

Media Coverage of Homicide Involving Mentally Disordered Offenders: A Matched Comparison Study

Brian McKenna, Katey Thom, and Alexander I. F. Simpson

Research highlights the distorted nature of print media reporting of both mental illness and homicide. However there are few studies that focus exclusively on the media depiction of homicide perpetrated by mentally ill offenders. The aim of this study was to compare the print media coverage of homicides involving mentally disordered offenders found 'not guilty by reason of insanity' (NGRI) with a matched sample of homicides involving convicted offenders who did not have a mental illness at the time of the offence. Articles covering twenty cases of NGRI homicide and convicted homicide between 1996 and 2000 in New Zealand were analyzed (N = 207). Coverage of NGRI homicide was more inclined to be highlighted with bold sensationalized titles and photographs; and to attract comments by the friends and relatives of the victims close to the time of the homicide. Furthermore, the past private life of the mentally ill offender was more likely to be revealed and partial blame apportioned to external agencies linked to the event. We conclude that such revelations profile the NGRI offender giving the person a public identity, which assists in etching the event in the public mind.

Mass media are the primary source of information for the general public about mental illness (Kalafatelis & Dowden, 1997; Sieff, 2003; Wilson, Nairn, Coverdale, & Panapa, 1999). International research shows that print media commonly associate mental illness with violence and depict mentally ill persons as dangerous and unpredictable (Huang & Priebe, 2003; Ostead, 2002; Seale, 2003). Studies have revealed that the print media use 'framing devices' that lead readers to formulate specific interpretations about mental illness. These devices depict the mentally ill as chaotic, at risk, in crisis, violent and deviant (Blood & Holland, 2004; Hazelton, 1997).

These negative interpretive images are often perpetuated in high profile homicides committed by people with a mental illness (Anderson, 2003). Homicide related print media coverage portrays mentally ill offenders as having no social identity and as 'different' and 'unlike' most people (Stout, Villegas, J, & Jennings, 2004). Ostead (2002) argues that such interpretative framing reinforces 'our' (the world) superiority over 'them' (mental ill offenders) through the use of polarized distinctions between

normal/abnormal, good/bad, and responsible/irresponsible.

In homicide studies, research has focused on the selective nature of homicide reporting (Taylor & Sorenson, 2005). Peelo, Francis, Sothill, Pearson, and Ackerley (2004) indicate that particular variables contribute to a story being considered 'newsworthy.' The circumstances of the homicide is a crucial predictor, with sexual homicides, homicides involving children (not infants), and 'motiveless' acts being the most likely to be reported. Other studies have found the strongest predictor to be the number of victims followed by the number of offenders, and the method used to commit the homicide (Johnstone, Hawkins, & Machener, 1994).

The New Zealand media similarly portrays mental illness in a negative manner reinforcing the popular image of mentally ill persons as intrinsically dangerous (Coverdale, Nairn, & Classen, 2002; Mental Health Commission 2000, 2005; Nairn 1999). However, there are no studies that focus on the media depiction of homicide perpetrated by mentally ill offenders. Unlike larger countries or those with high rates of homicide, all homicides in New Zealand are

Brian McKenna and Katey Thom are affiliated to the Centre for Mental Health Research, Policy and Service Development at the University of Auckland. Alexander Simpson is affiliated to the School of Psychological Medicine at the University of Auckland and the Auckland Regional Forensic Psychiatry Services. Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Brian McKenna, Centre for Mental Health Research, Policy and Service Development, the University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland 1020, New Zealand (e-mail: b.mckenna@auckland.ac.nz).

reported in the print media. This provides a particular opportunity to consider more closely the factors that may effect the media's depiction of such homicides and to evaluate the way in which homicides of different types are described.

The aim of this study was to compare print media coverage of homicides involving mentally disordered offenders found 'not guilty by reason of insanity' (NGRI) with homicides involving convicted offenders who did not have a mental illness at the time of the event.

METHOD

All homicides in New Zealand between 1996 and 2000 were accessed via a single database (Simpson, McKenna, Moskowitz, Skipworth, & Barry-Walsh, 2004). There were 10 perpetrators found NGRI during this period according to Section 23 of the Crimes Act 1961, an extended M'Naghten based standard. Under New Zealand criminal justice legislation such a person is acquitted of the offence but receives a mental health disposition to undertake treatment and rehabilitation for their illness.

In this same period, there were 299 cases of convicted homicide. The 10 NGRI cases were matched to cases of convicted homicide on the basis of key socio-demographic and offence characteristics. These included: gender, age, number of victims, relationship of victim to the offender, and location of the homicide.

