

Your morning cuppa and the language of disability: a study of usage of metaphors and attitudes in telugu news reporting

Nookaraju Bendukurthi,

Abstract

Language is an important arbiter of meaning: it builds our understanding of the world and shapes our beliefs. What we know and what we believe about a particular phenomenon has a lot to do with the specific words used to describe and discuss it. Framing disability language in the vernacular media is a matter of contentious debate. Much abuse and harassment of disabled persons occurs as a matter of “hate reporting” in journalism, which is as offensive as an abusive act or expression. The “objective reporting” of journalism has been redirected and hijacked by the “dominant meaning” of elite media in congruence with their ideology. The impact of journalism on framing language related to disability in the news media often negatively impacts the lives of people with disabilities. Ableist language frames are also responsible for creating, modifying and even changing societal and individual attitudes. The most commonly found Ableist vocabulary, often used metaphorically, such as „going blind“, „turning a deaf ear“, and so on in print media, lends meanings of deficit and worthlessness to disability. Such usage gives us ample evidence of conceptualizations and beliefs that inform the contemporary understanding of disability. Early insights from frame analysis of Telugu regional print media have prompted closer attention to the language of disability that filters audience perspectives about human differences. This paper investigates the dynamics of disability terminology in Telugu newspapers and focuses in the inadvertent and habitual usage of stigmatizing terminology in media, which allows us to identify the realities of a life of difference - physical, cognitive or cultural.

Key words: Objective reporting, Dominant meaning, Journalistic behaviour, Ableist language

Introduction

For ages, disability is a universe that has been attached to nomenclature meaning with a negative sense. The process of this negative sense/perception building is a tirelessly meticulous effort by various stake holders in society. However the disability is the only history in the human history, perhaps, left intact but it doesn't mean that it was untouched. It has remained as a phenomenon to be matched with an antagonistic category all through these ages by cleverly suppressing the abilities of disabled whenever there was/were chance to surface by the very so-called ‘normal’ tyrannical tendencies. This is to say that there is a proper mechanism that that works constantly inserting the inimical ideologies about disability that sets the very nature of the society and therefore its members. The fact that remains towards the end is that it was the disability universe that has been placed to bear burnt with the stigma intact and continues with different form discrimination. One among such forms of disability discrimination is widely noticed with or within the language particularly that is employed in the media products. Perhaps, no signs of contentious debate happening in Indian over the usage of the disability language in media particularly in the regional media.

The existing inequalities that further marginalize the persons with disabilities (PWDs) in the *able-ist*ⁱ world today are well orchestrated and greatly contributed by numerous historical, economic, political and cultural factors. But the differences within the spoken and written languages are well organized. They have an undercurrent ideological insertions resulting in the prevalence of discrimination against PWDs as well as perpetuating the societal discriminatory

practices against the underprivileged. This imminent factor is seen through the lenses of race, class, caste, gender, and sexual orientation, creating multiple and intersecting marginality and invisibility for some. Beth Haller rightly pointed out “Language has always had always power to define cultural groups. The words used to refer to a group of people are important: they have ramifications for self-perception, but they also play a large role in shaping what general public believes about the group” (Haller, 2010). The language that is used especially in the media has the power to both define social positions of the groups and also power of reshaping individual’s perceptions. Here is an attempt made through the frame analysis that the entailed but invisible meaning of the Telugu language in the media narratives. This exploration also extended to prove the media perpetuated prejudice through their employed language against disabled groups.

Frame theory

Frame is an unsaid evidential device that implicitly comes in association with an act or a text of an individual or a product respectively. This manifestation is an integral apparatus in deriving the meaning from a ritual of an interaction happens either through a physical demonstration or cognitive manifestation. These physical (visible) and cognitive (invisible) subjective presentations are the necessary representatives of the one’s self/ideologies. It is therefore, our conscious and subconscious exhibitions are intrinsically occurring through and within pre-fixed parameters of frames. The renowned American sociologist, Erving Goffman (1974, p.21) defined frame as “*schemata of interpretation*” that enable individuals “*to locate, perceive, identify, and label*” occurrences or life experiences. The concept of framing is essentially an important methodological tool used in this paper to study the construction of disability in the media’s disability specific language usage. According to Robert Entman (1993) “frame analysis offers away to describe the power of a communicating text” because media text contain frames “which are manifested by the presence or absence of certain key word, key phrases stereotypical images, source of information in sentence that provide thematically reinforcing the clusters of fact of judgments.” (p.52). This understanding elaborates the selection of certain key words and their usage in more prominent manner in the media texts so that the audience can remember. This powerful element would help the audience to connect themselves to the disability groups with certain kind of terminology that was used in the media.

