¹⁰ https://doi.org/10.54012/jcell.v4i3.412

Narrative Representation of Mental Health and Marginalization in Joker: A Cultural Literature Analysis

Ali Ridho Jamalullail[⊠], Nizam Ahzani² ^{1, 2}English Literature, Universitas Ahmad Dahlan, Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta, Indonesia [⊠] email: ali2100026033@webmail.uad.ac.id

ABSTRACT

Received: January 15, 2025

Revised: January 18, 2025

Accepted: January 20, 2025

Published: February 1, 2025

This study examines the narrative and cultural representation of mental health and marginalization in the 2019 film Joker through a qualitative approach. Framed as a form of visual literature, Joker offers a profound lens to explore the stigmatization of mental illness and the societal alienation faced by marginalized individuals. Utilizing narrative analysis and cultural studies, our study investigates key elements such as characterization, symbolism, and thematic structures to uncover how the film critiques societal attitudes and systemic failures related to mental health. The findings reveal that Joker humanizes its protagonist, Arthur Fleck, while exposing the broader societal and institutional mechanisms that perpetuate stigma and inequality. This study contributes to the growing body of literature on mental health and cultural studies by emphasizing the role of visual media in challenging dominant narratives and fostering critical discourse. The implications extend to fields such as literature, cultural representation, and education, advocating for the use of media as a tool for promoting mental health awareness and social inclusion.

Keywords: *cultural representation; Joker; marginalization; mental health; narrative analysis; visual literature*

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, mental health has emerged as a central theme in global discourse, prompting interdisciplinary research and policy debates about its representation, societal implications, and the stigma surrounding those affected (Bemme & Kirmayer, 2020; Pescosolido & Martin, 2015; WHO, 2010). Within this context, the 2019 film *Joker*, directed by Todd Phillips, stands out as a provocative cultural artifact. Through its unsettling portrayal of Arthur Fleck's psychological turmoil and social isolation, *Joker* compels audiences to confront uncomfortable realities of marginalization and systemic neglect. The film's critical and commercial success has further ignited discussions on the role of popular media in shaping perceptions of mental illness and challenging—or reinforcing—societal norms (Bosch & Kort-Butler, 2023; Mouleux, 2019). By focusing on the intersections of individual suffering and societal apathy, *Joker*

situates itself as a powerful commentary on contemporary mental health discourse (Andreas, 2021; Ferreira et al., 2021; Redmond, 2021a).

Serving as a piece of visual literature, *Joker* weaves a complex narrative that combines character development, symbolism, and thematic depth. Fleck's descent into chaos, while morally troubling, reflects the lived experiences of individuals who feel unseen, unheard, and systematically marginalized. Numerous debates have centered on the film's depiction of violence and mental illness, often polarizing critics and audiences alike. However, these discussions frequently overlook the film's broader commentary on social structures and institutional failures (Redmond, 2021b). By focusing on themes such as isolation, stigma, and systemic neglect, *Joker* offers a rich lens for examining how cinematic narratives illuminate and critique cultural attitudes toward mental health. In doing so, the film transcends its medium, positioning itself as a vital text in the broader cultural discourse on marginalization.

The cultural significance of *Joker* lies in its ability to provoke both empathy and discomfort. While some viewers criticize the film for romanticizing violence or perpetuating negative stereotypes (Efthymiadou & Koukouvinou, 2020; Wheeler, 2024; Whitmore, 2021), others argue that it unflinchingly exposes the consequences of societal neglect and exclusion (Preston & Rath-Paillé, 2023; Ud Din & Shah, 2023). This tension highlights the broader role of media in shaping societal perceptions of mental health. As Farrell (2011) notes, media texts often serve as both mirrors and molders of cultural attitudes, reflecting existing stigmas while also offering opportunities for transformation. *Joker* exemplifies this duality, challenging audiences to grapple with the systemic issues that underpin Arthur's transformation while also confronting their own biases toward marginalized individuals.