Four New Zealand newspapers were searched to obtain articles covering the events. These were the New Zealand Herald (readership 547,000); the Dominion Post (readership 254,000); the Christchurch Press (readership 233,000); and the Otago Daily Times (readership 100, 000) (New Zealand Press Association, 2006). These newspapers can be considered the "newspapers of record" for their particular parts of the country. The location of the homicide determined the newspaper accessed; only one newspaper per homicide was searched. The names of the offenders and dates of the homicides were run through a newspaper database to identify initial articles, followed by an extensive physical search of microfilms of each newspaper. Newspaper articles on each offender were searched from the date of the homicide to one month following the court outcome.

To determine the measure of prominence given to newspaper coverage, a prominence analysis of each article was undertaken. This involved determining the page number of the article; presence of lead articles; boxing of articles; percentage of space used for the title and total article; presence of photographs; and presence of quotes. We also undertook thematic analysis (Patton, 1999) and searched for 'framing devices' that lead readers to formulate specific interpretations about mental illness (Hazelton, 1997; Blood & Holland, 2004). Three of the research team undertook this process independently before arriving at consensus over emerging themes.

RESULTS

Description of Cases

Ten people were found NGRI between 1996 and 2000. The acquitees were mainly male ($N = 7$), aged between 16 and 66 years old, with a mean age of 32.6 years. Nine cases involved victims known to the offender, with 6 of these involving family members. Victims' ages ranged from infancy to 86 years old. Multiple victims occurred in 4 of the events with a maximum of 6 victims. Over both samples, the homicides resulted from physical assault (6), stabbing (5), shooting (3), asphyxia (3), decapitation (1), arson (1), and the use of a vehicle (1).

Given the uniqueness of each event, it was difficult to fully match each culpable homicide event. In four cases there were age discrepancies between 10 and 19 years. In two other cases the mentally ill offender killed two victims but the matches killed one.

Predominant Characteristics

The 20 homicide events were covered by 207 newspaper articles. Of these, 94 articles (45%) covered the NGRI cases and 113 articles (55%) the convicted homicide cases. The event that attracted the most coverage (29 articles) was a homicide perpetrated by a NGRI offender involving six victims, while the homicide attracting the least coverage was a case of filicide perpetrated by a NGRI offender, which attracted a single article. The New

Zealand Herald gave more article coverage to convicted homicide than NGRI homicide, while the Dominion Post was the reverse.

The measures of prominence revealed several differences. More NGRI homicide articles ($N = 21$, 22%) were given front page coverage than convicted homicide articles ($N = 17$, 15%). Thirty-five (37%) of the NGRI articles were identified as the lead article of any page, compared to 31 (27%) in the convicted homicide sample. Similarly, 21 (22%) NGRI homicide articles had accompanying photos, while 9 (17%) of convicted homicide articles had a photo.

Just under half ($N = 40$, 43%) of the NGRI homicide articles had large headings (2cm plus), while the convicted homicide articles had mainly small headings (less than 1cm) ($N = 61$, 54%). Further analysis of the content of these large titles revealed that NGRI articles are often characterized by the use of alarmist headings, for example, “scissor-death mother found to be insane” (New Zealand Herald, 2000, p.4).

The NGRI homicide articles were more likely to be related to the homicide event (prior to court) ($N = 37$, 18%) than in the convicted homicide articles ($N = 23$, 11%). The convicted homicide articles, however, were twice as likely to report on the court process relating to the offence. In text, articles related to the homicide event were more likely to use sensationalist language. For example, in one article a neighbor is quoted as stating the offender “flipped his lid” (The Press, 1996, p.16) and another NGRI offender is described as “rampaging” (The Dominion Post, 1997, p.1). In contrast, articles focused on the court process use reporting language that is restrained, even when referring to horrific circumstances of death.

Quotes were counted as an indication of prominence, as these accentuate the article by adding a degree of authenticity to the accounts. Sixty three quotes were included in the NGRI homicides articles, with 111 quotes in the articles covering convicted homicide. In the NGRI homicide articles, quotes were mostly given by the family and friends of the victims (27%), mental health professionals (19%) and other professionals (police, lawyers, judges) (28%). The prominence of quotes by the victims’ families in NGRI homicides is a reflection of the emphasis on the actual homicide event, while the quotes of mental health professionals feature given

the role of expert witnesses in determining “insanity”. In the convicted homicide articles, 49% of quotes included were by the police, lawyers, or judges. This is a reflection of the emphasis on the coverage of the court process.