Framing then can be described as a “story angel or hook”; it is “central organizing idea to story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events and weaves a connection among them” (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Media use “certain perspective fames” in news coverage to help people organize and understand news information (King, 1997). News is often presented from a point of view that changes the viewer’s understanding or interpretation of events and evokes emotions (Xigen Li; 2007). A number of studies focused on news content and how it is famed (Fico & Freedman, 2001; Iyengar & Simon, 1993; Larson, 1984; Nacos, 1994; Noris, 1995; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Tewksbuy et.al 2000; Ungar, 1998. Entman 2004 observes that those “frames that employ more culturally resonant terms have the greatest potential for influence. They use words and images highly salient in culture, which is to say noticeable, understandable, memorable, and emotionally charged.” The Present study is based on qualitative text analysis, which enables a deepen exploration to study the meaning construction and context-sensitive.

Review of literature

Historical discrimination and the subsequent marginalization of people with disabilities took a new dimension in the wake of globalization. It was in this radical shift of the world a lot many changes were inevitably happen in all spheres of life. Language is one among such vulnerable areas that constantly undergoing a change in accordance with the time. Media are very important assimilators in spreading and determining the kind of language that is the need of hour. The

language often seen in the media to represent disability as a derogatory in nature and as “politically correct (ness)” (Raiser, 2010). Language is an integral element of a culture. In the case of persons with disability specific, language is more as matter of both culture and an identity. Usage of disability specific language in media as an argument may be relatively a new angle to be placed on the canvass of the disability movement with regard to India. With the arrival of *mis-representation* of disability consciousness among the disability groups, a significant move had been evident in the history of disability language formation: “person-first vocabulary” (Art, 2002). According to a peoplefirst.com website there was a special demand to include in the social agenda during 1970s and 1980s in the West by the disability activists part of the disability movement. They insisted to use the phrase “persons with disability” instead labeling them as “the handicapped,” “cripples,” or “disabled person.” This emphasis was important because these labels were all treated as if they relegate someone to a person with no value or standard. As result of this within the framework of language related disciplines, the term “disability” has been substantiated as a mere adjective to the person described. This particular movement made it clear that language specific to disability should be an aspect but not a defining feature of an individual. In counter response to this by others of the same movement, argued that placing the disabled in the last would be a form of denial that is as equal as to the alternative usages such as “physically challenged,” “special,” and “handicapper.” This mode of thinking reveals that the “disabled person” is accepted as an individual with disability. In other words, the social acceptance of a disabled person is happening not by his/her appearance with disability but disability as a point of meaningful difference.

Throughout history, media depicted disability with the use of impairment, where as Shakespeare (1999) pointing out in his article about the representation of disability in film “impairment is made the most important thing” and disabled characters are “*objectified and distanced from the audience*” (emphasis mine). Disability representations can be a “vehicle” for media to place a stress up on the importance of broader social fears or needs, such as the *effects of industrialization, the expression of evil, or the potential healing power of charity* (Shakespeare, 1994). In other words, the disability itself is often used as a ‘hook’ (Goffman, 1963) by media producers and “*above all, the dominant images (of disable people) are crude, one-dimensional and simplistic,*” Shakespeare (1999) continues. Whereas disability representations are quite common in any media such as “*reinforcement of impairments*” (Shakespeare, 1999), “*creation and underpinning of stereotype*” (Hunt, 1991 & Shakespeare, 1999) and “*under-representation disability in language and terminology*” (Rosemarie, 1997) [Emphasis mine]

The practical usage of disability specific language being used in the regional news media sensed as an irresponsible manner and which is an abuse and harassment of disabled persons. The usage of the language is like a matter to promote hate particularly when news insulates an abusive or illegal act of disabled. As the language that has been used in the news papers is a euphemistic expression which inherently sends a negative signal to the readers. This indicates that disability discrimination and discouragement is rationalized form in the professional discourses. Studying language in the regional media thus bears the onus of making visible. Language study thus an important act of analysis as it is an attempt to bring forth the contours of disability experiences in to light. Since the time of Enlightenment, many philosophical efforts tried to explain the “reason” as an exemplary distinctive point that segregates the human being from the animals as individuals can access the competence of linguistic expression. At the same time as another part of a frame work people with communication based disabilities have been sidelined from the mainstream labeling them as irrational people which is equated with an absence of value (Kant, 1963 & Stafford, 1991).

The constructed representation of disability in media is, of course, not new in the world. Historically, a number of performing artists, writers, painters, scholars and so on, as a result of

their investment in challenging traditional modes of representation, have incorporated the presence of the disabled in their works. The third-person narrative has dominated the representation of disability—in various literary genres, such as drama and fiction; and in tacit cultural scripts (Couser, 1997). Such representation in various forms of mass media, moreover, has typically been hostile or, at best, patronizing toward people with disabilities. The most prejudicial “explanations” for disability have been divine disfavor or moral flaw in the individual. Many conventional rhetoric of disability—for example, those of triumph or spiritual compensation—tend to devalue it, portraying it as a problem for an individual to overcome through force of will or for God to offset through force of grace (Goffman, 1963; Bauby, 1997). Based on the above presented literature review, following were the emerged the cursory points to guide this paper:

- To understand the usage of different abliest-language/vocabulary appeared in different news frame
- To explore the implied meanings and implications of disability specific language particularly from the disability news narrativesⁱⁱ?

