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MPC MAJOR RESEARCH PAPER

CONQUERING MEDIA COVERAGE:

THE USE OF BATTLE METAPHORS IN HOSPITAL FOUNDATION COMMUICATIONS AND ITS IMPACT ON NEWS COVERAGE

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ABSTRACT

Battle terminology such as "fight," "conquer," and "hero" and imagery that compares doctors and patients to superheroes, soldiers and athletes have become increasingly prevalent in hospital foundation communications. The use of these metaphors has been highly controversial. While some audiences have praised foundation campaigns that use this type of messaging for emphasizing the strength of patients and hospital staff, encouraging patient families, and motivating patients to be resilient, others argue that these campaigns marginalize those who are unable to overcome their health conditions, positioning them as failures or losers. While the use of battle metaphors in hospital communications has been a heated topic in online discussion, little is known about the impact of this language on the media coverage and financial support that they generate for hospitals. This paper presents a multimodal discourse analysis of the communications of six hospital foundations in Toronto, Canada followed by a quantitative and sentiment analysis of the media coverage each foundation has received within the last fiscal year. The aim of this paper is to determine if there is a relationship between the use of battle metaphors in hospital foundation communications and the amount and sentiment of media coverage. According to agenda setting theory, media coverage has a palpable impact on public action. Therefore, the findings of this research may assist hospital foundations in

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developing useful communications practices they can employ to increase media exposure and, consequently, attract more donations to support their institutions.

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INTRODUCTION

The number of charitable organizations registered in Canada has been steadily increasing over the years; In 2005, there were 8,852 charitable organizations in Canada, which grew to 9,987 by 2010 and has since increased to 10,808 (Canada Revenue Agency, 2018). The not-for-profit sector is characterized by monopolistic competition, where many organizations supply similar but differentiated goods and services. (Bose, 2010). With so many charitable organizations vying for attention and donations, it is extremely important for organizations to differentiate themselves in order to break through the charity clutter.

Not-for-profit organizations, including hospital foundations, have a tendency to create sad advertisements, depicting a victim with an explicit or implied lack of agency and eliciting feelings of guilt, sympathy, empathy and/or compassion in the viewer (Starowicz, 2016). This type of advertising has become so ubiquitous in the not-for-profit industry that it has been given its own moniker: *sadvertising*. As sadvertisements have grown increasingly popular, a few charities have tried to break out of the charity clutter by publishing communications materials and advertisements that prompt a different audience reaction by adopting battle metaphors, embedding them in their communications materials to portray patients and hospital staff as strong, courageous fighters, as opposed to

weak victims. These metaphors compare patients with soldiers, superheroes, and athletes. These campaigns attempt to evoke empowerment, hope, and optimism in viewers, while also conveying a sense of urgency.

McCombs and Shaw (1972) propose that the media have an *agenda* setting function, meaning that they have sway in determining what their spectators think about. Audiences gauge how much attention an issue deserves based on the amount of information the media provide about a topic and where each news story is positioned or displayed (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Furthermore, studies have found that individual donors largely judge humanitarian organizations based on their appearance in the news (Eftekar et al., 2017). Therefore, support from the media can play a significant role in helping not-for-profit organizations overcome charity clutter and acquire support from donors.

The two strategies for standing out in the oversaturated charity market mentioned above — evoking empowerment rather than sadness in audiences and attaining media support— are interconnected. It is likely that differentiation leads to increased media coverage, especially given that "preliminary empirical tests support the role of deviance in predicting event coverage and newsworthiness" (Shoemaker, Danielian & Brendlinger, 1991, p. 784). As Shoemaker et al. (1991) write, "the work of cognitive psychologists suggests … human beings have an innate interest in deviance, with attention to media content being highest when the

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content deviates from the individual's existing schemata" (p. 784). While this connection seems likely, there is a gap in academic research in regard to whether, or how, the portrayal of strength rather than weakness in charity communications impacts media coverage. The majority of associated research focuses on the use of sadness rather than strength. The aim of this research paper is to find out if the inclusion of battle metaphors, used to depict strength in hospital foundation communications, translates into an increase in media mentions. Since media coverage typically has an impact on donations, the results of this research will provide hospital foundations with insights they can use in determining the most effective communications strategies to secure maximum financial support for their institutions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature analyzed below fits into seven parts: part one and two lay out the foundation of this study by defining conceptual and visual metaphors and providing background information on discourse analysis, the method used in this research to analyze the prevalence of battle metaphors in hospital foundation communications. The section on discourse analysis below also details the significance of studying discourse, as changes in the discourse surrounding a given topic can result in tangible change in human thought and action regarding said topic. This leads into the third part of the literature review, which explains how media coverage can result in tangible change for organizations receiving news coverage. This section verifies that hospital foundations should make an effort to apply best practices in public relations to increase media coverage as a strategy to maximize financial support of their institution. The fourth section of the literature review focuses on entertainment aspects of news and how the inclusion of battle metaphors in hospital foundation communications could make stories about these organizations more intriguing to news editors and/or journalists who often seek to narrativize news segments. Similarly, section five explains why a journalist may be more attracted to a news story in which a patient is described as a "hero," a comparison commonly applied within hospital foundation communications. As stated in the introduction, non-profit organizations have a tendency to create sadvertisements, evoking sympathy and

guilt in the viewer, and a few organizations have tried to differentiate themselves by portraying the subjects of their advertisements as courageous fighters rather than weak victims. Section six of the literature review investigates the differences in audience reaction to advertisements that use negative emotion or portray subjects as sad victims versus those that depict positive emotions, portraying subjects as strong and courageous. Reporters have harshly criticized the use of battle metaphors in a few hospital campaigns. For example, following the launch of SickKids "VS" campaign, in 2016—which portrays SickKids patients as warriors and boxers—The Globe and Mail published an article stating that the campaign "feels like a betrayal" as it implies "that those who don't beat their illness or disability are 'losers.'" (Picard, 2016). One of the objectives of this paper is to determine if this negative tone is apparent in media coverage of other hospital foundation communications containing battle metaphors and the resulting impact. Therefore, the final section of the literature review examines whether "all publicity is good publicity" in order to gauge whether the findings of this research which focus on the sentiment of news coverage will be as significant as findings about the volume of news coverage each hospital foundation receives.

Part 1: Discourse Analysis

Gee and Handford (2012) define discourse as "the study of language in use... the study of the meanings we give language and the actions we carry out

when we use language in specific contexts" (p. 1). While discourse analysis can refer to the literal study of grammar and sentence structure, it also encompasses pragmatics—the ways language can be utilized to "accomplish action, goals and purposes" (Gee & Handford, 2012, p. 1).

Similarly, Fairclough (1992) states that "discourses do not just represent social identities and relations, they construct or 'constitute' them... in different ways, and position people in different ways as social subjects" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 3). Fairclough also notes that it is important to consider the ways that discourses change over time as social conditions change. Fairclough's statements can be clearly exemplified by the discourses surrounding mental health and how they have transformed over time. Throughout history, discourse surrounding mental health has associated the mentally ill, and predominantly mentally ill women, with "madness", "hysteria" and "neuroticism" (Ussher, 2011, p. 1). This discourse was not only prevalent in media such as newspaper articles and television shows but translated to social action in the form of mistreatment and marginalization of these subjects (Ussher, 2011). Today, public discourse surrounding mental health has changed dramatically, with large organizations like Bell Media supporting the vocalization and awareness of mental health issues. The transformation of language surrounding mental health has been accompanied by a reduction in the stigma surrounding mental health, and better treatment and

support for those dealing with mental health issues. Likewise, the discourse surrounding hospitals, their patients and staff members can alter public perception of these organizations, impact the likelihood of the public supporting these organizations through donations and, thereby, affect how the hospitals function and the quality of healthcare they are able to provide.

