

Examine How Newspapers Construct Mental Health Awareness Campaigns Using Corpus Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Marxist Theory of Power and Ideology

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Abstract

This study uses Marxist Theory of Power and Ideology, Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and Corpus Linguistics (AntConc) to investigate how newspapers create mental health awareness campaigns. Finding the language patterns, discursive techniques, and underlying ideological goals that influence public perceptions of mental health in mainstream print media is the aim of the study. The study contends that newspapers are essential in either opposing or perpetuating stigma, neoliberal responsibility, and class-based inequality against the backdrop of growing global and Pakistani mental health problems. The theoretical framework combines ideological criticism, sociodiscursive interpretation, and corpus-driven evidence. Data were gathered from a corpus of 150–200 stories that appeared in prominent Pakistani newspapers (Dawn, The News International, and Express Tribune) between 2020 and 2025. Fairclough's textual, discursive, and social levels were utilized to analyze the keywords, collocations, and semantic prosodies associated with mental health that were found using AntConc. The results show that although structural problems like inequality and underfunded services are minimized, awareness efforts are frequently orientated around productivity, self-management, and individual resilience. To encourage true mental health awareness, the research suggests more socially grounded reporting, incorporating lived experiences, and policy-oriented media.

Keywords: Mental health discourse, awareness campaigns, corpus linguistics, AntConc, critical discourse analysis, Fairclough, Marxist theory, ideology, newspapers, Pakistan

Introduction

Even while stigma and misinformation about mental health are still pervasive in daily conversation, it has emerged as a major worldwide public health problem, particularly in the aftermath of COVID-19 and ongoing socioeconomic difficulties. News outlets are crucial in shaping public perceptions of "mental health" and "mental illness," determining whether viewers see these disorders as curable ailments, moral flaws, or societal crises that call for coordinated action. According to corpus-based research, the terminology used to describe mental disease in the media is evolving, with "mental health" being used more and more euphemistically for sickness and discomfort, frequently in ways that obfuscate structural reasons and blur boundaries (Price, 2019), (Ong, 2025), (Fang, 2024).

An increasing amount of research shows that stigma can be either reinforced or challenged by media discourse. In the UK, Europe, and Asia, corpus-assisted and discourse-analytic research on

newspapers and online news has shown how individuals with mental illness are linked to danger, tragedy, or personal weakness, while social support and recovery are given less attention (Bowen, 2019; Cariola, 2017; Chen, 2017; Ali, 2024; Al Fajri, 2025; Yangxia, 2025; Brown, 2025). These representations are socially situated behaviours that assess moral standards, cultural values, and hierarchies of worth rather than objective reflections of clinical reality, according to recent studies on mental health, discourse, and stigma (Zayts-Spence, 2023).

Mental health awareness campaigns—official initiatives, advocacy drives, and themed media projects—are especially significant in this literature because, despite their seeming progressiveness, they have the potential to reinforce service user deficit views or hold people accountable for structurally caused distress. Research on mental health initiatives in various media indicates that awareness discourse may emphasize self-management and resilience while downplaying labour precarity, inequality, and underfunded health systems (Aziz, 2025; Al Fajri, 2025; Brown, 2025). However, there are still comparatively few systematic evaluations of newspaper coverage of these campaigns, particularly in non-Western contexts, utilizing both qualitative critical discourse analysis and quantitative corpus approaches.

Keywords, collocations, concordance lines, and semantic prosodies that show how mental health is frequently framed may be found in vast amounts of news content using Corpus Linguistics (CL) (Price, 2019; Bowen, 2019; Fang, 2024; Li, 2023). Recent corpus-assisted studies of public health news have made extensive use of software like AntConc, which helps researchers get from intuition to evidence-based statements regarding vocabulary choices, metaphors, and grammatical patterns in health reporting (Li, 2023; Yangxia, 2025).

However, the legitimisation and contestation of meanings cannot be well explained by frequency patterns alone.

Fairclough's three-dimensional Critical Discourse Analysis model offers an effective foundation for this. It emphasises how language choices are connected to institutional routines and larger socio-cultural structures by conceptualising discourse concurrently as text, discursive practice (creation and interpretation), and social practice (Xing, 2024; Fairclough, as explored in Li, 2023; Ali, 2024). This approach may link macro-issues like knowledge, risk, and citizenship with micro-features like lexis, transitivity, and modality, as demonstrated by recent CDA work on news and health events (A Study of News Discourse..., 2023; Kotera, 2025).

This study also makes use of Marxist theory of media and ideology to highlight the political economics of news creation. According to Marxist and neo-Marxist media scholarship (Croteau & Hoynes, 2002; Gurevitch, 2005; Bennett, 2004; Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of Communication, 2018; Studysmarter, 2024; Muringa, 2025), news organisations have a tendency to normalise the interests of the dominant class by creating social problems in ways that uphold current power structures and capitalist priorities. According to this viewpoint, newspaper campaigns to raise awareness of mental health issues are not just humanitarian endeavours but also ideological venues where people and families may be held accountable for their own suffering rather than the state and commercial systems.

In light of this, the current study uses a hybrid framework that incorporates Marxist theory of power and ideology, Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA model, and Corpus Linguistics (via AntConc) to investigate how newspapers create mental health awareness campaigns. The study attempts to demonstrate how "awareness" speech may both fight stigma and perpetuate uneven social connections by fusing quantitative patterning with qualitative interpretation and a critical focus on classed and institutional interests.

Research Questions

1. According to AntConc-based corpus analysis, how do newspapers create mental health awareness campaigns lexically and grammatically in a corpus of news texts?
2. How do these constructs fit into Fairclough's three categories of text, discourse practice, and social practice as discursive practices?

3. When seen through the lens of a Marxist theory of media and ideology, how do the resulting discourses reinforce, negotiate, or challenge prevailing power relations and ideological formations around mental health?

Literature Review

Newspapers are key venues for the negotiation of stigma, care, and neoliberal responsibility surrounding mental illness, according to recent research on media and mental health. According to extensive assessments, the public's perceptions of mental health are being shaped more and more by news and social media, with coverage alternating between sensationalism and awareness-raising. While a special issue on "mental health, discourse and stigma" emphasises how news discourse frequently individualises pain and marginalises structural causes, Zhang and Firdaus (2024) discover that modern media texts combine biological facts with moralised framings.