Method

The empirical materials are derived from a regional newspaper called *Eenadu*, the Telugu daily. The goal of the selection was not primarily to cover a broad spectrum of newspaper in order to avoid results explainable by the bias. This is a newspaper with wide circulation and gives a comprehensive picture of the Indian regional pressⁱⁱⁱ. The selection consists of all news articles and it includes argumentative items such as editorials, columns, or commentaries and also promotional spaces such as features. A search was conducted within the news paper on the news frames appeared with key words such as *Guddi*-(Blind), *Kunti*-(Cripple), *Cheviti*-(Deaf), *Lopam*-(Defective), *Durbaluru*/*Avitivallu*-(Disabled), *Vaikalyam*-(Handicapped), *Nissattuva*-(Impair), and *Manasika*-(Mental) generated 86 articles, of which 44 belonged to the aforementioned argumentative categories or touched upon the topic only in passing, and were therefore included in the analysis part II. Hence, the results are based on 32 news items consisting of a period of 6 months i.e. from 1st July 2011 till 31st December 2011. The rationale to this particular was that it was the time the whole nation has been waiting to hear a comment or to see a move could be taken by the Government on the just concluded consultations on the proposed new law for the disabled. It was the time the parliament was in monsoon session and the air was filled with the anticipation by the disability campaigns in the country waiting to see the response on the just submitted draft of New Act for the disabled. This was also a time, the researcher was anticipating to see a lot legislative and bureaucratic activity will be picking up to work towards the World Disability Day celebrated on 3rd of December. And also anticipated that all these issues will be widely covered by this news paper being in the leading position in the state of Andhra Pradesh with utmost responsibility.

Discussion

It was understood from the review of literature that there are four different of kinds of frames in existence such as “conflict, human interest, responsibility, and economic consequences” (Semetko & Valkenburg, 1999). The current analysis on disability specific language news narratives is to see the construction of disability as part of disability representation in the vernacular news paper. Considering the need of the hour it was identified and felt by the researcher the need expansion of listed frames or to reorganize them. Since the objective of the present study limited to see the construction of disability in the local media in particular, there is an inter play of exiting frames and identified frames. Following is an analysis of news frames that deal language used with the disability news:

Responsible frame:

A promise by a person who holds the power would hit the headlines of the news than the context and the venue where the promise was recorded. These frame not alone an indication of the exercise of power but also involve high budget allocation and lot of bureaucratic procedure. An economic consequence and responsible news frame titled “*vikalangulaku vritti vidya kendram*^{iv}” (Vocational centre for disabled) will be a misleading story unless one does not go in to details. Because heading was a promise by a district collector who flagged off a sport meet for disabled. The reporter of the news chose “Vocational centre” promise as a catchy headlines rather than a “camp for transplantation of artificial limbs” another promise made on the same venue. Probably it could be justified by analyzing the promises as the earlier one lasts long and could be seen in the real sense where as the later promise is activity which would not have impact in the long run and fiscal involvement is relatively low. Another stage of justification of the promise as a heading, probably, to highlight the promised facility would be the reporters intention to making the readers to remember it. The construction of disability through these kinds of frames would be emphasizing existing fact of disabled are to be helped. Responsible news frames such as “*vikalangula hakkula sadanaki mahagarjana*^v” (mahagarjan? for attaining the disabled rights) would be clearing the air without any fog of ambiguities right in the title itself as the readers are going reading about disability related news. The representation of the disabled people in the headline seemed to be little tricky, because “physically-challenged” is a group that represent people with corporal impairments. The world disabled has a comprehensive meaning that includes people with sensory, corporal and cognitive impairments. Journalist is the responsible person for the definitional crisis because the news story did not clarify who coined the phrase “physically challenged.” Though, *Vikalangula Hakkula Porata* Samithi (VHPS) the press meet host to tell the world to organize a massive rally on 13th of March 2012 at Hyderabad in order to bring the attention of Government to address a chart of long overdue demands by the organization. Journalism in a way extending its supporting hand to these kinds of organizations to let the world to know about their long standing political objectives.

