustworthiness of research findings; “it is often treated in relation to the issue of whether a finding is reproducible at other times and by other researchers” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p. 245).

In order to be consistent when doing the analysis I used the same procedures in examining the content of each newspaper and article. Those procedures I tried to clearly explain in this chapter in order to allow others to replicate the study.

Besides, to increase reliability of the study, it was also necessary to demonstrate a link between the results and the data (Polit & Beck 2004, in Elo and Kyngäs, 2008, p. 112). This link could be shown by means of use of appendices and tables (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008, p. 112). In my study I listed the names of newspapers and their description as well as presented one appendix which showed the articles used in the research in order to enable someone else to follow the process of the inquiry.

It has to be noted that all newspaper articles were written in Russian and I had to translate the quotations to English language. As I mentioned in the study’s limitations section, it was hard

to make their authentic translation. For this reason, i think, the reliability of the results was weakened.

#### **5.4.3 Generalizability**

Generalizability is “the extent to which research findings can be applied to and taken as a measure of the target population generally” (Macnamara, 2005, p. 13). In case of content analysis, the total mass media message pool is considered as the target population (ibid.). Generalizability can be achieved by selection of a representative and sufficiently large sample and “the overall thoroughness of the methodology” (ibid.). In this study it was impossible to make generalizations because relatively small amount of articles were used and their selection was made by the purposive sampling. Through the purposive sampling, I selected the articles from the few newspapers that I considered important to include in my research. Thereby, I could not apply the research findings to all mass media. In addition, as I mentioned earlier in this chapter, it could happen that some articles were unavailable in the websites of the chosen newspapers. Consequently, it was possible that I did not include all the articles from these newspapers into the study. Due to this fact it was also hard to generalize.

However, using previous research in my study, I could draw the analytical generalization. Analytical generalization implies a “judgement about the extent of to which the finding of one study can be used as a guide to what might occur in another situation” (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p. 262). The findings of my study were compared with the information from the previous research and I was able to see similarities between them.

#### **5.5 Ethical standpoints**

Before conducting the study it was important for me to find out whether I needed a permission or consent from the authors of newspaper articles. It is claimed that if participants have not given their assent to having their postings used in the research, “it could be argued that the principle of informed consent has been violated” (Bryman, 2008, p. 129). However, I realized that the seeking of consent from the authors or editors of newspapers was unnecessary in my case due to the fact that these articles were freely available on the Internet and there was no law prohibiting the use of newspaper articles for study purposes.

## **6. Presentation of results and analysis**

The results of the study are presented in this chapter. They are analyzed through the information obtained from previous research. The present chapter is divided into four sections, each of which is devoted to a particular category found in the examined articles. Two categories are revealed by means of subcategories.

### **6.1. Discrimination of people with disabilities**

The first category was defined as discrimination of people with disabilities. The journalists indicated that Russian people with disabilities are not able to work, receive access to services and participate in the society on an equal basis with others. The infrastructure is not adapted for the movement of disabled people; many of them cannot get out of their houses. The results showed that such an act of discrimination, such as a refusal of granting housing to persons with disabilities can also happen in Russia.

#### ***6.1.1 Inaccessible infrastructure for people with disabilities***

The authors of the articles pointed out that Russian cities are not adapted for people with disabilities. As underlined in the articles, disabled people and especially wheelchair users experience difficulties in moving around the city, entering public buildings and using public transport. According to one article, despite the strong desire to spend time away from the apartments enjoying outdoors, the majority of people with disabilities prefer not to go out without a need (KP, 2011-06-04). Therefore, it is not often possible to meet them in a city.

One can easily notice the absence of wheelchair users in Kazan [the Russian city – authors's note].

They are not able to move on the streets (Comment of Samoilova in NG, 2011-06-21, Kazan).

The journalists highlighted that people with disabilities do not always have possibility to move around freely. As mentioned in the articles, wheelchair users may find it difficult to cross a road in Russian cities. For example, one article of “Komsomolskaya Gazeta” (2011-06-04) described that they do not have enough time to overcome such barriers as tram ways and high borders before traffic signal turns red. As a result, they are only able to reach middle of the road.

In order to visit a shop and even simply to walk in a park Arthur [the name of wheelchair user – author's note] needs minimum one accompanying person (KP, 2011-06-04).

It is known that there are very tall borders, which wheelchair user can not overcome without asking for assistance (Comment of Salavatov in KP, 2011-10-19).

According to the journalists, the main reason why Russian buildings are inaccessible to wheelchair users is the lack of special equipment. Even important establishments such as pharmacies, hospitals and shops are not equipped with ramps in Russian cities. Some

buildings have ramps but they might be incorrectly installed. Moreover, people with disabilities are frequently deprived of the opportunity to study because of missing elevators and ramps in educational institutions. The articles stressed that it is impossible for wheelchair users to enter buildings without asking for assistance.

The most part of buildings are inaccessible to many invalids due to the fact that they are not equipped with ramps. Some buildings have ramps, but they are incorrectly installed. [-]. This problem exists in many hospitals and polyclinics of the Republic [the Udmurt Republic – author's note]. Some pharmacies are also not equipped with ramps (KP, 2011-11-14).

Pharmacies look like unapproachable fortresses for wheelchair users (NG, 2011-06-21, Chelyabinsk).

As mentioned in the articles, Russian houses are not designed for the living of people with disabilities. The lack of elevators and ramps in the houses considerably complicates their lives. The journalists mentioned that people with disabilities can not independently get out of their apartments. Those people who live in old houses built in Soviet Union are especially familiar with this problem.

Invalids have an uneasy life in historical center and soviet buildings (NG, 2011-06-21, Saint Petersburg).

Soviet houses are not equipped with ramps and special cargo elevators (KP, 2011-11-14).

However, as one article described, some new houses have also no special equipment that enable people with mobility disabilities to move freely indoors and outdoors.

When I bought the apartment I asked for permission to install an elevator. The builder declared that an elevator will be provided. But there was no elevator when I moved into the apartment in 2004 (Comment of Kravchenko in Izv, 2011-08-03).