This research paper presents a multimodal discourse analysis of hospital foundation communications. While discourse analyses often focus on written or spoken language, multimodal discourse analyses consider how texts incorporate a wide variety of modes of communication including "gesture, speech, image (still or moving), writing, music (on a website or in a film)" (Gee & Handford, 2012, p. 36). This type of analysis is concerned with these modes as semiotic tools and how they create meaning within a text (Gee & Handford, 2012). I have chosen to perform a multimodal discourse analysis as various modes contribute to meaning making within hospital foundation communications. Battle messages are often incorporated into hospital foundation communications through imagery, verbal speech, and music as well as written language.

Part 2: Metaphors

A metaphor is a trope that uses language "to refer to something other than what it was originally applied to, or what it 'literally' means, in order to suggest

some resemblance or make a connection between the two things" (Knowles & Moon, 2005, p. 3).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) discuss the conceptual system and conceptual metaphors. The human conceptual system is an individual's mental method of understanding different concepts and the world around them. A conceptual metaphor is a means of understanding one concept or idea in terms of another. The authors argue that metaphors are more than just poetic devices as they are pervasive in everyday life and play a role in determining human thought and action (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). They conduct a study of written language in order to prove this point. Their study shows that the majority of a typical human conceptual system works in a metaphorical manner, making comparisons to organize thoughts and attain greater clarity on a variety of subjects (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The authors provide the example of the conceptual metaphor "argument is war." Not only is war terminology embedded in everyday language when describing arguments, in phrases such as "he shot down my arguments," but this language actually transforms the conversation into a verbal battle (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4). Arguments are "won" or "lost," and a person who takes a different stance is seen as an "opponent" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 4). In this way, the combative language used to describe arguments play a role in determining how those arguments are conducted. On a related note, commonly

used metaphors often reveal a more pervasive underlying conceptual metaphor. For instance, the metaphors "He's living on borrowed time" and "he has spent a lot of time..." both rest on the conceptual metaphor "time is money" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 8).

Mustacchi and Krevans (2001) build on Lakoff & Johnson's point, specifically examining the metaphor of health care provision as a factory. The authors provide an example of how health care provision transitioned from being seen as a vocation of compassion to one structured largely by business interest and the aim of maximizing profit. They explain that the Medicare Act was introduced by the U.S. government in 1965 as a means of controlling medical costs and extending the access of medical care (Mustacchi & Krevans, 2001). In creating this bill, the government allocated responsibility to public and private health insurance organizations (Mustacchi & Krevans, 2001). Therefore, terminology from the insurance industry became entwined in communications surrounding the Medicare Act (Mustacchi & Krevans, 2001). The introduction of business terminology led to a new business framework for medical care in which patients became redefined as consumers and doctors as providers (Mustacchi & Krevans, 2001). Overall, the authors stress that transformations in the terminology used to discuss medicine led to the adoption of a business model for medical care and resulted in vast changes in the provision of medical services, such as a

decrease in the time health care providers generally spend with patients and the standardization of drug formularies.(Mustacchi & Krevans, 2001).

As part of my multimodal analysis of hospital foundation communications, I searched for visual metaphors connecting hospital staff and patients to subjects commonly engaged in battle or competition (soldiers, superheroes, and athletes. Visual metaphor is defined by Morgan and Reichert (1999) as visual images which cause "a receiver to experience one thing in terms of another" (p. 1). Visual metaphors allow advertisers to effectively and concisely convey rich layers of significance and meaning (McQuarrie & Phillips, 2004). Advertisers are increasingly including fewer direct messages in their ads and instead opting for metaphors in text, imagery, or both (McQuarrie & Phillips, 2004). These advertisers assume audiences are able to decode the conceptual metaphors they provide to understand what is being sold through mental association. Therefore, they can allude to what is being sold without stating it directly.

Similarly, Kim, Kim & Kim (2017) define visual metaphor as a communication technique in which meaning is conveyed through the "use of an implied comparison between two objects that have dissimilar features... the feature of one object is transferred onto the other by using a feature similar to both" (p. 655). Visual metaphors tend to be more implicit than verbal metaphors

and, therefore, allow more subjective interpretations. Consequently, visual metaphors require the observer to put forth more cognitive effort to read and decode the metaphor (Kim, Kim & Kim, 2017). However, consumers often enjoy the decoding process and experience satisfaction once they are able to uncover the intended message (Kim, Kim & Kim, 2017). There are many benefits to using visual metaphors in advertising including ad differentiation, increased ad retention and engagement, and improved brand attitude (Kim, Kim & Kim, 2017).

Examining this definition further, Chang and Yen (2013) distinguish between two types of visual metaphor — explicit and implicit. Explicit metaphors are clear about the subject/product image and include its likeness within the visuals of the communications materials; for example, an image of a patient wearing boxing gloves. In contrast, in an implicit metaphor the subject/product is not part of the metaphoric depiction; it is merely implied (Chang & Yen, 2013). For example, an image of a superhero in a hospital ad (but no patients or doctors) could still imply that patients at the hospital are superheroes.

The use of military metaphors to describe illness dates back to at least the seventeenth century (Lane et al., 2013). English poet, John Donne described his own illness as "a cannon shot" and "a siege" in a poem he wrote in 1635 (Lane et al., 2013). Similarly, physician Thomas Sydenham wrote that a "murderous array

of disease has to be fought against, and the battle is not a battle for the sluggard" in a medical book he published mid-17th century (Lane et al., 2013). In the aftermath of World War II, traits associated with victories on the battlefield such as determination and courage were utilized in describing efforts to cure disease, in an effort to appeal to America's sense of military patriotism (Nie et al., 2017). Battle metaphors have continued to be prevalent in politics as a means of appealing to patriotism and emphasizing the urgency of medical efforts. In 1971, U.S. President Nixon declared a "war on cancer" in which he called the disease "a relentless and insidious enemy" (Flusberg et al., 2018). The phrase, "war on cancer" was subsequently adopted common use and has been repurposed for various other diseases. For instance, President Obama declared a "war on alzeimer's" in 2012 (Flusberg et al., 2018). In addition, battle metaphors are commonly used in education materials related to health. In school, children learn the metaphor "the body is a battlefield," in which cells are "fighting" for supremacy within the immune sytsem (Wiggins, 2012). The language of immunology itself is built on this metaphor, as "lymphocytes are 'deployed' or 'mobilised,' and our 'main line of defence' involves 'killer" cells' (Wiggins, 2012, p. 1). Similarly, germ theory, asserts that certain diseases are caused by the "invasion" of the body by microorganisms (Wiggins, 2012).

Due to the pervasiveness of battle metaphors in medical discourse, many studies have examined the positive and negative aspects the use of battle metaphors have had on doctors and patients. Dr. Krieger, Director of the Stem Translational Communication Center at the University of Florida College of Journalism, tested the efficacy of metaphors for making medical information easier to understand (Krieger et al., 2017). Her research concludes that patients who learned about a research trial using metaphors understood the information they received better than those who received a description without the use of metaphor, even when all the medical jargon was stripped away (Krieger et al., 2017).

Similarly, Casarett et al. (2010) reports that doctors use metaphors in approximately two thirds of their conversations with patients who have been diagnosed with serious illnesses. Patients feel their physicans put in more of an effort to ensure they understood their medical conditions if they use metaphors to relay medical information (Casarett et al., 2010).

The above examples show that metaphors are useful in understanding complex ideas through their similarities to other concepts. However, evidence suggests that metaphors can also create similarities where they do not already exist when the division between the literal and figurative becomes obscure.

Williams and Bargh (2008) provide an example of this blurring in their study of

the impact of physical warmth on perception of emotional "warmth." In this study, participants were asked to hold either a hot or cold (iced) coffee on their way to the experimental room (Williams & Bargh, 2008). Once in the room, they were given the description of an anonymous person and asked to describe them based on 10 personality traits (Williams & Bargh, 2008). Williams and Bargh find that participants who were asked to hold the cup of hot coffee rated the anonymous person as having significantly "warmer" personality traits than those who were asked to hold the iced coffee (Williams & Bargh, 2008).