Thematic Analysis

Given that the literature highlights the use of ‘framing devices’ that lead readers to formulate specific interpretations about mental illness, it was expected that a thematic analysis would determine the presence of similar markers in the NGRI homicide sample. However, this was not the case. Instead, our thematic analysis found a number of subtle ways in which the coverage of NGRI homicides were treated differently compared to most cases of culpable homicide.

a) Making public the private lives of offenders

In a number of NGRI homicide articles there were explicit revelations concerning the past private life of the offender. Furthermore, there was often no plausible causative link between this information and the event that had taken place. In half the NGRI homicide articles, there was reference to historical social maladaptation or dysfunction. In one article, this involved reference to family dysfunction and past tension within a de facto relationship (The Dominion, 1998). In two cases, there was reference to maladaptation associated with adjustment to age stage developmental milestones (The Dominion, 1998; Otago Daily Times, 1998). In another, there were constant references to the person being an “ex nun” (New Zealand Herald, 1997, p.3), where separation of affiliation with a religious order implied social discord. In another case, there was a general reference of the person as “a shy, retiring man with a life long history of social maladaptation” (The Press, 1996, p.16).

More commonly, the print media made public the private psychiatric history of the NGRI offenders. In five of the ten cases, there was reference to past admission to psychiatric institutions. One article used “contracted dysentery and a mental breakdown” in one sentence with no further clarification, to describe someone’s psychiatric history (New Zealand Herald, 1997, p. 3). In another example, the article mentioned the “development of obsessive compulsive disorder.”

while there was reference to psychotic illness at the time of the homicide (The Press, 1996, p. 16). In most cases, it was no obvious link between past illness and the homicide.

In many cases, the source of the private information appears to be expert psychiatric witness testimony. Expert witness opinion involves a standard psychiatric mental health status assessment, which includes an exploration of past admissions and patterns of mental illness. However, it seems that testimony presented by the expert witnesses is truncated with specific information being highlighted in such a way as to render the story newsworthy.

This tendency to report on the past private lives of NGRI offenders is in marked contrast to the information given about the private lives of people convicted of homicide. In the latter, there was usually no reference to historical background. Information about the private lives of those convicted is temporally confined to determining the facts of the case.

We did, however, find three convicted homicide cases in which there was an approach to making public the past private lives of those convicted. These homicides were characterized by atypical circumstances. One article involved patricide by a 15-year-old boy. In this case, there was substantial detail given about parental separation, accusations of physical abuse from a young age and accusations of being bullied at school (New Zealand Herald, 1998, p. A11). The other two articles involved filicide, with one revealing that the victim was conceived following the rape of the perpetrator (New Zealand Herald, 2000) and the other involving the death of a 17-month-old child had a detailed history of the offender's social dysfunction (The Dominion, 1997).

b) The apportion of culpability to external agencies

In homicides resulting in an NGRI finding, the offender is acquitted and receives a mental health disposition in order that mental illness can be addressed through treatment and rehabilitation. This outcome may be difficult for the general public to comprehend. This is highlighted in a case where it is reported that the victim's sister said "because she is a nurse she could understand and accept the verdict, but the other five members of her family

had difficulty and felt some one should pay for her sister's death" (The Dominion, 1998, p.1).

Thus blame is apportioned to external agencies implicated in the case. Not surprisingly, it is mental health services that come under scrutiny. This scrutiny commonly apportions blame to service reforms (particularly deinstitutionalisation). In the absence of large institutions, community services are perceived as failing in their obligation to protect society. This perception is highlighted in one article headlined "Keep us safe from insanity" which expresses "doubts over the merits of community care over institutionalised care" (The Dominion, 1998, p.10).

Media scrutiny is also directed at service level mismanagement for allowing mentally ill perpetrators to "slip through their protective net". These accusations include blaming deficits in information transmission across services, compromised clinical decision making, alleged inappropriate discharge of person(s) from compulsory treatment, and lack of post-discharge clinical follow up. There is even blame attributed to a bogus psychiatrist who discharged the person from civil commitment 14 months prior to the homicide (Dominion, 1998).

Apportioning culpability to external agencies does not rest with mental health services. Blame is also attributed to inadequate laws regulating the ownership of firearms and to society at large for tolerating a popular culture of violence (Dominion, 1997). In the double homicide of an elderly couple by a health professional, blame was apportioned to inadequate screening processes at the time of employment to vet persons who may pose a risk to their clientele (New Zealand Herald, 1997).