The articles also mentioned that public transport is not always accessible to people with disabilities. The lack of low-floor buses is one more reason why people with disabilities can not move around freely. For instance, even big Russian cities do not provide enough number of buses to accommodate people with disabilities. Ramps and elevators are not available at the majority of buses, railways, high-speed tram and metro stations for wheelchair users. Some articles emphasized that wheelchair users usually ask for help from other passengers in order to get on or get off a bus (KP, 2011-11-14, KP, 2011-03-15).

There is no space for wheelchair users in the bus... (KP, 2011-06-04).

The underground of Saint Petersburg is not intended for passengers with mobility disabilities (NG, 2011-06-21 Saint Petersburg).

Low-floor buses come occasionally; the elevator for people with disabilities exists only at one metro station (RG, 2011-06-22).

The problem of inaccessibility of infrastructure for people with disabilities was mentioned in the previous research. In particular, it was highlighted in the study of Zalkauskaite (2012), who conducted a content analysis of Lithuanian press in order to disclose the stereotypes of disabled people. Her study found that inaccessibility of natural environment for people with disabilities was clearly manifested in newspaper articles. The disabled were represented as isolated from society. The press also emphasized that entering Lithuanian institutions without assistance of other people was impossible for them (Zalkauskaite, 2012, p. 87).

### **6.1.2 Lack of services**

The journalists noted that there is a lack of services available to people with disabilities in Russia. The examples of this problem are presented in several articles.

One article of “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” (2011-09-20) mentioned that there is a lack of technical centres where persons with disabilities can reequip their cars and lack of driving schools where they can learn to drive:

A normal person simply buys a car if he has money and desire to drive. Invalid should reequip his car after he has bought it. However, it is very hard to do that.

There are a lot of disabled people who want to drive a car but there are no programs and vehicles adapted for them.

One article of “Izvestia” (2011-12-18) reported that people with disabilities are deprived of any possibility to use services provided to the visitors of Moscow airports:

Telephones for hearing and visually impaired people are not available at the airport. [-]. There is a lack of parking spaces for people with disabilities.

Another article of “Izvestia” (2011-07-07) mentioned that sometimes airlines can not allow persons with limited possibilities to enter a plane without an accompanying person. As mentioned in this article, airlines can make this decision due to the assumption that wheelchair users can be a hindrance for other passengers in an emergency situation.

Several articles described the case when people with disabilities were deprived of the right to use transport in Saint Petersburg. As mentioned in these articles, the managers of the metro forbade people with mobility disabilities to use this type of transport due to the inaccessibility of escalators.

Wheelchair users are not able to use an escalator without asking for assistance. Therefore, access to the underground is often refused to invalids in case they arrived alone. [-]. If their wheelchair could roll, it would cripple all people standing on the escalator (Comment of Shatalova in RG, 2011-06-21).

All these articles demonstrated that people with disabilities do not have the same rights as anyone else in the sphere of service, in other words, they are discriminated. One can see

parallels between the above mentioned articles and previous research. The study conducted by Ciot and Hove (2010) revealed that people with disabilities are portrayed in Romanian media as people who are exposed to discrimination. The study of Clogston (1994) indicated that the issues of discrimination were discussed in American press. Phillips (2012) found that Ukrainian print media reported the cases of different violations of the rights of people with disabilities. For example, one article described how medical attention was denied to incarcerated persons with disabilities (Pioro 2009 in Phillips, 2012).

### ***6.1.3 Refusals of granting housing***

The articles reported on the cases of refusal of granting the housing to people with disabilities. One of these cases is published in “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” (2011-01-24). The article described the case of disabled woman who lives in the barrack without gas and hot water for 5 years.

Everyone in this township knows this house. The barrack was built near the railway in 1929. It was used as a stable for horses. Later, when horses were replaced by technique, the barrack was converted in temporarily habitation for builders of the railway.

According to the author of this article, this woman has a “hardest form of disease” and “literally survives” in this house. The house was given to this woman as a temporary habitation by the local authorities in 2005. As mentioned in the article, the house was recognized as unsuitable for living in 2007 and, according to the Russian legislation, the woman had the right to receive a new apartment without waiting in the queue. However, despite these facts, she has not received a new apartment yet. Moreover, now officials consider that the conditions of this barrack are “quite suitable for living”.

The second case of refusal of granting the housing is also published in “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” (2011-04-06). The author of the article stated that the apartment of a disabled man, who lives in the old building with his wife, daughter and grandchild was recognized as unsuitable for living for wheelchair users in 2009.

We have already removed the doors in order to move around within the apartment. However, kitchen, toilet and bathroom are not accessible for me due to very narrow corridor and cramped doors. I can not also go to the balcony in order to take a breath of fresh air. Even the opening of door to let the doctor in is the problem (Interview with Lavrentiev in RG, 2011-04-06).

This article mentions that, according to the Russian legislation, this person also had the right to receive a new apartment without waiting in the queue. Nevertheless, he did not receive a new apartment, and had to sue the administration of the city, which refused to solve his housing problem.

These two cases clearly represented the acts of violation of the rights of people with disabilities. Despite the existing legislation in Russia, wheelchair users did not receive new

apartments and continued living in unsuitable housing. The journalists emphasized the sufferings which were experienced by these persons in their daily life as well as pointed out their problems with health. It is possible to see similarities between these cases and some studies carried out in the field of disability and media. Keller et al. (1990), who conducted quantitative content analysis of American press, mentioned that the majority of newspaper articles included in their study portrayed people with disabilities as individuals who are suffering. In the study of Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov (2006) was found that Russian media presented various infringements of the rights of invalids. The study of Phillips (2012) revealed that such cases of violations of the rights of people with disabilities as withdrawal or late payment of disability benefits are reflected in Ukrainian print media.

#### ***6.1.4 Discrimination in the field of employment***

The articles described that people with disabilities face different problems in the field of employment.

Some journalists emphasized that the majority of people with disabilities in Russia are deprived of the opportunity to get a job. For example, one article (Izv, 2011-11-24) noted that the managers of enterprises prefer to employ healthy people and many of them ignore the law, according to which they, irrespective of kind of their activity, should employ people with disabilities. Another article (NG, 2011-06-21, Yekaterinburg) mentioned that people with impairments of health do not have jobs, because the enterprises which use the labour of people with disabilities have low profitability caused by the fact that all manufacture is manual or little mechanized.