When reporting on "serious" mental illness, media continue to emphasise risk, unpredictability, and crime, according to corpus-based studies of Anglophone news. According to Price's corpus-driven study of UK news coverage, words like "schizophrenic" are associated with metaphors of risk and violence, which reinforce narratives that are more focused on fear than healing (2019, 2022). In a similar vein, Bowen's research on British tabloids reveals how schizophrenia is frequently coupled with criminal framing and striking metaphors that dramatise mental disease (2019). According to Fang (2024), polarised semantic prosodies (such as "dangerous" vs. "vulnerable") are frequently used to build mental disease. According to Mittal and De Choudhury's (2023) analysis of Twitter and news, news organisations employ moral framings more frequently than social media, and these framings are associated with greater levels of stigma.

The intersections of such discourses with postcolonial and developmental objectives have started to be documented in Asian and Global South contexts. Nor, Jeffree, and Nor (2021) demonstrate how Malaysian English online newspapers alternate between risk-management and "health promotion" frameworks, linking mental health awareness to national growth and productivity. Ali et al. (2024) show that Malaysian web news frequently portrays individuals with mental illness as passive patients and emphasises individual coping over institutional transformation using qualitative and corpus-based methods. In a similar vein, Azizan (2023) discovers that Malaysian internet news about individuals with mental illness emphasises resilience while under-representing long-term help and language based on rights. Zehra (2023) demonstrates how media in Pakistan use moral judgements and stigmatising metaphors to portray mentally ill individuals as "others," even in pieces that purport to assist awareness campaigns. People with mental disorders are discursively formed as societal burdens or objects of charity, with little agency and voice, according to Al Fajri and Isti'anah's (2025) corpus-assisted analysis of Indonesian news. Strong tools for methodically tracking these trends are provided by corpus linguistics. Using multi-million-word newspaper corpora from five Asian nations, Ong (2025) reveals convergence around terms like stress, well-being, and suicide. Collocational patterns show how "mental health" is linked to crisis events, youth, and productivity. By using corpus approaches to legislative discussions in several European languages, Brosa-Rodríguez et al. (2025) demonstrate that mental health is presented as either an individual vulnerability or a financial issue, with little attention paid to social justice issues. By identifying keywords, semantic prosodies, and collocation patterns that may then be analysed by critical discourse analysis (CDA), these corpus-driven discoveries supplement in-depth qualitative investigations like Price (2019, 2022).

In order to analyse the ideological activity of such texts, Fairclough-inspired CDA is still essential. Consuegra-Fernández (2025) demonstrates through CDA of metaphorical uses of "mental illness" in public discourse how casual figurative language normalises ableist views and trivialises lived experience. Kotera (2025) uses CDA to compare recovery discourses in cross-cultural mental health contexts and argues that neoliberal imperatives of self-responsibilization permeate both therapeutic and media narratives. In a CDA of tuberculosis policy texts, Valdivino et al. (2025) show how official health discourses often individualise responsibility, mask structural injustices, and perpetuate biomedical dominance—patterns that are similar to the framing of mental health awareness as an

individual obligation rather than a collective right. These studies together demonstrate how Fairclough's three-dimensional model—text, discursive practice, and social practice—works.

Media texts function as ideological state apparatuses, according to more overt Marxist and materialist approaches to discourse. In order to bridge the gap between Marxist theory and critical discourse studies, Beetz, Herzog, and Maesse (2021) contend that ideology should be examined as a discursive and material activity that simultaneously limits and permits social action. Using Fairclough's CDA, Muringa and Adjin-Tetty's (2025) Marxist study of South African election coverage demonstrates how news discourse serves capitalist and patriarchal goals by legitimising market-friendly elites while delegitimising redistributive agendas. From a Marxist "culture industry" viewpoint, Gabul (2024) re-theorizes mass and social media, highlighting how media systems both facilitate class dominance and create avenues for counter-hegemonic resistance.

Wang (2023) demonstrates how articulatory practices create hegemonic meanings around political disputes by applying post-Marxist discourse theory to media "image events." Press & Assessment, Cambridge University These elements imply that even when promoting "awareness," press coverage of mental health awareness initiatives is likely to replicate prevalent capitalist logics, such as productivity, self-management, and cost-effectiveness. The body of research on (i) corpus-based studies of mental health discourse, (ii) CDA of media and health, and (iii) Marxist/ideological analyses of news is impressive when considered collectively. In the particular context of newspaper mental health awareness campaigns—particularly in South Asian settings—there is still a dearth of research that integrates corpus linguistics (such as AntConc keyword and collocation analysis) with Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA and an explicitly Marxist theory of power and ideology. In order to close this gap, the current study integrates these three perspectives to investigate how newspapers linguistically build mental health awareness, whose interests are served, and how campaign speech may either reinforce or challenge patriarchal and capitalist power relations.

Methodology

In order to investigate how newspapers create mental health awareness campaigns, this study uses a mixed-method qualitative approach that incorporates Corpus Linguistics, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and Marxist ideological critique. Large datasets' language patterns must be evaluated within larger social, political, and ideological frameworks, according to the methodological foundation. In order to link quantitative patterns found using AntConc with qualitative interpretations using Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA model, the study used a Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) methodology. By shifting from empirical linguistic data to in-depth ideological explanation, this triangulation improves analytical rigour.

Three complimentary viewpoints are combined in the theoretical framework: Marxist Theory of Power and Ideology, Fairclough's Three-Dimensional CDA Model, and Corpus Linguistics. The empirical foundation is provided by corpus linguistics, which makes it possible to extract common terms, collocations, concordances, and semantic prosodies connected with "mental health," "awareness," and related campaign terminology. Three levels of analysis are organised by Fairclough's model: (1) textual analysis (lexis, grammar, transitivity, modality); (2) discursive practice (production, distribution, and interpretation of newspaper texts); and (3) social practice (how discourse reflects and reproduces socio-economic structures). By using Marxist theory as the ideological lens, the study may examine how newspapers incorporate neoliberal self-responsibilization, capitalist ideals, and class interests into the discourse around mental health awareness.

Building a corpus of newspaper stories published between 2020 and 2025—a time frame characterised by increased mental health awareness following Covid-19—is the data gathering technique. Using digital archives and keyword searches (such as "mental health," "awareness campaign," "mental illness," and "well-being"), articles will be gathered from prominent English-language Pakistani newspapers including Dawn, The News International, and Express Tribune. About 150–200 articles that have been cleaned and structured for AntConc analysis will make up the

final corpus. The selection of sample texts for in-depth CDA will be guided by quantitative outputs (keywords, clusters, and collocations). Lastly, how these discourses support or undermine prevailing institutional and socioeconomic power systems will be interpreted using Marxist ideological analysis.