Despite extensive media coverage and varied critical responses, scholarly analyses that position *Joker* as a lens for examining the intersection of mental health and marginalization remain sparse (Fawcett & Kohm, 2020; Hammonds, 2023, 2024; Struch, 2011). Existing discussions often focus on its technical or ethical dimensions without delving into its potential as a social critique. This gap underscores the need to assess *Joker* more holistically, particularly in terms of the ways it frames and problematizes mental illness, stigma, and exclusion. As mental health continues to gain prominence in public discourse, exploring how films like *Joker* contribute to this conversation becomes increasingly important. Such analysis not only deepens our understanding of the film but also provides valuable insights into the role of media in fostering critical awareness and cultural change.

This study positions *Joker* as a culturally significant text that both reflects and interrogates dominant societal narratives. Specifically, the research examines how the film represents and critiques societal attitudes toward mental health and marginalization. By applying a qualitative approach rooted in narrative analysis and cultural studies, the study explores *Joker's* storyline, character arcs, and symbolic elements to illuminate its critique of systemic neglect and stigma. In doing so, the research demonstrates how media can serve as a powerful tool for promoting social inclusion and awareness. Moreover, the implications extend to interdisciplinary fields

such as cultural studies, literature, and education, emphasizing the transformative potential of media texts in reshaping societal attitudes toward mental health and marginalized communities.

METHOD

This study employed a descriptive qualitative approach (Creswell, 2016; Dodgson, 2017) to examine the narrative and cultural representation of mental health and marginalization in the film *Joker*. This method allowed for a detailed exploration of the film's symbolic and thematic elements, focusing on how these aspects critique societal attitudes toward mental illness and exclusion. Primary data consisted of multiple viewings of the film, enabling a close analysis of key scenes, dialogues, and visual cues. Secondary sources, including academic articles, cultural reviews, and theoretical texts on narrative and cultural studies, were consulted to provide a broader context and situate *Joker* within ongoing scholarly discussions about the portrayal of marginalized individuals in media.

The analysis was guided by the principles of thematic analysis (Clarke & Braun, 2017; Guest et al., 2012), where key moments from the film were coded based on recurring patterns, such as isolation, systemic neglect, and symbolic representations of societal decay. This iterative process involved revisiting the film and refining thematic categories to ensure reliability and coherence. The findings were further interpreted through a cultural studies perspective, drawing on theoretical frameworks that emphasize the relationship between visual narratives and societal discourses. Symbolic elements, such as Arthur's clown persona and the deteriorating urban landscape of Gotham City, were analyzed as reflections of broader social dynamics that perpetuate stigma and marginalization.

To enhance the validity of the findings, a triangulation process was employed. Observations from the film were cross-referenced with insights from secondary sources to ensure consistency and depth. Peer debriefing with colleagues familiar with qualitative research provided an additional layer of scrutiny, minimizing potential biases in theme identification and interpretation. Ethical considerations were also prioritized throughout the study, particularly in the presentation of findings, to avoid perpetuating stereotypes or stigmatizing language. By employing this approach, the study offers a comprehensive lens for understanding *Joker*'s critique of societal neglect and its cultural implications for mental health representation.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Arthur Fleck as a Symbol of Marginalized Mental Health

Arthur Fleck's struggles are introduced at the film's outset when he asks (Figure 1), "*Is it just me, or is it getting crazier out there?*" (Phillips, 2019). This line captures his growing sense of alienation and implies that the hostile environment around him worsens his already fragile state of mind. According to the World Health Organization (2010), societal factors such as economic pressure and poor social support often

intensify mental health issues. Arthur's question resonates with these findings, suggesting that personal vulnerability can be exacerbated by a wider social context that appears indifferent.

As the narrative unfolds, Arthur repeatedly seeks professional help, yet systemic obstacles and limited resources hinder his progress. In line with discussion Hannem (2022) and Tyler (2018) of stigma, Arthur experiences repeated instances of labeling and exclusion, thereby reinforcing his sense of invisibility. The film underscores how stigmatization is not merely a personal experience but one embedded in institutional frameworks. This is particularly evident in his counseling sessions, which are abruptly terminated due to funding cuts, leaving him to cope with his mental health challenges in isolation.



