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Hidden Power: Journalistic Representations of Mental Health Labels

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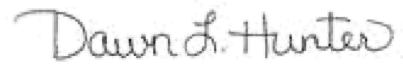

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To my committee – Dawn, Margie, and Doug – thank you for the support, guidance, and hours

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ABSTRACT

Hidden Power: Journalistic Representations of Mental Health Labels

by Elise Anguizola Assaf

Individuals with disabilities make up the largest minority group in the U.S., and the language used to construct representations of these individuals has the ability to perpetuate or diminish stereotypes about these individuals. The purpose of this case study was to explore and describe the representations of mental health in online newspaper articles published by three national publications – *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and *USA Today*. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was used as the methodological framework, including an analysis of semiotic choices, dominant perspectives, and causality. The case study allowed for data collection using the key terms *mental health* and *mental illness* from the three online newspapers, with a total of 33 articles published between July 1, 2018 and December 31, 2018. The findings identified that most discussions of mental health and mental illness align with a medical model frame and incorporate medicalized lexicon. Dominant perspectives of causality within articles remain with law enforcement, lawmakers, and legal advisors. Overlexicalization was evident, and the use of mental health and mental illness was more often stated with semi-formal or formal language. Findings also suggest that individuals with mental health labels are often labeled as an aggressor with specific individuals or local citizens as their victims. Potential ramifications of hidden power, as well as recommendations on altering the use of the key terms and sources used within an article are discussed.

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1.1   Introduction

More than one billion people live with a disability and often experience exclusion from daily activities (World Health Organization, 2011). Roughly one in five Americans has a disability, making it the nation's largest minority group (Snow, n.d.). Snow (n.d.) stated that "old, inaccurate descriptors and the inappropriate use of medical diagnoses perpetuate negative stereotypes and reinforce a significant and incredibly powerful attitudinal barrier" (p. 1). The author and activist contends that the language and labels used are the "greatest obstacle facing individuals who have conditions we call disabilities" (Snow, p. 1), not the medical diagnosis itself. Journalists and other communications gatekeepers, as professionals who capture the social world, have the ability to create far reaching social narratives about specific topics with the way they describe or omit content in their publications (Carey, 2017), and the representations and terminology used by media outlets can reinforce a dominant ideology about people with disabilities (Haller, 2010). The following sections in this introduction will lay groundwork for the current study and its focus on newspapers, outlining a brief history of the medium, journalistic writing styles, and the role of gatekeepers and newspapers. The chapter will conclude with introductory information regarding the research problem, purpose, questions, and significance of this research project.

1.2   History of Newspapers

There have been considerable changes and advances in newspaper publishing throughout the last few centuries (Unwin, Tucker, and Unwin, 2017). According to Unwin, Tucker, and Unwin (2017), during the 15th century, newspapers were more closely linked to newsletters – relatively

short, informational pieces that disseminated trade reports from one business family to the next. In the industrial era, technological advances (e.g. steam-driven double-press, the Fourdrinier machine, and the cylindrical rotary press) began to appear in the newspaper industry. These advances allowed publishing houses to reach a greater number of readers, allow for easier news-gathering efforts, and decrease the time it took to produce and deliver newspapers.

1.2.1 British Press as a Template

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, journalism in the United States mirrored British content being disseminated to readers (Frasca, 1998). Popular English essayists were used as examples for colonial press with regard to substance and style, with the likes of Benjamin Franklin – who was an inventor, printer, and politician, among other jobs and hobbies – attributing his style to that of London magazines like *The Spectator* (Frasca, 1998). In addition, the way in which press material was produced and circulated was patterned after the British press, in part because many publishers in the colonies had trained and worked in English printing houses and were familiar with their methods (Frasca, 1998).

1.2.2 Eighteenth Century Newspapers

Colonial press began in Boston in in 1690 with the publication of *Publick Occurrences, Both Foreign and Domestick* (Copeland, 1998). The three-page paper had the goal of providing Massachusetts citizens with relevant content, but the publication only lasted one issue because local government officials objected (Copeland, 1998). The colonies did not have a regularly published newspaper until 1704 when John Campbell started the *Boston News-Letter* (Copeland, 1998). In 1719, two additional newspapers began in Boston and Philadelphia, the *Boston Gazette* and the *American Weekly Mercury*, respectively (Copeland, 1998). By 1730, five additional newspapers began publication; 12 newspapers were in circulation by 1750; and by 1775, 40

publications were being printed across the colonies except New Jersey and Delaware (Copeland, 1998).

Campbell's *Boston News-Letter* came after his attempts at circulating news clippings from European periodicals and writing them by hand to disseminate to those interested in consuming news material (Hedgepeth Williams, 1998). The next step was to publish a newspaper of his own and it became America's first successful paper. As Copeland (1998) explained, newspapers looked different than contemporary forms, with no headlines except for the occasional grouping of articles under generic titles, such as "News from London." Stories were placed in a different manner as well – the most recent news was on the inside of the paper, in part because the first page was not considered the most significant place for important news. The content on the first page was typically reserved for "more stately [news] or worthy of extended discussion by readers" (p. 148). These stories were often essays of political news from Europe and the colonies, and it represented content that printers had available to set before press day. That meant that late-breaking news was set last and appeared in later pages, or in supplements between press days.

As the eighteenth century progressed so did the subject matter in the colonial papers. Hedgepeth Williams (1998) described the transition, explaining that the first newspapers depended heavily on foreign news and lacked articles on local items. In 1721, James Franklin began the *New-England Courant* in order to incorporate local issues that were not included in other papers, a method that was seen as controversial. However, the newspaper did well and sold many copies. Newspapers began to spread to areas that lacked press as colonial populations grew, and printers and publishers were hired to establish publications. Older papers that did not alter the subject matter to fit the times began to fail, and publishers like Benjamin Franklin

helped them become successful again by emphasizing news like crime and local stories (Hedgepeth Williams, 1998).

According to Hedgepeth Williams (1998), editors began to clip articles from other American publications in order to increase the local content. Readers were requested to submit submissions, including essays and how-to articles, as well as entertainment pieces like poems and literary works. The local content still did not overtake the emphasis on European news, in part because the colonial citizens were still citizens of European nations and very interested in what was occurring in Europe. Because of the wide array of news now being included in papers, printers began to create weekly gazettes, and in 1783, Benjamin Towne began the first daily newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Evening Post and Daily Advertiser*. Most newspapers remained weeklies, but by 1800 there were 234 newspapers.

Colonial newspapers cost between 10 and 12 shillings per year for a subscription (Copeland, 1998). Prior to 1765, circulation ranged from a few hundred to 1,000 issues per year. After the Stamp Act, newspapers became more political and circulation increased with some newspapers selling more than 3,500 subscriptions per year (Copeland, 1998). However, as Copeland (1998) noted, circulation numbers do not accurately reflect the impact of the newspapers as they were often passed on to non-subscribers in public places, such as taverns, increasing their prominence.

1.2.3 Nineteenth Century Newspapers

At the beginning of the 1800s, newspapers were geared towards elite, white male property owners interested in reading political and trade news (Huntzicker, 1998). Design was relatively non-existent: papers contained text of the same size and type with occasional italics or capital

letters to emphasize an element. Illustrations weren't used except perhaps for a small figure highlighting an advertisement.

By the end of the century, headlines expanded to cover multiple columns at the top of the page and large photographs and drawings were used (Huntzicker, 1998). As Huntzicker (1998) stated,

> News stories and headlines began with summaries highlighting the latest
>
> information from around the world. Name-calling and partisanship moved to
>
> special sections called editorial pages, while other sections covered sports,
>
> women's issues, and, in some cases, religion, agriculture, or business. (p. 453)

Toward the end of the century, America had more than 2,300 daily newspapers that reached anywhere from a few hundred readers in small towns to 100,000 readers in larger cities (Huntzicker, 1998).

Penny Press. The penny press began in New York City and substantially increased mass-circulation newspapers (DeBerry, 2017). DeBerry (2017) stated that prior to 1833, newspapers typically focused on two industries – mercantile and business – and were reserved for those who could afford a subscription. However, due in part to the increase in labor workers and the Industrial Revolution, there was an "untapped audience for aggressive advertisers" (DeBerry, p. 3). On September 3, 1883, Benjamin Henry Day launched the *New York Sun* at one cent per copy and did not require a subscription for purchase. The content was a departure from politics and the mercantile industry, focusing instead on human-interest stories, local color, and sensationalism. It included more advertising than previous styles of newspapers, including a help wanted section. Because of the change in style, the increased circulation, and quicker publication of news, the

penny press "gave the United States its first genuinely popular journalism and illuminated the path to the future in many areas of American life" (DBerry, p. 3).

1.2.4 Twentieth Century Newspapers

The twentieth century witnessed substantial changes in the newspaper industry. Early in the 1900s, newspapers still remained as black and gray pages with several publications in each city and many journalists competing for stories (Lindley, 1998). Wire news and rapid typesetting allowed for an increase in late and breaking content, and circulation for some newspapers reached a million readers. But as the century progressed, newspaper mergers became commonplace and there was a lack of competing newspapers, as well as increased competition from outside sources, such as television and direct mail (Lindley, 1998).

In the mid-1970s, computers began to replace the job of typewriters and paste pots in the writing and editing process (Lindley, 1998). This technological change helped save production costs at a time when revenue was becoming limited. Newspapers became more colorful, both visually and through text, with publications like *USA Today* being launched in 1981. Stories became more casual and discussed social issues, and a television-like personalized approach to news replaced the hard-hitting reporting that had previously been popular (Lindley, 1998).

Toward the end of the century, the difficulty of printing newspapers and delivering it to readers became increasingly evident (Lindley, 1998). Lindley (1998) summarized the problem by explaining that increased traffic in metropolitan areas and the growth of suburbs affected the transportation process, whereas the popular broadcast media did not have that issue. Publishers began to consider electronic means of delivery in order to increase circulation and reach markets previously unattainable. By 1994, roughly 90 newspapers were available online and 600

provided voice information services – a system whereby subscribers could receive audio messages of news stories (Lindley, 1998).

1.2.5 Twenty-First Century Newspapers

According to Hall (2001), at the turn of the century, news media was the third global professional sector, behind military endeavors and academia, to pursue online dissemination. In the mid-1990s, most national newspapers published online editions of their print copies. It affected the way some of the publications produced news (e.g., blogging, *news-packaging*, participatory news) and allowed certain publications to cease print editions and solely offer content through digital platforms. Web users can access news content from a multitude of ways, including handheld devices like cell phones, adapted television sets, and computers. The Internet altered the way news runs as a business, and technology involved and different audience demographics offered reporters a new way of producing content, including **"**the opportunity to focus on information that you never got before" (Arvidson, 1997, para. 1). As Arvidson (1997) explained,

> Suddenly you have a different brand of story, a more precise story. Suddenly there are better questions to ask. It's a new starting place. It does not replace shoe leather and traditional reporting…but it is a very powerful and very effective technology. (Arvidson, 1997, para. 1)

The technological advancements have fostered a change in the way journalists work, reassessing their roles and "the social, political, and commercial functions of news and information" (Hall, 2001, p. 5). News consumption is fully interactive, forcing outlets to offer news in a variety of formats, and from an array of sources.

1.3   Journalistic Writing Style

As U.S. journalists moved away from British methods in news writing by beginning to craft their own literary style with a specific voice (Connery, 1998). Writing style has been tied to journalism's role in society and various cultural expectations, explained Connery (1998), such as informing the public and working as watch-dogs for society, including those who owned and operated the publication. During the colonial days and up though the 1840s, journalists often wrote by prose as a method of persuading the public rather than solely informing readers. The author continued by stating that more modern U.S. newspapers have, generally speaking, always had at least a little drama in their narratives, also referred to as traditional storytelling. Major events such as natural disasters have been written with a mixture of dramatic detail and other emotional elements, whereas colonial newspapers and publications prior to 1850 mostly included announcements, listings, and notices.

The mid-nineteenth century saw an increase in literary content in newspapers, such as travel accounts and poetry, while other pieces attacked political figures (Copeland, 1998). Toward the end of the nineteenth century, news writing and novel writing became popular. Both forms attempted to capture peoples' lives and behavior in a manner that highlighted regional dialect and vivid descriptions, making "newspaper[s] a vehicle for realism and local color" (Copeland, 1998, p. 316). Stories of local residents, crime, neighborhoods, and increasing immigrant populations became commonplace, with U.S. newspapers offering "a huge collection of short stories" (Copeland, 1998, p. 316).

By the beginning of the twentieth century, there was a decrease in poets as contributors to newspapers and an increase in the desire for "factual thoroughness" (Copeland, 1998, p. 316). Newspapers became more business-like, and reporters and editors were considered professional

journalists. The *New York Times* and Associated Press epitomized the new standard of news writing, focusing on informing the public in a diligent manner (Copeland, 1998). News reports were informative, features were presented in a formulaic style, and columnists provided context and perspective to the news covered in the publication (Copeland, 1998). By the 1930s, newspaper content was thought to be neutral in its presentation of facts and the content was no longer thought to be subjective, but rather scientific and true (Copeland, 1998). However, by the 1960s and 70s, *new journalism* became popular as journalists reverted back to literary elements, with an interest in style and literary technique. Newspapers placed greater emphasis on strong writing while also demanding imaginative approaches to writing news content (Copeland, 1998).

With the advent of digital journalism, writing style again changed and moved beyond the written word and photographs. Hall (2001) maintained that news content arrives in a personalized manner, forcing news corporations to adopt new ways of aggregating information. Platforms like portals and apps allow users to select settings to curate their content, decreasing the generic information they may not want to read, and allowing personalized news-content to be delivered.

> The web encourages news consumers to negotiate breaking stories as they develop – news becomes a dynamic form and its values, such as truth and utility, have to be re-evaluated by readers. Immediacy and interactivity have radical implications for the way we consume news. (Hall, 2001, p. 7)

The methods of disseminating content within newspapers has transitioned through various formats, including physical copies and digital platforms, as well as the style by which gatekeepers have presented news and information. Throughout those changes, guidelines have

developed to aid journalists in writing stories aimed at areas such as truth, accuracy, balance, and humanity.

1.4   Journalistic Guidelines

Mental health is a predominant topic within society, primarily due to the large percentage of individuals who have been, or will be, diagnosed with a mental health label. A number of recommendations have been outlined with regards to journalistic representations of mental health and mental illness, including guidelines from *The Associated Press (AP) Stylebook 2018* and The Carter Center's *Journalism Resource Guide on Behavioral Health* (2019 [PDF file]). In addition, disability studies researchers and advocates have suggested terminology, including those that align with various models.

According to the *AP Stylebook*, journalists should "not describe individuals as mentally ill unless it is clearly pertinent to a story and the diagnosis is properly sourced" (Kindle loc. 7220). The source of the diagnosis should be identified, and journalists should seek firsthand knowledge. The time frame for the diagnosis should also be understood, as according to the authors, "A person's condition can change over time, so a diagnosis of mental illness might not apply anymore" (Kindle loc. 7220). The text explained that on-the-record sources can be one of the following: family members, mental health professionals, medical authorities, law enforcement officials or court records. Lastly, the text explained that mental illness is a general term and that specific conditions should be used whenever possible such as schizophrenia or anorexia.

Among The Carter Center's goals are to promote awareness about mental health issues and reduce stigma and discrimination against those with mental illnesses. The Center believes that fair and accurate coverage matters and asks journalists to consider three questions when

covering a story: (1) Is mental illness or substance use relevant to the story?, (2) What is your

source for the mental illness and substance use diagnosis?, and (3) What is the most accurate

language to use? It is suggested to use person-first language rather than terms such as mentally

ill, crazy, or addict. It is also suggested to report behavioral health facts, discuss prevention and

early intervention, include treatment options, and highlight recovery. The Carter Center's

guidelines (retrieved from https://www.cartercenter.org/resources/pdfs/health/mental_health

/2015-journalism-resource-guide-on-behavioral-health.pdf) and those presented within the *AP

Stylebook* express ways that gatekeepers should gather information about a story involving

someone with a mental health label, who would be expected to share credible information about

said individual, and language to both use and avoid in the presentation of the article.

1.5   Role of Newspapers

A newspaper differs from other forms of news media in its immediacy, characteristic headlines,

and coverage of various pertinent issues and events (Unwin, Tucker, & Unwin, 2017). Although

initially intended as informational text describing goods and trading updates, according to

Unwin, Tucker, and Unwin (2017), newspapers in the nineteenth century contributed

significantly to increased literacy and the spread of concepts such as human rights and

democratic freedoms.

The emergence of large printing enterprises during the nineteenth century in the United

States has been tied to the increase of literacy rates during the same time period (Gutjahr, 1998).

Changes in printing technology increased the circulation of newspapers and other reading

material, making them the first examples of mass media in the United States (Gutjahr, 1998).

Throughout the past century, newspapers have and continue to shape opinions in the global

village, shaping discussions and public perceptions of locales and people of varying difference to

specific readers (Gutjahr, 1998). In addition, the importance of newspaper journalists as watchdogs has increased, as well as their responsibility to inform the public on various subject matter (Koehler, 1998).

The historical and professional information provided up until this point offers a foundational understanding of newspapers and the field of journalism. The following sections explain the scholarly efforts this project has aimed to analyze, including the research problem, purpose, questions and significance of the study.

1.6   Research Problem

According to the National Institute of Mental Health, a 2016 analysis found that 44.7 million adults in the U.S. lived with a *mental illness* (para. 1, 2016). Descriptions and language regarding disability have a powerful effect on the perceptions one has about an individual with a medical label (Snow, n.d.). Newspapers assist in spreading ideas and concepts (Unwin, Tucker, & Unwin, 2017), and potentially shape public opinion regarding such topics (Gutjahr, 1998).

1.7   Research Purpose

The purpose of this case study was to explore and describe the representations of mental health in online newspaper articles published by three national publications – *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, and *USA Today*. Within this research, the mental health representations will be generally defined as discussions of emotional, psychological, and/or social well-being labels of individuals. The focus on language used within newspapers was due to the ideology that this medium presents information in a factual, unbiased method; more specifically, online newspapers were selected due to the increased readership on online platforms as opposed to the physically printed presentation of articles.

1.8   Research Questions

The exploration of online articles published by the three publications will allow for the

description and analysis of language used by said publications. Three questions were used to

guide the study, facilitating specific analysis of the data with regard to frames and discourse.

RQ 1: How are individuals with mental health labels portrayed in mainstream, national

newspapers?

RQ 2: What discourse is used in the representations of mental health labels?

RQ 3: What frames are used by newspaper gatekeepers when describing individuals with

mental health labels?

1.9   Significance of Study

Studies have been done in regard to journalism (e.g., Carey, 2017; Fondevila-Gascón, Rom-

Rodríguez, & Santana-López, 2016), discourse and newspapers (e.g., Carrà & Clerici, 2013;

Haller, 2010; Pingani et al., 2015), and mental health (e.g., Corrigan & Watson, 2002; Evans-

Lacko, Brohan, Mojtabai, & Thornicroft, 2012), but this study will aim to combine online

journalism, discourse analysis, and mental health in a manner that does not appear to have yet

occurred. With tens of millions of Americans living with a mental health label (National Institute

of Mental Health, 2017), and the importance of language with regards to discussions of mental

health, this study has the opportunity to assist in examining how a large percentage of Americans

are being represented in one type of media. The use of online articles is significant due to the

shift in preference for news consumption of those who prefer to read news content (as opposed to

viewing), 63% choose web-based platforms while 17% prefer a print product (Mitchell, 2018). In

addition, the study has the potential to inform societal members, including researchers,

gatekeepers, communication practitioners, disability studies advocates, and other audience

13

members, about the subject and if there are positive representations occurring or if the representations should be altered moving forward. Finally, the identification of dominant perspectives may further illuminate who are considered powerholders and the potential ramifications of the language that said powerholders use.

1.10 Conclusion

Newspapers have a long and storied history and understanding their trajectory throughout the last few centuries helps to identify the ways in which modern publications present their content. Through critical discourse analysis (CDA) and the theoretical frameworks of agenda setting, cultivation analysis, and frame analysis, this study will illuminate the ways in which specific content is focused on by reporters and how those frames may impact audience members during their consumption of news media.

2   REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Historically, individuals with mental health labels have been deemed inappropriate to live among individuals without mental health labels (Special Needs Alliance, n.d.), potentially due to the notion that "nondisabled people are often uncomfortable, even fearful, around people with disabilities" (Berger, 2013, p. 8). Many nondisabled people view people with disabilities with concern that they will *catch* the condition, making the individual with a disability "the Other – a living symbol of failure, frailty, and emasculation; a counterpoint to normality; a figure whose very humanity is questioned" (Murphy, 1987, p. 117). Discourse regarding disability used in print newspapers has been previously analyzed quantitatively (see Haller, 2010), however qualitative analysis of online publications covering mental health specifically does not seem to have occurred. This chapter will further the foundational content provided in the introduction, highlighting the areas specific to disability, including the medical and social models; representations of mental health in mass media; and the theoretical underpinning central to this study - critical discourse analysis (CDA).

2.1   Disability Studies

Disability studies is "a challenge to dominant constructs such as 'ability,' 'normality,' or the body" (Rao & Kalyanpur, 2015, p. 9), meaning the ways in which ability, normality, and the body should look and act. The discourse used examines the politics, language, and labels used to refer to disability (Davis, 2013). The disability studies perspective finds that impairments exist everywhere, but the interpretation of disability differs from one environment to another, making the construction of disability anything but universal (Barnes, Oliver, & Barton, 2008; Rao & Kalyanpur, 2015). Berger (2013) explained that in the field of disability studies, discussions of

disability typically begin with a differentiation between impairment and disability. The term

impairment refers to a biological or physiological condition that results in "the loss of physical,

sensory, or cognitive function, and disability refers to an inability to perform a personal or

socially necessary task because of that impairment or the societal reaction to it" (Berger, 2013, p.

6). In the researcher's analysis of disability studies scholars, Brueggemann (2013) stated:

> . . . [D]isability is not a state of bodily impairment, inadequacy, failing
>
> misfortune, or excess—that it is not about marking the things gone "wrong" with
>
> the body. Rather, disability, as it is conceived in disability studies, is a culturally
>
> composed (and shared) narrative of the body . . . a study of the unequal
>
> distribution of power, material and economic resources, and status (class, etc.)
>
> within both social and architectural environments. (p. 283)

Within the field of disability studies and advocacy, several models of disability have

gained notoriety throughout the last few centuries, including the medical model and social model

(Dunn & Andrews, 2015); these models have incorporated facets of the the various types of

disabilities and the definitions associated with each. The following sections will further explore

two models and the language associated with each.

2.1.1 Medical Model

The medical model became popular in the nineteenth century when disabilities were no longer

considered a matter of moral standing, but rather a medical problem (Dunn & Andrews, 2015). It

is an essentialist approach that locates disability as the property of an individual, and it is tied to

the various medical aspects of society, including diagnosis, prevention, and treatment (Siebers,

2006). Those who ascribe to the model often believe that individuals with impairments go

through phases of grief, denial, anger, bargaining, depression, and acceptance (Berger, 2013).

Gill (2001) interpreted this process as a way to determine an individual's level of adaptation to each stage and the emotional state associated with each; the individual's relationships with others is also fixed to these stages. At every point, however, the process is an individualistic one and solely dependent on the person with the disability.

2.1.2 Social Model

A contrast to the medical model is the social model, a presentation of disability as a characteristic, like any other, rather than a medical concern needing a cure (Dunn & Andrews, 2015). Rather than a problem residing in an individual, the model focuses on the social aspects that inhibit full participation in society by people with disabilities, including physical obstacles, attitudinal beliefs, and various forms of discrimination (Gill, 2001). Because the social model views disability as a construction or creation within a social environment, disability can only be understood within a specific cultural or social context from which it is situated (Rao & Kalyanpur, 2015; Taylor, 2008).

2.1.3 Medical Model Versus Social Model

Disability researcher Shakespeare (2017) outlined three dichotomies that are key to a social model ideology. First, impairments and disabilities are distinguished from one another; impairments are individual and private, whereas disability is structural and public. Those with a medical frame of reference seek to cure the impairment, but a social model ideology accepts the impairment and removes disability. Second, the social model and medical model are distinguished from one another. The social model identifies disability as a collective creation within a disabling group, and the medical model defines disability as a deficit within an individual person. Finally, disabled people are distinguished from non-disabled people. "Disabled people are an oppressed group, and often non-disabled people and organizations –

such as professionals and charities – are the causes or contributors to that oppression"
(Shakespeare, 2016, p. 197). According to the social model, solving the issue of disability and
the oppression that it results in can be solved via civil rights instead of charity or pity
(Shakespeare, 2016). This model's ideology believes that barrier removal, anti-discrimination
legislation, and independent living are among the responses that can aid in decreases the social
oppression currently felt by those with disabilities. In addition, it has been found to be effective
politically in building the social movement of disabled people; instrumentally in liberating
people with disabilities from social oppression and exclusion; and psychologically by increasing
self-esteem within disabled people and building a positive, collective identity (Shakespeare,
2016).

Author and advocate Eli Clare explained the opposition to the medical model in *Exile and
Pride: Disability, Queerness and Liberation*:

> To frame disability in terms of a cure is to accept the medical model of disability,
> to think of disabled people as sick, diseased, ill people. …My CP [Cerebral Palsy]
> simply is not a medical condition. I need no specific medical care, medication, or
> treatment for my CP; the adaptive equipment I use can be found in a computer
> catalog, not a hospital. Of course, disability comes in many varieties. Some
> disabled people, depending on their disabilities, may indeed have pressing
> medical needs for a specific period of time or on an ongoing basis. But having
> particular medical needs differs from labeling a person with multiple sclerosis as
> sick, or thinking of quadriplegia as a disease. The disability rights movement, like
> other social change movements, names systems of oppression as the problem, not

individual bodies. In short it is ableism that needs the cure, not our bodies. (Clare

1999, pp. 105–6)

One aspect tied directly to the various models of disability is language. The

following sections will highlight the ways in which language may oppress, discriminate,

or champion those with disabilities.

2.1.4 Language

Language used to describe those with disabilities has changed throughout time, in part due to the

changes in ways of thinking (Dunn & Andrews, 2015). The moral model of disability, a

standpoint widely used prior to the medical model, was influenced by religious beliefs and used

terms considered derogatory today (e.g., *moron*, *cripple*, *gimp*, and *imbecile*) (Solomon, 2012).

Language used via the medical model ideology described groups based on their impairments but

are also considered offensive today (e.g., *retarded*, *deaf-mutes*, *feeble-minded*) (Longmore,

1985). The social model argues against language that makes a person less than and avoiding

phrasing that would equate a person with their disability (Wright, 1983). The emphasis is placed

on the person and was thought "to preserve disabled people's humanity while promoting their

individuality" (Dunn & Andrews, 2015), such as person-first language that places the individual

before their disability in both the terminology used and the cognitive processing on behalf of the

audience member.

Person-First Language. The American Psychological Association (APA) advises writers

to use person-first language when describing individuals with disabilities, such as *people with*

disabilities or *person with an amputation* (Dunn & Andrews, 2015). The aim is, in part, to

"reduce bias in practice, research, and educational settings" (Dunn & Andrews, 2015, p. 256).

Person-first language is believed to reduce stigma and prejudice towards individuals with

disabilities, moving away from negative stereotypes towards a greater understanding of the person being described (Dunn & Andrews, 2015). The language used by individuals can alter the way in which they think and behave towards people with disabilities in a variety of settings, including medical offices and everyday life (Gouvier & Coon, 2002). Person-first language is often promoted in academic and psychological environments throughout the United States, and according to Peers, Spencer-Cavaliere, and Eales (2014), it is often mandated by scholarly journals and academic programs.

Identity-First Language. Although many have advocated for person-first language (e.g., Snow, n.d.; Wright, 1983), there are also a number of individuals who believe that the use of identity-first language may be more appropriate (e.g., Brueggemann, 2013; Davis, 2013; Dunn & Andrews, 2015). According to Dunn and Andrews (2015), "disability culture advocates and disability studies scholars have challenged the exclusive use of person-first language" (p. 256) with recommendations to use language such as *disabled person* or *amputee*. The authors affirm that the use of identity-first language allows a person to find pride in their disability rather than allowing others to name it. Those who promote identity-first language believe that placing the disability after the person implies a negative connotation and creates a distance from the person and their disability. Those who advocate against identity-first language typically prefer person-first language, in part due to the belief that placing the disability first is linked to medical terminology and what they perceive to be the negative ramifications of the medical model.

2.2 Semiotic Choices

Caldas-Coulthar and Moon (2010) stated that noun phrases are particularly prevalent in journalism. These phrases package information in an "economical way…, representing what writers consider relevant and interesting, as well as reflecting values and stereotypes consistent

with the publication's ideology" (Caldas-Coulthat & Moon, 2010, p. 110). Noun phrases can create mini narratives regarding subjects of a story, predisposing a reader to a certain range of interpretations of the information provided. According to Fritsch and Kuchinke (2013), contextual learning has been suggested as a key process in linking verbal information to an emotional one.

Connotation is defined as aspects of meaning that convey an emotion or affective meaning (Corrigan, 2003), and lexica are used to examine cultural norms and values that are implicitly contained in the emotional connotations of words (Schauenburg, Ambrasat, Schröder, von Scheve, & Conrad, 2014). Research suggests that individuals automatically make evaluations without conscious awareness or intent to evaluate, and it can occur with a variety of stimuli with a variety of different responses, including lexical decisions and pronunciation (Corrigan, 2003). These perceptions and emotional responses affect the brain differently, resulting in stimuli being evaluated as negative or positive (Corrigan, 2003). Social psychologists have relied on affective language to investigate similarities and differences regarding emotional connotations since emotional meanings are thought to influence behavior and perception in an automatic process (Schauenburg et al., 2014).

Corrigan (2003) stated that words with a specific connotation are remembered easily when they appear in similar contexts in large samples of language. The meaning of a word is dependent on the context in which it is presented, meaning individuals construct a different meaning for the same word in different constructs. In addition, usage-based theories of language find that words and phrases are learned as a result of experience with language, such as interpersonal communication or media consumption. In conversations, individuals construct meaning together; in written text, however, the construction of meaning is less negotiated.

2.3   High- and Low-Context Messaging

Reyes (2015) stated that formality versus informality can be distinguished by linguistic elements, including lexical choices, syntax, semantic and pragmatic meanings, and multi-textual levels. Levels of formality are recognized by the speaker and audience in a nuanced way, including responses such as clapping or laughter. The audience's response is determined, in part, by the level of formality set by the speaker; both groups collaborate together in the construction of meaning. As Reyes explained, there are two types of context, high and low. Low-context situations are the result of explicit messages with clear and detailed facts. High context situations rely heavily on the context of the message, which is implicit and requires the context in order to be understood. High-context situations typically involve less formal language, and low-context situations include more formal language. Context-dependent, or contextual expressions, would be ambiguous on their own and need additional information provided in the context in order to be understood.

Formal language often avoids misinterpretation, but is typically considered static and rigid (Reyes, 2015). Familiar or colloquial language is more flexible and interactive. Of the two, formal discourse depicts detachment and informal discourse depicts involvement. Reyes (2015) correlates linguistic variables with two modes of persuasion, Pathos and Ethos. Pathos refers to the emotional appeal a statement may have, whereas Ethos has been traditional identified as credibility by expressing knowledge and expertise regarding a topic.

2.4   Medical Lexicon

Medical discourse is a formal, methodical process by which information is gathered by a medical practitioner and recorded into discourse that aligns with the field (Emmerson & Wood, 2018). Historically, medical discourse has been included in newspapers, pamphlets, and books in an

effort to offer practical knowledge about diseases, including methods of prevention and social implications (Yilmez, 2017). Public health efforts typically attempted to eliminate misinformation and social stigma, but "strong official control measures simultaneously reinforced a culture of shame and secrecy" (Yilmez, 2017, p. 224) resulting in citizens' responses based in fear. Changes in scientific knowledge and treatment have transformed government and medical discourse from one time period to the next (Yilmez, 2017), and discourses on health change to "reflect the prevailing social, political, and economic contexts and ideologies in which they are produced and maintained" (O'Hara, 2016, p. 50).

As Wilce (2009, p. 200) stated:

Studying discourse (language in its fullness) and medicine together brings us to encounter culture as discursively constituted. As historically situated practices, forms of medical discourse play a role in cultural production and reproduction. Effective intervention in those processes (Hodge et al. 1996) requires insightful assessment of communicative practices in sociocultural contexts (Browner et al. 2003; Kleinman & Benson 2006).

Medical information received by individuals "does not reach a naïve person" (Pujol, Mérel, & Roth, 2016, p. 797). Individuals have preconceived notions about illnesses and treatments due to complex features, including secular knowledge, social perception, and/or a significant other's experiences (Pujol et al., 2016). In this context, according to Pujol et al. (2016), constructing singular knowledge, or the strong belief held by an individual, is a slow process. In addition, decision making made by said individual involves social representations of an illness and its possible stigma.

Medical lexicon relies heavily on biomedical language that is situated in a specific medical environment, however, that language is expressed in other linguistic systems, altering the context from which it was initiated (Wilce, 2009). Sheaff, Halliday, Byng et al. (2017) discusses the difference in the ways that individuals express biomedical information, specifically patients and clinicians. Patients are *patient-centered*, offering *subjective*, *phenomenally oriented information* in *everyday* language. Clinicians are *illness-centered* in their lexicon use, focusing on *evidence-based practice* and *institutional talk* (Sheaff, et al., 2017, p. 1020). The researchers continued by explaining the lexical differences, stating that clinicians often think in a narrative way, but one which sees the patient as a page from a textbook, looking for clues to assist in a diagnostic hypothesis and "what is wrong with the body" (p. 1020). Patients, on the other hand, express their experiences as a personal narrative that reflects their contextualized experiences of illness and its impacts on their life, including their preferences, feelings, and beliefs on the illness and/or treatment. Because mental health and mental illness are grounded in fields of medicine, terminology and frames associated with each will likely incorporate medical lexicon when presented in mass media.

2.5 Disability in Mass Media

According to Walsh-Childers and Treise (1998), mass media such as television, film, and newspapers have played an important role in disseminating health information to various publics. As the authors noted, researchers have concluded that historically, the health messages found in mass media are typically inaccurate and misleading, and often produce negative consequences. News stories regarding health matters are usually presented in a manner that portray health problems as being the result of individual behavior and an isolated occurrence. There is also

great emphasis placed on medical experts and their expertise as the solution to the health issue being discussed. Walsh-Childer and Treise summarized their findings by explaining that:

> Throughout the mass media, health messages have tended to focus on treatment of health problems after they develop rather than on prevention and wellness. Individuals are blamed for their poor health but are directed to medical experts for the solution; both governments and corporations are 'let off the hook' for either causing or preventing health problems. (p. 356)

Rao and Kalyanpur (2015) contended that examining media is pivotal to understanding disability and an integral part of disability studies. The researchers stated that "media plays an important role in laying the groundwork for images and assumptions about disability" (p. 9). While disability studies in education has primarily focused on identifying stereotypical ideologies of professionals, there is a need to question images of disability featured in media and literary narratives because this is often the place from which individuals who do not have a close relationship with a person with a disability create their assumptions (Rao & Kalyanpur, 2015).