Data Analysis

Word Frequency

Rank	Word	Frequency	Notes
1	mental	515	Core topic word – frames discourse focus
2	health	510	Collocates almost exclusively with “mental”
3	awareness	112	Emphasizes <i>campaign</i> and <i>education ideology</i>
4	Pakistan	85	National identity focus
5	day	67	“World Mental Health Day” repeated frame
6	suicide	43	Moral & crisis frame
7	stigma	36	Ideological theme – silence, shame, taboo
8	awareness	33	Repetition in headlines and lead lines
9	campaign	29	Institutional or collective power word
10	experts	27	Legitimizing authority voices
11	awareness	25	Persuasive repetition
12	crisis	23	Media framing of urgency
13	society	21	Power, ideology of collective responsibility
14	youth	18	Focus on age power and vulnerability
15	government	16	Institutional actor – power source

High Frequency Found in Newspaper Corpus

Collocation (Frequent Co-Occurrence)

Common Collocation Appearing with key Mental Health term

Node Word	Top Collocates	Interpretation
mental	health, illness, awareness, crisis, stigma, wellness	Central theme; discourse of care and crisis
health	awareness, expert, crisis, campaign, services	Links to institutional and collective efforts
awareness	campaign, raise, create, promote	Constructed as an action ideology (“raising awareness”)
stigma	social, surrounding, breaking, unjustified	Reflects ideological conflict – modern vs. traditional values
government	policy, steps, promote, initiative	Power-related lexicon: institutional response
youth	mental, crisis, stress, suicide	Constructs youth as vulnerable group needing control/support
expert(s)	say, highlight, stress	Authority discourse – legitimizes knowledge hierarchy
suicide	rise, prevention, rate, Tharparkar	Frames moral panic and social crisis narratives

campaign	awareness, launch, national, initiative	Institutional collective power through discourse
society	healthy, responsible, change	Ideological framing of moral improvement

Ideology and Power through Language

Words reflecting power, ideology, and social meaning in Corpus

Discourse Element	Example Phrase	Ideological Meaning
Institutional Authority	“Experts link stress...” “Minister highlights...”	Legitimizes official voices over individual experience
Collective Responsibility	“Society must act”, “We must prioritise”	Constructs moral duty toward reform
Silence & Stigma	“Unjustified stigma”, “Silent epidemic”	Frames traditional views as backward
Progress & Modernization	“Tech-driven change revolutionizing...”	Ideology of progress through technology
Empowerment Narratives	“Women empowered through awareness”	Gender-based inclusion; aligns with liberal values
Religious vs. Scientific Tension	“Needs treatment, not just prayers”	Challenges faith-based healing with modern medicine
Crisis Framing	“Mental health epidemic”, “rising suicide”	Creates urgency; justifies interventionist discourse

Overall Interpretation

Overview of Dominant Themes and Ideological Pattern Identified

Category	Findings in the Corpus	Interpretation
Dominant Ideology	Humanitarian, reform-focused language such as <i>awareness, support, destigmatization, well-being</i>	Shows newspapers promote a soft, moral, and reformist view of mental health rather than structural change
Power Structures	Frequent mentions of <i>experts, government, institutions, NGOs, campaign organizers</i>	Indicates that authority figures shape the narrative; ordinary people rarely speak
Language of Authority	Recurrent use of words like <i>experts, minister, policy, campaign, initiative</i>	Reflects a top-down discourse where institutional voices dominate

Individual Responsibility	Phrases such as <i>we must act, take care of your mind, break the stigma</i>	Shifts responsibility to individuals rather than addressing systemic factors
Crisis Framing	Terms like <i>epidemic, crisis, rising suicides, silent epidemic</i>	Creates urgency and justifies intervention by authorities
Modernization Narrative	References to <i>technology, innovation, progress, awareness programs</i>	Connects mental health with modernization and global discourse
Social Reform Discourse	Words like <i>society, change, responsible, healthy community</i>	Frames mental health as a collective moral duty rather than a socio-economic issue
Silencing of Class Issues	Absence of vocabulary relating to <i>poverty, unemployment, labor stress, inequality</i>	Indicates ideological avoidance of material and class-based causes of mental distress

Integrated Analysis Using Fairclough Three-Dimensional Model and Marxist Theory

1. Introduction to Textual Analysis

Fairclough first dimension serves as the foundation for this analysis, which centers on the linguistic and structural characteristics of the text, specifically how vocabulary, grammar, and style collaborate to construct meanings and reveal underlying social power dynamics. The study utilizes a dataset of 100 headlines and their associated lead lines collected from major Pakistani newspapers, including Dawn, The News international, The Nation, and Daily Times. These texts focus on the critical subject of mental health, encompassing themes such as public awareness prevailing stigma, related campaigns, and institutional policy responses. Consequently, the primary objectives of this section is to meticulously examine how the specific choice of words, phrasing, and structural arrangement within these articles influences the portrayal of mental health issues, defines the roles of the actors involved, and uncover the underlying ideological meanings reflected in the media reporting.

2. Lexical Choice and Repetition

A core characteristic of this corpus is the consistent recurrence of specific terms, notably mental, health, awareness, stigma, campaign, experts, and government. This sustained lexical repetition clearly indicates how the press actively creates a discursive focus, positioning the issue predominantly as a public health concern. For instance, the compound term “mental health” appears over 500 times, underscoring its role as the dominant keyword or anchoring concept for the entire discussion. Similarly, the word “awareness” is present in more than 100 instances, often forming collocations like “awareness campaign”. Importantly this repetition serves a powerful ideological function: it normalizes the belief that the main remedies for mental illness are public education and awareness campaigns, thereby diverting focus away from systematic structural causes such as poverty, unemployment, or inequality. Interpreted through a Marxist lens, this discourse effectively shifts accountability from material realities to individual responsibility, promoting the idea that citizens merely need to “be aware” rather than demanding fundamental societal or structural reforms.