Figure 1. Subway Scene (Phillips, 2019)

Arthur's interactions with neighbors and strangers reinforce the social barriers facing marginalized individuals. People around him often respond with mockery or outright hostility, signaling a broader cultural failure to provide compassion or understanding. Foucault as cited in (Losito, 2024; Turkel, 1990) emphasizes that societal perceptions of madness are historically constructed and can be shaped by power imbalances. In Arthur's case, these power imbalances manifest in the dismissive attitudes that fuel his sense of despair, contributing to his ultimate breakdown. Eventually, Arthur's transformation into the Joker epitomizes what can happen when emotional pain is met with systemic neglect and ridicule. Although the film does not excuse his violent actions, it invites reflection on the extent to which social indifference compounds personal tragedy. By centering on Arthur's journey, *Joker* illustrates how society's disengagement perpetuates the marginalization of individuals experiencing mental health conditions (Hui et al., 2021; Storer et al., 2020). In this regard, his character encapsulates a tragic nexus of personal vulnerability and collective neglect.

Societal Alienation as a Root of Marginalization

Alienation emerges as a central theme in *Joker*, extending beyond Arthur's personal battles to encompass the broader social structures that isolate him. Arthur's admission, "*I used to think that my life was a tragedy, but now I realize it is a comedy,*" (Phillips, 2019), reveals a bitter acceptance of his status as an outsider. This aligns with Kuhn & Westwell's (2012) and Bina et al. (2017) observation that cinematic narratives often highlight contemporary social tensions, using a single character's experiences to reflect collective anxieties.

The film further demonstrates alienation through Arthur's failed stand-up comedy performance, where his uncontrollable laughter—caused by a medical condition—prompts derision instead of empathy (Figure 2). Instead of finding acceptance in a venue intended for communal entertainment, he is met with scorn, underscoring how public spaces can amplify, rather than alleviate, a person's sense of isolation (Figure 3). This scenario is reminiscent of Goode (2022) and Lankenau (1999) exploration of how deviant attributes, whether behavioral or physical, can result in exclusion and humiliation.



Figure 2. Stand Up Comedy Show (Phillips, 2019)

Arthur's encounters with influential figures in Gotham City underscore the class-based dimensions of social alienation. His hope for empathy or understanding from the city's elite is systematically rebuffed, highlighting the power imbalances that structure everyday life (Hörnqvist, 2010; Roscigno, 2011). In this regard, wealth and status serve as dividing lines that magnify Arthur's sense of being an outsider. Instead of bridging societal gaps, these encounters merely reinforce his isolation and feed his deepening resentment.

Overall, these episodes of alienation illustrate how public ridicule, class disparity, and institutional disinterest converge to shape Arthur's worldview. Rather than presenting alienation as a one-time event, the film depicts it as a cumulative experience that drives him to desperate measures. This pattern highlights the interplay

between individual experiences of rejection and the broader social frameworks that legitimize marginalization.

The Role of Symbolism in Representing Marginalization

Symbolism in *Joker* enriches the film's commentary on marginalization by visually representing Arthur's internal struggles. His clown makeup (Figure 3), initially worn for a mundane job, evolves into a mask that reflects the widening gulf between him and society. Symbolic elements in cinema serve as conduits for deeper meaning, as suggested by Clarke & Braun's (2017) thematic approach, in which motifs can reveal latent messages about cultural attitudes and personal identity.



Figure 3. The Clown Make Up (Phillips, 2019)



Figure 4. The Stairs Dance (Phillips, 2019)

One of the most striking symbolic moments involves Arthur dancing down a long flight of stairs in full Joker regalia (Figure 4). Earlier in the film, he ascends these stairs with a weary gait, emphasizing his despair. The switch to a defiant downward dance encapsulates his transformation from a beleaguered individual seeking help to a figure reveling in chaos. This shift can be seen as a manifestation of his rejection of a society that persistently alienated him, echoing Kuhn & Westwell (2012) view that cinematic spaces often reflect key emotional and thematic pivots.

Gotham City itself operates as an extended metaphor for social breakdown. Its deteriorating infrastructure, civic unrest, and stark class divides illustrate how the environment and individual psyche are intertwined (Figure 6). In line with Goffman (1963), the city's refusal to acknowledge the systemic drivers of marginalization exemplifies a larger cultural tendency to view vulnerable individuals as problems rather than people. Thus, Gotham stands not merely as a backdrop but as an integral component that propels Arthur's journey toward the Joker persona.