Charity Frame:

People with Disabilities are usually depicted as they are in infantilized state. A group that requires a help and support from the public. The contexts of these kinds of news generation from the programmes of “disability Aid distribution”, conducting a special sport event. The ulterior motives of these news narratives are to reiterate the notion of public contributions important to eliminate the future victims of to disability. It is clear that let there be any kind of disability, not they have their own charity “organs” and they are active in the generating both public and awareness on the category that they working and also seeking public contribution simultaneously. The prefixed objectives of these organs are well achieved in good and timely coordination with the news media narratives. In order to secure and keep position intact in this highly competitive world of charity, they discover pathos-ridden language games and meticulously using the media tool to achieve their target contributors. Language such as “your fortunate contribution to the less fortunate benefit,” is used for the contributor to feel and encourage. Disability news connected with the field of charity interests interprets *dhukkam* (pathos), *dhairyam* (pluckiness), *Vaiparityam* (tragedy), and deserving vulnerability in disabled persons. News headlines such as “*Vikalangulaku cheyuta*^{vis}” (a helping hand for the physically challenged) and “*Vikalangulaku aham*^{vii}” (*Help for disabilities*) are responsible news frames but pushing the audience too hard to believe the one which is far from the reality. Though such news headings sounds responsible new frame, they are actually ‘adjusted’ or ‘endorsing’ frames in nature. Framing of the headline to this news item is both little problematic and more hyperbolic. Problematic in the sense that it tries to put down the fact that the life of the people with disabilities (PWDs) is worse before they have not received the helping aids from the respective

NGO. In other words it to say that the receiving of helping aids have changed their lives unprecedentedly. The news headline is hyperbolic because it is the journalist who tries to speak on behalf of both the organization in the news and also on behalf of receivers of the helping aids. Journalistic judgment of “*Kotta jeevitaniki Nandi*” (new lease of life) seems to be partial and politically incorrect. These sorts of headlines are in fact overarching the actual theme of the news item and presenting something which is not what the readers expected to know. Journalistic judgment should have been substantiated by any image of the event. Moreover, evidence that proves judgment is hard to believe is that the actors that are seen in the story all of them belong to the NGO that distributes the disability helping aids and news reporter could not interplay at least one opinion of the beneficiary of the programme. These headlines intrinsically carrying the hegemonic tradition of treating disabled as helpless and therefore been helped. These kinds of news items are the redeployment of existing stigma on disability representation, which further perpetuates the dishonor to the disabled community. The position of the news writer plays an important role in providing fair representation of disability. The above mentioned news celebrates the inauguration of facilities at a corporate hospital. The first line in the news report “*Bahumuka vikalangulaku swargam lantidi*” (as a haven for people with multiple disabilities) establishes the fact that it is a too hyperbolic, though it is the best available facility. That particular sentence is the stand of the news reporter apparently, who is endorsing the project through this news venue. To avoid the blame that the story is biased, the reporters would tweak the story somewhere towards end if their conscious work at the time of writing the story, with insertion of an opinion of a parent who is contended with the available facility. By mentioning such statements the journalists try to strike a balance carefully.

Educational frame:

Educational news interests to see the words like *kastam* (difficult), *pratyekam* (special) *cherukoleni* (unreachable), or *adupuleni* (uncontrollable) or *Chaduvukonuvadu/chauvukoname* “learner.” It is clear when a reporter is persuaded to write an endorsing news item with the responsible frame about a particular programme, it would have all the qualifications required to call it as a biased news item. The description of the news article *Perugutunna Sammilata vidya*^{viii} (*the rising of inclusive education*) was absolutely written on the lines of endorsement of a Government run education programme known as “The Rajiv Vidya Mission” in the state in the state of Andhra Pradesh. The reporter’s advertent favoritism is well established in naming the title of the news article itself. Such favoritism frame news would appear cutting across having any day’s or date’s prominence related to disability specific in the calendar year. It is also quite obvious, through this kind of news items, that the representation of disabled people as aid receivers and being marginalized.

Medical Frame:

Medicine approaches disability as a flaw to be conquered and as a deviance to be overcome. Disability representation in interview discussions with related medical field experts would altogether have different frame and perspective, it means, first of all, that the news would be an obvious endorsement of medical model of disability that indicates it is the medical experts who would find the solutions to the problems being faced by the disabled in the society. Something exactly the same has happened in the case of the an interview with an expert in dealing with the problems of people with autism who is at a university abroad with whom the news reporter had an email interview which was published by the *Eenadu* in its Science and Technology feature section on under the heading of “*Prabal buddi andarilo undadu*^{ix}” (Superior abilities are not seen in all). News headings for the features such as this would be extracted from the conversation between the interviewer and interviewee. When we look at the way the conversation unfolded, it is evident that for the “solutions” of disability, one would need to

absolutely follow the medical model. The disability representation in the news item such as this would have been falling in the margins of medical model perspectives. This approach has fundamental flaws as it deals with disabled person as a patient than as a person with different condition which obstructs the “coming out” initiatives of an individual. Though the news heading seemed to make readers to feel as the story is on the lines of the social model of disability, the under passing objective is to reiterate the need of medical model. Another significant point that was observed through this news item was that there would be an obvious logical coherence between the questions one poses to the interviewee when the interaction happens live.