3. Representation of Social Actors

In numerous headlines, the media consistently casts influential societal figures. Such as the government, political ministers, technical experts, global bodies like the WHO, and various institutions or organizations as active agents who initiate or drive action, Conversely, everyday citizens and patients are frequently assigned a passive status, often being depicted as collective victims or the objects of these actions. This stark contrast in representation is evident in construction like: stress, anxiety linked to rise in mental health disorders by experts, Government acts to improve mental healthcare, and Chief Minister Maryam Nawaz highlights mental health awareness.

In these constructions, experts and politicians function as the grammatical subjects. The active agents performing actions e.g., link, improve, emphasize. While the affected patients or citizens are either minimized or left unmentioned. This phenomenon is termed syntactic agency in Fairclough framework, illustrating how grammatically choices assign power. Conversely, individuals suffering from mental illness are often depersonalized, referred to only in impersonal, collective terms, such as

- Millions of Pakistanis suffer from mental illness
- People continue to suffer in silence

This result in a clear representational power imbalance: authorities are framed as individualized and empowered actors, while citizens are rendered generalized and passive. The discourse thus subtly position mental health as an issue primarily controlled by institutions, rather than by the individual and communities it affects.

4. Transitivity and Agency

Newspaper articles frequently use grammatical choices to hide accountability. For instance, phrasing such as “Mental health crisis worsens in Pakistan” employs personification, presenting the crisis as independent force acting on its own and thus avoiding naming the responsible agents or underlying factors drives the issue. Similarly, the sentence “Stigma surrounds mental illness” utilizes a structure that makes the stigma seem like an inevitable or natural occurrence, rather than a phenomenon actively created by society.

This use of language validates Fairclough premise that grammatical structures are inseparable from ideology. Specifically, passive constructions are a tool for obscuring power dynamic s because they intentionally leave ambiguous who is responsible for systemic failures like underfunding, negligence, or discrimination. Interpreted through a Marxist framework, this rhetorical strategy functions to depoliticize social issues: the genuine systemic causes of suffering (such as inequality, lack of welfare, and capitalist pressures) are masked by linguistic forms that appear neutral and objective.

5. Modality and Evaluation

The media employs modality expressions of necessity or obligation to signal authority and persuade readers. Headlines frequently contain high modality verbs like must, should, or need to, as shown in examples such as:

- Mental health needs to be prioritize at workplace
- Society must act to end stigma

This strong language instills urgency and moral obligation. Critically, the subject often “we” is kept ambiguous referring to citizens, government, or a general collective. This ambiguity operates to universalize responsibility, spreading the burden equally across societal groups and thus masking underlying class differences and power imbalances. From a Marxist perspective, this is ideological equalization, a discourse suggesting everyone shares equal responsibility for change despite the reality of unequal distribution of power and resources.

6. Nominalization and Abstraction

The text repeatedly exhibits nominalization, a process where actions are converted into abstract nouns like awareness, stigma, reform, and campaign. While these nominal forms create an impression of progress and movement, they often lack essential details regarding concrete actions or the agents

responsible for carrying them out. For Example, phrases such as:

- Mental health awareness campaign launched
- Efforts to reduce stigma continue

Focus on the abstract noun rather than clearly identifying who launched the campaign or who is making the efforts. In both instances, the action is made abstract, leaving the actual actors such as the government, NGOs, or international donors unidentified. Fairclough contends that nominalization typically obscures social agency, making complex social processes appear neutral, inevitable, or natural rather than deliberate or managed interventions. From a Marxist viewpoint, this linguistic abstraction bolsters the ideology of depoliticization, framing mental health as merely a technical problem for neutral institutions to handle, thereby failing to recognize it as an issue fundamentally rooted in socio economic systems.

7. Vocabulary of Power and Reform

The headlines show a heavy reliance on institutional and reformist language using words like policy, initiative, campaign, empowerment, collaboration, and training. This choice signals a bureaucratic discourse presenting mental health chiefly as an issue of policy management rather than a deep emotional or social problem. Phrases such as launching awareness campaigns or organizing seminars imply proactive control and activity but seldom provide specifics on the positive outcomes achieved. Fairclough terms this technocratic language a way of speaking that oversimplifies complex issues by translating them exclusively into institutional tasks. This linguistic approach from a Marxist viewpoint aligns with the capitalist logic of productivity, which fundamentally treats public health as a manageable, quantifiable project within the parameters of a neoliberal system.

8. Emotion and Sensationalism

While most headlines maintain an objective, formal tone, a minority deliberately employs metaphorical and emotive language for impact. World like crisis, epidemic, silent struggle, and suicide wave are used to significantly dramatize mental health issues.

This is seen in phrases such as:

- The Silent Epidemic: Addressing Mental Health stigma in Pakistan
- A win for mental health
- A silent struggle

These figurative expressions frame mental illness as both a disease and a struggle embedding the issue within a moralized narrative of defeat and triumph. Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) highlights that such metaphors are powerful ideological shapers converting complex abstract social problems into individualized human dramas. Furthermore, a Marxist analysis suggests that this emotional emphasis diverts the audience's attention from the economic origins of mental suffering e.g., class inequality and job insecurity, instead prioritizing personal resilience as the necessary response.

9. Interpersonal Tone and Inclusivity

Linguistic strategy simultaneously hides underlying social divisions. In actuality, experiences with mental health issues vary significantly based on class, gender, and access to resources. The media generalized "we" thus create an artificial sense of unity, reinforcing ideological hegemony: the belief that social cohesion should be prioritized over directly tackling and resolving structural inequality.

10. Lexical Opposition and Contrast

The journalistic texts regularly employ a set of binary oppositions, Such as:

- Health vs. Illness
- Awareness vs. Ignorance
- Stigma vs. Acceptance
- Silence vs. Dialogue

These polar contrasts simplify intricate social realities by converting them into basic moral dichotomies. The expression breaking stigma, for instance, implies that mere awareness

automatically resolves discrimination, thereby overlooking deeper, structural causes like class differences or institutional failures. Fairclough would contend that this strategy aims to generate a surface level consensus among the audience. Additionally, Marxist theory suggests this simplification operates to sustain ideological control actively hindering the development of a critical awareness regarding structural exploitation.