Figure 4. Gotham City Settings (Phillips, 2019)

By merging personal and environmental symbolism, *Joker* highlights how marginalization can become a self-perpetuating cycle. Arthur's clown makeup and the chaotic cityscape are not isolated images; together, they underscore the societal conditions that heighten his emotional distress. From this point, we see how these symbols collectively critique a system that fosters alienation and inadvertently cultivates violent outcomes.

Social Commentary on Structural Failures

At its core, *Joker* exposes the limitations of social and institutional structures designed to help those with mental health issues. Despite Arthur's attempts to adhere to treatment protocols, he is met with defunding, long waiting times, and disinterested practitioners. This portrayal echoes the real-world challenge of underfunded mental health systems that often leave vulnerable populations with inadequate resources (Mechanic & Tanner, 2007; Saxena et al., 2007).

The film reaches a critical juncture during a talk show segment, where Arthur directs his pent-up frustration toward a host who has mocked him (Figure 5). "*You get what you deserve*," (Phillips, 2019), he proclaims, an explosive statement that lays bare his rage against a society that provided him with neither genuine respect nor meaningful support. While the act of violence is undeniably unsettling, it also reflects

the cumulative effect of systematic failures that have eroded any chance he once had for stability.



Figure 5. The Murray Franklin Show (Phillips, 2019)

Foucault (2019) notes that institutions, when failing, can become vehicles of oppression rather than avenues of care. In *Joker*, these systemic shortcomings extend beyond mental health services to media outlets and public discourse, both of which often exploit suffering for sensational content. Arthur's final outburst on live television thus represents more than a personal vendetta. It is also a condemnation of a culture that prioritizes spectacle over the well-being of the marginalized.

Such structural critiques position *Joker* as more than a study of individual tragedy. Rather, the film comments on how interrelated systems—healthcare, media, and governance—can fail in tandem, compounding the challenges that marginalized individuals face. Ultimately, Arthur's journey underscores the devastating outcomes that can arise when society repeatedly disregards mental health needs and perpetuates harmful stereotypes.

Audience Reception and Cultural Impact

Upon its release, *Joker* sparked diverse reactions from critics, viewers, and advocacy groups. Some argued that the film risked romanticizing violence, whereas others believed it shed necessary light on the consequences of marginalization (Kuhn & Westwell, 2012). This debate is indicative of how cultural artifacts can serve as flashpoints for broader social anxieties and ethical dilemmas. The film's polarizing effect underscores the complexity of representing mental health struggles in mainstream media.

Several mental health organizations voiced concern that Arthur's transformation might reinforce stigmas, suggesting that those with mental health issues are inherently dangerous (Cockerham, 2020; Halliwell, 2017). The social ramifications of stigma can lead to further alienation and misunderstanding (Kurzban & Leary, 2001; Thoits, 2011). However, others defended the film as a bold examination of how individuals become desperate when deprived of consistent care and empathy. This

tension demonstrates cinema's capacity to provoke dialogue on pressing social matters. By situating Arthur's personal descent within a neglected urban landscape, *Joker* forces audiences to question the role of community and systemic support. Viewers are confronted with a protagonist who, while unsettling, embodies the outcome of persistent social failure. Foucault (2019) reminds us that historical and institutional frameworks often dictate how societies respond to deviance. In this case, *Joker* compels audiences to reevaluate whether they, too, contribute to a culture that overlooks or ridicules those in distress.

Ultimately, *Joker*'s cultural impact lies in its unsettling portrayal of a society that fails its most vulnerable members. The film answers the research question by illustrating how marginalization, stigma, and structural deficits converge to shape Arthur's journey. Rather than offering simplistic resolutions, *Joker* poses urgent questions about collective responsibility and the ethics of representation. In doing so, it underscores the importance of examining how social attitudes and institutional responses can either alleviate or intensify the suffering of those on the margins.

CONCLUSION

Joker provides a deeply resonant exploration of how social exclusion and mental health concerns intersect, ultimately shaping a vulnerable individual's descent into violence. Through Arthur Fleck's experiences, the film illuminates the profound consequences of stigma and systemic neglect. His repeated encounters with dismissive attitudes, limited resources, and public ridicule underscore a broader observation: societies often fail those who most need compassion and support.

