

Portrayals of Disability in Canadian Newspapers:

An Exploration of Terry Fox

by

Karen Ann Christiuk

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in
partial fulfillment of the requirement of the degree of

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Abstract

Despite Terry Fox's fame and contributions to Canadian history and society, he has rarely been the subject of academic research, and no one thus far has studied how Fox fits into the larger picture of disability awareness in Canada. This qualitative research study is a response to these issues, examining the online archives of newspaper articles about Fox from the early 1980s as viewed through the lenses of the Charity, Medical, and Social, Models of Disability, and traditional stereotypes of persons with disabilities in the media. This research also examines social capital as an influence in newspaper articles, in addition to viewing the articles as narratives. Findings from this study suggest that the majority of newspaper journalists viewed Fox through the lenses of the Charity and Medical Models of Disability, as a dying cancer patient attempting to raise funds for a cure—not as a disabled Canadian. This research also shows that Fox was portrayed by journalists in several traditionally stereotyped ways, but also in one new way: as a folk hero. As well, this research reveals that Fox's narrative was the most detailed in the articles and photographs that appeared at the onset of his terminal illness and until his death. Finally, this research demonstrates that social capital played a strong role in Fox's fame, in his ability to secure donations, and in the way his story was immortalized after his death.

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Chapter I - Introduction and Theoretical Framework

"Through my whole run I thought about the meaning of life" (Terry Fox qtd. in Scrivener, Terry Fox: His Story 230).

Many Canadians begin their day by reading a newspaper: "...the secular equivalent of morning prayer" (Hegel qtd. in Fulford 71). However, stories about disabled Canadians are rarely covered by journalists, even though an estimated 500 million people throughout the world are disabled (Charlton iv). For academics such as Susan Peters who argue that disabled people are a distinct cultural group and a highly "oppressed minority," this means that disabled people are also the largest cultural group in the world (584). Thus, it is quite remarkable to think how, in 1980, one young disabled Canadian named Terry Fox was able to attract the attention of the Canadian news media, get his story told, and die as front page news with a hero's funeral (Scrivener 182; Coupland 141, 144).

Fox's sudden fame in 1980 and death in 1981 occurred at the beginning of the disability civil rights movement in Canada, when disabled Canadians were finally gaining and controlling their own agencies and civil rights organizations, and making changes to Canadian law. In 1980 in Winnipeg, The Coalition of Provincial Organizations of the Handicapped (COPOH) aided in the formation of the first international organization of disabled people (Disabled People International) at the World Congress of Rehabilitation International (Driedger 31-33). Then, the United Nations declared 1981 as the International Year of Disabled Persons, and 1983-1992 was named the United Nations Decade of Disabled Persons (Fougeyrollas and Beauregard 177). Finally, in 1985, the

human rights of disabled Canadians were finally acknowledged and protected in section 15 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Bickenbach 570).

This research demonstrates how articles about Terry Fox in Canadian newspapers can be viewed through different models of disability (Social, Medical and Charity), and through common stereotypes of disability in the media such as the disabled person as an object of pity. As well, this research shows how newspaper articles about Terry Fox served as agents of social capital. The thesis also examines the story of Terry Fox in newspapers in the narrative “storytelling” tradition. My reason for viewing the articles through several different lenses stems from my need to step outside of the box and examine the articles in as many different ways as possible, in order to thoroughly understand their content. I also felt that viewing the articles as agents of social capital would be a way of looking at the content from a very contemporary and new perspective and would fit in well with my plan to use a qualitative content analysis. Finally, my need to look at the articles as narratology stems from my pure love of stories (particularly biographies) and the view that Fox’s story contains a great deal of depth and drama for analysis.

Background - Terry Fox

Terry Fox was born in 1958 in Winnipeg, to an ordinary, able-bodied middle-class family that later moved to Port Coquitlam, British Columbia. Fox was fond of sports and, consequently, after high school, he enrolled in the kinesiology program at Simon Fraser University. Shortly thereafter, he was diagnosed with osteogenic sarcoma (bone cancer), and his treatment required that his right leg be amputated above his knee.

The night before his operation, inspired by a story of an amputee marathon runner in Runner's World magazine, Fox decided that he would like to run across Canada (Scrivener 32). Thus, after his operation, Fox learned how to use a prosthetic leg, and regained his health.

On April 12, 1980, at the age of 21, Terry Fox began his "Marathon of Hope", where his primary goal was to run from the Atlantic coast to the Pacific of Canada, and raise money for cancer research. Although his marathon began very quietly, eventually through the use of the media and effective grassroots public relations efforts, by the time Fox arrived in Ontario, he had become a Canadian celebrity, and raised thousands of dollars towards his cause. He was viewed as an extraordinary disabled Canadian of heroic proportions. After making it only half-way across Canada, Fox developed complications from a recurrence of his cancer, and died at the Royal Columbian Hospital in New Westminster, British Columbia on June 28, 1981. Thus, in one year and one month, Fox made an extraordinary impact on the history of people with disabilities.

Summary of the Historical Treatment of People with Disabilities

The popularization and notoriety of Terry Fox by the public and the Canadian media is unusual and in contrast to common conceptualizations of people with disabilities. Throughout history, people with disabilities have been frequently marginalized in society. "Historically, those who have been most isolated and with the greatest sense of alienation have been people with serious disabilities" (Nelson, "Media" 181). For example, in ancient Greece and Rome, newborn children with disabilities became frequent victims of infanticide, in the Middle Ages they were viewed as demons,

and from the 1700s to the 1950s, it was a commonly accepted practice to institutionalize children and adults with disabilities (Braddock and Parish 23-25). Although there were some exceptions to these practices, the overall view of people with disabilities in society was one of pity or evil (Braddock and Parish 15). Furthermore, when newspapers and photography emerged during the late 1800s as media for transmitting news, people with disabilities were once again treated as less than human, particularly through their appearances in freak shows and carnivals (Davis 535).

According to disability researcher Tom Shakespeare, the most significant changes in disability history occurred during and after the Vietnam War in the 1960s and 1970s (Shakespeare, "Self-organization" 250). Unlike previous wars where serious injuries frequently resulted in death, due to the advent of modern medicine, large numbers of men were returning home to their families with physical disabilities. These veterans were anxious to return to their former independent lives and were discouraged by the barriers that were now in place for them. Consequently, the Independent Living Movement, emphasizing that all disabled people could live within the community with some supports, began to evolve in the United States (Scotch 386). This movement resulted in similar changes in many Westernized countries including Canada, and resulted in the growth of the disability rights movement during the 1970s and 1980s. The history of the treatment of people with disabilities shows how popular and personal opinions of people with disabilities has shifted over time to a greater acceptance of inclusion.

My Story

I was six years old when Terry Fox died, so I do not really remember the Marathon of Hope, but I do remember some of the legacies of his death, including some of the coins, stamps and statues that feature his image. I became interested in examining Terry Fox from a disability studies perspective during my second year in graduate school, which was also the 25th anniversary of Fox's death. My own background in journalism and public relations also steered me in the direction of writing about a Canadian media figure. From 1999 to 2001, I studied journalism, advertising and public relations and I currently work in the public relations field. It caught my attention that Fox's story re-emerged in the media many times. Throughout 2005, Terry Fox was the focus of media attention through various news stories, several promotional events, and the publication of Douglas Coupland's Terry. It became quite clear to me that Fox was more than just a cultural icon to Canadians and I became interested in examining why Canadians have been habitually fixated on the story of Terry Fox. With his image and name appearing on everything from stamps to mountains, Fox has emerged as a key influence on the disability rights movement in Canada.

The following list of terms and definitions explain the various movements that are pivotal to this paper.

Terms and Definitions

A 2001 Government of Canada document defines disability as a "...physical or mental condition or a health problem that restricts their ability to perform activities that are normal for their age in Canadian society" (Disability in Canada 7).

The issue of language-usage and terminology is one that is continually debated in disability research (Titchkosky, "Rose" 126; Johnson 33; Dajani 197). For the purposes of simplicity, this paper will use people-first terminology such as "person with a disability" interchangeably with "disabled person." The controversy that surrounds language usage is dealt with in more detail within the section of "Disability Language" within my literature review.

As well, I frequently refer to the word "media" throughout my thesis, and unquestionably, the word "media" can have numerous connotations. For the purposes of my research, I am looking primarily at newspapers as media; however, other media elements such as literature, film, television, radio and the Internet are mentioned in this thesis and play a smaller role.

Theoretical Framework

Initially, as I began to gather information about my topic, my theoretical framework was very narrow. I was predominantly interested in newspaper articles about Terry Fox from the Social Model viewpoint, with the concept in the background that a reading of the newspaper articles might show how Fox developed characteristics of a folk hero. However, I soon realized that this focus was much too narrow and naïve and would need to be broadened in order to tell the unique and dramatic story of Terry Fox from a Disability Studies perspective.

Thus, this research project relied on four theoretical areas associated with the academic study of disability: (1) the Charity Model; (2) the Medical Model; and (3) the Social Model, and (4) stereotypes of disabilities in the media that have been identified by

academics such as John Clogston and Beth Haller. Although this research is grounded in the theories of the Social Model of Disability, I have taken into account the research by Tom Shakespeare and Nicholas Watson which argues that the Social Model has had little influence on the mainstream media; thus, it is necessary to discuss the strong influence of both the Charity and Medical Models of disability in the media (Shakespeare and Watson 299). I will also step away from disability studies, and examine my research through the lens of Social Capital Theory, previously examined by researchers such as Sandra Franke and Robert D. Putnam. Finally, I will examine the world of storytelling, and demonstrate the influence of narratology within newspaper articles (Bal 3). Viewing newspaper articles as narrative as a form of analysis is important to me because, like academics such as Allan Bell, I view journalists as “the professional storytellers of our age” (397). Furthermore, I am viewing the narrative within newspaper articles through Peter Robert Rupert White’s theory that articles are capable of transmitting “key social values, cultural assumptions or ideologically determined themes and patterns of thought” and are “culturally meaningful, rather than natural” (White 101). In the following paragraphs I will describe and define the models in their historical and current context.

Charity Model of Disability

The Charity Model of Disability views disabled people, particularly disabled children, as tragic objects of pity that are destined to survive only through the financial and caring assistance of non-disabled people (Karpf 82; May and Ferri 3; Nelson “Broken” 5). The Charity Model is considered the “religious” model of disability, finding its roots in the fourth century, when hospices for blind persons were established

within some monasteries (Braddock and Parish 17). Today, the Charity Model of Disability remains popular in Canadian society and its enduring influence can be seen in the telethons that are shown on television and in the accompanying posters of disabled children where they are posed to look grateful and pitiful for the cameras (Dahl, screen 2).

Although there were many Charitable Model aspects of Terry Fox's Marathon of Hope, Fox re-wrote the rules for disability-fundraising because, for the first time, a disabled person was the one in charge, not an organization or an able-bodied celebrity. It was well-known and publicized that Fox came up with the idea to run across Canada—not the Canadian Cancer Society—and that he did his own fundraising to finance the run, and that he obtained corporate sponsorship from companies such as Ford and Imperial Oil (Scrivener 63, 67). Thus, during his lifetime, and even after his death, Fox often represented a tilted version of the Charity Model of Disability.

Medical Model of Disability

The Medical Model of Disability (sometimes referred to as the “Biomedical Model”) is considered the most mainstream way that people with disabilities are viewed by society—as ill patients or victims in need of cures. “Within this framework...a person's functional limitations (impairments) are the root cause of any disadvantages experienced and these disadvantages can therefore only be rectified by treatment or cure” (Crow 57). The view of the Medical Model is that disability is a tangible element that can be measured and classified for each person. Using this model, disabled people are often labeled by their conditions, such as “the blind person,” and the idea of disabled

people living in institutions, away from the greater community is often promoted (Brisenden 174, 177).

The Medical Model remains the predominantly accepted and understood model in Canadian society and it has also been responsible for the creation of science disciplines such as "...rehabilitation, the epidemiology of disability, and much of the social science-oriented work on the consequences of chronic disease and the quality of life of disabled people" (Williams 125). Thus, although the model is considered a negative force in disability activist circles, its long societal influence cannot be discounted. Lastly, because the subject of my thesis (Terry Fox) had both a disability *and* a disease (cancer), I believe that these factors may have had a great deal of influence, through the writing of the journalists, on how he was portrayed in newspaper articles.

Social Model of Disability

The Social Model of Disability emphasizes that people are not disabled, it is society that is disabling; thus, purveyors of the Social Model believe that disability is "culturally produced" (Oliver, The Politics of Disablement 12). The philosophies of the Social Model emerged during the early 1980s as a result of disabled people wanting to define their culture on their own terms and emerge as a force for political and social change. This model is largely attributed to British academics Michael Oliver and, to a lesser degree, Vic Finkelstein and views disabled people as capable of being dependent with some supports as needed (Barnes and Mercer 2-3; Shakespeare and Watson 293; Oliver, "Defining" 29). Purveyors of the Social Model of Disability are sensitive to the

use of language towards people with disabilities, preferring to use “people first” terminology.

In recent years, the Social Model has been criticized by some academics. Shakespeare and Watson have noted the research of Jenny Morris, Sally French and Liz Crow, which points to the need to make the model “...more relevant to disabled people’s lives. These critiques centre on the inclusion of impairment and personal experience within the social model...” (Shakespeare and Watson 293). The Social Model is also viewed by some writers as a Westernized and elitist model of disability that is of little use to disabled women, particularly those from minority groups (Verson 390).

Thus, through the lens of the Social Model, my focus is on how Fox’s physical disability was viewed by the media (particularly within the format of Canadian newspapers) and how these views may have altered the Canadian public’s perceptions of disability. The Social Model is highly relevant to my research for two main reasons: (1) it emerged as a strong philosophy by academics during the early 1980s, which is also the time period that I am focusing on in my study; and (2) my graduate readings and courses in disability have primarily been grounded in Social Model theories because the Social Model provides a broader scope for discussion than the other two models. Nonetheless, several other factors also play a role in how one views newspaper articles about persons with disabilities such as Terry Fox, and pre-conceived common stereotypes are also an additional factor that I will allude to in the upcoming section.

Stereotypes of Disability in the Media

In the mid 1990s, academics such as Colin Barnes, John Clogston, Beth Haller, and Jack A. Nelson began to more thoroughly examine stereotypes of disability in the media. These studies arose out of an awareness of the predominance of negative stories about people with disabilities that were portrayed in the media and the emergence of disability as field of academic study. Thus, through my review of the literature of academics who have studied the stereotypes of disability in various types of media, I gained insight into how media plays a role in our culture, and insight into where Terry Fox fits into this picture. As William Merrin notes,

The media are not a mirror reflecting the world, nor a window upon it, nor even 'media'—standing between us and a 'reality' they mediate—but are themselves constitutive of the experience and thus the reality of the event, becoming, therefore, inseparable from the event—from its occurrence, its unfolding, its 'greatness', its 'eventness', its historical status, and from our knowledge, experience and memory of it (42)

Thus, before one begins to analyze the newspaper articles themselves, it is essential to gain a historical perspective of the overall view and stereotypes of persons with disabilities in various types of media.

Social Capital Theory

The term "social capital" was popularized by Robert D. Putnam in 1993, and it examines the idea "...the performance of government and other social institutions is powerfully influenced by citizen engagement in community affairs... The theory of social capital presumes that, generally speaking, the more we connect with other people, the more we trust them, and vice versa" (Putnam 664-665). The transition of Terry Fox from an unknown disabled man, to that of a celebrity in charge of his own research fund,

makes him an ideal case study for the social capital theory in Canada. Fox connected with the population physically, on a grassroots level, by running across the country, which also translated into newspaper articles about his mission. The strong influence of social capital in Canada has been examined most recently by Sandra Franke (2005), who wrote a reference document examining how to use social capital as a tool for public policy research in Canada (Measurement of Social Capital Reference Document).

Narrative

Stories “teach us to think...” and are “...the building blocks of human thought; they are the way the brain organizes itself...the mind is essentially literary” (Mark Turner qtd. in Fulford, 83). According to narrative expert Mieke Bal, “Narratology is the theory of narratives, narrative text, images, spectacles, events; cultural artifacts that tell a story” (3). Using Bal’s theories, newspapers articles about Terry Fox fall into the category of “narrative text” because they are examples of someone telling a story in a particular medium (5). Also, when gathered as a collection, newspaper articles about Terry Fox project a strong example of storytelling because of their distinct parts: (1) the beginning - Fox starting the Marathon of Hope on the East cost of Canada); (2) the middle - Fox running to the middle of Canada, and becoming famous; and (3) the end - Fox’s death. Furthermore, every newspaper article has a “focalization...the relation between the vision and that which is ‘seen,’ perceived”; thus, all articles are always presented by the reporter with a very specific vision, creating a ripe tool for analysis (142). Thus, because many different journalists wrote stories about Terry Fox, each one brings not only their own style, but also their own messages, diverse leads, and epistemologies to their writings.

Limitations

Focusing this study was challenging and required me to choose between a wide variety of media formats for research. I chose to focus my study on how Canadian newspaper articles about Terry Fox influenced the general portrayal of people with disabilities in Canada; and, to separate this from radio, television, or Internet reporting in Canada, which are also strong media influences. There may indeed be some mediation of media from these other influences but I have good reason for situating the examination. My reason for singling out and choosing newspapers for my study is because they represent the most basic and earliest, form of journalism in Canada (Vipond 1). As Allan Bell explains, “Press stories are generally longer and carry much more detail than broadcast news, the structure of press stories is more complex” (398). As well, the purpose of my thesis was to provide some depth of discussion rather than a breadth of concept, therefore, framing the focus of the research. Furthermore, in Canada, both radio and television broadcasting content in Canada are regulated by the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) (Desbarats 27). Thus, some academics argue that Canadian television and radio journalism is influenced by public ownership because the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), which has both radio and television formats, is a Crown corporation (27). As Peter Desbarats explains, “Canada’s print journalism has almost always been conducted by private enterprise in Canada” (27). Consequently, by using non-government newspaper articles as data for analysis, some of the influence of the government voice is eliminated from the discussion. Additionally, the impact of Internet reporting is also not as relevant to my

study because all of my newspaper research from 1980 to 1981 is from a pre-Internet world. Nonetheless, the impact of the Internet on reporting and creating disability-related news is not to be underestimated. Without the history and background of print journalism, the growing disability positive reporting on the Internet could not have been possible (Thoreau, screen 1). As well, both newspapers that I plan to examine will be obtained through online newspaper databases because they are currently the most accurate and efficient form of newspaper research.

Statement of Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of this research is to explore the question, “How was Terry Fox, a disabled Canadian, portrayed in Canadian newspapers during, and shortly after, the Marathon of Hope period?” Secondary questions the research addressed are:

- What are the commonly reoccurring stereotypes of people with disabilities in literature, advertising, film, television, newspapers and other media?
- What stereotypes of people with disabilities in the media are evident in the portrayal of Terry Fox in Canadian newspapers?
- How have the Charity, Medical and Social Models of disability influenced the portrayal of people with disabilities (such as Terry Fox) within Canadian newspapers?
- How did the theory of social capital aid in making Terry Fox a Canadian celebrity?
- How is the life of Terry Fox viewed as a narrative within Canadian newspapers?

My initial position was that, because Fox was portrayed primarily in a positive light in the Canadian media, this may have had an impact on how people with disabilities were viewed by Canadians, and thus aided in the Canadian disability rights movement.

My research question and subsequent follow up questions are founded on the premise that the media has an enormous influence on Canadian society, and that the Canadian public has a view of people with disabilities that has continued to improve over the past 30 years, as more people understand the need for people with disabilities to live with all of the rights of full citizenship. This view is similar to that of Jack A. Nelson who states that, in recent years, the media has "...begun to show a sensitivity to the prejudices that have dominated coverage of this minority group for decades" ("Broken" 4).

In the next chapter, the portrayal of Terry Fox and persons with disabilities in the media will be reviewed in a literature review.

Chapter II - Literature Review

This chapter is a thematically-organized literature review which provides an introduction to the ways in which Terry Fox was portrayed in Canadian newspapers. The literature review is organized into five main topic areas: Terry Fox as a subject, stereotypes of disability in the media, images of disability, how the print media (particularly newspapers) plays a role in disseminating the language and stories of disability, media coverage of people with disabilities in Canada, and the convergence of disability, death, disease and the media. Each area will be examined and reviewed separately in order to fully understand each topic. In this review, a great deal of attention is focused on stereotypes of disability in the media because, rather than being defined by only one stereotype, it is my conviction that Terry Fox managed to embody vastly different stereotypes in the media during different times in his life.

Terry Fox as a Subject

The resources available about Fox as an academic subject are rare, partially because Fox has only been deceased since 1981, so there has been little time to view him as a subject for academic research, and also because Disability Studies is still an emerging field of research. However, if one takes into account the folk hero theories of Orrin E. Klapp, a more likely explanation is that the story of Terry Fox is simply going through the traditional cycle of a folk hero, and he is now nearing the final stage of “commemoration of the hero” through public awareness, such as creating a coin with his likeness on it (54). As well, the “Canadianization Movement” whereby Canadians began to pay attention to their own culture in an effort to distinguish themselves from

Americans, did not begin to flourish until the late 1970s; thus, the story of Terry Fox is a small part of this relatively new movement (Cormier 357). This movement was predominantly academic and centered largely on the teachings at Canadian universities, and it played a large role on establishing a greater academic and social understanding and appreciation of Canada.

Despite the rarity of examples of academic work centering on Terry Fox, two excellent examples exist. Pauline Greenhill examines Fox as a folk hero within a poetic context in her 1989 publication True Poetry: Traditional and Popular Verse in Ontario, and Deborah Harrison takes a Medical Model view of the story of Terry Fox in her 1985 study “The Terry Fox story and the popular media: A case study in ideology and illness.” Additionally, Fox’s name is sometimes used in academic writings as an example of a “supercrip” Nelson, “Broken” 6). Thus, it is clear the Terry Fox story is portrayed in a limited set of academic literature.

Despite his paucity in academic literature, the pop-culture non-academic biographies treating Fox as a subject worthy of sustained attention are significant. For example, Fox has been the subject of several books, among them Terry Fox: His Story by Leslie Scrivener (1981, 2000), Terry by Douglas Coupland (2005) and a book of adolescent literature entitled Terry Fox: A Story of Hope (2005) by Maxine Trottier. Fox has also been the subject of several made for television movies about his life such as The Terry Fox Story (1983) and Terry (2005). Additionally, countless Canadian newspapers, magazines and television news programs have carried stories about Fox since he became known to the Canadian public nearly three decades ago (Greenhill 160).

Disability in Literature, Film and Television

In order to examine the stories of Terry Fox that appeared in Canadian newspapers most accurately, it is important to also examine them against the history of the portrayal of people with disabilities in literature, film and television because they are all important forms of mass communications and they provide a background historical context for my study. They provide what Denis McQuail describes as a “provision of a consistent picture of the social world which may lead the audience to adopt this version of reality, a reality of ‘facts’ and of norms, values and expectations” (13). As well, to separate out newspaper media, first it is important to position newspapers within the existing variety of media since media share a condition or position in the public eye termed “intermediality” (Semali and Pailliotet 2).