Rehabilitation Frame:

Rehabilitation recognizes disability as a deficit in need of supplementation and concealment. This kind of news would be generally produced out by Government or civil society organizations convened events. It is well predicted that they would not promise any fresh thoughts but of stale stuff. Present news story titled “*Vikalangulaku Punaravasa kendram^x*” “Rehabilitation centre for disabled” is a substantial evidence of bureaucrats’ fancy assumptions and an epitome of typical bureaucratic promises that would never be realized. Things would become worse and extremely dangerous when the confusion created by government official with their unrealistic promises and assumptions. Additionally the journalists would take the advantage inserting some unclaimed sentence such as “*Sanu booti chupatam kante, cheyuta vikalangulu kastalanu aigaminchadaniki sahararituni*” (physically challenged were forging ahead braving difficulties and handicap and if given encouragement and moral support rather than merely showing sympathy, they would be on par with normal beings) in the story. Quotes such as this would be throwing audience in to utter confusion and bewilderment. The disability representation in these stories grossly marginalized being bombarded with number of statements by different bureaucrats presented at the event. This is a news item which generates very naturally a kind of sincere doubt in the minds of the news paper readers. The doubt would be whether the officials have spoken about the availability of basic provisions such as “Physically challenged persons would be issued disability certificates, concessional bus and railway passes and loans for self-employment” or “not.” Otherwise, the reporter must have been too lazy in garnering what actually been spoken at the inauguration event so that preferred to produce a cooked up story. Neither of the doubt is beneficial in any sense to the disability community, but underpinning fact is that both are imminently dangerous.

Sports frame:

It was identified that the space and prominence for the disability sport news in mainstream news papers is as same as the space and acceptability that the people with disability are getting in the real world. In the news the titles “*Bharata Anda cricket team Pakitan paryatana^{xi}*” (Indian blind cricket team visiting Pakistan) and “*Pakistan khatalo vijayam^{xii}*” (Pakistan posted win) though seemingly *responsible news frames*, the stories directly represent the news about disability. Lacking little care and insensitive towards disability language by the journalists, they are responsible for the media marginalization of the disabled. Because in the news item “India-Pakistan series for the blind’ should have been taken some by the reporter in naming the news. Because the word “blind” negates a negative connotation in general sense, in place some other alternative word would have been used to represent that group. This is one of the examples that are there to establish media’s negligent behavior and resulting in at the cost of the disabled group. All of us used to hear news about the cricket team visiting abroad would be of high profile news. Unlike the main cricket team news, it was placed at the right side down margin of the news paper and catered a three inch space in the sports page, which means that PWDs are the people placed at the lower level in the social order that the media fulfills its media needs. No

coverage ‘during the visit’ new the news paper is another form of media humiliation of disabled people. But all of a sudden a small heading “*Pakistan khatalo vijayam^{xiii}*”) with 139 word count new items was flashed in the same page and place mentioned above. This piece was only carrying news on number of matches that India had lost to the hosting country. More than half of the news coverage was dominated by the chief guest talk over the friendliness, peace and security between Indian and Pakistan, which cannot be considered as disability representation. Though the news of Indian cricket team visiting Pakistan looking a high profile news, team is being “Blind” news space has been marginalized and given at unnoticed place. In a country where the game cricket is regarded on the lines of religion and getting worshipped, it’s sad to see source of such information is based on the press note released by Press Trust of India (PTI) a government news agency. Sports news related to disabled people participation in sport events organized by Government would be obviously endorsing the event than the results and about the participants of the event. Responsible news frame titled “*Kreeda Sammelanamlo veligina pratyeka prathibha^{xiv}*” (specially talented shine at sports meet)’ and “*700 mandiki palgomma vikalangula Kreeda Sambharallo^{xv}*” (more than 700 disabled youth participate in sports meet) though seems sending a positive signal about disability to its audience, the place where it was positioned in the news paper detaches the purpose of the news item. What it is expected to convey through this news item the reports a ‘concluded sports meet’ was involving a high budgetary head hosted by the government. Unlike regular sport news in the sport page, these kind of “special stories” are placed at general political and social news space. These types of post-event news are special because they may not have the coverage during the event in the media and *managed* to get a space along with the regular socio political news. These reports will be bombarded by the details about the “concluded” sports event particularly quantitative details such as the number of participants not about the categories of sports and prizes won by the people with disability. It is therefore, one needs to hear the voice of the government all through the news. The journalist’s stand in the news item is taken for granted as he/she follows typical bureaucratic version of the event narration and therefore titled the news item in such a positive way and placed with at an unlikely place. It is observed that the journalist’s “excitement” would also be seen in being judgmental too. In the case of the present news item the reporter was saying “*Kruta Nichhayam to vunnavariki Vikalyam addukadu*” (Disability is not a bar for people with determination) without referring to the facts about the event from the participants. The disability representation was deliberately avoided by both the news reporter and the news source in these kinds of hurriedly prepared news items. Apparently, their primary aim seemed to let the public know about spending of money and show the quantitative reports by get it published the news paper for name sake media coverage. This kind of irresponsible attitude of media greatly deflects the efforts to merge with the mainstream by the disable people.