Moreover, the film uses powerful imagery—such as clown makeup, the tensions within Gotham City, and Arthur's uneasy journey from victim to antihero—to underscore the connections between personal anguish and societal failures. These elements combine to portray not only one man's tragic path but also the larger structures that can erode hope for marginalized individuals. In doing so, *Joker* highlights that mental health struggles are rarely confined to personal battles alone; they are inextricably tied to cultural norms and institutional dynamics that can hinder rather than heal.

Ultimately, the story encourages reflection on collective responsibilities toward those facing mental health challenges. It calls attention to the need for empathy, robust social services, and a willingness to address the root causes of marginalization. Far from portraying Arthur's violence as an inevitable outcome, the film points to the ways in which neglect and misunderstanding can push a person to extremes. Viewed in this light, *Joker* raises important questions about how societies might better safeguard vulnerable individuals and foster genuine inclusion.

REFERENCES

Andreas, R. (2021). Skizofrenia Dalam Film Joker (2019): Skizoanalisis Perspektif Deleuze Dan Guattari. *Paradigma: Jurnal Kajian Budaya*, *11*(2), 225. https://doi.org/10.17510/paradigma.v11i2.457

- Bemme, D., & Kirmayer, L. J. (2020). Global Mental Health: Interdisciplinary challenges for a field in motion. *Transcultural Psychiatry*, *57*(1), 3–18. https://doi.org/10.1177/1363461519898035
- Bina, O., Mateus, S., Pereira, L., & Caffa, A. (2017). The future imagined: Exploring fiction as a means of reflecting on today's Grand Societal Challenges and tomorrow's options. *Futures*, *86*, 166–184. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.futures.2016.05.009
- Bosch, B., & Kort-Butler, L. (2023). *The Joker Controversy: An Origin Story. University of Nebraska-Lincoln*. https://digitalcommons.unl.edu/sociologyfacpub/813/
- Clarke, V., & Braun, V. (2017). Thematic analysis. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, *12*(3), 297–298. https://doi.org/10.1080/17439760.2016.1262613
- Cockerham, W. C. (2020). Sociology of mental disorder. Routledge.
- Creswell, J. W. (2016). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches.* Sage publications.
- Dodgson, J. E. (2017). About Research: Qualitative Methodologies. *Journal of Human Lactation*, *33*(2), 355–358. https://doi.org/10.1177/0890334417698693
- Efthymiadou, P., & Koukouvinou, P. (2020). *The Joker Returns: A new perspective on the violent Clown Prince of Crime*. Malmö universitet/Kultur och samhälle.
- Farrell, A. E. (2011). Fat shame: Stigma and the fat body in American culture. NYU Press.
- Fawcett, C., & Kohm, S. (2020). Carceral violence at the intersection of madness and crime in *Batman: Arkham Asylum and Batman: Arkham City. Crime, Media, Culture: An International Journal*, 16(2), 265–285. https://doi.org/10.1177/1741659019865298
- Ferreira, D., Silva, E. G., & dos Santos Amaral, M. R. (2021). The Man (of) Who(m) Laughs. *Linguistics and the Human Sciences*, 15(2), 163–181. https://doi.org/10.1558/lhs.18384
- Foucault, M. (2019). Power: the essential works of Michel Foucault 1954-1984. Penguin UK.
- Goffman, E. (1963). Embarrassment and Social Organization. In *Personality and social systems*. (pp. 541–548). John Wiley & Sons, Inc. https://doi.org/10.1037/11302-050
- Goode, E. (2022). *Deviant Behavior*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003285304
- Guest, G., MacQueen, K., & Namey, E. (2012). *Applied Thematic Analysis*. SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483384436
- Halliwell, M. (2017). Voices of mental health: medicine, politics, and American culture, 1970-2000. Rutgers University Press.
- Hammonds, K. A. (2023). An American Knightmare: Joker, Fandom, and Malicious Movie Meaning-Making.
- Hammonds, K. A. (2024). Interpreting and Transmitting Kynicism in Joker: The Dark Side of Film Fandom. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Hannem, S. (2022). Stigma. In *The Routledge international handbook of Goffman studies* (pp. 51–62). Routledge.
- Hörnqvist, M. (2010). *Risk, Power and the State*. Routledge-Cavendish. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203857052
- Hui, A., Rennick-Egglestone, S., Franklin, D., Walcott, R., Llewellyn-Beardsley, J.,
 Ng, F., Roe, J., Yeo, C., Deakin, E., Brydges, S., Penas Moran, P., McGranahan,
 R., Pollock, K., Thornicroft, G., & Slade, M. (2021). Institutional injustice:
 Implications for system transformation emerging from the mental health recovery

narratives of people experiencing marginalisation. *PLOS ONE*, *16*(4), e0250367. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0250367