According to Gitlin, "The mass media are, to say the least, a significant social force in the forming and delimiting of public assumptions, attitudes, and moods – of ideology, in short" (1980, p. 9). Haller (2010) quoted Gitlin in the explanation of the researcher's quantitative content analysis of disability in traditional print news media. Gitlin analyzed articles from 11 national newspapers and magazines, reviweing terms such as *disabled*, *disability*, *disabilities* and *handicapped*. The study found that 48% of the stories analyzed were news rather than feature stories (37.5%), meaning that "disability issues are being associated with newsworthy information" (Haller, 2010, p. 30). The study also found that *handicapped*, a term no longer considered acceptable, had decreased in use and people-first language was more common

(Haller, 2010). Images, language, and assumptions regarding disability has been evident in media, with researchers identifying the prevalence of specific ideologies, including various stereotypes associated with mental health and mental illness.

2.6   Mental Health Stereotypes in Media

The media shapes audience perceptions of mental health diagnoses (Parrott & Parrott, 2015; Wahl, 2003). Corrigan and Penn (2015) stated that analyses of film and print have identified several common misconceptions of individuals with mental health diagnoses. The first is that these individuals are "homicidal maniacs who need to be feared" (Corrigan & Penn, 2015, p. 3). The second is that "they have childlike perceptions of the world that should be marveled" (Corrigan & Penn, 2015, p. 3). And lastly, these individuals "are rebellious, free spirits" (Corrigan & Penn, 2015, p. 3). Sieff (2003) also noted four mental health frames in media content, including (1) the assumptions that individuals with mental health diagnoses are violent, (2) people with mental health diagnoses are more likely to be criminals, (3) people with mental health diagnoses are incapable of taking care of themselves, and (4) people with mental health diagnoses should be jailed when they cannot comply with treatment programs. According to Parrott and Parrott (2015), labels given to individuals with mental health diagnoses "have been associated with perceived threats of violence and thus high desires for social distance from these individuals" (p. 641). Stereotypes, such as those listed above discussing criminality, homelessness, rebellion, and violence, perpetuate a specific ideology and power dynamic between people with mental health labels and those without.

2.7   Authority

Storey (2016) identified three ways of knowing in Media Effects Research: A Basic Overview - experience, authority, and science. In Storey's discussion of authority, a scenario is used to explain the way individuals rely on authority figures in order to know:

> When we get sick, we usually consult a doctor and follow whatever advice he or
> she gives. We recognize that long years of study and practice tend to have
> qualified the doctor as an authority on medical diagnosis. Often the trust we place
> in medical authorities is rewarded with a cure. (Storey, 2016, p. 4)

However, Storey (2016) continued with a caveat to consider:

> But, as some have learned, medical authorities are only human. They make
> mistakes. Some doctors are better than others. …Blind allegiance to authority can
> often have debilitating effects on our search for reliable knowledge. Our
> awareness that doctors generally know more than we do about medical cures can
> lead to a shortcut in our thinking that results in the conclusion that any [original
> emphasis] doctor can be trusted as an authority. That kind of mental shortcut can
> lead to an undesirable and even dangerous result. (p. 4)

Authority is granted to the clinicians included in news articles because of their title and/or expertise. However, their outside opinion and understanding of a specific person or subject should be understood as one potentially separate from a specific occurrence or individual.

According to Emmerson (2018), the process of embedding quotes into an article has several implications. First, isolating statements from their context – the conversation in which the quote was expressed – leads to "breaking the causal chains that serve to strengthen our understanding of why or how different courses of action might be of value" (Emmerson, 2018, p.

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591). Second, removing evidences of social practices, combined with the removal of the tone in which something was expressed, may limit the understanding of how causes and outcomes lead to value for the individual quoted. Newspaper articles can include various amounts of quoted material, due to aspects such as length, type, and subject matter. When direct quotes are included, "authors set the scene, appear to drop back to allow the voices of participants to come forward, then re-emerge to provide evidence in relation to a point made by the participants" [original emphasis] (Emmerson, 2018, p. 589).

The use of quotation marks highlights certain words in the text gives specific words privilege, creating the understanding that there is special meaning within the specific words, in turn bringing the reader closer to the speaker (Emmerson, 2018). Authority can also be acknowledged with the description of the speaker, such as physician, expert, or relative. Analyzing direct quotes in news discourses might reveal which individuals are given the option to express their opinions. According to Dagtas (2013), "powerful actors are the most likely to be given the opportunity to voice their ideas" (p. 23), and are referred to as primary definers, with journalists acting as secondary definers who incorporate the quotes into news stories. Teo (2000) took a more critical stance by arguing that this pattern of quotations reinforces the "systematic silencing of the powerless – the poor, the uneducated, the young, etc." (p. 18).

2.8   Ideology, Language, and Power

Ideologies are social structures tied to the social conditions and functions they emphasize (van Dijk, 2000). Social actors and groups develop and propagate ideologies in the reproduction of discourse, according to van Dijk (2000). Ideologies are "mapped on to different levels and dimensions of discourse, each with its own structures or strategies" (van Dijk, 2000, p. 200), and incorporate several different elements within the creation of language, including power,

dominance, and culture. Power has been said to be everywhere, exercised with various levels of subtlety through everyday practices, dominating entire groups; ideologies control relationships between individuals and groups, as well as their constant and continual reproduction (van Dijk, 2000). For example, if language within a story describes a group as invaders, those reading the information will likely have a negative perception of the group referenced. If multiple stories about the so-called invaders are presented to audience members, the negative perception would likely be strengthened. Those consuming the information would also be at an increased likelihood of using the terminology when explaining the group to other members within society.

Institutional practices are shaped by language and texts, encouraging various forms of conduct based on structures of meaning (Harvie & Manzi, 2011). According to Fairclough's (1992) theories of discourse, changes in discourse generate changes in the social world. Furthermore, Fairclough noted the power of language in constructing popular conceptions by asserting, "Social reality is therefore contingent on the language used to describe perceptions, to define problems and to offer potential solutions" (in Harvie & Manzi, 2011, p. 82). As Harvie and Manzi (2011) stated, language is a tool to control individuals and determine power over individuals, with linguistic components and the formulation of power relations based in ideology.

"Power and domination, as relations between groups, need to be based on ideologies in order for such relations to be reproduced in everyday life and the mundane practices by group members" (van Dijk, 2000, p. 163). Ideological claims for freedom, according to van Dijk (2000), are claims for power. The possession and exercise of power from one group typically implies the loss or limitation of freedom for another group (i.e., the claims for empowerment is the result of dominant groups diminishing the freedom of subordinate groups).

2.8.1 Hidden Power

According to Fairclough (2015), the hidden power of media discourse and the ability of powerholders to exercise their power depends on the standardized tendencies in news reporting and other media activities. The effects of power are due to the repetitive ways in which causality and agency, particularly the ways in which readers are positioned as receptors of the information, are presented rather than the perspective expressed in a single text. Causality is explained as the who or what causing something to occur, both of which are expressed by a person a group (a source for a story). That individual or group is given power due to the credibility they are granted regarding identifying the cause of events, and the particular frame in which they express the information. As the researcher stated, "…media discourse is able to exercise a pervasive and powerful influence in social reproduction because of the very scale of the modern mass media and the extremely high level of exposure of whole populations to a relatively homogenous output" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 82). Said power and influence is described as hidden due to its prevelance and lack of disclosure with regard to those that hold power and the dominant perspectives presented within media activities such as news reporting.

The sections above have outlined historical and professional information foundational to this study, including an overview of disability studies; the medical and social models; common language used by gatekeepers when discussing mental health, mental illness, and the individuals labeled with diagnoses; and the role of language in ideology and power. The following section will present the theories thought to be fundamental to research analyzing media, specifically newspapers, and discourse.

2.9　Theoretical Underpinnings

Language is an important aspect of representations of individuals with disabilities (Berger, 2013; Haller, 2010). The methodology, analysis, findings, and discussion of this study are underpinned by three theoretical perspectives: agenda setting, frame analysis, and cultivation analysis. Agenda setting will help to explain how the media increase the visibility of specific stories. Frame analysis will discuss the ways in which content can be portrayed to highlight or diminish specific aspects of stories. Knowledge of both agenda setting and frame analysis will give insight into cultivation analysis, in which the continual consumption of material that media has set and disperses leads to a consistent image that audience members deem to be reality. The following section will provide an overview these theoretical perspectives, with specific methodological approaches to be discussed in Chapter Three.

2.9.1 Agenda Setting

Agenda setting provides insights and shapes perceptions based on what the media wants audience members to focus on and discuss. The theory was first discussed by author and newspaper commentator Walter Lippmann in 1922 (Baran & Davis, 2012). Although Lippmann didn't have a name for it yet, he formulated the idea that people remembered visualizations in their minds as developed through the language in media, and that those pictures need to be repeated over and over again in order for their memory to remember the ideas long-term. He asserted that there is much information presented to individuals throughout the day and it is often necessary to reintroduce the same information over and over again. Although Lippman had the broad idea of agenda setting, Bernard Cohen is often considered the one who formalized the theory (Baran & Davis, 2012). Cohen believed that the press couldn't tell people what to think, but the press was very successful in telling viewers what to think about. Maxwell E. McCombs

and Donald Shaw expanded on Cohen's theory of agenda setting with research confirming the impact of the concept, as well as explaining that news media and staff shape the importance of issues based on the amount of coverage that they allocate to those topics (Baran & Davis, 2012).

McCombs and Shaw further researched agenda setting, beginning in 1972 with their research on the 1968 presidential election (McCombs & Shaw, 1993). The pair conducted research using the theory for more than two and a half decades, evolving the initial thoughts of Lippman into a substantial scholarly topic. According to McCombs and Shaw (1993), there are three reasons why agenda setting became a dominant force in the communications world. First, there was a steady timeline in which the amount of literature dedicated to the topic was created. Second, agenda setting helped to corral a variety of communications fields under one theoretical umbrella. Lastly, there was an ability to generate new research questions across a variety of media platforms.

Historically, agenda setting went through four phases that helped to increase the visibility of the theory. The first phase began with the publication of McCombs and Shaw's original research in 1972 covering the 1968 presidential election. The study found that specific issues and candidates were given greater space and discussion than others (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The second phase began when the researchers wanted to replicate their original findings by analyzing additional news coverage, as well as investigate the necessary conditions that enhance or limit media agenda setting (Shaw & McCombs, 1976). The third phase involved the 1976 presidential election and the expansion into two different types of agenda setting: the agenda of candidate characteristics and the larger agenda of personal concerns of audience members (Weaver, Graber, McCombs, & Eyal, 1981). The fourth phase began in the 1980s and focused on the media agenda and the topics gatekeepers expressed as important.

According to agenda setting and the researchers who developed the theory, highlighting larger societal issues makes them prominent in the minds of viewers, leading to a greater discussion and analysis by all levels of society; the media may also diminish the prominence or specific stories because of less coverage (Carey, 2017). The more a topic is highlighted, the more it is engrained in the minds of audience members, and the more pronounced that issue becomes.

2.9.2 Frame Analysis

Theorist Erving Goffman began to realize that the way in which individuals remember and comprehend events was done so with the use of one or more frameworks or schemata of interpretation (Goffman, 1986). According to Goffman (1986), using the frameworks allowed individuals from turning seemingly meaningless information into something more meaningful to them. Using these frames allows individuals to pick out information that makes the event, story, or information relate to their thoughts and feelings, such as the background information, individuals involved, or what led up to the occurrence in the first place. Individuals don't realize that identifying this information is occurring, rather it happens quickly and subconsciously. Individuals then use the framework that they chose to comprehend the information and disseminate it to other individuals (Goffman, 1986). For example, a politician could be working on a variety of legislative pieces to help constituents. If gatekeepers focusing on one of the legislative endeavers, or gives prominence to it, the other areas will likely be forgotten or considered an after thought. Audience members will remember the legislation that is repeatedly focued on, and will in turn share that legislative piece with other indviduals, furthering the process of focusing on one aspect while refraining from another.

Frameworks used by individuals aren't just those that they create, rather they are bound to various cultural issues and focuses (Goffman, 1986). If a society, culture, or group puts high

regard on one type of subject or type of information, then individuals in that society, culture, or group will analyze information and perceive it in the way in which the larger entity has deemed appropriate (Goffman, 1986). As Goffman explained,

> Taken all together, the primary frameworks of a particular social group constitute a central element of its culture, especially insofar as understandings emerge concerning principal classes of schemata, the relations of these classes to one another, and the sum total of forces and agents that these interpretive designs acknowledge to be loose in the world. (Goffman, 1986, p. 27)

Frames have also been created by large, dominant media outlets throughout decades (Douai, 2014). Douai (2014) argued that because only a few corporations own a majority of all media outlets, their power allows them to dictate the stories and frames used in them that are then disseminated to the public. These media outlets continue to present information that is beneficial to the organization's larger interests instead of presenting information that may go against the norm (Douai, 2014; Herman & Chomsky, 1988), furthering the power relations evident with the dominant media outlets and its gatekeepers, with their institutional culture and demands, expressing authority and influence on audience members.

Framing is a concept that involves two steps: presentation and the reader's interpretation (Kenterelidou, 2012). In the first step, the author of a piece or article uses previously created frames in order to tell a story. In the case of an athlete, popular frames can include overcoming obstacles and becoming a hero. Common stereotypes may be used, and word choice is often a focus (Grandy, 2010). The amount of time and space that a reporter and/or editor dedicates to a certain area of interest regarding a story's subject is another way to frame the subject (Grandy, 2010).

The second step of framing is the reader's interpretation. Part of this could be described as cultivation theory due to audience members hearing and seeing these frames, stereotypes, and word choices over and over again (Rada, 1996). But at a more basic level the content that audiences consume is framed in a manner that is easier for a reporter to tell a story. For example, when a viewer is constantly presented with these frames and stereotypes, they are led to believe that this is how it is and it must be the case for all athletes, or all male athletes, or all male athletes of a specific ethnicity. These frames also help to increase their importance with a viewer (Kenterelidou, 2012). If viewers hear or see certain attributes or stories about athletes, they may believe that those are the areas that should be focused on, and it's understood consciously and/or subconsciously by the viewer that what is not stated or reported on must not be as relevant (Kenterelidou, 2012).

According to Davis and Kent (2013), framing has been found to play a major role in the way that viewers understand the news, remember the information that was deemed important, and how they use that information to then make decisions. Frames have become popular in newsrooms (Scheufele, 2006) and are usually not argued against when reporters go after a story using a certain frame as the story's outline. Major events are automatically framed in specific ways, such as the above-mentioned athletes overcoming obstacles or being a leader in their community. Although the frames are commonplace, they may create unjust, stereotypical, and biased reporting (Abraham & Appiah, 2006). The wrong information or lack of information may be hindering those who are interested in knowing more or knowing about a different part of the story's subject (Abraham & Appiah, 2006).

Analyzing media content to see any emerging themes can help to understand frames, as well as understand greater themes that cross cultural, ethnic, or age differences (Semetko &

Valkenburg, 2000). According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), there are two approaches to analyzing frames: inductive and deductive. This study will seek to use both, with the inductive approach of keeping an open view and looking for frames that may occur individually or in a broad scale, as well as a deductive approach when examining certain frames within specific samples (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Previous research has used content analyses of frames and language in mass communication to understand common topics, stylistic features, and embedded cultural attributes (Conaway & Wordrope, 2010). Although there may be similarities between content from or about different people, there may be differences that can be very meaningful to understanding the type of information that is being presented to the public. Understanding those similarities and differences may help to further explore why they occur and what outcomes they may generate.

Research has also shown that two types of framing (i.e., thematic and episodic) have become commonplace in the way that stories are told (Grim, 2013; Iyengar, 1991). According to Iyengar (2013), most stories use both types of frames, but one clearly dominates the way in which the story is written and then perceived. Thematic framing involves using a broader context with collective and general evidence. Episodic framing, on the other hand, uses a particular example with concrete details and events (Iyengar, 1991). For example, when discussing sexual assualt, thematic framing may briefly mention an occurance of the crime, but the remainder of the story would delve into the topic of sexual assault in general, potential listing greater statistics or trends. Episodic framing would focus on the single occurance, likely giving greater detail about specific incident or the individuals involved.

Both thematic and episodic framing have been used to research the emotional responses by audience members after viewing stories (Aaroe, 2011; Grissm 2005). Research on print media

has shown that the use of episodic and thematic frames elicit varying responses from viewers (Iyengar, 1991), as well as differing emotional responses (Aaroe, 2011). According to Aaroe (2011) and Gross (2005), episodic frames create an emotional response in those that consume the content, and further research by Gross (2008) found that thematic frames were more persuasive than episodic frames when the emotional response to a story was taken into account.

2.9.3 Cultivation Theory

Of note with news media is the theoretical standpoint of cultivation. Traditionally, cultivation theory focuses on television, identifying viewers as heavy, medium, and light consumers (Lewallen, 2016). Researchers compare heavy and light viewers in determining a *cultivation differential*, with heavy television viewers becoming *cultivated* into distorted versions of social reality (Lewallen, 2016, p. 258). Potter (2014) explained that cultivation research is a systematic process to highlight the "interplay of influence across three components: the media institutions, the mass-produced messages, and their cultivated effect on large aggregates" (p. 1016). According to Gerbner (1970), the mass production and rapid distribution of messages reflect the ideologies of the institutions that transmit them, disseminating messages with mass-produced meanings, with the effect being that the widespread meaning was presented across all media cultivated public beliefs. The mass-produced messages, in turn, create "a common culture through which communities cultivate shared and public notions about facts, values, and contingencies of human existence" (Gerbner, 1969b, p. 123).

Arendt (2010) explained that although the original formulation of cultivation focused on television, studies have researched cultivation with regards to newspapers. The relationship between print media exposure and perception of reality is typically presented as a correlation in cultivation theory (Liu, 2005). Cultivation theory postulates symbolic social reality, a method

for the construction of a person's subjective world that is the basis for their attitudes and social actions (Liu, 2005). Media-constructed realities modify an individual's group identification and perception, in turn influencing their behaviors, but the degree of media influence on the individual's perceived reality is thought to be contingent on said individual's dependence on media consumption (Liu, 2005).

While some researchers are steadfast in their beliefs regarding the effects of cultivation, others identify the role of audience members in the process of media consumption. Khan and Bruschke (2016) found that media exposure did not correlate with any attitude in their study of emotional responses to Middle Easterners, whether the individual trusted media sources or not. Greater reported media consumption did not associate with perceived threats from Middle Easterners in their study, and they noted the possibility that additional factors of social desirability bias, media saturation, unreliability of measurement, and the importance of content as possible explanations to their finding that media influence was related to both perceived threat and ethnocentrism. Liu (2005) found that rather than audience members relying solely on newspapers to formulate perceptions, respondents to their study likely relied more on intergroup contact as primary sources of information, reducing the effects of cultivation. Potter (2014) stated outright that "the empirical support of cultivation appears especially weak when we compare it to the level of support generated by other media affects theories," namely, agenda-setting, framing, and priming.

Hall (1973) stated that readers possess the agency to decode texts in different ways but noted that media have an influence in promoting specific ways of reading narratives. Scott (2017) echoed this idea, stating that while it is important to acknowledge reception theories that outline how narratives can have multiple meanings and interpretations, the way in which a story

is framed greatly influences how audience members decode and understand it. Agency was also noted by Liu (2005), who indicated that due to greater user control, audience members are no longer passively influenced by media content, but may seek out content depending on their specific social or psychological needs. In their study of perceived threats of ethnic minorities, Vergeer (2007) stated that according to cultivation theory, exposure to more media messages should have led audience members to increased perceptions of ethnic threat; however, they found that exposure to more media messages from different newspapers, as opposed to only one publication, led respondents to perceive ethnic minorities as less threatening. It was concluded that this finding may be explained by the notion that exposure to a greater number of varying opinions in different newspapers may lead to "a more sophisticated attitude than does just being exposed to the messages of a single newspaper" (p. 140). Adding to that notion, Jeffres, Atkin, and Neuendorf (2001) suggested that heavy media exposure of newspapers, specifically, lead to less commonality of ideology, referring to it as *scatter-streaming* as opposed to *mainstreaming*.

2.10   Conclusion

Language and media, as expressed through disability studies (Rao & Kalyanpur, 2015) and critical discourse analysis (Machin & Mayr, 2012), are key elements associated with understanding constructions of disability. This chapter, along with Chapter One, sets a foundational understanding of newspapers, disability, and linguistic elements to further assist in exploring the ways in which online journalism represents mental health labels. The following Chapter will outline the specific factors associated with this multi-site case study, including the methodological frameworks and data analysis process.

3 METHODOLOGY

Qualitative research allows for the study of the way reality is constructed for various individuals, resulting in the potential for increased clarity on how content is interpreted by audience members (Merriam, 2002). This study will use the methodology to gain insight into the construction of representations in three national newspapers for a six-month period from July 1, 2018 to December 31, 2018 regarding individuals with mental health labels.

3.1 Qualitative Research

According to Merriam (2002), the key element regarding qualitative research is the idea that individuals socially construct meaning through the interaction with their worlds. There are multiple interpretations of reality that change throughout time and qualitative research looks to understand time, context, and specific interpretations. The foundational definition of qualitative research used by this study is described by Patton (in Merriam, 2002, pp. 198-199):

> Qualitative research 'is an effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there. This understanding is an end in itself, so that it is not attempting to predict what may happen in the future necessarily, but to understand the nature of that setting-what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting.... The analysis strives for depth of understanding.'

> There are two characteristics associated with qualitative research (Merriam, 2002). The first is that researchers look to understand the reality people have constructed about their experiences and how they make sense of the meaning of said experiences. The second

characteristic is that the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. Because all researchers are subjective, it is important to identify and monitor how such a mindset may be shaping the collection and interpretation of the data (Merriam, 2002).

Qualitative research is an inductive process (Merriam, 2002) and uses an emerging approach to inquiry; the data collection occurs in a natural setting and the analysis establishes patterns and themes that are context-specific (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The final written presentation is richly descriptive, including the voices of participants, as well as the description and interpretation of the inquiry topic (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Creswell and Poth (2018) stated that qualitative research is conducted in order to explore a problem or issue, often because what is being studied cannot be easily measured or is an attempt to raise the voices of those who are typically silenced. Qualitative research, then, has the ability to empower individuals and share stories that otherwise may not be told, such as in this study, individuals with mental health labels. A variety of qualitative research methods exist, but Creswell and Poth highlighted five main approaches – narrative, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study – in their text, *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*.

As Creswell and Poth (2018) explained, each approach is considered and selected based on what the research focus has been determined to address. That is, the research problem will guide the choice for which approach to use when conducting the study. Narrative research analyzes the experiences, both lived and as told, of individuals. Stories are collected and analyzed using various strategies, such as themes, significance, time, and structure. Phenomenology describes the common meaning that several individuals feel with their lived experience regarding a specific phenomenon. Researchers aim to understand the essence of a

phenomenon, such as grief or anger, as felt by a number of individuals as a common experience. With grounded theory research, those conducting the study look beyond the description of an experience and hope to discover a new theory or theoretical explanation. This area of research hopes to develop a theory to explain a practice, or provide a framework for further research, both of which are generated from the data participants provide during the study. Ethnographies are designed for researchers to describe and interpret the patterns, values, behaviors, beliefs, and language, among other elements, of a group within a shared culture. This method involves the researcher becoming a participant observer, immersing themselves into the day-to-day lives of the people they are observing for extended periods of time. Lastly, a case study is used to develop an in-depth understanding of a single case, or to explore a problem using a case or cases to illustrate specific findings. Case studies are described within certain parameters and may illustrate a unique case or to illustrate a specific issue or concern.

This study will use a multi-site case study approach to explore discourse within three mainstream, national newspapers during a six-month period. A case study looks to study a case or cases in depth (Merriam, 2002) and specifically, within a contemporary context or setting (Yin, 2014). According to Creswell and Poth (2018), a case can be concrete, such as a person or organization, or it can be slightly less concrete, such as a relationship or decision process. The authors stated that some researchers believe that a case study is not a methodology but a decision as to what will be studied, while others present it as a form of inquiry, a methodology, or a research strategy. Case studies offer an opportunity for in-depth description and analysis because a single phenomenon or entity is concentrated on (Merriam, 2002).

As Yin (2014) explained, conducting a case study would be a preferred method when (a) main research questions ask how or why something is occurring, (b) if a researcher has little or

no control over various events during the time of the study, and (c) if the study focuses on a contemporary phenomenon. A case study typically does not analyze a historical phenomenon because of its attempts to understand current beliefs within situational contexts. It is also a useful method in completing an evaluation of a single instance or multiple similar instances.

Creswell and Poth (2018) explained that case study research is an approach in which the researcher explores a real-life, bounded system(s) (case or cases) throughout a given period of time, seeking detailed data collection, and typically involving multiple sources of information (such as observations, interviews, audio, and reports). The case or cases are reported in a richly descriptive manner with themes found throughout the analysis of the data. Creswell and Poth stated a number of defining features regarding case studies, three of which will be foundational to this study:

- Case study researchers typically inquire about current cases in order to gather accurate information without the concern for losing data due to time;

- Sound qualitative case studies present an in-depth understanding of the case or cases analyzed; and

- Case studies usually end with a conclusion formed by the researcher, sometimes called assertions, patterns, or explanations.

As a research method, case studies are used in a variety of situations and fields (Yin, 2014). They assist in gaining insight and knowledge about individuals, groups, organizations, and social, political, and other phenomena. Case study methodology has been used in numerous fields, including psychology, political science, anthropology, social work, business, education, and community planning (Yin, 2014). Yin (2014) explained that the need for case studies as a methodological approach comes from the desire to understand potential complexities a

phenomenon presents, allowing researchers to focus on a case to "retain a holistic and real-world perspective" (p. 4). Case studies, therefore, are an appropriate method to explore how three national newspapers represent individuals with mental health labels because this approach provided the ability to understand a complex phenomenon by gaining insight into any patterns or explanations from current cases.

3.2   Methodological Frameworks

The following two sections discussing frameworks will illustrate the ways in which content analysis and critical discourse analysis have occurred, and how they will be applied to this study.

3.2.1 Content Analysis

As Berelson (1971) explained, communication content provides meanings through symbols, including verbal, musical, pictorial, and gestural, all of which make up the form of communication being presented. Since the content of the communication represents the way individuals communicate with one another, it is important for researchers to describe it with accuracy while interpreting it with insight. Berelson continued by stating that:

> [c]ommunication content is so rich with human experience, and its causes and effects so varied, that no single system of substantive categories can be devised to describe it. However, a scientific method has been developed – and is being developed further – for describing various facets of communication content in summary fashion. That method is called content analysis. (1971, p. 13)

> According to Krippendorff (2004), the term content analysis is more than 70 years old.

The term was included in *Webster's Dictionary of the English Language* in 1961 and defined as "analysis of the manifest and latent content of a body of communicated material (as a book or film) through classification, tabulation, and evaluation of its key symbols and themes in order to

ascertain its meaning and probable effect" (p. xvii). As Krippendorf explained, content analysis is an empirically grounded method, with a process of exploration and intent on building inferences. In addition, contemporary forms of the method move beyond the traditional ideas of symbols, contents, and intent as the concept of communication has evolved and the role of culture has assigned significance to different facets of communication.

As a research method, content analysis has traditionally been used within the communications field but has increasingly been applied to other areas of scholarship as the study of messaging has grown (Mangenello & Blake, 2010). Throughout the last century, the method has expanded from studying mass media messaging to that from other sources, including education textbooks (e.g., Brantlinger, 2005; Táboas-Pais & Rey-Cao, 2012). Krippendorff (2004) discussed one of the earliest uses of content analysis with the quantitative study of newspapers, published in 1893. The study illustrated how newspapers in New York had dropped coverage of specific story types (e.g., religion, science, and literature) and increased content in other areas (e.g., gossip, sports, and scandals) during the span of 1881 and 1893. Another study, published in 1910, analyzed how a daily New York newspaper focused on "'demoralizing,' 'unwholesome,' and 'trivial' matters as opposed to 'worthwhile' news items" (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 5).

As a conceptual framework, content analysis can be defined as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (and other meaningful matter) to the context of their use" (Krippendorff, 2004, p. 18). The procedures for content analysis are specialized in that they can provide new insights and increase a researcher's understanding of a specific phenomenon. According to Krippendorff (2004), the techniques used should be reliable in that they are replicable, with "[r]eplicability being the most important form of reliability" (p. 18).

Researchers have identified three kinds of definitions for the method: (1) content is inherent to the text being studied; (2) content is the property of the source of a text; and (3) content emerges in the process of analysis, relative to a specific text and its context.

Using content analysis, researchers can attempt to ascertain what publications are focusing on by analyzing aspects such as messages, keywords, frames, and overall content (Lopera & Moreno, 2013). This allows for the understanding of how information has been evaluated and characterized and if there is a specific reference point. In addition, studies have also attempted to understand the tone a specific message expresses (Young & Soroka, 2012). Language and phrasing can alter the tone of a message, affecting readers as they process and judge the content they are consuming (Young & Soroka, 2012).

According to Conaway and Wordrope (2010), previous research using content analysis has looked for common areas of discussion, stylistic features with regards to writing, and cultural aspects imbedded in the content. Similarities and differences between content from and/or about various groups and individuals can be meaningful when attempting to understand the type of information that is being presented to specific audiences. These findings can help to further illustrate and explore why specific messages are used and how they facilitate various outcomes.

Keywords, used as linguistic tools (Carreon & Todd, 2013), are an area of consideration when looking to analyze content, both on a singular observation as well as performing content analysis across various documents. Keywords can help to highlight certain topics and sections, or minimize those same areas, depending on the importance that the author gives to them. Major societal issues can be framed in different ways, leading to different types of discussions by all levels of society (Carreon & Todd, 2013). Understanding how frameworks position a news

story in the minds of audience members may assist in analyzing why specific issues are framed differently (Carreon & Todd, 2013).

While content analysis may provide insight into the material being presented, it cannot illustrate the thought and processes of how the content was produced by those disseminating the information. For example, analyzing the content of newspaper articles will allow researchers to understand the messages included, but it will not illustrate the intentions of gatekeepers in producing and publishing said articles. Content analysis may not inform researchers on the information that the publication decided to omit and why, or its rationale for including the information it did publish.

In addition, content analysis will not be able to discuss and understand the effects of the messages that are included in the text. With newspapers, the method will not be able to analyze how audience members perceive the information and various stylistic elements that the publication has included. Further qualitative research with interviews may be beneficial in understanding how the messages and frameworks found through content analysis were determined and crafted by gatekeepers, as well as the way in which those elements are received and interpreted in the consumption by audience members.

3.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is a non-linear process, moving through various stages of understanding in order to interpret the role of language in social life and how individuals make meaning from linguistic elements, including the construction of various ideological representations (Rogers, 2011). CDA is used in research of educational practices because of its ability to consider "communicative events" (Rogers, 2011, p. 1), meaning it may be useful in analyzing various texts, verbiage, and interactions that take place in educational settings. The

method also allows researchers to understand experiences with a sociocultural perspective and in a multimodal manner (Rogers, 2011).

According to Machin and Mayr (2012), using CDA can help reveal how speakers use language and its various elements to create meaning, to persuade, and/or communicate intentions. What is being communicated can be specific words and grammatical elements, or absences of these pieces. CDA attempts to "better capture [the] interrelationship to draw out and describe the practices and conventions in and behind texts that reveal political and ideological investment" (p. 4). The content analyzed seeks to expose strategies that some might believe to be neutral but could be ideological, as well as attempting to understand the representations of events. This analytical process is used in order to reveal connections between language, power, and ideology that are often hidden from those consuming the content.

CDA, as described by Van Dijk (2001), looks to study the indirect messages within texts. These meanings are expressed implicitly, without explicit language to identify an ideological standpoint. The indirect meanings produced are part of the cognitive elements of a text but are not directly stated, tying them to underlying opinions and beliefs. The type of content analysis that this study will use is CDA, and more specifically, a CDA framework referred to as lexical analysis. According to Machin and Mayr (2012), this occurs when a researcher looks at content and questions what discourse is used by the author. Understanding the word choice or avoidance can signify the occurrences of different discourses. These *lexical fields* "signify certain kinds of identities, values and sequences of activity which are not necessarily made explicit" (p. 30). Studying word content by means of describing a lexical field is a way to reveal meanings that are not explicitly stated in the text. The authors delineate several frameworks by which lexical analysis can be used to analyze semiotic choices.

Word connotations. Basic word choice is identified and analyzed by the researcher. Once words are identified, reasons for their use can be explored. The following example is provided by Machin and Mayr (2012, p. 32):

> For example, if I choose to call where I live a 'building', 'an address' or a 'family home,' it immediately brings certain sets of associations. What if a news item headline was one of the following? 'Youths attack local buildings' 'Youths attack local addresses' 'Youths attack local family homes.' In the last of these sentences, the lexical choice suggests something much more sacred than the first two, something much more personal. The words 'family' and 'home' suggest something safe and stable that is cherished in society.

CDA assumes that language and society are deeply intertwined, making language use a social practice. Once word choice is identified, consequences of its use can be analyzed to discuss how "certain concepts of identity become valued over others, where identity categories of compassion and responsibility gain negative connotations as opposed to 'independence' and 'scariness'" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 35). Understanding connotations used with lexical choices will likely illustrate societal beliefs about a specific subject, with subsequent discussions analyzing ramifications of such use of language.

Overlexicalization. When words are used again and again, or synonyms for the terms are repeatedly presented, there is a perception "of overcompleteness" (Teo, 2000, p. 20). Overlexicalization can illustrate an ideological standpoint when specific words and their synonyms are woven throughout the text, as well as *excessive description* (Machin & Mayr, 2012) because of the apparent need to justify a belief or opinion. Machin and Mayr (2012) illustrate the idea with an example by Achugar (2007):

Certainly our Armed Forces victorious in the battle against the unpatriotic forces

of Marxist subversion were accused of supposed violations to human rights. (*El*

Soldado, April 1989, in Machin and Mayr, 2012, p. 37)

The authors explained that the use of the phrase 'the unpatriotic forces of Marxist subversion'

illustrates anxiety on the behalf of the author and is potentially used to justify the violations

attributed to the Armed Forces.

Suppression or lexical absence. The absence of specific words also illustrates an

ideological standpoint. This typically occurs when content has been provided to a gatekeeper,

and that individual purposefully removes words or content from the text. Machin and Mayr

(2012) offered an example of how an international news agency feed disseminated to a news

organization. The text was edited "for broadcast for one of their clients, based on knowledge of

their client's listeners through the need to prove that they are able to target specific consumer

groups for advertisers" (p. 37). The story was simplified in order to reduce ambiguity, but legal

terms were removed potentially resulting in a change of effect on audience members. This

analysis can only occur when content provided to gatekeepers is available for analysis in order to

compare it to content reproduced or disseminated by those gatekeepers.

Structural oppositions. According to Halliday's theory of Social Semiotics (1978, 1985)

words stand on their own with regards to meaning, but they are also part of a network of terms

that create meaning. Words allow for the distinction of different concepts and viewpoints,

creating structural oppositions (e.g., hot-cold, male-female). As Machin and Mayr (2012)

elaborated, mentioning one of these terms without the other can imply differences without being

overtly stated:

So if a particular participant in a news text is described as a 'militant' or an

'extremist', we can fathom that such a person acts in the opposite manner

expected of a 'citizen' or a 'member of a community.' (p. 39)

The way in which concepts are structured can produce overt or implicit oppositions, whereby an

evaluation occurs by audience members.

