Robust language-based mental health assessments in time and space through social media

Siddharth Mangalik^{a,1}, Johannes C. Eichstaedt^{b,c,1}, Salvatore Giorgi^e, Jihu Mun^a, Farhan Ahmed^a, Gilvir Gill^a, Adithya V. Ganesan^a, Shashanka Subrahmanya^c, Nikita Soni^a, Sean A. P. Clouston^d, and H. Andrew Schwartz^{a,1}

^a Department of Computer Science, Stony Brook University, Stony Brook, NY, USA; ^bDepartment of Psychology, Stanford University, Stanford, CA, USA; ^cInstitute for Human-Centered A.I., Stanford University, CA, USA; ^dDepartment of Family, Population, and Preventive Medicine, Renaissance School of Medicine, Stony Brook University, Stony Brook, NY, USA; ^cDepartment of Computer and Information Science, University of Pennsylvania

This manuscript was compiled on May 1, 2023

Compared to physical health, population mental health assessment in the U.S. is very coarse-grained. Currently, in the largest population 2 surveys by the Centers for Disease Control and Gallup, mental health 3 is only broadly captured through surveys as "mentally unhealthy days" 4 or "sadness", and estimates can only be aggregated infrequently to 5 state or metropolitan estimates. Through the large-scale analysis of 6 social media, robust estimation of population mental health is feasible 7 at finer resolutions. In the present work, we validated a pipeline that 8 9 used 1.2 billion Tweets from 2 million geo-located users to estimate mental health changes for the two leading mental health conditions, 10 depression and anxiety. First, we found that language-based men-11 tal health assessments (LBMHAs) had substantially higher levels of 12 reliability across space and time than surveys, down to the level of 13 county weeks. Further, where surveys were available, we found mod-14 erate to large associations between the LBMHAs and survey scores 15 from Gallup for multiple levels of granularity, from the national level 16 down to weekly county measurements (fixed effects $\beta = .25$ to 1.58; 17 p < .001). Additionally, LBMHAs demonstrated temporal validity, 18 showing clear absolute increases after a list of major events (+23% in-19 crease over average weekly change for depression). Further, LBMHAs 20 showed greater cross-sectional correlations with external health and 21 22 socioeconomic county variables than Gallup surveys. This study suggests that the careful aggregation of social media data yields 23 spatiotemporal estimates of population mental health that exceed 24 surveys in resolution and may exceed them in reliability and validity. 25

Depression | Anxiety | Social Media Analysis | Population Health

ental health is a large public health concern, causing large economic impact and loss of quality of life. Recent 2 estimates suggest that depression affects 19.4 million Ameri-3 cans (7.8% of the population, 2020 est.) each year (1), while 4 generalized anxiety disorder affects approximately 6% of the 5 US population (19.8 million people, 2010 est.) (2). Globally, mental health conditions are the fifth-most common cause of 7 reduced quality of life (3). Critically, poor mental health is thought to play a central role driving recent increases in prevalence and severity of "deaths of despair" (4, 5) in part due 10 to the influence of poorer mental health on suicide attempts 11 and suicide mortality obesity (6), and opioid-related overdoses 12 (7, 8).13

Public health researchers and policymakers seek to under-14 stand and actively respond to emerging and changing condi-15 tions (9, 10). Yet, current standards for monitoring mental 16 health outcomes rely on subjective surveys responses that have 17 limited temporal or regional resolution. For example, yearly 18 changes in depression are measured only by annual Gallup 19 polling (11) and a handful of national surveys (12) while anx-20 iety is not regularly assessed in any of these surveys (13). 21

Nevertheless, improving geospatial resolution can provide researchers with tools to more reliably assess the distribution (14) and determinants of disease (15). Similarly, a wealth of small studies using ecological momentary assessment suggest that observations made on shorter timescales routinely identifies symptoms and correlates that are otherwise inaccessible to researchers (16, 17).