Thibodeau and Boditsky (2011) provide a second example. In their study, they asked participants to solve a city's crime problem, which is described to them using either the metaphor of a virus infecting the city or the metaphor of a wild beast preying on the city. The researchers find that participants who received the virus frame were far more likely to suggest solutions involving social reform, while those who received the wild beast frame were more likely to propose enforcing laws more strictly (Thibodeau & Boditsky, 2011).

These examples show that metaphorical frames can be highly powerful and influence decision making through the comparisons they subconsciously encourage. In fear of the power battle metaphors may have on the action, feelings and treatment of doctors and patients, many people have criticised its use in describing illness. Perhaps the most well-known criticism of the use of military

metaphors in medicine is by American literary critic and cancer survivor, Susan Sontag. In her two texts focused on the topic of battle metaphors, Sontag states her opinion that utilizing these metaphors is dangerous as it places extra stress on the patient and increases the risk of patient stigmatization (Sontag, 1990). She also argues that "metaphorical thinking" diminishes the patient's lived experience of their disease (Sontag, 1990).

Many scholars and journalists have followed Sontag's lead, explaining the various reasons for their disapproval of the use of battle metaphors in describing illness. Byrne et al. (2002), conduct interviews with cancer patients about their experience dealing with illness. Within these interviews, many patients state that their doctors encourage them to have a "fighting" attitude, which in turn causes these patients to supress their unpleasant emotions. (Byrne et al., 2002).

Luker et al. (1996) explore the different ways women with breast cancer describe their own disease and whether there is a correlation between particular ways of describing illness and mental health. They conclude that women who think of their cancer as an "enemy" experience a higher incidence of depression and anxiety, and report a lower quality of life than woman who describe their illness as a "challenge" or a "value" (Luker et al., 1996).

After reviewing existing literature on the use of battle metaphors in describing patients, doctors and illness, it is evident that there is an abundance of

research investigating the negative influences of military metaphors on patients, much of which is subjective. However, there is a lack of existing literature on the positive impact military metaphors might have. There is also very little scholarly literature connecting health care battle language and media relations.

Part 3: Impact of Media Coverage

Cohen (1963) famously describes the agenda setting function of the media, stating that the news "may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about" (p. 13).

McCombs and Shaw (1972) introduce agenda setting theory, which poses that media play an important role in determining what audiences think about (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Audiences gauge how much importance issues deserve based on the amount of information the media provide about a topic and where each news story is positioned or displayed (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The authors demonstrate their point through a study of the agenda setting capacity of mass media during the 1968 U.S. presidential election (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The study compares Chapel Hill, North Carolina voters' interview responses about what they believe to be the most important issues being addressed by presidential candidates with the information disseminated by mass media about key issues of the campaign (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). The study concludes that

there is a strong correlation between the major issues emphasized by media outlets and those deemed important by voters (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, p. 180). Their findings strongly suggest an agenda setting function of mass media.

Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet (1948) propose a two-step flow model of communication, in which ideas spread from media to the masses in two distinct phases; (1) the media spreads ideas to opinion leaders; (2) the ideas spread by the media are re-interpreted and adjusted by the opinion leaders, who disseminate them to other individuals.

Eftekar et al. (2017) examine 32 medium and large-size humanitarian organizations with international exposure over a five-year period to determine if there is a correlation between media exposure, organizational performance and donations received. Their findings suggest that media exposure has a strong impact on donations received (Eftekar et al., 2017). Individual donors, whose support constitutes approximately a quarter of non-profit funding, tend to judge organizations largely based on their appearance in the media (Eftekar et al., 2017). Moreover, humanitarian organizations often attract government funding through a combination of positive media exposure and organizational performance (Eftekar et al., 2017).

Brewer and McCombs (1996) detail the year-long effort of a Texas Daily

Newspaper – *The San Antonio Light* – aimed at influencing the community

agenda and encouraging support for eight issues relating to children's welfare: "poverty, healthcare, education, childcare, young mothers, abuse and neglect, drugs and violence, and tomorrow's work force" (p. 7). *The San Antonio Light* published an editorial feature at the beginning of the year, urging the community to place greater focus on these issues (Brewer & McCombs, 1996). The paper then published extensive coverage of these issues in subsequent months (Brewer & McCombs, 1996). By the end of the year, Brewer and McCombs (1996) found that government funding of children's programs by the City of San Antonio had greatly increased, with a 61% increase in funding for job training, a 55% increase for parks and recreation, a 38% increase for police youth programs, and a 23% increase for children's resources (p. 13).

Part 4: News as Storytelling

The inclusion of battle language or imagery in communications alludes to intriguing narratives of conflict associated with superheroes, soldiers, and athletes which are often depicted in movies, television shows and other forms of entertainment. The use of this type of metaphor could make a story more attractive to reporters and/or editors who often aim to narrativize news segments. Kishan Thussu (2007) write that, "the growing commercialism of airwaves as a result of the privatization of global communication hard and software, the deregulation of broadcasting and the technological convergence between

television, telecommunication and computing industries, have fundamentally changed the ecology of broadcasting" (p. 2). The commercialization and proliferation of news outlets has created, "a growing competition for audiences, and crucially, advertising revenue, at a time when interest in news is generally waning" (Kishan Thussu, 2007, p. 2). As a result of this competition, many news outlets have succumbed to producing *infotainment*, broadcast material that adapts "characteristics from entertainment genres and modes of conversation that privilege an informal communicative style, with its emphasis on personalities, style, storytelling skills and spectacles" (Kishan Thussu, 2007, p. 3). Similarly, communication materials that use battle metaphors adopt language and imagery from entertainment, making these stories well-suited for infotainment.

Bird and Dardenne (1990), in discussing news and storytelling in American culture, explain that despite the press's inclination towards hard, objective, informational news, "journalists know that to provide a complete and understandable picture of events, even 'important' events, they must revert to 'story'" (p. 35). The authors cite a study of the effectiveness of different styles of news broadcast that finds the disconnected, informational reporting style that characterizes the majority of standard news broadcasts is almost incomprehensible to most viewers. In contrast, stories broadcast through a narrative style were found to be more engaging, more easily understood and better

remembered than standard newscasts (Bird & Dardenne, 1990). Bird and Dardenne (1990) also argue that news stories should contain conflict, as it adds interest to a story, while engaging the audience's senses and emotions. For this reason, the inclusion of battle metaphors in hospital foundation communications could make hospital stories more attractive to reporters, as they add aspects of the narrative style to patient stories and emphasize the conflict between patients/ healthcare providers and illnesses.

Part 5: Status Conferral

Lazarsfeld and Merton introduce *status conferral*, the notion that media coverage bestows importance upon the person or group covered, enhancing their overall status (Katz & Dayan, 1986). Katz and Dayan (1986), further discuss the idea of status conferral, pointing to its reciprocal function. They explain that by covering people who are deemed important, the press themselves become prestigious for their ability to access the important people who they cover (Katz & Dayan, 1986). Therefore, journalists are inclined to describe those who overcome great odds as "everyday heroes". It is also highly probable that they would prefer to cover a patient who is depicted by their hospital as a hero, rather than a patient who is portrayed as weak and helpless.