Genre of communication. Fairclough (1995) expressed that language use can indicate a

sense of authority and/or co-membership with audience members. Authors may claim to have

superior knowledge about a subject and may present that ideology through word choice or tone.

Machin and Mayr (2012) detailed the various ways authors may convey authority, such as

technical sounding terms used in advertising, or claims made through common language in order

to give the impression of co-membership.

We often see this in advertising for cosmetics, where technical-sounding terms are

used to connote 'science' and 'specialist knowledge' where in fact there might be

none. Drugs marketing companies are aware that products often have to carry

brand names that connote science, for example that carry lots of 'x's and 'y's. So

a cough medicine might be named 'txylxyn'. It seems that consumers are much

less likely to buy the same product if it is called something more literal like

'smooth cough.' (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 42)

The use of the the five various methods presented by Machin and Mayr to analyze semiotic

choices – word connotations, overlexicalization, suppression or lexical absence, structural

oppositions, and genre of communication – allow for critical discourse researchers to understand

the language presented to audience members in a multitude of ways. The methods allow for each

tool to be used individually or in combination with another. It was determined that three of the

methods would be used within the analysis phase of this study – word connotations, overlexicalization, and genre of communication – for which the research rationale is explained in the Method section of this Chapter.

3.3   Researcher as Instrument

As mentioned previously, researchers must *position* themselves in relation to the qualitative research study being conducted in order to increase the trustworthiness of findings (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The reflexivity of the researcher conveys their background and how it may inform their interpretation of the data.

3.3.1 Positionality Statement

My area of study rests at the intersection of mass communication and disability studies. A number of my experiences have led me to this place, and my research interests have been shaped by those experiences.

The first element that is important for me to note is my background in communications. My bachelor's and master's degrees are in communications with a concentration in public relations. My professional career prior to teaching involved positions at public relations agencies and in-house within the healthcare industry. I've managed various campaigns for hospitals, physicians, and nonprofits through various media outlets. In the course of this work, I've drafted and pitched stories and worked closely with newspaper journalists to promote my clients and their stories.

The second element is probably the more personal one. Individuals in my life have been labeled with mental health diagnoses, and those relationships have altered my perceptions of mental health and the ideologies individuals have about various diagnoses;

these experiences have furthered my desire to understand the way in which mental health and *mental illness* are represented by members of society.

While mental health diagnoses tend to be physically invisible, I've also lived through experiences that make these diagnoses much more apparent for certain individuals. The misunderstandings and stereotypes assumed by others, primarily about anxiety, depression, and schizophrenia, have led me to believe that there are certain representations of mental health that are promoted and highlighted throughout society.

When I think about the intersection mentioned above, I hope to look at how media outlets, specifically newspapers, discuss and describe individuals with mental health diagnoses. I understand through my professional experience working with newspaper journalists, as well as my academic research, that stories are framed in specific ways. I have a desire to analyze these stories and to get a better understanding of how this information is communicated to audience members.

I hope my research will shed light on how audience members are informed by media outlets, such as newspapers, regarding mental health. I believe it will be beneficial for researchers, educators, and other community members to understand what and how messages are being disseminated by various publications. A greater understanding of the messages and language used may illuminate if representations of mental health labels are positive, neutral, or negative; if the latter, the analysis and discussion may be able to identify ways in which the messages are used.

3.3.2 Postmodernism

Philosophically, I come from a postmodern stance with regards to epistemological and ontological assumptions. Researchers with this perspective often question all aspects of reality

and its construction (Merriam, 2002). Postmodernists deconstruct content in order to understand how it has been constructed and organized by individuals during a specific period of time and situated within a specific location (Merriam, 2002). Creswell and Poth (2018) outlined the philosophical beliefs of postmodernists. Ontologically, postmodernists believe reality is the participation between a researcher and the communities or participants of a study, with subjective realities emerging. Epistemologically, reality is known by co-creating findings with the understanding that there are multiple ways of knowing. Respect is given to indigenous values, but values need to be interrogated. This study is based in postmodernist goals of deconstruction of content to further understand language as it is situated within a specific time and place by analyzing the articles of online publications and the language used surrounding individuals with mental health diagnoses.

3.4   Research Questions

As described in Chapter One, the following three questions will be used to guide this study.

1. How are individuals with mental health labels portrayed in mainstream, national newspapers?

2. What discourse is used in representations of mental health labels?

3. What frames are used by newspaper gatekeepers when describing individuals with mental health labels?

3.5   Method

The following will describe the specific methods applied in this study, including the sources from which data was collected, the data collection process that was applied, and the data analysis that was undertaken.

3.5.1 Newspapers

The representations of mental health in online newspaper articles published by three national publications were used as individual case studies and combined as a multi-site case study. It was determined that publications with online content would be best for this research project as there is less concern for loss of data due to time and other constraints. In addition, there has been an increase in readership via online platforms as opposed to print versions (Hall, 2001), as discussed in the literature review. A Pew Research Center report found that in 2017, 43% of Americans reported that they get news online often, and as of spring of 2017, 45% of U.S. adults often get news on a mobile device; the latter number was an increase from 36% in 2016 and 21% in 2013 (Bialik & Matsa, 2017). According to a 2018 Nielson report, 92% of adults ages 21-37 consume news via digital platforms, and 81% of adults ages 38 and above consume news via digital platforms.

Publications were selected based on several considerations, including the need to be publicly accessible and a national, mainstream platform. According to Chomsky (1997), mainstream is a term that refers to large mass news media that influences a widespread audience, in turn shaping current thought. The term is often associated with news conglomerates that have undergone mergers and are typically present in several countries. These organizations have an elite audience and set the agenda for smaller organizations, setting the initial agenda that the smaller outlets often restate. The following three newspapers were selected due to their prominence, national dissemination, and the offering of an online, digital platform.

USA Today. *USA Today* is a national U.S., daily general-interest publication (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2015). The paper was founded in September 1981 (Pratte, 1998) and the print edition of the newspaper was launched in 1982 by Allen Neuharth as part of the

Gannet newspaper chain (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2015). The publication has

garnered much debate and discussion with its style and presentation of content, when Neuharth

made an effort to "halt the decline of newspaper readership through innovations in writing,

typography, and the use of extensive statistics, color, and graphics" (Pratte, 1998, p. 675).

According to *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, circulation of the paper reached one million

within a year. It was originally considered to lack substance, but gradually developed a stronger

reputation for quality and has since influenced other newspapers with features such as color and

visual elements that were considered different and unique at its inception. Pratte (1998) stated

that early analysis of the paper found several "controversial innovations because they clashed

with traditional journalism" (p. 675), including the over-formatting on the pages of the

publication, reliance on market research to determine what readers wanted to read, and news that

was considered light, in opposition of investigatory or in-depth reporting.

The online version of the publication was launched on April 17, 1995 (The Editors of

Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2015). As of June 2017, the site had more than 102 million unique

visitors and 1.2 billion page views (comScore Media Metrix Multi-Platform). According to

Cision, as of January 1, 2019, *USA Today Online* receives just under 37 million unique visitors

per month.

The Washington Post. *The Washington Post* is a daily newspaper published in

Washington, DC and considered the dominant newspaper in the U.S. capital (The Editors of

Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018). It has been considered one of the leading publications in the

world due to its in-depth coverage of U.S. politics and the ability to gather information from

well-seated sources (Beasley, 1998). The publication was established in 1877 via the Democratic

Party and faced significant economic issues because of its competition. According to *The*

Encyclopaedia Britannica, the paper was sold in 1889 and the allegiance to the Democratic Party was abandoned. It subsequently grew and was considered a conservative media outlet. A number of sales, initiatives, and restructures have occurred throughout the history of the newspaper. By the 1990s, the publication was the

> …cornerstone of a diversified media empire that included the newsmagazine *Newsweek*; six television stations; cable television systems; newsprint manufacturing and distribution operations; a chain of weekly community newspapers, mainly free distribution, in the Maryland suburbs; the *Herald*, a newspaper in Everett, Washington; and ownership interest in the Los Angeles Times—Washington Post News Service, the *International Herald Tribune*, and Cowles Media Company as well as the Stanley Kaplan Educational Center, which prepared students to take standardized tests. (Beasley, 1998, p. 691)

In 1995, the publication launched an online version of its contents that allowed subscribers to access articles and archives (Beasley, 1998). In 2013, Jeff Bezos purchased the newspaper and its affiliates (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2018). The online version of the publication had more than 80 million unique visitors in June 2018 (comScore Media Metrix Multi-Platform). The mobile readership had a total of 65.5 million unique visitors in May 2018 (The Washington Post, 2018). According to Cision, as of January 1, 2019, *The Washington Post Online* received just under 44 million unique visitors per month.

The New York Times. *The New York Times* is a national daily newspaper published in New York City and is often considered one of the top publications in the world (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017). The paper began in 1851 as a penny paper with aims to avoid sensationalism and to be objective and was acquired in 1896 by Adolph S. Ochs who used the

slogan "All the News That's Fit to Print" as a masthead for the publication (Lumsden, 1998). Throughout its existence, the paper has been the center of controversy for reports and events within the press room, and with a reputation of "the world's greatest news-gathering organization" (Lumsden, 1998, p. 466). As Lumsden (1998) explained, various well-known, high-profile reporters and columnists, such as Homer Bigart and Tom Wicker, helped the publication with its efforts as a respected newspaper in gathering and disseminating national and international news. In the late 1990s, the paper was the flagship publication for a media conglomerate with more than 10,000 employees worldwide and had won 73 Pulitzer Prizes by 1995.

According to *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, the newspaper launched an electronic version of the daily print edition in 2006 but struggled to find a place in the environment of free Internet content. In 2011, a subscription plan was instituted for the digital edition and limited free access to content was offered. As of the first quarter of 2017, the publication had a total of roughly 2.8 million digital-only subscribers. As of March 2016, the online platform had more than 78 million unique visitors each month (comScore Media Metrix Multi-Platform). According to Cision, as of January 1, 2019, *The New York Times Online* receives just under 30 million unique visitors per month.

As explained previously, the three publications were selected based on several considerations, including the need to be publicly accessible and a national, mainstream platform. The three newspapers align with Chomsky's (1997) definition of mainstream outlets and their influence on a widespread audience. In addition, the newspapers were selected due to their prominence, national dissemination, and the offering of an online, digital platform.

3.5.2 Data Collection

As mentioned previously, articles analyzed for this study were taken from a dataset of a previous study. Articles gathered for the previous study were collected by searching the three publications online platforms for key terms mental health and mental illness. Parameters were set for a date range of July 1, 2018 through December 31, 2018. The date range was selected in order to collect an in-depth but manageable number of articles to be analyzed. 197 articles were collected via NVivo's NCapture function, which transfers web content to PDF files and saved them within NVivo, and a thematic analysis was conducted via the software's desktop application. Six prominent themes emerged: (1) discussions of suicide, (2) medical tone, (3) Seiff's (2003) mental illness stereotypes of violence, criminality, homelessness, and the need to be jailed, (4) direct quotes from individuals with mental health labels, (5) mental health labels as a burden to family members and society, and (6) mental health as a battle.

Articles for the current study were taken from the dataset identified through theme (5) of the previous study – mental health labels as a burden to family members and society – for further analysis. The articles from the dataset were coded as a feature article of news report, with those labeled as the latter used as the dataset for the current study. The coding between the two types of articles was based on definitions of each, as described by Dianova (2017). According to the author, there are three critical differences that differentiate a feature story and a news story. News stories are time sensitive and are typically published quickly, whereas feature stories are not necessarily time-dependent and do not contain urgent content. Secondly, news stories focus on content as opposed to form. The information is straight to the point using simple, effective language to deliver facts. Feature stories are typically more creative with up to four times the number of words. Finally, the beginning and ending of each type of article differs. News stories

are upfront with the news, presenting the most important details in the first one or two paragraphs. The ending often includes ancillary details and can occur when the writer determines it should end, due in part to the important facts already presented at the top. Feature stories begin with a hook and typically don't give the newsworthiness of the story right away. These articles end when the information has provided readers with satisfaction and value from reading the story.

This study focused on the collection of news reports, of which there were 33 articles. The articles were saved as PDFs within NVivo, the software utilized to conduct the content analysis. Critical discourse analysis was used to analyze the articles, primarily focusing on Machin and Mayr's (2012) framework of lexical analysis by focusing on semiotic choices and Fairclough's (2015) process of analyzing power via sources and causality, as described in Chapter Two and in the following section.

3.5.3 Data Analysis

Data were analyzed via an inductive approach using NVivo software from QSR International and recorded on Excel spreadsheets. Categories were determined based on semiotic elements, as well as sources and causality. The analytical frameworks presented by Machin and Mayr (2012) and Fairclough (2015) were used to deconstruct the articles gathered. Further details of the specific data analysis process undertaken are explained at the conclusion of this subsection.

Semiotic Choices. It was determined that the use of the terms mental health and mental illness could be analyzed used Machin and Mayr's (2012) guidelines for CDA. Of the five categories listed with the authors' text, three were used as coding categories – (1) word connotation, (2) overlexicalization, and (3) genre of communication. It was found in preliminary analysis that the category of structural oppositions incorporates the three previously mentioned

categories and was therefore not included as a seperate dataset. The fifth category outlined by the authors, lexical suppression, was not suitable for this study since lexical suppression requires the information gathered prior to an article being written in order to compare it to said article; and as the researcher did not obtain the communication gathered on behald of journalists during the writing process of the articles analyzed.

Five separate databases were created:

(1) Semiotic Choices: Mental Health (see Appendix A)

(2) Semiotic Choices: Mental Illness (see Appendix B)

(3) Semiotic Choices: Machin & Mayr (2012) Frameworks for Lexical Analysis of Mental Health (see Appendix C)

(4) Semiotic Choices: Machin & Mayr (2012) Frameworks for Lexical Analysis of Mental Illness (see Appendix D)

(5) Fairclough's (2015) Power and Causality for All Articles (see Appendix E)

Databases (1) and (2) detailed the headline of each article, publication from which it was gathered, the quoted material using the key term, the model (medical or social), speaker of the key term, part of speech for the key term within said quote, and placement within the article. Databases (3) and (4) detailed the headline of each article, publication from which it was gathered, the quoted material using the key term, and three framworks for lexical analysis of semiotic choices discussed by Machine and Mayr (2012) – word connotation, overlexicalization, and genre of communication. Database (5) detailed the headline of each article, the publication from which it was gathered, all sources referenced, the power source, and the causal statement.

The type of model used with each use of mental health and mental illness was included in order to answer the type of frame used within each article. The speaker of each use of mental

health and mental illness, as well as all sources used within the articles, were identified to further understand the perspective from which the information and language was being used, and the relation of the source to the individual with a mental health label described within the article. Methods of critical discourse analysis focus on a variety of linguistic elements, including parts of speech. A meeting with committee members identified the need to include this column in the databases in order to understand how each key term was used by each speaker. Placement of the key terms mental health and mental illness within the article was determined to be meaningful because of the way in which news articles are written. This style, called the inverted pyramid, places the information deemed most important at the beginning of the article and information deemed less critical at the end of the article. The purpose of analyzing the various semiotic choices was to determine the components used by gatekeepers to present specific frames within the news articles, including the prevalence of each model, the sources within each article, how the key terms were used, and where they were used.

Word connotation was rooted in definitions of the word as stated in dictionaries. For example, mental health is defined by *The Random House Unabridged Dictionary* as "any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis" (2020, p. 775). Additional definitions of the term are "psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life," (2020, p. 775) as well as, "The field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment" (2020, p. 775). Mental illness is defined as "any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis" (*The Random House Unabridged Dictionary*, 2020, p. 775). The purpose of discerning word connotation was to discover how the key terms were used within each article and whether the discourse aligned with the definition of the word or that of a different word.

Overlexicalization was identified by the repeated use of terms, inclusion of language that did not further the information provided, and/or the sense of "over-persuasion," as described by Machin and Mayr (2012). Genre of communication was coded using levels of formality, as found in the field of English writing, and included familiar/colloquial, informal/casual, semi-formal, formal.

Power: Sources and Causality. To further analyze how indviduals with mental health labels are portrayed, as well as what discourse is used in those representations, it was determined that identifying sources of information presented in the article was necessary. Understanding who provides information on a story and the way in which they present those details would assist in interpreting what frames are used within an article and how. A method by which to identify power and ideology by analyzing sources and causality within the texts was identified with Fairclough's (2015) process in *Language and Power*. In it, the author stated:

> We can say that producers exercise power over consumers in that they have sole producing rights and can therefore determine what is included and excluded, how events are represented, and (as we have seen) even the subject positions of their audiences. But who precisely are these 'producers'? (p. 79)

The producers of information in the case of newspapers are the various gatekeepers associated with the publication, but more specifically, according to Fairclough (2015), the individual sources used to gather information. The causality, or the cause and effect within a story as presented by a specific source or sources, frames an action being done by someone and the effect it has one someone else. For instance, an individual is depicted as an aggressor within an article with other individuals as the victims.

Furthering the discussion of hidden power, Fairclough (2015) identified the importance of understanding the causality presented in the text. He asked, "…who is represented as causing what to happen, who is represented as doing what to whom" (p. 80). The second method of analysis incorporated Fairclough's considerations by listing all sources included in each article, identifying the dominant perspective, and determining the presented causality.

Data Analysis Process. Initially, after the data was gathered and identified, one dataset was created with columns identifying each articles headline, publication, section, date of publication, power, term (i.e., mental illness or mental health), quote that the term was found in, model (i.e., medical or social), speaker of the term within the quote, part of speech, placement within the article, word connotation, overlexicalization, structural opposition, and genre of communication. Five articles were analyzed using the initial database as a pilot study of sorts and determine if the columns within the dataset were sufficient, if points of analysis should be modified, and/or if additional datapoints should be added. Quotes were identified using NVivo, both by using the search function within each saved PDF of the article, as well as manual reading of the article in its entirety. The use of both methods allowed for cross reference and decreased the likelihood that one of the key terms was not missed. The model was identified as being medical or social, based on definitions of both. The speaker of each utterance of mental health and mental illness was identified. The part of speech that the utterance of the key term was used as was identified. The placement of the key term was identified by counting down to the paragraph in which it was located, and counting the total number of paragraphs within each article in order to understand the prominence of the term in relation to the inverted pyramid style. Word connotation was identified using definitions of the key terms, as describe earlier.

During the process of the first round of analysis, it became evident that additional methods of analysis needed to be identified for use in the study. Several meetings were held with committee members and an outside faculty member to determine how power could be identified. Several suggestions were made and the researcher determined the need to review work by critical discourse analysts Van Dijk and Fairclough. Subsequent research identified power in relation to sources and casualty, as described by Fairclough (2015). The database was updated to include columns for Power: Sources and Power: Causality, with the initial five articles further analyzed to include the new codes.

Overlexicalization was analyzed by using the definition as provided by Machin and Mayr (2012). Preliminary analysis found that structural opposition was a combination of three methods of CDA, as described by Machin and Mayr (2012). It was determined that because the information was included within the three categories used as methods of analysis for this study, it would be repetitive and therefore unnecessary to include it as a separate data point for this study. A method for analysis for genre of communication was initially based in Machin and Mayr's (2012) approach. However, the preliminary analysis uncovered the need for a more specific procedure with regard to coding. Additional research identified the use of levels of formality within the field of English. The four levels (i.e., formal/colloquial, informational/causal, semi-formal, formal) were used as codes for each reference of mental health and mental illness within the articles.

Due to the quantity of data, it was determined that the dataset should be divided into five separate databases – (1) Semiotic Choices: Mental Health (see Appendix A); (2) Semiotic Choices: Mental Illness (see Appendix B); (3) Semiotic Choices: Machin & Mayr (2012) Frameworks for Lexical Analysis of Mental Health (see Appendix C); (4) Semiotic Choices:

Machin & Mayr (2012) Frameworks for Lexical Analysis of Mental Illness (see Appendix D);

and (5) Fairclough's (2015) Power and Causality for All Articles (see Appendix E). Databases

(1) and (2) detailed the headline of each article, newspaper publication from which it was

gathered, the quoted material using the key terms, the model (medical or social), speaker of the

key term, part of speech for the key term within said quote, and placement within the article.

Databases (3) and (4) detailed the headline of each article, publication from which it was

gathered, the quoted material using the key term, and three frameworks for lexical analysis of

semiotic choices discussed by Machine and Mayr (2012) – word connotation, overlexicalization,

and genre of communication. Database (5) detailed the headline of each article, the publication

from which it was gathered, all sources referenced, the power source, and the causal statement.

   All 33 articles were analyzed using the five datasets in the order that they are numbered.

A meeting was held with committee members to review the findings and determine if additional

elements should be analyzed. It was concluded that the analysis was well developed except for

the area of power and causality. While the use of Fairclaugh's guidelines established the need to

identify sources (i.e., all attributions), powersources (i.e., the dominant perspective evident in the

article), and causality (i.e., a causal statement that encompasses the entire story within the

article), one committee member suggested the need for further identification of who the victim

was within each article. It was discussed and determined that the causal statement should be

further dismantled to identify who or what was the victim in each article, and who or what was

the aggressor in each article. In addition, it was established that some of the findings should be

presented as figures or tables, while others would be presented with direct quotes illustrating the

finding(s). Database 5 was edited and the columns changed from Power: Sources and Power:

Causality to dominant perspective, aggressor, and victim. The 33 articles were analyzed with the new codes and findings presented.

Following comments and discussions from the dissertation defense, it was decided that each article would be labeled with a reference code to increase ease of reading cited quotes within the presentations of findings. The researcher determined that the codes would follow a system that identified the publication and a subsequent number based on alphabetical order of the articles from each publication (further described in Chapter 4).

Software. Version 12 of NVivo was used to help manage and analyze the data collected. The software was used to house PDF versions of the articles collected online, and codes created by the researcher were used in the process of analyzing each article via the software's platform. Codes and categories were viewed within each article, as well as on an aggregated document to help understand if and/or how the codes and categories were evident in multiple articles and/or publications.

Coding. Codes were created for the context and description of each publication and for cross-case analysis in relation to each database used, as described above. According to Saldaña (2016, p. 4), "A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data." Said codes were used to understand various assertions and generalizations found by the researcher. Initial codes created for the various databases included the type of model (e.g., medical, social); part of speech (e.g., noun, proper noun, verb, adjective); placement (e.g., headline, photo caption, paragraph number); and speaker (e.g., lawmaker, legal advisor, law enforcement, reporter, academic/researcher, advocate, family, friend). Word connotations were coded with the definitions stated previously in the data analysis section. The

overlexicalization database utilized codes such as repetitive language, synonyms, insinuations, and medicalization. The database analyzing genre of communication using codes based on the four levels of formality found in the field of English – familiar, casual, semi-formal, and formal. Coding for the database on power and causality began with two codes. Each source used within the article was identified (e.g., lawmaker, legal advisor, reporter, academic/researcher, witness, family, friend). Subsequent rounds of analysis determined which of those sources was to be labeled as the power source – the individual perceived as expressing the dominant perspective evident within the article. This determination was ascertained by considering factors such as the placement of the source within the article (i.e., the paragraph and location within the paragraph that the attribution occurred), the frequency of the source, and the language used within the direct quotes and other sections of the article. For example, if a source was cited four times within an article in various locations, both a combination of direct quotes and paraphrased content, but other sources were not included or were only references once, then there was an increased likelihood that the source cited four times was a dominant perspective. In order to determine causality, each article was simplified to a causal statement. From that statement, the individuals included were coded as aggressor or victim. The *aggressor* was determined by using Fairclough's (2015) explanation of causality and the who or what causes something to occur. The *victim* was determined by identifying the who or what the action was occurring to.

Saldaña (2016) explained that coding is a "cyclical act" (p. 8), with multiple cycles required. These steps were taken in this study to assist in managing, filtering, highlighting, and focusing on the various features found. Meetings with research faculty and committee members were held at various stages of the analysis at three distinct points to discuss the codes and categories identified and reevaluate the addition of further analysis. The study began with a focus

on the semiotic choices as outlined by Machin and Mayr (2012). Databases were created and codes identified. Subsequent discussions determined the need to further analyze power held by the sources of information. Additional research established a method of doing so (Fairclough, 2015). Follow-up discussions with the committee resulted in the classification of individuals within a causal statement as an aggressor or a victim. The codes used during all stages of the project were placed into categories, and those categories assisted in illustrating the themes found in the text. Similarities and differences were also illuminated by said codes, categories, and themes.

3.6   Conclusion

This study was completed in an effort to illustrate the ways in which those with mental health labels are represented in a popular form of media. With millions of unique visitors per month, newspapers, and specifically the online version of the articles published by these three newspapers, have the potential to reach a wide array of audience members and influence their understanding of disability representations. As described in Chapter One, newspapers have long held authority with regard to the content that they disseminate (Unwin, Tucker, & Unwin, 2017), and it may be argued that the speed at which articles published online reach additional audience members is much faster and more prolific than centuries ago when newspapers were left in taverns to be discussed by the relatively small number of patrons (Copeland, 1998). Digital articles now have the ability to be posted on social media and become viral, making it all the more imperative that the content and messaging that is included be studied and understood by researchers and other community members. The methods utilized by this study, particularly critical discouse analysis and the use of lexical analysis as described by Machin and Mayr (2012) and the examination of power and causality as described by Fairclough (2015), aid in the

interpretation of data to explore representations of mental health labels and the specific research questions guiding this study – how are individuals with mental health labels portrayed, what discourse is used in said representations, and what frames are used by gatekeepers in those descriptions?

4   FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

As discussed in the previous Chapter, CDA was applied to articles from mainstream, national newspapers to analyze how mental health labels are portrayed, specifically focusing on semiotic choices and sources of power. Thirty-three articles were analyzed for this study from three online publications – *The Washington Post* (19 articles), *The New York Times* (7 articles), and *USA Today* (7 articles). Articles appeared in a variety of sections on each publication's website, including news on regional, state, national and international stories; arts and entertainment; public safety; and health and science. Following the creation of codes as explained in Chapter 3, articles were analyzed through several rounds of analysis, and those findings are depicted below.

This Chapter begins with the micro levels of CDA, including findings for quotes with the key terms mental health and mental illness. Data collected includes the model (medical or social), speaker, parts of speech, and placement, as well as three of Machin and Mayr's (2012) elements for analyzing semiotic choices - word connotation, overlexicalization, and genre of communication. The Chapter will conclude with the findings that correspond with the macro analysis conducted, which allowed for the collection of all sources cited in the articles, the main source(s) of power, and the causality as described by Fairclough (2015). Table 4-1 identifies the reference code given to each article, and the information ithat corresponds to each article. Although many additional quotes were evident of the prominent findings identified, those that were selected for the following sections best represent the findings of this study. Emphasis has been added to certain quotes to assist in identifying findings as classified by the researcher, with terms and phrases in bold for ease of recognition.

Table 4-1: Reference Codes

Code	Headline	Publication	Date
NYT 1	Armed Man in Tactical Clothing Headed to a Texas Church to 'Fulfill a Prophecy,' Police Say	*The New York Times*	12/30/18
NYT 2	California Today: The Homeless Millennial Connection	*The New York Times*	11/2/18
NYT 3	Kroger shooting suspect tried to enter black church, police say	*The New York Times*	10/25/18
NYT 4	Matthew Newton, Director With Domestic Violence Record, Departs Jessica Chastain Film	*The New York Times*	8/10/18
NYT 5	Pete Davidson of 'Saturday Night Live' Is Accounted For After a Worrying Instagram Post	*The New York Times*	12/15/18
NYT 6	Suicides Among Japanese Children Reach Highest Level in 3 Decades	*The New York Times*	11/6/18
NYT 7	Victims of Rite Aid Shooting Identified as Police Search for Motive	*The New York Times*	9/21/18
WP 1	Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	*The Washington Post*	9/21/18
WP 2	$750,000 settlement reached in death of mentally ill inmate in Fairfax County	*The Washington Post*	9/28/18
WP 3	Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	*The Washington Post*	10/11/18
WP 4	Gun control or gun rights? The answer may help determine whether Rep. Comstock wins reelection	*The Washington Post*	9/4/18
WP 5	Gunman who killed 5 at Fort Lauderdale airport is sentenced to life in prison	*The Washington Post*	8/17/18
WP 6	Judge orders woman accused of attacking Greyhound bus, driver to remain jailed	*The Washington Post*	9/4/18
WP 7	Kanye West: 'I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment'	*The Washington Post*	8/29/18
WP 8	Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	*The Washington Post*	8/14/18
WP 9	Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	*The Washington Post*	11/2/18
WP 10	Man arrested after investigation of suspicious substance halts some Metro service	*The Washington Post*	12/31/18
WP 11	Medical intern gets 22 years in prison for trying to kill U.S. diplomat in Mexico	*The Washington Post*	11/8/18
WP 12	Pence: Don't link political rhetoric to Pittsburgh synagogue shooting	*The Washington Post*	10/28/18

Code	Headline	Publication	Date
WP 13	Prisoner says he's spent over a dozen years in solitary confinement because he doesn't speak English	*The Washington Post*	9/5/18
WP 14	Senate passes sweeping opioids package	*The Washington Post*	9/17/18
WP 15	The NYPD checked on Pete Davidson after he posted an alarming Instagram message	*The Washington Post*	12/15/18
WP 16	This place 'is going to burn,' says text allegedly sent by man arrested in California's Holy Fire	*The Washington Post*	8/9/18
WP 17	Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	*The Washington Post*	12/27/18
WP 18	Trump rankles veterans with comments about PTSD and California shooter	*The Washington Post*	11/9/18
WP 19	Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	*The Washington Post*	10/17/18
USA 1	Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	*USA Today*	9/7/18
USA 2	Deputies transporting women in van drove around barricades during Hurricane Florence before their passengers drowned	*USA Today*	9/20/18
USA 3	Mental health workers walk out in California	*USA Today*	12/7/18
USA 4	Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	*USA Today*	12/15/18
USA 5	Secret Service urges 'threat teams' for schools to prevent shootings	*USA Today*	7/12/18
USA 6	Islamic State claims attack; police not convinced	*USA Today*	7/25/18
USA 7	Waffle House shooting suspect not fit for trial, Nashville judge says	*USA Today*	8/22/18

4.1   Semiotic Choices

In total, the key term mental health was used 116 times across the three publications. From the same group of articles, the key term mental illness was used a total of 52 times. Articles from *The Washington Post* had 59 references of mental health and 31 references of mental illness. *The New York Times* had 11 references of mental health and 12 references of mental illness. *USA Today* had 46 references of mental health and 9 references of mental illness. See Figure 4-1 for

reference. The following sections will present the findings as related to the type of model used; the speaker of each use of mental health and mental illness; parts of speech; placement of each use of the key terms; and Machin and Mayr's (2012) toolkit guidelines for word connotation, overlexicalization, and genre of communication.

Figure 4-1: Key Term References by Publication
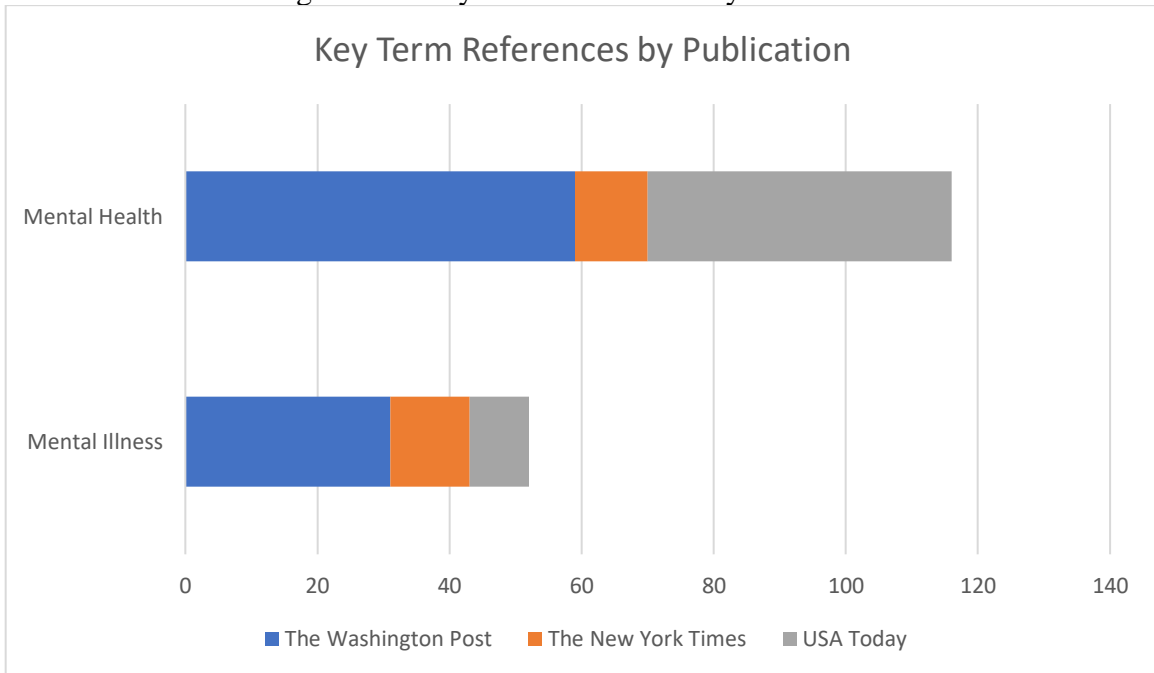
4.1.1 Model

Uses of mental health and mental illness were identified as being in line with either a social model expression or medical model expression. According to the Union of Physically Impaired Against Segregation (UPIAS),the social model is based in the understanding that society disables impaired individuals. The group's definition of the model stated, "Disability is something imposed on top of our impairments, by the way we are unnecessarily isolated and excluded from full participation in society. Disabled people are therefore an oppressed group in society" (Shakespeare, 2013, p. 215). In opposition to the social model is the medical model, which defines disability in terms of an individual's deficits (Shakespeare, 2013). The medical

model, also referred to as the individual model, tends to be a reactionary approach, attempting to reduce the issue of disability from a complex problem to one of medical prevention, cure, or rehabilitation (Shakespeare, 2013). As Oliver (2004) stated,

> Models are ways of translating ideas into practice and the idea underpinning the individual model was that of person tragedy, which the idea of underpinning the social model was that of externally imposed restriction. (p. 19)

Of the 116 uses of the term mental health, 89 were found to be consistent with medical model terminology and beliefs, and 27 uses were found to be aligned with social model terminology and beliefs. Of the 52 references of mental illness, all were found to be consistent with medical model terminology and beliefs, with 0 uses aligned with social model terminology and beliefs. By publication, *The Washington Post* published the term mental health with medical model connotations 45 times, while using the term with social model connotations 14 times. *The New York Times* published the term mental health with medical model connotations 4 times, while using the term with social model connotations 7 times. *USA Today* published the term mental health with medical model connotations 40 times, while using the term with social model connotations 6 times. See Figure 4.3 for reference.

By publication, *The Washington Post* published the term mental illness with medical model language 31 times, with 0 occurrences of the term in social model connotations. *The New York Time*s published the term mental illness with medial model connotations 12 times, with 0 occurrences of the term in social model connotations. *USA Today* published the term mental illness with medical model language 9 times, with 0 occurrences of the term in social model connotations. See Figure 4.4 for reference.