Disability and literary scholars have demonstrated that, throughout the history of literature, disabled characters are often linked to sin, or to a bad omen (Dahl screen 1; Kriegel, “The Wolf” 17; Kriegel, “The Cripple” 31; Rose 397). According to Colin Barnes, “in ‘The Bible’ there are over forty instances in which ‘the cripple’ is connected to sin and sinners” (8). For example, one passage in the Old Testament states: “Say to Aaron: ‘For the generations to come none of your descendants who has a defect may come near to offer the food of his God’ (Leviticus, 21:17). Although bible messages are pulled from the context of the passage from where they come, it is noteworthy to state that single passages in the Bible often are used as focal points of discussion both in religious and non-religious contexts.

A plethora of examples of classical literature also carry similar negative views against people with disabilities. The landmark studies of Howard Margolis (1997), Arthur

Shapiro (1997) and Leonard Kriegel (1982) all point to extensive, often repetitive, negative stereotypes against disabled characters, labeling them as bearers of evil. Or, as Marilyn Dahl writes:

A summary look at literary distortions of handicapping conditions illustrates this point: Captain Hook (in *Peter Pan*) is intentionally an amputee with a prosthesis; Shakespeare links Richard III's hunchback to his evil lust. Somerset Maugham uses Philip's clubfoot (in *Of Human Bondage*) to symbolize his bitter and warped nature (Dahl screen 1).

According to Margolis and Shapiro, and Iain Davidson et al., disabled people are also frequently targeted in children's literature as evil, sinful and dangerous (18; 42). Davidson et al. argue, during the 19th century in Britain, when children's literature began to be produced in measurable numbers in forms such as newspapers and books, the way that disabled people were portrayed in children's literature was a reflection of how they were being treated in society during that time period (33). Although one might argue that works of fiction might not have an impact the reality of human lives, Margolis and Shapiro affirm that "Classical literature transmits values"; thus, the influence of literature on a literate culture is not to be underestimated (18).

When analyzing the portrayal of people with disabilities in literature against the story of Terry Fox as it appeared in biographies, it is apparent that, unlike traditional negative fictional portrayals of people with disability in the past, Terry Fox was portrayed in popular biographical literature as a positive non-fiction hero. In fact, in his biographies such as Terry by Douglas Coupland, rarely a negative note was mentioned. Fox was most frequently portrayed as saintly and extraordinary, as if he had found the meaning of life. In her book, Terry Fox: His Story Leslie Scrivener writes:

Terry knew he was setting an example and that people were watching him and,

finally, listening to him. He used a young man's words: "Every one of us is important." "Just look at what one person can do." People did look at Terry and then at themselves and asked: Have I done my best? What have I done for others? Have I lost a dream? He saw that many of us felt helpless, that we felt we couldn't control our own lives. Terry believed we could. His leg was gone, but he was alive and he was strong. Never forgetting the suffering he had seen in the cancer wards, he pushed himself 3,339 miles to prove what a young man with a great dream could do (170).

Similarly, in more recent years, this positive portrayal of Fox has continued in newer publications. In Douglas Coupland's 2005 book Terry, the author writes about Fox in a glorified fashion when describing the day of his funeral:

The day of Terry's funeral was unnaturally hot and muggy for Vancouver. People who were there that day recall waves of steam rising from the ground, making everything appear even more unreal than it already did. Birds seemed to fly in slow motion. Flowers looked like candy. The air was like syrup. The funeral was large and it was broadcast live on national TV. For most Canadians, time slowed down and stopped that day, if only for a little while (141).

As with its counterparts in literature, the portrayal of people with disabilities in film and television has also been traditionally negative, although there have been some changes to that idea in recent years (Bogdan et al., 32; Longmore 31). For example, one 1998 study by Stephen P. Safran analyzed the Academy Award-winning films since 1927 and found that from 1927-1939 only 2.6 percent of all awards went to disability-related films and characters (231). In sharp contrast to this, from 1990 to 1996, 42.8 percent of all awards went to disability-related films (231). Nonetheless, even when disabled characters are portrayed in a positive light, according to Alison Harnett, disabled characters "... are over-simplified and used not for their complexity as people but for their easily identifiable impairment which is exploited by scriptwriters for dramatic effect, for emotional appeal or for blatant symbolism" (21).

Furthermore, Martin Norden pointed out that, although there have been many improvements and an increase in numbers in the portrayal of disabled men in film (particularly Caucasian men that have been disabled later in life by war, as showcased in films such as Forest Gump or Born on the Fourth of July), disabled women are rarely the subject of movies (265). Additionally, Nelson also notes that, in all of these cases, the roles were played by non-disabled actors (“Broken” 12). If one takes into account the film research of Martin Norden, it is not surprising that Terry Fox, who has been the subject of several movies, makes an ideal film character because he was: (1) male; (2) disabled later in life; and (3) Caucasian (Norden 12; Terry, Don McBeartry; The Terry Fox Story). Clearly, although impressions of disability may have shifted over time, some recurring themes have been retained throughout history.

Commonly Recurring Stereotypes of Disability in the Media

Despite the newness of Disability Studies as a discipline, there is a great deal of solid research available on commonly recurring stereotypes of disability in the media. John Clogston initially provided the background for research into commonly recurring stereotypes in the media, beginning with an assessment of news stories in major newspapers in the late 1980s, resulting in two articles: “Disability Coverage in 16 Newspapers” and “Disability Coverage in American Newspapers.” Clogston created five models of representation of stereotypes of disability in the media which he broke into traditional and progressive categories (Clogston “Disability Coverage” 5-6). Although Clogston’s research was initially ground-breaking, because he was one of the first scholars formally document this issue, it has been noted by Nora Gold and Gail

Auslander that there were some obvious gaps in his research. Gold and Auslander criticized Clogston for using only secondary sources (indexes), and only examining stories about people with physical disabilities (“International” 711). Clogston’s research also reminds one of the largely unspoken hierarchies of disability: research has shown that there is a great social acceptance (both publicly and privately) for physical disabilities rather than intellectual or mental disabilities (Deal 901).

A more frequently cited source for landmark research in this area is Jack A. Nelson, who has had his work reviewed and published in both communications and disability publications. Nelson emphasizes that there are seven negative stereotypes of disability that are frequently evident in the media; the harshest being “better-off-dead” (“Broken” 6-8). In particular, his 1994 book The Disabled, the Media and the Information Age provides one with a strong overall picture of the views and stereotypes of people with disabilities in the media.

Using the work of Nelson and Clogston as a guide, Beth Haller’s 1995 research purports that there was a need for three additional new models—all of which were positive--in order to meet the ongoing changes in society (“Rethinking” 27-30).

Another comparable view of representations of disability in the media was provided by British scholar Colin Barnes in 1992, when he classified 12 commonly reoccurring stereotypes of disability in the media (Disabling Imagery and the Media). With the exception of the category “the disabled person as normal,” all of Barnes’ classifications are extremely negative; thus, like Clogston and Nelson, he negates modern and affirmative interpretations of disability in the media. Nonetheless, it must be noted

that there is unquestionably a great deal of overlap among the research findings of Clogston, Haller, Nelson and Barnes, and each has influenced the other.

Despite the growing body of research examining stereotypes of disability in the media, “absence” is certainly the most overwhelming theme--stories about disabled people are simply not there. As Brent Hardin explains: “People with disabilities are generally absent from the media, leaving the impression that they are not part of mainstream society” (“Missing” screen 2).

Supercrip Stereotype

One of the most widely discussed concepts when referring to media representations of disability is the stereotype of the “supercrip” (Hardin and Hardin screen 2; Garland-Thomson “Politics” 56; Goggin and Newell screen 1; and Barnes 9). The supercrip notion implies that some disabled people have heroic super-human qualities and are capable of performing super-human feats and pushing their bodies to extreme limits. Alison Harnett explains, “The supercrip is portrayed as perfect: too intelligent, too sporty, and too gifted to be feared” (22).

Although it would seem that the supercrip hero stereotype is positive, researchers argue that it is actually quite a harmful stereotype because it does not represent the lives or the reality of the majority of disabled people (Nelson, “Broken” 6, Hardin, B, “Missing” 2). Whereas, Marie Byers Hardin and Brent Hardin have shown that the majority of professional disabled athletes feel positive about supercrip stories. In their 2004 study, they found that most of their interview subjects were “. . . generally accepting of the practice as perhaps even helpful for disabled and non-disabled

audiences” (par. 7.5). As well, a similar study conducted by Amit Kama with 30 disabled male and female Israeli participants (none of whom were professional athletes) also had similar findings. Kama found that the disabled interview subjects felt that supercrips were role models and provided examples, of “...disabled individuals who can overcome difficulties and become ‘normal’ human beings” (453). Thus, Terry Fox’s supercrip profile, a stereotype that is frequently emulated by both disabled and non-disabled people, as suggested by the research of Hardin and Hardin and Kama, helps to explain both the popularity of news articles and stories about him, and the larger public persona of Fox, who was viewed as a national hero by many Canadians.

An additional link to the supercrip phenomenon, it that sports as a whole has played a role in establishing cultural values in North America. This has the tendency to put non-sports minded, disabled persons at the bottom of the success ladder and encouraged a hyper-masculinity among men. Yvonne Wiegers notes that sports media is responsible for the “social construction and reproduction of heterosexual masculinity” (153). The roots of this idea began in the nineteenth century when “Muscular Christianity” emerged within the Protestant churches implying that “...athletic endeavor helps develop strong moral character” (Stott 178). Thus, disabled supercrips such as Terry Fox are not only seen as heroes to some people--but also linked to the idea that they embody high morals.

Images of Disability in the Media

Images of Terry Fox were displayed frequently in the media during his “Marathon of Hope,” and after his death. This is unusual because disabled people have a history of

being principally absent from media outlets; or, as Deni Elliott explains, they “...simply do not exist in the camera’s eye” (74). The history of disabled people in photographs began on a negative note with the first real photographs of disability being commercial “carte de visistes” photographs taken of disabled people who were freak show performers at fairs and circuses starting in the 1830s (Davis 535).

Some of the most influential studies that examined journalistic photographs and advertisements of disability are from American academic Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (Garland-Thomson, “Politics” 56-75; Extraordinary Bodies; Freakery). Thomson’s work is radical because she challenges viewers to re-evaluate how these photographs are viewed, changing them from a flat, voiceless object, to one that has the potential for strong meaning, enabling the “social ritual of staring at disability to persist in an alternate form” (“Politics” 57). Other disability researchers, such as Tom Shakespeare, also share this same notion: “Images are used to make able-bodied people feel good about themselves in a kind of pornography of the body, scapegoating the carriers of deformity” (Shakespeare quoted. in Seale 109). In an attempt to understand the cultural significance of images, Garland-Thomson coined the phrase, “a taxonomy of primary visual rhetorics of disability,” placing all images of disability into four main categories: the wondrous, the sentimental, the exotic and the realistic (“Politics” 58).

Building on the research of Garland-Thomson, other academics have also written critically about the messages that images of telethons send to the general public, particularly in how telethons exist as a means for able-bodied people to feel better about themselves (May and Ferri 3; Nelson, “Broken”). One major component to all telethons is the advertising posters accompanying all programs, typically featuring physically-

disabled children in passive positions, usually holding crutches or sitting in a wheelchair. Disability scholar Tom Shakespeare parallels disabled people in charity advertising to the “objectification of women in pornography,” but instead of lust, the feelings of pity and fear are emphasized (“Cultural” 228). These messages construct a vision of the disabled as pitiful not proud. Print media, on the other hand, shapes the social notion of disability in other ways.

Print Media and Disability

The print media, particularly newspapers, have had an enormous influence on the portrayal of people with disabilities, particularly when one analyzes the language that is used in stories, the placement of stories within the newspaper, and the lack of training and education that print journalists receive in writing about the culture of disability (Hardin and Preston 50). All of these factors have had an effect on the reporting and writing of the story of Terry Fox within Canadian newspapers. It is also important to note that print media was the main focus of the delivery of news, along with television during the time of the Terry Fox story.

The language of disability within the print media has evolved significantly with the growth of the disability rights movement in English-speaking countries over the past 30 years, and it continues to incite controversy (Dajani 199). Many words to describe “disability” have been suggested, and have fallen to the wayside. Since the 1970s in Canada, particularly after the 1981 International Year of the Disabled, disability rights activists have been trying to get people to use disability positive, “people first” language, favouring the phrase “people with disabilities” or “persons with disabilities” and fully

rejecting words such as “special” (which implies segregation and infantilization) (Titchkosky, “Rose” 126; Johnson 33; Dajani 197). This need to take a close look at disability language is an important part of disability history. How language is used in everyday society, moving from academic and advocacy circles to media such as newspapers, often plays a significant role in how a culture is treated or labeled by others.

When I first became interested in Terry Fox, I listened to the CBC radio archives containing interviews from his Marathon of Hope and noticed that he used the word “disabled” frequently and spoke about the negative meaning of “handicapped” (Withers, CBC Radio News). His use of this language when describing himself is significant because the word “disability” was only starting to become known in the Canadian public during that time period. Similarly, the research of Haller et al. and Clayton Keller et al, show that the word “handicapped” has fallen out of favour with journalists in recent years (63; 271). Activists have appreciated this change because the word “handicapped” was derived from the term “cap in hand,” from a time when many people with disabilities spent their lives begging for food and coins on the streets (Seelman 77).

Another major issue around disability terminology in print media is that the language used is often medical, and is related to disease or illness--rather than disability. Words such as “victim of” or “suffers from” are popular, suggesting to the public that the disabled person is in pain, and can eventually be “cured” (Keller et al. 276; Carter and Parmenter, screen 7; Kama 448; Haller et al. 65; Johnson 36). Thus, the use of medical language, taken from the stem of the Medical Model of Disability, is significant in my research because Terry Fox had both a disability, and a disease. Thus, it is essential to note if, and how, journalists differentiate between the two circumstances.

Story Types and Placement

A newspaper story/article usually begins with an editor (often at the suggestion of a reporter) deciding first what is newsworthy enough to be a newspaper story, who should write the story and, later, where the story should be placed within a newspaper. If a story appears on the front page, it is seen as important news, but if it appears “buried” within a thick newspaper it is typically seen as less important. Similarly, because newspapers are frequently divided into sections such as: local news, international news, sports, business and lifestyles, the placement of the story within the newspaper also strikes a strong chord with readers and may influence their ideas about the importance of a story. This discussion about story placement and type of story is pertinent because newspaper articles about Terry Fox do not easily fall into one type of story classification. For example, Fox’s marathon sometimes provided an angle for a sports page, his fundraising tactics could easily fit within a business page, and his illness could fit in the medical section of a newspaper. Furthermore, stories of his death and dying were sometimes written as “hard news” (serious news where facts are the main focus), and the story of his life was sometimes written as “soft news” (less serious news where emotion and often typical stereotypes of disability are the focus) (Tuchman 113-114). According to Edna F. Einsiedel, the decision of editors about where a story should go, and how it should be presented is known as “framing,” and “...becomes the way an event is delineated and organized by its audiences” (90). Additionally, the placement of a story about a disabled person on the front page of a newspaper can be extremely significant because it emphasizes inclusion, showing that photos and articles about disabled people

are no longer solely relegated to charity or freak show advertisements as they were during the dawn of the newspaper era. Thus, positive newspaper articles about a disabled person may transmit other subtle secondary messages reminding Canadians that persons with disabilities have equal rights in Canadian society.

Unfortunately, most of the academic research available on disability stories within newspapers neglects to classify the stories evaluated by “type of story.” Those that have taken up this challenge have had strikingly similar findings, showing that disability-related stories often appear in newspapers as less serious “soft” news (Keller et al. 275; Gold and Auslander, “International” 720). In Keller et al.’s study, a scant 35 percent of the stories were “hard” news, encompassing topics such as changes in legislation, protests, research and technology, and the remaining 10 percent of stories were “notices about meetings and events for community or government groups, charitable organizations, and entertainment” (275). Thus, although little research has been done on disability story placement and types of news, it is clear that they can both play an influential role in how a newspaper article is perceived by the reader.

Canadian Media Coverage of People with Disabilities

The story of Terry Fox was/is distinctively Canadian; therefore, a cross-examination of other Canadian media coverage is essential to this study. In 1998, the Government of Canada released a report about disabled people in the media entitled “No News is Bad News,” as part of the Standing Committee on the Status of Disabled Persons (Edwards 103). The report portrays the Canadian media as non-progressive, and says there was slim coverage of issues of disability, and very few articles about government

policies related to disability. Overall, "...coverage tended to focus on 'celebrity' aspects—that is, disabled persons who had become prominent or famous. It usually failed to link disability issues with advocacy, interaction with government or the provision of services" (Edwards 111-112). One might argue that this is no different than the majority of the Canadian population—people rarely want to hear about the average Canadian, they would rather learn about a celebrity.

Building on this 1998 Government of Canada research, ten years later, a detailed Canadian study was undertaken by Gail K. Auslander and Nora Gold and the results appeared in published articles such as: "Disability terminology in the media: a comparison of newspaper reports in Canada and Israel," "Newspaper Coverage of People with Disabilities in Canada and Israel: An international comparison," and "Media reports on disability: A bi-national comparison of types and causes of disability as reported in major newspapers." All of these articles provide us with some interesting information about the characteristics of newspaper coverage of people with disabilities in Canada in comparison to Israel. According to Auslander and Gold's detailed criteria, which used some of John Clogston's research on stereotypes of people with disabilities, Canadian newspapers (in comparison to Israeli newspapers) depicted people with disabilities in a more progressive, social-model style, although, overall, most of the stories from both countries could be classified as "traditional" (focusing on the disability, rather than the person) (Gold and Auslander, "International" 712, 718). The researchers discovered that disability-related articles were easier to locate in Canada, and were more likely to appear on the front page (Gold and Auslander, "International" 713). Most significantly, "The Canadian press was much more likely than the Israeli to name the disabled individual,

and did so in almost every case” and “People with disabilities were quoted almost three times as often in Canada as in Israel” (Gold and Auslander, “International” 715, 717). Additionally, the Canadian articles were longer, and were often part of a series of related articles that appeared over a long period of time (“International” 722; “Bi-national” 428). Gold and Auslander’s findings are consistent with the media portrayal of Terry Fox. For example, Fox’s story became part of a long weekly series in the Toronto Star, his name was always prominent, and the articles sometimes made it to the front page (Scrivener 101).

Disability, Death, Disease and the Media

One cannot discuss the appearance, and death, of Terry Fox in newspapers without examining the media’s frequent fascination with diseases and dying. This combination of disease and dying was a popular newspaper story format towards the end of Terry Fox’s life; thus, it is perhaps one of the reasons why journalists and the public were fixated on his story. Aldelman and Berbruggee note that from “the late 1970s to late 1990s” there was an increase in articles in newspapers about diseases and dying (352). Journalists had clearly realized that “death makes news,” and death had become a frequent trend in the media (347). More significantly, despite Fox’s achievements in marathon running across Canada and raising money for charity, part of what ultimately made him an important figure in newspaper stories was that he had a disease and was dying, and Canadians felt they could avoid this tragedy by donating money to his cause.

Similarly, in more recent years, dying, defeating, or becoming disabled by cancer, has remained a popular topic in the media, and Antonia Lyons argues that people are now

more likely to learn about health issues from the media, rather than from a medical professional (350). Clive Seale also notes that the popularization of cancer stories has risen to such a volume that some researchers feel that a romantic trendiness about the disease has emerged, similar to the way that the tuberculosis epidemic was featured in art and literature during the 19th century (174). In fact, people who have had cancer, particularly women who have had breast cancer, now often refer to themselves as “survivors,” and a part of the cancer-survivor culture (Johnson 40; King 107). Thus, with this newfound culture of cancer survivors in Canada, it is not surprising that Terry Fox, who succumbed to cancer, has remained popular since his death.

Conclusion

Although at first glance Terry Fox may seem to be a very simple and well-known subject; however, when one combines him with an examination of the portrayal of people with disabilities in the media, it is quite clear from the review of the literature that many complex layers are evident. For example, one can examine how Fox was viewed as a Canadian, a male, a sports hero, someone who survived his first bout of cancer, or as a person with a physical disability.

First and foremost, scholars who have examined the treatment of people with disabilities in the mass media, have either found a large absence of disabled persons as a subject or, on the rare occasions when they appear, their portrayal is usually negative. Secondly, in large studies about how people with disabilities are portrayed in newspaper articles, researchers have found that hard news articles about people with disabilities are rare. Thirdly, research has shown that the Canadian media has a slightly more

progressive view of people with disabilities in comparison to countries such as Israel. Nonetheless, in stories about disability that are related to death or illness, the Canadian media is just as willing as its counterparts to portray these issues dramatically and frequently, often giving a clear voice to the able-bodied individuals in the story. Finally, it is clear that there is need for more volumes of recent research from a Canadian perspective, to enable Canadian journalists and editors to see what they are doing right—and to highlight areas for improvement.

Chapter III - Methodology

“In our times it is merely the means of an echo that events acquire their ‘greatness’—the echo of a newspaper” (Nietzsche qtd. in Merrin 41).

From the review of the literature, it is apparent that a variety of methodologies can be employed to examine newspaper articles. Using the social capital research methodology guidelines suggested by Sandra Frank, qualitative methodologies were chosen for this research project. Additionally, because this research concerns one individual (Terry Fox), one might also call it a case study (32). Qualitative research is appropriate for this study of newspaper articles because, like the articles themselves, it is “based on verbal narratives and observations rather than numbers” in a natural situation (McMillan 9). Secondly, Sandra Franke suggests that qualitative research provides a “more in-depth look” at certain subjects (31).

Content Analysis

Within this qualitative study, the focus is on content analysis, one of the most common methods used when analyzing media documents such as newspapers (Lombard, et. al, 588). Content analysis is defined as:

...an observational research method that is used to systematically evaluate the symbolic content of all forms of recorded communication. These communications can be analyzed at many levels (image, word, roles, etc.), thereby creating a realm of research opportunities (Kobe and Burnett as qtd. in Lombard et al 588).

Furthermore, because the literature review has already identified some key words from past research studies, a summative content analysis was employed so that information from past studies could be included in the analysis. A summative content analysis “...starts with identifying and quantifying certain words or content in text with the

purpose of understanding the contextual use of the words or content...an attempt not to infer meaning but, rather, to explore usage” (Hsieh and Shannon 1286). Although the initial concept of gathering and collecting words is quantitative, Hsieh and Shannon explain, when one further examines the contexts in which the word appears, in order to gain a deeper meaning, what results is a qualitative study (1284). Thus, the primary purpose of this thesis is to examine and analyze how Terry Fox was portrayed in Canadian newspaper articles during, and right after, his Marathon of Hope using a qualitative summative content analysis.

Data Collection

The data for this research was obtained through an examination of two major Canadian English newspapers: the Globe and Mail and the Toronto Star, which provides a strong representative demographic. Both newspapers are the only Canadian newspapers with easily accessible online databases that go back as far as 1980. The Toronto Star offers an online subscription service for newspaper archives, and the Globe and Mail, Canada’s largest national newspaper, has a complete database available online, which includes versions of all of its actual newspaper clippings (text and photos). Preliminary research further indicated that the Toronto Star, Canada’s largest city newspaper, has some of the most in-depth articles about Terry Fox because one its reporters (Leslie Scrivener) became involved in documenting Fox’s Marathon of Hope as a series while he was still relatively unknown. Scrivener also later published a book about this experience (Terry Fox: His Story). Furthermore, the Globe and Mail and the Toronto

Star are good choices for newspaper research because they are both considered to be influential and elite media in Canada (Bruck 115-116).

