

Reading the Homeless

The Media's Image of Homeless Culture

Edited by
Eungjun Min

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To my parents

The Representation of the Homeless in U.S. Electronic Media: A Computational Linguistic Analysis

Rebecca Ann Lind and James A. Danowski

Investigating media representation of various social and cultural groups is valuable for several reasons. Of primary importance is the acknowledgment that the media do not merely report events—media reports are assumed by many observers to be representations of reality. Further, media reports themselves are tied to the reporter's perceptions (Kern, 1981; Mowlana, 1984; Said, 1981), and according to Trew (1979, p. 95), "all perception involves theory or ideology and there are no 'raw,' uninterpreted, theory-free facts." Indeed, before one's perceptions can be reported, they must be encoded, Roeh (1981, p. 78) argues that this is also inherently a value-laden process: "no author or speaker is free of the necessity to choose words, syntax, and order of presentation. It does make a difference if 'friction' and not 'dispute' is chosen." Thus values and attitudes are embedded within even the simplest descriptions.

Additionally, media representations of social or cultural groups which may reflect stereotypes are worthy of examination. It has been argued that stereotypes are not merely descriptive; they exist within a historical context and contain elements of both description and evaluation (Gorham, 1995; Seiter, 1986). Stereotypes are not entities in themselves; they exist only because people construct them, and myths and stereotypes about the homeless in America abound (see, for example, Mowbray, 1985; Grunberg, 1992). Many of these stereotypes stigmatize the homeless—Guzewicz and Takooshian (1992, p. 68) wrote that "portrayals of the homeless in American culture have long stressed laziness, immorality, drunkenness, and other character deficits"—and perpetuate the myth that individuals who are homeless have chosen that lifestyle. To what extent are these myths and stereotypes evident in the electronic media in the mid-1990s?

This chapter analyzes the representation of the homeless in U.S. electronic media by studying the transcripts of approximately 35,000 hours (about 130 million words) of television and radio content aired on ABC, CNN, PBS, and NPR from May 1993 to January 1996. This study improves upon previous re-

search by analyzing a larger body of text than has any previous related research and by utilizing a more rigorous methodology than is typical of much content analysis. This research uses a form of computerized network analysis which, according to Danowski (1993), provides qualitative analysis by using quantitative procedures. Danowski's Wordlink program allows us to discover and map the relationships among words within messages; in this case, it allows us to interpret the underlying themes and structures present in mediated representations of the homeless. It allows us to discern the frequency with which certain words, terms, concepts, attitudes, and values are associated with the homeless.

An investigation such as this one becomes even more important when considering the extent to which the electronic media provide information to the American public—for example, Roper (1985) found that most Americans cite television as their most important source of news. Also, the cultivation research of Gerbner and others argues that by viewing television, people assimilate values and feel they understand what is going on in the world, and research has discovered similarities between the content of media portrayals of homelessness and public opinion of and knowledge about the homeless (Lee, Link, and Toro, 1991).

There is very little research investigating the representation of the homeless in the media. Although these few studies present conflicting findings as to whether the media primarily attribute the responsibility for being homeless to the individuals themselves or to external social factors, and the extent to which the homeless are presented as stigmatized, the bulk of the research has determined that most media portrayals blame homelessness on the homeless and often depict the homeless as deviant.

In a narrative analysis of 92 newsmagazine articles and 111 CBS news stories about the homeless appearing between 1980 and 1990, McNulty (1992) concluded that the news media perpetuated the notion that homeless people have brought this condition upon themselves. While some characterizations of homelessness are more sympathetic than others, "the overall tone of news coverage suggests that the homeless are ungrateful victims of individual weakness or personal choices who have come to depend too heavily on public charity and service" (McNulty, 1992, p. 183). Campbell and Reeves (1989) analyzed ABC, CBS, and NBC news coverage of one homeless woman (Joyce Brown) and found that "homelessness is primarily attributed to personal deficiencies, drunkenness, and mental illness" (p. 39). Penner and Penner (1994) investigated 213 comic strips and 126 editorial cartoons featuring homelessness that appeared in San Francisco newspapers between 1989 and 1992. They discovered that 57 percent of the comic strips and 30 percent of the editorial cartoons served to "neutralize" homelessness by "focusing blame on the homeless themselves for their condition, rather than on concern for their welfare or the need for government action" (p. 767).