Almost one third of invalids of the region [Sverdlovsk oblast – author’s note] can work. But there are no places to work (NG, 2011-06-21, Yekaterinburg).

Other journalists reported the delay in salary payment to people with disabilities. The articles of “Komsomolskaya Pravda” (2011-06-16) and “Izvestia” (2011-06-16) described that employees of one of enterprises, people with visual impairments, did not receive a salary during half year. As mentioned in these articles, some employees have been sent on holiday without payment, others have quit the job by themselves.

The dining room is closed, the toilets are dirty, the garbage was not taken out, and cleaners are not present. Blind people go to work, but do not receive a salary (Comment of employee in Izv, 2011-06-16).

According to these articles, enterprises where people with disabilities are working did not give clear explanations of why salary is delayed. Thus, this case showed the act of discrimination of people with disabilities.

One can compare the results described in this category and previous research. Several researchers also showed that people with disabilities have limited access to the labour market. According to the study of Zalkauskaite (2012), Lithuanian press showed that people with disabilities were often excluded from the labour market due to their health conditions. Newspaper articles included in her study indicated that most of the employers do not contemplate on employment of people with disabilities (Zalkauskaite, 2012, p. 88). They were perceived “as the “holdout” of progress in the labour market” (ibid.). The study of Wahl (1992), which was conducted using method of literature review, found that persons with mental disabilities were depicted as unemployed in the mass media. Clogston (1994) in his study discovered that issue of employment of people with disabilities was discussed in American press.

## **6.2 Integration of people with disabilities**

The second category found in the newspaper articles describes the actions which have been undertaken by the authorities in order to integrate people with disabilities into society. These actions include creation of barrier-free environment, formation of tolerant relation, providing training and education, creation of workplaces.

### **6.2.1 Creation of barrier-free environment**

The articles reported that local authorities actively adapt infrastructure for people with disabilities in different Russian cities. The journalists described that local and regional authorities try to make buildings, premises, public transport and streets accessible for people with disabilities by means of installation of special equipment. The articles mentioned initiatives of officials, which have been already conducted in the field of creation of barrier-free environment, and about their plans for the near future.

Works regarding adaptation of the city environment for the invalids include the installation of ramps and elevators in the houses (Izv, 2011-05-04).

According to the journalists, installation of elevators at the metro stations is one of the activities that officials make in order to improve the quality of life of people with disabilities.

Each new metro station will be equipped with elevator in order to facilitate the access for people with limited possibilities (Comment of the manager of department of building in Izv, 2011-11-18).

One article of “Izvestia” (2011-12-16) described the plans of Moscow authorities regarding the re-equipment of apartments for people with disabilities. As mentioned in this article, officials plan to expand doorways and spaces in the bathrooms and to equip bathrooms with special devices. Another article of “Izvestia” (2011-11-28) noted that the city authorities of Moscow plan to adapt polling places in order to provide convenience for people with disabilities. In particular, the author of the article specified that they plan to create special

booths for wheelchair users, organize volunteers who will help people with disabilities to rise to the second floor, and prepare materials with Braille font. One more article (Izv, 2011-10-05) reported about the opening of hall intended for the passengers with disabilities in one of the Moscow airports.

It is will be the first hall with international level of comfort in Russia. The hall is equipped with cafe, free Wi-Fi and sound panel intended for passengers with hearing impairments.

The articles emphasized that Russian Government adopts different state programmes in order to create barrier-free environment for people with disabilities. The journalists reported that these programmes are directed on the transformation of education, public health, transport, culture, sport and housing. For example, within the limits of these programmes, the authorities of different regions and cities of the Russian Federation plan to provide hospitals with special medical equipment which gives the chance to survey people with disabilities; to purchase transport convenient for them, and to provide computers and other equipment for disabled children in schools. Besides, within the limits of state programmes, officials plan to conduct the following activities: to adapt public toilets for people with disabilities; to equip pedestrian crossings, bus stops, bus and railway stations with sound notification system, ramps, tactile and contrast surfaces; to install traffic lights with a sound device; and to train workers of transport regarding how to deal with passengers with disabilities. According to the article of “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” (2011-08-09, 2011-08-17), the authorities plan to do the following activities in the culture sphere: to equip museums, theatres and galleries with elevators and ramps for the convenience of people with disabilities; to create places for wheelchairs and additional places for guide dogs and crutches in the theaters; to organize excursions for people with visual and hearing impairments by means of special equipment. It is also mentioned that porches of the houses will be equipped with elevators and ramps within the limits of state programmes.

The topic of integration of people with disabilities, including creation of barrier-free environment was broadly discussed by researchers Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov (2006). They examined newspaper “Izvestia”, the same newspaper which was used in my research. But the articles for their study were derived for the period from January, 1995 until September, 2005. Russian media, according to their results, showed that Russian authorities and public organizations realize different projects directed to the creation of barrier-free environment. As the newspaper articles included in their study described, Russian authorities planned to adapt apartments and public transport for people with disabilities, to equip shops, medical and social establishments, office buildings with special ramps and elevators (Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov, 2006, p. 146).

### ***6.2.2 Formation of tolerant relation to people with disabilities***

The results of the study indicated that another activity conducted by the authorities to integrate people with disabilities is a formation of tolerant relation in the society.

The first example of formation of tolerant relation to people with disabilities is described in one of the articles of “Izvestia” (2011-08-29). The author of the article reported that the Ministry of health and social development of the Russian Federation decided to educate for tolerance by means of social advertising. According to the article, the purpose of social advertising is to change the relations towards disabled people, help people with disabilities in getting jobs, enrolling to schools and universities.

The second example of formation of tolerant relation is presented in another article of newspaper “Izvestia” (2011-09-28). The article described the creation of special television channel in Russia, which will show legal, medical and entertaining programmes for people with disabilities and competitions of paralympic athletes. As noted in the article, this channel will show positive examples of the lives of people with disabilities in order to create disability awareness of among healthy people. The author of the article underlined that this channel can help people with disabilities to integrate into society, to get a job and education.