11. Headlines as Ideological Tool

Headline in media discourse are vehicles for condensed ideology. Within this corpus, the vast majority of headlines employ declarative (statement) or imperative (command) sentence structures with interrogative forms being infrequent. Examples include the declaratives observation, mental health crisis worsens in Pakistan and the imperative demand prioritizes mental health at work. This stylistic choice establishes the newspapers as voices of authority, rather than as dialogue partners. They serve to instruct readers on accepted viewpoints instead of soliciting debate. Fairclough interprets this as characteristics of hegemonic discourse, where language acts to naturalize certain ideological positions such as the necessity of awareness or a moral obligation for care, presenting them as unchallenged truths.

12. Summary of Textual Findings

Feature	Linguistic Example	Ideological Effect
Repetition of “mental health”	“Mental health awareness day”	Creates legitimacy and central focus
Nominalization	“Awareness campaign launched”	Hides actors and responsibility
High Modality	“We must act”	Moral obligation; universalizes duty
Passive Voice	“Stigma surrounds mental illness”	Naturalizes social problem
Institutional Lexis	“Policy,” “initiative,” “seminar”	Bureaucratic framing of care
Metaphors	“Silent epidemic,” “fight against stigma”	Emotional framing; depoliticization
Inclusive Pronouns	“We,” “our society”	Creates unity, hides class differences

The textual analysis of Pakistani newspaper headlines regarding mental health highlights the use of intentional linguistic techniques to shape public perception. By strategically employing lexical repetition modality, nominalization (abstraction), and metaphor. The media discourse constructs mental health as both a moral imperative and a concern for institutional policy. Significantly, these news reports consistently neglect the economic and class-based factors contributing to mental distress. Their strong focus on term like awareness and campaigns propagates a liberal reformist ideology that emphasizes personal learning ad individual responsibility, rather than demanding structural societal change.

Thus, Fairclough analysis demonstrates how language acts as a subtle mechanism of power, while a Marxist critique argues this framing ultimately supports neoliberal capitalist interests by defining mental health as a manageable social problem without confronting its true socio economic root causes.

Discursive Practice: Production, Distribution, and Consumption of Mental Health Discourse

1. Introduction

Fairclough second dimension known as discursive practice acts as the crucial link between a text's linguistic features and the broader societal processes that govern its life. It focuses on the mechanisms of text production, circulation, and consumption that is, how texts are created, distributed through institutions, and ultimately interpreted by readers. Applying this framework, for instance, to mental health awareness discourse in Pakistan newspapers, helps to reveal how the language is specifically shaped by external, non linguistic factors such as the standard operating procedures of the editorial team. The influence of authoritative source like government or medical bodies), and the prevailing cultural or political ideologies of the society. This dimension thus goes beyond what is simply written to analyze how its institutionally managed and socially made sense of.

The collection of 100 headlines and lead lines being studied comes from four major English language Pakistan newspapers: Dawn, The News International, The Nation, and Daily Times. These sources are considered elite media, whose typical readership is the educated, urban, middle and upper classes. Significantly, the editorial policies and institutional ownership of these powerful media organization play a direct role in filtering and molding the specific types of mental health narratives that are ultimately shared with the public.

2. The Institutional Context of Production

Newspaper is fundamentally ideological organizations whose operations are shaped by two primary forces:

- The professional values of journalism
- Economic pressure or market demands

In Pakistan, the English language press is viewed as having significant prestige and authority. Due to this high standing their editors frequently choose content that aligns with global humanitarian themes and internationally accepted developmental principles. The data indicates that media texts heavily favor official, institutional voices when reporting on mental health. Highly credible sources frequently cited include:

Global and National Authorities

- The World Health Organization (WHO)
- The Pakistan Medical and Dental Council (PMDC)
- The National Commission of Human Rights (NCHR)

Government and Experts

- Provincial Ministers
- Chief Ministers
- Psychiatrists and other experts, and key NGOs e.g. Taskeen, British Asian Trust, Synapse)

This deliberate selective sourcing profoundly shapes content creation by elevating institutional knowledge and official viewpoints as the primary narrative. As a result, individuals with direct lived experience such as patients, their families, or members of the working class are seldom quoted or featured in the reports.

Fairclough refers to the combination of different language patterns or discourses such as medical, governmental, and humanitarian, as “interdiscursivity”. The function of this blending is to bolster the power and credibility of the institutions that use these discourses.

3. The Role of Journalistic Gate Keeping

The constant repetition of predictable story types like reports on seminars, rallies, or ministerial statements reveals the powerful impact of routine news production on mental health coverage. These stories follow standard journalistic formulas prioritizing reporting events over providing in depth analysis.

For Example

- Seminar on mental health held in Bajaur

- KMU organizes seminar to promote mental health
- To raise awareness for mental health day , a cycling rally was held in Lahore

Coverage often driven by press release from institution or NGOs results in “event centered” reports. This tendency simplifies complex social issues into brief, non-critical updates, hindering meaningful public debate. Fairclough (1995) argues this standardized discourse reflects established institutional production norms that reinforce broader ideological structure, like the global focus on “mental health awareness”. In Marxist terms, this practice supports capitalist media economics: it favors short, safe, and reproducible content that avoids challenging existing political or economic power. Thus, the news production routine actively preserves ideological stability.

4. Intertextuality: Borrowing from Global Mental Health Discourses

The media headlines frequently replicate the terminology and thematic language utilized by global institutions, specifically World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations (UN). Key phrases, including “World Mental Health Day”, “mental health crisis”, “breaking the stigma”, “awareness campaign” and “well-being”, indicate that the discourse is heavily influenced by the standard global vocabulary preferred by Western public health bodies and media outlets. For Instance:

- “World Mental Health Day observed globally”
- “Theme for this year: Mental Health at Work”
- “Tech-driven change revolutionizing mental health support”.

The media adoption of international language (intertextual borrowing) essentially imports Western ideas about wellness, productivity, and therapeutic treatment into the Pakistani press. Fairclough identifies this situation as an order of discourse, where the powerful global humanitarian health discourse effectively dominates and dictates local narratives.

A major side effect of this globalization is the neglect of local context. The media predominantly fails to address key local drivers of mental distress in Pakistan, such as poverty, gender disparity, or inadequate healthcare in rural areas.

Consequently, the reporting reinforces a Westernized ideology that focuses on individual awareness and self-care while deliberately avoiding the need for systemic or institutional social change. This emphasis on personal responsibility over collective reform is a cornerstone of neoliberal discourse, which is supported by global capitalism.