However, Lee, Link, and Toro (1991) analyzed 205 *New York Times* articles about homelessness appearing between 1980 and 1990, and found that structural, not individual, explanations for homelessness dominated, although this dominance decreased over time. Still, nearly half the articles (45.6 percent) contained references to deviant behaviors among the homeless, and some forms of deviance (alcohol or drug abuse, begging, loitering, and crime) received increased coverage over time.

Power (1991) also found that the majority of news stories about homelessness aired on ABC, CBS, and NBC between 1982 and 1988 attributed responsibility for the situation to social factors, rather than to the homeless individuals themselves. In addition, Power found that, contrary to other research, the majority of news stories did not portray the homeless in a stigmatized fashion, although stigmatized portrayals increased noticeably over time. Power acknowledged that these findings may be due to shortcomings in his coding system, which focused on the specific individuals involved in the story rather than on "the homeless" in general, and that the coding procedures may not have been sensitive enough to capture and reflect the presence of stigmatization.

The Center for Media and Public Affairs' *Media Monitor* (1989) analyzed news coverage of the homeless on network news (ABC, CBS, NBC) and major newsmagazines (*Time*, *Newsweek*, *U.S. News and World Report*) from November 1986 through February 1989. This analysis revealed that "News of the homeless revolved around two questions: Who are they, and what is being done to help them?" (p. 2). The *Monitor* found that coverage of the homeless focused on discussions of the homeless individuals rather than on the causes of homelessness. Even though limited attention was paid to causes, they were indeed discussed. The most commonly-mentioned causes related to housing market forces; government inaction was also mentioned, as were labor market forces and the mainstreaming of the mentally ill. Only 4 percent of sources providing their opinions about the causes of homelessness "attributed the plight of the homeless to their own personal problems, such as mental illness, lack of motivation, or drug and alcohol abuse" (p. 3).

However, the *Monitor's* exploration of the media's focus on the characteristics of homeless individuals notes that the media present a "human face of homelessness" (p. 6), which seems to contradict prior research that found a focus on individuals was associated more with blaming than with humanizing. Further, the study fails to provide any information about the extent to which media coverage overall made reference to deviant behaviors among the homeless. Analysis of 174 "personal anecdotes" contained within the stories revealed that only one homeless person was identified as a criminal, and only 7 percent were identified as drug or alcohol users. While useful, this analysis does not reflect media descriptions of the homeless which occur outside the parameters of the personal anecdote.

In this chapter, we use Power's concepts of "stigmatization" (discrediting the homeless based on appearance, character, among others) and "attribution" (identifying the cause of homelessness as relating to either individual or societal factors) to guide our investigation of the representation of the homeless in American electronic news and information media.

We also analyze media coverage of the homeless along several other dimensions. First, even though Guzewicz and Takooshian (1992, p. 68) argue that "many of us tend to lump all the homeless together into a single, faceless category," which would reinforce the notion of the "Otherness" of the homeless as described in Power (1991), the *Media Monitor* (1989) found that media coverage focused on the characteristics of individual homeless people and thus humanized the homeless. Other research has also claimed a similar focus on the individual, though with a differing result. Therefore, even though our analysis is not able to determine whether these references place blame, present deviance, or

humanize, we investigate the extent to which the electronic news media focus on individuals and people, as opposed to portraying the homeless as an undifferentiated mass.

Second, prior research has found that "in addition to portraying the homeless themselves, the media provided images of public reaction to them" (*Media Monitor*, 1989, p. 5), finding two-thirds of public reaction to the homeless was compassionate or supportive. This mediated depiction of people's response to the homeless is not incompatible with the results of various surveys of public attitudes, which have found Americans to be generally supportive of and sympathetic toward the homeless (Benedict, Shaw and Rivlin, 1988; Lee, Link and Toro, 1991; Link et al. 1995; Toro and McDonell, 1992). Although we cannot claim that mediated representations directly influence people's reactions to or identification with the homeless (see Lee, Link, and Toro, 1991; Power, 1991), it is still worthwhile to investigate the extent to which media coverage of the homeless is presented in a context of compassion.

Third, since prior research (Lee, Link and Toro, 1991; *Media Monitor*, 1989) has shown that media coverage of the homeless often refers to policies, programs and services (both existing and proposed) designed to help the homeless, we investigate the extent to which electronic media reflect consideration of potential solutions to the problems of homelessness.

Finally, since the homeless "constitute an obligatory part of the 'coping in bad weather' story, the Thanksgiving story [and] the Christmas story" (Power, 1991, p. 1), and since research has found seasonal variation in media coverage of the homeless (*Media Monitor*, 1989), we investigate the extent to which seasonal markers are part of the portrayal of the homeless in the media.