29

30

31

32

33

34

35

36

37

38

39

40

Applying validated measures of depression and anxiety, assessed objectively at regular time-intervals at the county-level could transform research in population mental health, allowing researchers for the first time to locate clusters and reasons for changes to poorer mental health (18). Since originally proposed, language-based assessments have developed to become a flexible source of observed emotions and behaviors from individuals (19), often with greater accuracy and predictive power than existing survey-based measures (20). Further, recent work has found significant increases in convergent validity via post-stratification techniques (21) to address known selection biases (22, 23).

Here, we integrated a series of recent advances into a single pipeline capable of generating *language-based mental health assessments (LBMHAs: Figure 1)*, to produce appraisals of anxiety and depression over regions and time. We first eval-

Significance Statement

Measuring mental health of communities across time is essential for population health research and practice. However, predominant methods to examine how mental health varies across time and by location are relatively limited due to reliance on expensive self-report surveys. Here, we propose a measurement pipeline that brings together a decade of progress in social media-based well-being assessment, evaluating the technique's reliability and validity over 1 billion recent observations of social media language for assessing weekly depression and anxiety at the community level. Our results show that social media-based assessment can have comparable, and in some aspects superior, validity and reliability to contemporaneous polling-based efforts, providing reliable resolution down to the county-week level.

Author contributions: S.M., H.A.S., J.C.E., and S.A.P.C. designed research; S.M. J.C.E. and H.A.S. performed research; S.G. J.M. F.A., G.G., S.S., A.V.G., and N.S. contributed new reagents/analytic tools; and S.M., J.C.E., S.G., J.M., F.A., G.G., A.V.G., S.S., N.S., S.A.P.C., and H.A.S. analyzed data and wrote the paper.

The author declares no competing interests

¹ To whom correspondence should be addressed: E-mail: smangalik@cs.stonybrook.edu, johannes.stanford@gmail.com, and has@cs.stonybrook.edu

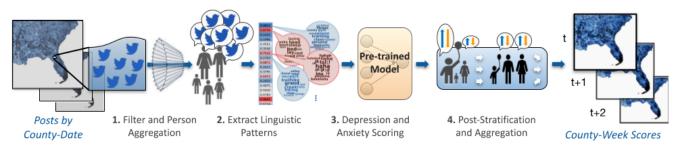


Fig. 1. A brief visual overview of how language is captured and tagged per county and week from social media platforms, and also explains how these data are then used to generate weighted depression and anxiety scores. County mapped messages are filtered to represent self-written language, the language extracted from these messages is used to generate user scores, then those scores are reweighted to better represent county demographics and are then aggregated to communities in time.

uated the reliability of LBMHAs, contrasted with standard
 survey approaches, while varying the time and space units

47 (from annual, national down to daily, townships) as well as

⁴⁸ minimum thresholds for time-space specific observations. We

^R infinitum timesholds for time-space specific observations. We

⁴⁹ then evaluated the convergent and external validity of the

 $_{\rm 50}$ $\,$ measurements as compared to the most extensively collected

51 mental health related surveys available for the same time-

52 period, both cross-sectionally and longitudinally. To facilitate

⁵³ open scientific inquiry we are releasing the LBMHA measure-

 $_{\rm 54}$ $\,$ ments as well as an open-source toolkit for running the pipeline

55 and deriving mental health estimates.

56 Results

The nation-week depression and anxiety scores from our language based mental health assessments in 2020 adjusting for

⁵⁹ 2019 can be found in Figure 3A. The results as shown cover all weeks in 2020, and depict the included counties alongside

61 the national average result in **bold**. Assessments have been

⁶² generated for all counties that demonstrated sufficient posting

63 history to be considered reliable per the thresholds determined

 $_{64}$ in the reliability portion of this work, for this visualization a

county must have at least 200 unique users in a given week to be included.