Researchers Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov (2006) also found that formation of tolerant relation was one of the topics which were argued in Russian media between years 1995 - 2005. For example, few articles analysed in their study reported about the exhibitions of photos of people with intellectual and physical defects, which were intended for attraction of attention of other people to the problems of people with disabilities (Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov, 2006, p. 146).

### ***6.2.3 Providing training and education***

According to the articles, one more initiative undertaken by the Russian authorities to develop integration of disabled people is a providing training and education.

Education of disabled children is one of the major conditions for their integration into society (Izv, 2011-05-04)

The journalists noted that the government adopts various state programmes and increases the financing of education sphere in order to give children with disabilities the opportunity to study. Within the limits of these programmes, Russian cities organize distance education for people with disabilities, give them computers, and open new schools for people with disabilities, including driving schools. Besides, the articles indicated that local authorities arrange education for little children with disabilities in specialized kindergartens, whereas for

older children with disabilities in correctional educational institutions or in schools with inclusive education.

The topic of education of people with disabilities was reflected in previous research. The study of Clogston (1994) found that the issues of integrated education were mentioned in American press. Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov (2006) mentioned that Russian press reported on providing of education and training to people with disabilities. Newspaper articles included in their study described that Russian Government tries to integrate people with disabilities into society and give them opportunity to receive an education by means of opening new educational institutions.

#### ***6.2.4 Creation of workplaces***

It was found that the creation of workplaces is one of the activities of the authorities conducted for the purpose of integration of people with disabilities into society. According to the journalists, government undertakes various initiatives in order to improve the employment situation of people with disabilities. By means of these initiatives the Government tries to make labour of people with disabilities attractive for the enterprises and, thus, increase the number of jobs for them.

On example of such initiative was presented in “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” (RG, 2011-11-18). The author of the article reported that government plans to grant reimbursement to businessmen for the equipment of working places for people with disabilities. Another example was described in “Nezavisimaya Gazeta” (NG, 2011-06-21, Yekaterinburg). In the article was declared that the authorities of one region of Russia will reduce taxes for the enterprises, where more than half staff members are disabled. In addition, as mentioned in this article, they plan to give grants to such enterprises, to subsidize their purchase of new equipment, to provide them with ground and premises.

The researchers Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov (2006) in their study found that the topic of creation of workplaces for people with disabilities was discussed in Russian media in years 1995-2005.

### **6.3 Social support for people with disabilities**

The next category found in the research was indicated as “social support of people with disabilities”. The journalists described new laws and state ordinances adopted in the field of social protection of people with disabilities and about different types of social support intended for people with disabilities.

One article of “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” (2011-09-28) stated that deputies of regional parliament have made amendments in one law of the Republic of Bashkortostan. These amendments

gave the right to receive ground area for housing construction to all families who have children with disabilities. The author of the article underlined that ground areas will be given for free.

Another article of “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” (2011-05-11) reported that Ministry of Health and Social Development and Interior Ministry of Russia approved the ordinance, according to which people with disabilities received the right to register ownership of cars given to them by the state.

One article of “Izvestia” (2011-05-04) mentioned about the increase of financing of service of social taxi by the Government of Moscow. According to the author of the article, social taxi is such type of social support, which is extremely demanded among people with disabilities.

Several other articles reported about the granting of means of technical rehabilitation to people with disabilities. The journalists underlined that granting of means of technical rehabilitation to disabled people is one of the types of social support guaranteed by the Government. They added that financing of granting of these products has been recently increased. According to the articles, means of technical rehabilitation help people with disabilities to overcome the restrictions of vital activity and, therefore, are highly demanded among them.

Several thousands of invalids living in the Republic of Tatarstan are waiting artificial limbs and orthopedic products in the queue (RG, 2011-03-31).

The articles also noted that there are companies in the country which produce means of technical rehabilitation to people with disabilities. The article of “Rossiyskaya Gazeta” (2011-10-20) reported about the opening of new company for the manufacture of means of rehabilitation. As mentioned in the article, the new enterprise will improve granting of means of rehabilitation necessary for the daily life of people with disabilities.

One can draw parallels between the above mentioned articles and scientific researches carried out in the field of disability and media. The study of Zalkauskaite (2012) found that people with disabilities are presented in the Lithuanian media as permanent recipients of the allowances and their exclusive sustenance source is the benefits provided by the Government (Zalkauskaite, 2012, p. 88). The results of the study conducted by Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov (2006) showed that Russian media portrayed people with disabilities as recipients of social benefits and social support. Social support is provided to them by the Russian Government, regional authorities, private sector and public organizations (Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov, 2006, p. 143). The study of Ciot and Hove (2010) indicated that people with disabilities are presented as a socially protected group of people in the Romanian media.

Clogston (1994) mentioned that government programs directed to support people with disabilities were discussed in American press. According to the study of Phillips (2012), people with disabilities were portrayed as dependent from the State in Ukrainian press.

#### **6.4 Active life of people with disabilities**

The last category concerns the active life of people with disabilities. The articles included in this category were published in “Komsomolskaya Pravda”. These articles emphasized that, despite severe problems of health and difficult life circumstances, people with disabilities have strong desire to participate in active life of society and are capable to achieve success in their lives.

One of the articles reported about a person who became disabled after the injury (KP, 2011-04-19). He was at home almost all the time during three years due to the absence of elevator in his house. As mentioned in the article, he decided to construct an elevator on the balcony, because he had very strong wish to be able to go out from the apartment. The author of the article underlined that after elevator installation he began “new life”, made new friends, bought a garage for the car and started to search for a job.

Another article (KP, 2011-11-23) also presented the example of disabled person, who overcame the illness and started to conduct an active way of life. This person broke the backbone after the accident happened in his childhood. The author of the article emphasized that he learnt to walk again and, moreover, got involved in sports, started to work as a coach and even won a regional championship of combat sport.

He has broad shoulders, steel muscles, and confident gait. He looks exactly like a Hollywood star or the revived statue of the Ancient Greek athlete. He has beautiful wife and three month old son. If you could look at Airat Kuratov [name of disabled person – author’s note], you could not believe that once he was confined to wheelchair.