In this research, therefore, we investigate the extent to which six themes are evident in electronic media's representation of the homeless: (1) stigmatization; (2) attribution; (3) individualization; (4) context of compassion; (5) programs, policies, and solutions; and (6) seasonal markers.

METHOD

"You shall know the meaning of a word by the company it keeps." This concept is often presented by scholars of computational linguistics who study statistical patterns in large collections of texts. These scholars argue that people have varying meanings for words, and that some meanings are idiosyncratic, while others (macro-level meanings) are widely shared and may be linked with membership in particular social, ethnic, or language communities. Wittgenstein's work provides the theoretical rationale for using statistical text analysis to identify societal or macro level meanings for words.

One way to estimate the macro level meanings of words is to look at the frequency with which words appear in close proximity. In other words, we can infer words' meanings from the statistical distributions of their co-occurrences. We can be relatively confident that a language community (in this case, the audience of news and public affairs programs on ABC, CNN, PBS, and NPR) exhibits a great deal of agreement about the meanings of those words. We therefore can infer the meanings of particular words (in this case, "homeless") by investigating their surrounding word context.

A useful method for making such inferences is to take a large set of textual content, called a corpus, and perform statistical analysis of word co-occurrences. The basic unit of analysis is the word pair—two words that cooccur, or are used together. The method we used in this study was to filter two and a half years' worth of transcripts of news and public affairs programs, using computer programs that function like an information refinery. In this study, our software was set to slide a window through the text and find all words that appeared seven words before and seven words after the target word "homeless." The program recorded and counted the windowed word pairs.

RESULTS

The corpus we analyzed contained approximately 130 million words. We searched for word pairs that combined references to the homeless with references reflecting the main themes we identified in previous research. Specifically, we looked for the presence of word co-occurrences which would serve to link the homeless with stigmatization, attribution, individualization, compassion, programs/policies/solutions, and seasonal markers.

The first thing that became obvious as we searched the corpus is that the homeless receive relatively little attention in American news and public affairs programming. We found a grand total of 3,134 references to the homeless in the nearly 130 million words we analyzed—only 0.0024 percent of all words. This means that the word "homeless" appeared only about once every 41,500 words. It is evident, therefore, that the homeless are not at the top of the media agenda. Still, even though coverage of the homeless is relatively rare, there is value in determining the extent to which even limited coverage perpetuates or ameliorates popular myths.

Stigmatization

To investigate the depiction of the homeless as stigmatized, we searched the corpus for words related to deviance, unacceptable physical or social behaviors or appearances, and criminal activities (whether as victim or perpetrator). Examples of stigmatizing words include "drug," "panhandlers," "abusers," "addicted," "begging," "derelicts," "scruffy," "crazy," "alcohol," "rags," "soiled," "naked," "erratic," and so forth. We separated words which were stigmatizing in a general sense from those which were overtly related to crime and criminal activity, arguably a specific form of stigmatization. Examples of these words include "arrested," "crime," "homicide," "stole," "illegal," "prisons," "parole," and so on.

Our analysis revealed that general stigmatizing words were included in the same window as "homeless" 572 times. The most frequent word pair (at 45 occurrences) was "mental/ly-homeless," followed by "drug/s-homeless" (37 occurrences, excluding references to specific drugs, such as crack and cocaine). Stigmatizing words associated specifically with crime co-occurred with "homeless" 336 times, led by "police/man-homeless" (37 occurrences) and "kill/ed/ing/er-homeless" (35 occurrences).

Both of these forms of stigmatization would be considered what Power

stigma of the body, which includes physical deformities. We argue that this conceptualization should be expanded to include illness, disease, and infection. To the extent that the homeless are portrayed as physically unwell and possibly contagious, they are indeed stigmatized. Thus, we searched the corpus for words such as "sick," "infected," "illness," "disease," "virus," among others. We found words associated with stigmas of the body co-occurred with "homeless" 487 times. The most common co-occurrences were "health-homeless" (67 occurrences), "AIDS/HIV-homeless" (53 occurrences), and "ill/ness/es-homeless" (35 occurrences). A wide variation on the theme of death and dying (words such as "death/s," "dead," "body," "bury," "casualties," "coffin," "dying," "fatalities," and so on) was quite evident, at 76 total co-occurrences with the word "homeless."