Figure 4-2: Models Used in Mental Health References, by Publication
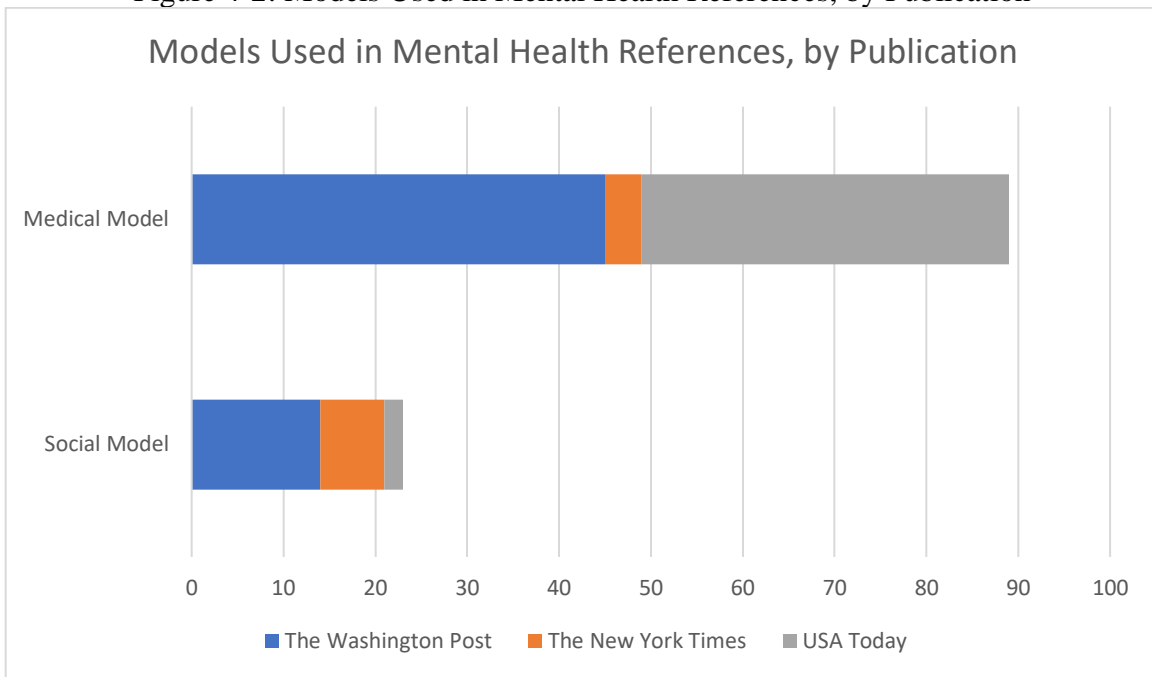
Figure 4-3: Models Used in Mental Illness References, by Publication
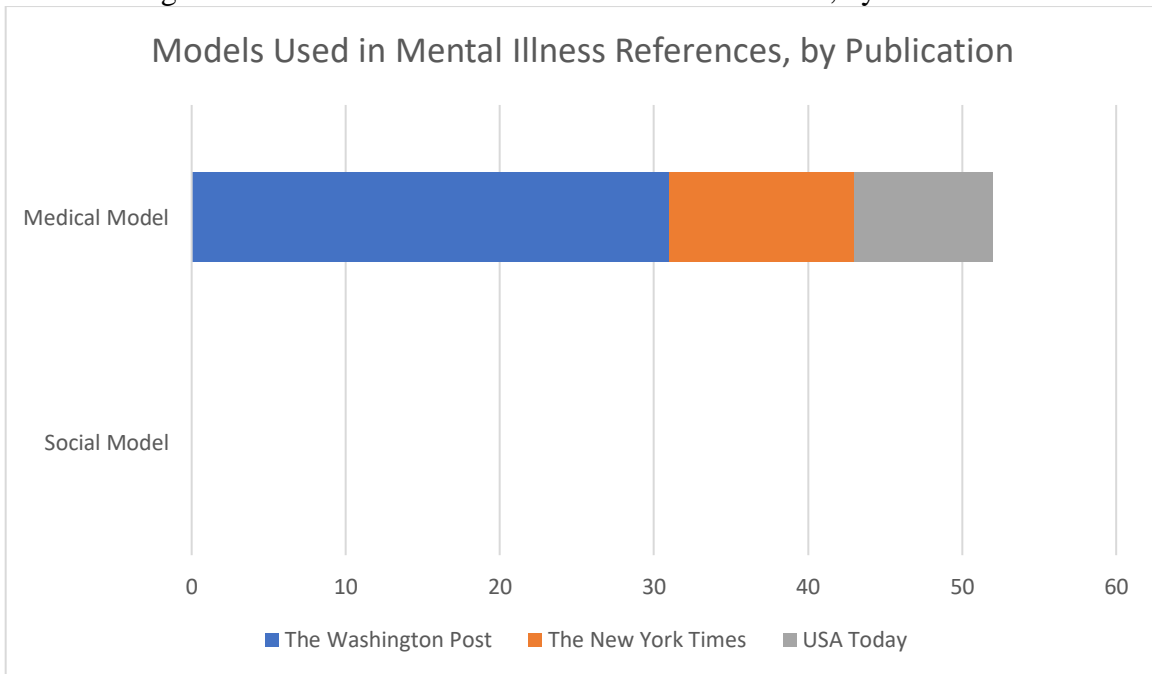
4.1.2 Speaker

The speaker(s) of each utterance of the terms mental health and mental illness were classified.

Speakers were grouped based on the type of individual they were depicted as within the article.

For example, those categorized as law enforcement were described as police officer, sheriffs, and deputies; lawmakers were politicians and other legislative personnel; and legal advisors were described as lawyers and attorneys. With regard to mental health, the following speakers were identified, with the number of occurrences following each classification: law enforcement (1), lawmakers (2), legal advisors (5), reporter (88), academic/researcher (2), friend (1), advocate (2), VP of Communication for health plan (2), celebrity (9), and authors of a research-based report (4). With regard to mental illness, the following speakers were identified, with the number of occurrences following each classification: law enforcement (1), lawmakers (2), legal advisors (4), reporter (32), academic/researcher (3), family (2), advocate (1), individual with mental health label (4), celebrity (2), and author's of a research-based report (1). See Figure 4-4 for mental health speakers, and Figure 4-5 for mental illness speakers.

4.1.3 Parts of Speech

Each utterance of the key terms mental health and mental illness analyzed and categorized based on the part of speech the term possessed within each quote. According to Butterfield (2016), a noun is a word that names a person or thing. More specifically, a common noun identifies a person or thing of a general nature (e.g., boy, mother, house), whereas proper nouns identify a person or thing of a specific example (e.g., Tom, Mother Teresa, the White House). An adjective is often used to modify a noun, and has three forms – positive or absolute, comparative, and superlative. Adjectives are often found before a noun or after it, either as a postpositive or separated by a verb. Adverbs usually answer such questions as how, when, where, and to what extent. When answering questions such as how and in what manner, the adverb is usually formed by adding an -*ly* to an adjective. Adverbs that qualify single words typically precede them as closely as possible; when an adverb is within a phrase or clause, it is almost always between an

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auxiliary verb and a main verb. Finally, some adverbs refer to an entire statement and is associated with the speaker as opposed to the sentence being stated. In this case, the adverb is usually stated at the beginning of a sentence and stands alone.

Of the 116 times the term mental health was used, 84 were identified as an adjective; the term was used as a noun 25 times; and the term was a proper noun 7 times. Of the 52 times the term mental illness was used, 8 were identified as adjectives; the term was used as a noun 41 times; the term was a proper noun 2 times; and mental illness was used as an adverb 1 time.

Figure 4-4: Speaker – Mental Health

Speaker - Mental Health

- 7% Legal
- 76% Reporter
- 5% Academic
- 1% Friend/Family
- 2% Advocate
- 9% Other
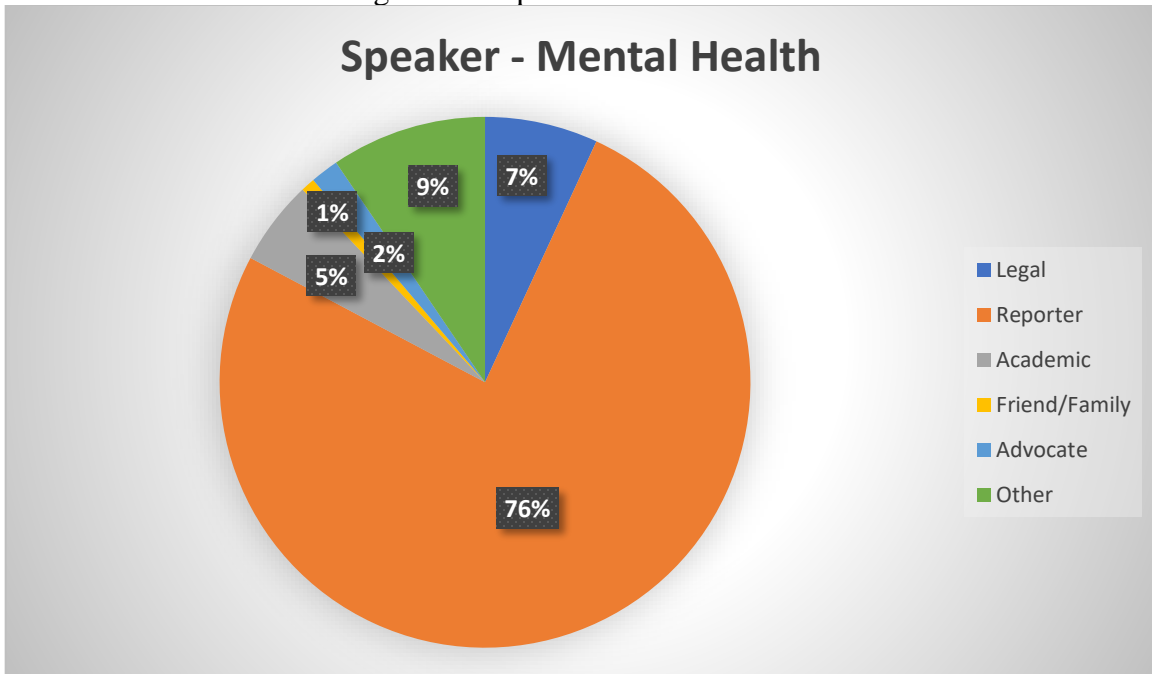
Figure 4-5: Speaker – Mental Illness
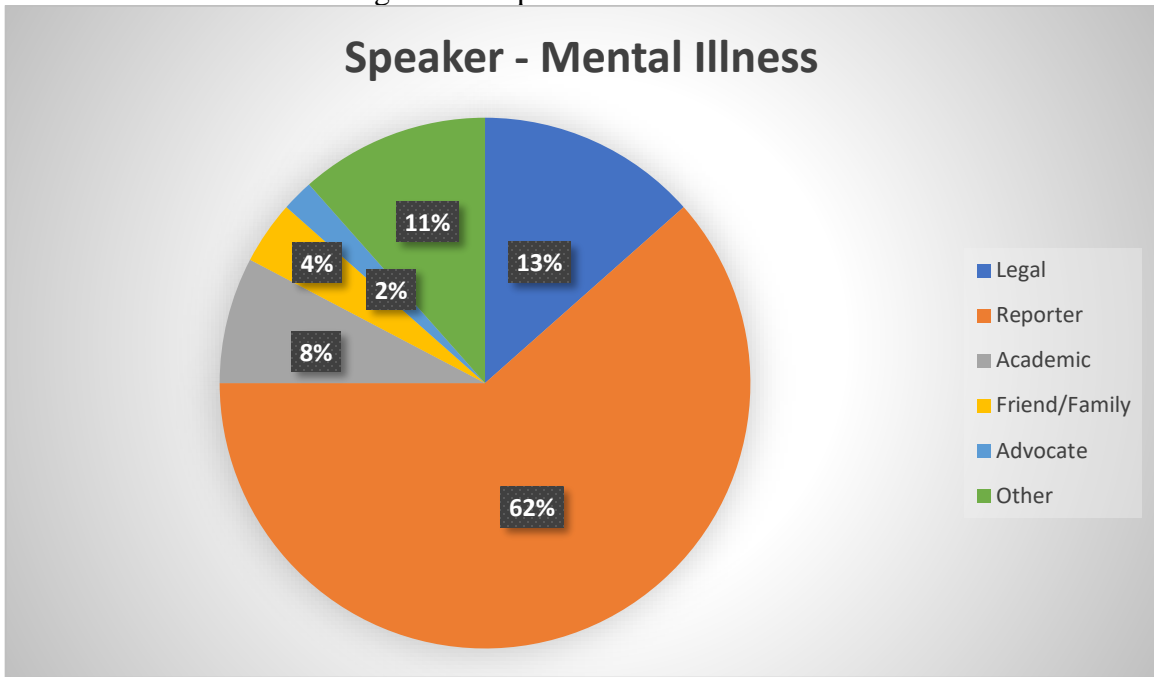
4.1.4 Placement

The placement of each mention of the terms mental health and mental illness were identified and subsequently categorized as present in one of the following: headline, caption, first quarter of the article, second quarter of the article, third quarter of the article, and fourth quarter of the article. For the term mental health, 25 uses of the term were found in the first quarter of the article; 31 uses of the term were found in the second quarter of the article; 31 uses of the term were found in the third quarter of the article; and 22 uses of the term were found in the fourth quarter of the article. In addition, the term was used 5 times in a photo or video caption and 2 times in a headline. For the term mental illness, 7 uses of the term were found in the first quarter of the article; 13 uses of the term were found in the second quarter of the article; 14 uses of the term were found in the third quarter of the article; and 17 uses of the term were found in the third quarter of the article. In addition, 1 use was found in a headline.

4.1.5 Word Connotation

Machin and Mayr (2012) explained that the basic choice of words used by a writer or speaker can be analyzed to understand connotations. According to the researchers, "since language is an available set of options, certain choices have been made by the author for their own motivated reasons" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 32). Lexical choices, such as words or phrases, prompt certain sets of associations, or connotations, when used to describe something or someone. Discourse has the ability to signify associations between identities, values, and sequences of action; these connotations help place events into specific frameworks of reference for audience members.

Mental Health. The term mental health was used with several different connotations. Definitions of the term were used to identify the connotation of each utterance, and if the term was used for with a different meaning, it was described as such. Mental health was often used as a synonym to mental illness, aligning with the definition of the latter as "any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis" (*The Random House Unabridged Dictionary*, 2020, p. 775). For example, "'Simply having a mental health diagnosis does not, and should not, excuse or mitigate a violent, premeditated act that the defendant clearly knew was wrong,' prosecutors Jamie Perry and Ronald L. Walutes Jr. wrote in sentencing papers" (WP 11, para. 9). In the same manner, mental health was also used in reference or in place of a mental illness. For example, while acknowledging the suspect may have mental health issues, she said, "his (Facebook) posts, his comments, and his visit to First Baptist Jeffersontown lead us to express our concern" (NYT 3, para. 7).

The definition of the term mental health was found to be evident in various quotes, including the connotation tied to the definition (as stated by *The Random House Unabridged*

Dictionary, 2020, p. 775), "Psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life," as well as the subsequent definition, "The field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment." An example of the definition of the term is exemplified in the following quote: "West reacted Saturday morning by sharing a screen shot of Grande's tweet and writing that he considered it 'slight commentary.' He followed that with another tweet (since deleted), writing that 'all of this foolishness weighed on my mental health so @ArianaGrande you know I got love for you but until you're ready to really make sure everyone's ok don't use me or this moment to promote a song'" (WP 15, para. 10).

Finally, the term was also found to be used when referencing a large medical system, such as the following:

> Thousands of psychologists, therapists, social workers and psychiatric nurses will begin a five-day strike Monday against Kaiser Permanente at more than 100 facilities across California, demanding one of the nation's largest non-profit HMOs devote more resources to mental health services. (USA 3, para. 1)

Mental Illness. The connotation of the term mental illness was found to be used in alignment with its definition of "Any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis," (*The Random House Unabridged Dictionary*, 2020, p. 775) as well as a synonym to a medical diagnosis. For example, "'I do not have any indication that he's known to have mental illness,' David Willborn, the county prosecutor, said in an email. 'His behavior indicates that there is certainly cause for concern regarding his mental health'" (NYT 1, para. 15); as well as,

> Ponthieu said the local hospital lacked resources to care for large numbers of people with mental illnesses. And while some doctors are contracted by the

Australian government to treat patients there, she said, MSF is concerned that

those services are inadequate. Asylum seekers "don't trust anything provided by

the Australian government because the government has put them there in the first

place," she said. (WP 3, para. 6)

Mental illness was used in reference to a battle to be, or being, fought by an individual; it

was often tied to criminal behavior and violence; and the term was used in reference to

something someone *struggles* with.

Newton, a mother of three who has struggled with mental illness, had been taken

via ambulance to a hospital in Loris, about 20 miles northeast of Conway, earlier

Tuesday after she felt that she was about to suffer 'a spell,' according to The New

York Times. (USA 2, para. 17)

In addition, the following quote further illustrates the finding: "Comstock wrote an op-ed

published in a Loudoun County newspaper last week saying she supports more money for

law enforcement, school safety and treatment for mental illness, which she said is often

behind gun violence" (WP 4, para. 6).

4.1.6 Overlexicalization

Machin and Mayr (2012) explained overlexicalization as the use of repetitious, quasi-

synonymous terms, or language that gives a sense of over-completeness. These linguistic choices

give a sense that an author is overly persuasive, which is often found to be evident that the

content "is problematic or of ideological contention" (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 37).

Mental Health. Of the 116 quotes that included the term mental health, 73 were found to

contain overlexicalization. The language tied to mental health included terms such as *problems*,

issues, and *concerns*. Language used in some of the articles used the phrase mental health

problems, such as the following:

> "In Japan, your biggest problem is that there is a greater stigma about **mental**
>
> **health problems** than in other countries," said Vickie Skorji, director of the crisis
>
> hotline at TELL, a counseling and crisis intervention service in Tokyo. "You're
>
> most likely to get bullied, and less likely to get support services and
>
> understanding from your parents." (NYT 6, para. 7)

Similarly, phrasing of mental health identified a mental health label or its manifestations as

mental health issues, such as the following:

> Pete Davidson wrote on Instagram Saturday afternoon that he didn't "want to be
>
> on this earth anymore." The post came shortly after the SNL cast member had
>
> used the social media platform to applaud Kanye West for speaking openly about
>
> his own **mental health issues**. (WP 15, para. 1)

The phrase *mental health concerns* was also evident in articles.

> The authors of the report concede the 15 measures do not present "a complete
>
> picture of the mental health system" in this country, but "they do provide a strong
>
> foundation for understanding the prevalence of **mental health concerns**, as well
>
> as issues of access to insurance and treatment." (NYT 2, para. 4)

> In addition, phrasing insinuated that the term mental health was used in reference to a

medical diagnosis by using the terms *diagnosis*, *condition*, and *disease*, as well as linking the

term to medical facilities and treatments. The following example demonstrates the finding of the

phrase *mental health facility*:

The biggest difference between the House and Senate measures involves an

obscure, decades-old rule known as the Institutions for Mental Diseases exclusion

rule, or "IMD exclusion," prohibiting federal Medicaid reimbursements for

inpatient substance abuse treatment in centers with more than 16 beds whose

patients are mainly suffering from severe mental illness. Many people with

substance abuse disorders also have a mental illness, and this rule means they are

unable to get treated for their addiction when in a large **mental health facility**.

(WP 14, para. 11)

In addition to the term facility, *mental health institution* was evident:

First, Ohio and federal law do not ban people with mental health diagnoses from

owning a firearm. They are banned only if a judge deems them to have a mental

health issue or sends them to a **mental health institution**. (USA 1, para. 9)

Some quotes also used the term mental health when no explicit diagnosis was available,

but subsequent language referenced a connection to something being *wrong* with the individual

in question. For example, "'I do not have any indication that he's known to have mental illness,'

David Willborn, the county prosecutor, said in an email. 'His behavior indicates that there is

certainly cause for concern regarding his mental health'" (NYT 1, para. 15); as well as,

Police are looking into Santa Perez's mental health. No specific diagnosis has

been reported to date. Santa Perez sued CNBC and TD Ameritrade in 2017, but a

judge dismissed his complaint as "rambling, difficult to decipher and borders on

delusional." (USA 1, para. 5)

It was also found that the term mental health was used in close proximity to a specific

mental health diagnosis, such as the following, "Davidson has been open about his mental health

in the past. In September, the comedian opened up about his borderline personality disorder in an interview with Howard Stern, describing it as 'everything feeling so extreme'" (USA 4, para. 8).

Over-completeness, as described by Machin and Mayr (2012), was also found within the data set. In addition to terms used in reference to the degree of which mental health might be experienced, such as major depression, severe, severely troubled, intensive, and serious, over-completeness was found with repeating words in association with the key term:

> "What makes a person capable of taking a weapon and using it against unarmed, defenseless people?" Gahler wondered plaintively at a Friday morning news briefing, referring to the three deadly attacks. "The mental health issues, we see it time and time and time again. And just the disregard for human life that seems so commonplace across our nation." (WP 1, para. 31)

Mental Illness. Of the 52 quotes identified with the term mental illness, 29 were found to include overlexicalization. The semiotic choice was evident in quotes that stated the term mental illness and subsequently listed specific diagnosis/es: "Hussain's family, in a statement Monday, said Hussain suffered from 'severe' mental illness and had been 'struggling with psychosis and depression his entire life'" (USA 6, para. 8) [original emphasis]. The following quote further illustrates the finding:

> Around the time that his unusual behavior began peaking, West disclosed that he has bipolar disorder. The handwritten words "I hate being Bi-Polar its awesome" adorned the cover of "Ye," his newest record. In the interview, he discussed how his mental illness played a role in the now-infamous TMZ appearance. (WP 7, para. 10)

The term was also repeatedly linked to criminal behavior and violence:

In 2011, Mr. Newton was charged in Sydney with **punching** a 66-year-old taxi driver in the head. A court dismissed the charges on the grounds that he had a mental illness, ordering him to comply with a treatment plan. In 2012, Mr. Newton was charged with **punching** a hotel clerk in Miami. He was ordered to complete 50 hours of community service and an **anger management** course. He has been living recently in New York. (NYT 4, para. 6)

The subject of violence tied to mental health labels was not only referenced, but the term violence was also found to be used repeatedly and in quick succession:

On the question about the relationship between PTSD and **violence** — like often with mental illness, there is a little bit of increased risk of **violence**, but it's not the kind of **violence** where you go into a bar and shoot people," Ritchie said. (WP 11, para. 20)

Similar to the findings described earlier for overlexicalization with the term mental health, mental illness was also described as something an individual suffers with, battles, is beset, or struggles. The degree of the mental illness was also found in relation to overlexicalization of the term, including phrases such as *severe* and *major depression*.

"There is anecdotal evidence from cities I've been to where people are saying that this young adult population with **severe mental illness** is overwhelming the health system," Dr. Culhane said. "It doesn't take many people to have a big impact." (WP 9, para. 10)

When used as an adjective, the term was also found to be overlexicalized, such as in the following examples:

Virginia state Sen. R. Creigh Deeds has settled a wrongful-death lawsuit against a

former employee of a public mental-health agency that failed to find a hospital

bed for his **mentally ill son**, who in 2013 stabbed the senator before killing

himself. (WP 19, para. 1)

Similarly to the previous example, the term was used as a modifier in the description of

an inmate:

The family of a **mentally ill inmate** who died after a struggle with deputies at the

Fairfax County jail in 2015 has reached a $750,000 settlement with the county

sheriff's office to resolve a wrongful-death lawsuit, according to court records.

(WP 2, para. 1)

4.1.7 Genre of Communication

According to Fairclough (1995), lexical choices aid in expressing a level of authority and/or co-

membership of the text with audience members. Authors and speakers can seek to influence

audience members "through claims to having power over us" (p. 42). Language denoting specific

fields, such as legal or medical, can express *specialist knowledge*; using specific, technical terms

conveys a sense of authority. "Other texts might try to influence us through claiming to speak

through a language common to the readership or listener, by using more colloquial and everyday

language, hence giving the impression of being like us" (p. 42).

Familiar, or colloquial, language typically shares personal information or perspectives

(Weaver, 2017). Standard English conventions are less of a priority when writing or speaking in

this level of formality, as writers or speakers feel their message will still be understood by

audience members. As Weaver (2017) explained, "Slang, idioms, sentence fragments, [and]

abbreviations are probably acceptable" (para. 7). Familiar language was found within the articles

analyzed for this study, both with the key term mental health, as well as mental illness. For example,

> "I apologize. That happens sometimes when people are — I'm not blaming mental health, but I'm explaining mental health," West said. "I don't know if I properly apologized for how the slavery comment made people feel. I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment, and I'm sorry for people that felt let down by that moment. And I appreciate you giving me the opportunity to talk to you about the way I was thinking and what I was going through." (WP 7, para. 14)

Familiar language is also exemplified in the following quote:

> "I understand people want to always make everything political and turn it into political discourse. Look, there's been rhetoric on both sides. . . . At the end of the day, I don't think it's political rhetoric. It's mental illness that is causing these tragedies or would-be tragedies. And we have got a mental health crisis in this country," Ratcliffe said. (WP 12, para. 33)

The second level of formality in English writing is casual. This level typically is found when an individual is writing or speaking to someone they are not close to but are still considered equals (Weaver, 2017). Less assumptions are made regarding audience members and an effort is made to follow standard English conventions, although the rules may not be followed as vigorously as the next two levels of formality (Weaver, 2017). Casual language was found within quotes containing the key terms of mental health and mental illness. Two examples of casual language are presented below, the first found within USA 1:

Why not report all people with mental health issues? The National Alliance on

Mental Illness estimates one in five adults in the United States experiences mental

illness in a given year. That's a lot of people, most of whom would say they can

safely wield guns for protection or sport. (USA 1, para. 11)

The second example is from WP 9:

The estimated number of adults with serious suicidal thoughts is over 9.8 million

– an increase of 200,000 people since last year. Over 2 million young people cope

with severe major depression. And that is just the population that has been

diagnosed. On average, it takes 10 years between the onset of symptoms and

when individuals receive treatment. Over 24 million individuals experiencing a

mental health illness are going untreated. (WP 9, para. 6)

The third level of formality is semi-formal language, often used when discussing a

subject with an individual you do not know or a superior (Weaver, 2017). Writers typically use

this tone when they do not know their audience members beyond a general understanding, such

as a target demographic. Rules of standard English are followed, contractions and common

idioms can still be used, but slang is understood to be inappropriate (Weaver, 2017). Semi-

formal language was found to be the most common level of formality with references to mental

health, and the second most common level of formality with references to mental illness. Below

are two examples from the data:

In 2013, Australia began holding migrants and asylum seekers who try to reach

the country by boat in offshore detention. About 900 asylum seekers are held on

Nauru, and some have been there as long as five years. Many, including children,

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suffer from severe mental-health conditions, including depression and anxiety,

doctors and human rights groups say. (WP 3, para. 4)

"They also note some of the surveys used to get data do not include the homeless population, whose inclusion would likely raise the percentage of youth and adults who suffer from mental illness" (WP 9, para. 4).

Formal language is generally found within academic, technical, and business writing (Weaver, 2017). Personal information or beliefs are not shared within this level of writing, and authors do not make assumptions regarding their audience members. As Weaver (2017, para. 14) stated, "Formal writing is precise and impersonal. Writers follow the rules of standard English with exactness; they don't use idioms, contractions, or sentence fragments." Formal language used with the key term mental health was the second most common level of formality, while it was the most common level with references to the key term mental illness. The following quotes demonstrate the finding: "And by **dint of their numbers**, millennials may be also straining the mental health system" (NYT 2, para. 9); "McKenna's case **spurred** Kincaid and Fairfax County to start a program in 2016 that attempts to **divert** nonviolent offenders with mental illness into treatment instead of the jail" (WP 2, para. 9); "Rogers said that there is '**apparently some mental illness history with the subject in question**' but said he didn't have direct knowledge about any illness'" (NYT 3, para. 27) [original emphasis].

The term mental health was found to be used in all four levels of formality: familiar/colloquial (12), casual (13), semi-formal (56), and formal (35). Mental illness was also found to be used in all four levels of formality: familiar/colloquial (3), casual (7), semi-formal (19), and formal (23). See Figure 4-6 for reference.

Figure 4-6: Lexical Choices – Formality of Language
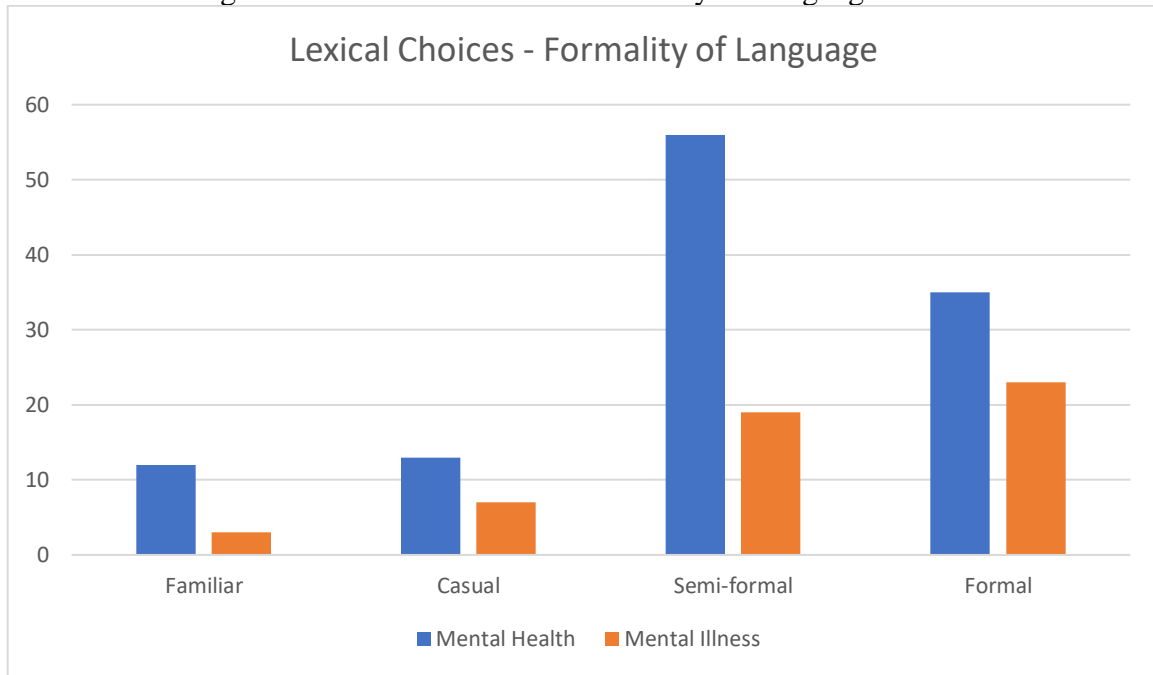
4.2   Sources and Causality

Discourse in contemporary society involves participants who are separated in time and place, specifically with regards to mass media (Fairclough, 2015). According to Fairclough (2015), "Mass-media discourse is interesting because the nature of the power relations enacted in it is often not clear, and there are reasons for seeing it as involving *hidden* relations of power" (p. 78) [original emphasis]. Fairclough continued with questioning who is exercising power within articles, considering journalists, editors, institutions, or the representations of someone else, such as the sources within an article. "While the unequal influence of social grouping may be relatively clear in terms of who gets to be interviewed, for example, it is less clear but nevertheless highlight significant in terms of whose *perspective* is adopted in reports" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 79) [original emphasis]. In addition to the sources, perspectives, and ideologies expressed "in favour of the power-holders" (p. 80), Fairclough (2015) stated the

desire to focus on causality, or as he explained, "who is represented as causing what to happen, who is represented as doing what to whom" (p. 80).

Sources of power were analyzed by identifying all sources referenced in each article. A broader analysis was then applied to understand if one perspective was used as the overarching representation of events. Subsequent analysis sought to identify the causality implied by the text – who was represented as doing what to whom, or more specifically, who was the aggressor and who was the victim. All articles were found to have a specific perspective as the overarching representation of events, with 9 articles having two perspectives expressed as the predominant sources. Figure 4-7 depicts the power sources found within the articles, including law enforcement (8), academic/research (9), legal advisors (7), lawmakers (5), celebrities (4), advocates (3), union/aid group (2), witnesses (2), opponents (1), and family/friends (1).

Figure 4-7: Power: Sources
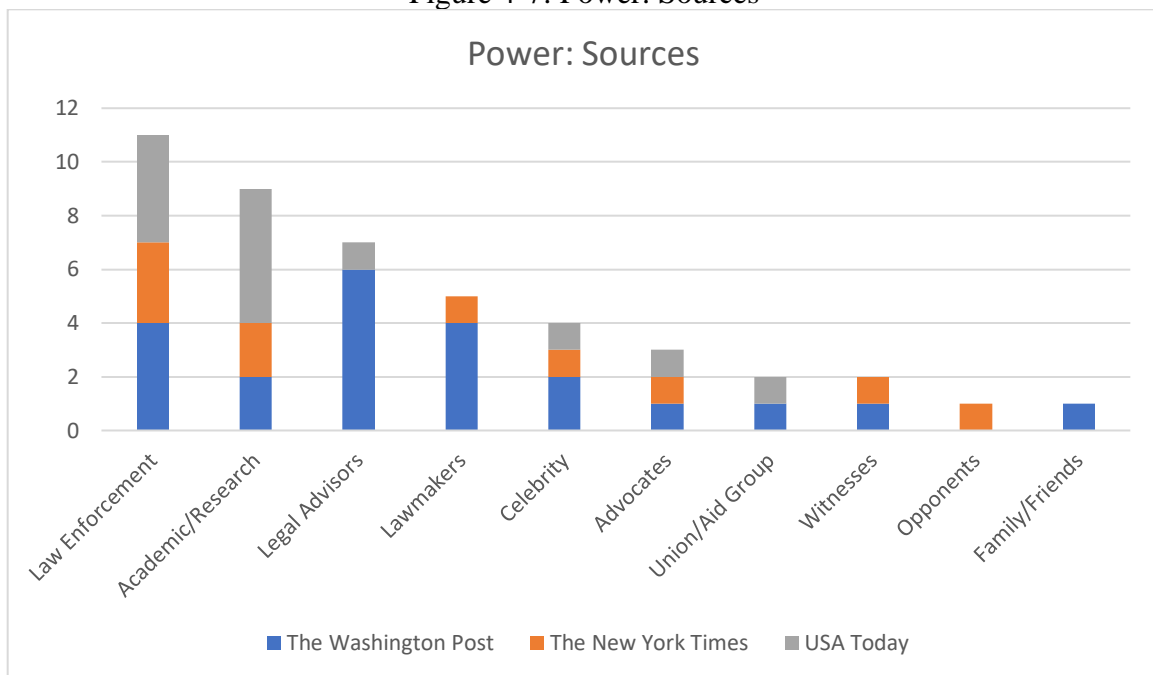
With regard to causality, articles were analyzed to understand who was depicted as the aggressor, and who was depicted as the victim. Table 4-2 depicts the overarching perspective(s)

in the first column; the second column states the aggressor as depicted by the perspective presented in the articles; and the third column states the victim, again as depicted by the perspective presented in the articles.