A large part of the focus of this thesis is on newspaper articles, some of the ideas and categories for analysis were obtained from a study published by Beth Haller, Bruce Dorries and Jessica Rahn in Disability and Society in which the researchers analyzed certain dates of the Washington Post and the New York Times for "...the impact of the Americans with Disabilities Act on journalist's language choices about disability topics" (61). Their study sought to understanding whether or not people first language influenced how two large newspapers refereed to people with disabilities over a 10 year period.

Another influence on the selection of my methodology for this study was the 1998 research of Gail K. Auslander and Nora Gold, previously mentioned in the literature review, where the Globe and Mail and the Toronto Star were compared against two Israeli newspapers to see how they wrote about issues of disability ("Bi-national"). Auslander and Gold chose the Globe and Mail and the Toronto Star for their study because they wanted "one daily quality or 'prestige' newspaper" (e.g. Globe and Mail), and "one popular daily paper" (e.g. Toronto Star) (421). Although the concept of a 'prestige' newspaper may be somewhat difficult to define, I personally interpret the main differences as: (1) history – in Canada, prestige papers are often more than 100 years old, and the Globe and Mail began in 1840; and (2) size - popular daily newspapers are traditionally thinner and smaller and the stories are shorter than those in so-called prestige newspapers.

Data Analysis

For this study, 20 articles from the Globe and Mail, and 20 articles from the Toronto Star from April 12, 1980 until December 30, 1981 were critically examined. A simple coding sheet was established and used in order to go through each article in a similar fashion. These articles were obtained by searching online databases using the keyword “Terry Fox.” Although approximately 40 articles were initially gathered, the searches were refined through a process of: (1) finding stories that appeared on the same day in both papers; (2) looking for stories that included photos; and (3) looking for stories that were more than 100 words long. Nonetheless, it should be noted that there were not solid rules. Some stories were included that were short because their content was still relevant and interesting, and stories without photos were often used. It should also be noted that by including articles from both newspapers from the same day, this research also sought to examine how two different newspapers looked at the same event. Overall, this process of searching for the articles online, printing them out, cataloging them, and going through them to select specific ones for analysis took several months.

Finally, a descriptive qualitative analysis of one page for each article was written, as it related to previous research studies outlined in the literature review, and to the summarized categories and content discovered in the coding sheets. [See Appendix A.] The descriptions written for each article were inspired by the 1999 MA thesis of Lorraine Thomas, who used a similar length of format for examining advertisements for rehabilitation goods. The final exercise consisted of writing six chapters that examined how the articles relate to the models of disability (Charity, Medical and Social), stereotypes of disability, social capital theory, and narratology.

April 12, 1980 was chosen as a beginning date was because it is essentially the day that the story begins—it was the day that Terry Fox began his “Marathon of Hope.” December 30, 1981 was chosen as an end date because, although Terry Fox died on June 28, 1981, the fanfare and events that began to occur a few months after his death, turned him into somewhat of a martyred figure in the Canadian public. Thus, this provides an artificial end to the story of Terry Fox.

Chapter V - Charity Model of Disability in Newspaper Articles about Terry Fox

Chapter five addresses one of my secondary research questions: “How has the Charity Model of Disability influenced the portrayal of people with disabilities (such as Terry Fox) within Canadian newspapers?”

In modern Canadian history, Terry Fox is considered one of the greatest fundraisers. It was noted by the newspaper articles of the period that, at the time of his death, he had raised 23 million towards cancer research in less than two years (“Hop” 10). [As of August 2008, through his legacy, the Terry Fox Foundation has raised 400 million for cancer research (The Terry Fox Foundation).] Despite these charitable achievements, it is evident from a review of newspaper articles about Terry Fox that he also broke many of the traditional rules of charity fundraising. Consequently, although he was often viewed with pity, he was also frequently seen as someone with great power because he was able to raise unprecedented sums of money for cancer research in a short period of time. One small proof of this power was that a mountain was named after Fox after he died as a symbolic tribute to his fundraising efforts:

He raised more than \$23 million for cancer research in his attempt to run across Canada last year on an artificial leg. “Terry struck the hearts of people across our country and around the world with his Marathon of Hope... That became his mountain to climb and we feel that nothing would be more fitting than to name a mountain in honor of Terry Fox”... The naming “is the greatest honor you can bestow on somebody... Terry was the most significant Canadian of our time to do something on his own (“Mountain” D16).

Fox was a frequent and passionate spokesperson for his cause. The Globe and Mail reports that he told a large crowd that had gathered to see him, “People I saw who had cancer set an example. I’ve got to be strong. I can’t give up... People are treating me like a hero, like I’m something above other people” (Ferry 1). Similarly, after his cancer

reoccurred, on the day he had to stop running, Fox appeared to be even more passionate about his cause, which was again recorded in the Globe and Mail:

Even though I'm not running any more, they're still trying to find a cure for cancer, and I think other people should go ahead and try to do their thing for it...How many people have really put out an effort to try to fight for something they really believe in? I've lived a lifetime already...I've lived one day at a time before, and I will do so now ("Finishes" 2).

Later, out of necessity, when Fox's illness progressed, other people began to speak for him. For example, in a Christie Blatchford and Peter Rickwood article from September 6, 1980, Fox's mother (Betty Fox) acted as his spokesperson and talked about the increase in fundraising efforts on behalf of her son in a telephone interview: "He thinks it's really great...He hopes it can continue like this" (1).

As well, it is also worth noting that, during his Marathon of Hope, Fox was also supported by the War Amputees Association of Canada (they fixed his artificial leg for him throughout his journey); however, they were frequently overshadowed by the Canadian Cancer Society. One instance of this is demonstrated in the first article about Fox in the Globe and Mail: "The War Amputees Association of Canada has said it would repair his artificial leg and provide him with new ones throughout the marathon" ("Amputated" 9). He also mentioned in an August 5, 1980 article in the same publication, "You've probably heard that the War Amputees have been after me to see a doctor because of my leg. They don't understand that nobody's approached what I've done running on one leg" ("Medical" 8).

Before examining articles about Terry Fox, I had suspected that fundraising would be a strong story line in many of the articles, but I was unprepared for the large volume of articles in which money and fundraising was a focus. This idea is perhaps best

illustrated in a September 6, 1980 Globe and Mail article entitled “Hundreds call cancer offices after run ends” (4). It emphasizes the notion that “everyone” is making a donation towards Fox’s cause and lists several people who were doing small things in their community to raise money. A similar article also appeared on the same day in the Toronto Star entitled “It’s official: September is Terry Fox month in Metro” (Blachford & Rickwood 1). In addition to mentioning people and organizations that contributed to Fox’s cause, it also mentions an upcoming fundraising telethon by the CTV Television network. There is often a reactionary magical response to pity in Canadian contemporary society: “Persons with a disability are seen as vehicles for the able-bodied believer to practice acts of kindness and good” (Rose 399). Fox’s call was his illness, and the response was feelings and actions of charity from the Canadian public which made their way to newspaper stories.

Many journalists also emphasized the idea that giving funds towards Fox’s cause was very personal. For example, Paul Dalby writes, “In the fishing village of Cap-Pele, where unemployment is everybody’s problem, residents often gave the last dollar in their pockets to Terry. In Petitcodiac they paid \$10 a head for a fundraising supper, donated their own food and collected \$1200” (“Miracle” A10). Finally, in an effort to pool multiple resources together, the individual causes were then augmented by a telethon for Terry Fox.

The Telethon for Terry Fox

The telethon for Terry Fox received a great deal of public attention and became the subject of many newspaper articles. According to a September 9, 1980 front page

article in the Toronto Star, Canadians donated \$10.5 million to Fox's telethon—despite the fact that Fox was too ill to participate (Blatchford, "Canadians" 1). The article fittingly features a large photo of Fox watching the telethon from a small television set propped in front of his hospital bed.

As mentioned previously in my literature review, some researchers claim that middle class North Americans enjoy watching telethons and donating money because it makes them feel better about themselves, and positions the disabled person as a permanent object of pity (May and Ferri 3; Nelson, "Broken"). This concept of pity was emphasized in Blatchford's September 8, 1980 article, noting that the Fox telethon had raised more funds than the "Jerry Lewis muscular dystrophy extravaganza" and "...it took a 22-year-old sick young man with one leg and two tumors in his lungs to do it—to 'galvanize the entire country as it's never been before'" (1). It may even be argued that Fox's telethon garnished a greater sense of pity because it was clear that his death was imminent; whereas, many telethons focus on children with disabling conditions who are not necessarily dying. Nonetheless, Blatchford's comparison to the Jerry Lewis Telethon is warranted due to the popularity of the telethon during that period; however, it should be noted that disability activists and scholars are extremely critical of the Jerry Lewis Telethon and many try to distance themselves from it as much as possible. In her 1994 article "The Misfit and Muscular Dystrophy," Beth Haller details several of the problematic issues raised by the Jerry Lewis Telethon: "Outsiders to the disability perspective have difficulty understanding that many people with disabilities want the emphasis to be on empowerment and independence for today rather than a cure for the future" (149). Culturally, the telethon for Fox was quite different from the Jerry Lewis

Telethon because: (1) the “star” (Terry Fox) did not attend; (2) Fox did not organize the telethon; (3) the telethon only happened once; and (4) money was being raised for cancer research, not a disability. Nonetheless, at the heart of every telethon is a call for money from strangers; creating a socially acceptable form of begging that puts all telethon subjects—whether they be disabled or ill—into the same category.

Chapter VI - Medical Model of Disability in Newspaper Articles about Terry Fox

Chapter VI addresses one of my secondary research questions: “How has the Medical Model of Disability influenced the portrayal of people with disabilities such as Terry Fox in Canadian newspapers?” As explained in my literature review, the Medical Model of Disability is the most commonly accepted, and most-widely used model in North America. It classifies people with disabilities by their specific disabilities, and looks upon them as sick people that can be “cured” (Crow 57). Thus, it is not surprising that, throughout the newspaper articles about Terry Fox I examined, the Medical Model is quite apparent. In particular, in the case of Terry Fox, because he had an illness (cancer) and a disability (a leg amputation), newspaper reporters often chose to focus on the medical aspects of his illness, rather than his disability. For example, Christie Blatchford’s article “Brave Terry Fox begins his new battle with cancer” details how Fox is feeling, and how he found out about his cancer reoccurring (1).

Other evidence of the Medical Model is also apparent in the frequent quotations from medical professionals, such as doctors or nurses, throughout the articles I examined, particularly because Fox was raising money for medical science (cancer research). For example, the Toronto Star featured an article on September 9, 1980 examining what cancer researchers were planning to do with the money raised by Fox (Carey A2). Several quotes are given by medical doctors in the article, and the idea is expressed that cancer can be cured with enough funding and research. In fact, this idea that an illness or disability can be “cured” or “repaired” is central to the idea of the Medical Model and is frequently discussed by journalists in reference to Fox’s artificial limb. For example, one

Toronto Star article by Paul Dalby details how Fox was having trouble with his artificial leg, but that it was “fixed”:

...on April 28 his artificial leg, always an unknown factor, gave out under the relentless pounding of the daily marathons. The knee joint broke at Deer Lake but the War Amputations of Canada staff in Ottawa came to the rescue. The broken limb was taken to Fredericton, N.B., where it was repaired free of charge while Terry carried on running with his back-up artificial leg. Two days later, his favourite artificial limb, now mended, caught up with him again and he quickly made the change (A10).

Thus, because a prosthetic is emphasized, the Medical Model of Disability is emphasized.

Additionally, images that had a strong Medical Model focus and show him as a patient were often evident in articles about Terry Fox. After he became ill, Fox was shown in many newspaper articles lying on a stretcher (“Finishes” 1; Blatchford, “Canadians” 1). Other strong medical images also appeared such as Fox lying in a hospital bed, and the death announcement photos from Fox’s doctor and nurse (Blatchford, “Canadians” 1; “Courage” 1).

The Language of Medicine

Surprisingly, the word “handicapped,” which has strong medical connotations, was rarely used in articles that I examined. In fact, I only saw the word “handicapped” used twice, and neither time was in reference to Terry Fox (Scrivener, “Metro” A6; Stephens 1)

Instead, for the most part, Fox was frequently referred to in basic medically classified terms, such as “one-legged,” which is showcased in an August 5, 1980 Globe and Mail article, where Fox was referred to in the lead as “one-legged marathon runner Terry Fox,” and on July 7, 1981 where he was again called a “one-legged runner”

(Medical” 8; “Mountain” 11). On an even less politically correct note, in a November 6, 1980 Globe and Mail article, Fox was referred to as a “one-legged cancer victim” (“Book” 8T). The Toronto Star was similar, and several similar examples are also found where Fox is referred to as a “one-legged runner” in their articles (Scrivener, “Tears” 1). In articles where Fox was not referred to as a “one-legged runner” it did not mean that he was written about in less of a voyeuristic manner. In fact, in some cases, I argue that journalists often stretched the boundaries of good taste and were trying for shock value, particularly in their descriptions of Fox’s artificial limb: “...he ran on despite an ill-fitting artificial limb that chafed his thigh until it bled. But that was nothing, he said. In running 3,000 miles in training he said blood had sometimes trickled down his leg” (Scrivener, “Message” A13). Thus, Fox’s artificial limb was often described by journalists in a negative manner and frequently associated with pain.

Chapter VII - Social Model of Disability in Newspaper Articles about Terry Fox

Chapter VII addresses one of my secondary research questions: “How has the Social Model of Disability influenced the portrayal of people with disabilities (such as Terry Fox) in within Canadian newspapers?” As stated previously in my literature review, the Social Model of Disability views people with disabilities as full participants in society, under the understanding that all realities are socially-constructed and people are never disabled—it is society that is disabling (Barnes and Mercer 2-3; Shakespeare and Watson 293; Oliver, “Impairment” 29). This new theoretical concept was just being developed by disability researchers during the time of Fox’s Marathon of Hope; thus, some of my research findings regarding the use of the Social Model in newspaper articles are somewhat predictable, although they may be surprising for those people who are not familiar with the story of Terry Fox.

In my examination of articles about Fox during 1980, there is very little evidence of the Social Model; other models, such as the Charity and Medical Models are far more dominant (see chapters four and five for more information). Nonetheless, it is quite amazing how, even in the early days of the Social Model movement, some small concepts of the Social Model and full citizenship appear in articles from 1981, in the months right before, and after, Fox’s death.

One of the things that surprised me the most about my research was how rarely the word “disabled” was used in articles about Terry Fox. I found that it was used in the Toronto Star by Leslie Scrivener in a September 3, 1980 article when referring to Fox, “He wanted to prove that loss of leg didn’t mean he was disabled” (“Message” A13). As

well, I discovered it again in a June 6, 1981 article in the Toronto Star where Fox's awards were listed ("Awards" 13).

Absence of Disability

Towards the end of his life, and after his death, some journalists began to describe Fox using more appropriate Social Model terminology, indicating his disability was no longer the relevant point of the article. For example, rather than be described by his disability, in a December 30, 1980 Toronto Star article by Jim Bawden, Fox was described as "a shy university student" (C1). As well, in a September 3, 1980 Globe and Mail article, Fox is described as a "22-year-old British Columbian" ("Finishes" 1).

One of the most remarkable aspects of the story of Terry Fox is that, during the last few months of his life, some journalists did not even mention Fox's disability, or his illness anywhere in their articles. Thus, they made the Social Model statement that they moved past Fox's disability, and were more interested in Fox as a person. For example, a lengthy June 29, 1981 Globe and Mail article by John Fraser does not even mention that Fox was running his Marathon of Hope on one leg, and it also does not mention any fundraising or organizations (8). As well, a December 30, 1980 Toronto Star article does not mention Fox's "one leg" (Bawden C1). This concept was a sharp transformation from earlier articles about Fox, where he was viewed primarily as an unusual one-legged man, rather than a person on a quest to find a cure for cancer (Scrivener, "Tears" 1).

Story Types and Placement

As one may recall from my literature review, as a general rule, disability and communications researchers worldwide emphasize that stories about disability rarely appear in the media or, are “buried” in the back pages (“Missing,” screen 2; Nelson, “Media” 180). As well, I noted that the Canadian disability research was similar to this, and that there was little coverage of disability issues or government policies (Edwards 111-112). However, the same Canadian research also noted that the Canadian media favours stories about disabled celebrities, and there is no question that during the last year of his life, Terry Fox became a major Canadian disabled celebrity (Edwards 111-112). Thus, this factor helps to explain why there was such an abundance of newspaper articles about Terry Fox and his Marathon of Hope from 1980 to 1981, with little mention of anything else that dealt with issues of disability.

Even from the beginning of his mission, Fox’s story attracted some noticeable attention. On April 14, 1980, a day after he dipped his foot in the ocean near St. John’s, Newfoundland, stories about Fox appeared in both the Toronto Star and the Globe and Mail—and the Toronto Star article also featured a prominent photo of Fox. Unquestionably, the articles were both short (Toronto Star: 132 words; Globe and Mail: 219 words), but of a fairly typical length for a newspaper stories. As well, both articles featured quotes from Fox, emphasizing that he was the spokesperson for his mission, and that he was a disabled person with a voice.

Where a story appears, or is “framed” in a newspaper is also significant: whether it is shown on the front page, or if it is a few pages inside the paper. Quite predictably, when Terry Fox began his run in 1980, articles about him appeared deep inside the newspaper. His first article in the Toronto Star appeared on page nine, while his first

article in the Globe and Mail appeared on page five (“Amputated” 9; “Tries” 5). Despite the fact that these articles did not appear on, or near, the front page, it is significant to note that they were both shown in “News” sections of the paper, although they could have as easily appeared within a sports or lifestyles page. Right from the beginning, the story of Terry Fox was seen as real hard news, and not as an entertainment piece. This is also contrary to a great deal of disability media research, which suggests that most stories about disabled people are typically not considered “real news” and tend to appear in less serious sections of the paper (Keller et al. 275; Gold and Auslander, “International” 720). Thus, Fox’s story was distinctive, in that it was seen early on by journalists and editors not just as a good story, but as a news issue worth reporting.

Length of Articles

As Fox’s fame increased throughout 1980, so did his prominence in newspapers. Articles about Fox, along with accompanying photos, often appeared on the front page, such as the one that appeared in the Toronto Star on July 12, 1980 entitled “Tears flow as Metro hails Terry.” As well, articles were often much longer than in previous months. Another front page story about Terry Fox in the Toronto Star on September 3, 1980 (right after he was forced to stop his run) was approximately 1,284 words—nearly 10 times longer than the first article that appeared about him only a few months previous to this event (Blatchford, “Brave” 1). In fact, one of the greatest issues I faced in my research was narrowing down the number of articles I would examine, because the quantity that existed about Terry Fox appeared to be endless.

Chapter IV - Stereotypes of Disability in Articles about Terry Fox

The purpose of this chapter is to summarize my findings in regards to common stereotypes of disabilities in newspaper articles about Terry Fox. As well, this chapter addresses one of my secondary research questions: “What types of stereotypes of people with disabilities appeared in newspaper articles about Terry Fox?” The first step in answering this question was to find out “What are the commonly reoccurring stereotypes of people with disabilities in literature, advertising, film, television, newspapers and other media?” This question was partially answered in my literature review, by gathering and analyzing disability and communications research from the past 30 years. As explained in my review, several researchers have categorized stereotypes of disability in the media and the predominant findings were that most portrayals were negative or harmful, and that absence of stories and photos as a whole was an overwhelming theme. For the purposes of explaining my argument further, although the word “stereotype” often has negative connotations, I viewed it more as an attempt to categorize and classify different types of stories. Thus, it may occasionally have a positive meaning.

This chapter summarizes the major stereotypical content found within articles about Terry Fox during his Marathon of Hope and examines how his story compares to the overall portrayal of people with disabilities in the media.

The Terry Fox articles I examined in regards to common stereotypes of disability in the media show a great deal of contradictions, demonstrating that the media did not have one single view of Fox. Instead, the views altered from positive to negative and back again during various times of his life. When one examines the stereotypes found in these articles against Colin Barnes’ typology of stereotypes of disability in the media, two

major themes are primarily apparent: (1) Terry Fox as a supercrip; and (2) Terry Fox as pitiable and pathetic. Additionally, I discovered an additional theme that was never cited by disability researchers such as Clogston or Haller: the disabled person as a folk hero.

Three minor themes for Terry Fox also sometimes come across in the articles, including Terry Fox as: (1) an atmosphere or curio; (2) a burden; and (3) normal. Initially, in my coding sheets I labeled several articles with the stereotype of Fox being unable to participate fully in community life. In these types of articles, he was shown lying on a bed, unable to attend rallies that were being held in his honour. However, it later became clear that this stereotype was not an appropriate label: Fox was not participating in life due to his debilitating illness, not because of any kind of purposeful social exclusion against people with disabilities.

Supercrip

At the beginning of Fox's appearance in newspapers, he was initially portrayed as a "supercrip." This description emphasized Fox's strength and made allusion to super-human qualities; thus, elevating him to a "super" status. This finding is consistent with the research on supercrips outlined in my literature review. To illustrate, the first article that appeared about Fox in the Globe and Mail on April 14, 1980 contains the first reference to a supercrip and states, "A man who lost his left leg to cancer three years ago says he hopes to run about 50 kilometers a day on his way across Canada" ("Amputated" 9). In this article, the focus is not really on the run itself, but on the oddity of a man running on one leg. Even the word "hope" instead of "will" makes the reader think that Fox is chasing a whimsical dream because he is attempting to do something that no

Canadian has ever attempted before, as though he is building Noah's Ark in his backyard. The author also further emphasizes the impossibility of his quest by mentioning "...an artificial leg isn't made for running and he expects one to last about seven days" (9). Fox appears to be running with all odds against him, thus building anticipation around the character he has become in the newspapers.

The first article that appeared about Fox in the Toronto Star on April 14, 1980, was also strikingly similar to the Globe and Mail article. The lead sentence begins, "A man who lost his left to cancer three years ago has set off on a marathon run across Canada to raise money for the Canadian Cancer Society" (5). Some might argue that both newspapers emphasizing that Fox has one leg is simply good journalism, emphasizing sensationalism wherever possible; however, I also argue that it sets the stage for the label of Fox as a supercrip, which is still strong, even nearly 30 years after his death. Ultimately, however, despite the pros and cons of the supercrip stereotype, the ultimate result tends to be an engaging and dramatic story that attracts readers.

The supercrip trend repeats itself frequently in subsequent articles about Terry Fox. Later, as Fox progressed on his run and became more well-known, his supercrip status began to evolve in the media and words such as "courage" and "hero" were used by newspaper reporters to describe him. For example, in a July 12, 1980 article in the Toronto Star, Leslie Scrivener writes, "...every person who lined University Avenue yesterday or packed into Nathan Philips Square to see the one-legged runner, knew they had been touched, however briefly, by a Canadian of rare courage" ("Metro" A2). Again, the oddity and miracle of a one-legged runner is emphasized. The mass public who came

out to watch Fox know that they could never be like him because they lack the physical endurance, and have two legs.