Sjovaag (2015) explains "one of the strongest dichotomies of news production," the hard/soft news split (p. 101). She defines news as events that

either challenge or affirm common conceptions of normalcy and says that the division between hard and soft news can be easily conceptualized in relation to this definition (Svojaag, 2015). Events that cause social disruption are often considered hard news, "such as war reporting, political exposure or investigative journalism" (Sjovaag, 2015, p. 101). While, "affirmations primarily come in the form of soft news... [include]entertainment, features and human-interest stories, family life, consumer journalism and sports" (Sjovaag, 2015, p. 101). The hard/soft dichotomy separates that which is considered highbrow (hard news) from that which is considered lowbrow (soft news). Because communications about hospital foundations often center around patient profiles and the experience of patient families, news reporting on these topics would most likely be categorized as soft news, especially for children's hospitals, as stories about children are often categorized this way (Lehman-Wilzig & Seletzky, 2010). As battle metaphors allude to war—a hard news topic—it is possible that the inclusion of battle metaphors in hospital foundation communications could add an element of seriousness to a personal story or cause a reporter/editor to subconsciously select these stories over others.

Part 6: Sadness vs. Strength

Hospital foundation communications that employ battle language and imagery use metaphors to compare doctors and patients to soldiers, superheroes,

and athletes, inferring that the doctors and patients are strong, courageous, and resilient like their heroes. This depiction of the strength of patients, directly contradicts a vast collection of past and present hospital foundation communications materials which present patients as weak and vulnerable in order to elicit a feeling of sadness in audiences and potential donors. Not-for-profit organizations, including hospital foundations, have a tendency to create sad advertisements, depicting a victim with an explicit or implied lack of agency and eliciting feelings of guilt, sympathy, empathy and/or compassion in the viewer (Starowicz, 2016). This type of advertising has become so popular in the not-for-profit sector that it has been dubbed, *sadvertising* (Starowicz, 2016).

Sadvertisements arouse prosocial behavior. Negative state relief model is a theory posing that a temporary feeling of sadness results in an increased willingness to help others (Graham, 2007). The theory explains that this outcome happens largely due to the innate selfishness of human beings. People have been socialized to believe that they will be rewarded for helping others and, therefore, over time, come to think of helping others as a quick fix for a sad mood (Graham, 2007).

Similarly, Rucker and Petty (2004) find that audiences can be further persuaded to take action when a negative emotion is presented with the prospect of a positive emotional outcome. For example, if a sad charity advertisement

gives viewers an opportunity to feel better by donating money, viewers will be encouraged to do so in order to rectify the sad emotions depicted. This technique also tends to leave audiences with positive feelings about the advertisement (Rucker & Petty, 2004).

In contrast, Underwood et al. (1977), conduct a study in which they ask participants if they would like to donate to a charity after viewing a sad or neutral movie. They find that participants who had viewed the sad film were substantially less likely to donate than those who viewed the neutral film, concluding that sadness causes a decrease in the likelihood of a subject to give to charity (Underwood et al., 1977).

Liang, Chen and Lei (2015) study the success of advertisements that evoke sadness in motivating participants to give to charity versus advertisements that evoke a combination of sadness and strength. Their results show that participants who had viewed the advertisement that combined images of sadness with images of strength were more inclined to donate to charity than the participants who had viewed the sadness dominated advertisement (Liang et al., 2015).

Part 7: Journalistic Reactions

Trussler and Soroka (2014) argue that reporters publish negative news stories more often than positive stories because the public demands it. They

conduct a study in which they ask participants to choose news stories they are most intrigued by from a sample including an equal amount of negative, neutral and positive articles (Trusssler & Soroka, 2014). They conclude that participants were more interested in negative news articles than they were neutral or positive articles (Trussler & Soroka, 2014).

Berger, Sorensen & Rasmussen (2010) conduct a study in order to understand whether the popular saying "all publicity is good publicity" holds true in terms of product evaluation and sales. The authors analyze over 200 fiction books reviewed by the New York Times to see if there is a correlation between positive reviews and sales (Berger et al., 2010). They find that positive reviews generate between a 32% and 52% increase in demand for books (Berger et al., 2010). They also find that the impact of negative reviews depends upon how well-known the author was. For books by established authors, negative reviews resulted in a 15% decrease in sales, but for books with relatively unknown authors, negative reviews resulted in a 45% increase in sales (Berger et al., 2010).

Kim, Carvalho and Cooksey (2007) analyze media coverage of a local university and survey community members' perceptions of said university to see if negative news coverage influences their opinion of the institution (Kim, Carvalho & Cooksey, 2007). They find that those who have been exposed to negative news coverage of the university have unfavourable perceptions of it and

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are less likely to support it than those who have not been exposed to the negative news coverage (Kim et al., 2007).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In summary, Non-profit organizations have a tendency to create sad advertisements, eliciting feelings of guilt or sympathy in their audiences. Additionally, the number of charities registered in Canada has been steadily increasing since 2005, meaning there is increasingly greater competition for nonprofit organizations to get attention and secure donations. In order to stand out in the oversaturated charity market, some hospital foundations have differentiated themselves by creating communications materials which elicit encouragement and hope rather than sadness. These communications materials often utilize metaphors - tropes that use language "to refer to something other than what it was originally applied to, or what it 'literally' means—to position subjects as strong fighters as opposed to weak victims. It is likely that the inclusion of battle metaphors in hospital foundation communications could result in more media mentions of the foundation's institution, as battle metaphors allude to aspects of entertainment, which may attract journalists looking to narrativize news segments. Furthermore, the idea of status conferral suggests that journalists would be more intrigued to cover a story in which a patient is described as a "hero." Finding best practices in public relations that hospital foundations can apply to attract media coverage is especially salient given the oversaturation of the charity sector mentioned above. Agenda setting theory poses that media play an important role in deciding what audiences think about and what they deem important. Similarly, previous studies,

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including those by Eftekar et al. (2017) and Brewer and McCombs (1996), have proven that media coverage has a strong impact on attention and donations received by charity organizations.

In light of these findings, the questions that will guide my research are:

- **RQ1.** Is there a correlation between the use of battle metaphors in hospital foundation communications and increased media coverage?
- **RQ2.** What is the relationship between the use of battle metaphors in hospital foundation communications and the sentiment of media coverage?

DATA COLLECTION APPROACH

This research paper analyzes the communications of five hospital foundations: The Hospital for Sick Children (SickKids) Foundation, Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Hospital Foundation, The Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation, Sunnybrook Foundation and Sinai Health Foundation. All five foundations have been ranked within the top 50 hospitals in Canada by The Ranking Web of World Hospitals, an initiative of the Cybermetrics Lab, a research group belonging to the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), the largest public research body in Spain. These five foundations were selected based on: (a) their ranking, (b) their location (inside Toronto), (c) the frequency of their posts on Twitter and on their blogs, and (d) the fact that they have each released advertisements and posted them online within the previous fiscal year, April 1, 2017 – March 31, 2018. This research only includes hospital foundations located in Toronto, Ontario, Canada in order to ensure consistency and reduce the capacity of location to create bias in the results. Additionally, these foundations were likely to receive media coverage from the same media outlets based on their location.

For each of the five hospital foundations, the following communications materials were collected:

Running Head: CONQUERING MEDIA COVERAGE

- Any advertisements posted to their YouTube channel or Facebook account during the fiscal year 2017 - 2018.
- 2) Blog posts posted during the fiscal year 2017 2018.
- 3) Tweets posted during the fiscal year 2017 2018.
- 4) All media coverage disseminated during the fiscal year 2017 2018 which mentions the name of the hospital foundation was collected using Cision, media intelligence software.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The qualitative data analysis software, Nvivo was used to analyze the use of war language in hospital foundation blog posts and tweets. This tool provides the means to perform a text search of communications materials, providing insight into how many times certain words appear within texts. Using NVivo, all blog posts uploaded by each hospital foundation between April 1, 2017 and March 31, 2018 were searched for the battle terms listed in Figure 1. The option to "include related terms" was selected in this search to ensure Nvivo was not missing any relevant terms. This option allows Nvivo to recognize variations of the battle terms listed below, so that for example, the terms launching and launched were picked up in the text search, even though launch was the only variation entered into the search bar. The number of times battle terminology appeared within each post and the total number of blog posts published by the foundation within the fiscal year were recorded. In order to perform an accurate analysis of each foundation's use of battle metaphors, I manually scanned the battle terms identified by Nvivo within each blog post to ensure that the terms were used in the context of a metaphor. Any battle terms that had been used for their literal meaning, rather than in a metaphorical sense, were removed from the battle term count. This data was then used to calculate the average amount of times battle metaphors appeared per blog post. It was important to calculate the average as each foundation had posted a different number of blog posts within the same time

span. The battle terms used most frequently by each foundation were also recorded, and the context in which they were mentioned was noted. Subsequently, a text search of all tweets posted by each foundation during the 2017 - 2018 fiscal year was performed, and the same data was recorded. The analysis of Twitter was limited to original posts by the hospital foundations. Linked content was not included in the analysis (videos or other external links), to limit repetition of content examination within the analysis of foundation advertisements and blog posts.