Fourteen of the 33 articles depicted a person with a mental illness (MI) as the aggressor, with most of their victims being categorized as specific individuals (e.g., individuals who died due to violence), or local citizens (e.g., criminal behavior that could have affected individuals close to the scene).

Nine of the articles that depicted a person with a mental illness as the aggressor had a dominant perspective associated with law enforcement or first responder.

Three of the articles that depicted a person with a mental illness as the aggressor had a dominant perspective associated with legal advisors. Perspectives of celebrities, supporters, advocates, and lawmakers typically depicted and individual with a mental illness as the victim; in those instances, the aggressor was seen as law enforcement, lawmakers, or the personification of an individual's mental illness.

Table 4-2: Dominant Perspective

Dominant Perspective	Aggressor	Victim
Law enforcement	Law enforcement	Person with MI
Law enforcement	Person with MI	Specific individuals
Law enforcement	Law enforcement	People with MI
Law enforcement	Person with MI	Specific individuals
Law enforcement	N/A	N/A
Law enforcement	Person with MI	Specific individuals
Law enforcement	Person with MI	Specific individuals
Law enforcement, legal advisors	Person with MI	Local citizens
Law enforcement, legal advisors	Person with MI	Specific individuals
Law enforcement, victims' family and friends	Person with MI	Specific individuals
Law enforcement, witnesses	Person with MI	Local citizens
Academic	People with MI	Local citizens
Academic	Broader System	People with MI

Dominant Perspective	Aggressor	Victim
Legal advisors	Health employee	Person with MI
Legal advisors	Person with MI	Specific individuals
Legal advisors	Lawmakers	People with MI
Legal advisors	Person with MI	Specific individuals
Legal advisors	Person with MI	Specific individuals
Legal advisors	Law enforcement	Person with MI
Lawmakers	N/A	N/A
Lawmakers	N/A	N/A
Lawmakers	Lawmakers	People with MI
Lawmakers, experts	Pressure and bullies	People with MI
Lawmakers, experts	Lawmakers	People with MI
Celebrity	Mental illness	Person with MI
Celebrity	Mental illness	Person with MI
Celebrity, supporters	Mental illness	Person with MI
Celebrity, supporters	Mental illness	Person with MI
Mental Health advocates, veterans	Lawmakers	People with MI
Humanitarian group	Lawmakers	People with MI
Union	Health network	MH workers
Opponents	Person with MI	Specific individuals
Volunteer firefighter/chief	Person with MI	Local citizens

4.3   Conclusion

The findings of this study illustrate the various ways power can be implemented, including semiotic choices, perspectives and causality. With regard to this study, most discussions of mental health and mental illness align with a medical model frame, discussing the topic as an individualized, negative experience tied to the need for treatment. While a variety of speakers were identified throughout the articles, dominant perspectives remained with law enforcement, lawmakers, and legal advisors.

Although there were many references to the term mental health, it was often used in a medicalized manner and was closely aligned with the definitions for mental illness. Overlexicalization suggested that mental health and mental illness were negative, linking them to

such words as concerns, problems, and issues, as well as insinuating that something was wrong with the individual. Analyzing the formality of the terms found that they were more often stated with semi-formal or formal language, likely resulting in a less emotional appeal and one of credibility and power on behalf of the dominant perspective.

Lastly, the findings suggest that a majority of news articles depict an individual with a mental health label as an aggressor and specific individuals or local citizens as their victims, with the dominant perspective in those articles being law enforcement or legal advisors. While this Chapter established the specific language used throughout the articles and those that used them, the following Chapter will help to illuminate why these findings are important points of discussion with various implications.

5 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to explore and describe the linguistic choices used by online newspaper articles published by three national publications – The Washington Post, The New York Times, and USA Today when discussing mental health and mental illness. This Chapter includes a discussion of the findings as related to five major themes: (1) mental health labels as a medicalized, biological concern; (2) perpetuation of ideological beliefs in representations of mental health labels; (3) evocation of emotional responses through the use of semiotic choices; (4) low-context descriptions of mental health and mental illness; and (5) predominance of sources with hidden authoritative power. Also included in this Chapter is a discussion of implications and recommendations for ways journalists, academics, and others can speak and write about mental health and mental illness. The Chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the study, areas for future research, and a brief summary of final thoughts tied to the findings and discussion of the study.

This Chapter contains discussion to answer the research questions:

RQ 1: How are mental health and mental illness portrayed in mainstream, national newspapers?

RQ 2: What discourse is used in the representations of mental health labels?

RQ 3: What frames are used by gatekeepers when describing individuals with mental health labels?

The ways in which mental health and mental illness are represented in newspaper articles are multi-dimensional and include various semiotic choices. The use of specific frames by

newspaper publications may mediate lives (Altheide, 2002) and construct realities, highlighting certain aspects while ignoring others.

5.1 Interpretation of Findings

Newspaper discourse has been a focus of many CDA researchers to reveal potentially biased language and educate audiences about the way in which language is used to facilitate various ideologies (Elyas, 2019). As Machin and Richardson (2012) stated, texts can be critically analyzed "in order to pinpoint the kinds of semiotic choices in language that realise particular discourses" (p. 329). According to the researchers, studying semiotics allows for the understanding of how communicators use linguistic elements to achieve specific goals – to communicate ideas, attitudes, values and identities (p. 330). This study explored one of the two ways of conducting social semiotics when analyzing discourse published in newspaper articles: analyzing how language is used in specific cases and combinations to communicate specific meanings. There were five major themes which are discussed below.

5.1.1 Mental Health Labels as a Medicalized, Biological Concern

The newspaper articles in all three publications were more likely to use a medical model frame when discussing individuals with mental health labels. Eighty-nine of the 116 references to mental health within the articles used the medical model frame, most commonly when using the term as a synonym for mental illness. Words such as mental health institution, diagnosis, and treatment were indicative of this medical model frame. The lexical choices within the 33 newspaper articles from the three national publications analyzed for this study identified the use of frames incorporating ideological perspectives from both the medical model and social model. Simply put, framing is the process editors and journalists use to carefully select, organize, and encode their messages into a story" (Scott, 2017, p. 998). Editors and journalists gather

information, synthesize, and present content, constructing a story while giving certain aspects greater salience while de-emphasizing other aspects (Entman, 1993). When news reporters present information, whether highlighting one issue, downplaying a detail, or excluding certain aspects, "they define and shape [a story] for their readers" (Scott, 2017, p. 999).

As explained in Chapter 2, social and medical models represent people with disabilities in differing manners. The use of the social model frame has been found to be effective politically in building the social movement of disabled people; instrumentally in liberating people with disabilities from social oppression and exclusion; and psychologically by increasing self-esteem within disabled people and building a positive, collective identity (Shakespeare, 2013). However, the findings of this study identified an increased used of mental health labels framed as a medical experience, one that is typically associated with being an individual deficit (Shakespeare, 2013). Representing mental health and mental illness as an individualized deficit and experience removes the potential role of society in constructing a discourse and perception that in effect disables individuals. In relation to cultivation theory which states that media exposure plays a role in the construction of a person's attitude and social actions (Liu, 2005), the increased prevalence of the medical model frame would suggest the likelihood that newspapers readers would continue the language and framing, as set by the newspapers analyzed. The idea that mental health labels are a biological concern and an individualized issue are perpetuated. This idea stands in contrast to the possibility that it is society that places restrictions, via negative attitudes and perpetuating stereotypes, on individuals with such labels.

Although all uses of the key term mental illness were used within a medical model frame and most uses of mental health were as well, 27 uses of the key term mental health aligned with a social model frame. This finding suggests that some discussions and representations of mental

health in these newspapers' articles were depicted in relation to society as a whole and the potential effects a culture or community may have in disabling an individual. The use of both frames by the newspapers analyzed in this study suggest that there is greater variance in the perception of mental health, both in the definition of the term and the experience of it.

5.1.2 Perpetuation of Ideological Beliefs

Word choice and overlexicalization are important devices in revealing the ideological meanings in news discourse (Dagtas, 2013; Machin & Mayr, 2013). Teo (2000) stated that using an excessive number of quasi-synonyms in a repetitious manner creates a sense of over-completeness in news discourse that suggests no additional analysis or interpretation is needed. Repeated associations of word(s) with another, combined with the emotional connotation, transfers emotional significance to the content presented. Repeated presentations of the same phrase within the same context strengthens the word processing on behalf of an individual (Fritsch, 2013), increasing the likelihood that the representation will be cultivated as reality in the minds of audience members. Of the 116 quotes that included the term mental health, 73 were found to contain overlexicalization, including phrasing with terms such as problems, issues, and concerns. Phrasing also insinuated that mental health was tied to a medical diagnosis, perpetuating a medical model frame and ideology. Quotes were also found to make a connection between mental health and something being wrong with an individual (e.g., NYT 1, para. 15; USA 1, para. 5), an additional illustration of the ideological perspective associated with the medical model.

Of the 52 quotes identified with the term mental illness, 29 were found to include overlexicalization. The AP Stylebook states that phrasing such as *afflicted with*, *suffers from*, or *victim of* connote pity and such descriptions should be avoided, however, such language was

evident within the articles analyzed for this study such as in the example, "suffered from 'severe' mental illness and had been 'struggling with psychosis and depression his entire life'" (USA 6, para. 8) [original emphasis]. Criminal behavior and violence were also found to be depicted and included specific references to physical acts of violence (e.g., NYT 4, para. 6) and more general discussions of violence in relation to mental health labels (WP 11, para. 20). Although "[s]tudies have shown that the vast majority of people with mental illness are not violent, and experts say most people who are violent are not mentally ill" (The AP Styleguide, 2019, Kindle Loc. 7233), the overlexicalization of mental illness in relation to violence and criminal acts, in these newspapers' articles suggested that the individuals were predisposed to such behavior. The continual representation of individuals with mental health labels as violent perpetuates the discrimination, negative stereotypes, and stigma related to those with said mental health labels, bolstering ideological perspectives and cultivating the beliefs as reality.

5.1.3 Evocation of Emotional Responses

In the 33 newspaper articles in this study, the key term mental health was used as a noun, both common and proper, 32 times of the total 116 uses. The key term mental illness was used as a noun 43 times of the total 52 uses. Mental health was used as an adjective 84 times, and mental illness was used as an adjective 8 times. As explained in Chapter 2, noun phrases are particularly prevalent in journalism; they frame information in a manner that represents what gatekeepers consider to be relevant and interesting, reflecting values and stereotypes consistent with a publications ideology (Caldas-Coulthar & Moon, 2010). The mini narratives predispose audience members to specific interpretations, and the contextual learning processed via discourse convey an emotional meaning (Corrigan, 2003). Because mental health labels are often associated with specific connotations, they elicit specific emotional responses. The predominant use of mental

illness as a noun and adjective in this study's dataset may suggest a greater emotional link on behalf of audience members, including values and stereotypes associated with the term. For example, the use of *mentally ill son* (WP 19, para. 1) and *mentally ill inmate* (WP, para. 1) may evoke a specific emotional response or assumed stereotype from audience members because the son and inmate, respectively, were framed as *mentally ill* in the noun phrase.

Findings from analyzing word connotation of newspaper articles in this study indicated that both the key terms mental health and mental illness were used in manners associated with the medical and social models, as described earlier, as well as the dictionary definitions of the terms. As stated in the findings, mental illness was used in reference to a battle being fought by an individual, framed in reference to criminal behavior or violence, and presented as something someone struggles with. Previous research suggests that the metaphorical use of battling an illness and representing the individual as a fighter incorporates preconceptions emphasizing fear of the illness (Clarke & Everest, 2006; Pujol et al., 2016). The discussion of mental illness in relation to violence (such as gun violence in data point WP 4, para. 6) would likely elicit a negative perception of individuals with mental health labels by audience members. Lastly, phrasing such as *struggled with* and *suffers from* (e.g., "struggled with mental illness" and "about to suffer 'a spell'", both found in USA 2, para. 17) connote pity, according to The AP Styleguide, resulting in the increased likelihood that such language would elicit the emotional response of pity on behalf of the newspaper's readers.

Mental health labels are often associated with specific connotations. Consistent frames present mental health labels in distinct manners, eliciting specific emotional responses and perceptions of people with such labels. Both implications are in accordance with The AP Stylebook guidelines stating that specific phrasing connotes pity and The Carter Center's

resource guide explaining that there is a prevalence of information that fuels prejudice and discrimination against individuals with mental health labels. Parts of speech, specifically noun phrases, and word connotation link to emotional responses (Fritsch & Kuchinke, 2013). In addition, individuals with mental health labels were found in this study to be depicted as the aggressor within the analyzed news reports 14 times more often than any other person responsible, including law enforcement, lawmakers, and health networks (see Figure 4.9). The finding suggests that individuals with mental health labels are often framed by gatekeepers as being the person to cause an issue to occur. These representations, mediated by publications such as the newspapers analyzed for this study, increases the likelihood that the negative perceptions towards these individuals continues.

5.1.4 Low-Context Descriptions of Mental Health and Mental Illness

Genre of communication within this study focused primarily on four levels of formality. Word choice was analyzed and categorized as familiar, casual, semi-formal, or formal language. It was identified that most references of the terms mental health and mental illness were expressed with semi-formal and formal language. Furthermore, these terms were referenced and described within low-context messages. As explained in Chapter 2, low-context situations are the result of explicit messages with clear and detailed facts, whereas high-context situations rely heavily on the context of the message and additional details provided within a story (Reyes, 2015). The findings of this study are consistent with the notion that the use of semi-formal and formal language were evident in low-context statements within the articles, and familiar and causal language were typically incorporated in articles with high-context messages.

News reports are time sensitive and typically published quickly; they focus on content and tend to be straight to the point in delivering the facts of a story. They are written in an

inverted pyramid style (see Chapter 3). The prevalence of low-context descriptions within this study is likely due, in part, to the brevity of news reports and the method of publishing such an article. The result of writing news reports, specifically the low-context descriptions, means that less detail regarding mental health is included in news stories and the content that is included is often presented in a matter-of-fact manner with semi-formal or formal language. The findings suggest that the lack of familiar or casual language when discussing mental health and mental illness results in less emotional responses from audience members. At the same time, the lack of familiar and causal language would likely increase the knowledge, credibility, and power of the dominant perspectives depicted within the articles. Low-context messages found within the news articles analyzed for this study often read as static and rigid, with less flexibility of interpretation on behalf of the reader. The expression of knowledge in this manner increases the credibility of both the newspaper as gatekeeper and the sources cited within the news report – both the newspaper's and the sources' expertise is typically not questioned and the content they present is often considered trustworthy.

Although a majority of the articles analyzed for this study included low-context descriptions of mental health labels, six of the 33 articles included direct quotations from individuals with a mental health label. Those with personal experiences with mental health labels typically discuss their narrative in contextualized experience as it relates to their life, offering a perspective that possibly differs from that of a clinician, typically resulting in a high-context message. This type of knowledge about the subject ties to the first of Storey's (2016) ways of knowing: experience. Lexicon use by these individuals is usually expressed in everyday language as opposed to biomedical lexicon. Depending on the newspaper's reader, the lexical choices may resonate more or less as a result of said reader's experiences and knowledge of the

subject. Most of the articles that included quotes from individuals with mental health labels were those from celebrities, defined as any person who is well-known in a field, such as science, politics, or entertainment and increased media visibility (Lewallen, Miller, & Behm-Morawitz, 2016). The inclusion of celebrities with mental health labels offers a unique position by which to discuss the subject. The reports may increase the visibility of articles discussing the subject, playing a role in informing audience members about mental health labels, and the celebrities can include personal insight about their labelled diagnosis in everyday language. As Sørensen (2018) stated, newspapers have the ability to play a crucial role in creating awareness about services and other relevant information regarding specific subjects, offering support to audience members in their process of disseminating information. Newspapers are continually evolving to meet reader interest and celebrity news has been characterized as a "booming industry in its own right and can be and influential source in the lives of emerging adults" (Lewallen et al., 2016, p. 254). Therefore, the inclusion of news reports focused on celebrities with mental health labels may offer one way to bring attention to this subject in a way that increases awareness and presents experiences from different angles. Such articles may provide alternative perspectives to the low-context messages found to be commonplace within the articles analyzed for this study.

5.1.5 Predominance of Sources with Hidden Authoritative Power

This study analyzed the quotes presented in each newspaper's individual article to assess the perspectives included within the news reports (see Appendix). Sources consisted of individuals from a variety of backgrounds including professions such as lawyers and from various levels within departments, such as police chiefs as well as police officers. The presentations of statements from the sources varied, including direct quotes, paraphrased language, and language reprinted from documents. The list of all sources was used as a

preliminary analysis to further understand the dominant perspective presented, as explained by Fairclough (2015). Fairclough's (2015) discussion of hidden power relied heavily on two aspects – understanding (1) the producers of the presented content, and (2) the causality depicted within the story. As Fairclough explained, a text – such as a newspaper article - may be geared towards representing what might have occurred from the viewpoint of a dominant perspective. In this case, power is exercised as "the power to disguise power" (p. 80). The power is seen in the constraint of content, favoring certain interpretations and lexical choices while excluding, or limiting, others. Although the specific language and representations appear to be those of a gatekeeper because they are published in a newspaper, the interpretation and the way it is phrased are those of powerholders and thus hidden power is established.

The perspective of an individual with a mental health label was found to be the dominant perspective in four of the 33 articles analyzed for this study. Of those four articles, all depicted a mental illness as the aggressor (i.e., who/what is causing something to happen) and the individual with the mental health label as the victim (i.e., who is having something done to them). Three of the articles were found not to have depictions of causality. Of the remaining 26 articles, 14 were found to depict a person with a mental health label as the aggressor. The victims were identified as local citizens or specific individuals. In most of these depictions, the dominant perspective was from those in authoritative roles such as law enforcement (8), legal advisors (3), and a firefighter (1). The remaining two depictions were from the dominant perspective of academic sources (1) and opponents of the individual discussed (1) (i.e., someone critical of the actions of the individual with a mental health label).

The use of hidden power, as described by Fairclough (2015), was evident in the articles analyzed for this study. The dependence on specific sources, such as law enforcement, legal

advisors, lawmakers, and academics, as well as the perpetuation of language associated with these dominant perspectives, further emphasizes the ideologies of these powerholders. As explained previously, these dominant perspectives were more likely to present an individual with a mental health label as an aggressor rather than a victim or neutral party, increasing stigmatizing language, perpetuating stereotypes, and further unbalancing levels of power. The hidden power of media discourse and the ability for powerholders to exercise dominance depend on the "systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities," according to Fairclough (2015, p. 82). One reference or representation of a topic on its own is likely insignificant, but "the effects of media power are cumulative, working through repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth" (pg. 82), points that connect notably with cultivation theory. Because of the scale of mass media and the high levels of exposure to audience members, media discourse is able to exercise a powerful and pervasive influence regarding social reproduction. And as Fairclough states, standardization of discourse is part of a larger process whereby economic, political, and cultural unification of ideology occurs, and the power granted to powerholders becomes increasingly hidden. Authority is granted to individuals that are perceived as credible and trustworthy, such in this study as law enforcement and lawyers. The perpetuation of individuals in these newspapers with mental health labels as aggressors with little to no authority, points to their lack of voice and perspective. This is problematic because those who are most knowledgeable about mental health and mental illness were rarely provided with opportunities, in these news reports, to speak from the authority of their lived experiences.

5.2 Summary of Implications

This study examined how individuals with mental health, a large percentage of Americans, are depicted in three national newspapers. By further understanding how individuals are represented in media, communications professionals can determine what linguistic choices are appropriate to continue and what elements should be changed. The findings can inform societal members about representations of mental health and the perspectives that are often included in news reports, as well as those that are typically not included. The way someone is described and stereotyped can be a purposefully active process or may be something that develops through time based on suggestions and representations expressed by other individuals. It is important to understand what these representations are and compare them to accurate portrayals of individuals to best express the reality of someone's lived experience. In addition, the identification of dominant perspectives, in these newspapers, illuminated who are considered powerholders and the potential ramifications of the language that said powerholders use. Knowing who powerholders are within texts can explain why certain perspectives are expressed as matter-of-fact, while also clarifying why one person or group is considered in a negative view (e.g., the aggressor) while the other is portrayed in a more sympathetic view (e.g., victim).

5.3 Recommendations

Although journalistic professional guidelines such as those presented in Chapter 1 detail the process journalists should undertake in gathering information for stories discussing mental health, as well as specific language to both use and avoid, there are additional considerations to acknowledge. This researcher considers it is imperative to include articles with various sources and decrease the dominance given to any singular, on-the-record source. It may be beneficial to amend professional journalism suggestions to better emphasize the importance of firsthand

knowledge, while removing mental health professionals, medical authorities, and law enforcement officials as on-the-record sources when those individuals may not adequately know an individual's medical diagnosis or associated behaviors and outcomes. Relying on such authoritative sources, as opposed to the individual with a mental health label or family members of said individual, may further bolster the dominant perspectives found within this study and perpetuate the ideological beliefs of the identified powerholders.

Much of the focus of the journalistic guidelines as it relates to mental health and mental illness is tied to language. While this is an important element to offer guidelines on, little is discussed regarding the power given to those whose perspectives are used predominantly throughout articles, and what said power does to all parties described. Furthering journalists' education regarding ideologies and dominant perspectives may help in increasing the range, expertise, and authenticity of individuals interviewed and quoted within an article. Potential journalism and communication courses could be held in higher education classes, seminars, conferences, or other extended education platforms.

The intersectionality of this study allows for the awareness of disability studies insight to be shared with journalists and vice versa. Building relationships between journalists and other communications professionals with individuals with disabilities and other professionals from the disability studies field may encourage a greater understanding for both groups. All individuals can learn from one another and having the opportunity for one field to educated another can only further one's understanding about an issue. As previous research has shown, individuals with mental health labels are often negatively stereotyped (e.g., Sieff, 2003). By following newer guidelines and recommendations, newspaper journalists can add greater context to stories to

better inform audience members thereby humanizing stories while decreasing language that may be irrelevant to an article's newsworthiness.

5.4   Conclusion

More than one billion people around the world live with a disability, with almost 50 million adults in the U.S. living with mental illness (National Institute of Mental Health, 2016). The representations and lexical choices used by individuals when describing those with mental health labels have a powerful effect on the perceptions audience members have regarding said individuals (Snow, n.d.), and newspapers assist in spreading ideas and concepts in a manner that may shape public opinion about such topics. The purpose of this case study was to explore and describe the representations of mental health in online newspaper articles published by three national publications – The Washington Post, The New York Times, and USA Today. Semiotic analysis was conducted via CDA and five major themes emerged: (1) mental health labels as a medicalized, biological concern; (2) evocation of emotional responses in representations of mental health labels; (3) perpetuation of ideological beliefs; (4) low-context descriptions of mental health and mental illness; and (5) predominance of sources with hidden authoritative power. Media gatekeepers have the ability to create social narratives about specific topics, and the findings of this study suggest that representations and terminology used by media outlets may reinforce a dominant ideology about people with mental health labels.

5.4.1 Limitations

Content analysis research is a method in which to understand what is presented, meaning the process by which gatekeepers produce news articles (in this study) cannot and is not explored. Further research should examine the production of discourse in the process of gathering, constructing, and disseminating news content. The analysis for this study focused on the textual

language presented via the publications' websites – future research could use multimodal analysis to investigate photographs, placement, and design features attributed to news stories covering individuals with mental health labels. CDA as a methodological approach presents limits as well as opportunities, and other methods, such as ethnography, might provide complementary insights. In addition, this case study was specific to the three publications analyzed with articles published within a specific time frame, presenting findings tied to the specific parameters set. Newspapers are continually evolving and this study presents only a snapshot in time of three national newspapers.

5.4.2 Future Research

With regards to cultivation analysis in media, future research would need to survey and interview audience members to understand any ideologies that may be present in their beliefs and assumptions about individuals with mental health labels. As discussed earlier, there are varying degrees of support for cultivation theory, and future studies may help in deciphering its effect on heavy, medium, and light news readers.

More research can be conducted on the evidence of speculation of mental health labels in newspapers. Flynn (2015) stated that labelling individuals with general and/or specific psychiatric terms increases stigma and stress, while increasing the perception of mental illness as the only credible explanation for an act, but little additional research has been conducted on the subject. A few articles described in this study expressed this notion, but further research should be explored to understand the frequency and if there are any significant implications to this discourse. Finally, it would be beneficial to explore other newspapers and different media outlets to understand if findings from this study are evident. Subsequent studies could focus on local

and/or regional newspapers, or different mainstream, national newspaper from those used within this study.

5.5   Final Statement

Based on the findings from this study and those of other researchers, it is clear that newspapers and the articles within them hold a significant level of power. The content they disseminate, and the linguistic choices they incorporate, have the ability to perpetuate ideological perspectives that may be harmful to those with little to no power while strengthening the authority held by powerholders. The dominant perspective will likely continue and possibly increase the stigma surrounding mental health labels. It is this researcher's suggestion that methods of collecting information, guidelines on how to present the details, and the linguistic elements within newspaper articles should be evaluated and changed in order to balance perspectives, increase a variety of voices, and decrease the current incorporation of hidden power.

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Appendix A. Semiotic Choices: Mental Health

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	How could the man accused of fatally shooting three in downtown Cincinnati on Thursday, a person who had a history of petty crime – and possible **mental health** issues – purchase a gun legally in Ohio?	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	1 of 20
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	Why not report all people with **mental health** issues? The National Alliance on Mental Illness estimates one in five adults in the United States experiences mental illness in a given year. That's a lot of people, most of whom would say they can safely wield guns for protection or sport.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	11 of 20
Kanye West: 'I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment'	The Washington Post	Kanye West appeared on "Jimmy Kimmel Live!" and talked about his **mental health**, President Trump and porn.	Social	Reporter	Noun	Video Caption
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	"Once you are separated and once you are institutionalized — from your family and from your community — the outcomes for those kids are worse," he added. "You are separated from all the natural supports in your life, and you are sent away to an institution where you are only seeing and only interacting with	Medical	Attorney	Adjective	10 of 18

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		other kids with **mental-health** disabilities."				
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The existence of a homeless encampment in Minneapolis is shining a light on a homelessness crisis sparked by a lack of **mental health** care, affordable housing and drug addiction treatment.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	Photo Caption
Pence: Don't link political rhetoric to Pittsburgh synagogue shooting	The Washington Post	"I understand people want to always make everything political and turn it into political discourse. Look, there's been rhetoric on both sides. . . . At the end of the day, I don't think it's political rhetoric. It's mental illness that is causing these tragedies or would-be tragedies. And we have got a **mental health** crisis in this country," Ratcliffe said.	Medical	member of the House Homeland Security Committee	Adjective	33 of 33
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	After a roller-coaster year, Pete Davidson opened up about his **mental health**.	Social	Reporter	Noun	1 of 22
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	Davidson's concerning Instagram statement came after a previous post, where he praised Kanye West for speaking out about his own **mental health**.	Social	Reporter	Noun	6 of 22
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	Ariana Grande also responded, referencing comments she made about West earlier this week, which the rapper called out for making light of his **mental health**.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	13 of 22

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Suicides Among Japanese Children Reach Highest Level in 3 Decades	The New York Times	"In Japan, your biggest problem is that there is a greater stigma about **mental health** problems than in other countries," said Vickie Skorji, director of the crisis hotline at TELL, a counseling and crisis intervention service in Tokyo. "You're most likely to get bullied, and less likely to get support services and understanding from your parents."	Social	Director of crisis hotline	Adjective	7 of 11
The NYPD checked on Pete Davidson after he posted an alarming Instagram message	The Washington Post	Pete Davidson wrote on Instagram Saturday afternoon that he didn't "want to be on this earth anymore." The post came shortly after the SNL cast member had used the social media platform to applaud Kanye West for speaking openly about his own **mental health** issues.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	1 of 14
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	Time is running out for federally funded **mental-health** clinics	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	Headlines
Waffle House shooting suspect not fit for trial, Nashville judge says	USA Today	Obviously, that's the first step in getting him to become competent, Fishburn said. The court does commit Mr. Reinking to Middle Tennessee **Mental Health** Institution to take whatever measures are reasonably necessary to see that he becomes and retains competency so that the trial in this case can proceed.	Medical	Judge	Propoer Noun	6 of 19
Kanye West: 'I'm sorry for the one-two effect of	The Washington Post	"I apologize. That happens sometimes when people are — I'm not blaming	Social	Kanye West	Noun	14 of 17

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Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
the MAGA hat into the slave comment'		**mental health**, but I'm explaining mental health," West said. "I don't know if I properly apologized for how the slavery comment made people feel. I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment, and I'm sorry for people that felt let down by that moment. And I appreciate you giving me the opportunity to talk to you about the way I was thinking and what I was going through."				
Kanye West: 'I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment'	The Washington Post	"I apologize. That happens sometimes when people are — I'm not blaming mental health, but I'm explaining **mental health**," West said. "I don't know if I properly apologized for how the slavery comment made people feel. I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment, and I'm sorry for people that felt let down by that moment. And I appreciate you giving me the opportunity to talk to you about the way I was thinking and what I was going through."	Social	Kanye West	Noun	14 of 17
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	Bravo Kanye West for standing up for yourself and speaking out against **mental health**," Davidson wrote in another deleted post. "I can't explain to you enough how difficult and scary it is to be honest about	Social	SM Post	Noun	7 of 22

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Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		stuff like this. We need people like Kanye."				
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	Davidson has been open about his **mental health** in the past. In September, the comedian opened up about his borderline personality disorder in an interview with Howard Stern, describing it as "everything feeling so extreme."	Medical	Reporter	Noun	8 of 22
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	In a series of tweets, Minaj also encouraged her followers to give Davidson love and talked about **mental health**.	Social	Reporter	Noun	20 of 22
Pete Davidson of 'Saturday Night Live' Is Accounted For After a Worrying Instagram Post	The New York Times	Ms. Grande was apparently referring to an online feud between Mr. West and the rapper Drake. Mr. West responded that "People will no longer take **mental health** for a joke" and discussed his own mental health.	Social	Kanye West/Reporter	Noun	6 of 23
Pete Davidson of 'Saturday Night Live' Is Accounted For After a Worrying Instagram Post	The New York Times	Ms. Grande was apparently referring to an online feud between Mr. West and the rapper Drake. Mr. West responded that "People will no longer take mental health for a joke" and discussed his own **mental health**.	Social	Kanye West/Reporter	Noun	6 of 23
Pete Davidson of 'Saturday Night Live' Is Accounted For After a Worrying Instagram Post	The New York Times	"No one should ever point fingers at you for your bravery in speaking about **mental health**," Mr. Davidson wrote. "I'm seriously disgusted." Shortly after, Mr. Davidson posted the alarming remarks that led others to worry about his well-being.	Social	Pete Davidson	Noun	8 of 23

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Pete Davidson of 'Saturday Night Live' Is Accounted For After a Worrying Instagram Post	The New York Times	In praising Mr. West, Mr. Davidson touched on what it takes to talk openly about **mental health**. "I can't explain to you enough how difficult and scary it is to be honest about stuff like this," he wrote.	Social	Reporter	Noun	14 of 23
The NYPD checked on Pete Davidson after he posted an alarming Instagram message	The Washington Post	West reacted Saturday morning by sharing a screen shot of Grande's tweet and writing that he considered it "slight commentary." He followed that with another tweet (since deleted), writing that "all of this foolishness weighed on my **mental health** so @ArianaGrande you know I got love for you but until you're ready to really make sure everyone's ok don't use me or this moment to promote a song."	Social	Kanye West	Noun	10 of 14
The NYPD checked on Pete Davidson after he posted an alarming Instagram message	The Washington Post	Davidson appeared to reference the tension between West and Grande when he applauded West on Instagram for speaking out about **mental health**: "I can't explain to you enough how difficult and scary it is to be honest about stuff like this. We need people like Kanye. No one should ever point [a] finger at you for your bravery in speaking about mental health. I'm seriously disgusted."	Social	Pete Davidson	Noun	12 of 14
The NYPD checked on Pete Davidson after he posted an alarming	The Washington Post	Davidson appeared to reference the tension between West and Grande when he applauded West on Instagram for speaking out about mental	Social	Pete Davidson	Noun	12 of 14

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Instagram message		health: "I can't explain to you enough how difficult and scary it is to be honest about stuff like this. We need people like Kanye. No one should ever point [a] finger at you for your bravery in speaking about **mental health**. I'm seriously disgusted."				
California Today: The Homeless Millennial Connection	The New York Times	And by dint of their numbers, millennials may be also straining the **mental health** system.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	9 of 13
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Thousands of psychologists, therapists, social workers and psychiatric nurses will begin a five-day strike Monday against Kaiser Permanente at more than 100 facilities across California, demanding one of the nation's largest non-profit HMOs devote more resources to **mental health** services.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	1 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	The shortage of **mental health** professionals is a growing problem nationwide.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	2 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	These clinicians are making timely access to **mental health** care the civil rights issue of our time, said Sal Rosselli, president of the National Union of Healthcare Workers (NUHW), which organized the strike of approximately 3,600 Kaiser mental health professionals and 400 support staff, including dietitians and health educators.	Medical	Union President/Reporter	Adjective	3 of 24

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Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	These clinicians are making timely access to mental health care the civil rights issue of our time, said Sal Rosselli, president of the National Union of Healthcare Workers (NUHW), which organized the strike of approximately 3,600 Kaiser **mental health** professionals and 400 support staff, including dietitians and health educators.	Medical	Union President/Reporter	Adjective	3 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	The strike comes as diagnoses of major depression are rising dramatically across the country — 33 percent since 2013, according to a report this year from Blue Cross Blue Shield. The suicide rate also has increased 33 percent since 1999, according to a CDC report last week. The National Alliance on Mental Illness says 43.8 million people experience mental illness in a given year. But there is a shortage of **mental health** professionals to treat people who are suffering.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	9 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	A 2016 report from the Health Resources and Services Administration says by 2025, workforce shortages are projected for psychiatrists, psychologists, **mental health** and substance abuse social workers, school counselors, and marriage and family therapists. It projected mental health and substance abuse social	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	12 of 24

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		workers and school counselors will have shortages of more than 10,000 full time employees.				
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	A 2016 report from the Health Resources and Services Administration says by 2025, workforce shortages are projected for psychiatrists, psychologists, mental health and substance abuse social workers, school counselors, and marriage and family therapists. It projected **mental health** and substance abuse social workers and school counselors will have shortages of more than 10,000 full time employees.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	12 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser and the NUHW have been embroiled in what the union calls a multi-year war over the quality of mental health care services. Following a complaint filed by the union in 2011, Kaiser was fined $4 million in 2013 for violating the state's Mental Health Parity Act, which requires insurers to provide equal coverage for physical and mental health conditions, and the Timely Access to Care standards, which limits how long you have to wait to access to care.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	16 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser and the NUHW have been embroiled in what the union calls a multi-year war over the quality of **mental health** care services. Following a complaint	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	16 of 24

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		filed by the union in 2011, Kaiser was fined $4 million in 2013 for violating the state's Mental Health Parity Act, which requires insurers to provide equal coverage for physical and mental health conditions, and the Timely Access to Care standards, which limits how long you have to wait to access to care.				
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser and the NUHW have been embroiled in what the union calls a multi-year war over the quality of **mental health** care services. Following a complaint filed by the union in 2011, Kaiser was fined $4 million in 2013 for violating the state's Mental Health Parity Act, which requires insurers to provide equal coverage for physical and mental health conditions, and the Timely Access to Care standards, which limits how long you have to wait to access to care.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	16 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser and the NUHW have been embroiled in what the union calls a multi-year war over the quality of mental health care services. Following a complaint filed by the union in 2011, Kaiser was fined $4 million in 2013 for violating the state's **Mental Health** Parity Act, which requires insurers to provide equal coverage for physical and mental health conditions, and	Medical	Reporter	Proper Noun	16 of 24