The search for parallel Canadian supercrips was even attempted by some journalists during this period. An August 27, 1980 Toronto Star article about Fox parallels his life against the life of a young boy named Greg Scott who, like Fox, also had a leg amputated due to cancer (Blatchford, 1 & 18). Blatchford notes, “The little boy, hairless under his floppy hat, broke into a hopping run. Standing on the highway that runs a ring around the top of Lake Superior his parents watched and swelled with pride, ‘He does a perfect imitation doesn’t he?’ the boy’s father said. “Yes he does,” his wife whispered” (1). The end of the article also details a swim that Fox and Scott undertake together, describing Fox in a super-human manner (like a rabbit, then like an otter): “He disappeared into the van, and came out without the leg, hippity-hopping down to the lake. In he went, as sleek and swift as an otter, strong arms moving in a tidy front crawl” (18). Similarly, towards the mid point of the article, Scott is described as a “flamingo” (1). Describing an able-bodied person in an animalistic manner often comes across as offensive; however, in the case of Fox and Scott, with physical disabilities, it is seen by the Toronto Star as socially acceptable. The more super-human Fox appears to be, the more the story attracts the reader. As well, this story was extremely long and appeared on the front page, and on page 18, with three large photographs for accompaniment—and yet there was nothing truly newsworthy about it—the article was simply about Fox meeting a similarly disabled young person. What is newsworthy about the article is that Fox is inspiring people with his ‘supercripness’ and, evidently, the public wanted to read about it.

Pitiable and Pathetic

As time progressed and as Fox became sick, the pendulum swung in the opposite direction and Fox became an overwhelming symbol of pity; thus, he became more of a “former supercrip.” Again, it is quite apparent that newspaper readers have moved on from Fox’s marathon attempt; and they are now interested in his suffering and illness. Or, one could argue that the story of the supercrip is over and the media is now generating a new story in an attempt to regain the sensationalism of the first.

One example of the view of Fox as pitiable and pathetic is shown in a front page September 3, 1980 Toronto Star article by Christie Blatchford. She describes Fox putting a hand to his chest and coughing “...a tiny sad cough” (“Brave” 1). She also describes his inability to even brush away a black fly. It is both a sad and pathetic description, and a foreshadowing of articles to come. A similar, parallel article about Fox also appeared on the front page of the Globe and Mail on the same day. In the article, the unnamed journalist writes that Fox is going to the hospital to begin a “second, grim battle with cancer” (“Finishes” 1). The journalist also mentions, “He said he first noticed something was wrong in the afternoon when he had trouble breathing and began coughing and choking” (1). Thus, through an analysis of these articles, it is clear that the focus of Fox has shifted to that of a person viewed with great pity by journalists.

A portion of my literature review examined the theory that “death makes news,” and some corners of media reporting the image of someone dying as sad and pitiful. As the public became interested in Fox’s run across Canada, and his plight to raise money to find a cure for cancer, the newspaper articles became even more dramatic when he became gravely ill and finally succumbed to his illness on June 28, 1981. The abundance

of lengthy newspaper articles about Fox appeared most frequently during three periods: (1) when his illness was announced and he stopped his run; (2) when a telethon was held to raise money in his honour; and (3) during the week after his death. During those periods, it was not uncommon to find several articles about Fox in a newspaper. In fact, on June 29, 1981 (the day after Fox died), five articles appeared about Fox in the Globe and Mail, and each article attempted to show a different aspect of his life. For example, one article sums up the last moments of his life by stating:

Terry Fox, the young cancer victim who inspired a nation with his raw courage, died yesterday, one month before his 23rd birthday. Mr. Fox, whose Marathon of Hope run last year raised \$23 million for cancer research, slipped into a deep coma Saturday night. He died at dawn in the Royal Columbian Hospital in New Westminster B.C. His family was at his side ("Courage" 1).

It is in these descriptions which are intended to elicit pity of "a young cancer victim" that Fox's story finds a unity with the countless stories about disabled people that have appeared in the media in the past where pity is a focus, demonstrating that it has been impossible for disabled people in Canada to be portrayed in the media in a positive and powerful light 100 percent of the time. As well, because Fox was viewed in the media with such a strong emphasis on pity, it further served to move him to the status of "folk hero" which will be discussed in the upcoming section.

Terry Fox as a Folk Hero

In September 1980, when the pity-themed newspaper articles about Fox began to emerge, I argue that his former supercrip status also began to push him to a new status that has not been properly cited by disability researchers: Terry Fox as a Canadian folk hero. The idea of a disabled Canadian reaching this high status may be somewhat

controversial because some may argue that his situation was unique, happening at just the right place at just the right time in our nation's history. However, it is my belief that Fox's treatment in the media makes it possible for others to be treated in the same fashion—even though the occasions for this treatment might be rare. For example, after Fox passed away, Canadian wheelchair athlete Rick Hansen, who traveled through 22 countries, also achieved high status in Canadian society and in the media, had swarms of adoring crowds, started a foundation, and had a song named after him (Rick Hansen Foundation). Like Terry Fox, Hansen was also a Canadian folk hero in the media—but on a much smaller scale. This is evidence that disabled, folk-hero stereotypes are occasionally possible to achieve and duplicate in the Canadian media.

Every country has its folk heroes, but most heroes share similar characteristics; many of which Fox exhibited during the Marathon of Hope. Early American 1940s folk hero research by Orrin E. Klapp, suggests that all folk heroes, regardless of time period or country, possess common traits:

At the point of origin of hero worship, the emergence of a hero may be noted by certain signs. One of these is sudden or unusual fame. Another is a marked shift in status. A third is the beginning of behaviour characteristic of hero worship (54).

It is clear from the newspaper articles I examined that Fox experienced both “sudden” and “unusual” fame during his Marathon of Hope (54). This concept was made very clear in a very emotional September 3, 1980 column in the Globe and Mail by Dick Beddoes (8). In the column, Beddoes compares Fox to numerous celebrities, writes that Barbara Kilvert (from the Canadian Cancer Society) said he was a folk hero and says, “We had people phoning up about him, emotional and crying” (8). Beddoes ends his column with the dramatic statement:

What Terry Fox had was the boy-lonely dream of our land, a sweet pining to be famous in a harmlessly spectacular way, the wish to accomplish what no one else had ever done. A nation needs such desires as much as it does poets and musicians and a Gordon Lightfoot song to explain our gladness and our grief (8).

Additionally, a June 29, 1981 column in the Globe and Mail by John Fraser examines Terry Fox as a hero. The column speaks of Fox as an iconic symbol of Canada, and as a “saint.” It is, to say the least, extremely emotional and glowing and reads like a morality tale. For example, Fraser notes:

There will inevitably be a fair amount of iconography served up following his death yesterday, much of it based on the various emotional responses Canadians had about his straight-forward courage and determination. Most of us never knew the man and, because he became a symbol so quickly, that knowledge will become increasingly difficult to capture now that he is dead at 22 (Fraser 8).

In later articles, many other journalists picked up on the same theme, which was also then taken up by the public, organizations, and politicians. A strong hint of Fox’s hero worship status came on November 6, 1980 when an article in the Globe and Mail noted that a book about Fox’s life was in the process of being written (T8). Other later articles were also quite similar, and focus on awards that Fox had received, or was receiving, such as the Toronto Star article “Young hero’s awards span the country,” which lists 20 awards that Fox had received (13). As well, newspapers reported on buildings and monuments being named after Fox, evidenced in the Martin Cohn’s article “Ottawa youth centre named after Terry,” and “B.C. names mountain in Rockies for Terry Fox” (2; 16). As well, a July 3, 1981 article about Fox’s funeral mentions the large number of dignitaries who attended the service and says “The Terry Fox funeral is in the category of a state funeral...” (Mulgrew 1). Finally, an August 6, 1981 article in the Globe and Mail describes a Vancouver sculptor raising money to carve a Terry Fox

memorial (“Sculptor” 10). The article demonstrates that Fox has moved into the folk arts and culture of Canada, through the creation of a sculpture. It was as though his illness and final death gave him a martyr status. He sacrificed his body, by attempting to run across Canada, in order to raise money for cancer research and, potentially save the lives of others in the process. The category “disabled heroes” is not one usually covered by the study of folklore, and it has never emerged as a noted stereotype by academics when commenting on persons with disability in the Canadian media. Instead, folk heroes have been traditionally categorized in Canada by ethnicity, such as French Canadians, Anglo-Canadian, the Native Peoples, and non English and French immigrants (e.g. Ukrainians, Icelandic, Hungarian, etc.) (Pocius, “Folklore pt 1” 1-4). Folklorist Pauline Greenhill also challenges these traditional views and invites Canadians to look even broader at the idea of what is a Canadian folk hero. Her 1994 publication Ethnicity in the Mainstream: Three Studies of English Canadian Culture in Ontario details an ethnographic study of people of English descent in Ontario, the majority group, and looks at the English as an “ethnic” group. Additionally, Greenhill’s 1989 book True Poetry: Traditional and Popular Verse in Ontario also contains a chapter entitled “Appropriating a Hero” where she examines the poetry and songs written by members of the public for Terry Fox. Although Greenhill does not look at Fox as a “disabled hero” as a possible stereotype or category for a disabled person in the Canadian media, her explanation warrants merit because she explains how he was viewed by Canadians as a hero during the Marathon of Hope period:

They saw him as a hero, not as an average person. Further, because he created a (temporary) gestalt of national unity, Fox became a distinctively Canadian hero. His archetypification in verse as a pattern for Canadian heroism is noteworthy; there was no clearly understood, expressed tradition of Canadian heroes into

which he could fit. In order to create such a paradigm, poets describe Fox as everyman or mythical hero, or some combination of the two. But the view of Fox in the poetry—the predominant aspect of his heroism—changed as the events of his life in the public eye unfolded. We can see this as a process of forming a “legendary” national hero from the combined qualities of the mythic and everyman hero (160).

Clearly, in recent years, a more modern view of folk heroes in Canada has recently begun to emerge and folklorists have examined them from a broader perspective. Canadian folklorist Gerald L. Pocius emphasizes in a 2001 article that “...folklore is not just a product of rural cultures, but flourishes in urban contexts and is created and maintained among diverse social groups, professions and institutions . . . Folklore can exist in all contexts, and is part of all of our lives” (1). Pocius says there is frequently a link between academic folklorists and the Canadian media, particularly the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) and the National Film Board (NFB), where many folklorists have found themselves employed hosting programs, creating documentaries, or producing music (2-3). Thus, Fox might be described more accurately as a “modern” Canadian disabled folk hero.

As well, Fox’s struggle, both to run across Canada in harsh climactic conditions and to survive his cancer diagnosis also make him part of the Canadian folklore tradition, which often revolves around the theme of “survival.” In Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature, Margaret Atwood attempts to explain the distinctiveness of Canadian literature and culture, particularly in how it contrasts with American literature. Her main argument is that, while Americans (and American heroes) are obsessed with notions of “escape,” and running away from their lives, Canadians are obsessed with “survival” (Atwood 32). According to Atwood, Canadian heroes, like the first explorers

in Canada (or, in this case, Terry Fox), are heroic to Canadians because of their ability to remain in Canada and “survive” difficult lives and a harsh climate. Atwood explains:

Canadian authors spend a disproportionate amount of time making sure that their heroes die or fail. Much Canadian writing suggests that failure is required because it is felt—consciously or unconsciously—to be the only ‘right’ ending, the only thing that will support the characters’ (or their authors) view of the universe (34).

Although Atwood’s book was published more than 30 years ago, the qualities and characteristics that she writes about are still relevant to the discussion of modern folk heroes such as Terry Fox.

Minor Stereotypes

As mentioned previously, in addition to the major stereotypes of Fox as a supercrip, pitiful and pathetic, and a folk hero, several minor (less-frequently appearing) stereotypes were also evident in the newspaper articles examined. These include Fox as an atmosphere or curio, a burden, and normal.

Colin Barnes explains that a disabled person is sometimes viewed as “an atmosphere or curio” in the media, meaning that “...the disabled person is frequently portrayed as especially endearing to elicit even greater feelings of sentimentality—as opposed to genuine compassion” (3-4). The idea of Fox as an atmosphere or curio truly becomes apparent in the stories about Fox where he appears in front of a large audience, as if he was preaching to them. This is most evident in the stories that appeared on July 12, 1980, a day after Fox appeared in front of a large crowd in Nathan Phillips Square in Toronto (“Tears”). Although this type of treatment may seem positive, it also is somewhat voyeuristic. The crowds are not just drawn to Fox’s mission, they have come

out to see what journalists of the time frequently described as the “one-legged runner” (Scrivener, “Tears” 1). It is a modified free freak show with a disabled person on stage, being stared at by the public.

Fox as a “burden” is another minor stereotype that appeared in newspaper articles I examined. Colin Barnes describes this stereotype in his report on Disabling Imagery in the Media:

This stereotype is connected to the view that disabled people are helpless and must be ‘cared’ for by non-disabled people. It fails to recognize that with appropriate support disabled people are able to achieve the same level of autonomy and independence as non-disabled people. It comes from the notion that disabled people’s needs are profoundly different to those of the non-disabled community and that meeting those needs is an unacceptable drain on society’s resources (12).

The stereotype of Fox as a “burden” was a concept that occasionally came across in later articles about Fox, from September 1980 until his death on June 28, 1981. For example, in a September 3, 1980 Toronto Star article about Fox, Christie Blatchford writes, “The Ontario health ministry arranged for the charter of the air ambulance that took Fox to Vancouver but the cost of the trip will be paid by the British Columbia hospital insurance scheme” (A13). This description emphasizes Fox as a burden on Canadian taxpayers.

The final stereotype of Fox that was occasionally apparent in newspaper articles about him was that he was “normal” or as Colin Barnes describes “...people who just happen to have impairments” (15). Throughout the newspaper articles I examined, this was the rarest stereotype that was evident, and it was the most understated.

My argument is that the concept of “normal” came across most powerfully when an article was about how his family was coping with Fox’s death: using death as the great social normalizing equalizer. There is no shortcut to grieving or dealing with death—no matter how famous a person has become. As well, whether a person is able-bodied or disabled, they are all buried or cremated in the same way with the same type of service. Thus, death makes everyone “normal”—everyone the same.

The Toronto Star article appearing on July 2, 1981 entitled “Terry Fox starts his final mile” details many of the “regular” folk who attended his funeral service, and lists the head of the church choir and the song chosen by Fox’s parents (1). This emphasizes that Fox was a regular Canadian who needed to be grieved by his family in a normal way--a concept that newspaper readers identified with—family, funeral and mourning. This concept that death can make everyone “normal” was also demonstrated clearly in Leslie Scrivener’s article on June 29, 1981 in the Toronto Star where she wrote solely about how his family was dealing with his death and mentioned, “The Foxes are not great talkers. They do not pour out their soul and their suffering. They rely on an inner strength and family solidarity” (“Parents” 11). Thus, it was as though the media was more comfortable dealing with Fox as a “normal” person once he had died, because death gave his story a familiar shape--when he was a living person with a disability, he was never really “normal” in the eyes of the media.

Chapter VIII - Social Capital at Work in Newspaper Articles about Terry Fox

Chapter VIII addresses one of my secondary research questions: “How did the theory of social capital aid in making Terry Fox a Canadian celebrity?”

As described in chapter one, social capital is the idea that “...the more we connect with people, the more we trust them, and vice versa” (Putnam 664-665). Throughout newspaper articles about Terry Fox from 1980 to 1981, there is strong evidence that social capital played a strong role in Fox’s fame, in his ability to get donations from Canadians, and in the way his story continued to be immortalized after his death.

Terry Fox is an interesting study in social capital because it is obvious in the first few articles about him that appeared in the Globe and Mail and the Toronto Star that Fox had very little social capital at the beginning of his run. He was not well-known, disabled, young, and did not yet have any kind of great public support. The newspaper articles of the period initially write about him as a stranger, and they have to explain to the audience who he is first. He is “a man” named “Terry Fox, 21, of Port Coquitlam, B.C.” (“Amputated” 9). Nonetheless, the fact that he associated himself with two well-established older Canadian charities (the Canadian Cancer Society and the War Amputees Association of Canada), instead of creating his own charity, unquestionably got him off to a good start. Also, although the two charities were not very involved at the beginning, the Canadian Cancer Society played a strong role in Fox’s run as he became more well-known.

Upon examination of the Fox articles in the Globe and Mail and Toronto Star it is evident that social capital at work in a number of distinct ways: (1) the mass Canadian public; (2) the funds that were raised to support Fox’s mission; and (3) the evolution of

Fox into an icon/hero through awards he received and the naming of landmarks and items after him.

The Canadian Public

Fox's Marathon of Hope connected with Canadians on a grassroots and personal level. In the Measurement of Social Capital Reference Document, "civic participation" is cited as a large indicator of social capital at work (4). Donating money to Fox's cause, participating in rallies, and cheering Fox on as he ran along the highway, were all acts of civic participation that were then clearly recorded in newspapers of the day. For example, on July 12, 1980 in the Toronto Star, Leslie Scrivener writes,

They stopped traffic in the heart of the city at high noon for him and he confessed he found the fanfare almost painful. Yet every person who lined University Ave. yesterday or packed into Nathan Phillips Square to see the one-legged runner, knew they had been touched, however, briefly, by a Canadian of rare courage ("Tears" 1).

As well, shortly after his death, an annual run in memory of Fox was organized which meant that death alone did not stop his public support. Fox put in motion a public and personal commitment to changing values. An article on the front page of the Globe and Mail on September 14, 1981 details the first Terry Fox Run:

They jogged in Peking, they ran in the Middle East. The young, the old, and the handicapped participated. They ran, walked, bicycled, and even skipped to raise money for the Terry Fox Cancer Research Fund (Stephens 1).

In many respects, although it may have been the media that helped to make Terry Fox famous, it was the Canadian public that supported his mission, and wanted to know more about him and, therefore, activated a powerful social network for Fox. This need for people to gather together and make their donations known has also been noted by social

capital researchers. Arthur C. Brooks credits Rose-Ackerman in his research noting "...altruism might be a function of social pressure or prestige" (3). Thus, in simple terms, Terry Fox was part of an alliance that everyone wanted to join.

Some of the sharpest evidence that social capital (through the Canadian public) began to transform Fox's mission came on July 12, 1980, when he moved from the back pages of the newspaper, to the front page of the Globe and Mail. The article entitled "Fox runs into hero's welcome from Metro throngs" detailed that large numbers of people had come to see Fox in Toronto, and support his mission (1). A large powerful photo is also shown of Fox with the huge crowd in front of him. This is also one of the first articles where the word "hero" was used. Fox was quoted as saying: "People are treating me like a hero, like I'm something above other people" (1). It is evidence that Fox became a curiosity and large amounts of people were willing to come out to see him, just to see if the stories were real that they've heard about him.

Similar stories appeared in both newspapers after Fox became ill and rallies were organized to show the public's support for his mission. For example, the September 22, 1980 front page of the Toronto Star details a march that was held for Fox and shows a large photo of people walking (one of whom is holding up a sign for Terry Fox) (Scrivener, "Metro" 1). As a way to further emphasize how Fox's popularity had increased and stretched across the spectrum of society, celebrities are mentioned in the article, as well as non-famous people:

A sweaty maintenance man, who would identify himself only as "Grandpa G" wheeled his 13 month only granddaughter Bonnie Jean from King City to City Hall yesterday, filling a large pail with donations. Actor (Donald) Sutherland was reported to have stuffed several \$100 bills in the pail. Sutherland, with his son Kiefer, 13, who attends school in Aurora, stood unrecognized for a few minutes in

the square. He was there, he said, because “it’s important and correct...my brother died of cancer (20 years go) and I run” (3).

Some of the most dramatic articles showing the public support for Fox’s mission, and the power of Fox’s social capital, appeared on the days following his death. For example, the June 31, 1981 edition of the Globe and Mail shows a photo of a line of people lining up to sign a book of condolences for Fox (“Death” 12). A second similar photo, along with an article entitled “Flood of telegrams, donations thrilling to family of Terry Fox” also appeared in the Globe and Mail the next day (9). The emphasis of the article is on the masses of people participating in memorials to Fox, through donations, sympathy and church services. The article features a personal message of sympathy from the Queen of England, and quotations from both regular Canadians and famous people, emphasizing the notion that Fox’s story touched everyone.

The Funds That Were Raised

One part of what made Fox an important agent of social capital in Canada was the phenomenal amount of money he raised to support cancer research. This quest for donations was a frequent topic in articles appearing in the Globe and Mail and the Toronto Star during the time periods that I examined. For example, even the first sentence of the first article from the Toronto Star that mentions Fox deals with fundraising, “A man who lost his leg to cancer three years ago has set off on a marathon run across Canada to raise money for the Canadian Cancer Society” (“Tries” A5).

Joel Sobel, a social scientist, remarks that powerful social-capital networks are frequently linked to good economic performance (152). Sobel also writes that donations

are often a natural human response: "...anthropological literature on gift giving discusses how offering a gift creates both an obligation to accept and an obligation to reciprocate" (Sobel 150). In his 2005 article in Social Science Quarterly, Arthur C. Brooks takes this idea of a generous society one step further and explains that social capital actually "increases charity" which can be demonstrated by increases in monetary donations (2). In the case of Terry Fox, his gift to the Canadian people was his inspirational sense of nationalism and his efforts to raise funds to attempt to find a cure for cancer: a disease that every Canadian has the potential to be victimized by. Ultimately, Fox's run resulted in the ultimate sacrifice: his life in exchange for an increase in cancer awareness and funds for cancer research. Thus, by giving one dollar, or one thousand dollars, Canadians sought to repay and reciprocate Fox for his gift and, at the same time, further increase his social capital.

Although numerous articles detailed the fundraising efforts during the Marathon of Hope, one article provides a good example of Fox's philosophy of raising money for cancer research. In the September 3, 1980 edition of the Toronto Star, Fox is quoted as saying, "When I started this run, I said that if we all gave \$1, we'd have \$22 million for cancer research, and I don't care, man, there's no reason that isn't possible! No reason. I'd like to see everybody go kind of wild, inspired, with the fundraising" (Blatchford, "Brave" A13).

The Evolution of Fox into an Icon

Fox started off his run on April 13, 1980 as an unknown Canadian student and, by the time of his death on June 28, 1981, he had become well-known and admired

throughout Canada. Thus, during this time period, Fox's social capital had also increased significantly to the point where he became what Grant McCracken refers to as a "celebrity endorser" for cancer research (McCracken 310). As well, the idea that Fox was a regular Canadian who did something amazing, clearly appealed to many of the journalists of the era. In the June 29, 1981 issue of the Globe and Mail, John Fraser wrote:

First and foremost, he was one of us. Our brother. Was it not a family response that made us follow his fortunes as he ran and then deplore the setbacks when they arose? Was he not precisely the son, the brother, the boyfriend, the best friend, the nephew, the grandson we would have scripted for ourselves? And when we raised him even higher than this and saw that he was, in fact, a hero, what were we saying to ourselves? (8).