The journalists stated that people with disabilities are actively involved in sports. One of the articles reported on the successful performance of sportsmen with limited possibilities from the Kuban region on Russian Championship in Athletics (KP, 2011-03-21). In particular, the author of the article emphasized that they won 52 medals and made two national records. Another article reported that two sportsmen with hearing impairments won medals on the European Greco-Roman Wrestling Championship (KP, 2011-10-25). The author of this article noted that one of these sportsmen has participated in Russian and international competitions for many years and has already won a rank of the champion of Europe in third time in his career. One more article mentioned that over 300 sportsmen with limited possibilities took part in Paralympics festivals (KP, 2011-03-1). Participants of this festival played basketball, draughts, chess, and darts, ran and jumped.

One of the articles reported on two young disabled men who performed a break-dance on the Russian show of talents and won the first place (KP, 2011-08-11). The author of this article underlined that they were abandoned by their parents when they were children and raised in a specialized boarding school. Other two articles (KP, 2011-04-18, KP, 2011-05-18) reported about disabled person who crossed Russia on his mobility scooter.

The man wishes to prove to the whole world that people with limited possibilities can conduct an active life.

In addition, “Izvestia” (2011-04-29) and “Komsomolskaya Pravda” (2011-05-7) mentioned about the active participation of people with disabilities in concerts and competitions of creative works.

What is described in this category can be found in the previous research. The study of Wilkins (2003) indicated that American media depicted blind people as physically vigorous people, happily married, actively engaged in sports and people making achievements in their professions. Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov (2006) found that Russian media portrayed invalids as active, creative and interesting people achieving something in their lives. The results of their study showed that people with disabilities are active in sports, tourism, art, and business. Phillips (2012) found that Ukrainian print media presented people with disabilities as “heroes” who have been able or are trying to overcome their illness. They were referred to as a “heroine”, a “knight”, or a “living legend” (Phillips, 2012, p. 495). Some newspaper articles emphasized the autonomy and productivity of those individuals with disabilities “who have been able to thrive ‘through their own means’ and ‘against the odds,’ with minimal or no help from the state” (ibid, p. 494). The study of Nelson (2003) revealed that people with disabilities are regarded as “heroes” who heroically struggle with own disabilities in American television.

## **6.5. Summary of results**

Representation of people with disabilities was revealed through categories such as “discrimination of people with disabilities”, “integration of people with disabilities”, “social support for people with disabilities” and “active life of people with disabilities”.

The Russian press described that people with disabilities face problems and discrimination in the fields of employment and housing. The journalists claimed that people with disabilities do not have access to buildings, transport and other services on an equal basis with not disabled people. In addition, they can not conveniently move within a city like everybody else due to inaccessibility of infrastructure.

The press also indicated that the Russian Government pays a lot of attention to the problems of people with disabilities and tries to improve their situation in various spheres of vital activity. Particularly, it was mentioned that the authorities try to make barrier-free environment, that is, to adapt buildings, premises, public transport and streets for the movement of disabled people. Besides, the journalists emphasized that the authorities made a lot of efforts in order to form a tolerant relation to people with disabilities, to provide an education and training and to create workplaces for people with disabilities, in other words, they attempted to integrate them into society.

The newspaper articles also described that people with disabilities receive social support from the Government. The articles focused on the reporting of new laws and state ordinances adopted in the field of social protection of people with disabilities and different types of social support intended for people with disabilities, such as granting of ground area for housing construction, granting of cars, granting of means of technical rehabilitation and social taxi.

In addition, people with disabilities were described as active people in the press. The articles indicated that they can have a normal life despite severe problems of health and discrimination that they repeatedly experience in their daily lives. In particular, the journalists mentioned that people with disabilities are actively involved in sports, participate in concerts and competitions of creative works and travel.

The results demonstrated that the representation of people with disabilities in the four newspapers included in the study was very similar. Each newspaper described that people with disabilities face discrimination in their daily life, and discussed about their integration into society. However, representation of people with disabilities in “Nezavisimaya Gazeta” was slightly different from the other newspapers. None of the articles from this newspaper described about social support and active life of people with disabilities. The articles from “Nezavisimaya Gazeta” were mainly focused on the description of inaccessibility of infrastructure and on decisions of the authorities regarding the integration of people with disabilities in different Russian cities. Besides, it has to be pointed that only the newspaper “Komsomolskaya Pravda” and “Izvestia” presented people with disabilities as active people.

According to the results of the study, the articles discussed about the issues of people with mobility disabilities, people with hearing and visual impairments. In the majority of the articles was mentioned the word “wheelchair user”.

## **7. Analysis from theories**

This chapter presents the analysis of the research findings in relation to labeling theory and stigma.

### **7.1 Analysis from labeling theory**

Some articles included in this study emphasized that people with disabilities can not move freely on the streets of different Russian cities and use public transport without assistance of other people. Other articles reported the cases of refusal of granting the housing to people with disabilities and cases of discrimination in the field of employment. The journalists also discussed a lack of services available to people with disabilities in Russia. When reading these articles one can possibly think that people with disabilities constantly encounter problems in Russia. Moreover, I can assume that the articles devoted to the topic of inaccessibility of infrastructure or discrimination can cause a feeling of pity towards people with disabilities. The readers of these articles can consider that all people with disabilities are unhappy and unfortunate. But it is impossible to say that all people with disabilities are unhappy in the real life. Indeed, they face certain limitations in their life which are caused by their health condition but it does not mean that they are unhappy. Labelling theory suggests that mass media influence on creation of labels (Laughey, 2009, p. 102). On the basis of the aforesaid, I can make a conclusion that the articles included in my study can promote the occurrence of such label as “people with disabilities being unhappy”.

According to the results of the study, some articles underlined that social support are in great demand among people with disabilities. For example, one article of “Rossiiskaya Gazeta” (2011-03-31) mentioned that a large number of disabled people are waiting the granting of means of technical rehabilitation for a long time, because the production of these means is limited. I think that such article can promote the reinforcement of public opinion that disabled people are very much dependent on social support. I suppose that people, who can read this article, can draw a conclusion that disabled persons demand a lot of social support and, therefore, attach label “dependent”. Labeling theory claims that labels are attached to individuals in response to all sorts of action and behaviour (Laughey, 2009, p. 101). People with disabilities can be labelled because their dependence from social support can be considered as inadmissible behaviour among other individuals. People with disabilities can also be regarded as deviants. According to labeling theory, “the deviant is one to whom the label has successfully been applied” (Becker, 1963, p. 9).