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		the Timely Access to Care standards, which limits how long you have to wait to access to care.				
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser and the NUHW have been embroiled in what the union calls a multi-year war over the quality of mental health care services. Following a complaint filed by the union in 2011, Kaiser was fined $4 million in 2013 for violating the state's Mental Health Parity Act, which requires insurers to provide equal coverage for physical and **mental health** conditions, and the Timely Access to Care standards, which limits how long you have to wait to access to care.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	16 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser has "increased the number of **mental health** professionals statewide by about 30 percent since 2015," Nelson said. "And when necessary we contract with community providers to further ensure our members have access to the care they need."	Medical	Kaiser VP of Communications	Adjective	17 of 24
Kroger shooting suspect tried to enter black church, police say	The New York Times	While acknowledging the suspect may have **mental health** issues, she said, "his (Facebook) posts, his comments, and his visit to First Baptist Jeffersontown lead us to express our concern."	Social	Reporter	Adjective	7 of 33
Major depression in American youth rising,	The Washington Post	The authors of the report concede the 15 measures do not present "a complete picture of the **mental**	Medical	Report	Adjective	4 of 8

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
new report says		**health** system" in this country, but "they do provide a strong foundation for understanding the prevalence of mental health concerns, as well as issues of access to insurance and treatment."				
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The authors of the report concede the 15 measures do not present "a complete picture of the mental health system" in this country, but "they do provide a strong foundation for understanding the prevalence of **mental health** concerns, as well as issues of access to insurance and treatment."	Medical	Report	Adjective	4 of 8
Man arrested after investigation of suspicious substance halts some Metro service	The Washington Post	In 2017, Greene was sent to St. Elizabeths Hospital for a **mental-health** evaluation after being accused of grabbing a woman's buttocks, a case in which he was charged with misdemeanor sexual abuse. A report by a court psychologist indicated Greene had previously been diagnosed with schizophrenia and was on medication. Doctors recommended he stay at the hospital for further evaluation.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	9 of 16
Medical intern gets 22 years in prison for trying to kill U.S. diplomat in Mexico	The Washington Post	"Simply having a **mental health diagnosis** does not, and should not, excuse or mitigate a violent, premeditated act that the defendant clearly knew was wrong," prosecutors Jamie Perry and Ronald L.	Social	Attorney	Adjective	9 of 15

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		Walutes Jr. wrote in sentencing papers.				
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	As for Moseley's 9mm Glock 17, which sells for about $500 in stores, people in Maryland are legally barred from owning firearms only if certain criteria are met. They are prohibited from owning guns if they suffer from a mental disorder and have a history of violent behavior against another person; have been found incompetent to stand trial; have been found not guilty of a crime by reason of insanity; have been voluntarily committed to a **mental health** facility for more than 30 days consecutively; or have been involuntarily committed to a mental health facility.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	32 of 34
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	As for Moseley's 9mm Glock 17, which sells for about $500 in stores, people in Maryland are legally barred from owning firearms only if certain criteria are met. They are prohibited from owning guns if they suffer from a mental disorder and have a history of violent behavior against another person; have been found incompetent to stand trial; have been found not guilty of a crime by reason of insanity; have been voluntarily committed to a mental health facility for more than 30 days	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	32 of 34

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		consecutively; or have been involuntarily committed to a **mental health** facility.				
Secret Service urges 'threat teams' for schools to prevent shootings	USA Today	The report recommends forming "threat teams" drawn from the ranks of teachers, coaches, guidance counselors, **mental health** authorities and law enforcement to manage central reporting systems within the schools. The teams would be tasked with flagging troubling conduct, from threatening social media posts to information about students' access to weapons.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	3 of 14
Senate passes sweeping opioids package	The Washington Post	The biggest difference between the House and Senate measures involves an obscure, decades-old rule known as the Institutions for Mental Diseases exclusion rule, or "IMD exclusion,"prohibiting federal Medicaid reimbursements for inpatient substance abuse treatment in centers with more than 16 beds whose patients are mainly suffering from severe mental illness. Many people with substance abuse disorders also have a mental illness, and this rule means they are unable to get treated for their addiction when in a large **mental health** facility.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	11 of 21
Senate passes sweeping	The Washington Post	The House bill partially overturns the IMD exclusion for	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	12 of 21

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
opioids package		**mental-health** patients who also have an opioid use disorder, which the Congressional Budget Office says would cost nearly $1 billion over the next 10 years.				
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	Lawmakers in both parties have committed to boosting **mental-health** and addiction treatment to address the opioid epidemic, but new funding for the behavioralhealth clinics initiative was not included in the $8.4 billion package Congress passed in October.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	3 of
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	The experimental program was set up after legislation in 2014 established standards for a new clinic designation called Certified Community Behavioral Health Clinics and created flexible funding that allowed the clinics to expand patient outreach and services for two years. The program kicked off in eight states in 2017, and during its first year, it served an estimated 381,000 patients, according to a report from the Substance Abuse and **Mental Health** Services Administration.	Medical	Reporter	Proper Noun	9 of
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	Sen. Debbie Stabenow (D-Mich.) co-sponsored both the 2014 legislation and the extension bill now in committee. She cited the need for parity between treatment for	Medical	Reporter	Noun	12 of

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		mental health and physical health as an inspiration for the initiative.				
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	At the Niagara County jail in Upstate New York, staffers from the local behavioralhealth clinic deliver basic addiction and **mental-health** care while people are incarcerated, and a mobile unit meets inmates as they are released to take them straight to their first mental-health or addiction consultation. Release is a critical moment, said Deputy Chief Daniel Engert, who is also a jail administrator.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	20 of 24
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	At the Niagara County jail in Upstate New York, staffers from the local behavioralhealth clinic deliver basic addiction and mental-health care while people are incarcerated, and a mobile unit meets inmates as they are released to take them straight to their first **mental-health** or addiction consultation. Release is a critical moment, said Deputy Chief Daniel Engert, who is also a jail administrator.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	20 of 24
Islamic State claims attack; police not convinced	USA Today	At this stage, we have no evidence to support these claims, Saunders said. "We will continue to explore every investigative avenue including interviewing those who knew Mr. Hussain, reviewing his online activity, and	Medical	Public Safety Ministry spokeswoman	Noun	7 of 11

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		looking into his experiences with **mental health**."				
Trump rankles veterans with comments about PTSD and California shooter	The Washington Post	Some veterans and **mental-health** advocates bristled at President Trump's comments regarding the Thousand Oaks shooter and post-traumatic stress disorder, saying such broad-based remarks risked fueling inaccurate stereotypes about the condition and Americans who have served in combat.	Social	Reporter	Adjective	1 of 22
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	Virginia state Sen. R. Creigh Deeds has settled a wrongful-death lawsuit against a former employee of a public **mental-health** agency that failed to find a hospital bed for his mentally ill son, who in 2013 stabbed the senator before killing himself.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	1 of 18
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	Filed in Bath County Circuit Court, the suit alleged that the state, the Rockbridge Area Community Services Board, and **mental-health** evaluator Michael Gentry exhibited gross negligence and medical malpractice by mishandling a crucial sixhour window for admitting Deeds's son on Nov. 18, 2013.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	4 of 18
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	Deeds's attorneys, John E. Lichtenstein and Gregory L. Lyons, said in a written statement that they hoped the lawsuit would be "a catalyst for positive change in crisis **mental health**	Medical	Attorney, via statement	Adjective	9 of 18

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		services in the Commonwealth."				
Waffle House shooting suspect not fit for trial, Nashville judge says	USA Today	Travis Reinking sits at his **mental health** hearing in criminal court Wednesday, Aug. 22, 2018, in Nashville, Tenn. Reinking is suspected of killing four people in a mass shooting in April at a Nashville Waffle House.(Photo: Lacy Atkins / The Tennessean)	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	Photo Caption
$750,000 settlement reached in death of mentally ill inmate in Fairfax County	The Washington Post	Some **mental-health** and use-of-force experts criticized the deputies' aggressive approach to handling a woman who was restrained and suffering from schizophrenia.	Social	Reporter	Adjective	8 of 15
Armed Man in Tactical Clothing Headed to a Texas Church to 'Fulfill a Prophecy,' Police Say	The New York Times	"I do not have any indication that he's known to have mental illness," David Willborn, the county prosecutor, said in an email. "His behavior indicates that there is certainly cause for concern regarding his **mental health**."	Medical	County Prosecutor	Noun	15 of 18
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	Police are looking into Santa Perez's **mental health**. No specific diagnosis has been reported to date. Santa Perez sued CNBC and TD Ameritrade in 2017, but a judge dismissed his complaint as "rambling, difficult to decipher and borders on delusional."	Medical	Reporter	Noun	5 of 20
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	First, Ohio and federal law do not ban people with **mental health** diagnoses from owning a firearm. They are banned only if a judge	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	9 of 20

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		deems them to have a mental health issue or sends them to a mental health institution.				
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	First, Ohio and federal law do not ban people with mental health diagnoses from owning a firearm. They are banned only if a judge deems them to have a **mental health** issue or sends them to a mental health institution.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	9 of 20
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	First, Ohio and federal law do not ban people with mental health diagnoses from owning a firearm. They are banned only if a judge deems them to have a mental health issue or sends them to a **mental health** institution.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	9 of 20
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	In February 2017, President Donald Trump rolled back an Obama-era regulation that required the Social Security Administration to report the names of people unable to manage their finances because of a **mental health** condition to NICS. That would have banned some people with mental health issues from obtaining a firearm, but it's unlikely Santa would have been one of them.	Social	Reporter	Adjective	13 of 20
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	In February 2017, President Donald Trump rolled back an Obama-era regulation that required the Social Security Administration to report the names of people unable to manage their finances	Social	Reporter	Adjective	13 of 20

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		because of a mental health condition to NICS. That would have banned some people with **mental health** issues from obtaining a firearm, but it's unlikely Santa would have been one of them.				
Deputies transporting women in van drove around barricades during Hurricane Florence before their passengers drowned	USA Today	Horry County Sheriff Phillip Thompson said "it can be assumed" that Deputies Joshua Bishop and Stephen Flood disregarded the barriers Tuesday night erected because of Hurricane Florence while transporting two women with **mental-health** concerns from Conway to medical facilities inland in Darlington and Lancaster.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	2 of 18
Deputies transporting women in van drove around barricades during Hurricane Florence before their passengers drowned	USA Today	Thompson said his office was responding to court orders to transport the women from a hospital and a **mental-health** center. The sheriff's office transports 1,200 patients per year, traveling up to 40,000 miles each month.	Medical	Reporter, paraphrasing Sherrif	Adjective	16 of 18
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	The Washington Post	A patient is attended to by a **mental-health** team on the Pacific island of Nauru on Oct. 8, 2018. (Médecins Sans Frontières Australia/AP)	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	Photo Caption
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned	The Washington Post	Human rights groups have warned that a **mental-health** crisis on the Pacific island of Nauru is exploding as hundreds of asylum seekers stranded there	Social	Reporter	Adjective	1 of 18

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
from treating them		lose hope of making it to their intended destination: Australia.				
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	The Washington Post	In 2013, Australia began holding migrants and asylum seekers who try to reach the country by boat in offshore detention. About 900 asylum seekers are held on Nauru, and some have been there as long as five years. Many, including children, suffer from severe **mental-health** conditions, including depression and anxiety, doctors and human rights groups say.	Medical	Reporter, paraphrasing doctor	Adjective	4 of 18
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	The Washington Post	In a telephone call with The Washington Post on Thursday, MSF humanitarian affairs adviser Aurélie Ponthieu said the demand for **mental-health** resources on Nauru was so high that the group had a waiting list of about 100 people seeking consultation.	Social	Reporter, paraphrasing interviewee	Adjective	5 of 18
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	The Washington Post	Australia's Department of Home Affairs referred the Post to a statement saying that MSF's removal "is a matter for the Government of Nauru." The statement said 33 **mental health** professionals are "providing services to transferees on Nauru," and said that they are "free to move around the island; they are not in detention." Nauru is one of the smallest nations in the world: the island is only 8.1 square miles.	Medical	Reporter, paraphrasing statement	Adjective	14 of 18

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Gun control or gun rights? The answer may help determine whether Rep. Comstock wins reelection	The Washington Post	He called for greater gun control in the state, including an assault weapons ban, stronger background checks, better **mental-health** care and a return to limiting the number of handguns that an individual can purchase to one per month.	Social	Reporter	Adjective	14 of 38
Gunman who killed 5 at Fort Lauderdale airport is sentenced to life in prison	The Washington Post	After the Fort Lauderdale airport shooting, the FBI said Santiago previously had voluntarily walked into one of the bureau's offices and made bizarre, nonthreatening statements. Santiago told the FBI that "he did not wish to harm anyone," the bureau said; he was admitted to a **mental-health** facility afterward. In 2016, the FBI said it had previously scrutinized the gunman who pledged allegiance to the Islamic State and killed 49 people inside the Pulse nightclub in Orlando that year; the bureau had determined he was not a threat.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	16 of 19
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	**Mental health** workers walk out in California	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	Headline
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser Permanente **mental health** professionals and family members rally outside the Kaiser Permanente West Los Angeles Medical Center on Jan. 12, 2015.(Photo: Damian Dovarganes, AP)	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	Photo Caption

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Several families who have lost loved ones while waiting for **mental health** care through Kaiser have shared their stories publicly: 83-year-old Barbara Ragan, a retired Kaiser employee whose family said she was suffering from depression, killed herself in 2015 after her family said she was told she would have to wait weeks for a psychiatric appointment. Susan Futterman, who is part of a class-action lawsuit alleging inadequacies in Kaiser's mental health care, says her husband, Fred Paroutaud, killed himself in 2012 after failing to get an appointment with his psychiatrist.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	6 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Several families who have lost loved ones while waiting for mental health care through Kaiser have shared their stories publicly: 83-year-old Barbara Ragan, a retired Kaiser employee whose family said she was suffering from depression, killed herself in 2015 after her family said she was told she would have to wait weeks for a psychiatric appointment. Susan Futterman, who is part of a class-action lawsuit alleging inadequacies in Kaiser's **mental health**	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	6 of 24

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		care, says her husband, Fred Paroutaud, killed himself in 2012 after failing to get an appointment with his psychiatrist.				
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	"The demand for **mental health** care services far outstrips supply because we aren't recruiting or educating people to join the mental health workforce," said Imelda Padilla-Frausto, a research scientist at the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and the UCLA Center for Health Services and Society. "Once doing so becomes a priority, then maybe we'll see fewer strikes among the few overworked therapists who remain in the field."	Medical	Research Scientist	Adjective/	11 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	"The demand for mental health care services far outstrips supply because we aren't recruiting or educating people to join the **mental health** workforce," said Imelda Padilla-Frausto, a research scientist at the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and the UCLA Center for Health Services and Society. "Once doing so becomes a priority, then maybe we'll see fewer strikes among the few overworked therapists who remain in the field."	Medical	Research Scientist	Adjective	11 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	A federal **mental health** parity law passed in 2008. While it doesn't require health insurers to cover mental health services,	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	13 of 24

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		if they do offer mental health benefits they must be comparable to physical health benefits. Plans under the Affordable Care Act were required to offer mental health and substance use disorder services. However, even with these improvements, many insured Americans say they struggle to find a therapist or psychiatrist. Many professionals don't accept insurance saying the reimbursement rates are too low.				
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	A federal mental health parity law passed in 2008. While it doesn't require health insurers to cover mental health services, if they do offer **mental health** benefits they must be comparable to physical health benefits. Plans under the Affordable Care Act were required to offer mental health and substance use disorder services. However, even with these improvements, many insured Americans say they struggle to find a therapist or psychiatrist. Many professionals don't accept insurance saying the reimbursement rates are too low.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	13 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	A federal mental health parity law passed in 2008. While it doesn't require health insurers to cover mental health services, if they do	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	13 of 24

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		offer **mental health** benefits they must be comparable to physical health benefits. Plans under the Affordable Care Act were required to offer mental health and substance use disorder services. However, even with these improvements, many insured Americans say they struggle to find a therapist or psychiatrist. Many professionals don't accept insurance saying the reimbursement rates are too low.				
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	A federal mental health parity law passed in 2008. While it doesn't require health insurers to cover mental health services, if they do offer mental health benefits they must be comparable to physical health benefits. Plans under the Affordable Care Act were required to offer **mental health** and substance use disorder services. However, even with these improvements, many insured Americans say they struggle to find a therapist or psychiatrist. Many professionals don't accept insurance saying the reimbursement rates are too low.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	13 of 24
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser has criticized the union for organizing a strike during the holiday season, when it says many of its patients are	Medical	Kaiser VP of Communications	Adjective	19 of 24

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Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		especially vulnerable. Nelson says Kaiser is asking patients with routine **mental health** appointments to reschedule, but will continue to provide urgent care.				
Kroger shooting suspect tried to enter black church, police say	The New York Times	Court records show that Bush has a history of **mental health** problems and violence and at least one instance when he used a racial slur.	Social	Reporter	Adjective	23 of 33
Kroger shooting suspect tried to enter black church, police say	The New York Times	And in a 2009 domestic violence case involving his father, Bush was ordered by a judge to surrender his guns and undergo **mental health** treatment.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	25 of 33
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	Attorneys at several disability rights organizations have filed a class-action lawsuit against the D.C. government, alleging that District officials have failed to provide adequate **mental-health** services for hundreds of severely troubled children.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	1 of 18
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	The District's policies are at odds with the prevailing national paradigm of offering **mental-health** services to children without disrupting their lives by whisking them away from home and school to warehouses for the mentally ill, said Lewis Bossing, a senior staff attorney at the Bazelon Center for Mental Health Law and one of the lawyers representing the child	Social	Reporter, Paraphrasing attorney	Adjective	8 of 18

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		plaintiffs in the lawsuit.				
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	The District's policies are at odds with the prevailing national paradigm of offering mental-health services to children without disrupting their lives by whisking them away from home and school to warehouses for the mentally ill, said Lewis Bossing, a senior staff attorney at the Bazelon Center for **Mental Health** Law and one of the lawyers representing the child plaintiffs in the lawsuit.	Medical	Reporter, Paraphrasing attorney	Proper Noun	8 of 18
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	The lawsuit said that although "L.R. and her father are interested in receiving" intensive **mental health** services, "the District has not worked with them to arrange for her to receive these services while she has lived at home."	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	17 of 18
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	A new report on the state of **mental health** in the United States says that in recent years, there have been "alarming" increases in major depression in youth and in the prevalence of adults harboring suicidal thoughts.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	1 of 8
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The 2018 installment of "The State of **Mental Health** in America" from the nonprofit Mental Health America also says most Americans who need access to mental health care do not get it, and it details the long-term	Medical	Reporter, paraphrasing statement	Propoer Noun	2 of 8

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		consequences of childhood trauma.				
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The 2018 installment of "The State of Mental Health in America" from the nonprofit **Mental Health** America also says most Americans who need access to mental health care do not get it, and it details the long-term consequences of childhood trauma.	Medical	Reporter, paraphrasing statement	Propoer Noun	2 of 8
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The 2018 installment of "The State of Mental Health in America" from the nonprofit Mental Health America also says most Americans who need access to **mental health** care do not get it, and it details the long-term consequences of childhood trauma.	Medical	Reporter, paraphrasing statement	Adjective	2 of 8
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	**Mental Health** America, which works to ensure people get the mental-health services they need, used 15 measures (such as the percentages of youth with major depression and substance use disorder) to reach its conclusions.	Medical	Reporter	Proper Noun	3 of 8
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	Mental Health America, which works to ensure people get the **mental-health** services they need, used 15 measures (such as the percentages of youth with major depression and substance use disorder) to reach its conclusions.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	3 of 8

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	While much of the state of our **mental health** care continues to be broken, there are glimmers of hope. Since the release of its first report [five years ago], MHA is seeing small yet encouraging decreases in the number of American adults who have mental health concerns (from 18.19% to 18.07%) and substance use problems (from 8.76% to 7.93%). Yet overall, the picture is still quite bleak. . . .	Medical	Report	Adjective	5 of 8
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	While much of the state of our mental health care continues to be broken, there are glimmers of hope. Since the release of its first report [five years ago], MHA is seeing small yet encouraging decreases in the number of American adults who have **mental health** concerns (from 18.19% to 18.07%) and substance use problems (from 8.76% to 7.93%). Yet overall, the picture is still quite bleak. . . .	Medical	Report	Adjective	5 of 8
Man arrested after investigation of suspicious substance halts some Metro service	The Washington Post	Greene has a history of court-ordered **mental health** evaluations following arrests in assault cases and selling cocaine. He was also diagnosed as being schizophrenic.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	7 of 16
Man arrested after investigation of suspicious substance halts some	The Washington Post	Last week, a D.C. Superior Court judge issued a warrant for Greene's arrest after he failed to comply with orders as a result of pleading guilty to	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	8 of 16

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Metro service		selling cocaine last January. As part of that plea, the judge agreed to defer Greene's sentencing and allow him to remain outside of jail if he attended **mental-health** court.				
Prisoner says he's spent over a dozen years in solitary confinement because he doesn't speak English	The Washington Post	After the ACLU released a report in May criticizing the use of solitary confinement in Virginia prisons, the state Department of Corrections said in a statement that no inmates with serious **mental health** problems are put in segregated housing for more than 30 days.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	18 of 20
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	Coley said that during periods when Moseley was undergoing intensive **mental health** treatment, she had brighter moments and enjoyed writing rap lyrics. She said Moseley wrote an unpublished manuscript about coming out as transgender, titled "No Swagger." In it, Moseley detailed the pain of struggling to accept her sexual orientation and being rejected by others, including some family members, Coley said.	Medical	Friend, as stated by reporter	Adjective	19 of 34
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	"What makes a person capable of taking a weapon and using it against unarmed, defenseless people?" Gahler wondered plaintively at a Friday morning news briefing, referring to the three deadly attacks. "The **mental health** issues, we see it time and time	Medical	Sheriff	Adjective	31 of 34

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
		and time again. And just the disregard for human life that seems so commonplace across our nation."				
Secret Service urges 'threat teams' for schools to prevent shootings	USA Today	In the Parkland case, which has driven a vocal national debate on gun safety, social workers, **mental health** counselors, school officials and law enforcement were all warned about Nikolas Cruz's deteriorating mental state and risk of violence before he allegedly attacked.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	6 of 14
This place 'is going to burn,' says text allegedly sent by man arrested in California's Holy Fire	The Washington Post	Milligan said he's known Clark for 10 years and has been concerned about his **mental health** and behavior in the tiny mountainous area, with only 17 recreational cabins at the bottom of a steep cannon.	Medical	Volunteer Firefighter/Chief, as stated by reporter	Noun	8 of 24
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	An experimental **mental-health** and addiction treatment program that has shown early success in combating the opioid crisis is at risk of losing its federal funding.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	1 of
Trump rankles veterans with comments about PTSD and California shooter	The Washington Post	Rieckhoff said when veterans with **mental-health** issues hurt someone, it's most likely themselves, not someone else.	Medical	founder and chief executive of Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America	Adjective	9 of 22
Trump rankles veterans with comments about PTSD and	The Washington Post	In recent years, **mental-health** experts and veterans groups have taken steps to remove the stigma of the condition and show that veterans suffering	Social	Reporter	Adjective	14 of 22

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
California shooter		from it aren't ticking time-bombs, as stereotypes stemming from the Vietnam era began to suggest.				
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	The state had long been aware of shortcomings in the **mental-health** services system.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	15 of 18
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	The community services board — covering Rockbridge, Bath, Lexington and Buena Vista — administers services for people in **mental-health** crisis on behalf of the state Department of Behavioral Health and Developmental Services.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	18 of 18
Victims of Rite Aid Shooting Identified as Police Search for Motive	The New York Times	While Maryland bars some people with mental illness from buying a firearm, Ms. Moseley did not qualify for being barred from making such a purchase, the authorities said. There is a link between **mental health** problems and gun violence, but studies show that the connection is far more limited than widely thought.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	6 of 18
Waffle House shooting suspect not fit for trial, Nashville judge says	USA Today	Prosecutors asked for a judge to commit Reinking for **mental health** treatment.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	15 of 19

Appendix B. Semiotic Choices: Mental Illness

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
$750,000 settlement reached in death of mentally ill inmate in Fairfax County	The Washington Post	$750,000 settlement reached in death of **mentally ill** inmate in Fairfax County	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	Headline
$750,000 settlement reached in death of mentally ill inmate in Fairfax County	The Washington Post	The family of a **mentally ill** inmate who died after a struggle with deputies at the Fairfax County jail in 2015 has reached a $750,000 settlement with the county sheriff's office to resolve a wrongful-death lawsuit, according to court records.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	1 of 15
$750,000 settlement reached in death of mentally ill inmate in Fairfax County	The Washington Post	A medical examiner ruled McKenna's death was accidental, a result of a condition called "excited delirium" in which a person with **mental illness** or on drugs grows so excited his or her heart gives out.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	6 of 15
$750,000 settlement reached in death of mentally ill inmate in Fairfax County	The Washington Post	McKenna's case spurred Kincaid and Fairfax County to start a program in 2016 that attempts to divert nonviolent offenders with **mental illness** into treatment instead of the jail.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	9 of 15
Armed Man in Tactical Clothing Headed to a Texas Church to 'Fulfill a Prophecy,' Police Say	The New York Times	"I do not have any indication that he's known to have **mental illness**," David Willborn, the county prosecutor, said in an email. "His behavior indicates that there is certainly cause for concern regarding his mental health."	Medical	County Prosecutor	Noun	15 of 18

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
California Today: The Homeless Millennial Connection	The New York Times	"There is anecdotal evidence from cities I've been to where people are saying that this young adult population with severe **mental illness** is overwhelming the health system," Dr. Culhane said. "It doesn't take many people to have a big impact."	Medical	College Professor	Noun	10 of 13
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	Why not report all people with mental health issues? The National Alliance on **Mental Illness** estimates one in five adults in the United States experiences mental illness in a given year. That's a lot of people, most of whom would say they can safely wield guns for protection or sport.	Medical	Reporter	Propoer Noun	11 of 20
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	Why not report all people with mental health issues? The National Alliance on Mental Illness estimates one in five adults in the United States experiences **mental illness** in a given year. That's a lot of people, most of whom would say they can safely wield guns for protection or sport.	Medical	Reporter	Adverb	11 of 20
Deputies transporting women in van drove around barricades during Hurricane Florence before their passengers drowned	USA Today	Newton, a mother of three who has struggled with **mental illness**, had been taken via ambulance to a hospital in Loris, about 20 miles northeast of Conway, earlier Tuesday after she felt that she was about to suffer "a spell," according to The New York Times.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	17 of 18

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	The Washington Post	Ponthieu said the local hospital lacked resources to care for large numbers of people with **mental illnesses**. And while some doctors are contracted by the Australian government to treat patients there, she said, MSF is concerned that those services are inadequate. Asylum seekers "don't trust anything provided by the Australian government because the government has put them there in the first place," she said.	Medical	Reporter, paraphrasing interviewee	Noun	6 of 18
Gun control or gun rights? The answer may help determine whether Rep. Comstock wins reelection	The Washington Post	Comstock wrote an op-ed published in a Loudoun County newspaper last week saying she supports more money for law enforcement, school safety and treatment for **mental illness**, which she said is often behind gun violence.	Medical	Reporter, paraphrasing statement	Noun	6 of 38
Gunman who killed 5 at Fort Lauderdale airport is sentenced to life in prison	The Washington Post	His attorneys had said in court filings that while he was "**mentally ill**," he did not appear to be incompetent to stand trial. In a filing this year from federal prosecutors, they said the government and the defense both agreed that Santiago was competent to proceed with the case.	Medical	Court Filing	Noun	18 of 19

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Judge orders woman accused of attacking Greyhound bus, driver to remain jailed	The Washington Post	Silver's attorney, Jonathan Armstrong, argued the incident was a result of his client having an "adverse" reaction to her medication that she was taking for her **mental illness**. Armstrong also told the judge that social workers at the Public Defender's Office had already secured a bed with a facility within the District's Department of Behavioral Health for Silver and argued that she would not get the proper care in jail.	Medical	Reporter, paraphrasing attorney	Noun	5 of 7
Judge orders woman accused of attacking Greyhound bus, driver to remain jailed	The Washington Post	Outside the courtroom Steven Silver, the suspect's uncle, criticized the judge's decision and said Staples treated her "like a criminal, instead of a woman who has been battling with **mental illness**."	Medical	Uncle of Individual with diagnosis	Noun	7 of 7
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	The strike comes as diagnoses of major depression are rising dramatically across the country — 33 percent since 2013, according to a report this year from Blue Cross Blue Shield. The suicide rate also has increased 33 percent since 1999, according to a CDC report last week. The National Alliance on **Mental Illness** says 43.8 million people experience mental illness in a given year. But there is a shortage of mental health professionals to treat people who are suffering.	Medical	Reporter	Proper Noun	9 of 24

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	The strike comes as diagnoses of major depression are rising dramatically across the country — 33 percent since 2013, according to a report this year from Blue Cross Blue Shield. The suicide rate also has increased 33 percent since 1999, according to a CDC report last week. The National Alliance on Mental Illness says 43.8 million people experience **mental illness** in a given year. But there is a shortage of mental health professionals to treat people who are suffering.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	9 of 24
Kanye West: 'I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment'	The Washington Post	Around the time that his unusual behavior began peaking, West disclosed that he has bipolar disorder. The handwritten words "I hate being Bi-Polar its awesome" adorned the cover of "Ye," his newest record. In the interview, he discussed how his **mental illness** played a role in the now-infamous TMZ appearance.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	10 of
Kroger shooting suspect tried to enter black church, police say	The New York Times	Rogers said that there is "apparently some **mental illness** history with the subject in question" but said he didn't have direct knowledge about any illness.	Medical	Police Chief	Adjective	27 of 33
Kroger shooting suspect tried to enter black church, police say	The New York Times	I have worked most of my life and battled **mental illness** throughout my life, the Facebook page reads.	Medical	Quoted SM post	Noun	30 of 33

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	The District's policies are at odds with the prevailing national paradigm of offering mental-health services to children without disrupting their lives by whisking them away from home and school to warehouses for the **mentally ill**, said Lewis Bossing, a senior staff attorney at the Bazelon Center for Mental Health Law and one of the lawyers representing the child plaintiffs in the lawsuit.	Medical	Reporter, Paraphrasing attorney	Adjective	8 of 18
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	They also note some of the surveys used to get data do not include the homeless population, whose inclusion would likely raise the percentage of youth and adults who suffer from **mental illness**.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	4 of 8
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The estimated number of adults with serious suicidal thoughts is over 9.8 million – an increase of 200,000 people since last year. Over 2 million young people cope with severe major depression. And that is just the population that has been diagnosed. On average, it takes 10 years between the onset of symptoms and when individuals receive treatment. Over 24 million individuals experiencing a **mental health illness** are going untreated.	Medical	Report	Noun	6 of 8

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Man arrested after investigation of suspicious substance halts some Metro service	The Washington Post	A man with a history of **mental illness** was arrested Monday after police say someone left a white powder at two Metro stations, leading to road closures and the suspension of rail service in part of downtown Washington before officials determined it was not hazardous.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	1 of 16
Matthew Newton, Director With Domestic Violence Record, Departs Jessica Chastain Film	The New York Times	In 2011, Mr. Newton was charged in Sydney with punching a 66-yearold taxi driver in the head. A court dismissed the charges on the grounds that he had a **mental illness**, ordering him to comply with a treatment plan. In 2012, Mr. Newton was charged with punching a hotel clerk in Miami. He was ordered to complete 50 hours of community service and an anger management course. He has been living recently in New York.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	6 of 16
Matthew Newton, Director With Domestic Violence Record, Departs Jessica Chastain Film	The New York Times	"Over the past eight years I have been working extensively with health care professionals to help me overcome my addiction and **mental health illness**," the statement continued. "For the past six years I have lived a quiet and sober life. All I can do now is try to be a living amends and hopefully contribute to the positive change occurring in our industry."	Medical	Statement	Noun	9 of 16

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Medical intern gets 22 years in prison for trying to kill U.S. diplomat in Mexico	The Washington Post	Zafar, a medical school graduate who was interning at a hospital in Guadalajara, maintained that his actions were the result of untreated **mental illness**, although he chose not to go to trial, arguing that he was not guilty by reason of insanity.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	6 of 15
Medical intern gets 22 years in prison for trying to kill U.S. diplomat in Mexico	The Washington Post	"I know that, despite my **mental illness**, that my actions were illegal that and I will do whatever is necessary to treat my mental illness," he wrote in a letter to the court.	Medical	Statement	Noun	7 of 15
Medical intern gets 22 years in prison for trying to kill U.S. diplomat in Mexico	The Washington Post	"I know that, despite my mental illness, that my actions were illegal that and I will do whatever is necessary to treat my **mental illness**," he wrote in a letter to the court.	Medical	Statement	Noun	7 of 15
Pence: Don't link political rhetoric to Pittsburgh synagogue shooting	The Washington Post	"I understand people want to always make everything political and turn it into political discourse. Look, there's been rhetoric on both sides. . . . At the end of the day, I don't think it's political rhetoric. It's **mental illness** that is causing these tragedies or would-be tragedies. And we have got a mental health crisis in this country," Ratcliffe said.	Medical	member of the House Homeland Security Committee	Noun	33 of 33
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	Go & give this man some love. My God she tweeted. "We can be so insensitive. God bless Kanye & Pete. Being flippant about **mental illness** speaks more about you than them. Stop saying the word love & live it. Love is an action."	Medical	SM Post	Noun	21 of 22

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Pete Davidson of 'Saturday Night Live' Is Accounted For After a Worrying Instagram Post	The New York Times	The rapper and actress Nicki Minaj wrote on Twitter: "Go & give this man some love. My God," after Mr. Davidson's worrisome comments on Instagram, and then criticized the public for being "insensitive" and "flippant about **mental illness**."	Medical	Nicki Minaj	Noun	15 of 23
Prisoner says he's spent over a dozen years in solitary confinement because he doesn't speak English	The Washington Post	Assessments by prison officials that Reyes suffers from **mental illness** have been ignored or overturned, lawyers allege in the complaint.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	17 of 20
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	Before she shot six co-workers at a Rite Aid warehouse here, killing three of them, Snochia Moseley, 26, had been beset for years by **mental illness** as well as emotional turmoil related to her struggle with sexual identity, according to authorities and a close friend of Moseley's.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	1 of 34