Fraser clearly wrote about the link between Fox and the public and the way that he appeared to be a friend and relative of everyone, meeting the criteria that scholars have referred to as "familiarly, likeability, and/or similarity of the source," showing how someone can become famous (McGuire qtd. in McCracken 311). Grant McCracken explains that the public is anxious to make these links: "The McGuire model holds that sources who are known to, liked by, and/or similar to the consumer are attractive and, to this extent, persuasive" (McCracken 311). Another article that demonstrates how Fox acted like a typical young man was written by Jon Ferry and appeared in the July 12, 1980 issue of the Globe and Mail. Ferry notes: "He loves chocolate bars, junk food and carbohydrates by the carload" (1). This new fame and power was documented in numerous articles from the Globe and Mail and the Toronto Star that I examined during my research. For example, a September 4, 1980 article by Dick Beddoes in the Globe and Mail compared Fox to people such as John A. Macdonald, John Kennedy and Harry

Truman (8). Thus, it is clear that strong social capital helped to turn Terry Fox a Canadian celebrity.

Chapter IX - Newspaper Articles about Terry Fox as Narrative

The idea of examining newspaper articles about Terry Fox as narrative text is not new. In her 1985 article, "The Terry Fox story and the popular media: A case study in ideology and illness," Deborah Harrison examined how Fox's story was a narrative about his illness. As well, documentaries, movies and books about Fox reinforce the idea that his Marathon of Hope gave the public a collection of ideas, morals, and conversations from which one gains a detailed narrative about Terry Fox as a whole person. Newspaper articles provide an authoritative text from which a narrative can be told and retold through various other formats (including future newspaper articles) in what Linda Brodkey calls a "academic narrative" (68). Thus, it is important to recognize that the newspaper articles themselves exist at a stronger level than just as something that is read one day and thrown out the next: they are a collection of stories from an important period in Canadian history and, in the case of Terry Fox, are a vital tool for understanding this historical figure.

Before I began examining newspaper articles about Terry Fox, I had preconceived notions of Terry Fox not just as a person, but as a story, a narrative, that had been documented in films and books. I had my own narrative of the Terry Fox story. Thus, as I mentioned in chapter one, when I decided to examine newspaper articles about Fox during his Marathon of Hope tour, and shortly afterwards, I looked at that time period as having a distinct beginning, middle and an end. However, upon examining the newspaper articles, I realized that his "middle" and "end" were much different from that which I had imagined; although his "beginning" remained as the first day of the Marathon of Hope. I came to the conclusion that the "middle" of the Marathon of

Hope/Terry Fox story came at the point when Fox became ill. His well-documented rally in Toronto was important, and certainly increased his fame, but it was the point near Thunder Bay when he was too ill to run that remains forever as the centerpiece in the Terry Fox/Marathon of Hope story. It is these newspaper moments that provide the greatest drama and, to quote Christie Blatchford in the September 3, 1980 edition of the Toronto Star, Fox moved to a “new battle with cancer” after leaving his run across Canada (“Brave” 1). It was at this point in the larger story that a larger battle became evident: illness squaring off against disability, and the public wanted to know if the illness was going to win, or if Fox could somehow defy the odds and beat his cancer. This battle presents itself as the arc of the climax of the Terry Fox story, and it often quite evident in the long and deeply creative newspaper articles that appeared during this period. For example, Blatchford began her September 3, 1980, 1,284 word article with the lead, “He gave us a dream as big as our country. Now this man—22 years old, maybe 150 pounds, with the map of Canada on his T-shirt—was trying not to cry because he said he owed us that much” (1).

This extreme battle that Fox must endure is also echoed in traditional mythology and fairy tales in what Joseph Campbell refers to in The Hero with a Thousand Faces as a “monomyth.” According to Sheila Schwartz’s analysis of the monomyth, “In the simplest version of the monomyth, the hero leaves his ordinary world, encounters a supernatural force which he vanquishes, and then returns to present this boon to his fellow man” (83). In the case of Fox, his supernatural force is the cancer that is spreading throughout his body. Although Fox dies within a few months, he leaves the earth as a famous Canadian

with a number of gifts for the Canadian people: (1) an increase in cancer awareness; (2) a large increase in funds for cancer research; and (3) a new sense of nationalism and unity.

Additionally, I struggled with the “end” of the Terry Fox/Marathon of Hope narrative. After examining my large selection of articles, it became clear that the Terry Fox story did not officially “end” at his death; moreover, his death was “the last stage of his marathon” but certainly not the end of the Terry Fox narrative (Hall and Dalby 1). Thus, although his life ended, stories and tributes to Fox appeared in newspapers in abundance in the days after his death.

One of the main differences in narrative and tone with articles in the Globe and Mail, versus articles in the Toronto Star, was determined by which journalist was writing the articles. Many of the Globe and Mail articles were startlingly anonymous—written by an unnamed staff person or by the Canadian Press. In sharp contrast to this, the Toronto Star took an extremely personal approach to the narrative of Terry Fox. In particular, Leslie Scrivener and Christie Blatchford both wrote countless, sometimes very personal, eyewitness narratives about Fox. Thus, they became the narrators of his story. For example, in one article by Leslie Scrivener, she describes Fox as a “friend” and “pal” and ends the article with “...I’m hiding my sorrow. Tears and prayers are private. But I can say this: ‘Fight this new cancer, Terry, Fight it, my friend’” (“Message” 13). As well, Scrivener takes the very personal route of referring to Fox as “Terry” instead of “Fox,” or “Mr. Fox.”

Additionally, newspaper articles about Fox from this period often employ another narrative technique that Linda Brodkey refers to as an “ethnographic present” or “the historical present,” a way of writing that gives passages their immediacy (72). For

example, in an August 27, 1980 article, Christie Blatchford describes a detailed afternoon that Fox spent with another cancer patient, “The little boy, hairless under his floppy hat, broke into a hopping run. Standing on the highway that runs a run around the top of Lake Superior, his parents watched and swelled with pride” (“Meet” 1). Blatchford’s technique not only makes the narrative very personal and immediate, it also introduces the reader to new characters, such as “the little boy” (Greg Scott) and then goes on to teach the reader more about Fox as person by how he reacts to the character. In the article, Blatchford describes mundane activities such as ordering onion rings, playing a game in a restaurant, and finishing the day off with a swim. As separate sentences they may seem pointless, but put strung together, they create a detailed story about a special day in the life of a man and a boy who will both be dead within a few months. Thus, by examining the articles both as individual stories, and as a collection, one can gain a greater insight to the story characters, and to the journalists that have written the stories.

Photographs as Narrative Tools

Although most qualitative research is dominated by language, images also play an important role in my research, and photographic images of Fox are an important part of his narrative in newspaper articles. This is not a new concept and in the book Image-based Research: A Sourcebook for Qualitative Researchers, the authors explain how other images and photography can be studied from varying viewpoints such as “visual anthropology” (Banks 9).

Photographs of Terry Fox, or people related to the Terry Fox story, appeared frequently beside newspaper articles about him. In fact, during the height of his fame, it

was rare to find an article about Fox without a photo for accompaniment. Due to the short duration of his fame, and the technology of film development at the time (when all black and white film had to be developed in a time consuming process in a dark room) the same photographs repeated themselves quite frequently throughout the different newspapers. Often, when a photo had a high degree of impact on the public, or a photo made Fox appear as an iconic image, the photo would bear repeating in several editions. For example, on September 3, 1980, the Globe and Mail showed a very mournful photo on their front page with the caption “Terry Fox is put aboard an ambulance in Thunder Bay yesterday with his parents at his side” (“Finishes” 1). The same photo appeared again in the same publication on June 29, 1981, right after Fox’s death (“Hope” 10). Similarly, the Toronto Star featured a smiling head shot of Fox wearing his Order of Canada medal on December 30, 1980, and then showed the same photo again July 2, 1981 (Bawden C1; “Looked” 13).

As detailed in my literature review, Rosemarie Garland-Thomson classifies all images of disability into four main categories: wondrous, sentimental, exotic and realistic. According to Garland-Thomson wondrous is the oldest category of photographs of disability, but is also describes one some might refer to as “supercrip” photos (“Politics” 58). Carte de visite photographs (souvenirs from early twentieth century freak shows) showing people with disabilities performing unusual acts (such as a man with no arms sipping tea with his feet) are examples of wondrous photos (60-62).

Garland-Thomson’s second category “the sentimental” is also similar to Barnes “pitiable and pathetic” category (Barnes 3). She defines it as images that “diminish people” and show them as pitiful “helpless sufferers” (Garland-Thomson, “Politics” 63).

One popular example that Garland-Thomson gives of this phenomenon is a 1946 March of Dimes poster which shows two images of one young male child. The first image shows him leaning up against a railing in an attempt to stand up, and the second image shows him marching straight and proud in a little suit with the caption “Your dimes did this for me!” (64).

Garland-Thomson’s third category “the exotic” also harkens back to the freak show era where people with disabilities were often dressed up in fanciful tribal costumes and portrayed as “savages” to the public in photographs (Cook 143). She also notes that this category is still extremely prevalent in the present day, and cites some of the fashion photographs of double-amputee Aimee Mullins as an example (Garland-Thomson, “Politics” 68).

Garland-Thomson calls her last category “the realistic” which is similar to what Colin Barnes called “the normal” category (Garland-Thomson, “Politics” 70; Barnes 3). In this category, a person’s disability is not necessarily emphasized or even evident. Often, these types of photographs appear in newspaper and documentary photography.

With these categories and definitions in mind, while I examined articles about Terry Fox, three main categories were often apparent: wondrous, sentimental and realistic.

In the wondrous photos, Fox was often shown running on a road (with his artificial leg visible), and sometimes with a crowd, or car behind him (“Tries” 5; Ferry 5; “Hop” 10). They all emphasize the notion of Fox as a supercrip, and the crowds of people that were often shown watching him reminds one of how people visited Freak Shows in the early 1900s and observed disabled people on stage. One wonders if the

people who came to cheer on Fox were there because they believed in his pursuit of a cancer cure, or if part of it was a curiosity: the need to see a one-legged man run passionately down their street.

The sentimental photos of Fox are the ones where he appears during and after his illness. Frequently, he is shown on a stretcher or in a hospital bed looking helpless and sad (“Finishes” 1; Blatchford, “Canadians” 1). These photos are a sharp contrast to the “wondrous” photos that were shown in previous weeks. Thus, the contrast between the two kinds of pictures becomes even more dramatic. The darkest and most sentimental photos of Fox are the ones in which his coffin is carried on the day of his funeral (Mulgrew 1).

The final category of photos that sometimes accompanied articles about Terry Fox show him as “normal” or “realistic.” These photos only show Fox’s profile, either just his head, or his torso: meaning that his disability was not visible. The message that these photos sends are twofold: (1) his disability in a photo was not relevant to the story; and (2) his fame has eclipsed his disability to the point where showing his disability in a photo was no longer relevant. He is no longer seen as a freak show, but as a young man. For example, photos that show Fox wearing his Order of Canada Medal do not show his disability (“Looked” A13; “Awards” A13). Thus, the photographs of Fox that appeared in newspapers clearly played a strong role in how he was viewed by Canadians.

Chapter X - Conclusion

"I'm not going to lose even if I die" (Terry Fox qtd. in Scrivener, Terry Fox: His Story 229).

The more I examined articles about Terry Fox, the more it became clear that most articles, and most people mentioned in the articles, envisioned Fox through the lenses of the Charity and Medical Models of Disability, as a dying cancer patient raising funds for a cure—not as a disabled Canadian. His cancer was a constant theme that all of the newspaper articles of the day rarely strayed from. Every person has his or her own multiple identities; however, for Fox in the media, his overlapping and various identities appear to be as follows: (1) a cancer victim; (2) a one-legged man; and (3) a Canadian folk hero. When I began my research, I had imagined that there would be more of an emphasis on Fox's disability; however, judging from the articles I examined, Fox seemed uninterested in exploring this aspect of his personality or being identified as part of this group. At the time of the Marathon of Hope, Fox had been disabled for a relatively short period of time (less than three years). He was a young person who had been able-bodied for the majority of his life, and it is doubtful that anyone else in the same position would have embraced this new identity so quickly.

Another issue that may have affected the portrayal of Terry Fox in Canadian newspapers is the limited journalistic training that reporters and editors receive on writing about people with disabilities. Hardin and Preston note that journalism textbooks rarely mention disability (50). Furthermore, Desbarats also notes that, because newsrooms are primarily staffed by able-bodied males, there is less coverage of disability issues (Desbarats quoted. in Gold and Auslander "International" 72). Karen Finlon Dajani also argues that disability activists should also be putting more effort into educating

journalists about appropriate stories and language usage (202). However, in Canada, it is clear that Canadian disability role models such as Terry Fox have frequently looked to the media to promote their causes--particularly during the 1980s. In her book The Last Civil Rights Movement: Disabled Peoples' International, Diane Driedger explains how the media was strategically utilized to build a case for the creation of Disabled Peoples' International when they were breaking away from the Coalition of Provincial Organizations of the Handicapped (now known as the "Council of Canadians With Disabilities") during the Rehabilitation International World Congress (Driedger 31-33).

My research and study of Terry Fox in relation to Disability Studies has taught me that it is sometimes difficult to predict disability research and, although it is easy to be optimistic and hopeful about one's findings, reality and an examination of the facts teaches one hard lessons about what a different world Canada must have been for disabled Canadians during the early 1980s.

Unquestionably, my research and analysis has enabled me to gain a much greater insight into the life and fame of Terry Fox, and helped me to understand why many Canadians react with such deep and personal sentiment to his story and his plight. As well, I trust that my thesis only provides one with a small window into the academic study of Terry Fox from a Disability Studies perspective. Clearly, there is a great deal of room for more studies on Fox, not only from a Disability Studies perspective, but also as an important figure in Canadian history. It is my hope that this small window that I have opened will encourage further study of one of Canada's most legendary citizens.

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Toronto Star

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Appendix A: Coding Sheet (Blank)								
Newspaper	The Globe and Mail <input type="checkbox"/>				The Toronto Star <input type="checkbox"/>			
Date								
Title of article								
Page number								
Reporter(s)								
Key word search	Terry Fox <input type="checkbox"/>				Marathon of Hope <input type="checkbox"/>			
Section of Newspaper	Front page	Feature	Sports	News	Columnist	Business	Opinion/Editorial	Other
Story Lead								
Type of Lead	Hard <input type="checkbox"/>				Soft <input type="checkbox"/>			
Type of News	Hard <input type="checkbox"/>				Soft <input type="checkbox"/>			
Words mentioned that often imply disability	a. disability__ b. disabled__ c. handicapped__ d. victim(s)__ e. patient(s)__ f. suffer__ g. suffering__ h. special__ i. stricken__ j. cripple__ k. crippled__ l. sick__ m. other__							
People mentioned in article other than Terry Fox	a. _____ Named [Yes/No] List: _____ b. _____ Group or organization [Yes/No] List: _____							
Photographs	Person(s) in photograph(s) _____ Number of photographs _____ Disability visible _____ Disability not visible _____							

Photograph category	wondrous____ sentimental____ exotic____ realistic____ (Garland-Thomson, "Politics" 58).	
Expert quoted	None____ Terry Fox____ Medical professional____ Disability organization____ Family member____ Other____ (name)	
Organizations mentioned (list):		
Is "funding" or "fundraising" mentioned?	No	Yes__ How?
Dominant model in article	a. Social model____ b. Medical model____ c. Charity model____	
Timeline of story/Terry's life	Beginning____ Middle____ End____	
Stereotypes of disability that were evident in content of text	Pitiable and pathetic____ Object of violence____ Sinister and evil____ Atmosphere or curio____ Super cripple____ Object of ridicule____ Own worst enemy____ Burden____ Sexually abnormal____ Incapable of participating fully in community life____ Normal____ (Barnes, 1)	
Additional notes		

Appendix B: Coding Sheet Example							
Newspaper	The Globe and Mail X			The Toronto Star <input type="checkbox"/>			
Date	Monday, April 14, 1980						
Title of article	Leg amputated in illness case, man to run for cancer society						
Page number	9		Number of words in article (not including title)		212		
Reporter(s)	None listed						
Key word search	Terry Fox X			Marathon of Hope <input type="checkbox"/>			
Section of Newspaper	Feature	Sports	News X	Columnist	Business	Opinion/ Editorial	Other
Story Lead	A man who lost his leg to cancer three years ago says he hopes to run about 50 kilometres a day on his way across Canada.						
Type of Lead	Hard X			Soft <input type="checkbox"/>			
Type of News	Hard X			Soft <input type="checkbox"/>			
Words mentioned that often imply disability or illness	amputee____ artificial leg_X____ cancer_X____ cripple____ crippled____ disability____ disabled____ handicapped____ patient(s)____ special____ stricken____ suffer____ suffering____ sick____ victim(s)____ other_____						
People mentioned in article other than Terry Fox	None						

Photographs	Person(s) in photograph(s): Number of photographs_0_ Disability visible__	
Photograph category	wondrous____ sentimental____ exotic____ realistic____ (Garland-Thomson, "The Politics" 58).	
Expert quoted	None____ Terry Fox_X_ Medical professional____ Disability organization____ Family members____ Other____	
Organizations mentioned (list):	War Amputees Association of Canada, Canadian Cancer Society	
Is "funding" or "fundraising" mentioned?	No	Yes__How? "He said he decided about 14 months ago to run from Newfoundland to British Columbia to raise money for the Canadian Cancer Society and has been training ever since."
Dominant model in article	a. Social model____ b. Medical model_X_ c. Charity model_X_	
Timeline of story/Terry's life	Beginning_X (first day of run) Middle____ End____	
Stereotypes of disability that were evident in content of text	Pitiable and pathetic_X Object of violence____ Sinister and evil____ Atmosphere or curio____ Super cripple_X_ Object of ridicule____ Own worst enemy____ Burden____ Sexually abnormal____ Incapable of participating fully in community life____ Normal____ (Barnes, 1)	
Additional notes	First story about him.	

Appendix C - Coding Sheet Summary

- NOTE: The key word search in the newspaper databases was "Terry Fox" for all articles.

Coding Sheet Summary											
N = News; E = Entertainment H = Hard News; S = Soft News; C = Column CP = Canadian Press											
Globe and Mail (Title, Leads, Type of News, etc.)											
#	D a t e	Title	P a g e #	# o f W o r d s	Repor ter	Se cti on	Lead	T y p e o f L e a d	T y p e o f N e w s	Words Mentione d	People Mentioned (other than Terry Fox)
1	0 4 / 1 4 / 8 0	Leg amputated in illness case, man to run for cancer society	5	2 1 9	none	N	A man who lost his leg to cancer three years ago says he hopes to run about 50 kilometres a day on his way across Canada.	H	H	artificial leg, cancer	none
2	0 7 / 1 2 / 8 0	Fox runs into a hero's welcome from Metro throngs	1 & 5	4 5 2	Jon Ferry	N	Move over, Ken Taylor, Metro Toronto has just discovered a tanned, curly- haired all- Canadian hero who is 24 years younger and perhaps fitter than the showcase diplomat.	S	H	artificial leg, cancer, amputee	Ken Taylor, Darryl Sittler, Mark Kent
3	0 8	Doesn't need	8	2 2	None	N	One-legged marathon runner	H	H	artificial leg,	None

											Gordon Howe, Ken Taylor, Barbara Kilbert, Gordon Lightfoot
6	0 9 / 0 6 / 8 0	Hundreds call cancer offices after run ends	7	3 7 9	CP	N	Canadian Cancer Society offices in Toronto and across the country are emotion-filled as people, many of them in tears, jam telephone lines asking what they can do for one- legged runner Terry Fox and cancer research.	H	H	cancer, one- legged, lost his right leg, body scans, chemoth erapy	Collen Morris, Risa Cohen
7	0 9 / 2 2 / 8 0	Thousand s salute Terry Fox, Marathon of Hope	5	3 5 7	Christ ie McLa ren	N	The Terry Fox Marathon of Hope fund grew by more than \$34,000 yesterday as several thousand people spent their time and money at Nathan Phillips Square in Toronto in yet another outpouring of affection for Canada's hero.	H	H	cancer, victim, one leg	Ben Wicks, Paul Godfrey, Prime Minster Pierre Trudeau, Wendy Brown, Ray Karazas, Bill McDowell
8	1 1 / 0 6	Book on Fox soon	8	1 0 2	CP	N	A book about Terry Fox, the one-legged cancer victim who ran more	H	H	cancer, victim, one- legged	Jack Stoddart

	/						than half-way across Canada this summer to raise money for cancer research, will be published early next year, a Toronto publishing company said yesterday.				
9	1 2 / 2 3 / 8 0	Editors name Terry Fox Canadian of the Year	3	4 3 8	CP	N	Terry Fox, the young man who captured the imagination—and hearts—of people from coast to coast, has been named Canadian of the Year.	H	H	cancer, suffering, lost his right leg	Lucien Rivard, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Rene Levesque, Joe Clark, Lester Pearson, John Diefenbaker, Ambassador Ken Taylor, Premier William Bennett
1 0	1 2 / 3 1 / 8 0	Marathon documentary records the expression of Terry's dream	1 5	4 6 1	Rick Groen	E	In sprawling urban malls and isolated stops on a rural road, in large crowds and small knots of three and four, Canadians gathered to watch Terry Fox run past.	S	S	artificial leg	John Simpson, Doug Alward, Leslie Scrivener
1 1	0 6 / /	Stamp will honor Terry	1	1 8 3	CP	N	The federal Government has changed its	H	H	cancer, amputation of his	Andre Ouellet

	2 6 / 8 1	Fox's cause					mind and will issue a stamp commemorating Terry Fox, Postmaster- General Andre Ouellet announced yesterday.			right leg	
1 2	0 6 / 2 9 / 8 1	Terry Fox's courage hailed as inspiratio n to the nation	1	9 6 8	CP	N	Terry Fox, the young cancer victim who inspired a nation with his raw courage, died yesterday, one month before his 23 rd birthday.	H	H	artificial leg, cancer, patient, victim	Alison Sinson, Ladislav Antonik, Rolland Fox, Governor General Edward Schreyer, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Joe Clark, Edward Broadbent, Blair MacKenzi e, Dr. Robert MacBeth
1 3	0 6 / 2 9 / 8 1	With a hop and a hope, a brave lad became a nation's hero	1 0	2 , 1 5 4	None	N	Terry Fox ran a foot race against cancer that took him from the eastern shore of Newfoundland to a lonely stretch of highway in Northern Ontario, where the disease finally caught up with him.	S	H	artificial leg, cancer research, disease, artificial limb, lost his right leg	Doug Alward, Governor General Edward Schreyer, Bill Vigars, Rolly Fox
1	0	Greater	8	8	John	C	The portrait of	S	S	cancer	Arthur

4	6 / 2 9 / 8 1	because of a hero		2 5	Fraser		Canada and Canadians that emerged after Terry Fox began his Marathon of Hope was a better and more generous one than what had appeared before.				Johnson
1 5	6 / 3 1 / 1 9 8 1	Marathon of Hope runner's death sparks a resurgenc e in donations	1 2	4 1 5	CP	N	The death of Terry Fox brought a renewed flow of cancer research funds yesterday, but there were fears a postal strike could dam another outpouring of public generosity.	H	H	cancer, one- legged	Lynn Bryan, Ernie Charman, Barbara Kilvert, John Aird, Bill Eckersley
1 6	0 7 / 0 1 / 8 1	Food of telegrams, donations, thrilling to family of Terry Fox	9	5 2 5	CP	N	Terry Fox's family say they are thrilled with the tributes being paid to the Marathon of Hope runner, including a telegram from the Queen, and with the renewed surge in donations in his name to the Canadian Cancer Society.	H	S	amputati on, one- legged runner	Lynn Bryan, Prince Phillip, Queen Elizabeth, Rolland Fox, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, Lieutenant -Governor Benry Bell- Irving, Premier William Bennet, Mayor George Laking,