With the matched convicted offender sample, full blame is apportioned to the perpetrator. However, in the three cases of culpable homicide already cited, there is a deviation from this general trend. In these cases, the perpetrators were convicted of manslaughter, and the sentence was markedly less than that usually associated with homicide. One of the filicide cases received a five year sentence in prison and the other two years supervision. In the patricide case, the offender received a suspended sentence and supervision. In each case, the media attempted to explore how other state agencies might be responsible for the homicide. In one case of filicide, partial blame was apportioned to the role of the Children,

Young Persons and their Families Service in not preventing physical abuse escalating to homicide (New Zealand Herald, 2000). In the other filicide case, partial blame was apportioned to Work and Income Support accused of keeping the mother and child on the “bread line” (Dominion, 1997, p. 6). In the case of patricide, extensive media coverage of alleged physical abuse by the victim against the perpetrator made it appear as if it was the victim who was on trial and culpable (New Zealand Herald, 1998).

c) The use of photographs

As the prominence figures indicate, photography more often accompanies the NGRI cases. Furthermore in the matched sample, all but four of the photos were attributable to the filicide and patricide cases already mentioned.

There are three themes in the content of the photos. First many of the photos are of the victim (e.g. New Zealand Herald, 1998, p. A3), or the perpetrator (e.g. The Dominion, 1998, p.1). The use of such photos puts a public face to those involved in the event. Second, several photos depict the grief of relatives and friends often taken close to the location of the homicide or at the victim’s funeral (e.g. Dominion,, 1997, p.6).

Thirdly, photos depict the house in which the homicide took place or the tranquillity of the community which the event disrupted. Such photos are in stark contrast to the images of those grieving. The impression left is how could these horrific events occur within the context of such a peaceful environment?

d) Lack of clarification of the nexus between psychosis, “insanity” and the homicide event

An acquittal by reason of “insanity” is made on the basis of the offender’s behaviour being a result of mental illness. The relationship between mental illness and the legal definition of “insanity” is a complex one. In criminal trials, expert witnesses are required to provide information that will aid the understanding of both the judge and the jury regarding this complexity. More reflection of this expert testimony by journalists in print media would help clarify this complexity for their readership.

In most cases involving NGRI offenders, this nexus is not clear in the accounts. In some cases the

specifics of the person’s psychosis is hardly mentioned. In one article the link is explained as the offender believing “he was saving people from an evil force” (New Zealand Herald, 1999, p.3) and with the only other mention of mental illness being that the offender was “clearly not at all well” (New Zealand Herald, 1998, p.6). In another article, the person’s mental health status is described as a “veritable smorgasbord of irrational thoughts”, but again the specifics of this “smorgasbord” are not explained (The Press, 1996, p. 18). Given that in this particular case there was dissenting opinion between the expert witnesses, it is surprising this detail is not discussed.

DISCUSSION

We approached this research expecting to find the presence of ‘framing devices’ that negatively differentiated homicide perpetrated by mentally disorder offenders from convicted homicide. These ‘framing devices’ include portraying mentally ill persons as chaotic, in crisis, violent, deviant or as having no social identity (Anderson, 2003; Blood & Holland, 2004; Hazelton, 1997). Although such ‘framing devices’ were not clearly delineated in this study, we did detect aspects of the use of language which may have reinforced such strong stereotypes.

We did, however, detect a number of other means by which the media differentiated between NGRI and convicted homicide offenders. The NGRI homicides were more often highlighted with bold sensationalized titles and accompanied with photographs depicting strong emotional themes. NGRI homicide cases were more likely to attract comments by the friends and relatives of the victims close to the time that the event took place. This has the effect of making public the private grief of those suffering. This focus was sometimes reinforced by photos of those grieving. In contrast, quotes included in the convicted homicide articles were from the police and legal professionals during the court process in which the facts of the case were explored.

In considering the differences in the information conveyed about the two samples, we found that it was common for the past private lives of mentally ill offenders to be revealed by the print media. This information was temporally distant from the

homicide event, but was presented as providing some explanation for what had taken place, regardless of the lack of a plausible causative link. In the New Zealand context, such revelations profile the individuals concerned, giving them a public identity, which is contrary to the findings of international research indicating that the media often portrays mentally disordered offenders as having no social identity (Stout, 2004).