Misleading frame:

Certain news items would make the disability representation as minimal importance and sometimes nonessential in fervor of celebrating the result than the kind of impairment -the required eligibility of the game. Such news would have representational value to the result of the incident than to the individual who took part in it. The titles such as “*Railway udyogiki kansya pathakam^{xvi}*” (Silver medal for Railway employee) are responsible news frame with a seemingly plain and direct meaning. The news headlines do not inform the audience anything about disability unless one looks through the satellite paragraphs of the news item. Nitty-gritty of such news items would different from the headlines which was deliberate and making the way for different meaning making by the audience. News related to sports mentioned above has not been providing any details about the subject who won the silver Medal at the First World Chess Games, the championship was conducted by the World Chess Federation for Disabled held at Dresden, Germany. It is left to the assumption of the readers to understand the individual, a junior clerk working in Central Railways, is the winner of the medal.

Findings

Disability historians sometimes remark that disability today constitutes a densely ramifying totality (Gerber 2000)—“the phrase attempts to reckon with the fact that the term disability literally consists of conflicting investments among disciplines, sciences, and public cultures.” With this reference, we can understand that the varied vocabulary and beliefs which help us to understand the contemporary position of disability. This particular insight is a worthy pick because so many contemporary professional and community interests are interconnected with the sign figure of disabled individual. Following is an account on the outcome of examining the disability specific language that prominently used in the *Eenadu*.

Choice of words

The choice words in the news narratives attached with packaged meanings are part of the larger media-political scandals which are potential enough in letting the news paper readers to make their own meanings and based up on which one would generate a perception on disability. Disability specific language in media is a measurement with which the culture, attitudes and social practices of the media organizations are accommodated. It is at this juncture there is a need of insights from the disability studies sought. The multilayered terminologies with multiple meanings have been used everywhere in accordance with field contexts and conceal gross ones. They enter in to this discussion in a reflexive manner, demanding to pay a closer attention to the filtered disability specific language that has the power of changing the perspectives about conditions of human differences with the slippery terminology. They are responsible for making the body predicaments into emblems or for social dilemmas. Identifications of real life difference—physical, cognitive, or cultural is rarely seen in the language being used in the regional media. Words such as *Kuntutunna aardhika vyavasta* (Crippled economy), *kuntisaakulu* (lame excuses), *Guddi prabhutvam* (government is blind), *chinna choopu/ kallu moosuku undatam* (turning a blind eye), *pedachevina pettadam* (paying a deaf ear) represent more of the state of human condition than the context in which these words are mentioned. To elaborate in details, these disability metaphors add combustion and intensity to commentary in any context; they take an expression of concern up a notch in the registers of rhetorical hyperbole. These terminologies are responsible for the evolving of atmospheric threat so that the strategic placement of a disability within the references like *kunti* (crippled) can lend a sentence the quality of an ominous threat. Emotions such as horror, extremity, and tragedy are metaphoric expressional quotations that are used to establish their power on the premise of disability in to an equation with impending doom. Because, usage of disability specific terminology adds punch to the given context in the news. This explains that the references like *Kunti bhatukulu* (crippled lives), *vinta kaallu/chetulu* (akimbo limbs), *Chotta bhasha roopalu* (lame figures of speech), *guddulo mella alachona* (cross-eyed stratagems) and *kunti nadaka* (limping gaits) would establish very negative perceptions on the minds of the news paper readers who are not necessarily aware of the framing politic of the media.

The trends of media by terming the disability and allied aspects in their news stories indicate the media attitudes towards disabled people. It is evident that the disabled people are very meticulously rejected to place them in the order of social construction, just because they are deviant bodies whereas other marginal sections have been unfairly cast as inferior groups. Most of the media news presentations interplay disability specific language to pose as a less of a linguistic product and more of a “*lopam*” (flaw) in the mechanisms of living. In this dense discussion of disability specific language it was identified that the disability representation in positive sense is at the denial. Medical labeling of disability continuously offering pure diagnostic definitions in contrast to the social meanings. The linguistic triage would put the

disable bodies back together again to see the fruits of the development and be able to part of the social process unconditionally.

Media have been perpetuating a language which is not free from stigma. They are happening with the usage of the derogatory epithets such as *kunti*, *apasmara* (hysteric) and *vikaaramina* (queer) probably because of the slippery property of language which changes into differently dehumanizing reference systems. These are the terms that are ruminants from historical associations with particular faculties such as welfare, criminality, un-productivity and reinforcing the inferior intelligence. These kinds of media initiated traditions repeating linguistic dehumanizing process would prove the disabled groups cannot accept despised identity as positive.