Figure 1 presents a list of 78 battle terms that hospital foundation communication materials were searched for. The list includes battle terms such as *combat, conquer, defense, hero, recruit, tough* and *valiant*. This list was compiled using BBC's glossary of war vocabulary (Shea, 2009). Terms that seemed too irrelevant for hospital foundations to include in their communications were excluded and terms often used to describe superheroes were added.

Throughout the remainder of this research paper, these terms will appear in italics to highlight their appearance in hospital foundation communication materials.

Additionally, advertisements posted to each foundation's YouTube channel or Facebook account during the same time period were analysed. A multimodal discourse analysis was manually conducted, in which the visuals, music and language included in each advertisement were examined. The conceptual

metaphors used in each advertisement and how prevalent they were throughout the advertisement were noted.

Finally, the data collected using Cision provided insight into how much media coverage each hospital foundation received during the 2017 - 2018 fiscal year and the sentiment of the coverage received. The results of analyzing the foundations' blog posts, tweets and advertisements were compared with the media coverage received by each foundation to see if there was any correlation between the increased use of battle metaphors and the amount or sentiment of media coverage received.

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

Blog Post Text Analysis

The following is a summary of the findings of a text analysis of the blog posts each hospital foundation published between April 1, 2017 and March 31, 2018. With this text analysis I was able to determine the average number of battle terms each foundation used per blog post, the most frequent terms they utilized and how each foundation typically incorporated these terms into their blog posts.

SickKids Foundation

SickKids Foundation used an average of 0.47 battle terms per blog post. The Foundation's most frequently used battle terms were *strong, strength, fight, leaders, launch, battle, aggression, score, VS (versus)* and *rally.* The term *VS* came up many times throughout the SickKids Foundation blog posts as it is the name of the current SickKids brand platform. The VS platform stems from the Foundation's 2016 campaign, *SickKids VS the Greatest Challenges in Child Health.* Since 2016, the platform has expanded to feature a number of fundraising campaigns connected through their *VS* title and empowering branding and messaging, including *SickKids VS Limits*, the Foundation's current initiative and its largest campaign to-date, with the goal of raising \$1.3 billion to build a new hospital. All of the terms listed above are prevalent throughout the Foundation's new branding, especially the battle term *VS*. One example of how these terms

appear in SickKids Foundation's blog posts, is a post from last year's Mother's Day entitled, "#SickKidsMomStrong,". The post quotes a mother explaining her daughter's SickKids journey by stating, "I had to be strong for her and I had to let her know that we will beat this" (Natasha, 2017). This also illustrated the way many of the Foundation's communications materials framed health conditions as something to be fought against or battled.

Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Hospital Foundation

Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Hospital Foundation used an average of 0.37 battle terms per blog post. The terms most frequently incorporated into the Foundation's blog posts included *power*, *strong*, *attack*, *cry*, *courage*, *hero*, *cape*, *leader* and *strength*. Most of Holland Bloorview's blog posts were written by "guest writers," such as patient family members, hospital volunteers and staff. These terms arose somewhat organically within the posts as patients outlined how they tried to stay *strong* throughout their illness or how Holland Bloorview has been a *leader* in child health care. Additionally, the terms *cape*, *hero*, and *power* arose frequently throughout the posts in relation to a Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Foundation fundraising event called Capes for Kids in which supporters were encouraged to wear a cape to signify that they had reached a fundraising goal or that they were in the process of raising money for the hospital. Many of the communications materials for this fundraising event

used terminology that depicted hospital staff and donors as *heroes* and illness as the *villains* they must defeat.

The Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation

The Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation used an average of 0.69 battle terms per blog post. It's most regularly used terms included *conquer*, *fight*, *leader* and *courage*. The frequent use of the term *conquer* can be explained by the fact that The Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation's vision is "To Conquer Cancer in Our Lifetime" and many of their events include the term *conquer* in their titles, such as The Ride to Conquer Cancer and OneWalk to Conquer Cancer.

Furthermore, the Foundation often describes cancer as something that must be fought against in their blog posts. For example, a blog post about the fundraising event Road Hockey to Conquer Cancer stated "Road Hockey warriors will gather in a parking lot at Woodbine and raise over \$2.5 million in the fight against cancer" (Alofs, 2017).

The Sunnybrook Foundation

The Sunnybrook Foundation used an average of 0.75 battle terms per blog post. The term *leader* was included in its blog posts most frequently, as The Sunnybrook Foundation often referred to itself as "An internationally recognized leader in research and education" (Sunnybrook Health Sciences Centre, 2017).

The Sinai Health Foundation

The Sinai Health Foundation used an average of 0.81 battle terms per blog post. Its most frequently used battle terms included *rescue*, *reinforce*, *recruit* and *leader*. These terms were often used to describe Foundation staff and doctors. For example, a blog post welcoming a new researcher to one of the Foundation's research institutes stated, "*Recruitment* of Miguel and designation of the Canada 150 Chair is tremendously exciting. Not only does it reinforce our ability to attract the very top scientific talent from around the world to work with us, it solidifies our role, nationally, and globally as a leader in this critically important field of research" (Corporate Communications, 2017).

Twitter Text Analysis

The following is a summary of the findings of a text analysis of the tweets each hospital foundation posted between April 1, 2017 and March 31, 2018. In a fashion similar to the blog post text analysis above, this text analysis determined the average number of battle terms each foundation used per tweet, the most frequent terms they utilized and how each foundation typically incorporated these terms into their tweets.

SickKids Foundation

SickKids Foundation used an average of 0.04 battle terms per tweet with fight, strong, launch, win, VS and rally among their most frequently used battle terms. Many of these terms were used within the same phrases repeated in numerous tweets. For example, tweets linking to a blog post about a specific patient's SickKids story often read, "Building a new SickKids means we can fight even harder for kids like [insert name]. Read [his/her] story: [link]." Similarly, the phrases, "join the fight for children's health," "fund the fight today" and "SickKids patients and family members came together to rally the public around the urgent need to build a new SickKids" were repeatedly incorporated into Foundation tweets. As mentioned previously, the term VS was often included in SickKids Foundation's communication materials as VS is the name of its brand platform and is integrated into the titles of most of the Foundation's fundraising campaigns.

Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Hospital Foundation

Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Hospital Foundation used an average of 0.05 battle terms per tweet. Their most frequently used battle terms included *cape, superhero, leader, strength, forces, power* and *launch*. As mentioned earlier, one of Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Hospital Foundation's fundraising campaigns is titled "Capes for Kids." The communications materials for this campaign represented Holland Bloorview

patients, staff members and donors as superheroes fighting for children's health. The tweets about "Capes for Kids" often incorporated numerous battle terms, especially the seven mentioned above. For example, one tweet posted just before this year's "Capes for Kids" start date urges donors, "Join *Forces* with the *Heroes* of Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Hospital. Wear Your *Cape* March 5-11 #CapesForKids capesforkids.ca" (Holland Bloorview, 2018).

The Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation

The Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation used an average of 0.03 battle terms per tweet. Battle terms cited most frequently by the Foundation included conquer, fight, launch and power. The term conquer was used extremely frequently by The Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation throughout their communications materials. As stated in one of its tweets (and previously mentioned in this paper), the Foundation's vision is to "conquer cancer in our lifetime" (Princess Margaret CF, 2017). The Foundation had a tendency to position patients as fighters opposing their illness, in tweets such as:

Cancer is *tough*. We are sad you have to *battle* this horrible disease. It won't be easy. You'll *fight* hard. We will be there for you, every step of the way. You can do this. You are not alone. #NationalComplimentDay.

(Princess Margaret CF, 2018)

The Sunnybrook Foundation

The Sunnybrook Foundation used an average of 0.02 battle terms per tweet. The Foundation's most commonly used battle terms were target, strength, courage, leader and launch. The Sunnybrook Foundation did not include many battle metaphors in its tweets. In fact, in one of its tweets the Foundation argued that "when talking about cancer, words like 'fight' & 'battle' can be harmful" (Sunnybrook Hospital, 2017). The tweet was linked to a CBC News segment, featuring a psychologist, who explained that the use of this language can be detrimental to patients as the way most patients feel during their stay in the hospital is the antithesis of what is commonly associated with a fighter or warrior, suggesting that these patients should be feeling differently (CBC, 2017). The psychologist also explained that because there are winners and losers in battle, comparing patients to soldiers could diminish their sense of self-worth if a treatment is unsuccessful or they are feeling unwell (CBC, 2017). The psychologist's final argument was that comparing patients to soldiers insinuates that they should be strong, and therefore hide their sadness or vulnerability, which could be damaging to their mental health (CBC, 2017). Despite these arguments, The Sunnybrook Foundation still incorporated some battle terms into its other tweets. The Foundation often described patients and patient families as courageous and strong. For example, one of its tweets in honour of Mother's Day

read, "Yes, moms are boo-boo kissers. They're also breast cancer survivors, providers and preemie-protectors. Our moms embody *courage*. #MothersDay" (Sunnybrook Hospital, 2017). It also included phrases such as "Some tips to help *combat* feelings of loneliness" and "cold & flu season is here! Tips to help you *launch* your best *defence*" (Sunnybrook Hospital, 2018).

The Sinai Health Foundation

The Sinai Health Foundation used an average of 0.02 battle terms per tweet. *Leaders* was the only battle term used by the Foundation repeatedly. The Foundation described itself and Mount Sinai Hospital as *leaders* in various areas of medical care and research including inflammatory bowel disease care and oral health. Additionally, Future Sinai (FS), a group of young professionals in their 20s and 30s who raise funds for Mount Sinai were repeatedly mentioned in The Sinai Health Foundation's tweets and described as *leaders*.

It is interesting to note that the term *launch* was used consistently throughout all five foundations' communications materials, to describe the start of new campaigns, hospital programs and fundraising events. The word *launch* originates from the word *lance*, a pole-shaped weapon used by warriors and soldiers during classical and medieval warfare (Launch, 2018). In the late 17th century, the term *launch* came into use meaning, "hurl a missile or discharge with force" (Launch, 2018). This common, everyday term, with its origins in warfare,

shows just how pervasive battle vocabulary is. Though the term *launch* has evolved to mean "to start or set in motion," a conscious or subconscious reference back to the word's original roots suggests that the event, program or campaign being set in motion, will be as powerful as a violent weapon.

Advertisement Analysis

The following is a multimodal discourse analysis of advertisements posted to each foundation's YouTube channel or Facebook account between April 1, 2017 and March 31, 2018. OxfordDictionaries.com (2018) defines advertisement as "a notice or announcement in a public medium promoting a product, service or event." For the purpose of this paper, I have selected only advertisements with agency production value. I restricted the data in this way in order to omit short informational videos that are unlikely to be seen by a wide audience or receive media coverage. Below, is a brief description of each foundation's advertisements. I have made note of whether or not each foundation utilized battle metaphors in their advertisements and if utilized, the context in which they were incorporated.

SickKids Foundation

a) "SickKids VS Missing Home" (SickKids, 2017).

This holiday advertisement depicted children in the hospital writing signs and letters to Santa Claus to let him know that they were in the hospital. In response, the SickKids staff baked a humungous cookie and pour a giant glass of milk and use a helicopter to place them on the roof of the hospital as a sign to Santa Claus. While there is little battle imagery in the ad, the song used in the ad repeated the lyrics, "I'll fight until the end."

a) "SickKids VS 5000" (SickKids, 2017).

In this advertisement, SickKids Foundation conveyed to audiences that it needed 5000 new monthly donors in order to help many different patients. A variety of different patients' names and images were shown as they ran together, carrying construction materials, to build a new hospital. The advertisement was styled in black and white. Battle imagery was highly prevalent as children ran through smoke, raised planks of wood like weaponry, and lifted each other up when they were unable to stand similar to the way soldiers are often been depicted in films.

a) "SickKids VS Limits: Case for Support" (SickKids, 2017).

In this advertisement, visuals flashed between scenes of doctors, patients, the hospital and medical tools as a voiceover describes SickKids' need for donor support. The first few seconds of the ad showed a doctor waving a "VS" flag,

which could be a means of comparing this doctor to a flag-bearing soldier. In wars such as the American Civil War, flags were treasured as morale builders. The advertisement repeatedly showed doctors with tough facial expressions in strong looking poses. The camera frequently closed in on doctors' closed fists and crossed arms, conveying their strength, determination and power. They were also shown huddling with one another, as athletes might before a big game. Children were also shown running through the hospital, evoking a sense of urgency in the viewer. In terms of battle vocabulary, the narrator used phrases like, "transitioning the hospital from defense to offense," connoting sports, as well as *revolution*, *shatter* and *recruit*, connoting battle. The background music featured a slowly building rock track with an aggressive tone which complimented the advertisement's tough visuals.

a) SickKids VS: All In (SickKids, 2017).

This advertisement was based on the same premise as the advertisement "SickKids VS 5000" described above. This advertisement included the exact same imagery of children running towards the hospital with construction materials in hand in addition to more visuals in the same setting paired with different audio and graphics. At the very beginning of the ad, a child in a cape looked out of a window and sees many children running by. He then jumped off his porch to join them, his cape flying in the air, immediately creating a comparison between this

child and a superhero. In this same fashion as "SickKids VS 5000," children carried building materials like soldiers would carry weapons. Children also fell and helped each other up, like soldiers would help fallen platoon members. Some children even carried other children on their back as they ran through smoke. Imagery near the end of the ad showed children standing on a construction vehicle that looked similar to a battle tank. Overall, this advertisement incorporated many battle metaphors.

a) "SickKids VS Join Us" (SickKids, 2017).

This advertisement featured actor Ryan Reynolds speaking about SickKids' battle "against childhood illness, trauma and disease" and why donor support was needed. Reynolds' monologue included many battle terms and phrases including, battle, fighting, epic crusade, frontlines, retreating, giving up ground and lose.

Drum beats and chanting played throughout the advertisement, reminiscent of war drums and warriors chanting. At the very end of the advertisement, a sign reading "VS" lit up, revealing a large group of patients, hospital staff and other supporters standing behind Reynolds as he said "join us" which can be interpreted as a call to action or a type of "battle cry". The group of people behind him stood in tough looking poses (many with their arms crossed), resembling an army ready for battle.

a) "SickKids VS: DadStrong" (SickKids, 2017).

This Father's Day advertisement featured a father who was working on a construction site. He finished his shift late at night and travelled to The Hospital for Sick Children (SickKids) to see his daughter, a SickKids patient. There were no obvious battle metaphors included in the advertisement aside from its title, "SickKids VS: DadStrong," keeping consistent with SickKids' current VS branding platform.

a) "SickKids VS: MomStrong" (SickKids, 2017).