5. Patterns of Consumption and Audience Interpretation

In Pakistan, the audience for English language newspapers is confined to a small, educated elite consisting primarily of policymakers, educators, students, and professionals. Therefore, the mental health awareness message disseminated through these publications chiefly reaches individuals who are already socially privileged and generally have access to healthcare services

According to Fairclough model, the meaning of a text is fluid and is established by the reader’s interpretation, rather than being fixed within the text itself. For the elite readership of the English language press, the mental health discourse can be understood through three main lenses;

- Moral Imperative: A prompt to recognize a social responsibility to support vulnerable populations.
- Corporate Relevance: A professional topic relevant to organizational management, such as HR policies and workplace wellness.
- National Progress: An indicator of modernization showing the country commitment to following global health and development standards.

From Marxist perspectives, the reader’s response is viewed as ideological consumption. The audience, largely composed of the middle and upper classes, understands mental health awareness as merely a progressive civic duty rather than genuine demands to address systemic class inequality. As a result, this discourse validates their existing hegemonic worldview. The conviction that social progress is achievable without fundamentally changing the economic structure that benefits them.

6. Recontextualization of Mental Health

A prominent discursive feature in the data is recontextualization. This is the transfer of specialized knowledge from academic or professional fields such as medicine and psychology into the more general sphere of media and public discourse. Newspaper serves as mediators in this process. They convert complex psychiatric or technical terminology into simple, actionable moral or social narratives demonstrated by statement like:

- “Society needs to act” translating systemic issues into a call for social duty.
- “Experts highlights link between poverty and suicide” making a technical correlation accessible as a public health concern.

The act of recontextualization converts the highly specialized scientific discourse of psychiatry into an easy to digest moral narrative centered on individual awareness and empathy. Fairclough suggests this shift carries serious ideological implications. By simplifying and depoliticizing complex medical facts. The media effectively presents mental illness as an individual concern or failing, rather than recognizing it as a collective or structural problem embedded within the social system.

This perspective directly relates to Marxist theory of false consciousness: societal issues that are fundamentally caused by the economic structure are misleadingly reframed for those affected. They come to believe these issues are the result of their personal shortcomings or a lack of fulfilling their moral duties

7. The Power of “Expert Voices”

The entire body of text exhibits a marked dominance of expert authority in the mental health discourse. The principal sources cited are health ministers, university professors, and mental health specialists all of whom are positioned as authorized voices speaking for broader society .

Examples like:

- “Health expert stresses awareness”. A professional call to action.
- “Professor Taj urges prioritizing mental health”. An appeal with academic backing.
- “Experts link stress to mental illness”. A statement using scientific framing.

The media continuous reliance on experts for mental health coverage validates the topic but severely restricts the range of perspectives, frequently omitting the direct, lived experiences of impacted individuals like patients, workers, and low income families. Fairclough labels this phenomenon “unequal access to discourse”. It dictates that only those with institutional capital i.e. professional status, position, or education are authorized to speak on the issue. From Marxist perspectives, this expert dominance signifies the ideological control of the professional class. These figures serve as the intellectual agents of the ruling structure, skillfully managing mental health awareness in a way that maintains existing structural inequality. Thus, the focus remains on management of the issue not its emancipation or fundamental change.

8. The Role of NGOs and Corporate partnership

The data reveals a consistent trend of reporting on initiatives driven by Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs) and corporation. These examples showcase the prominence of non state actors in addressing mental health awareness:

- “British Asian Trust launches mental health campaign”. Focus on NGOs direct action.
- “Tik Tok promoting mental health awareness”. Highlighting a corporation role and digital reach.
- “PM &DC unites with PAPANA for mental health reform”. Reporting on collaboration involving professional bodies and NGO’s.

These examples show that the mental health discourse is increasingly being influenced by non state actor’s specifically private companies and international organizations. Using Fairclough framework, this illustrates interdiscursivity in action: the distinct languages of corporate public relations and humanitarian merge into a unified discourse of “empowerment”. From a Marxist standpoint, this process represents co modification. Mental Health awareness becomes a brand identity that

corporations exploit to improve their social image. Mental health is thus transformed into a marketable cause effective for building reputations but leading to a solution for the root inequalities that cause distress. This outcome reflects the capitalist principle that even moral causes can be absorbed and utilized by profit oriented systems.

9. Silencing and Exclusion

Discursive practice is fundamentally defined by both its inclusions and exclusions. The analyzed texts exhibit major deficiencies consistently failing to address the structural and lived realities of marginalized populations. The discourse pointedly neglects coverage of:

- The working class experience particularly stress resulting from labor exploitation.
- The profound lack of healthcare access in rural communities.
- The economic barriers to seeking help, such as the cost of psychiatric care or medication.
- The effects of class or gender oppression on mental health outcomes.

These significant omissions from the discourse constitute what Fairclough identifies as ideological silence within his Critical Discourse Analysis framework. By prioritizing coverage of “awareness” and “seminars” newspaper effectively divert attention away from deeper structural issues like economic exploitation or state neglect. A Marxist interpretation views this silence as a form of hegemonic control. The ruling class preserves its dominance not just through the messages that are actively communicated, but critically through the issues that are deliberately excluded from the public narrative. In this specific context that causal role of capitalism in generating mental suffering is effectively erased from the media discussion.

10. Reproduction of Global Neoliberal Values

The consistent focus in the media on individual resilience and personal responsibility shapes the mental health discourse. Examples like “Self affirmations can improve mental health” and “Take care of your mind” are instances of what Fairclough calls neoliberal discursive reproduction. This is a process that naturalizes values like self help, motivation, and productivity. Critically, this discourse directs individuals towards emotional adaptation instead of prompting inquiry into the systemic roots of stress, such as low wages, inequality, or job insecurity.

Marxist theorists term this ideological containment. By having individuals internalize the blame for their suffering a process known as the privatization of mental distress. The existing economic system is allowed to continue operating smoothly without facing challenges to its underlying structural flaws.

11. Interdiscursive Mixing : Health, Development, and Morality

The way Pakistani media discusses mental health is blend of three distinct ways of speaking:

- Public Health Language: Focusing on clinical issue like ‘disease, “treatment”, and “awareness”’.
- Development Language: Centered on systemic solution like “policy”, “campaigns”, “education” and “reform”’.
- Moral Language: Using urgent compassionate calls to action such as “we must act”, “break stigma”, and “support each other”’.