											Governor General Edward Schreyer, Eric Buckler, Rodney Fox, John Robertson
170381	07/03/81	Fox's marathon ends as it began: quietly, simply	1125	1125	Ian Mulgrew	N	The width of a continent away from St. John's, at the end of the bottom of a gentle slope in a small plain ceremony, Terry Fox was buried yesterday.	S	H	cancer, victim	Elizabeth Fox, Rolland Fox, Robert McGill, Edward Schreyer, William Bennet, Lieutenant-Governor Henry Bell-Irving, Mayor George Laking, Sen Raymond Perrault, Rev. Hank Erickson, Chaplain Colin Johnstone, Jill Richardson, Raymond Heard, Marge Anthony
1870	07/03/80	B.C. names mountain in honor	1165	265	CP	N	British Columbia has named a mountain after	H	H	cancer, one-legged	Premier William Bennet

	7 / 8 1	of Terry Fox					one-legged runner Terry Fox, who lost his heroic battle with cancer last week.				
1 9	0 8 / 0 6 / 8 1	Vancouver sculptor raises money to help carve Terry Fox memorial	1 0	4 8 3	CP	N	Vancouver sculptor George Pratt says he raised almost \$10,000 toward the cost of a granite statue to honor Marathon of Hope runner Terry Fox on a recent trip to Edmonton, Calgary, Ottawa and Toronto.	H	S	cancer, cost him a leg	George Pratt, Antonio Cabeca, Andy Nessner
2 0	0 9 / 1 4 / 8 1	From Canada to China, thousands run for Terry Fox	1	1 , 1 2 2	Robert Steph en	N	The memory of Terry Fox, the one-legged runner on the lonely road who lost his life to cancer last June, inspired millions of people in Canada and around the world to take up his Marathon of Hope.	S	H	Cancer, handicap ped, one- legged	Richard Munro, Jeffrey Houghton, Colonel John E. Houghton, Wang Jia Quiang, Captain Allan Kimick, WO Ried Scherfe, Rev. Peter Disney, Reginald Remond, Lee Rullman, David Fraser, Fitness and Amateur Sports

											Minister Gerald Regan
Toronto Star (Title, Leads, Type of News, etc.) CB = Christie Blatchford LS = Leslie Scrivener											
1	0	He tries	5	1	None	N	A man who lost	H	H	amputee,	None
4		3,00—		3			his leg to cancer			artificial	
	/	mile run		2			three years ago			leg,	
	1	on one					has set off a			cancer	
	4	real leg					marathon run				
	/						across Canada				
	1						to raise money				
	9						for the Canadian				
	8						Cancer Society.				
	0										
2	0	Tears	1	6	LS	N	They called	S	H	cancer,	Rolly Fox,
	7	flow as		1			Terry Fox the			one-	Irene
	/	Metro	&	2			toast of Toronto			legged	Mauricette
	1	hails					and he claimed			runner,	, Darryl
	2	Terry	3				he was just an			lost his	Sittler,
	/						ordinary guy.			right leg	Darryl
	8									to cancer	Sittler,
	0										Darrell
											Fox, Fred
											Fox, Doug
											Alward,
											Jeremy
											Brown, Al
											Waxman,
											Isadore
											Sharp,
											Paul
											Godfrey,
											Salome
											Bey, Tom
											Kneebone,
											William
											Davis,
											John
											Swell, Mel
											Lastman,
											Queen
											Elizabeth
3	0	Meet	1	1	CB	N	The little boy,	S	S	amputate	Gregg

8 / 2 7 / 8 0	Greg, 10: One big reason why Terry Fox runs	& 1 1 8	, 1 2 1			hairless under his floppy hat, broke into a hopping run.			d, artificial leg, bone cancer, one legged- stump, pain, crutches, cane, cut off his leg	Scott, Bill Vigars, Don Chabot, Greg's father
4 0 9 / 0 3 / 8 1	Brave Terry Fox begins his new battle with cancer	1 & 1 3	1 , 2 8 4	CB	N	He gave us a dream as big as our country.	S	H	cancer	Betty Fox, Rolly Fox, Bill Vigars, two attendants, doctor
5 0 9 / 0 3 / 8 0	A message of hope for Terry: 'Fight it, my friend'	1 3	7 6 4	LS	C	I never doubted I'd meet Terry Fox in Vancouver.	S	H	artificial limb, cancer, disabled, patient, suffered, pain, disease	Darryl Sittler, Bobby Orr, Darrell Fox, Doug Alward, 17-year- old Acton girl, Ken Taylor, children, 10,000 people, photograp her, bride and groom
6 0 9 / 0 6 / 8 0	It's official: Septembe r is Terry Fox month in Metro	1 & 6	1 , 0 3 8	CB & Peter Rickw ood	N	In Toronto, Metro Chairman Paul Godfrey has made it official: September is Terry Fox Month.	H	H	Cancer, mentally handicap ped (fundrais ers; not Fox), one- legged	Paul Godfrey, Collen Morris, June Burroughs , Betty Fox, Dr. Ladislav

										Antonik, Catherine Buffie, Jeff Baun, Risa Cohen, Aziz Nathu, Joe Shai, Glemena Bettencour t, Eric Lewsi, Paul Bempecha t
7 9 / 0 8 / 8 0	Canadians give love—and \$10.5 million— for Terry	1	1 , 6 8 0	CB	N	We gave the kid the very present he wanted: Terry Fox, who long ago made Canadians believe in him, last night made us believe in each other.	S	H	cancer, sick, cancer victim, tumors, one leg	Jerry Lewis, Maureen Kitts, Alan Eagelson, Darryl Sittler, Vanessa Harwood, Anne Murray, Glen Campbell, Toller Cranston, Ken Taylor, Bobby Orr, Preston Young, Willie Wood, Bob Bailor, Nana Mouskouri , Elton John, John Denver,

											Paul Williams, Ellie Schlegel, Frank Lisco, Ron Calhoun, John Roberts, Hazel Green, Glemena Bettencourt, Pat Van Hoorn, Brian Foran, Allison Simpson, George Desouza, June Milne, Jim Laughlin, Jerry Lockman
809 / 08 / 80	They've got a song to sign about Terry	16	379	Brian Dexter	N	A song in tribute to Terry Fox has been written from a poem by Georgetown real estate agent and a Brampton-based group of musicians are rehearsing for its recording.	S	S	cancer	Bette Stokes, Victor Dellamora, Dana Michaels, David Michaels, Paul Paolni	
909 / 09 / 88 / 00	Cancer officials have a problem: How to spend all that Fox cash	A2	617	Elaine Carey	N	Every hour of every day as the Terry Fox fund grows, the question looms larger in the minds of Canadian	H	H	cancer	Dr. Ray Bush, Dr. Robert MacBeth, James Till	

						Cancer Society officials—what to do with all the money.				
1 0 / 2 2 / 8 0	Metro gives from the heart to say 'Thanks, Terry'	1 & 3	8 6 8	LS	N	Metro said "Thanks, Terry," yesterday just from the way he'd like to hear it: From the heart and in very large amounts.	S	H	cancer, one-legged	Darryl Sittler, Rolly Fox, Donald Sutherland, Keifer Sutherland, 48 th Highlanders, Bill Vigars, Henry Mundy, Shane, Jennifer Hagreen, Gary Scott, The Copelands, the Peacocks, Diane Fraser, Pat Hickey, Rocky Saganiuk, Barbara Hamilton, Paul Godfrey, Vanessa Harwood, June Callwood, Christie Blatchford, Lotta Dempsey, students from Wexford Collegiate,

											Bonnie Jean, and many more that were not identified by name.
11/30/80	Terry's dream seen in sobering colours	1249	Jim Bawden	E	New Year's Eve is usually the night for revels. But on the CBC it becomes a time for somber second guessing.	S	S	cancer, illness, very sick	Governor-General, John Simpson		
1026/27/81	Ottawa youth centre named after Terry	2379	Martin Cohn	N	A new Terry Fox Centre for Canadian Youth is to be constructed in a renovated building to open early next year in Ottawa.	H	H	One-legged	Francis Fox, Senator Ray Perrault, Mrs. Fox, Ronald Moore, Ken Sargent, Rosedale MP David Crombie, Darryl Sittler, Anne Murray, James Rosche, Transportation Minister Jean Luc Pepin		
1036/29/81	A fighter	92846	LS	N	Terry Fox died early yesterday of cancer, the disease he figured he had licked.	H	H	artificial leg, cancer, victims, claimed his right leg,	Betty Fox, Gordon Pinsent, Darryl Sittler, Bobby Orr, Rolly		

	1									bloody stump, artificial limb	Fox, Darrell Fox, Judith Fox, Fred Fox, Dr. Michael Piper, Bob McGill, Doug Alward, Mike McNeill, Terri Fleming, Dick Traum, Bob McGill, Blair MacKenzie, Governor General Edward Schreyer, Bill Bennett, Dr. Michael Noble, Pierre Trudeau, Cliff Chadderton, Edward Kennedy, Douglas Bader
14 / 29 / 8	06 / 29 / 8	One man's miracle marathon	10	870	Paul Dalby	N	The wind ruffled his tousled hair on the grey April day last year but the slight young man in running	S	H	artificial leg, artificial foot, amputated leg, bone	Jerome Drayton, Doug Alward, Don Sweet, Hank

1						shorts and t-shirt didn't seem to notice the cold.			cancer, amputee victim	Williams, Pierre Trudeau, Betty Fox, Roly Fox, Gregg Scott, Mayor Dorothy Wyatt, Vill Vigards
1562981	The loving parents of a reluctant hero	A110	870	LS	N	The look in Betty Fox's eyes told parents across Canada a little about what it meant to have a son like Terry.	S	H	amputated, artificial leg, cripple, wheelchair, mortality, pain, stump, raw	Betty Fox, Rolly Fox, Mar Ann Wark (grandmother)
1662981	Young hero's awards span the country	13	410	CP	N	Terry Fox was the recipient of a remarkable list of awards in his last two years making him one of the most honored men in Canadian history.	H	H	artificial leg, cancer, disabled	Gerald Regan, Governor-General Ed Schreyer
1770281	Terry Fox starts his final mile	1&13	485	Joe Hall and Paul Dalby	N	Heartbroken friends and neighbours of Terry Fox bid him farewell today on the last stage of his marathon.	S	H	cancer, one-legged marathon runner	Pastor Hank Erickson, Premier Bill Bennett, Senator Ray Perrault, Pierre Trudeau, Mayor George

											Laking, Wayne Sawyer, Rolly and Betty Fox.
1 8	0 7 / 0 2 / 8 1	Terry looked beyond his fate and made his dream happen.	1 3	7 1 6	None	N	Bob McGill, the teacher who inspired Terry Fox never to accept second place or second best, was to deliver the eulogy today at the young hero's funeral.	S	H	cancer	Bob McGill, Betty Fox, Rolly Fox,
1 9	0 7 / 0 7 / 8 1	B.C. names mountain in Rockies for Terry Fox	1 6	2 5 3	None	N	British Columbia has named a 2,630 metre (8,659 foot) peak in the Rocky Mountains after one-legged marathon runner Terry Fox.	H	H	artificial leg, cancer, one- legged	Premier Bill Bennet, Environm ent Minister Stephen Rogers, General Dwight Eisenhowe r
2 0	0 9 / 1 4 / 8 1	I ran five miles for myself— and the last one for Terry	4	3 0 4	LS	C	By mile five of the six-mile Terry Fox Day run I had to decide whether to keep running or slow to a walk.	S	S	artificial limb, cancer, one leg	Dick Traum

Selected Totals (each newspaper out of 20; both newspapers out of 40)

Section of Newspaper

- Globe and Mail: N = 17, E = 1, C = 2
- Toronto Star: N = 17, E = 1, C = 2
- Both newspapers: N = 34, E = 2, C = 4

Leads

- Globe and Mail: H = 13, S = 7

- Toronto Star: H = 7, S = 13
- Both newspapers: H = 20, S = 20

Type of News

- Globe and Mail: H = 15, S = 5
- Toronto Star: H = 15, S = 4
- Both newspapers: H = 30, S = 9

Globe and Mail (Photographs, Quotes, Dominant Models, etc.)

NA = Not Applicable

W = Wondrous; SE = Sentimental R = Realistic

Y = Yes

C = Charity Model; M = Medical Model; SO= Social Model

B = Beginning; MI= Middle; E=End

PP = Pitiable and Pathetic; AC= Atmosphere or Curio; SC = Supercrip; B = Burden;

IC = Incapable of Participating in Community Life; NL = Normal

#	# of photos	Person(s) in photos	Disability visible?	Photo category	People quoted	Organizations mentioned	Is fundraising mentioned?	Dominant model	Timeline	Stereotypes of Disability	Additional notes
1	1	Terry Fox	Y	W	Terry Fox	Canadian Cancer Society, The War Amputees Association of Canada	Y	C, M	B	SC	First article about Fox's run.
2	2	1. Terry Fox & Rolly Fox 2. Crowd	No	W, R	TF	Canadian Cancer Society, CKFM Radio, Four Seasons Hotel	Y	C	B	AC, SC	

3	3	1.) Terry Fox and Greg Scott 2.) Greg Scott 3.) Terry Fox, Greg Scott, Ms. Scott	1.) Y 2.) No 3.) Y	W	TF	Canadian Cancer Society	Y	M	B	PP, SC	Interesting because the story is about Fox and a boy with a similar disability.
4	2	1.) Terry Fox, Betty Fox, Rolly Fox, Bill Vigars 2.) Betty Fox, Rolly Fox, Bill Vigars	1.) No 2.) NA	S	TF	Canadian Cancer Society, Amethyst House, Ontario Health Ministry	Y	C, M	M I	PP, SC, B, N	She called him a "man" in the second sentence.
5	0	NA	NA	N A	None	Ontario Cancer Society, Cancer Society in Quebec	Y	SO, M	M I	PP, A C	
6	1	Terry Fox	N	S	Terry Fox, Dr. Ladislav Antonik, Betty Fox, Collen Morris, June Burroughs, Catherine Buffie, Joe Shai, Paul Bempechat	Canadian Cancer Society, Royal Columbian Hospital, Metro Chair, Forest Hill Collegiate Institute, North York Municipal Offices, CTV	Y	C, M	M I	PP, SC, N L	

						Television, Bell Canada, Canada Catering Co., Glegholme School, Fairview Mall					
7	2	1.) Terry Fox 2.) Newsma n Harvey Kirck and a crowd	1.) Y 2.) NA	Se nti me nta l	Karen Kain, Vanessa Harwood, Bobby Orr, Alan Eagelson, Preston Young, Pat Van Hoorn, Allison Simpson, June Milne, Conrad Black	CTV, Jerry Lewis Muscular dystrophy extravagan z, National Hockey League Players Associatio n, Toronto Argonauts, Imperial Oil, McDonald s of Canada, Simpsons- Sears, Planters Nut Co. of Canada, Coca-Cola Inc., Carling- O'Keefe breweries, Standard Brands of Canada, Shell Canada Ltd., and Warner- Lambert, Canadian	Y	C	E	PP , IC	

						Cancer Society, Argus Corp.					
8	0	NA	NA	NA	Dana Michaels	Canadian Cancer Society, Progressive Conservatory of Music	Y	C	E	AC	It's not clear which stereotype they are portraying; it's almost a "hero" type.
9	0	NA	NA	NA	Ray Bush, Dr. Robert MacBeth, James Till	Canadian Cancer Society, Ontario Cancer Institute, National Cancer Institute of Canada	Y	M	E	NL	Article gives a sense of the large amount of funds that are being raised.
10	2	1.) Crowds 2.) Crowds	No	NA	Bill Vigars, Jennifer Hagreen, Gary Scott, Diane Fraser, Lotta Dempsey, Donald Sutherland	CKFM Radio, Cancer Society, Wexford Collegiate	Y	C, M	E	PP, SC, IC	
11	1	Terry Fox	No	R	None	CBC	Y	SO, M, C	MI	PP, AC, SC, NL	
1	0	NA	NA	N	Secretary of	Federal	Y	SO	M	SC	

2				A	State Francis Fox, Senator Ray Perrault, Ronald Moore	Government Council for Canadian Unity, British American Bank Note Inc.			I		
1 3	2	1.) Terry Fox 2.) Terry Fox	1.) Y 2.) No	1.) W 2.) R	Gordon Pinsent, Betty Fox, Dr. Michael Noble	Canadian Cancer Society, Royal Columbian Hospital, CBC News, Ford of Canada, Adidas, Imperial Oil, Four Seasons Hotel, Quebec Provincial Police, War Amputation Association	Y	C, M	E	PP, A, C, SC	
1 4	1	Terry Fox	Y	W	Terry Fox, Betty Fox, Rolly Fox, Jerome Drayton	War Amputations of Canada, General Motors of Canada, Jim Pattison Group, the Star, Cancer Society	Y	C, M	E	PP, SC	Long article, but not much there.
1	2	1.) Terry	1.) Y	1.)	Betty Fox	Canadian	N	M.	E	PP	The

5		Fox 2.) Terry Fox and parents	2.) No	W 2.) R		National Railway		SO		, SC , N L	idea that death and family makes everyon e normal was emphas ized.
1 6	1	1.) Terry Fox and Ed Schreyer	No	R	None	Many lists of awards mentioned.	Y	SO	E	SC	Word "disabl ed" mentio ned.
1 7	1	Terry Fox	No	S & R	Pastor Hank Erickson	New Westminist er Hospital, Trinity United Church	Y	SO	E	PP	
1 8	1	Terry Fox	No	Se nti me nta l an d Re ali sti c	Bob McGill	Port Coquitlam' s Trinity United Church, Hastings Junior High School	N	SO	E	PP , SC	Full eulogy for Fox. It does not mentio n fundrai sing or running on "one leg."
1 9	0	NA	NA	N A	Premier Bill Bennet, Environmen t Minister Stephen Rogers	None	Y	C	E	SC	Some signific ant quotes.
2 0	1	Several people running, including	Yes	W & S	Unnamed	None	N	SO	E	SC	Puts the story in full circle

		Dick Traum.									by featuring Traum, the person who inspired Terry to run.
Toronto Star (Photographs, Quotes, Dominant Models, etc.)											
1	1	Terry Fox	Y	W	Terry Fox	Canadian Cancer Society, The War Amputees Association of Canada	Y	M, C	B	SC	First article about Fox's run.
2	2	1. Terry Fox & Rolly Fox 2. Crowd	No	1.) R 2.) N A	Terry Fox	Canadian Cancer Society, CKFM Radio, Four Seasons Hotel	Y	C	B	A C, SC	
3	3	1.) Terry Fox and Greg Scott 2.) Greg Scott 3.) Terry Fox, Greg Scott, Ms. Scott	1.) Y 2.) No 3.) Y	W	Terry Fox	Canadian Cancer Society	Y	M	B	PP , SC	Interesting because the story is about Fox and a boy with a similar disability.
4	2	1.) Terry Fox, Betty Fox, Rolly Fox, Bill	1.) No 2.) NA	S	Terry Fox	Canadian Cancer Society, Amethyst House, Ontario	Y	C, M	M I	PP , SC , B, N	She called him a "man" in the second

		Vigars 2.) Betty Fox, Rolly Fox, Bill Vigars				Health Ministry				L	sentenc e.
5	0	NA	NA	N A	None	Ontario Cancer Society, Cancer Society in Quebec	Y	SO , M	M I	PP , A C	
6	1	Terry Fox	No	S	Terry Fox, Dr. Ladislav Antonik, Betty Fox, Collen Morris, June Burroughs, Catherine Buffie, Joe Shai, Paul Bempechat	Canadian Cancer Society, Royal Columbian Hospital, Metro Chair, Forest Hill Collegiate Institute, North York Municipal Offices, CTV Television, Bell Canada, Canada Catering Co., Glehholme School, Fairview Mall	Y	C, M	M I	PP , SC , N L	
7	2	1.) Terry Fox 2.) Newsma n Harvey Kirck and a crowd	1.) Y 2.) NA	S	Karen Kain, Vanessa Harwood, Bobby Orr, Alan Eagelson, Preston Young, Pat	CTV, Jerry Lewis Muscular dystrophy extravagan z, National Hockey League	Y	C	E	PP , IC	

					Van Hoorn, Allison Simpson, June Milne, Conrad Black	Players Associatio n, Toronto Argonauts, Imperial Oil, McDonald s of Canada, Simpsons- Sears, Planters Nut Co. of Canada, Coca-Cola Inc., Carling- O'Keefe breweries, Standard Brands of Canada, Shell Canada Ltd., and Warner- Lambert, Canadian Cancer Society, Argus Corp.					
8	0	NA	NA	N A	Dana Michaels	Canadian Cancer Society, Progressiv e Conservato ry of Music	Y	C	E	A C	It's not clear which stereoty pe they are portrayi ng; it's almost a "hero" type.
9	0	NA	NA	N A	Ray Bush, Dr. Robert	Canadian Cancer	Y	M	E	N L	Article gives a

					MacBeth, James Till	Society, Ontario Cancer Institute, National Cancer Institute of Canada					sense of the large amount of funds that are being raised.
1 0	2	1.) Crowds 2.) Crowds	No	N A	Bill Vigars, Jennifer Hagreen, Gary Scott, Diane Fraser, Lotta Dempsey, Donald Sutherland	CKFM Radio, Cancer Society, Wexford Collegiate	Y	C, M	M I, E	PP , SC , IC	
1 1	1	Terry Fox	No	R	None	CBC	Y	SO , M	M I	PP , A C, SC , N L	
1 2	0	NA	NA	N A	Secretary of State Francis Fox, Santor Ray Perrault, Ronald Moore	Federal Governme nt Council for Canadian Unity, British American Bank Note Inc.	Y	SO	M I	SC	
1 3	2	1.) Terry Fox 2.) Terry Fox	1.) Y 2.) No	1.) W 2.) R	Gordon Pinsent, Betty Fox, Dr. Michael Noble	Canadian Cancer Society, Royal Columbian Hospital, CBC News, Ford of	Y	C, M	E	PP , A C, SC	

						Canada, Adidas, Imperial Oil, Four Seasons Hotel, Quebec Provincial Police, War Amputation Association					
14	1	Terry Fox	Y	W	Terry Fox, Betty Fox, Rolly Fox, Jerome Drayton	War Amputations of Canada, General Motors of Canada, Jim Pattison Group, the Star, Cancer Society	Y	C, M	E	PP, SC	Long article, but not much there.
15	2	1.) Terry Fox 2.) Terry Fox and parents	1.) Y 2.) No	1.) W 2.) R	Betty Fox	Canadian National Railway	N	M, SO	E	PP, SC, NL	The idea that death and family makes everyone normal was emphasized.
16	1	1.) Terry Fox and Ed Schreyer	No	R	None	Many lists of awards mentioned.	Y	SO	E	SC	Word "disabled" mentioned.
1	1	Terry	No	S	Pastor Hank	New	Y	SO	E	PP	

7		Fox		& R	Erickson	Westminster Hospital, Trinity United Church					
18	1	Terry Fox	No	S & R	Bob McGill	Port Coquitlam's Trinity United Church, Hastings Junior High School	N	SO	E	PP , SC	Full eulogy for Fox. It does not mention fundraising or running on "one leg."
19	0	NA	NA	N A	Premier Bill Bennet, Environment Minister Stephen Rogers	None	Y	C	E	SC	Some significant quotes.
20	1	Several people running, including Dick Traum.	Y	W & S	Unnamed	None	N	S	E	SC	Puts the story in full circle by featuring Traum, the person who inspired Terry to run.