This Mother's Day advertisement depicted many patient moms crying and screaming, implying that they are feeling sad or stressed due to their child's health issues. At the end of the advertisement, they were able to stop crying and motivate themselves to move on with their day and support their children. There were no obvious battle metaphors included; however, there was a mention of strength both in the title of the advertisement and in the call to action at the end of the advertisement which read, "this Mother's Day, help a SickKids Mom stay strong."

Holland Bloorview Rehabilitation Hospital Foundation

a) "Dear Everybody," (Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Hospital, 2017).

In an effort to end stigma around children's health conditions, this advertisement depicted Holland Bloorview patients and a patient's mother

speaking out to those around them to explain that even though they (or their children) have different health conditions and may look different, they are just like everyone else. The advertisement did not include any battle metaphors. A superhero was mentioned by one patient, but only to emphasize the differences between the child and the hero rather than the similarities between them.

a) "Capes for Kids 2018" (Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Hospital,
 2017).

This advertisement promoted a fundraising event entitled, Capes for Kids, in which Holland Bloorview Rehabilitation Hospital supporters wore capes to signify that they were currently raising funds for the hospital or that they had reached their fundraising goal. The advertisement urged audiences to "join forces" with the different cartoon superheroes who resembled hospital patients and staff. This advertisement was filled with battle metaphors, as it suggested that hospital staff, patients and donors were all like superheroes. Superhero themed music was also featured throughout the advertisement. Battle terms appearing in the advertisement included *cape*, *forces*, *powerful* and *heroes*.

Sunnybrook Hospital Foundation

a) "Moms are everything" (Sunnybrook Hospital, 2017).

This Mother's Day advertisement featured a combination of black and white photos of mothers and their children and videos of mothers with their children.

Text was superimposed over the photos and video footage, listing the reasons why moms were worth celebrating. The text stated that moms are fierce, resilient, warriors and survivors. While the visuals and music used in this ad lacked battle metaphors, the words used to describe moms throughout the advertisement presented them as strong, powerful individuals.

The Sinai Health Foundation

a) "Where Care Connects: 365 Moments from Across Sinai Health System"
 (Sinai Health System, 2017).

This advertisement exhibited a combination of black and white, and colour photographs taken in the health facilities comprising Sinai Health System. The advertisement provided viewers with information of where and when these photos would be on display. The photographs were presented in a fast-paced slideshow to the beat of cheerful sounding instrumental music. No battle metaphors were present in this advertisement.

a) "Sinai Health System People Plan, 2018-2023" (Sinai Health System,2018).

This advertisement outlined Sinai Health System's plan and goals for the years 2018-2023. The advertisement featured a combination of black and white photos of hospital patients and staff members, brightly coloured graphics and cheerful music that sounded like whistling. Text displayed throughout the advertisement shared the details of the Foundation's commitment to those who supported and were impacted by its hospitals. These commitments included engaging and investing in people, being well and feeling energetic, building leadership strengths and management skills, and attracting and positioning top talent. There were no battle metaphors present within the advertisement.

Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation

 a) "#Giving Tuesday 2017 – Journey to Conquer Cancer" (Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation, 2017).

This advertisement was a promotion for Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation's annual fundraising event, Journey to Conquer Cancer, a run or walk in support of cancer research. The advertisement featured a reel of photos taken at previous Journey to Conquer Cancer events, paired with heavy rock music. Interludes between photos featured large text urging viewers to "conquer cancer your way" by participating. While no battle metaphors were embedded in the advertisement's imagery, the term conquer was used both in the advertisement and in the name of the fundraising event being advertised. The phrase "conquer

cancer your way" suggested that the audience was in direct opposition with cancer. Additionally, the soundtrack of the advertisement gave it a more aggressive tone.

a) "#1in2 What does that mean to you?" (The Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation, 2017).

This advertisement informed audiences that "nearly 1 in 2 Canadians will be diagnosed with cancer." Princess Margaret Cancer Centre was positioned as a source of hope and audiences were prompted to "donate today" at the end of the advertisement. Visuals in the advertisement were comprised of graphics and text, which played to intense sounding piano music. There were no battle metaphors embedded within this advertisement.

DISCUSSION

The aim of RQ1 was to assess if there was a correlation between the use of battle metaphors in hospital foundation communications and the volume of media coverage received. After examining the number of battle metaphors embedded in blog posts published by each hospital foundation between April 1, 2017 and March 31, 2018 and using Cision to calculate how much media coverage each foundation received during this time period, results showed that there was a weak, negative correlation of -0.38 between the use of battle metaphors in blog posts and the media coverage received. The results of analyzing the use of battle metaphors in tweets posted by each hospital foundation during the fiscal year 17-18, showed there was a weak positive correlation of 0.32 between the use of battle metaphors and media coverage received. The results of an analysis of hospital foundation advertisements revealed that SickKids Foundation included the most battle metaphors in their advertisement compared to all of the hospital foundations included in this study. Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Foundation followed behind SickKids, using many battle metaphors in one of its advertisements. Princess Margaret Cancer Foundation and Sunnybrook Foundation each highlighted the strength of patients and donors in overcoming illness in their advertisements but did not use battle metaphors as overtly as SickKids Foundation and Holland Bloorview Kids Rehabilitation Foundation.

Last, Sinai Health Foundation did not include any battle metaphors in its advertisements. After reviewing the descriptions of each foundation's advertisements above, each foundation was ranked on a scale of one to five in terms of how frequently battle metaphors appeared within their advertisements. This system was used in order to quantify the analysis of the possible relationship between the use of battle language in hospital foundation advertisements and the volume of media coverage received. Each foundation's advertisements were ranked based on the inclusion or exclusion of references to battle, the military, heroes, or sport within the advertisements' visuals, music or text/ script. Figure 2 presents a rubric which was used to rank each foundation's advertisements based on the extent to which they included or excluded references to battle. Figure 2 shows each foundation's ranking based on the ranking criteria presented in Figure 2.

Ranking	Description
0	No implicit or explicit reference to battle (sport, heroes, fighting or military) included in any of the foundation's advertisements.

1	1 or 2 implicit or explicit references to battle included in at least one of the foundation's advertisements, through visuals, music, text or dialogue.
2	2 to 4 implicit or explicit references to battle included in at least one of the foundation's advertisements, through visuals, music, text or dialogue.
3	5 or more implicit or explicit references to battle included in at least one of the foundation's advertisements, through visuals, music, text or dialogue. References might be pervasive in one advertisement but not others or presented more subtly in a number of advertisements.
4	Over 50% of the foundation's advertisements reference battle in their visuals, music, text or dialogue. References to battle are more explicit than implicit. Patients, doctors or donors are directly compared to warriors, soldiers, athletes or heroes.

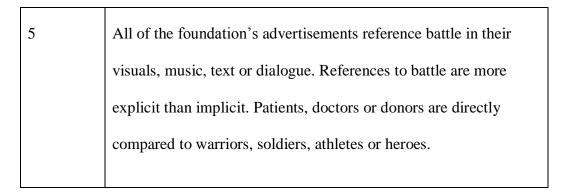


Figure 2: Ranking criteria for hospital foundation advertisements.

Foundation	Ranking
SickKids Foundation	4
Princess Margaret	2
Cancer Foundation	
Holland Bloorview Kids	
Rehabilitation	3
Foundation	
Sinai Health Foundation	0
Sunnybrook Foundation	1

Figure 3: Ranking of hospital foundation advertisements based on Figure 2.

These ranking positions were then measured against the amount of media coverage each foundation received during the fiscal year under examination. This

exposed a strong positive correlation of 0.75 between the use of battle metaphors in a foundation's advertisements and the amount of media coverage received.