Little is understood about the psychological impact of such reporting techniques upon the reader, although it is fair to assume that these processes would assist in etching the event in the public mind. Furthermore, the emphasis on the past private lives of mentally disordered offenders often divulges non-descript psychiatric history. Such information reinforces existing negative public stereotypes of mentally ill people as being dangerous (Huang & Priebe, 2003; Ostead, 2002; Seale, 2003).

All jurisdictions are faced with tragic cases of homicide involving mentally ill offenders. For each jurisdiction the dilemma involves balancing the needs of the NGRI offender for treatment and rehabilitation, with the needs of the victim's family and the public to feel that justice has been served. New Zealand law finds mentally ill perpetrators 'not guilty by reason of insanity', while other jurisdictions may find such offenders 'guilty but insane' (MacKay, 1996). In New Zealand, a finding of NGRI removes culpability for the act committed on the basis of "insanity."

Determining a court outcome of NGRI requires understanding the complex interplay between the presence of certain mental illness phenomena and their relationship with legal definitions of mental *impairment* and *insanity* as defined in legislation/common law. It appears, then, that if the perpetrator is not to blame, someone else in the "system" must be and the journalists turn their attention to other agencies. Rather than apportion partial blame, journalists might do better to explore the complex interplay between medical and legal definitions to clarify such complexity in order to aid public awareness and understanding. Increased understanding would assist in explaining the outcome of acquittal and the associated mental health disposition.

Although the themes discussed in this study were clearly evident in the total sample of NGRI

homicides, we could not determine why some cases received considerable attention while others similar in nature did not. One limitation of this study is that little is known of the social context that might have fuelled the notoriety attributed to individual cases. However, it is clear that the techniques adopted by journalists to highlight certain NGRI homicides were not restricted to these cases alone. Cases involving children as both perpetrators and victims in the convicted homicide sample received the same attention as the majority of NGRI cases. This is not surprising given that such events challenge pivotal relationships upon which the very fabric of society depends. This finding supports research that indicates that the involvement of children is a crucial predictor as to whether homicide is reported (Johnstone et al., 1994). Similarly multiple victims in both samples of this study are a crucial predictor of the attention given to the event.

This research should be considered in the light of further limitations. The database accessed only allowed for matching up until the year 2000. Since this time, guidelines have been issued by the courts to assist the reporting of homicide trials (Ministry of Justice, 2006). Moreover, there are a number of journalists who are now thoughtfully researching and reporting mental health issues, a number of whom have been involved with the Carter Foundation in the United States and other scholarships to study media handling of such issues. We know little about the effect of these endeavors on the reporting of mentally disordered homicide. The Mental Health Commission's repeat survey in 2005 of research undertaken in 2000 found a relative increase in positively framed newspaper clippings with a mental health theme (Mental Health Commission, 2005).