Several articles included in the study emphasized the success which was achieved in the lives of people with disabilities. The authors also underlined the problems, such as severe traumas,

long process of rehabilitation, injustice and hopelessness, which these people with disabilities overcame in their lives. One of the examples, where people with disabilities were described in such way, was article of “Komsomolskaya Pravda” (2011-11-23). This article reported on disabled person, who broke his backbone in the childhood but conquered the illness, found a job, achieved a success in sports and got married. Thereby, it is possible to note that this article represents disabled person as a “hero” who managed to overcome everything and start a new happy life.

## **7.2 Analysis from stigma**

The results of the study showed that Russian press described the discrimination of people with disabilities. Within the limits of the theory of stigma, one can consider that people with disabilities are exposed to discrimination due to the fact that they possess an attribute which makes them different from the others (Goffman, 1990). Goffman (1990) defines this attribute as a stigma. Disability or a defect of health might be seen as one of the types of stigma and can be considered as a sign of weakness and dependence (Reut, 2008).

The articles included in the study found that people with disabilities are not able to participate in the normal life of society like everybody else. Some journalists emphasized that the majority of people with disabilities in Russia are deprived of the opportunity to get a job. In particular, one of the articles (Izv, 2011-11-24) reported that the managers of enterprises prefer to employ healthy people. According to this article, a lot of these managers ignore the law, according to which they should employ people with disabilities. Presumably the reason why managers of enterprises do not employ people with disabilities might be their assumptions that people with disabilities are weak and are not able to perform their job properly. The newspaper articles (Izv, 2011-07-07, RG, 2011-06-21) also mentioned that people with disabilities sometimes were deprived of the right to use transport, such as plane and metro, because of the assumption of transport workers that wheelchair users represent hindrance and danger for other passengers. Thus, these two cases showed that both managers of enterprises and transport workers generated prejudices against people with disabilities. They built so called “virtual social identity” of people with disabilities, which is defined by Goffman (1990, p. 12) as a character that one can input to the individual. The attributes that the person in fact possesses refers to “actual social identity” (ibid). Stigma, according to Goffman (ibid.), “constitutes a special discrepancy between virtual and actual social identity”, which promotes the cutting the person off from the society.

The results of the study showed that Russian Government conducted different initiatives directed to the integration of people of disabilities. For example, one of these initiatives is

formation of tolerant relation to persons with disabilities by means of social advertising (Izv, 2011-08-29). The purpose of formation of tolerant relation was a creation of disability awareness. The theory of stigma determined that people who can perceive stigmatized individuals as ordinary persons are those who have the same stigma and “wise” people, such as medical workers (Goffman, 1990, p. 31). In my opinion, such initiative of the Russian authorities as formation of tolerant relation can increase the number of so called “wise” people, that is, increase the number of people, who would perceive people with disabilities as ordinary citizens.

The articles described that the Russian government provides a social support to people with disabilities. Social support can be considered as a necessity for people with disabilities. For example, one of the measures of social support, as mentioned in the articles, was a granting of service of social taxi to people with disabilities. Social taxi is a taxi for which people with disabilities pay a reduced price. The social taxi gives to people with disabilities the opportunity to move freely around the city. It allows people with disabilities to overcome badly developed infrastructure, which enhances their stigmatization. Thus granting of this kind of measure of social support can promote the improvement of living conditions of the disabled person.

The press described that people with disabilities participate in various competitions, play sports and travel. Theory of stigma explains that people try to change what they see as the basis for their stigmatization (Goffman, 1990, p. 19). For example, they try to change appearance, behaviour or an occupation. In particular, people with disabilities try to learn such kinds of activities, which were inaccessible for them due to their illness (ibid). People with disabilities mentioned in the newspaper articles tried to be involved in different kinds of activities in order to prove to others that they are ordinary persons. From the perspective of theory of stigma one can consider that by means of conducting an active way of life, these people with disabilities tried to become closer to other part of society and prevent discrimination and stigmatization against them.

## **8. Discussion**

The aim of this study was to examine how Russian press represents people with disabilities. The research questions of the study were the following: “How are people with disabilities described in Russian press?” “What are the differences in the newspapers?” “What types of disabilities are covered in the newspapers?”

During the content analysis process I managed to answer all questions formulated in the beginning of the research process. The press demonstrated that Russian people with disabilities have very limited choices in education, employment, housing and services due to discrimination. The articles reported the initiatives of the Russian authorities directed to the integration of people with disabilities and described the measures of social support rendered to them by the Russian Government. In addition, the newspaper articles highlighted the achievements and success of people with disabilities. Interpreting the results in other words, the press reflected on problems of people with disabilities in Russia, how the Russian Government tries to solve these problems and how people with disabilities themselves try to cope with their difficult life situation.

In my opinion, the description of people with disabilities shown in these results is very specific for Russian society. In the country historically has developed so that the infrastructure is not adapted for people with disabilities. For example, the majority of buildings including apartment houses and public institutions were constructed several decades ago when the needs of people with disabilities were not taken into account. These buildings still exist and devices that facilitate the movement of people with disabilities are still missing. It seems that society is not ready to accept people with disabilities even nowadays. But, one can also note that along with disabled people, young mothers and fathers with baby carriages and elderly people experience difficulties in movement in such houses. Thus inaccessibility of infrastructure might be considered as an urgent question in Russia and, therefore, as the results of this study demonstrated, is highly discussed in mass media.

The results of the study did not indicate any big differences in representation of people with disabilities in different newspapers despite their distinctions in formats. One of the newspapers was tabloid, another was daily socio-political edition founded by the Government of the Russian Federation, and other two newspapers were daily editions oriented onto the broad variety of topics. Presumably the fact that all newspapers were national could be one of the reasons of the similar representation of people with disabilities. Regional newspapers were not selected for the study. Besides, probably the use of four newspapers for this study was not enough to receive significant differences.

Even though I intended to examine representation of people with different disabilities, the articles included in the study covered only people with physical disabilities. None of the articles mentioned people with mental disabilities.