- Kuhn, A., & Westwell, G. (2012). *A dictionary of film studies*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Kurzban, R., & Leary, M. R. (2001). Evolutionary origins of stigmatization: The functions of social exclusion. *Psychological Bulletin*, 127(2), 187–208. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.127.2.187
- Lankenau, S. E. (1999). Stronger Than Dirt. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, *28*(3), 288–318. https://doi.org/10.1177/089124199129023451
- Losito, S. (2024). Mental illness in India: historical, cultural and visual gap in the analyses of stigma. *International Review of Sociology*, *34*(3), 543–568. https://doi.org/10.1080/03906701.2024.2419879
- Mechanic, D., & Tanner, J. (2007). Vulnerable People, Groups, And Populations: Societal View. *Health Affairs*, *26*(5), 1220–1230. https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.26.5.1220
- Mouleux, G. (2019). The Politics of Circularity in Todd Phillips's Joker (2019). *Transatlantica*, 2. https://doi.org/10.4000/transatlantica.14784
- Pescosolido, B. A., & Martin, J. K. (2015). The Stigma Complex. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 41(1), 87–116. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-soc-071312-145702
- Phillips, T. (2019). Joker [Video recording]. Warner Bros.
- Preston, J., & Rath-Paillé, L. (2023). How He Got His Scars: Exploring Madness and Mental Health in Filmic Representations of the Joker. *Societies*, *13*(2), 48. https://doi.org/10.3390/soc13020048
- Redmond, S. (2021a). That joke isn't funny anymore: a critical exploration of *Joker*: Introduction. *New Review of Film and Television Studies*, *19*(1), 1–6. https://doi.org/10.1080/17400309.2020.1864197
- Redmond, S. (2021b). The loneliness of *Joker. New Review of Film and Television Studies*, *19*(1), 65–77. https://doi.org/10.1080/17400309.2020.1861871
- Roscigno, V. J. (2011). Power, Revisited. *Social Forces*, *90*(2), 349–374. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sor034
- Saxena, S., Thornicroft, G., Knapp, M., & Whiteford, H. (2007). Resources for mental health: scarcity, inequity, and inefficiency. *The Lancet*, *370*(9590), 878–889. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(07)61239-2
- Storer, H. L., McCleary, J. S., Pepin, E., & Stallings, A. (2020). "That's Why I Stay to Myself": Marginalized Youth's Meaning Making Processes of Social Disconnectedness. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 48(1), 25–34. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-019-00740-0
- Struch, R. (2011). *Re-imagining community from the ruins: Explorations of the intersections of the theatre of the oppressed joker, community organizer, and participatory action researcher.* University of Southern California.
- Thoits, P. A. (2011). Resisting the Stigma of Mental Illness. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 74(1), 6–28. https://doi.org/10.1177/0190272511398019
- Turkel, G. (1990). Michel Foucault: Law, Power, and Knowledge. *Journal of Law and Society*, *17*(2), 170. https://doi.org/10.2307/1410084
- Tyler, I. (2018). Resituating Erving Goffman: From Stigma Power to Black Power. *The Sociological Review*, *66*(4), 744–765. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026118777450
- Ud Din, S. S., & Shah, B. (2023). Slavoj Zizek and Film Theory: A Subjective Study of Todd Philips' Joker. *Quarterly Review of Film and Video*, 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/10509208.2023.2254672

- Wheeler, E. A. (2024). The Joker's Shifting Face: Eighty Years of Mad History in Batman and American Culture. Journal of Literary & Cultural Disability Studies, 18(3), 369–385. https://doi.org/10.3828/jlcds.2024.17
- Whitmore, A. (2021). Book Review: Gender, Race, Identity & Batman in Gotham City Living.
- WHO. (2010). *Mental Health and Development: Targeting people with mental health conditions as a vulnerable group*. World Health Organization.