Appendix D

Globe and Mail – Summative Content Analysis

1. Monday, April 14, 1980 – Globe and Mail

Leg amputated in illness case, man to run for cancer society

This article is significant because it essentially starts off the story of Terry Fox and the Marathon of Hope because it is the first story in the Globe and Mail about his cross-Canada run. It was somewhat “buried” in the paper, and appeared on page nine without a photo. Nonetheless, the tone of the article isn’t “light,” and it is given a hard lead, emphasizing that there is some seriousness to the article.

The article is interesting because it emphasizes both the Charity Model of Disability and the Medical Model of Disability. It fits into the charity category because the “War Amputees Association of Canada” and the “Canadian Cancer Society” are both mentioned, and it fits into the medical category because the words “illness,” “cancer” and “artificial leg” are both emphasized. It is also interesting that the reporter refers to Fox as a “man who lost his left leg,” as if he had lost a set of keys. Thus, it is clear that they aren’t quite sure how to write about Fox.

Another interesting point is that no one else is quoted or mentioned in the article except Fox, and his quote is quite brief. Disability media research emphasizes the need for disabled people to have their own voice and be quoted, instead of experts or family members, and this is one small example of this.

It is important to note that the similar article written in the Toronto Star on the same day is much shorter, but includes a photo of Fox (with his disability apparent in the photo), above the article.

2. Saturday, July 12, 1980 – Globe and Mail

Fox runs into hero's welcome from Metro throngs

This article was written a number of months after Fox began his race, and his increase in fame is becoming much more apparent. First of all, the first part of the article appeared on the front page of the Saturday edition of the paper (which has the largest day of readership), and then continued on page five, and included a large photo. The article is also considerably longer than the first one that appeared about Fox.

The lead, unlike most of the others that have appeared about Fox, is soft, comparing him to Ken Taylor, a popular Canadian diplomat during that time.

Fox's prosthetic leg is described in various ways throughout the article, as an "artificial leg," and "right leg was amputated" and Fox as an "amputee." His battle with cancer also figures prominently in this article, and the Canadian Cancer Society is mentioned twice. However, his link with the Cancer Society isn't explained clearly—the reporter assumes that all of the readers already know the background to the story.

As well, this is one of the first articles that the word "hero" comes up: "People are treating me like a hero, like I'm something above other people." As well, the word "hero" is mentioned in the title of the article. In many ways, he has risen about the "pitiable and pathetic" category, and become both a super cripple and a "curio" or "curiosity." Large amounts of people are willing to come out to see him, just to see if the stories are in fact for real that they've been hearing about him.

Again, Fox is given a strong voice in this article (contradicting disability research), and, although other voices are not apparent, some other names are listed in the article.

3. August 5, 1980 – Globe and Mail

Doesn't need medical attention, Fox tells cross-country run critics

This article is noteworthy because it blatantly emphasizes the Medical Model, to the point where Fox appears angry in the article. In fact, he even criticizes one of his sponsors and says, “You’ve probably heard that the War Amputees have been after me to see a doctor because of my leg. They don’t understand that nobody’s ever approached what I’ve done running on one leg. They don’t understand that I’m in top shape...” In all of the articles that I’ve read so far, it is rare to find one where Terry Fox is angry and, in this case, it is not only the rumors about his health that are making him angry, but also probably the fact that he had “missed the emotional release of recording his half-way milestone because of a defective odometer on his van.” Nonetheless, the article certainly emphasizes the fact that Fox has a strong voice and a strong message to send to the public. As well, although he criticizes the War Amputees, the reporter has not bothered to get a quote from them to get their side of the story. Also, the article is a bit unusual in that the Canadian Cancer Society is not mentioned specifically; however, the lead alludes to this by mentioning that Fox is raising money for cancer research.

Overall, the tone of this short article is impersonal--because no reporter is listed and there is no photo. As well, the whole article is strange because Fox is quite angry, and because the Canadian Cancer Society is not listed.

Keeping with the tradition of other similar articles, Fox’s leg is referred to as an “artificial leg” and he is referred to as a “one-legged marathon runner.”

4. Wednesday, September 3, 1980 – Globe and Mail

Lung cancer finishes Fox's Marathon of Hope

The first thing that one notices about this article is its prominence: it appears on the front page of the paper right below the name of the paper. As well, a large photo of Fox and his family appears below it. It is also interesting to note how Fox's description has changed in this article. He is referred to in the lead as "Runner Terry Fox" whereas, previously, he was often referred to as a "one-legged runner." Thus, there is less of an emphasis on his disability and more an emphasis on his athleticism. This description is enhanced even further when, in the second sentence, he is referred to as a "...22-year-old British Columbian..." Again, his disability is not the focus.

The article features quotes from Fox and from Barbara Kilvert, from the Canadian Cancer Society. In my checklist, I have a space for "expert quoted" and discovered that representatives from the Canadian Cancer Society were frequently quoted in articles, and their organization was also mentioned quite frequently.

This article truly is a point where the Terry Fox narrative changes dramatically: it becomes one of deep sadness and illness and a fight for survival. When Fox began the Marathon of Hope his goal was to run across Canada and raise money for cancer research; however, with the reoccurrence of his cancer the narrative takes a sharp turn for the worse. Nonetheless, it is from this point on when the stories of Terry Fox take on more depth and meaning, and it is where his martyrdom makes him more of a Canadian folk hero.

5. Thursday, September 4, 1980 – Globe and Mail

A country needs such heroes

This is one example of a column that was written about Terry Fox and it is significant for several reasons. Firstly, the author Dick Beddoes emphasizes the concept of Terry Fox as a folk hero throughout the article. He compares Fox to numerous international celebrities and change-makers such as John Kennedy and Laura Secord, and emphasizes the need for more Canadian heroes for young people to emulate. In fact, 17 celebrities are listed in the article, the majority of which are Canadian. Thus, instead of being a disabled hero, Fox has been transformed into a uniquely Canadian hero.

Beddoes' last paragraph is particularly poignant and thoughtful:

What Terry Fox had was the boy-lonely dream of our land, a sweet pining to be famous in a harmlessly spectacular way, the wish to accomplish what no one else had ever done. A nation needs such desires as much as it does poets and musicians and a Gordon Lightfoot song to explain our gladness and our grief.

Nonetheless, despite its achievements, the article still doesn't make it into the Social Model category because the author still describes the large amount of money that Fox raises for charity and describes him as having "one leg" and a "limping step."

Like many of the photos that have been shown of Fox in newspapers, the one that accompanies this article shows the torso of Fox while running and wearing his famous t-shirt. His disability is not visible.

This article is also fascinating because, unlike the majority of the articles that appeared about Fox, Beddoes employs a soft news focus in the article and uses a soft lead that does not even mention Fox's name: "A lot is said and written about the lack of Canadian heroes, but the argument does not make abundant sense."

6. September 6, 1980 – Globe and Mail

Hundreds call cancer offices after run ends

This article points sharply to the “Fox mania” that increased dramatically when Fox became seriously ill. The focus is definitely on the Charity Model of Disability, and Fox is described as a “one-legged runner.” It emphasizes the notion that “everyone” is making a donation towards Fox’s cause and lists several people who were doing small things in their community to raise money. In this sense, the article shows how small contributions can contribute to the greater good of a society and how middle class societies are highly susceptible to the influences of others. If one takes into account the idea that reading the newspaper is like a morning prayer for many people, many people may have read this article and decided to themselves that donating money to Fox’s cause was the appropriate way to act in this situation.

The stereotype that is emphasized in this article is Fox as pitiable and pathetic as he lies dying in his hospital bed. The rush of donations is very much like an unrealistic rush to save Fox’s life. As well, pitiable words such as “one legged,” “lost his right leg,” “body scans,” “chemotherapy,” and “cancerous tissue appear in the article. In some respects, it is like an advertisement for donations. However, it is worth noting that because at this point in the story, Fox was now gravely ill, so he was no longer in control of where or how his donations were being collected. As well, his role as a spokesperson and controller of his own image is suddenly gone and it is evident that other people are pushing his message, but it may not be in the most appropriate manner.

7. Monday, September 22, 1980 – Globe and Mail

Thousands salute Terry Fox, Marathon of Hope

This article is fascinating because it starts off by looking at Terry Fox not as a person—but as a fund—a collection of money. In this way, it shows how famous Fox has become, and how his story doesn't need to be described as the very first thing in the article.

The article itself is fairly short and contains no photo. It continues with the theme as Fox as a Canadian hero, and mentions that he is responsible for a “surge of nationalism—something all of us have been too embarrassed to show.”

Because Fox was ill in the hospital at the time of the article, he is not quoted; thus repeating the pattern of many of the articles that appeared during this period. Overall, the article is not very significant due to its shorter length and lack of photos; however, it mirrors many of the articles that appeared during this period. In a similar fashion to many of the other articles, pity is the emphasis, and Fox is referred to as a “cancer victim” and the author notes that he has “one leg.”

8. Thursday, November 6, 1980 – Globe and Mail

Book on Fox soon

Although this article is extremely short, approximately 100 words, it is worth noting because the focus is on how a book about Fox will soon be published. This act shows that Fox is moving away from being a regular Canadian to that of a celebrity. It is also interesting because the book is being promoted, even before it has been written or published, in order to increase the hype about it. Thus, it is a hint of what is to come, in terms of Fox's fame and longevity as a Canadian historical figure.

Unfortunately, the article goes back to the pitiful charity model when describing Fox in the lead as a "one-legged cancer victim." As well, like many of the articles written during this period, Fox is not quoted. Thus, just as he is no longer in control of his life or his illness, he has lost control over his campaign for cancer.

9. December 23, 1980 – Globe and Mail

Editors name Terry Fox Canadian of the Year

The first thing that one notices about this article is the large smiling photo of Fox above the text, with his disability not visible. The article itself is significant because it shows the power that Fox has had in the media up to that point, by being named the top newsmaker of 1980. This becomes even more significant when one learns the names of the other Canadians that have been included in this category, such as Prime Ministers Pierre Trudeau and Lester Pearson. Thus, it firmly establishes that Fox is both a newsmaker and a celebrity. As well, it lists some of the other awards that Fox has received up to that point, such as the Order of the Dogwood and Companion of the Order of Canada. Furthermore, this is the first article that I have put in the Social Model of Disability category because the emphasis is on a Canadian hero, not a disabled Canadian hero, particularly because he has received an award that was previously reserved for able-bodied Canadians. However, I also checked off the Charity Model of Disability box because the article makes a point of mentioning how much money Fox has raised: “More than \$20 million has been pledged so far.”

The article is also noteworthy because Fox is quoted in it, which is a rare occurrence during this part of his illness. The article also shows Fox with a newfound maturity as he is quoted saying that he is “facing the question that we will all face, bolstered by a newfound faith in God.”

10. December 31, 1980 – Globe and Mail

Marathon documentary records the expression of Terry's dream

The first thing that one notices about this article is that, unlike most of the previous articles about Fox that appeared in the “news” section, it appeared in the “entertainment” section. It has both a soft lead, and it “soft” news, with the main angle being the creation of a documentary about Terry Fox. As well, instead of being written in a basic news-style, it is almost written in a columnist format, as a review for the documentary.

The whole concept of the article is remarkable because it notes that the documentary takes a very critical view of Terry Fox, his run, and his mutual dependent relationship with the media.

It is also interesting that Fox’s artificial leg is described quite creatively as “his artificial leg striding purposefully, the other hopping slightly to equalize the pace” as if it gave him a greater power. Thus, in this way, he is no longer an object of pity and the article becomes a stronger example of the Social Model of Disability.

The article is also unusual because his fundraising is only mentioned a little, and the Canadian Cancer Society is not mentioned at all.

The article is accompanied by an excellent photo of Fox which shows him in full profile, with his disability clearly visible. It is what Rosemarie Garland-Thomson refers to as a “wondrous” article because it shows Fox as a supercrip, running across the country.

11. Friday, June 26, 1981 – Globe and Mail

Stamp will honor Terry Fox's cause

The story placement for this article is very significant because it appeared on the front cover of the paper directly below the Globe and Mail title. Like many of the stories that appeared about Fox in the Globe and Mail by the Canadian Press (CP), no byline is given. Thus, it appears that the journalist is most likely deriving content from a media release or, in this case, a press conference.

The content of the article is important to note because it details the creation of a stamp to honor Terry Fox. Again, like the book, there is a rush to create it “as soon as possible” presumably to have it ready before Fox dies. As well, it notes, “Mr. Ouellet previously had refused requests for such an honor because he said it would violate the worldwide postal tradition of honoring prominent people only after their death.” Thus, there is a rush to turn Fox into a martyr, even before he dies, and modern Canadian history has no precedent for this. As well, the Postmaster-General refers to Fox as a “folk hero, a great Canadian” further increasing his fame and status in Canadian society.

Due to the focus on Fox as a great Canadian, this story fits into the Social Model category. Fox's disability is mentioned in passing, because it is relevant to the story, but it is certainly not the focus.

Like many of the articles during this period, Fox is not quoted in this article, either due to his illness, or his non-involvement in this stamp issue.

12. Monday, June 29, 1981 – Globe and Mail

Terry Fox's courage hailed as inspiration to the nation.

This story signals the start of the emotional stories about Terry Fox's death. It appears alongside a photo of a smiling Fox wearing his Order of Canada Medal (with his disability not visible), along with a photo of his doctor and nurse on the other side of the article. The stories that appeared in the days following Fox's death tended to be more lengthy and detailed than earlier stories, perhaps due to the increasing amount of information available on him, but also probably because some of the information was written by journalists in previous weeks, in anticipation of his death.

This story does not break any new ground in equal rights for people with disabilities because, in the first sentence, he is referred to as a "young cancer victim" emphasizing Fox as a pitiable creature, rather than as someone who ran halfway across Canada. As well, because a doctor and nurse are shown in the photo, and are quoted in the article, the Medical Model of Disability is emphasized.

The article also points to how famous and respected Fox had become, with the federal government ordering all flags to be flown at half-mast, and tributes from all of Canada's leaders. The article closes with a mention of the "Terry Fox run for the Marathon of Hope on September 13," emphasizing the Fox's memory will continue to flourish within the hearts of Canadians.

13. Monday, June 29, 1981 – Globe and Mail

With a hop and a hope, a brave lad became a nation's hero

Although extremely detailed, this article is strange primarily because it is missing the byline of the author or authors. Thus, the anonymity gives it less of a heart, and less believability, even though it is extremely long (it takes up a full page) and contains several photos.

The photos shown in this article convey a variety of meanings. The first photo at the top of the article features Fox running with a car behind him, his disability clearly visible, in what Rosemarie Garland-Thomson would refer to as a “wondrous” pose. The second photo, which is another one that was previously shown in the same newspapers, shows Fox on a stretcher with his parents beside him, emphasizing the Medical Model of Disability. The last photo shows Governor General Ed Schreyer placing the order of Canada on Fox, somewhat of a boring and realistic portrayal.

Fox’s death and his heroism are the focus of this article, and words such as “Canadian folklore” and “national obsession” are used when describing him. Despite referring to Fox as a hero, the overall dominant model in the article is one of charity and pity. It even details a story about Fox “crying inconsolably” after losing his leg, and details his battle with sleep deprivation during his run. As well, the lead to the story is soft, even though it deals with an issue of hard news.

Although Fox is dead at this point, he is quoted in the article posthumously, and his father Rolly Fox and his friend Doug Alward are also quoted; thus, he is still given somewhat of a voice less calculated than the ones coming from people such as book publishers.

14. Monday, June 29, 1981 – Globe and Mail

Greater because of a hero

The emphasis of this short column is on heroism, and the idea of Terry Fox as a hero. However, it is unusual in that fundraising is never mentioned, and no organizations are mentioned, and it doesn't mention that Fox only had one leg. The worst language that is used is "struck down by a disease," which does not point to his disability at all, but to his cancer. Thus, it firmly places the article in the category of the Social Model of Disability.

The article speaks of Terry Fox as a symbol of Canada ("iconography"), and as a "saint" not just as a person. It is, to say the least, extremely emotional and glowing and reads like a morality tale. It also explains some of Fox's universal middle-class appeal, how he was "one of us" as a "the brother, the boyfriend, the best friend, the nephew, the grandson..."

The lead for the column is soft, and the story itself is also soft news, because it's basically just one person's opinion about Terry Fox.

15. June 31, 1981 – Globe and Mail

Marathon of Hope runner's death sparks a resurgence in donations

I first thought that it was interesting that Fox is referred to as a “runner” in the title, instead of a “one-legged runner” as the Globe and Mail frequently referred to him in previous articles. Perhaps, because of his death, it made it less appropriate to describe him in such a crude manner. However, I soon realized that this was only the title, and the Globe and Mail was back to referring to him in a crude manner by the third paragraph as “one-legged Mr. Fox.” It is, unquestionably, a strange way to refer to someone over and over again. This article, like many from the Canadian Press, has no author. Thus, again it fails to provide grounding for good journalism, and it’s not clear if it is one person that is describing Fox, or many journalists that have worked together on the story.

The photo that appears in this article is unique in that it shows a crowd of people who are lining up to sign a book of condolences for Fox. It is clearly what Rosemarie Garland-Thomson refers to as a “sentimental” photo, and the article itself is a strange combination of admiration and pity. The emphasis of the article is on donations, and several representatives from the Canadian Cancer Society are quoted in the article; thus, it employs the Charity Model of Disability.

16. Wednesday, July 1, 1981 – Globe and Mail

Flood of telegrams, donations thrilling to family of Terry Fox

In a similar fashion to the article that appeared in the paper the day before, a sentimental photo is shown with a woman signing a book of condolences. It is, without a doubt, a theme of sentiment and pity. Again, no reporter is listed; thus, one cannot analyze the article against articles written by the same author. As well, in a similar fashion to the photo that appeared on the previous day, no one is credited with taking the photo other than “CP” (Canadian Press).

The emphasis of the article is on donations, sympathy, and memorial services, highlighted by a personal message of sympathy from the Queen of England. The article has quotes from both regular Canadians, and famous people, emphasizing the notion that Fox’s story touched everyone. As well, Fox’s father is quoted in the article. Overall, the general lens of the article is on the Charity Model of Disability.

Generally, the article contains no real news—it is somewhat of a repeat of the article that appeared the day before. More so, it demonstrates the public’s thirst for stories about Terry Fox during this period; thus, the news itself is “soft.” The article itself is also somewhat buried in the newspaper, and appeared on page nine.

17. Friday, July 3, 1981 – Globe and Mail

Fox's marathon ends as it began: quietly, simply

This story appeared on the front cover of the Globe and Mail at the top of the page, accompanied by an extremely dramatic and sympathetic photo. The photo shows the coffin of Terry Fox carried by pallbearers, with members of Fox's wheelchair basketball team sitting beside it. One particularly eerie thing about the photo is that none of the faces of the disabled people are shown—only the faces of the able-bodied people. It is, to say the least, a deeply sentimental photo and possibly the saddest one that exists of Terry Fox.

This article is more personal than some of the others that have appeared in the Globe and Mail, and one cue to this might be that the reporter was given a byline for the story. Ian Mulgrew started the story with a soft very descriptive lead: "The width of a continent away from St. John's, at the bottom of a gentle slope in a small plain cemetery, Terry Fox was buried yesterday." As well, instead of calling Fox a "one-legged runner" like in previous articles, Ian Mulgrew refers to Fox as a "22-year-old runner." However, in contrast, in the next sentence, he refers to Fox as a "cancer victim." Nonetheless, later on in the article, Mulgrew refers to Fox as "the curly-haired runner" and also describes his disabled walk in a positive manner "Mr. Fox hop-skipped his way from new Newfoundland starting point into Ontario last July."

The main topic of this article is Fox's funeral itself, and Mulgrew details the ceremonies, including the eulogy, and the large number of dignitaries that attended the service. As well, it is interesting to note that a CTV spokesperson quoted in the article said, "The Terry Fox funeral is in the category of a state funeral..."

18. Tuesday, July 7, 1981 – Globe and Mail

B.C. names mountain in honor of Terry Fox

This article is typical of many Globe and Mail articles because it has no author except for “Canadian Press” and contains no photo. Also, Fox is described in the first sentence as a “one-legged runner.” As well, it details another activity generated by citizens in order to reaffirm Fox’s title as a Canadian hero. By naming a mountain after him, it puts him in a very elite category of Canadians, and also in a category that no disabled Canadian has ever been associated with. Thus, it also puts Fox into the Social Model category.

The article itself is another example of people associating themselves with Fox, either purposefully or not, and simultaneously improving their reputation in the process. In this particular article, B.C. Premier William Bennett is the person who is quoted.

The article also demonstrates that, despite his death, Terry Fox is still a newsworthy item.

19. Thursday, August 6, 1981 – Globe and Mail

Vancouver sculptor raises money to help carve Terry Fox memorial

In typical Globe and Mail style, this story has no author, and the large photo that accompanies it also has no photographer listed. The photo itself shows a sculptor and his helper carving a giant head of Terry Fox. Its enormous size puts it into the wondrous category and its memoriam nature puts it into the category of sentimental. The story itself is buried on page 10 of the paper; nonetheless, one month after his death, it is obvious that Fox is still a news item.

The topic of the article is a little strange because it contradicts some of what Fox had been trying to do during his campaign. The sculptor is asking for donations to finish his art piece; however, Terry Fox collected money for cancer research—not for himself. Thus, the memory of Fox takes on a strange twist.

One significant aspect of the article is that Fox is finally frequently referred to as a “runner” instead of a “one-legged runner.” However, strangely enough, the author also wrote that Fox’s cancer “cost him a leg” which is definitely an unusual way of describing a leg amputation.

The article also demonstrates how Fox has moved into the arts and culture of Canada, through the creation of a statue.

20. Monday, September 14, 1981 – Globe and Mail

From Canada to China, thousands run for Terry Fox

This article details the first Terry Fox run that took place two months after his death. The large number of prominent organizations in the article (e.g. the Canadian Embassy), and the large number of a variety of people mentioned, point to Fox's cultural importance, and the strength of his message that continued to grow even after his death. As well, the article details the many Terry Fox runs that took place throughout the world on that day, particularly those organized by the Canadian Forces. The article emphasizes that the run is not just to raise money for cancer research, but also a show of "patriotism" to Canada.

Again, like many of the previous articles about Fox, he is described as a "one-legged runner." As well, the author Robert Stephens mentions that "The young, the old, and the handicapped participated." His use of the word "handicapped" points to a more archaic word for disability that was losing prominence at the time.

The article itself appeared on the front page of the paper, right below the Globe and Mail masthead; however, it contained no photo.