Previous research increased my understanding regarding the representation of people with disabilities in the media and allowed to draw parallels with the results of this study. However, it was difficult to understand the meanings of the findings in some previous studies because they were not described in detail by the authors. The categories of discrimination and social support of people with disabilities, which was found in my study, were also highly prevalent in scientific research. It is notable that the results of this study and the study of Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov (2006) were found very similar. Iarskaia-Smirnova and Romanov (2006) also investigated Russian media regarding the images of people with disabilities. Such widespread topics of previous studies, as treatment and institutionalization of people with disabilities, were not reflected in my study. In addition, some researchers presented people with disabilities as violent and/or aggressive. This representation of people with disabilities was also not mentioned in my study. I assume that the differences might be dependent on the place where a study was conducted and on the public opinion regarding disability there.

The study was carried out using the method of qualitative content analysis. The process of searching the newspapers and articles did not take a long time. However, in order to find relevant material I had to go through a lot of publications. A large number of articles were not primarily focus on disability and were overlooked. Therefore, only sixty of the articles were included in the analysis. The use of a large number of articles could promote the increase of credibility of results. Nevertheless, the validity of the study was achieved, because I aspired to be objective when categorizing the contents of the text. In order to achieve reliability I tried to make clear explanations of all procedures conducted in examining the content of each newspaper. But it might be weakened because of not authentic translations of the quotations from newspaper articles to English language.

The articles included in the study were analysed through the use of labeling theory and stigma. The analysis showed the basic reason of discrimination of people with disabilities is the defect of health. It was found that people with disabilities try to conduct an active way of life in order to become closer to other part of society and prevent discrimination and stigmatization against them. The analysis revealed that the initiatives of Russian authorities directed on the integration of people with disabilities into society and social support provided by the government can contribute to the elimination of stigmatization of people with disabilities.

I think that the journalists are able to change public opinion of the readers regarding disability when they describe people with disabilities. They can influence on labels which were placed on people with disabilities by the rest of the society. In particular, I assume that the articles which described an active life of people with disabilities can help to create awareness among the population that disability is not a deviance.

### **8.1 Recommendations for further research**

I considered several ideas which could contribute to the extension of given research.

Firstly, I think that it would be possible to examine the differences in representation of people with disabilities in different years. I believe that this study needs to be conducted in some years due to the fact that Russian legislation often varies.

Secondly, it might be interesting to include more newspapers in the further study on this topic, namely, regional and local newspapers. Thus it would be possible to make deep comparisons regarding representation of people with disabilities in different newspapers.

To conclude, I think that one can conduct a comparative analysis of different countries in relation to media representation of people with disabilities. I assume that it would be informative to compare countries where disability is considered as a social problem and where disability is not a social problem. Such study would also contribute to the creation of awareness about the problem of disability in different countries.

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## **Appendix 1 Analysed newspaper articles**

### **Rossiyskaya Gazeta (RG)**

Kuzin, A., “Загнали в угол”, [“Cornered” – own translation], 2011-01-24.

Danilova, G., “Ни проехать, ни пройти!”, [“Neither to drive, nor to go!” – own translation], 2011-04-06.

Smolyakova, T. “Инвалидам отдали авто насовсем” [“Cars were given to invalids for permanent use” – own translation], 2011-05-11

Tsinkler, E., “Катись отсюда!”, [“Go away from here!” – own translation], 2011-06-21.

Tsinkler, E., “Метро вне доступа”, [“The underground is out of access” – own translation], 2011-06-22.

Agranovich, M., “Недоступный университет”, [“Inaccessible university” – own translation], 2011-07-20.

Gritsyk, M., “В театр - на коляске”, [“Wheelchair users go to the theatre” – own translation], 2011-08-17.

Maltseva, L., “Недоступная роскошь передвижения”, [“Inaccessible luxury of movement” – own translation], 2011-09-20.

Danilova, G., “Дают даром” [“Given for free” – own translation], 2011-09-28.

Shepelova, A., “Колясочники на “удобных ногах”, [“Wheelchair users on ‘convenient feet’” – own translation], 2011-10-20.

Belov, S., “Безграничные возможности”, [“Boundless possibilities” – own translation], 2011-11-18.

Kots, Y., “Без препятствий”, [“Without obstacles” – own translation], 2011-08-09.

Brailovskaya, S. “Могут накостылять. В Татарстане выстроилась очередь из четырех с половиной тысяч инвалидов за протезами”, [“Four thousand invalids are waiting in the queue for artificial limbs” – own translation], 2011-03-31.

### **Izvestia**

Ashihmin, A. and Zhebit, M., “Инвалидам разрешат летать без сопровождения”, [“Invalids will fly without accompanying person” – own translation], 2011-07-07.

Denisova, N., “Учебный год не наступил даже в апреле”, [“Academic year has not come even in April” – own translation], 2011-04-05.

Bozhenko, R., “Безграничные возможности”, [“Boundless possibilities” – own translation], 2011-04-29.

- Matveev, B., “Удобный для жизни”, [“Convenient for a life” – own translation], 2011-05-04.
- Tolstova, A., “Жизнь без ограничений”, [“Life without restrictions” – own translation], 2011-05-04.
- Gavrycheva, A., “Глава колл-центра, где голодают инвалиды, не признает вину”, [“Invalids from the call center are starving” – own translation], 2011-06-16.
- Tumakova, I., “Инвалидам и детям запретили спускаться в метро”, [“Metro is forbidden for invalids and children” – own translation], 2011-06-23.
- Sinyayeva, Y., “В престижном районе Москвы демонтировали лифты для инвалидов”, [“Elevators are dismantled in prestigious area of Moscow” – own translation], 2011-08-03.
- Ponomareva, A., “Минздравсоцразвития будет рекламировать толерантность”, [“Ministry of Health and Social Development will promote tolerance” – own translation], 2011-08-29.
- Sinyayeva, Y., “Столичная подземка инвалидов не приемлет”, [“Capital underground can not accept invalids” – own translation], 2011-09-23.
- Bredina, E. and Semyaninov, A., “В России запускается телеканал для инвалидов”, [“There will be television channel for invalids in Russia” – own translation]. 2011-09-28.
- Verhovskaya, M. and Pustarnikova, A., “Шереметьево организует VIP-зал для инвалидов” [“Sheremetyevo” will make VIP hall for invalids” – own translation], 2011-10-05.
- Gavrycheva, A., “Инвалидам откроют пандус к культуре”, [“Invalids will receive access to culture” – own translation], 2011-10-24.
- Verhovskaya, M., “Велосипедисты предложили слабовидящим крутить педали”, [“Bicyclists have suggested to twist pedals” – own translation], 2011-11-07.
- Smolitskii, G., “Эскалаторы подстроят под инвалидов”, [“Escalators will be made for invalids” – own translation], 2011-11-18.
- Polyakova, Y., “Коллекторов обязали брать на работу инвалидов”, [“Collectors were obliged to recruit invalids” – own translation], 2011-11-24.
- Gavrycheva, A., “Инвалидам помогут проголосовать”, [“Invalids will vote” – own translation], 2011-11-28.
- Semenova, A., “Столичные переходы признаны инвалидными”, [“Streets of the capital are recognized as invalid” – own translation], 2011-12-16.