Words that are found in this particular study such as “*teevramaina*” (severe), “*manasika mandyamamu*” (mental retardation), *kandaraposhana dhosham* (muscular dystrophy)” or “*cheviti*” (deafness) are medical vocabularies that are basically last vestiges of the freak show provocations, where PWDs are deplored to objectification of their bodies in the last 19th and early 20th century. The selfish usage of these terminologies have been opposing based on lack of clarity. Politicized usage of these terminologies one way of choice for the journalists while preparing their stories.

Rhetorical understanding

Foucault (2001) observes that rhetoric provides the speaker with technical devices to help him prevail upon the minds of his audience. This is to say that rhetorical expression is a well orchestrated and engineered. Pre-prepared and invented helping tools eases the work of an author to attain his objectives with his audience. Rhetoric in the disability specific news narratives assists the journalist to define, segregate and to confine people with disabilities in the area of reporting and subsequent interpretation. A methodological encounter with this vast array of phrases being used so loosely by the media reveals that they represent physical, sensory, and cognitive “deviance”. The associated antagonism with this kind of representation is that they often seems a less humanizing references but they are a project of humiliating the groups are people who have been leading lives with disability conditions mention in the news items. With the multiplicity of vocabulary used in the regular news articles to refer disabled lives suggests that the disability constitutes a treasure of tragedy terms from where media can pick anything related to such a kind at any point of time for long historical period. Media rhetorical expressions are responsible for the everyday amendment of disability definitions. The belittling language usage in news narratives making the social identification of the disability matters more of a flawed biology than of news ideology. These stratagems of disability specific language in local print media demonstrates that labeling disabled people seems not as empirical description of a human body but rather this terminology used as parameter that restricts original meaning. While preparing the news report, journalist’s empathy is consciously attached with the disability with pre-attached rhetorical meanings. They extend care in packing the meaning to focus upon wiping out a hurt those who have been borne the burden laced with pain and shame for a long time in the places known for socialization, in the hospitals, and at work places. Social stigma of disability is well perpetuated with the contingent of disability specific language in the media narratives. The terminological representation in media of disability undoubtedly and more directly affecting the lives of the people with disabilities. With this understanding it is clear that language as one front in the battle of civil rights across the globe and groups have been insisting to have policies that pave the way for politically correct language usages in all walks of life. Established jargons such as *Kuntutunna aardika vyavasta*, *kuntisaakulu*, *Guddi prabhutvam*, *chinna choopu/ kallu moosuku undatam*, and *pedachevina pettadam* are used by the media to label disabled people and generate leverage in their news narratives. These jargons must have

developed by medical, social work, and rehabilitation professionals. The *person first movement* reiterated that the acceptance of such words in the history sometimes completely overturned. As a result of this groups working on disability issues have felt that the urgent need of developing vocabularies. Meanings of these vocabularies necessarily grapple with the etiologies and implications of bodily and emotional experiences that differ from that of what majority experience.

Other observations

A consistent effort is required at this point of time against the derogatory usage of language that is on the run in the regional news papers of Andhra Pradesh. It has to focus on wipe out a hurt which has been there with those who have been borne the burden laced with pain and shame for a long time in the places known for socialization, in the hospitals, and at work places. There seems to be hardly any effort from the media to disarm the harmful language use to ensure the retrieval of individual's humanity. This particular effort has its importance at this juncture of prevailing media high time in the country where a language wars are about to rise. This will be helpful in exposing the ascendancy of a particular kind of disability specific terminology in the media that inherently has the quality of dehumanizing the disabled people.

The researcher understood by parsing of language in the media that they are not attentive to disability language. They are not sufficiently understand the position of people with biological differences subsequently they are responsible for the ostracization of disabled and their issues in the media narratives of current political debates. Existing weaknesses in the current language politics forcing media to over look the vulnerability and limitations with the bodies of people with disabilities. This may be further attached with the medical model of disability where it pays much attention to individuals' disability than the social and contextual of experience of the condition itself. The ultimate question arises out of these disability specific language in media discourses that how necessary is to misrepresent the disability by sidelining the biological capacities of individuals in order to establish an effective and politically correct news narratives by the news media? The emerging trends of the present news media organizations in the state are really dangerous as the language used in their products are inherently possess the power to diminish the lives of persons with disabilities. Interesting finding and a conclusion from this research is that it's not possible to locate the news with disability specific language in the news media without searching the keywords. Keywords are important because by which PWDs would appear either in the fashion of dehumanizing, segregating, infantilizing or medicalizing language. Media news narratives have been creating a dire atmosphere with their disability representations and consequent follow up was the emergence of the atmospheric strangers around disability bodies. Important outcome of this examination of disability terminology in media is that disability is a difference that is unable to accommodate in the contemporary vocabularies. As they say language is the medium within which all bodies exist. In this context words create the news contexts, build the readers expectations and imaginative possibilities which are fundamental for the coexistence of disabled and nondisabled bodies in the future. Media environment is a place that helps the disabled to negotiate livable space with the flexibility of language that is used in the news narratives. It is high time that the groups working on disability rights need to seriously concentrate on self-naming of the terms that need to use in the media. A language based struggle yet to emerge as a part of the ongoing disability movement in the country. Because there is a strong relationship between the disabilities specific language and the political emancipator reforms of disabled. The urgent demand for the reform in the disability specific language in the country provides disability rhetoric with a more dynamic comprehension of politics of language. This also helps the media to less naïve in recognizing the importance of terms that contaminate with the very idea that they seek to obliterate. This is a high time for the media in the state of Andhra Pradesh need to be more sensitive in developing