The Toronto Star – Summative Content Analysis

1. Monday, April 14, 1980 – Toronto Star

He tries 3,000-mile run on one real leg

Although this article is extremely short (only 132 words), there is a lot of information that can be obtained from it. First of all, the article appears below a large photo of Fox in a classic pose, grimacing and running, his disability clearly visible. It is what Rosemarie Garland-Thomson refers to as a “wondrous” photo, because of the oddity of a man running on one leg. One could also add the unusualness of the run: it seems absurd to run across Canada, but that is exactly what Terry Fox is doing in the photo. Because a photo is included with the story in this newspaper (unlike the Globe and Mail) one also gets a sense that their editors were somewhat aware of how interesting this story might become in the future. As well, this article appeared on A5, while the Globe and Mail article appeared on page nine. Thus, they gave it slightly more importance.

One very strange thing about the article is that they refer to the leg that Fox was born with as his “real” leg, possibly as a way to increase the emphasis on his “artificial” leg.

The article is fairly concise, and mentions both the Canadian Cancer Society and the War Amputees Association of Canada. In a similar fashion to the Globe and Mail article, Terry Fox is quoted in the article; thus, it is an example of a disabled person being given a voice in the media.

2. July 12, 1980- Toronto Star

Tears flow as Metro hails Terry

This article about Fox appeared as the lead story on the front page of the Saturday newspaper beside a giant photo of Fox and his father Rolly. Both men are smiling in the photo and holding up one arm. It is a realistic pose, but Fox's disability is not visible in the photo. The article also contains a second photo, which appears on page three, showing the crowds of people that gathered to honor Fox at Nathan Philips Square. The one large photo of Fox, with the crowd in front of him, that appeared in the Globe and Mail is actually a much better photo, and conveys a lot more information.

Again, like many of the other articles, Fox is referred to as a "one-legged runner" who "lost his right leg to cancer" (as if to imply that he might find it again somewhere).

Leslie Scrivener begins the article with a soft lead, which is unusual for a major news story: "They called Terry Fox the toast of Toronto and he claimed he was just an ordinary guy." However, the article is a bit odd in that Fox is not quoted in the article at all. One assumes that he might have said something at Nathan Phillips Square, but this is never mentioned in the article. Thus, he is somewhat voiceless. When one reviews the Globe and Mail article again, it is evident that Fox did speak at the event, and he is quoted extensively in the article. Thus, this is a poor example of an article about Fox.

The content of the article itself is important because it demonstrates the frenzy that is building about Fox's mission throughout Canada.

3. April 27, 1980 - Toronto Star

Meet Greg, 10: One big reason why Terry Fox runs his Marathon of Hope

This article by Christie Blatchford is one example of a very personal article about Terry Fox and his mission. The article appeared on page one of the newspaper, showing that the editor took the story of Fox seriously and felt that it was newsworthy. The first thing one sees is a large photo of Fox, his disability clearly visible, walking along side a young boy who has a similar disability. It is a wondrous and shy portrait, and the photographer is given credit for his photo.

Blatchford writes the article as though it was a detailed story, starting with a soft and emotional lead “The little boy, hairless under his floppy hat, broke into a hopping run.” Blatchford uses the story of the young boy to parallel Terry Fox’s own story, and shows that he is not unique. It is also evident that Blatchford was a viewer of the event, and she did not simply communicate by phone. She described the quiet events as they unfolded, not just the interview questions. As the story continues on page 18, it contains more photos. Even without the text, the photos tell a detailed story. The second photo shows Fox and the bald-headed child laughing and swimming and the last photo shows both of them getting out of the water (the boy with his mother’s help) without their artificial legs. They are all wondrous photos; however, in the present day, knowing that both people in the photos have died, they take on a sentimental meaning.

A great deal of the story is about how Greg Scott and his family deal with his cancer. The story is somewhat voyeuristic, in that it is a fly on the wall portrayal of a meeting between Fox and the boy, but it is effective.

4. September 3, 1980- Toronto Star

Brave Terry Fox begins his new battle with cancer

This article by Christie Blatchford appeared on the front cover of the paper and features a large sentimental photo showing Fox being moved on a stretcher, with his parents and Bill Vigars hugging off to the side. It is a deeply sad photo.

The article begins with a soft but highly effective lead: “He gave us a dream as big as our country. Now this man—22 years old, maybe 150 pounds, with the map of Canada on his T-shirt—was trying to cry because, he said, he owed us that much.” The lead is interesting because Fox’s disability is not described because, at this point, it has become almost irrelevant to the story. Blatchford called him a “man,” emphasizing the normality of disability. In fact, throughout the entire story, the fact that Fox only has one leg is not mentioned at all. The only person who alludes to this slightly is Fox when he is quoted saying, “Well, you know I had primary cancer in my knee 3 ½ years ago and now the cancer is in my lungs...” Despite this unique attempt to emphasize the disabled person as “normal” and demonstrate the Social Model of Disability, due to Fox’s illness, there is still a strong sense of pity in the article, and an emphasis on the Medical Model.

Nonetheless, this article has quotes from Fox throughout the piece; thus showing that he has a strong voice and is keen to get out his message, despite the fact that he is seen as a pitiful dying creature. In many ways, it makes his voice more powerful.

The article itself is also quite long (over 1,000 words), and is very carefully constructed.

5. Wednesday, September 3, 1980- Toronto Star

A message of hope for Terry: 'Fight it, my friend'

As I'm now past the middle of analyzing the articles in the Toronto Star, I'm surprised at some of my findings, particularly the articles by Leslie Scrivener. Since Scrivener later wrote a book about Fox, I imagined that her articles would be quite unique and full of depth, but I'm finding that Christie Blachford's articles are far more sensitive and modern in their writing. For example, in this particular article, Scrivener emphasizes Fox's suffering, "...he ran on despite an ill-fitting artificial limb that chafed his thigh until it bled. But that was nothing, he said. In running 3,000 miles in training he said blood had sometimes trickled down his leg." Thus, it is clear that Scrivener is emphasizing both the supercrip stereotype, and viewing Fox as a dying object of pity, instead of as a person. In fact, she seems to take a great enchantment in describing and writing about his artificial limb in a creative manner.

There is also a lack of direct quotes from Fox in this article; in fact, there are none. Thus, it becomes an able-bodied rendition of what the story is: rather than letting Fox tell the story himself. In this case, the reader is cheated and never learns the real story. However, one main reason for the absence of quotes could easily be Fox's illness: he may have been too sick to be interviewed.

As well, for someone who claims to have spent as much time talking to Fox as she said she had, the article is relatively short (764 words) and nothing really new is revealed in the article.

There are two photos on the page, although none are directly linked to the article.

6. Saturday, September 6, 1980- Toronto Star

It's official: September is Terry Fox month in Metro

This article appeared on the front page of a Saturday edition; thus showing the importance of the story. It was written by Christie Blatchford and Peter Rickwood and, unfortunately, goes back to referring to Fox as a “one-legged runner.” The emphasis of the article is on fundraising; thus, promoting the Charity Model of Disability.

Because one presumes that Fox is too ill to be interviewed, his able-bodied mother has become his spokesperson. Although this may not have been her original intention, one can't help but think of telethons where parents accompanied their disabled children onto the stage and sometimes spoke for them. In fact, the article mentions an upcoming telethon organized by CTV Television Network to raise money for Fox's run. As well, it mentions several other people and organizations (some named, some nameless) who have raised money to support Fox's cause. By including the names of people and organizations in the article, it makes it a good example of how the Marathon of Hope started as a small grassroots movement that increased through the media, and spread to numerous demographics across Canada.

There is one photo in this article, but it appears on page six. It shows a close-up of Fox lying in his stretcher, with two microphones (presumably from journalists) in his face. It is a strange juxtaposition of both sentimental pity and power.

7. September 9, 1980- Toronto Star

Canadians give love—and \$10.5 million—for Terry

This article appeared on the front cover of the paper and featured a large photo of Fox watching a telethon for him on his hospital bed. The whole concept of a telethon has been extensively studied by disability researchers, with the findings that middle class North Americans enjoy watching telethons and donating money because it makes them feel better about themselves. It places the disabled person as a permanent object of pity. Nonetheless, this particular telethon for Fox was very strange because, unlike most traditional telethons, he was not present—he was lying in his hospital bed. Despite this fact, the telethon was evidently quite successful, and Blatchford even said that it had raised more funds than the “Jerry Lewis muscular dystrophy extravaganza.” Sadly, Blatchford plays up the telethon angle and writes, “...it took a 22-year-old sick young man with one leg and two tumors on his lungs to do it—to ‘galvanize the entire country as it’s never been before.’”

In 2008, telethons seem strange. They are rarely on television in Canada anymore and, if they are, they are usually for small local projects such as a hospital. In Winnipeg, there are also occasionally radio telethons for hospitals, where sad stories are told in-between songs. One might suggest that no one is interested in looking at sick children anymore, but a greater reason might also be that there is such a glut of entertainment and channels, that it would be difficult to organize and fund a large telethon anymore.

A telethon also definitely changes one’s image of Fox—at this point in his life his is no longer controlling his own image—others are doing it for him.

8. September 8, 1980 – Toronto Star

They've got a song to sing about Terry

Although this article is short, it is worth noting because it shows Fox evolving as both a folk hero and as a famous Canadian. The article is about a poem that was written about Fox, then put to music and recorded. The goal of the musicians and songwriter was to sell the song to raise money for Fox's cause, but they also created a piece of folk culture in the process. This need for many Canadians to put inspirational words to their feelings about Fox was detailed in Pauline Greenhill's book True Poetry: Traditional and Popular Verse in Ontario. Greenhill wrote about the Fox poems and songs, "I soon recognized that this was a special phenomenon; genetically unrelated texts on the same topic." Greenhill also noted that Betty Fox also received hundreds of poems from Canadians during this time period about her son.

Greenhill also noted, "The sheer number of Terry Fox poems makes this a striking group however, it also indicates their distinctive significance. The fact that so many people chose Fox as their topic confirms his particular appositeness."

It is unusual for a newspaper to contain the lyrics for an entire song, but this article also points to another aspect of the Fox phenomenon that was evident during this period: the public wanted to read anything about Fox. Every possible angle for a story was explored and written about by journalists, and this one was no different.

Nonetheless, when one analyzes the article and poem it is apparent that Fox's disability is not mentioned; thus, it shows that the majority of what makes him a Fox hero is his need to run across Canada and raise money for a cure for cancer—not the fact that he ran on one leg.

9. September 9, 1980- Toronto Star

Cancer officials have problem: How to spend all that Fox cash

This article is interesting because one gets a sense of how large the amount of money raised for cancer research is. As well, it also details the current situation for cancer research in Canada and points to areas for growth and development. Terry Fox is sort of the secondary point to the article—the main point is clearly the funds raised.

The more I research Terry Fox it is clear that most articles, and most people, thought (and think) of Terry Fox as someone with cancer: not as a disabled Canadian. Every person has their own multiple identities, but for Fox in the media, his identities appear to be as follows: 1) a cancer victim; 2) a one-legged man; 3) a Canadian hero. When beginning this research, I had imagined that there would be more of an emphasis on Fox's disability, but he almost seemed uninterested in exploring this aspect of his personality or being identified as part of this group. Truth be told, at the time of the Marathon of Hope, Fox had been disabled for only a relatively short period of time (less than three years); thus, as a young person who had been able-bodied the majority of his life, it is doubtful that anyone would have embraced this new identity so soon.

The article definitely has a focus on the Medical Model and has quotes from several doctors and alludes to the idea that cancer can be cured with enough funding and research.

10. Monday, September 22, 1980- Toronto Star

Metro gives from the heart to say 'Thanks, Terry'

Like many of the previous articles about Terry Fox, this one appeared on the front cover of the newspaper. Instead of a photo of Fox, there is a large photo of a crowd walking, showing a person holding up a sign of Terry Fox. Fox's absence from the article brings him to Colin Barnes' category, "incapable of participating fully in community life," because able-bodied people are shown walking without him. In a strange twist, Fox's voice, which had been recorded at the hospital with a message, was played for the crowd, further emphasizing this concept. A second similar photo was also shown on the second page.

As a way of showing how Fox's fame has increased and stretched across many spectrums of society, many celebrities are mentioned in the article, as well as non-famous people such as students. It reminds one that, part of what made Fox famous towards the end of his life was not just his mission, it was the idea that "death makes news." His illness made him more newsworthy and it made the whole story more dramatic.

Terry's "one leg" is not mentioned directly by the journalist (Leslie Scrivener) in this article; however, it is still mentioned in a quote by a bystander, "If Terry can do it with one leg, I can do it with a sore leg," she said.

11. Tuesday, December 30, 1980- Toronto Star

Terry's dream seen on sobering colors

This column is interesting because it appeared in the entertainment section (which is more unusual for stories about Terry Fox), and it is a fairly critical column about a CBC documentary that was created about Fox's run. Of particular note is the sentence, "As he runs through wet, barren northern Ontario you can see the tension, the reappearance of illness, and wonder whether it was the public frenzy that egged him on and made him refuse to listen to the early warning signs." Basically, the columnist is partially blaming the public for Fox's horrific illness. As well, Jim Bawden notes, "...so much money was raised for research, it's strange some people were not willing to give so much before." As well he notes, "And how will the money be spent? To misuse it will destroy Terry's legacy of courage." Thus, unquestionably, Bawden raises some tough critical questions in his short column.

On another note, Bawden did not mention Fox's "one leg" in his article. Instead, he is first described as a "shy university student." Thus, Bawden has used the lens of the Social Model and makes his disability irrelevant. Nonetheless, he also focuses a great deal on "illness" and "sick" in the article, pushing the article into the medial lens. Finally, because he also writes about fundraising, the Charity Model is also apparent. Although one might at first criticize Bawden for employing older models of disability in his column, the fact that he has included all of them, all of the words pushing against each other in a triangle, makes the article more dramatic and more modern, particularly for the early 1980s.

12. June 27, 1981- Toronto Star

Ottawa youth centre named after Terry

This article first caught my eye for very personal reasons: I stayed at the Terry Fox Youth Centre in 1990 for one week as part of a government program. In retrospect, my experience at the Centre was perhaps compounded by the realization that everyone who was there was in their late teens—a few years younger than Fox when he died.

On a more general note, the article is an example of how Fox's legend and Canadian folk hero status was being formed: having a building named after him in the nation's capital. The article also mentions a stamp being created in honour of Fox, and a man who wants the Trans-Canada Highway renamed to honour Fox. Similarly, the reporter Martin Cohn mentions numerous famous people in the article, including Anne Murray; thus, he is putting Fox in the same category of fame as them.

As in many other articles, Fox is described as a "one-legged runner."

13. June 29, 1981

A fighter- Toronto Star

This extremely long article, which took up an entire page of the Toronto Star, was written by Leslie Scrivener, and appeared in the newspaper a day after his death. One is, of course, somewhat suspicious and can only assume that, given a newspaper's tight deadlines, most of the article was probably written well before his death. As researchers have stated before, "death makes news" and Fox's death is a perfect example of this. This article was one of several that appeared in the paper that day, and in the proceeding days that focused on his death. Scrivener is fairly crude in her description of Fox's artificial leg. She also uses the phrases, "claimed his right leg," "artificial limb" and, most grotesquely, "bloody stump." She is a very graphic writer.

The article shows two photographs; both of which had appeared previously in the newspaper. The first one is the classic sentimental photo with Fox in a stretcher surrounded by his family, who all have terribly sad looks on their faces. The second, much larger photo shows Fox running in front of a police car, his disability clearly visible in the photo. It is the ultimate supercrip pose.

Like many of the articles that were written during this period, numerous famous celebrities and politicians are mentioned.

Scrivener definitely identifies Fox as a "cancer victim" rather than a disabled person in her articles about him. For example, in this article she writes, "The cancer that took Terry's leg at 18, and his life as he approached 23, drove him to greatness." On a similar note, Scrivener always refers to Fox as "Terry" throughout her articles; thus, implying to the reader that she had a personal connection with him.

14. June 29, 1981- Toronto Star

One man's miracle marathon

The last comment that I wrote on my coding sheet about this article was, “This is a long article, but there isn’t much there,” and that essentially summarizes it. There was obviously a need to fill up the newspaper with stories about Terry Fox after his death, and this is one example of a large filler piece which outlined the story about his run, fundraising and battle with cancer.

The article shows two effective photos, both showing his disability. The first photo shows Fox (from the back) running down a street with cars on the side of him. It makes him seem kind of insane: running on one leg, when he could easily be driving a car like everyone else. The second photo shows Fox after a swim with his artificial leg removed and his shirt off, with a bit of a scowl on his face. They are both what Rosmarie Garland-Thomson would describe as “wondrous” photos.

Unlike Scrivener’s article, which was really more of a long column, which appeared in the paper on the same day, this article is much less personal; nonetheless, it still has some nice writing. The lead is particularly creative, “The wind ruffled his tousled hair on the grey April day last year but the slight young man clad in running shorts and t-shirt didn’t seem to notice the cold.” It creates a nice visual.

The article uses some negative words that don’t appear in other articles such as “amputee victim,” and the reporter also uses the terms “artificial foot” and “amputated leg.”

15. Monday, June 29, 1981- Toronto Star

The loving parents of a reluctant hero

This is another example of a very personal article by Scrivener. This time, she focused on Fox's family: Betty and Rolly Fox.

Like some of Scrivner's other article, she describes Fox in a very dark manner, using words such as "mortality," "pain," and "stump." Again, like other articles she has written, she breaks with journalistic tradition and refers to him as "Terry."

One concept that the article portrays is that death and family (parents) make us all "normal" in the eyes of society and put everyone on the same playing field. There is no shortcut to grieving or dealing with death, no matter how famous a person has become.

Although Scrivner emphasizes her closeness with the family, she is unable to provide any new quotes from Fox's family: everything is regurgitation from earlier articles she wrote about them. In fact, because they really didn't say very much at all during his run Scrivner tries to make an excuse for this, "The Foxes are not great talkers. They do not pour out their soul and their suffering. They rely on an inner strength and family solidarity."

The emphasis on Fox's parents also serves to relate Fox to the majority of the Canadian demographic: a white middle class family with two parents. By emphasizing Fox's family, Scrivner is emphasizing "normalcy;" thus showing that even though he has a disability, he is like everyone else. Therefore, she is demonstrating the Social Model of Disability a little bit in this article.

16. June 29, 1981- Toronto Star

Young hero's awards span the country

This article details the numerous awards that Fox received during his lifetime. The most significant item in this article, from a disability studies perspective is that it says, "He was named honorary chairman of the BC committee for the International Year of Disabled Persons—even though he made it impossible to think of him as disabled." This is an interesting statement because the idea of Terry Fox as a disabled person was one that seems to have been left out of most of the articles about him: he was primarily referred to as a "cancer victim." Thus, it is a rare occasion of the Social Model showing itself within a newspaper article of this period.

The story lead is noteworthy because it shows how famous Fox became during his short life: "Terry Fox was the recipient of a remarkable list of awards in his last two years making him one of the most honored men in Canadian history."

The article includes one photograph, of Fox receiving the Order of Canada from Governor General Ed Schreyer. His disability is not visible in the photo.

17. July 2, 1981- Toronto Star

Terry Fox starts his final mile

This article tells a very sad story about the moments that lead up to Fox's death. In a very dramatic coincidence, Pastor Hank Erickson said, "Terry slipped away at 4:35 a.m. B.C. time on Sunday in the Royal Columbian Hospital—the very time that he would normally awaken last summer and start a new day on his cross-Canada run, which has raised more than \$23 million for cancer research." This statement just serves to elevate the folk hero status of Fox, emphasizing that his simple death in the hospital even had an element of saintly magic to it.

Fox is referred to as a "one-legged marathon hero," emphasizing his supercrip status.

It is interesting that the article itself makes references to a narrative in that it refers to his death as "the last stage of his marathon."

The article lists several famous politicians who attended his funeral service, including the Premier of British Columbia. It also lists the head of the church choir, and the song chosen by Fox's parents; thus, showing that Fox was also a regular person who needed to be grieved in a normal way.

18. July 2, 1981 – Toronto Star

Terry looked beyond his fate and made his dream happen

This article is unusual in that it has no author; however, the main content for the text comes from the eulogy speech of Fox's former teacher Bob McGill. The fact that the entire speech was printed shows how famous Fox had become by that period of time. It is interesting that Bob McGill was chosen to read the eulogy in that he had no connection to the Cancer Society, and was not a family member. Because McGill was his physical education teacher, it emphasized Fox's love for sports and marathon running; something Fox was just as passionate about before he became disabled. The eulogy also makes Fox seem more like an average Canadian by showing the role that influential teachers can play in one's life.

When examining traditional stereotypes of disability within the article, it is interesting to note that McGill focused on the struggle that Fox went through while enduring cancer--not his leg amputation. He said, "He was a young man who showed his courage in the manner he lived his life and in the way he battled cancer." Later on in the article he repeats this same idea again: "Think about cancer and just how each of us could help in our way to do battle with this disease."

There is a small photo of Fox within the article showing just his face and torso, with his Order of Canada around his neck. In this photo, Fox's disability is not visible; thus, it is what Rosemarie Garland-Thomson would call a "realistic" photo.

19. July 7, 1981 – Toronto Star

B.C. names mountain in Rockies for Terry Fox

This article is very similar to one that appeared in the Globe and Mail about the same subject on the same day. It's fairly short, has no author, and appears to come from a media release or statement to the press from the B.C. Legislature.

Like many of the articles that appeared after his death, the article points to how famous Fox had become in a very short period of time. Thus, it shows the influence that Fox had over Canadians, and demonstrated his power as an agent of social capital.

When one analyzes the article against the Charity, Social and Medical Models of Disability, the Charity and Social models are strongest. The Charity Model is apparent because Fox's fundraising is mentioned, and the Social Model is also evident because of the fame, power and full citizenship that Fox is presented with. Nonetheless, it is worth noting the tragedy in that Fox had died before he was able to enjoy the honour of having a mountain named after him. However, there are also some small touches of the Medical Model in the article because Fox is referred to as a "one-legged marathon runner" and as having attempted to run across Canada "on an artificial leg."

There is no mention of Fox's family in the article; thus, the article itself has more of a political flavour to it, because two politicians (Premier Bill Bennet and Environment Minister Stephen Rogers) are the only people quoted in the article.

20. Monday, September 14, 1981- Toronto Star

I ran five miles for myself—and the last one for Terry

This column demonstrates how members of the media continued to tell the Terry Fox story and celebrate it, even after his death. It details Leslie Scrivener's participation in the first annual Terry Fox Day.

The article mentions Dick Traum, an amputee who participated in the run, and reminded Scrivener of Fox. Traum is also significant because it was the story of his own marathon run in a runner's magazine that inspired Fox to run across Canada. Thus, it puts the Terry Fox story in a full circle.

The event of the run itself also shows how Fox continued to garnish support and crowds even after his death.

Just as she did in other articles, Scrivner referred to Fox as "Terry" throughout this column.

Also, this article is significant because fundraising was not mentioned, even though it is assumed that the crowds of people are running for a purpose. Thus, I placed it in the Social Model category.

There is one photograph that accompanies the story. It shows Dick Traum running at the start of the run. Although the photo is grainy, it is assumed that his artificial limb is visible in the photo. The photo is both wondrous and sentimental.