Smolitskii, G., “В квартирах у инвалидов прибавится удобств”, [“It will be more convenient in the apartments of invalids” – own translation], 2011-12-16.

Devyatyarov, E., “Прокуратуре неудобно за инвалидов”. [“The Prosecutor Office feel inconvenience because of invalids” – own translation], 2011-12-18.

#### **Nezavisimaya Gazeta (NG)**

Obrazkova, M., “Паркур в инвалидном кресле”, [“Parkour of wheelchair users” – own translation], 2011-05-11.

Borisov, D., “Питерская подземка запугала колясочников опасностями”, [“The Petersburg underground is dangerous for wheelchair users” – own translation], 2011-06-21.

Chernyavskii, A., “Резервация для красноярских инвалидов”, [“Reservation for Krasnoyarsk invalids” – own translation], 2011-06-21.

Moiseev, D., “Аптека как крепость”, [“Pharmacy as a fortress” – own translation], 2011-06-21.

Ryabushev, A., “Калининградская среда обитания”, [“The Kaliningrad inhabitancy” – own translation], 2011-06-21.

Serenko, A., “Государственный стандарт вместо подачек”, [“State standard instead of tips” – own translation], 2011-06-21.

Sharovalov, A., “Подход к власти с заднего двора”, [“Approach to the power from a back yard” – own translation], 2011-06-21.

Tarasov, S., “Непреодолимые улицы Казани”, [“Insuperable streets of Kazan” – own translation], 2011-06-21.

Viugin, M., “Трудоспособная армия с ограниченными физическими возможностями”, [“Army with limited physical possibilities” – own translation], 2011-06-21.

Borisov, D., “Инвалидов пустили в питерскую подземку”, [“Invalids can go to the metro” – own translation], 2011-06-22.

#### **Komsomolskaya Pravda (KP)**

Plyusnin, O., “Побеждать - не благодаря, а вопреки”, [“One can win despite everything” – own translation], 2011-03-01.

Katerusha, A., “Почему калининградские инвалиды не ездят на автобусах”, [“Why the Kaliningrad invalids do not use buses” – own translation], 2011-03-04.

- Shestak, Y., “По Тюмени могут передвигаться только колясочники-экстремалы, [“Only some wheelchair users can move within the city Tyumen” – own translation], 2011-03-15.
- Golub, S., “Кубанские спортсмены-инвалиды установили 9 рекордов России”, [“Disabled sportsmen from Kuban have made 9 records of Russia” – own translation], 2011-03-21.
- Radionova, E., “В Красноярске создали карту доступности для инвалидов, пенсионеров и родителей с маленькими детьми”, [“Map for invalids, pensioners and parents with small children was created in Krasnoyarsk” – own translation], 2011-03-25.
- Voronezhseva, K., “Инвалид из Владивостока отправился в Москву на кресле-каталке”, [“The invalid from Vladivostok went to Moscow” – own translation], 2011-04-18.
- Butakova, I., “В Улан-Удэ инвалид-колясочник установил себе лифт на второй этаж”, [“Wheelchair user from Ulan-Ude installed an elevator” – own translation], 2011-04-19.
- Shelgachyova, G., “Международный день борьбы за права инвалидов в Новокузнецке”, [“The international day of struggle for the rights of invalids in Novokuznetsk” – own translation], 2011-05-07.
- Voronezhseva, K., “Инвалид из Владивостока проехал на кресле-каталке пол-России”, [“The invalid from Vladivostok travelled across Russia” – own translation], 2011-05-18.
- Mironov, N., “Московские инвалиды объявили голодовку”, [“The Moscow invalids declared a hunger strike” – own translation], 2011-06-16.
- Efanov, A., “Инвалид детства завоевал главный приз на телешоу “Минута славы”, [“Disabled person won a main prize on the TV show “Minute of fame” – own translation], 2011-08-11.
- Alekseeva, K., “Бороться с уродливыми пандусами хабаровчане решили с помощью Интернета”, [“Citizens of Khabarovsk decided to struggle against ugly ramps by means of Internet” – own translation], 2011-10-13.
- Krivyakina, E., “Дмитрий Медведев: “Что-то нужно уже давным-давно поменять”, [“Dmitry Medvedev: “Changes are required”- own translation], 2011-10-14.
- Solovei, I., “Новенькие бордюры в Кирове не дают инвалидам-колясочникам гулять по городу”, [“Wheelchair users can not walk in Kirov because of new borders” – own translation], 2011-10-19.

Korchyagin, A., “Глухие борцы из Ульяновска триумфально выступили на чемпионате Европы”, [“Deaf fighters from Ulyanovsk successfully performed at the European championship” – own translation], 2011-10-25.

Samigulova, O., “Инвалид-ижевчанка не могла выйти из дома, в котором не было пандусов”, [“The invalid from Izhevsk could not go out from the house due to the absence of ramps” – own translation], 2011-11-14.

Puzyreva, O., “Как неходячий инвалид стал чемпионом Башкирии по самбо”, [“Invalid won sambo championship in Bashkiria” – own translation], 2011-11-23.