We know in New Zealand that there is no increased rate of people with serious mental illness among those who commit homicide (Simpson et al., 2004). This rate falls within a range experienced internationally within similar jurisdictions (Coid, 1983). Mass media including newspapers are a primary source of information about mental illness for the general public. It is important that the media depiction of homicide by mentally disordered offenders reflects this reality and does not over-emphasize and possibly sensationalize the events to the extent that the reality becomes myth in the minds of the public.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, M. (2003). 'One flew over the psychiatric unit': Mental illness and the media. *Journal of Psychiatric and Mental Health Nursing*, 10, 297-306.
- Blood, W., & Holland, H. (2004). Risky news, madness and public crisis: A case study of the reporting and portrayal of mental health and illness in the Australian press. *Journalism*, 5, 323-342.
- Coid, J. (1983). The epidemiology of abnormal homicide and murder followed by suicide. *Psychological Medicine*, 13, 855-860.
- Coverdale, J., Nairn, R., & Claasen, D. (2002). Depictions of mental illness in print media: A prospective national sample. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 36, 697-700.
- Hazelton, M. (1997). Reporting mental health: A discourse analysis of mental health-related news in two Australian newspapers. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Mental Health Nursing*, 6, 78-89.
- Huang, B., & Priebe, S. (2003). Media coverage of mental health care in the UK, USA and Australia. *Psychiatric Bulletin*, 27, 331-333.
- Johnstone, J. W. C., Hawkins, D. F., & Machener, A. (1994). Homicide reporting in Chicago dailies. *Journalism Quarterly*, 71, 860-872.
- Kalafetalis, E., & Dowden, A. (1997). *Public knowledge of, and attitudes to, mental health and illness*. Wellington, NZ: Business Research Centre for the Ministry of Health.
- MacKay, R. (1996). *Mental defences and the law*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mental Health Commission. (2000). *The discriminating times: A report on an investigation into news media (re) representation of people with mental illness*. Wellington, NZ: Mental Health Commission.
- Mental Health Commission. (2005). *Discriminating times? A re-survey of New Zealand print media reporting on mental health*. Wellington, NZ: Mental Health Commission.
- Ministry of Justice (2006). *The in-court media coverage guidelines 2003*. Retrieved September 5, 2006, from <http://justice.govt.nz/media/guidelines.html>.
- Nairn, R. (1999). Does the use of psychiatrists as sources of information improve media depictions of mental illness? A pilot study. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 33, 583-589.
- New Zealand Herald. (1997, June 14). Insane ex-nun believed she was God and aged victims were devil's agents. *New Zealand Herald*, p. A3.
- New Zealand Herald. (1997, June 16). Ex-nun's hirers maintain silence. *New Zealand Herald*, p. A3.
- New Zealand Herald. (1998, October 19). Based Baha'i gave 'whole life to serving'. *New Zealand Herald*, p. A3.
- New Zealand Herald. (1998, October 30). Death of a brutal bully – or kind dad? *New Zealand Herald*, p. A11.
- New Zealand Herald. (1998, November 3). Accused 'clearly not at all well'. *New Zealand Herald*, p. A6.
- New Zealand Herald. (1999, August 14-15). Insanity finding in Moana murder. *New Zealand Herald*, p. A3.
- New Zealand Herald (2000, February 8). Scissor-death mum found to be insane. *New Zealand Herald*, p. A4.
- New Zealand Herald. (2000, August 21). McClay to look for answers in death case. *New Zealand Herald*, p. A2.
- New Zealand Herald. (2000, December 3). Court adds three years for child's brutal death. *New Zealand Herald*, p. A3.
- New Zealand Press Association (2006). *Industry overview. Circulation Audit, March 2006*. Retrieved September 5, 2006, from <http://www.nzpa-online.co.nz/>
- Ostead, R. (2002). Contesting the text: Canadian media depictions of the conflation of mental illness and criminality. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 24, 621-643.
- Otago Daily Times. (1998, February 10). Invercargill jury to rule on man's insanity. *Otago Daily Times*, p. 29.
- Patton, M. (1999) *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Peelo, M., Francis, B., Soothill, K., Pearson, J., & Ackerley, E. (2004). Newspaper reporting and the public construction of homicide. *British Journal of Criminology*, 44, 256-275.
- Seale, C. (2003). Health and media: An overview. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 25, 513-531.
- Sieff, E.M. (2003). Media frames of mental illnesses: The potential impact of negative frames. *Journal of Mental Health*, 12, 259-269.
- Simpson, A., McKenna, B., Moskowitz, A., Skipworth, J., & Barry-Walsh, J. (2004). Homicide and mental illness in New Zealand, 1970-2000. *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 185, 394-398.
- Stout, P. A., Villegas, J., & Jennings, N. A. (2004). Images of mental illness in the media: Identifying gaps in the research. *Schizophrenia Bulletin*, 30, 543-561.
- Taylor, C. A., & Sorenson, S. B. (2005). The nature of newspaper coverage of homicide. *Injury Prevention*, 8, 121-127.
- The Dominion. (1997, February 10). Raurimu massacre. *The Dominion*, p. 1.
- The Dominion. (1997, February 10). Raurimu massacre. *The Dominion*, p. 6.
- The Dominion. (1997, February 11). We don't need all those guns. *The Dominion*, p. 6.
- The Dominion. (1997, September 13). How a mother killed her son. *The Dominion*, p.25.
- The Dominion. (1997, September 17). Sowry defends department in Moke case. *The Dominion*, p. 6.
- The Dominion. (1998, March 26). Insanity verdict in beheading death. *The Dominion*. p. 1.
- The Dominion. (1998, March 27). Mental decline ends in tragedy. *The Dominion*, p. 13.
- The Dominion. (1998, March 28). Parr let go without seeing psychiatrist. *The Dominion*, p. 3.
- The Dominion. (1998, March 31). Keep us safe from insanity. *The Dominion*, p. 10.
- The Press. (1996, December 6). Psychiatrists disagree on motorist's mental state. *The Press*, p. 16.
- The Press. (1996, December 5). Insanity chief defence in murder trial. *The Press*, p. 21.
- Wilson, C., Nairn, R., Coverdale, J., & Panapa, A. (1999). Constructing mental illness as dangerous: A pilot study. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Psychiatry*, 33, 240-247.