This fusion of different communication styles results in a public health message that is moralized and empathetic, yet it strictly adheres to the established agendas and limits defined by the government and NGOs. Fairclough analysis (2003), this blend of discourses effectively strengthens the existing power structure. It does this because the message appears neutral or simply good, which masks the underlying adoption of dominant controlling ideologies. Consequently, the media mental health coverage in Pakistan is a complex mix: it offers care and concern, but under tight regulation, promoting reform without advocating for revolutionary fundamental change.

12. Distribution Channels and Technological Mediation

The inclusion of platforms like Tik Tok and ChatGPT in mental health headlines shows the discourse has moved to diverse digital networks. While this grants greater visibility it sacrifices meaning and complexity. Digital formats favor catchy short slogans (Break the Stigma), which according to

Fairclough results in a co modified language that loses critical depth. Furthermore, the Marxist perspective highlights that because these platforms are corporate controlled awareness is governed by capitalist algorithms that prioritize engagement over fostering deep understanding.

13. Discursive practice as ideological Reproduction

Newspapers use their operational steps from production to consumption to act as platforms that reproduce prevailing social ideologies. They promote values like:

- Achieving progress through awareness instead of revolutionary change.
- Implementing reforms within the existing system, rather than challenging it.
- Offering compassion that ignores the underlying issues of class inequality.

This process is an example of Antonio Gramsci’s cultural hegemony, where media and key figures manufactures public consent for the ruling ideology by defining what is considered “common sense”. Fairclough model reveal the linguistic mechanisms (how) this reproduction is carried out. Marxism explains the motivation (why) because these efforts benefit those who hold economic and cultural power.

14. Discursive Practice Findings

Process	Description	Ideological Effect
Production	Reliance on press releases, elite voices	Institutional dominance
Intertextuality	Borrowing from WHO/global discourse	Westernized mental health model
Consumption	Elite, urban readership	Reinforces class-based worldviews
Recontextualization	Scientific → moral discourse	Individualizes social problems
Expert Authority	Specialists dominate language	Silences working-class experiences
NGO/Corporate involvement	Awareness as brand identity	Commodification of care
Omission of economic causes	No mention of class exploitation	Maintains capitalist legitimacy

Pakistani media employs a structured globally influenced approach to mental health reporting emphasizing official narratives and moralizing campaigns focused on individual responsibility and awareness. While seemingly positive, Fairclough CDA argues this discourse preserves the status. By limiting the conversation to stigma breaking it actively avoids addressing critical structural issues such as economic inequality or government accountability. Ultimately, a Marxist reading views this media practice as a mechanism of capitalist ideology, creating a consensus that reform is possible within existing power structures, thereby neutralizing the demand for radical systemic change

Social Practice and Marxist Interpretation

1. Introduction

Fairclough Social Practice dimension explains why Pakistani mental health discourse operates as it does: to serve larger systems of power. The discourse is situated within Pakistan severe socioeconomic context crisis, inequality, weak healthcare showing that mental health is intrinsically linked to class and social structure. Integrating this with Marxist theory, the analysis concludes that media coverage actively reproduces capitalist ideology. It emphasizes individual responsibility and productivity while simultaneously obscuring the material inequalities that are the true source of psychological distress.

2. Mental Health as Social Construct

Fairclough central idea is that discourse doesn’t just reality: it actively constructs it. In the context of media the language frames mental health not as a social issue but as:

- A universal human experience.

- A matter of moral, professional obligation for individuals and groups.
- An expert's technical challenge to be handled by specialist and institutions.

Marxist theory dictate that psychological distress is rooted in material conditions unemployment low wages. However, the media focus on “awareness” and “campaigns” shifts the blame to individual attitudes rather than structural factors. This act depoliticizes suffering and encourages false consciousness leading people to misunderstand the true, systemic causes of their pain.

3. The Role of Media in Ideological Production

Based on Marxist cultural theory drawing on thinkers like Gramsci and Althusser, the media acts as an ideological State Apparatus (ISA). This means it is an institutional that maintains the power of the ruling class by shaping the public belief and values. Specifically, Pakistan English newspapers, which cater to an elite audience actively promotes the ideology of liberal capitalism. This ideology teaches that societal progress is attained through public awareness, educational reforms, and individual efforts or responsibility.

Fairclough CDA shows how the dominant ideology is woven into media discourse. Seemingly neutral humanitarian headlines e.g. “end stigma” are actually acts of subtle persuasion. They create the illusion of harmony by portraying the state and citizens as equal partners in a moral efforts. This is achieved omitting critical structural issues like power imbalance, state neglect, or economic exploitation. This strategic silence benefits the ruling structure. The source of much mental distress by transforming genuinely political problem into non confrontational shared moral concerns avoiding open propaganda.

4. Class and Distribution of Suffering

A Marxist analysis of media discourse highlights how the use of inclusive language “everyone”, “society” “hides class distinctions regarding mental illness, creating the false impression that suffering is experienced equally. In reality, due to Pakistan's severe socioeconomic conditions, mental health is highly class based: the poor face disproportionately higher levels of stress, exploitation and trauma. The media promotion of equal individual responsibility of mental health “be aware”, “take care” serves to obscure the reality of class based unequal suffering Fairclough names this ideological universalization: language that hides unequal social relations. Marxist sees it as bourgeois moralism: replacing essential structural critique with moral advice. The practical outcome is ideological containment: public focus is redirect towards individual coping and awareness, effectively preventing critical inquiry into the reasons for systemic failure in mental health care

5. The Commodification of awareness

The core Marxist concept of commodification is evident in how mental health awareness is transformed into a marketable product by corporations and NGOs, campaigns, and wellness program. These initiatives serve as symbolic commodities that enhance institutional reputation and legitimacy while offering little structural change. Mental health becomes a public relations tool, enabling companies to appear socially responsible and governments to claim reforms without having to redistribute resources,. This process is a form of commodity fetishism: the focus on “awareness” symbolic change and masks the true material neglect e.g., underfunded hospitals, high cost care, there by obscuring the underlying production relations of exploitation and inequality.

6. Neoliberal individualism and self help Ideology

Media promotes individual solutions e.g. self care, positivity or issues that are fundamentally systemic. This practice aligns with neoliberal ideology. Which demands individuals take sole responsibility for their well being in a competitive society effectively replacing calls for collective action or welfare reform.