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	"There's just no way to make sense of something that's so senseless," Sheriff Jeffrey Gahler of Harford County, Md., said Friday, a day after he named Moseley as the assailant who opened fire Thursday at a sprawling Rite Aid distribution center 30 miles northeast of Baltimore. Moseley, a temporary Rite Aid employee whom the sheriff said had been diagnosed as **mentally ill** in 2016, ended her own life in the warehouse with a 9mm bullet from the Glock handgun she had used in the attack.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	2 of 34
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	Despite her **mental-illness** diagnosis, Moseley, of White Marsh, Md., was able to legally purchase the Glock in March because psychiatric problems alone are not enough to bar firearms ownership under Maryland law, said Maj. William Davis of the Harford County Sheriff's Office. The law lists several accompanying criteria, such as a history of violent behavior toward other people, which did not apply to Moseley, Davis said.	Medical	Sheriff, as stated by reporter	Adjective	12 of 34
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	Harford County Executive Barry Glassman said **mental illness** was a big factor in each of the three fatal attacks in Harford in recent years.	Medical	County Executive	Noun	33 of 34

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Secret Service urges 'threat teams' for schools to prevent shootings	USA Today	The 17-page document builds on agency research this year focusing on suspects linked to violence in schools and other public places. It says 64 percent of attackers showed symptoms of **mental illness**. In 25 percent of the cases, attackers had been "hospitalized or prescribed psychiatric medications" before the assaults.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	5 of 14
Senate passes sweeping opioids package	The Washington Post	The biggest difference between the House and Senate measures involves an obscure, decades-old rule known as the Institutions for Mental Diseases exclusion rule, or "IMD exclusion,"prohibiting federal Medicaid reimbursements for inpatient substance abuse treatment in centers with more than 16 beds whose patients are mainly suffering from severe **mental illness**. Many people with substance abuse disorders also have a mental illness, and this rule means they are unable to get treated for their addiction when in a large mental health facility.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	11 of 21

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Senate passes sweeping opioids package	The Washington Post	The biggest difference between the House and Senate measures involves an obscure, decades-old rule known as the Institutions for Mental Diseases exclusion rule, or "IMD exclusion,"prohibiting federal Medicaid reimbursements for inpatient substance abuse treatment in centers with more than 16 beds whose patients are mainly suffering from severe mental illness. Many people with substance abuse disorders also have a **mental illness**, and this rule means they are unable to get treated for their addiction when in a large mental health facility.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	11 of 21
Suicides Among Japanese Children Reach Highest Level in 3 Decades	The New York Times	Although child suicide is not a problem unique to Japan, **mental illness** is still not an open topic of discussion, and it is difficult for children and teenagers who are depressed or anxious to seek help.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	6 of 11
Suicides Among Japanese Children Reach Highest Level in 3 Decades	The New York Times	Experts say that schools are generally not well equipped to cope with **mental illness** among students and, in general, education about mental illness is lacking. "Teachers are busy, and they cannot respond to each individual student in many cases," said Yuki Kubota, professor of clinical psychology at Kyushu Sangyo University.	Medical	Professor of clinical psychology	Noun	10 of 11

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Suicides Among Japanese Children Reach Highest Level in 3 Decades	The New York Times	Experts say that schools are generally not well equipped to cope with mental illness among students and, in general, education about **mental illness** is lacking. "Teachers are busy, and they cannot respond to each individual student in many cases," said Yuki Kubota, professor of clinical psychology at Kyushu Sangyo University.	Medical	Professor of clinical psychology	Noun	10 of 11
The NYPD checked on Pete Davidson after he posted an alarming Instagram message	The Washington Post	West had been directing hostile messages toward Drake since Thursday afternoon, claiming that the Canadian rapper had threatened West's family and made light of West's **mental illness**.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	8 of 14
This place 'is going to burn,' says text allegedly sent by man arrested in California's Holy Fire	The Washington Post	The paper also said a man with the same name and birth date was held involuntarily in 1996 at a treatment center for **mental illness**.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	24 of 24

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	Police departments have been the less obvious beneficiaries of the program. More than half of state prisoners and jail inmates have some **mental illness**, and of that population, 3 in 4 have a substance-use disorder, according to the National Council for Behavioral Health. When police take an intoxicated person into custody, they generally need to take the person to the emergency room to sober up or receive treatment. That takes time away from public-safety duties, said Rick McCubbin, chief of police in Shepherdsville, Ky., which does not have such clinics.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	19 of
Islamic State claims attack; police not convinced	USA Today	Hussain's family, in a statement Monday, said Hussain suffered from "severe" **mental illness** and had been "struggling with psychosis and depression his entire life."	Medical	Family	Noun	8 of 11
Trump rankles veterans with comments about PTSD and California shooter	The Washington Post	On the question about the relationship between PTSD and violence — like often with **mental illness**, there is a little bit of increased risk of violence, but it's not the kind of violence where you go into a bar and shoot people," Ritchie said.	Medical	founder and chief executive of Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America	Noun	20 of 22

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	Virginia state Sen. R. Creigh Deeds has settled a wrongful-death lawsuit against a former employee of a public mental-health agency that failed to find a hospital bed for his **mentally ill** son, who in 2013 stabbed the senator before killing himself.	Medical	Reporter	Adjective	1 of 18
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	On Nov. 18, 2013, a local judge issued an emergency custody order for Austin Deeds after his father expressed grave concern about his behavior, and the young man was taken to Bath Community Hospital. He waited for several hours before the Rockbridge Area Community Services Board dispatched Gentry to conduct an evaluation. The lawsuit says Gentry knew or should have known of Deeds's history of **mental illness** and previous suicide attempts.	Medical	Attorney, via statement	Noun	11 of 18
Victims of Rite Aid Shooting Identified as Police Search for Motive	The New York Times	Sheriff Gahler said that Ms. Moseley carried out the shooting with a Glock 9-millimeter handgun that she had legally purchased in March. Detectives also discovered evidence that Ms. Moseley was found to have a **mental illness** in 2016, which Sheriff Gahler declined to identify.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	5 of 18

Headline	Publication	Quote	Model	Speaker	Parts of Speech	Placement
Victims of Rite Aid Shooting Identified as Police Search for Motive	The New York Times	While Maryland bars some people with **mental illness** from buying a firearm, Ms. Moseley did not qualify for being barred from making such a purchase, the authorities said. There is a link between mental health problems and gun violence, but studies show that the connection is far more limited than widely thought.	Medical	Reporter	Noun	6 of 18
Waffle House shooting suspect not fit for trial, Nashville judge says	USA Today	After a hearing of about half an hour, Judge Mark Fishburn of Nashville-Davidson County Criminal Court ruled that Reinking was "in definite need of training and medical treatment for his **mental illness**."	Medical	Judge	Noun	4 of 19

Appendix C. Semiotic Choices: Machin & Mayr (2012) Toolkit for Mental Health

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	How could the man accused of fatally shooting three in downtown Cincinnati on Thursday, a person who had a history of petty crime – and possible **mental health** issues – purchase a gun legally in Ohio?	Negative connotation with the tie to "issues"; tied to violence and criminality	List of dangerous elements that emphasizes the concern	Casual
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	Why not report all people with **mental health** issues? The National Alliance on Mental Illness estimates one in five adults in the United States experiences mental illness in a given year. That's a lot of people, most of whom would say they can safely wield guns for protection or sport.	Tied to issues; people with a diagnosis might need to be reported	N/A	casual
Kanye West: 'I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment'	The Washington Post	Kanye West appeared on "Jimmy Kimmel Live!" and talked about his **mental health**, President Trump and porn.	Psychological well-being	N/A	casual

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	"Once you are separated and once you are institutionalized — from your family and from your community — the outcomes for those kids are worse," he added. "You are separated from all the natural supports in your life, and you are sent away to an institution where you are only seeing and only interacting with other kids with **mental-health** disabilities."	A disability - lack of capacity	"mental-health disbailities"	casual
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The existence of a homeless encampment in Minneapolis is shining a light on a homelessness crisis sparked by a lack of **mental health** care, affordable housing and drug addiction treatment.	Larger medical system	linking to homelessnes	casual
Pence: Don't link political rhetoric to Pittsburgh synagogue shooting	The Washington Post	"I understand people want to always make everything political and turn it into political discourse. Look, there's been rhetoric on both sides. . . . At the end of the day, I don't think it's political rhetoric. It's mental illness that is causing these tragedies or would-be tragedies. And we have got a **mental health** crisis in this country," Ratcliffe said.	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	over-persuading that there is a "mental illness/mental health crisis"	casual
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	After a roller-coaster year, Pete Davidson opened up about his **mental health**.	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	N/A	casual

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	Davidson's concerning Instagram statement came after a previous post, where he praised Kanye West for speaking out about his own **mental health**.	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	N/A	casual
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	Ariana Grande also responded, referencing comments she made about West earlier this week, which the rapper called out for making light of his **mental health**.	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	N/A	casual
Suicides Among Japanese Children Reach Highest Level in 3 Decades	The New York Times	"In Japan, your biggest problem is that there is a greater stigma about **mental health** problems than in other countries," said Vickie Skorji, director of the crisis hotline at TELL, a counseling and crisis intervention service in Tokyo. "You're most likely to get bullied, and less likely to get support services and understanding from your parents."	Medical diagnosis	"problems"	casual
The NYPD checked on Pete Davidson after he posted an alarming Instagram message	The Washington Post	Pete Davidson wrote on Instagram Saturday afternoon that he didn't "want to be on this earth anymore." The post came shortly after the SNL cast member had used the social media platform to applaud Kanye West for speaking openly about his own **mental health** issues.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	"issues"	casual

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	Time is running out for federally funded **mental-health** clinics	the field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment	N/A	casual
Waffle House shooting suspect not fit for trial, Nashville judge says	USA Today	Obviously, that's the first step in getting him to become competent, Fishburn said. The court does commit Mr. Reinking to Middle Tennessee **Mental Health** Institution to take whatever measures are reasonably necessary to see that he becomes and retains competency so that the trial in this case can proceed.	the field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment	"become competent" and "take whatever measures are reasonably necessary to see that he becomes and retains competency"	casual
Kanye West: 'I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment'	The Washington Post	"I apologize. That happens sometimes when people are — I'm not blaming **mental health**, but I'm explaining mental health," West said. "I don't know if I properly apologized for how the slavery comment made people feel. I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment, and I'm sorry for people that felt let down by that moment. And I appreciate you giving me the opportunity to talk to you about the way I was thinking and what I was going through."	Psychological well-being	N/A	familiar

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Kanye West: 'I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment'	The Washington Post	"I apologize. That happens sometimes when people are — I'm not blaming mental health, but I'm explaining **mental health**," West said. "I don't know if I properly apologized for how the slavery comment made people feel. I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment, and I'm sorry for people that felt let down by that moment. And I appreciate you giving me the opportunity to talk to you about the way I was thinking and what I was going through."	Psychological well-being	N/A	familiar
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	Bravo Kanye West for standing up for yourself and speaking out against **mental health**," Davidson wrote in another deleted post. "I can't explain to you enough how difficult and scary it is to be honest about stuff like this. We need people like Kanye."	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	N/A	familiar
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	Davidson has been open about his **mental health** in the past. In September, the comedian opened up about his borderline personality disorder in an interview with Howard Stern, describing it as "everything feeling so extreme."	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	Listing "mental health" and the diagnosis	familiar

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	In a series of tweets, Minaj also encouraged her followers to give Davidson love and talked about **mental health**.	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	N/A	familiar
Pete Davidson of 'Saturday Night Live' Is Accounted For After a Worrying Instagram Post	The New York Times	Ms. Grande was apparently referring to an online feud between Mr. West and the rapper Drake. Mr. West responded that "People will no longer take **mental health** for a joke" and discussed his own mental health.	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	N/A	familiar
Pete Davidson of 'Saturday Night Live' Is Accounted For After a Worrying Instagram Post	The New York Times	Ms. Grande was apparently referring to an online feud between Mr. West and the rapper Drake. Mr. West responded that "People will no longer take mental health for a joke" and discussed his own **mental health**.	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	N/A	familiar
Pete Davidson of 'Saturday Night Live' Is Accounted For After a Worrying Instagram Post	The New York Times	"No one should ever point fingers at you for your bravery in speaking about **mental health**," Mr. Davidson wrote. "I'm seriously disgusted." Shortly after, Mr. Davidson posted the alarming remarks that led others to worry about his well-being.	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	N/A	familiar
Pete Davidson of 'Saturday Night Live' Is Accounted For After a Worrying Instagram Post	The New York Times	In praising Mr. West, Mr. Davidson touched on what it takes to talk openly about **mental health**. "I can't explain to you enough how difficult and scary it is to be honest about stuff like this," he wrote.	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	N/A	familiar

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Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
The NYPD checked on Pete Davidson after he posted an alarming Instagram message	The Washington Post	West reacted Saturday morning by sharing a screen shot of Grande's tweet and writing that he considered it "slight commentary." He followed that with another tweet (since deleted), writing that "all of this foolishness weighed on my **mental health** so @ArianaGrande you know I got love for you but until you're ready to really make sure everyone's ok don't use me or this moment to promote a song."	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	N/A	familiar
The NYPD checked on Pete Davidson after he posted an alarming Instagram message	The Washington Post	Davidson appeared to reference the tension between West and Grande when he applauded West on Instagram for speaking out about **mental health**: "I can't explain to you enough how difficult and scary it is to be honest about stuff like this. We need people like Kanye. No one should ever point [a] finger at you for your bravery in speaking about mental health. I'm seriously disgusted."	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	N/A	familiar

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
The NYPD checked on Pete Davidson after he posted an alarming Instagram message	The Washington Post	Davidson appeared to reference the tension between West and Grande when he applauded West on Instagram for speaking out about mental health: "I can't explain to you enough how difficult and scary it is to be honest about stuff like this. We need people like Kanye. No one should ever point [a] finger at you for your bravery in speaking about **mental health**. I'm seriously disgusted."	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	N/A	familiar
California Today: The Homeless Millennial Connection	The New York Times	And by dint of their numbers, millennials may be also straining the **mental health** system.	Government and/or medical system/care	N/A	Formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Thousands of psychologists, therapists, social workers and psychiatric nurses will begin a five-day strike Monday against Kaiser Permanente at more than 100 facilities across California, demanding one of the nation's largest non-profit HMOs devote more resources to **mental health** services.	Larger medical system	N/A	formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	The shortage of **mental health** professionals is a growing problem nationwide.	Caretakers	N/A	formal

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Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	These clinicians are making timely access to **mental health** care the civil rights issue of our time, said Sal Rosselli, president of the National Union of Healthcare Workers (NUHW), which organized the strike of approximately 3,600 Kaiser mental health professionals and 400 support staff, including dietitians and health educators.	Type of care	N/A	formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	These clinicians are making timely access to mental health care the civil rights issue of our time, said Sal Rosselli, president of the National Union of Healthcare Workers (NUHW), which organized the strike of approximately 3,600 Kaiser **mental health** professionals and 400 support staff, including dietitians and health educators.	Need "professionals" to handle the care	N/A	formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	The strike comes as diagnoses of major depression are rising dramatically across the country — 33 percent since 2013, according to a report this year from Blue Cross Blue Shield. The suicide rate also has increased 33 percent since 1999, according to a CDC report last week. The National Alliance on Mental Illness says 43.8 million people experience mental illness in a given year. But there is a shortage of **mental health** professionals to treat people who are suffering.	Necessary caretakers	"major depression" and "suffering"	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	A 2016 report from the Health Resources and Services Administration says by 2025, workforce shortages are projected for psychiatrists, psychologists, **mental health** and substance abuse social workers, school counselors, and marriage and family therapists. It projected mental health and substance abuse social workers and school counselors will have shortages of more than 10,000 full time employees.	Caretakers; tied to substance abuse	N/A	formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	A 2016 report from the Health Resources and Services Administration says by 2025, workforce shortages are projected for psychiatrists, psychologists, mental health and substance abuse social workers, school counselors, and marriage and family therapists. It projected **mental health** and substance abuse social workers and school counselors will have shortages of more than 10,000 full time employees.	Caretakers; tied to substance abuse	N/A	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser and the NUHW have been embroiled in what the union calls a multi-year war over the quality of mental health care services. Following a complaint filed by the union in 2011, Kaiser was fined $4 million in 2013 for violating the state's Mental Health Parity Act, which requires insurers to provide equal coverage for physical and mental health conditions, and the Timely Access to Care standards, which limits how long you have to wait to access to care.		N/A	formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser and the NUHW have been embroiled in what the union calls a multi-year war over the quality of **mental health** care services. Following a complaint filed by the union in 2011, Kaiser was fined $4 million in 2013 for violating the state's Mental Health Parity Act, which requires insurers to provide equal coverage for physical and mental health conditions, and the Timely Access to Care standards, which limits how long you have to wait to access to care.		N/A	formal

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Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser and the NUHW have been embroiled in what the union calls a multi-year war over the quality of **mental health** care services. Following a complaint filed by the union in 2011, Kaiser was fined $4 million in 2013 for violating the state's Mental Health Parity Act, which requires insurers to provide equal coverage for physical and mental health conditions, and the Timely Access to Care standards, which limits how long you have to wait to access to care.	Larger medical system	N/A	formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser and the NUHW have been embroiled in what the union calls a multi-year war over the quality of mental health care services. Following a complaint filed by the union in 2011, Kaiser was fined $4 million in 2013 for violating the state's **Mental Health** Parity Act, which requires insurers to provide equal coverage for physical and mental health conditions, and the Timely Access to Care standards, which limits how long you have to wait to access to care.	Proper name	N/A	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser and the NUHW have been embroiled in what the union calls a multi-year war over the quality of mental health care services. Following a complaint filed by the union in 2011, Kaiser was fined $4 million in 2013 for violating the state's Mental Health Parity Act, which requires insurers to provide equal coverage for physical and **mental health** conditions, and the Timely Access to Care standards, which limits how long you have to wait to access to care.	Synonym for mental health diganosis	N/A	formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser has "increased the number of **mental health** professionals statewide by about 30 percent since 2015," Nelson said. "And when necessary we contract with community providers to further ensure our members have access to the care they need."	Larger medical system; caretakers	N/A	formal
Kroger shooting suspect tried to enter black church, police say	The New York Times	While acknowledging the suspect may have **mental health** issues, she said, "his (Facebook) posts, his comments, and his visit to First Baptist Jeffersontown lead us to express our concern."	Issue(s) - A personal or emotional problem	While no medical diagnosis has been given, overpersuading that something is "wrong"	formal

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Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The authors of the report concede the 15 measures do not present "a complete picture of the **mental health** system" in this country, but "they do provide a strong foundation for understanding the prevalence of mental health concerns, as well as issues of access to insurance and treatment."	Larger medical system	diagnoses as "concerns"	formal
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The authors of the report concede the 15 measures do not present "a complete picture of the mental health system" in this country, but "they do provide a strong foundation for understanding the prevalence of **mental health** concerns, as well as issues of access to insurance and treatment."	Concern - affecting a person's welfare	diagnoses as "concerns"	formal
Man arrested after investigation of suspicious substance halts some Metro service	The Washington Post	In 2017, Greene was sent to St. Elizabeths Hospital for a **mental-health** evaluation after being accused of grabbing a woman's buttocks, a case in which he was charged with misdemeanor sexual abuse. A report by a court psychologist indicated Greene had previously been diagnosed with schizophrenia and was on medication. Doctors recommended he stay at the hospital for further evaluation.	The need to be evaluated due to psychological "issues"	N/A	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Medical intern gets 22 years in prison for trying to kill U.S. diplomat in Mexico	The Washington Post	"Simply having a **mental health diagnosis** does not, and should not, excuse or mitigate a violent, premeditated act that the defendant clearly knew was wrong," prosecutors Jamie Perry and Ronald L. Walutes Jr. wrote in sentencing papers.	Medical diagnosis; need to be treated	N/A	formal
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	As for Moseley's 9mm Glock 17, which sells for about $500 in stores, people in Maryland are legally barred from owning firearms only if certain criteria are met. They are prohibited from owning guns if they suffer from a mental disorder and have a history of violent behavior against another person; have been found incompetent to stand trial; have been found not guilty of a crime by reason of insanity; have been voluntarily committed to a **mental health** facility for more than 30 days consecutively; or have been involuntarily committed to a mental health facility.	the field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment	listing of criteria using language such as mental disorder, violent bahavior, incompetant to stand trial, by reason of insanity, mental health facility	formal

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Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	As for Moseley's 9mm Glock 17, which sells for about $500 in stores, people in Maryland are legally barred from owning firearms only if certain criteria are met. They are prohibited from owning guns if they suffer from a mental disorder and have a history of violent behavior against another person; have been found incompetent to stand trial; have been found not guilty of a crime by reason of insanity; have been voluntarily committed to a mental health facility for more than 30 days consecutively; or have been involuntarily committed to a **mental health** facility.	the field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment	listing of criteria using language such as mental disorder, violent bahavior, incompetant to stand trial, by reason of insanity, mental health facility	formal
Secret Service urges 'threat teams' for schools to prevent shootings	USA Today	The report recommends forming "threat teams" drawn from the ranks of teachers, coaches, guidance counselors, **mental health** authorities and law enforcement to manage central reporting systems within the schools. The teams would be tasked with flagging troubling conduct, from threatening social media posts to information about students' access to weapons.	Medical professionals	N/A	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Senate passes sweeping opioids package	The Washington Post	The biggest difference between the House and Senate measures involves an obscure, decades-old rule known as the Institutions for Mental Diseases exclusion rule, or "IMD exclusion,"prohibiting federal Medicaid reimbursements for inpatient substance abuse treatment in centers with more than 16 beds whose patients are mainly suffering from severe mental illness. Many people with substance abuse disorders also have a mental illness, and this rule means they are unable to get treated for their addiction when in a large **mental health** facility.	the field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment	tied to "mental diseases" and the use of mental illnes and disorders	formal
Senate passes sweeping opioids package	The Washington Post	The House bill partially overturns the IMD exclusion for **mental-health** patients who also have an opioid use disorder, which the Congressional Budget Office says would cost nearly $1 billion over the next 10 years.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	formal
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	Lawmakers in both parties have committed to boosting **mental-health** and addiction treatment to address the opioid epidemic, but new funding for the behavioralhealth clinics initiative was not included in the $8.4 billion package Congress passed in October.	the field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment	N/A	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	The experimental program was set up after legislation in 2014 established standards for a new clinic designation called Certified Community Behavioral Health Clinics and created flexible funding that allowed the clinics to expand patient outreach and services for two years. The program kicked off in eight states in 2017, and during its first year, it served an estimated 381,000 patients, according to a report from the Substance Abuse and **Mental Health** Services Administration.	Formal name of agency	N/A	formal
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	Sen. Debbie Stabenow (D-Mich.) co-sponsored both the 2014 legislation and the extension bill now in committee. She cited the need for parity between treatment for **mental health** and physical health as an inspiration for the initiative.	the field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment	N/A	formal
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	At the Niagara County jail in Upstate New York, staffers from the local behavioralhealth clinic deliver basic addiction and **mental-health** care while people are incarcerated, and a mobile unit meets inmates as they are released to take them straight to their first mental-health or addiction consultation. Release is a critical moment, said Deputy Chief Daniel Engert, who is also a jail administrator.	the field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment	N/A	formal

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Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	At the Niagara County jail in Upstate New York, staffers from the local behavioralhealth clinic deliver basic addiction and mental-health care while people are incarcerated, and a mobile unit meets inmates as they are released to take them straight to their first **mental-health** or addiction consultation. Release is a critical moment, said Deputy Chief Daniel Engert, who is also a jail administrator.	the field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment	N/A	formal
Islamic State claims attack; police not convinced	USA Today	At this stage, we have no evidence to support these claims, Saunders said. "We will continue to explore every investigative avenue including interviewing those who knew Mr. Hussain, reviewing his online activity, and looking into his experiences with **mental health**."	Mental health diagnosis	"experiences with mental health"	formal
Trump rankles veterans with comments about PTSD and California shooter	The Washington Post	Some veterans and **mental-health** advocates bristled at President Trump's comments regarding the Thousand Oaks shooter and post-traumatic stress disorder, saying such broad-based remarks risked fueling inaccurate stereotypes about the condition and Americans who have served in combat.	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	Mental health, PTSD, and condition	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	Virginia state Sen. R. Creigh Deeds has settled a wrongful-death lawsuit against a former employee of a public **mental-health** agency that failed to find a hospital bed for his mentally ill son, who in 2013 stabbed the senator before killing himself.	Larger medical system	N/A	formal
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	Filed in Bath County Circuit Court, the suit alleged that the state, the Rockbridge Area Community Services Board, and **mental-health** evaluator Michael Gentry exhibited gross negligence and medical malpractice by mishandling a crucial sixhour window for admitting Deeds's son on Nov. 18, 2013.	Medical professional	N/A	formal
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	Deeds's attorneys, John E. Lichtenstein and Gregory L. Lyons, said in a written statement that they hoped the lawsuit would be "a catalyst for positive change in crisis **mental health** services in the Commonwealth."	Larger medical system	N/A	formal
Waffle House shooting suspect not fit for trial, Nashville judge says	USA Today	Travis Reinking sits at his **mental health** hearing in criminal court Wednesday, Aug. 22, 2018, in Nashville, Tenn. Reinking is suspected of killing four people in a mass shooting in April at a Nashville Waffle House.(Photo: Lacy Atkins / The Tennessean)	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
$750,000 settlement reached in death of mentally ill inmate in Fairfax County	The Washington Post	Some **mental-health** and use-of-force experts criticized the deputies' aggressive approach to handling a woman who was restrained and suffering from schizophrenia.	More social connotation, but related to the experts	"suffering"	Semi-formal
Armed Man in Tactical Clothing Headed to a Texas Church to 'Fulfill a Prophecy,' Police Say	The New York Times	"I do not have any indication that he's known to have mental illness," David Willborn, the county prosecutor, said in an email. "His behavior indicates that there is certainly cause for concern regarding his **mental health**."	No diagnosis, but still concerning behavior and an assumption that something is "not right"	While no medical diagnosis has been given, overpersuading that something is "wrong"	semi-formal
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	Police are looking into Santa Perez's **mental health**. No specific diagnosis has been reported to date. Santa Perez sued CNBC and TD Ameritrade in 2017, but a judge dismissed his complaint as "rambling, difficult to decipher and borders on delusional."	Used as a noun when no diagnosis has been determined; tied to language of "strange" behavior	While no medical diagnosis has been given, overpersuading that something is "wrong"	semi-formal
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	First, Ohio and federal law do not ban people with **mental health** diagnoses from owning a firearm. They are banned only if a judge deems them to have a mental health issue or sends them to a mental health institution.	Broader understanding of diagnoses	Over-persuasion that a diagnosis is tied to an "issue" or the need to be institutionalized	semi-formal
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	First, Ohio and federal law do not ban people with mental health diagnoses from owning a firearm. They are banned only if a judge deems them to have a **mental health** issue or sends them to a mental health institution.	Issues equal problematic behavior	Over-persuasion that a diagnosis is tied to an "issue" or the need to be institutionalized	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
<u>Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?</u>	USA Today	First, Ohio and federal law do not ban people with mental health diagnoses from owning a firearm. They are banned only if a judge deems them to have a mental health issue or sends them to a **mental health** institution.	The need to be jailed and treated	Over-persuasion that a diagnosis is tied to an "issue" or the need to be institutionalized	semi-formal
<u>Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?</u>	USA Today	In February 2017, President Donald Trump rolled back an Obama-era regulation that required the Social Security Administration to report the names of people unable to manage their finances because of a **mental health** condition to NICS. That would have banned some people with mental health issues from obtaining a firearm, but it's unlikely Santa would have been one of them.	A condition - something "within" a person	Linking mental health "condition" to "issue"	semi-formal
<u>Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?</u>	USA Today	In February 2017, President Donald Trump rolled back an Obama-era regulation that required the Social Security Administration to report the names of people unable to manage their finances because of a mental health condition to NICS. That would have banned some people with **mental health** issues from obtaining a firearm, but it's unlikely Santa would have been one of them.	Issues equal problematic behavior	Linking mental health "condition" to "issue"	semi-formal

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Deputies transporting women in van drove around barricades during Hurricane Florence before their passengers drowned	USA Today	Horry County Sheriff Phillip Thompson said "it can be assumed" that Deputies Joshua Bishop and Stephen Flood disregarded the barriers Tuesday night erected because of Hurricane Florence while transporting two women with **mental-health** concerns from Conway to medical facilities inland in Darlington and Lancaster.	Negative; concern equates to worry, possibly worrisome behaviors	N/A	semi-formal
Deputies transporting women in van drove around barricades during Hurricane Florence before their passengers drowned	USA Today	Thompson said his office was responding to court orders to transport the women from a hospital and a **mental-health** center. The sheriff's office transports 1,200 patients per year, traveling up to 40,000 miles each month.	The need for treatment; the need to be housed	N/A	semi-formal
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	The Washington Post	A patient is attended to by a **mental-health** team on the Pacific island of Nauru on Oct. 8, 2018. (Médecins Sans Frontières Australia/AP)	Individual needs care/treatment	N/A	semi-formal
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	The Washington Post	Human rights groups have warned that a **mental-health** crisis on the Pacific island of Nauru is exploding as hundreds of asylum seekers stranded there lose hope of making it to their intended destination: Australia.	Causing a problem	N/A	semi-formal

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Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	The Washington Post	In 2013, Australia began holding migrants and asylum seekers who try to reach the country by boat in offshore detention. About 900 asylum seekers are held on Nauru, and some have been there as long as five years. Many, including children, suffer from severe **mental-health** conditions, including depression and anxiety, doctors and human rights groups say.	Condition - existing state a person is in	Including "suffer" and degree with "severe"	semi-formal
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	The Washington Post	In a telephone call with The Washington Post on Thursday, MSF humanitarian affairs adviser Aurélie Ponthieu said the demand for **mental-health** resources on Nauru was so high that the group had a waiting list of about 100 people seeking consultation.	Something that needs to be assisted with; needs help to rectify	N/A	semi-formal
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	The Washington Post	Australia's Department of Home Affairs referred the Post to a statement saying that MSF's removal "is a matter for the Government of Nauru." The statement said 33 **mental health** professionals are "providing services to transferees on Nauru," and said that they are "free to move around the island; they are not in detention." Nauru is one of the smallest nations in the world: the island is only 8.1 square miles.	Caregivers	N/A	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Gun control or gun rights? The answer may help determine whether Rep. Comstock wins reelection	The Washington Post	He called for greater gun control in the state, including an assault weapons ban, stronger background checks, better **mental-health** care and a return to limiting the number of handguns that an individual can purchase to one per month.	A bigger system	N/A	semi-formal
Gunman who killed 5 at Fort Lauderdale airport is sentenced to life in prison	The Washington Post	After the Fort Lauderdale airport shooting, the FBI said Santiago previously had voluntarily walked into one of the bureau's offices and made bizarre, nonthreatening statements. Santiago told the FBI that "he did not wish to harm anyone," the bureau said; he was admitted to a **mental-health** facility afterward. In 2016, the FBI said it had previously scrutinized the gunman who pledged allegiance to the Islamic State and killed 49 people inside the Pulse nightclub in Orlando that year; the bureau had determined he was not a threat.	Needing treatment for "bizarre" behavior	Made "bizarre..statements" and admission to a facilty	semi-formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	**Mental health** workers walk out in California	Caretakers	N/A	semi-formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser Permanente **mental health** professionals and family members rally outside the Kaiser Permanente West Los Angeles Medical Center on Jan. 12, 2015.(Photo: Damian Dovarganes, AP)	Medical caretakers	N/A	semi-formal

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Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Several families who have lost loved ones while waiting for **mental health** care through Kaiser have shared their stories publicly: 83-year-old Barbara Ragan, a retired Kaiser employee whose family said she was suffering from depression, killed herself in 2015 after her family said she was told she would have to wait weeks for a psychiatric appointment. Susan Futterman, who is part of a class-action lawsuit alleging inadequacies in Kaiser's mental health care, says her husband, Fred Paroutaud, killed himself in 2012 after failing to get an appointment with his psychiatrist.	Desperately needed type of care	N/A	semi-formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Several families who have lost loved ones while waiting for mental health care through Kaiser have shared their stories publicly: 83-year-old Barbara Ragan, a retired Kaiser employee whose family said she was suffering from depression, killed herself in 2015 after her family said she was told she would have to wait weeks for a psychiatric appointment. Susan Futterman, who is part of a class-action lawsuit alleging inadequacies in Kaiser's **mental health** care, says her husband, Fred Paroutaud, killed himself in 2012 after failing to get an appointment with his psychiatrist.	Desperately needed type of care	N/A	semi-formal

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Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	"The demand for **mental health** care services far outstrips supply because we aren't recruiting or educating people to join the mental health workforce," said Imelda Padilla-Frausto, a research scientist at the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and the UCLA Center for Health Services and Society. "Once doing so becomes a priority, then maybe we'll see fewer strikes among the few overworked therapists who remain in the field."	Larger medical system	N/A	semi-formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	"The demand for mental health care services far outstrips supply because we aren't recruiting or educating people to join the **mental health** workforce," said Imelda Padilla-Frausto, a research scientist at the UCLA Center for Health Policy Research and the UCLA Center for Health Services and Society. "Once doing so becomes a priority, then maybe we'll see fewer strikes among the few overworked therapists who remain in the field."	Caretakers	N/A	semi-formal

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Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	A federal **mental health** parity law passed in 2008. While it doesn't require health insurers to cover mental health services, if they do offer mental health benefits they must be comparable to physical health benefits. Plans under the Affordable Care Act were required to offer mental health and substance use disorder services. However, even with these improvements, many insured Americans say they struggle to find a therapist or psychiatrist. Many professionals don't accept insurance saying the reimbursement rates are too low.	Type of law	N/A	semi-formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	A federal mental health parity law passed in 2008. While it doesn't require health insurers to cover mental health services, if they do offer **mental health** benefits they must be comparable to physical health benefits. Plans under the Affordable Care Act were required to offer mental health and substance use disorder services. However, even with these improvements, many insured Americans say they struggle to find a therapist or psychiatrist. Many professionals don't accept insurance saying the reimbursement rates are too low.	Larger medical system	N/A	semi-formal