When these three forms of stigmatization are combined, we find that of the 3,134 total references to the homeless, 1395 present a stigmatizing image. The fact that nearly 45 percent of all homeless references contain an allusion to some form of stigma indicates the perpetuation of the image of the homeless as deviant.

Attribution

Power (1991, p. 75) defined attribution as "the process of locating or identifying the cause or responsibility for an outcome." Thus, the state of being homeless could be attributed either to the homeless individuals themselves (due to drug abuse, mental illness, alcoholism, among others or to societal or other factors beyond the homeless individuals' control (unemployment, shortage of low-income housing, deinstitutionalization, the economy, and so on). Media content which attributes the cause of homelessness to the individual is quite similar to content which reflects stigmas of individual character, and there is significant overlap between the two. However, in this case, we considered only those words depicting circumstances that traditionally may be assumed to lead to homelessness (drug abuse, release from prison, the desire to lead the homeless lifestyle, mental illness) and not those words reflecting circumstances that—while still stigmatizing—may be the result of homelessness ("beggars," "dirty," "prostitute," and so on), or may be stigmatizing without having any relationship to the causes or effects of homelessness ("harass," "gay," "lesbian," and so on).

Upon analyzing the corpus, words reflecting individual attribution for homelessness co-occurred with our target word 250 times. These emphasized drug abuse and mental illness. For example, when we combined all references to drugs and alcohol ("abusers," "crack," "users," "addicted," "dependency," "drunk," "alcoholism," among others), we found 132 co-occurrences with the word "homeless." When all references to mental health ("mental," "crazy," "disturbed," "psychiatric," "idiot," among others) were combined, there were 60 co-occurrences with our target word. Taken together, drug abuse and mental illness represent about 77 percent of the total number of individual attributions for homelessness.

In examining the extent to which the cause of homelessness is attributed to societal or other factors beyond the homeless individuals' control, we found the word "homeless" co-occurred with housing-related words ("housing," "build-

ing," "rent," "affordable," "dwelling," among others) 168 times, and with employment-related words ("work," "pay," "jobless," "hiring," "unemployed," and so on) 260 times. Natural disasters ("flooding," "earthquake," "hurricane," and so on) were paired with "homeless" 65 times, while "homeless" co-occurred with words such as "economy," "recession," "poverty," "Reaganomics," and so on 92 times. The word pair "deinstitutionalization-homeless" appeared only once in the entire corpus. All together, these various forms of external attribution occur in conjunction with "homeless" a total of 586 times. Therefore, while about one-third of all mentions of homelessness contain some reference to its possible causes, the attention paid to external causes is nearly three times greater than that paid to individual causes.

Interestingly, words which reflected overt attribution, such as "because," "why," "cause," "reasons," "blame," "responsible," and so on, co-occurred with "homeless" only 148 times of the 3,134 total times "homeless" appeared in the corpus. Thus the audience is usually left to infer causality based on the details contained within the report.

Individualization

The corpus was examined for the co-occurrences of the word "homeless" with nouns (excluding proper nouns) which would indicate that the homeless were being presented as "subjects," rather than as a mass. We searched for words such as "people," "man," "woman," "sister," "child," "family," "teenagers," and so on. There was a total of 1,751 such co-occurrences, led by "person/people-homeless" (848 occurrences), "man/men-homeless" (204 occurrences), "woman/women-homeless" (100 occurrences) and "family-homeless" (72 occurrences). It would thus seem as though many references to the homeless do speak of and consider the homeless as individuals. However, it seems that the terms "homeless people" and "homeless person" are qualitatively different from terms which describe the homeless as having some connection with and in some way being related to society—evidenced by the use of words such as "vets," "sisters," "students," "youth," "grandchildren," "fathers," "elderly," "parents," and so on. If the more generic nouns "people" and "person" are excluded from the analysis, we are left with 903 word co-occurrences which present the homeless as individuals, fewer than one-third of all references to the homeless. Still, even when including "people" and "person," only about 56 percent of all references to the homeless are individualized.

Context of Compassion

To investigate the extent to which the homeless were portrayed within a context of sympathy, support, and compassion, we looked for the co-occurrence of our target word "homeless" with words which seemed evocative of compassion and support. These included "understanding," "compassion," "sympathy," "suffering," "shivering," "tragedy," "remind," "invisible," "neglected," "tolerance," "loneliness," and so on. We found 517 such co-occurrences, with the most common being "cares/s/ing-homeless" (99 occurrences) "see/ing-homeless" (78 occurrences), and "hard-homeless" (19 occurrences). The most prominent theme in this category of response presented the hard conditions of

homelessness as "hell," "suffering," "overwhelming," "tragedy," "brutal," "harsh," "horrendous," and so on—these words co-occurred with "homeless" 139 times. Another obvious theme had to do with a broad awareness of homelessness; words such as "forgotten," "seeing," "hidden," "notice," "invisible," "ignored," and so on co-occurred with "homeless" 143 times. At 517 total references, a context of compassion is found in fewer than 17 percent of the 3,134 references to the homeless.