RQ2 was aimed at determining whether there is a connection between the use of battle metaphors in hospital foundation communications and the sentiment of media coverage received. Figure 4 displays the correlation between the prevalence of battle metaphors in hospital foundation blog posts, tweets and advertisements and the percentage of news articles that mentioned each hospital foundation that were positive, negative or neutral in sentiment. The sentiment of news coverage was determined by communications software, Cision.

News			
sentiment	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Blog posts	-0.7	0.68	0.68
Tweets	0.74	-0.72	-0.72
Advertisements	0.89	-0.49	-0.88

Figure 4: The correlation between the use of battle metaphors in hospital foundation communication materials on the sentiment of news coverage

The findings show that the use of battle metaphors in hospital foundation blog posts correlated with a higher prevalence of negative and neutral news coverage and a lesser incidence of positive news coverage. In contrast, the use of

battle metaphors in hospital foundation tweets and advertisements correlated with a high incidence of positive news coverage and a lower percentage of neutral and negative news coverage.

In both the findings for RQ1 and RQ2, there was a positive correlation between the use of battle metaphors in hospital foundation tweets and advertisements and increased media coverage that was more positive in sentiment. However, in answer to both research questions, there was a negative correlation between the use of battle metaphors in hospital foundation blog posts and increased media coverage/ news coverage that was more positive in sentiment.

Because the text analysis of blog posts produced opposing results to those of the text analysis of tweets and multimodal discourse analysis of advertisements, this study was largely inconclusive. However, the positive correlation between the use of battle metaphors in both hospital foundation tweets and advertisements and increased, more positive media coverage shows that the use of battle metaphors could be a promising public relations strategy for these organizations.

Seeing that many Canadian news outlets, including CBC News and The Globe and Mail have been critical of hospital foundation campaigns that have included battle language and imagery, and have discussed the supposedly negative impact the use of battle metaphors have on the mental health of patients and their families, it was surprising that tweets and advertisements that included

battle metaphors did not receive news coverage with more negative sentiment.

Only the results of the blog post text analysis fell in line with this expectation.

The results of this study also directly contradicted Trussler and Soroka's assertion that reporters publish negative news stories more often than positive stories because the public demands it, as all hospital foundations included in the study received much more positive or neutral news coverage overall than they did negative coverage (Trussler & Soroka, 2014).

As stated in the introduction of this paper, "preliminary empirical tests support the role of deviance in predicting event coverage and newsworthiness" (Shoemaker et al., 1991, p. 784). Seeing that hospital foundation communication materials including battle metaphors deviate from the majority of hospital foundation communications, which aim to evoke sadness in their audience, it is understandable that the use of battle metaphors in advertisements and tweets correlated with a larger amount of media coverage.

Finally, findings of the tweet and advertisement analyses corresponded with the outcome of Liang et al.'s study of advertisements in which they found participants who had viewed advertisements that combined images of sadness with images of strength were more inclined to donate to charity than those who had viewed advertisements dominated by images of sadness. While this study did

not examine donor action, it found that media were more inclined to write about hospital foundations whose advertisements featured images of strength.

CONCLUSION

Overall, a text analysis of hospital foundation blog posts and tweets, and multimodal discourse analysis of hospital foundation advertisements published between April 1, 2017 and March 31, 2018, revealed inconclusive results. The use of battle metaphors in hospital foundation tweets and advertisements correlated with increased media coverage and media coverage that was more positive in sentiment. However, the use of battle metaphors in blog posts correlated with decreased media coverage and media coverage that was more negative or neutral in sentiment.

One limitation of this research was that the amount and sentiment of media coverage each hospital foundation received over the fiscal year was determined by more than the inclusion or exclusion of battle metaphors in their communication materials. However, due to the small scope of this study and limited resources, I was unable to consider other influences on media coverage, such as foundation events, crises, politics, budgeting constraints, campaign launches or public announcements that would attract media attention or the broader work that public relations teams do for these organizations, including reaching out to their network of media contacts and pitching stories. To further examine best practices for hospital foundations in attracting media coverage it would be useful to research these additional factors.

Additionally, previous research has confirmed that social media platforms, especially Twitter, have become integral news gathering sources for journalists (Santana & Hopp, 2016). However, little is known about how much journalists use or pay attention to each specific social platform. It would be highly valuable to conduct further research and compare how much journalists utilize blogs, Twitter and advertisements in order to determine which platforms deserve more attention from public relations professionals and further break down the results of this research paper. It is possible that the results of the blog post analysis had highly differing results from the tweet and advertisement analysis solely due to journalists' preferences for certain information sources over others.

Based on the analysis of hospital foundation tweets and advertisements, it appears that hospital foundations could benefit from including battle metaphors in these communications materials as the use of battle metaphors within these resources correlated with increased media coverage and coverage that was more positive in sentiment. These results are especially interesting given the journalistic criticism hospital foundations have received for explicity using battle metaphors in their communication materials such as the criticism of SickKids Foundation's VS campaign mentioned within the literature review of this research paper. These findings confirm that battle metaphors do serve a purpose in hospital foundation communications, despite the negative public response they may receive.

However, due to the findings of the above text analysis of hospital foundation blog posts, which showed a negative correlation between the use of battle metaphors and increased media coverage and positive sentiment media coverage, hospital foundations should be wary when including battle metaphors in their blog posts.

As Agenda Setting Theory posits, the media plays an important role in determining what people think about (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Furthermore, as previously outlined by Eftekar et al. as well as Brewer and McCombs, media can have a strong influence over community agendas and donor perception of non-profit organizations. Therefore, the findings of this paper should encourage hospital foundations to consider the strategic inclusion of battle metaphors in their communication materials in order to attract greater media attention and resulting donor support for their institutions.

APPENDIX

Figure 1

Battle Terms:

alliance, ambush, attack, arsenal, armed, assault, against, aggressive, barrage, barricade, battle, battlefield, bang, boom, beat, breakthrough, cape, cry, charge, coalition, courage, casualties, combat, compete conflict, conquer, demolish, defend, destruction, defense, deploy, enemy, enlist, escape, explode, , explosive, fight, force, grit, hero, knock out, launch, liberate, leader, lose, mobilize, opponent, power, quest, rally, recruit, rescue, retreat, retaliate, radical, reinforcement, superhero, superpower, score, strong, strength, seize, soldier, salute, tackle, triumph, target, tough, trenches, troops, victory, violence, versus (vs), valiant, weapon, win, war

Figure 2

Ranking	Description

0	No implicit or explicit reference to battle (sport, heroes, fighting or military) included in any of the foundation's advertisements.
1	1 or 2 implicit or explicit references to battle included in at least one of the foundation's advertisements, through visuals, music, text or dialogue.
2	2 to 4 implicit or explicit references to battle included in at least one of the foundation's advertisements, through visuals, music, text or dialogue.
3	5 or more implicit or explicit references to battle included in at least one of the foundation's advertisements, through visuals, music, text or dialogue. References might be pervasive in one advertisement but not others or presented more subtly in a number of advertisements.
4	Over 50% of the foundation's advertisements reference battle in their visuals, music, text or dialogue. References to battle are more

	explicit than implicit. Patients, doctors or donors are directly compared to warriors, soldiers, athletes or heroes.
5	All of the foundation's advertisements reference battle in their visuals, music, text or dialogue. References to battle are more explicit than implicit. Patients, doctors or donors are directly compared to warriors, soldiers, athletes or heroes.

Figure 3

Foundation	Ranking
SickKids Foundation	4
Princess Margaret	2
Cancer Foundation	
Holland Bloorview Kids	
Rehabilitation	3
Foundation	
Sinai Health Foundation	0
Sunnybrook Foundation	1

Figure 4

News			
sentiment	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Blog posts	-0.7	0.68	0.68
Tweets	0.74	-0.72	-0.72
Advertisements	0.89	-0.49	-0.88

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