Fairclough describes this as a shift in subjectivity: training citizen as “self governing subject” who internalize discipline. Marxist sees it as the ideological internalization of capitalist logic: teaching people to manage the symptoms’ of stress rather than questioning its root causes. Ultimately, mental health discourse becomes a tool for social control, instructing people to psychologically adapt to

exploitation. The instrumentalization of care is explicit in slogans like “Mental health at work”, where well being is repurposed to serve productivity.

7. Gender , Morality and social order

Discourse on women’s mental health, through appearing progressive, subtly reinforces traditional gender roles. Solutions are framed as on economic “empowerment” e.g. education, awareness, diverting attention from the true causes: structural patriarchy. Fairclough terms this ideological naturalization: using gentle language to normalize gender inequality. A Marxist feminist view holds that the capitalist patriarchal system offers symbolic inclusion awareness campaigns, while actively protecting material exclusion low wages, unpaid labor.

8. The Role of Religion and Tradition

The media highlights a tension between religion and modern psychology e.g. , treatment , not just prayers”, aligning mental health with the progress and rationality of the urban secular elite. Fairclough sees this as an interdiscursive struggle a clash between traditional and modern systems of belief. The Marxist view is that this represents an evolution of social control: where religion once enforced obedience through divine authority, psychology and science now serves a similar function under capitalist modernity, demanding obedience to institutional and professional authority.

9. The political economic of Media and ideology

To grasp media discourse one must recognize the economic structure of newspapers: they are privately owned, profit driven, and reliant on corporate and state funding. This dependence means they cannot challenge capitalism or inequality directly. Instead, they promote “safe” ideological framing (awareness, empowerment).

This perfectly illustrates the Marxist base superstructure model. The economic base media ownership profit motive dictates the content and ideology of the superstructure media discourse. Consequently, mental health reporting is neutral it reflects the interests of media capitalists, using awareness campaigns to legitimize the very economic system that produce psychological alienation.

10. Alienation and psychological Suffering

Marx’s concept of alienation from labor, others, and self worth tied to productivity explains the rise of mental health crises, positioning mental illness a social suffering resulting from an unequal, competitive society. The media focus on “awareness” functions ideologically by treating symptoms while ignoring these root causes of alienation. Fairclough framework supports that this discourse is a social practice that actively sustains existing structures. When media urges individuals to “adapt”, they help emotionally reproduce capitalism by prioritizing individual coping over challenging systemic issues.

11. Counter Discourses and Encounters

Through the majority of media content reinforces the status quo, a few counter discourses exist briefly linking mental health to material realities e.g. poverty, inequality. Fairclough identifies these as sites of discursive struggle moments where the dominant narrative is challenged. However, these critical voices are rare exceptions, not mainstream views. Marxist theory explains this containment: hegemony successfully absorbs and neutralizes resistance, permitting limited critique to be visible while ensuring the fundamental power structure remains intact.

12. Synthesis: Power, Ideology, and Control

Aspect	Fairclough Explanation	Marxist Interpretation
Language and Power	Discourse naturalizes authority (experts, state)	Media reproduces ruling-class ideology
Representation of Actors	Institutions active, people passive	Workers’ voices silenced in capitalist narrative
Awareness Campaigns	Promote moral progress	Symbolic reforms to hide material inequality
Individualization of	Encourages self-management	Neoliberal self-discipline replaces

Suffering		collective action
Exclusion of Class	Uses “we” to universalize	Masks exploitation and class struggle
Commodification of Care	Market-driven advocacy	Health becomes product under capitalism

Collectively, these analytical frameworks Fairclough and Marxist conclude that the way mental health is discussed functions as type of ideological governance. It purposes is to influence public consciousness towards accepting capitalism.

The analysis combining Fairclough CDA and Marxist theory concludes that Pakistani media mental health discourse functions as a form of ideological governance that preserves the capitalist status quo. The discourse achieve control by blending moral, public health, and development languages to create a seemingly compassionate, yet highly controlled and institutionally aligning perfectly with neoliberal ideology. Crucially, it employs ideological universalization to erase class divisions, presenting unequal suffering as shared and ignoring the material causes of distress exploitation, poverty. True liberation requires transforming not just the discourse but the bacterial base of society to guarantee mental health as a right, not a moral duty.

This research used Fairclough language analysis CDA and Marxist idea to study Pakistani newspaper headlines about mental health. The media makes mental health seem like a moral duty for everyone, using words like “we” to hide the reality that poor people suffer much more. Experts and official groups control the conversation, promoting simple awareness campaigns instead of talking about big problem like poverty or inequality. This approach is deliberate. Because newspapers need money from corporations the Marxist base superstructure model, they cannot criticize capitalism. Instead, they promote self management and resilience teaching people to cope with stress rather than fight the system that causes it alienation.

This conclusion is that mental health news is kind on the surface but serves to protect the ruling class. Real progress needs justice and equality not just better language

Level	Key Process	Ideological Function
Textual	Repetition, nominalization, and modality	Universalizes responsibility and hides social power relations
Discursive	Institutional sourcing and global Intertextuality	Allows dominant institutional voices to shape acceptable meanings
Social	Neoliberal and capitalist framework	Converts collective social distress into moral and personal responsibility

Conclusion

This study shows how newspapers use language patterns, discursive practices, and ideological frameworks to shape public perceptions of mental health awareness campaigns. While newspapers are increasingly promoting the language of awareness, empathy, and well-being, these narratives frequently remain embedded within neoliberal values of productivity, self-management, and personal responsibility, according to the integration of Corpus Linguistics, Fairclough's Three-Dimensional CDA, and Marxist theory. In contrast to structural variables like poverty, health system constraints, and social inequality, the corpus analysis revealed recurrent keywords and collocations that emphasise resilience, coping, and individual action. This suggests that although awareness programs appear to be progressive, they often perpetuate current power structures and normalise depoliticised

conceptions of mental health. The study's overall findings emphasise the need for more inclusive, socially conscious, and critical mental health reporting. Newspapers must move from limited individualistic frames to comprehensive narratives that recognise systemic obstacles, lived experiences, and community-based support networks in order to truly promote public awareness. The results confirm that corpus-assisted critical discourse analysis, bolstered by Marxist ideological criticism, provides a potent method for revealing underlying presumptions and power dynamics in media discourse. To gain a deeper knowledge of how media impacts perceptions of mental health in various circumstances, future study should compare multilingual press coverage, broaden the corpus, and look into audience interpretations.

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