Programs, Policies, Solutions

Here we looked for words of varying types. First, we searched for words which reflected programs and solutions that dealt with the immediate needs of the homeless—words such as "shelter," "food," "charity," and so on, we found 997 such references in the window with the word "homeless." The most frequent were "shelter/s-homeless" (264 occurrences) "help/s/ed/er/ing-homeless" (157 occurrences), and "hunger/ry-homeless" (50 occurrences). The broad food/hunger theme, comprised of words such as "hungry," "kitchen," "feeding," "cooking," "meals," "pantry," "stew," "cake," "eggs," and so on, was one of the most obvious features in this category, co-occurring 278 times with our target word.

Second, we searched for words which reflected an emphasis on policy, on working on a larger scale and addressing the larger issues underlying homelessness. These words included "government," "president," "mayor," "taxes," "programs," "reforms," "system," "funds," "prevent," "eliminate," "stop," "solve," "end," and so on. There were 657 such references, led by "homeless-program/s" (73 occurrences), "homeless-Clinton" (38 occurrences), and "homeless-end" (22 occurrences).

Third, we searched for words which reflected policy or solutions involving some form of activism or empowerment. While these can indeed be considered part of the larger solution theme, it is interesting to consider them separately. There were 170 such references; the most common were "advocate/s/acy-homeless" (79 occurrences), "voice-homeless" (54 occurrences), "coalition-homeless" (31 occurrences), and "activist/s/ism-homeless" (21 occurrences). The word pair "empower/ed-homeless" occurred 8 times.

Thus, when collapsing these last two policy/solution categories, we have found 827 co-occurrences with the word "homeless." Adding to these the 997 references to solving the more immediate needs or problems of the homeless, we find a total of 1824 word co-occurrences reflecting programs, policies, and solutions. This is indeed a large proportion (about 58 percent) of all references to the homeless, but the relative prominence of this category is inflated by virtue of the fact that we included references to solutions for immediate needs such as meals.

Seasonal Markers

Overall, seasonal markers were relatively rare in our corpus, occurring in conjunction with "homeless" only a total of 307 times, or fewer than 10 percent of the 3,134 references to our target word. The two main types of seasonal markers acknowledged in prior research reflect concerns due either to weather

conditions or to the Christmas Holiday season. An investigation of the corpus indicated a third concern which can be related to a season of a different sort—tourism.

We found 109 weather-related co-occurrences with the word "homeless." Most of these dealt with inclement winter weather; for example, "cold/er-homeless" occurred 24 times, and "winter-homeless" occurred 12 times. The most obvious focus was on cold conditions, with words such as "cold," "freeze," "subfreezing," "frigid," and "arctic" appearing in conjunction with "homeless" 36 times. Our finding that when weather is mentioned, the weather is bad, is reinforced by the relative frequency with which the months of the year are mentioned. Excluding May and March (which we didn't count due to possible alternate meanings of those words), we found a total of 123 co-occurrences of various months with "homeless." The winter months (November, December, January) accounted for more than half of all mentions, at a total of 68 co-occurrences. July and August, which can also present harsh conditions for the homeless, accounted for 26 of the co-occurrences.

There were only 37 holiday-related seasonal markers co-occurring with "homeless." The word pair "Thanksgiving-homeless" occurred 15 times, and "holiday/s-homeless" occurred 13 times.

The final type of seasonal marker we found represented tourism issues. These were just about as common as traditional holiday references (at 38 occurrences), and seemed to be a function of the 1996 Olympic Games held in Atlanta, Georgia. The word pair "Olympic/s-homeless" occurred 14 times, "games-homeless" appeared 6 times, and "tourist/s/ism-homeless" appeared 6 times. Evidently someone was concerned about how the presence of the homeless during the Olympic Games would reflect on the host country.

Summary by Topic

Table 7.1 provides the summary counts for all word pair frequencies by topic area. The table also includes the percentage value, based on the 3,134 total appearances of the word "homeless" within the nearly 130 million words contained within the corpus. These topics are presented in the order in which they were discussed in this chapter.