more adjustable sense of language. The groups/campaigns that work on/with issues of disabled and disability need to procure capacities to fight vigorously against the devalued position with regard to disability specific language in media; it takes generations of effort to effect. In the process of achieving such desired objectives, the results may not be immediate but once they started they are going to be recurrent.

Conclusions

With the examination of the language in the media it is clear that media is another site of struggle which needs an urgent attention. Language represents social group not because of its meanings but equally represents the text and context with in which the *engineered meaning* is attached. The rate and frequency of using disability specific language in media is very high, though the issues are not connected to disability. This increasing trend has been further paving way for the perpetuation of media discriminatory practices towards disabled. The need of discussions for an appropriate language usage in media is at demand both in academics and civil society. Academic training of journalism need to include disability coverage aspects and be taught the future media professionals on how necessary and delicate the issue to deal with. There is dearth of awareness on disability issues in the regional media especially. The civil society organizations working on the disability rights and civil liberty rights would help the media to sensitize importance of upholding the disability group rights through their every day reporting. Movements like *person first vocabulary* responsible for the replacing words such as *people with disabilities* in the place of *handicapped* particularly in the West, and some Indian national news papers with convictions. Here the time comes to consider replacement of the dehumanizing and derogatory terminology particularly in the regional media. With the mushrooming growth of media in India the ongoing disability movement should consider seriously for the inclusion of *war against language* in its agenda.

Savitri, the main speaker was Savitri. Her attitude was dignified and voice was commanding.^{xvii} Savitri myth shows she perfectly accomplished her duty of *pativrata* and at the result of this she can save herself^{xviii}, her parents, her parents-in-laws and her husband's entire family from calamity.

Conclusion

The ideology of *pativrata* had been applied to the concept penetrating the epics. To become *pativrata*, a woman should realize their selfhood not as a sexual being who follows the *strisvabhava* (innate nature) but as a social being who accepts and follows the *stridharma* or *pativrata*.

Arundhati and Savitri became the well-known *pativratas* because they accomplish the *pativrata* successfully and Ahalya failed to gain the title of *pativrata* because she could not keep her chastity whether she wanted or not.

This ideology of *pativrata* has steadily emphasized in the later literature. With the intention to strengthen the *pativrata*, the writers (usually male) have dealt with this subject very seriously. Thus Arundhati and Savitri's fidelity and chastity were more emphasized and Ahalya's failure was more highlighted in the later literature.

Notes

Notes:

ⁱ Derived from *Ableism* describes prejudicial attitudes and discriminatory behaviors toward persons with a disability.

ⁱⁱ What I mean calling non-disability narratives is that these texts produced by a person without any disability otherwise known as Normal person

ⁱⁱⁱ Circulation of the newspapers is certified by the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) in 2010. Indian is the 3rd largest daily after Daink Bhaskar and Malayala Manorama. Eenadu successfully adapted the latest publishing and communication technologies into the Telugu language.

^{iv} 24/10/11, pg.5

^v 17/11/11, pg.3

^{vi} 2/7/11, pg.6

^{vii} 10/11/11, pg.6

^{viii} 3/11/11, pg.5

^{ix} 8/7/11, pg.10

^x 24/10/11, pg.4

^{xi} 16/11/11, pg.13

^{xii} 21/11/11, pg.12

^{xiii} 21/11/11, pg.12

^{xiv} 18/9/11, pg.2

^{xv} 25/8/11, pg.13

^{xvi} 9/9/11, pg.12

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^{xvii} Her character totally changed and she lost her independent character in the later *Purana*. In the *Brahmavaivarta Purana* (2. 23-24), she was described as a young lady who wanted to learn various knowledge from Yama. Here main speaker was Yama and Savitri appeared as a listener who was very curious. Chakrabarti argues that the long speech (over 800 verses) of Yama contains the quintessence of Brahmanism and makes listeners familiar with the principle of the Puranas. Kunal Chakrabarti, *Religious Process: The Pur#<as and the Making of a Regional Tradition*, OUP: New Delhi, 2001, PP. 262-263.

^{xviii} Chakravati asserts that Savitri fights off the god of death to avoid being a widow. Uma Chakravarti, *Ibid.*, p. 162.

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