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Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	A federal mental health parity law passed in 2008. While it doesn't require health insurers to cover mental health services, if they do offer **mental health** benefits they must be comparable to physical health benefits. Plans under the Affordable Care Act were required to offer mental health and substance use disorder services. However, even with these improvements, many insured Americans say they struggle to find a therapist or psychiatrist. Many professionals don't accept insurance saying the reimbursement rates are too low.	Differentiating between mental health and physical health	N/A	semi-formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	A federal mental health parity law passed in 2008. While it doesn't require health insurers to cover mental health services, if they do offer mental health benefits they must be comparable to physical health benefits. Plans under the Affordable Care Act were required to offer **mental health** and substance use disorder services. However, even with these improvements, many insured Americans say they struggle to find a therapist or psychiatrist. Many professionals don't accept insurance saying the reimbursement rates are too low.	Need for assistance; tied to substance abuse	N/A	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	Kaiser has criticized the union for organizing a strike during the holiday season, when it says many of its patients are especially vulnerable. Nelson says Kaiser is asking patients with routine **mental health** appointments to reschedule, but will continue to provide urgent care.	Type of appointment	N/A	semi-formal
Kroger shooting suspect tried to enter black church, police say	The New York Times	Court records show that Bush has a history of **mental health** problems and violence and at least one instance when he used a racial slur.	Tied to negative behaviors	"problem" and "violence"	semi-formal
Kroger shooting suspect tried to enter black church, police say	The New York Times	And in a 2009 domestic violence case involving his father, Bush was ordered by a judge to surrender his guns and undergo **mental health** treatment.	The need for treatment	N/A	semi-formal
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	Attorneys at several disability rights organizations have filed a class-action lawsuit against the D.C. government, alleging that District officials have failed to provide adequate **mental-health** services for hundreds of severely troubled children.	Larger medical system	"severly troubled"	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	The District's policies are at odds with the prevailing national paradigm of offering **mental-health** services to children without disrupting their lives by whisking them away from home and school to warehouses for the mentally ill, said Lewis Bossing, a senior staff attorney at the Bazelon Center for Mental Health Law and one of the lawyers representing the child plaintiffs in the lawsuit.	Larger medical system	N/A	semi-formal
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	The District's policies are at odds with the prevailing national paradigm of offering mental-health services to children without disrupting their lives by whisking them away from home and school to warehouses for the mentally ill, said Lewis Bossing, a senior staff attorney at the Bazelon Center for **Mental Health** Law and one of the lawyers representing the child plaintiffs in the lawsuit.	Formal name of law firm	N/A	semi-formal
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	The lawsuit said that although "L.R. and her father are interested in receiving" intensive **mental health** services, "the District has not worked with them to arrange for her to receive these services while she has lived at home."	Medical care	"intensive mental health services"	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	A new report on the state of **mental health** in the United States says that in recent years, there have been "alarming" increases in major depression in youth and in the prevalence of adults harboring suicidal thoughts.	Psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	"major depression"	semi-formal
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The 2018 installment of "The State of **Mental Health** in America" from the nonprofit Mental Health America also says most Americans who need access to mental health care do not get it, and it details the long-term consequences of childhood trauma.	Formal name	N/A	semi-formal
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The 2018 installment of "The State of Mental Health in America" from the nonprofit **Mental Health** America also says most Americans who need access to mental health care do not get it, and it details the long-term consequences of childhood trauma.	Formal name	N/A	semi-formal
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The 2018 installment of "The State of Mental Health in America" from the nonprofit Mental Health America also says most Americans who need access to **mental health** care do not get it, and it details the long-term consequences of childhood trauma.	Larger medical system	N/A	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	**Mental Health** America, which works to ensure people get the mental-health services they need, used 15 measures (such as the percentages of youth with major depression and substance use disorder) to reach its conclusions.	Formal name	"major depression"	semi-formal
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	Mental Health America, which works to ensure people get the **mental-health** services they need, used 15 measures (such as the percentages of youth with major depression and substance use disorder) to reach its conclusions.	Larger medical system	"major depression"	semi-formal
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	While much of the state of our **mental health** care continues to be broken, there are glimmers of hope. Since the release of its first report [five years ago], MHA is seeing small yet encouraging decreases in the number of American adults who have mental health concerns (from 18.19% to 18.07%) and substance use problems (from 8.76% to 7.93%). Yet overall, the picture is still quite bleak. . . .	Larger medical system	diagnoses as "concerns"	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	While much of the state of our mental health care continues to be broken, there are glimmers of hope. Since the release of its first report [five years ago], MHA is seeing small yet encouraging decreases in the number of American adults who have **mental health** concerns (from 18.19% to 18.07%) and substance use problems (from 8.76% to 7.93%). Yet overall, the picture is still quite bleak. . . .	Concern - affecting a person's welfare	diagnoses as "concerns"	semi-formal
Man arrested after investigation of suspicious substance halts some Metro service	The Washington Post	Greene has a history of court-ordered **mental health** evaluations following arrests in assault cases and selling cocaine. He was also diagnosed as being schizophrenic.	The need to be evaluated due to psychological "issues"	history of violence and criminal behavior; lead up to diagnosis of schizophrenia	semi-formal
Man arrested after investigation of suspicious substance halts some Metro service	The Washington Post	Last week, a D.C. Superior Court judge issued a warrant for Greene's arrest after he failed to comply with orders as a result of pleading guilty to selling cocaine last January. As part of that plea, the judge agreed to defer Greene's sentencing and allow him to remain outside of jail if he attended **mental-health** court.	Tied to criminal behavior	N/A	semi-formal
Prisoner says he's spent over a dozen years in solitary confinement because he doesn't speak English	The Washington Post	After the ACLU released a report in May criticizing the use of solitary confinement in Virginia prisons, the state Department of Corrections said in a statement that no inmates with serious **mental health** problems are put in segregated housing for more than 30 days.	Medical diagnosis	Serious mental health problems	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	Coley said that during periods when Moseley was undergoing intensive **mental health** treatment, she had brighter moments and enjoyed writing rap lyrics. She said Moseley wrote an unpublished manuscript about coming out as transgender, titled "No Swagger." In it, Moseley detailed the pain of struggling to accept her sexual orientation and being rejected by others, including some family members, Coley said.	the field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment	"intensive mental health treatment"	semi-formal
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	"What makes a person capable of taking a weapon and using it against unarmed, defenseless people?" Gahler wondered plaintively at a Friday morning news briefing, referring to the three deadly attacks. "The **mental health** issues, we see it time and time and time again. And just the disregard for human life that seems so commonplace across our nation."	Mental illness	Over-completeness with the "time and time and time again"; "issues"	semi-formal
Secret Service urges 'threat teams' for schools to prevent shootings	USA Today	In the Parkland case, which has driven a vocal national debate on gun safety, social workers, **mental health** counselors, school officials and law enforcement were all warned about Nikolas Cruz's deteriorating mental state and risk of violence before he allegedly attacked.	Medical professionals	"deteriorating mental state and risk of violence"	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
This place 'is going to burn,' says text allegedly sent by man arrested in California's Holy Fire	The Washington Post	Milligan said he's known Clark for 10 years and has been concerned about his **mental health** and behavior in the tiny mountainous area, with only 17 recreational cabins at the bottom of a steep cannon.	Mental health diagnosis	N/A	semi-formal
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	An experimental **mental-health** and addiction treatment program that has shown early success in combating the opioid crisis is at risk of losing its federal funding.	the field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment	N/A	semi-formal
Trump rankles veterans with comments about PTSD and California shooter	The Washington Post	Rieckhoff said when veterans with **mental-health** issues hurt someone, it's most likely themselves, not someone else.	Medical diagnosis	"issues"	semi-formal
Trump rankles veterans with comments about PTSD and California shooter	The Washington Post	In recent years, **mental-health** experts and veterans groups have taken steps to remove the stigma of the condition and show that veterans suffering from it aren't ticking time-bombs, as stereotypes stemming from the Vietnam era began to suggest.	psychological well-being and satisfactory adjustment to society and to the ordinary demands of life	mental health, condition, suffering	semi-formal
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	The state had long been aware of shortcomings in the **mental-health** services system.	Larger medical system	N/A	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	The community services board — covering Rockbridge, Bath, Lexington and Buena Vista — administers services for people in **mental-health** crisis on behalf of the state Department of Behavioral Health and Developmental Services.	Psychological "poor" being	N/A	semi-formal
Victims of Rite Aid Shooting Identified as Police Search for Motive	The New York Times	While Maryland bars some people with mental illness from buying a firearm, Ms. Moseley did not qualify for being barred from making such a purchase, the authorities said. There is a link between **mental health** problems and gun violence, but studies show that the connection is far more limited than widely thought.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	"problem" and "violence"	semi-formal
Waffle House shooting suspect not fit for trial, Nashville judge says	USA Today	Prosecutors asked for a judge to commit Reinking for **mental health** treatment.	the field of medicine concerned with the maintenance or achievement of such well-being and adjustment	N/A	semi-formal

Appendix D. Semiotic Choices: Machin & Mayr (2012) Toolkit for Mental Illness

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
$750,000 settlement reached in death of mentally ill inmate in Fairfax County	The Washington Post	$750,000 settlement reached in death of **mentally ill** inmate in Fairfax County	Mental illness tied to criminality	"mentally ill inmate"	formal
$750,000 settlement reached in death of mentally ill inmate in Fairfax County	The Washington Post	The family of a **mentally ill** inmate who died after a struggle with deputies at the Fairfax County jail in 2015 has reached a $750,000 settlement with the county sheriff's office to resolve a wrongful-death lawsuit, according to court records.	Mental illness tied to criminality	"mentally ill inmate"	formal
$750,000 settlement reached in death of mentally ill inmate in Fairfax County	The Washington Post	A medical examiner ruled McKenna's death was accidental, a result of a condition called "excited delirium" in which a person with **mental illness** or on drugs grows so excited his or her heart gives out.	Mental illness tied to, or he result of, drug use	N/A	formal
$750,000 settlement reached in death of mentally ill inmate in Fairfax County	The Washington Post	McKenna's case spurred Kincaid and Fairfax County to start a program in 2016 that attempts to divert nonviolent offenders with **mental illness** into treatment instead of the jail.	Mental illness tied to criminality; the need for treatment	N/A	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Armed Man in Tactical Clothing Headed to a Texas Church to 'Fulfill a Prophecy,' Police Say	The New York Times	"I do not have any indication that he's known to have **mental illness**," David Willborn, the county prosecutor, said in an email. "His behavior indicates that there is certainly cause for concern regarding his mental health."	Mental Illness as a diagnosis	While no medical diagnosis has been given, overpersuading that something is "wrong"	formal
California Today: The Homeless Millennial Connection	The New York Times	"There is anecdotal evidence from cities I've been to where people are saying that this young adult population with severe **mental illness** is overwhelming the health system," Dr. Culhane said. "It doesn't take many people to have a big impact."	Images of what "severe mental illness" might be - needing more care/assistance, homeless, etc.	"severe"	semi-formal
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	Why not report all people with mental health issues? The National Alliance on **Mental Illness** estimates one in five adults in the United States experiences mental illness in a given year. That's a lot of people, most of whom would say they can safely wield guns for protection or sport.	Medical language in name of organization	N/A	semi-formal
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	Why not report all people with mental health issues? The National Alliance on Mental Illness estimates one in five adults in the United States experiences **mental illness** in a given year. That's a lot of people, most of whom would say they can safely wield guns for protection or sport.	An experiential component tied to an individual	N/A	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Deputies transporting women in van drove around barricades during Hurricane Florence before their passengers drowned	USA Today	Newton, a mother of three who has struggled with **mental illness**, had been taken via ambulance to a hospital in Loris, about 20 miles northeast of Conway, earlier Tuesday after she felt that she was about to suffer "a spell," according to The New York Times.	Difficult, something someone "struggles" with; illicits pity (AP Style Guide)	"struggled" and "suffer"	semi-formal
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	The Washington Post	Ponthieu said the local hospital lacked resources to care for large numbers of people with **mental illnesses**. And while some doctors are contracted by the Australian government to treat patients there, she said, MSF is concerned that those services are inadequate. Asylum seekers "don't trust anything provided by the Australian government because the government has put them there in the first place," she said.	Medicalized - hospital and needing care; patients; "people with" interalizes the term and situates it within an individual	N/A	semi-formal
Gun control or gun rights? The answer may help determine whether Rep. Comstock wins reelection	The Washington Post	Comstock wrote an op-ed published in a Loudoun County newspaper last week saying she supports more money for law enforcement, school safety and treatment for **mental illness**, which she said is often behind gun violence.	Needing to be treated; ties to violence	N/A	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Gunman who killed 5 at Fort Lauderdale airport is sentenced to life in prison	The Washington Post	His attorneys had said in court filings that while he was "**mentally ill**," he did not appear to be incompetent to stand trial. In a filing this year from federal prosecutors, they said the government and the defense both agreed that Santiago was competent to proceed with the case.	Medical diagnosis; explains criminal behavior	N/A	semi-formal
Judge orders woman accused of attacking Greyhound bus, driver to remain jailed	The Washington Post	Silver's attorney, Jonathan Armstrong, argued the incident was a result of his client having an "adverse" reaction to her medication that she was taking for her **mental illness**. Armstrong also told the judge that social workers at the Public Defender's Office had already secured a bed with a facility within the District's Department of Behavioral Health for Silver and argued that she would not get the proper care in jail.	Needing medication; medical diagnosis	N/A	semi-formal
Judge orders woman accused of attacking Greyhound bus, driver to remain jailed	The Washington Post	Outside the courtroom Steven Silver, the suspect's uncle, criticized the judge's decision and said Staples treated her "like a criminal, instead of a woman who has been battling with **mental illness**."	A battle to be won	"battling"	casual

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	The strike comes as diagnoses of major depression are rising dramatically across the country — 33 percent since 2013, according to a report this year from Blue Cross Blue Shield. The suicide rate also has increased 33 percent since 1999, according to a CDC report last week. The National Alliance on **Mental Illness** says 43.8 million people experience mental illness in a given year. But there is a shortage of mental health professionals to treat people who are suffering.	Formal name of agency	"major depression" and mental health as an "experience"; "suffering"	formal
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	The strike comes as diagnoses of major depression are rising dramatically across the country — 33 percent since 2013, according to a report this year from Blue Cross Blue Shield. The suicide rate also has increased 33 percent since 1999, according to a CDC report last week. The National Alliance on Mental Illness says 43.8 million people experience **mental illness** in a given year. But there is a shortage of mental health professionals to treat people who are suffering.	Something an individual experiences	"major depression" and mental health as an "experience"; "suffering"	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Kanye West: 'I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment'	The Washington Post	Around the time that his unusual behavior began peaking, West disclosed that he has bipolar disorder. The handwritten words "I hate being Bi-Polar its awesome" adorned the cover of "Ye," his newest record. In the interview, he discussed how his **mental illness** played a role in the now-infamous TMZ appearance.	Tied to a diagnosis; unusal behavior	"unusual behavior" and diagnosis	casual
Kroger shooting suspect tried to enter black church, police say	The New York Times	Rogers said that there is "apparently some **mental illness** history with the subject in question" but said he didn't have direct knowledge about any illness.	Mental illness - any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	formal
Kroger shooting suspect tried to enter black church, police say	The New York Times	I have worked most of my life and battled **mental illness** throughout my life, the Facebook page reads.	A battle to be fought	"battled"	casual
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	The District's policies are at odds with the prevailing national paradigm of offering mental-health services to children without disrupting their lives by whisking them away from home and school to warehouses for the **mentally ill**, said Lewis Bossing, a senior staff attorney at the Bazelon Center for Mental Health Law and one of the lawyers representing the child plaintiffs in the lawsuit.	Medically diagnosed individual	N/A	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	They also note some of the surveys used to get data do not include the homeless population, whose inclusion would likely raise the percentage of youth and adults who suffer from **mental illness**.	Tied to homelessness and suffering; medical diagnosis	"suffer"	semi-formal
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	The estimated number of adults with serious suicidal thoughts is over 9.8 million – an increase of 200,000 people since last year. Over 2 million young people cope with severe major depression. And that is just the population that has been diagnosed. On average, it takes 10 years between the onset of symptoms and when individuals receive treatment. Over 24 million individuals experiencing a **mental health illness** are going untreated.	Medical diagnosis	Mental Health Illness	casual
Man arrested after investigation of suspicious substance halts some Metro service	The Washington Post	A man with a history of **mental illness** was arrested Monday after police say someone left a white powder at two Metro stations, leading to road closures and the suspension of rail service in part of downtown Washington before officials determined it was not hazardous.	Medical diagnoses; tied to criminal behavior	"a man with a history of mental illness was arrested"	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Matthew Newton, Director With Domestic Violence Record, Departs Jessica Chastain Film	The New York Times	In 2011, Mr. Newton was charged in Sydney with punching a 66-yearold taxi driver in the head. A court dismissed the charges on the grounds that he had a **mental illness**, ordering him to comply with a treatment plan. In 2012, Mr. Newton was charged with punching a hotel clerk in Miami. He was ordered to complete 50 hours of community service and an anger management course. He has been living recently in New York.	Medical diagnosis; tied to violence/criminal behavior	two references to violence tied to the mental illness	formal
Matthew Newton, Director With Domestic Violence Record, Departs Jessica Chastain Film	The New York Times	"Over the past eight years I have been working extensively with health care professionals to help me overcome my addiction and **mental health illness**," the statement continued. "For the past six years I have lived a quiet and sober life. All I can do now is try to be a living amends and hopefully contribute to the positive change occurring in our industry."	Medical diagnosis	Mental Health Illness	semi-formal
Medical intern gets 22 years in prison for trying to kill U.S. diplomat in Mexico	The Washington Post	Zafar, a medical school graduate who was interning at a hospital in Guadalajara, maintained that his actions were the result of untreated **mental illness**, although he chose not to go to trial, arguing that he was not guilty by reason of insanity.	Medical diagnosis; need to be treated	N/A	semi-formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Medical intern gets 22 years in prison for trying to kill U.S. diplomat in Mexico	The Washington Post	"I know that, despite my **mental illness**, that my actions were illegal that and I will do whatever is necessary to treat my mental illness," he wrote in a letter to the court.	Internatlized medical state of being	repeating the phrase "mental illness" in close proximity	formal
Medical intern gets 22 years in prison for trying to kill U.S. diplomat in Mexico	The Washington Post	"I know that, despite my mental illness, that my actions were illegal that and I will do whatever is necessary to treat my **mental illness**," he wrote in a letter to the court.	Medical diagnosis; need to be treated	repeating the phrase "mental illness" in close proximity	formal
Pence: Don't link political rhetoric to Pittsburgh synagogue shooting	The Washington Post	"I understand people want to always make everything political and turn it into political discourse. Look, there's been rhetoric on both sides. . . . At the end of the day, I don't think it's political rhetoric. It's **mental illness** that is causing these tragedies or would-be tragedies. And we have got a mental health crisis in this country," Ratcliffe said.	Medical diagnosis; links to violence	over-persuading that there is a "mental illness/mental health crisis"	familiar
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	Go & give this man some love. My God she tweeted. "We can be so insensitive. God bless Kanye & Pete. Being flippant about **mental illness** speaks more about you than them. Stop saying the word love & live it. Love is an action."	Medical diagnosis	N/A	familiar

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Pete Davidson of 'Saturday Night Live' Is Accounted For After a Worrying Instagram Post	The New York Times	The rapper and actress Nicki Minaj wrote on Twitter: "Go & give this man some love. My God," after Mr. Davidson's worrisome comments on Instagram, and then criticized the public for being "insensitive" and "flippant about **mental illness**."	Medical diagnosis	N/A	familiar
Prisoner says he's spent over a dozen years in solitary confinement because he doesn't speak English	The Washington Post	Assessments by prison officials that Reyes suffers from **mental illness** have been ignored or overturned, lawyers allege in the complaint.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	"suffers"	formal
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	Before she shot six co-workers at a Rite Aid warehouse here, killing three of them, Snochia Moseley, 26, had been beset for years by **mental illness** as well as emotional turmoil related to her struggle with sexual identity, according to authorities and a close friend of Moseley's.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	"beset"	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	"There's just no way to make sense of something that's so senseless," Sheriff Jeffrey Gahler of Harford County, Md., said Friday, a day after he named Moseley as the assailant who opened fire Thursday at a sprawling Rite Aid distribution center 30 miles northeast of Baltimore. Moseley, a temporary Rite Aid employee whom the sheriff said had been diagnosed as **mentally ill** in 2016, ended her own life in the warehouse with a 9mm bullet from the Glock handgun she had used in the attack.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	casual
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	Despite her **mental-illness** diagnosis, Moseley, of White Marsh, Md., was able to legally purchase the Glock in March because psychiatric problems alone are not enough to bar firearms ownership under Maryland law, said Maj. William Davis of the Harford County Sheriff's Office. The law lists several accompanying criteria, such as a history of violent behavior toward other people, which did not apply to Moseley, Davis said.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	"mental-illness diagnosis" and linked to "psychiatric problems"	formal
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	Harford County Executive Barry Glassman said **mental illness** was a big factor in each of the three fatal attacks in Harford in recent years.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	casual

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Secret Service urges 'threat teams' for schools to prevent shootings	USA Today	The 17-page document builds on agency research this year focusing on suspects linked to violence in schools and other public places. It says 64 percent of attackers showed symptoms of **mental illness**. In 25 percent of the cases, attackers had been "hospitalized or prescribed psychiatric medications" before the assaults.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	linking violence, symptoms of mentall illness, hospitalizations and/or prescribed psychiatric medications	semi-formal
Senate passes sweeping opioids package	The Washington Post	The biggest difference between the House and Senate measures involves an obscure, decades-old rule known as the Institutions for Mental Diseases exclusion rule, or "IMD exclusion,"prohibiting federal Medicaid reimbursements for inpatient substance abuse treatment in centers with more than 16 beds whose patients are mainly suffering from severe **mental illness**. Many people with substance abuse disorders also have a mental illness, and this rule means they are unable to get treated for their addiction when in a large mental health facility.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	"suffering" and "severe"	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Senate passes sweeping opioids package	The Washington Post	The biggest difference between the House and Senate measures involves an obscure, decades-old rule known as the Institutions for Mental Diseases exclusion rule, or "IMD exclusion,"prohibiting federal Medicaid reimbursements for inpatient substance abuse treatment in centers with more than 16 beds whose patients are mainly suffering from severe mental illness. Many people with substance abuse disorders also have a **mental illness**, and this rule means they are unable to get treated for their addiction when in a large mental health facility.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	"suffering" and "severe"	formal
Suicides Among Japanese Children Reach Highest Level in 3 Decades	The New York Times	Although child suicide is not a problem unique to Japan, **mental illness** is still not an open topic of discussion, and it is difficult for children and teenagers who are depressed or anxious to seek help.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	"mental illllness" and then listing specific diagnoses - depression and anxiety	semi-formal
Suicides Among Japanese Children Reach Highest Level in 3 Decades	The New York Times	Experts say that schools are generally not well equipped to cope with **mental illness** among students and, in general, education about mental illness is lacking. "Teachers are busy, and they cannot respond to each individual student in many cases," said Yuki Kubota, professor of clinical psychology at Kyushu Sangyo University.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	semi-formal

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Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Suicides Among Japanese Children Reach Highest Level in 3 Decades	The New York Times	Experts say that schools are generally not well equipped to cope with mental illness among students and, in general, education about **mental illness** is lacking. "Teachers are busy, and they cannot respond to each individual student in many cases," said Yuki Kubota, professor of clinical psychology at Kyushu Sangyo University.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	semi-formal
The NYPD checked on Pete Davidson after he posted an alarming Instagram message	The Washington Post	West had been directing hostile messages toward Drake since Thursday afternoon, claiming that the Canadian rapper had threatened West's family and made light of West's **mental illness**.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	semi-formal
This place 'is going to burn,' says text allegedly sent by man arrested in California's Holy Fire	The Washington Post	The paper also said a man with the same name and birth date was held involuntarily in 1996 at a treatment center for **mental illness**.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	formal

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	Police departments have been the less obvious beneficiaries of the program. More than half of state prisoners and jail inmates have some **mental illness**, and of that population, 3 in 4 have a substance-use disorder, according to the National Council for Behavioral Health. When police take an intoxicated person into custody, they generally need to take the person to the emergency room to sober up or receive treatment. That takes time away from public-safety duties, said Rick McCubbin, chief of police in Shepherdsville, Ky., which does not have such clinics.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	formal
Islamic State claims attack; police not convinced	USA Today	Hussain's family, in a statement Monday, said Hussain suffered from "severe" **mental illness** and had been "struggling with psychosis and depression his entire life."	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	Severe mental illness; stating mental illness with psychosis and depression	formal
Trump rankles veterans with comments about PTSD and California shooter	The Washington Post	On the question about the relationship between PTSD and violence — like often with **mental illness**, there is a little bit of increased risk of violence, but it's not the kind of violence where you go into a bar and shoot people," Ritchie said.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	"mental illlness" and listing specific diagnoses - PTSD; linking to violence (stated three times)	casual

Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	Virginia state Sen. R. Creigh Deeds has settled a wrongful-death lawsuit against a former employee of a public mental-health agency that failed to find a hospital bed for his **mentally ill** son, who in 2013 stabbed the senator before killing himself.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	"mentally ill son"	semi-formal
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	On Nov. 18, 2013, a local judge issued an emergency custody order for Austin Deeds after his father expressed grave concern about his behavior, and the young man was taken to Bath Community Hospital. He waited for several hours before the Rockbridge Area Community Services Board dispatched Gentry to conduct an evaluation. The lawsuit says Gentry knew or should have known of Deeds's history of **mental illness** and previous suicide attempts.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	formal
Victims of Rite Aid Shooting Identified as Police Search for Motive	The New York Times	Sheriff Gahler said that Ms. Moseley carried out the shooting with a Glock 9-millimeter handgun that she had legally purchased in March. Detectives also discovered evidence that Ms. Moseley was found to have a **mental illness** in 2016, which Sheriff Gahler declined to identify.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	formal

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Headline	Publication	Quote	Word Connotation	Overlexicalization	Genre of Comm.
Victims of Rite Aid Shooting Identified as Police Search for Motive	The New York Times	While Maryland bars some people with **mental illness** from buying a firearm, Ms. Moseley did not qualify for being barred from making such a purchase, the authorities said. There is a link between mental health problems and gun violence, but studies show that the connection is far more limited than widely thought.	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	linked to "mental health problems" and "violence"	semi-formal
Waffle House shooting suspect not fit for trial, Nashville judge says	USA Today	After a hearing of about half an hour, Judge Mark Fishburn of Nashville-Davidson County Criminal Court ruled that Reinking was "in definite need of training and medical treatment for his **mental illness**."	any of the various forms of psychosis or severe neurosis	N/A	formal

Appendix E. Fairclough's (2015) Power and Causality for All Articles

Headline	Publication	Sources (All)	Power: Sources	Power: Causality
$750,000 settlement reached in death of mentally ill inmate in Fairfax County	The Washington Post	Sheriff's office, medical examiner, sheriff, mental-health and use-of-force experts, Activists with the Black Lives Matter movement, lawsuit, family's attorney, victim's mother	Law enforcement	Jail personnel may have caused death of inmate
Armed Man in Tactical Clothing Headed to a Texas Church to 'Fulfill a Prophecy,' Police Say	The New York Times	Officials, police, restaurant worker, restaurant patrons (x2), Police Department, County Prosecutor	Law enforcement; witnesses	Police thwart man ready to harm
California Today: The Homeless Millennial Connection	The New York Times	University professor	Academic	Millenials are increasing homelessness crisis
Cincinnati shooting: Why was the shooter able to get a gun?	USA Today	Police Chief, judge, officer, governor, "shooter's aunt"	Law enforcement	*Man fatally shot three people and wounded two others*
Deputies transporting women in van drove around barricades during Hurricane Florence before their passengers drowned	USA Today	Sheriff, county coroner, Highway Patrol spokesman, sheriff's office spokeswoman, The New York Times	Law enforcement	Deputies caused deaths of two women
Doctors trying to help suicidal asylum seekers in Nauru have been banned from treating them	The Washington Post	Humanitarian group (Doctor's Without Borders/MSF), doctors, humanitarian affairs adviser, Australian Home Affairs Minister, MSF psychiatrist, Australia's Department of Home Affairs	Humanitarian group	*Nauruan authorities demanded that staff members of Doctors Without Borders cease their operations on the island*

Headline	Publication	Sources (All)	Power: Sources	Power: Causality
Gun control or gun rights? The answer may help determine whether Rep. Comstock wins reelection	The Washington Post	former congresswoman (D), congresswoman (R), experts, independent rating agencies, dean of the Schar School of Policy and Government at George Mason University, constituent, governor, gun control advocate/astronaut, campaign manager, parent of former college student from Virgina Tech,	Lawmakers	Gun policy could decide congressional race
Gunman who killed 5 at Fort Lauderdale airport is sentenced to life in prison	The Washington Post	U.S. attorney for the Southern District of Florida, statement of facts signed by gunman, FBI, investigators, attorneys, federal prosecutors, Justice Department	Law enforcement; legal advisors	Man killed five people during shooting
Judge orders woman accused of attacking Greyhound bus, driver to remain jailed	The Washington Post	Attorney, judge, prosecutors, "suspect's uncle",	Legal advisors	Woman attacks bus and bus driver
Mental health workers walk out in California	USA Today	president of the National Union of Healthcare Workers (NUHW), vice president of communications at Kaiser Permanente, family members, Blue Cross Blue Shield report, CDC report, The National Alliance on Mental Illness, research scientist at UCLA, Health Resources and Services Administration report, National Council for Behavioral Health report, union research director, community and government relations manager	Union	Mental healthcare workers strike health network
Kanye West: 'I'm sorry for the one-two effect of the MAGA hat into the slave comment'	The Washington Post	Talkshow host, Kanye West	Kanye West	Kanye West discusses/explains previous comments
Kroger shooting suspect tried to enter black church, police say	The New York Times	Police, US attorney for the Western district of Kentucky, son of a witness, Police Chief, court records, church officials, church administrator, local man, divorce papers, suspect's ex-wife, suspect's father	Law enforcement	Gunman killed two people during shooting

Headline	Publication	Sources (All)	Power: Sources	Power: Causality
Lawsuit alleges D.C. has failed hundreds of emotionally disturbed children	The Washington Post	Attorneys at several disability rights organizations, lawsuit, senior staff attorney at the - Bazelon Center for Mental Health Law,	Legal advisors	*Attorneys at several disability rights organizations have filed a class-action lawsuit against the D.C. government*
Major depression in American youth rising, new report says	The Washington Post	Mental Health America report, authors of the report	Academic	Lack of mental health care has increased cases of major depression in youth
Man arrested after investigation of suspicious substance halts some Metro service	The Washington Post	Police, Metro spokesman, spokesman for the D.C. fire department, report by a court psychologist, court records, local resident,	Law enforcement, legal advisors	Police arrest man who spread white powder at two Metro stations
Matthew Newton, Director With Domestic Violence Record, Departs Jessica Chastain Film	The New York Times	Twitter users, director's fiancee, director, actress	Twitter Users/Opponents	Dirctor steps down from film after opposition cites history of domestic violence
Medical intern gets 22 years in prison for trying to kill U.S. diplomat in Mexico	The Washington Post	Prosecutors, court records, suspect	Legal advisors	Man attempted to kill US diplomat
Pence: Don't link political rhetoric to Pittsburgh synagogue shooting	The Washington Post	Vice President Pence, Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen, Rep. Adam B. Schiff (Calif.), Former Homeland Security secretary Jeh Johnson, Sen. James Lankford (R-Okla.), chief executive of the Anti-Defamation League, chairmen of the Democratic and Republican congressional campaign committees, Rep. Ben Ray Luján (D-N.M.), Rep. Steve Stivers (R-Ohio), Rep. John Ratcliffe (R-Tex.)	Lawmakers	VP Pence comments on suggestions that Trump's comments have increased political violence
Pete Davidson appears on 'SNL' after his post prompts police check	USA Today	Pete Davidson, Lt. Paul Ng of the New York Police Department, Machine Gun Kelly, Taraji P. Henson, Ariana Grande, Jada Pinkett Smith, Travis Mills, Nicki Minaj	Pete Davidson, supporters	Pete Davidson's social media post cause police wellness check

Headline	Publication	Sources (All)	Power: Sources	Power: Causality
Pete Davidson of 'Saturday Night Live' Is Accounted For After a Worrying Instagram Post	The New York Times	Pete Davidson, police, Jada Pinkett Smith, Eugene Gu MD, Kanye West, Ariana Grande, Nicki Minaj	Pete Davidson, supporters	Pete Davidson's social media post cause police wellness check
Prisoner says he's spent over a dozen years in solitary confinement because he doesn't speak English	The Washington Post	Attorneys, Attorneys at the American Civil Liberties Union and the MacArthur Justice Center, The Department of Corrections, lawsuit, Virginia's secretary of public safety and homeland security, MacArthur Justice Center, Corrections officials, ACLU report, advocates	Legal advisors	Prison kept inmate in solitary confinement for 12 years
Rite Aid shooting victims identified in Maryland	The Wahsington Post	Sheriff, authorities, victim's family friend, victim's wife, Harford County Sheriff's Office, shooter's friend, Harford County Executive	Law enforcement, victims' family and friends	Woman kills three coworkers in shooting
Secret Service urges 'threat teams' for schools to prevent shootings	USA Today	Secret Service report, Florida Department of Education, chief of the Secret Service's National Threat Assessment Center, Secret Service Director	Law enforcement	Secret Service recommends the use of "threat teams" in schools
Senate passes sweeping opioids package	The Washington Post	Trump, Sen. Rob Portman (R-Ohio), public health advocates and experts, medical director for Mass General Hospital's Substance Use Disorders Initiative, president of the Addiction Policy Forum, Daniel Raymond of the Harm Reduction Coalition	Lawmakers	Senate passes legislation addressing "opiod epidemic"
Suicides Among Japanese Children Reach Highest Level in 3 Decades	The New York Times	Japanese government, experts, Education Ministry, Japan's Cabinet Office, Welfare Ministry, director of the crisis hotline at TELL, professor and psychiatrist at Tsukuba University, professor of clinical psychology at Kyushu Sangyo University, junior high school report	Lawmakers, experts	School pressures and bullying have increase youth suicides in Japan
The NYPD checked on Pete Davidson after he posted an alarming Instagram message	The Washington Post	Pete Davidson, police, Machine Gun Kelly, Jon Cryer, Ariana Grande, Miley Cyrus, Kanye West,	Pete Davidson	Pete Davidson's social media post cause police wellness check

Headline	Publication	Sources (All)	Power: Sources	Power: Causality
This place 'is going to burn,' says text allegedly sent by man arrested in California's Holy Fire	The Washington Post	The Bay Area Air Quality Management District, volunteer firefighter and chief, public affairs officer for Cleveland National Forest, Orange County Supervisor, Orange County Fire Authority,	Volunteer firefighter/chief	Man charge with started fire
Time is running out for federally funded mental-health clinics	The Washington Post	National Council for Behavioral Health, vice president for policy and advocacy at the National Council for Behavioral Health, executive director of the National Association of Medicaid Directors, Clinic directors and advocates, a report from the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, Sen. Debbie Stabenow (D-Mich.), CEO of Red Rock Behavioral Health Services, Chief Medical Officer of Cascadia Behavioral Healthcare, chief of police, Deputy Chief	Lawmakers, Experts	Congress did not approve new funding for mental health clinics
Islamic State claims attack; police not convinced	USA Today	Police Chief, Public Safety Ministry spokeswoman, law enforcement officials, The Islamic State's AMAQ news agency, SITE Intelligence Group, gunman's family	Law enforcement	Gunman killed two people and wounded 13
Trump rankles veterans with comments about PTSD and California shooter	The Washington Post	veterans and mental-health advocates, Trump, founder and chief executive of Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America, former Army sergeant and senior fellow at the Center for a New American Security, mental-health experts and veterans groups, clinical professor of psychiatry at Michigan State University, a retired Army colonel and psychiatrist with expertise in the condition	Mental Health advocates, veterans	Trump upsets advocates and veterans with comments about PTSD
Va. state Sen. Creigh Deeds settles lawsuit over his son's death for $950,000	The Washington Post	Attorneys, Sen. R. Creigh Deeds (D-Bath)/father, lawsuit, state inspector general report	Law advisors	Negligence on behalf of public mental-health agency employee resulted in assault and suicide
Victims of Rite Aid Shooting Identified as	The New York Times	Police, authorities, sheriff, company statement	Law enforcement	Woman kills three coworkers in shooting

Headline	Publication	Sources (All)	Power: Sources	Power: Causality
Police Search for Motive				
Waffle House shooting suspect not fit for trial, Nashville judge says	USA Today	forensic psychologist, judge, victim's sister, prosecutors, District Attorney, legal experts	Legal advisors	Judge states alleged gunman must seek treatment for schizophrenia prior to trial