Table 7.1
Summary of Homeless Representation by Topic

Topic	Frequency	Percent
Stigmatization	1,395	44.51%
Individual	250	7.98%
External	586	18.70%
Individualization	1,751	55.87%
Context of Compassion	517	16.50%
Immediate	997	31.81%
Long-Term	827	26.39%
Seasonal Markers	307	9.80%

* Percent of the 3,134 total references to "homeless" contained in the corpus.

** Total Attribution: 836; 26.68% Total Programs/Policies/Solutions: 1,824; 58.20%

CONCLUSION

Overall, this analysis has found very little coverage of the homeless in American electronic media. It stands to reason that when the media ignore a specific cultural group, most audience members will not be particularly well informed about that cultural group. Under these conditions, negative stereotypes may thrive, unencumbered by depictions which may serve to debunk popular myths.

But to what extent does media coverage reflect or combat these myths about the homeless? Certainly, this study found that the homeless continue to be extensively stigmatized in news and information programs. The presentation of the homeless as mentally ill and/or substance abusers, as involved in criminal activities, and as being in poor health (often with contagious diseases) is common.

This finding becomes even more powerful when interpreted in conjunction with our investigation of the context of compassion. There are relatively few associations between compassion and the homeless (unless one considers references to resolving the immediate needs of the homeless, which we have not). The stigmatized image of the homeless that the audience receives is not countered by an alternative image encouraging sympathy and support.

Furthermore, the great emphasis on the immediate needs of the homeless, when considered in concert with the stigmatization and the lack of compassion, seems to reinforce an image of the homeless as constantly needy though perhaps undeserving. The homeless therefore come across as strange, scary, filthy, demanding creatures who don't really seem to deserve our sympathy but who are always after us for something, whether it be spare change, a meal, a change of clothes, or a warm place to spend the night.

However, our analysis did find that, although the media pay relatively little attention to the causes of homelessness, the state of being homeless was significantly less frequently blamed on homeless individuals than it was on a combination of things such as unemployment, a lack of affordable housing, the economy, and natural disasters. This finding implies a fairly positive portrayal of the homeless, though we must reiterate that only about one quarter of all references to the homeless (836 of 3,134) contained any indications of attribution, and of these, about one third did attribute blame to the homeless themselves.

An additional finding of this research is that the homeless are more often than not depicted as individuals—as people, sisters, parents, teenagers, and so on. While our methodology doesn't allow us to determine whether this individualization serves to humanize the homeless or to more easily blame them for their situation, it seems clear that, on the whole, the homeless are not depicted in the media as an amorphous mass. Still, there is room for progress in this area; nearly 45 percent of references to the homeless did not contain the type of personal individual reference we used in our analysis.

In sum, we conclude that the homeless have very little shelter in the electronic media. One may speculate that the media's adherence to internal and external norms of "objectivity" might encourage reporters to avoid more compassionate treatment of the homeless. The responsibility of reporters, some might argue, that is to relate the facts, and that encouraging support, sympathy, and compassion for the homeless falls within the domain of charitable, religious, or other social institutions—not the media.

Nevertheless, to the extent that people's contact with the homeless comes from the media, and society's fleeting images of homelessness are given cultural interpretation by the media, we argue it is important that mediated representations of the homeless continue to be critically analyzed. It is difficult to imagine successfully resolving the complex issues underlying homelessness while myths and stereotypes about the homeless continue to be perpetuated.

NOTES

All segments of the following programs aired between May 1993 and January 1996 were analyzed: ABC: "Breaking News," "Good Morning America," "News Special," "Nightline," "Prime Time Live," "This Week with David Brinkley," "Turning Point," "World News Saturday," "World News Sunday," "World News Tonight," "20/20." CNN: "Both Sides with Jesse Jackson," "Capital Gang," "Crossfire," "Diplomatic License," "Evans and Novak," "Future Watch," "Health Week," "Health Works," "Inside Business," "Inside Politics," "Larry King Live," "Moneyline," "Moneyweek," "News," "Newsmaker Saturday," "Pinnacle," "Reliable Sources," "Science and Technology Week," "Showbiz Today," "Special Assignment," "Talkback Live," "Your Money." NPR: "All Things Considered," "Morning Edition," "Weekend Edition." PBS: "American Experience," "Charlie Rose," "Frontline," "Nova," "Wall Street Journal Report," "Washington Week in Review."

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