CTLB Data Descriptives			
	Count		
Word Instances	15,731,763,265		
Posts	1,229,668,531		
Unique Words	40,033,259		
Users	2,045,124		
Counties	1490		
	Mean (S.D.)		
Posts per User/Year	161.8 (246.2)		
Posts per User/Week	6.9 (11.5)		
Users per County	1391.4 (4,859.4)		

 Table 1. Coverage included in the filtered County Tweet Lexical Bank

 dataset from 2019 to 2020. Filtering consisted of excluding non-English

 posts, reposts, posts containing a hyperlink, and duplicated posts from

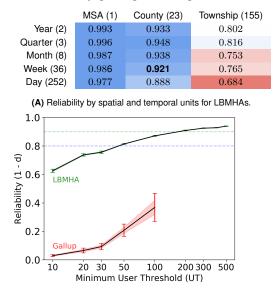
 users. Standard deviations are included next to mean measurements.

Reliability of Spatio-Temporal Resolutions. Figure 2 shows the relationship between different resolutions of time and space on the split-half reliability of our measurements. Underlying all measurements we use depression scores within the given spatiotemporal cohorts. The threshold (Cohen's d = 0.1) was crossed for all township-level measurements, all but one county-level measurement, and all of the MSA-level measurements. Looking 73 across time for counties we determine that the week level is 74 the smallest time resolutions with our smallest accepted space 75 resolution to have a reliability (1 - Cohen's d) that is > 0.9. 76 Using this county-week finding we observed that once there 77 were at least 50 users (user threshold [UT]=50), reliability 78 exceeded 0.8. In this context, the UT can be understood as 79 the minimum number of unique users needed by a county to 80 be included in our analysis. At a UT of 200 it is possible to 81 obtain a reliability measurement of 0.9 indicating no effect. 82 This analysis lead us to create standard county-week threshold 83 guidelines at UT of 50 and 200. The use of a 50 UT (720 84 distinct counties) reflects the highest number of counties that 85 are directly usable versus the more restrictive 200 UT (370 86 distinct counties). 87

Convergent Validity. Figure 4 depicts the outcomes of our 88 multi-level fixed effects model between Gallup self-reported 89 sadness and worry against our language based assessments of 90 depression and anxiety. At all levels evaluated for fixed effects 91 we find our t-test p value to be significant to 0.01. At the 92 nation-week level, we find that the survey and language are 93 correlated (Pearson's r = 0.39) with depression and sadness, 94 and anxiety and worry (r = 0.68). Fixed-effects coefficients be-95 tween survey and language findings indicate higher agreement 96 in analyses using larger spatial and temporal units, with the 97 highest coefficients coming from a national-week analysis. At 98 finer resolutions we nevertheless still identify statistically sig-99 nificant positive values leading us to conclude that county-week 100 level measurements may reflect greater local sensitivity that 101 might not as consistently correspond to the greater national 102 trends. 103

External Criteria. In Figure 4D we graphically represent the 104 validity of our measures against other established county mea-105 sures. The source of external county level data is the County 106 Health Rankings (25) which track PESH (Political, Eco-107 nomic, Societal, and Health) outcomes on a county-year scale. 108 We observe strong agreement between the correlations of our 109 LBMHA scores and the Gallup self-reported results with these 110 PESH variables. 111

In Figure 3B we examine the difference between event weeks and non-event weeks. We find an increase on average of the mean absolute difference of both depression (23%) and anxiety (16%) during weeks in which major US events occur. Likewise we see a "resetting" effect wherein non-event weeks on average decrease the general level of both anxiety (6%) and depression (8%), however nationally across 2020 the absolute



Reliability per Spatiotemporal Unit

(B) Reliability vs. Minimum User Threshold for All County-Weeks

Counto oo	Eunotion	of Minimum	User Thresholds

	n > 200	n > 50	Full				
County-Weeks	36,260	72,928	150,670				
Distinct Counties	370	720	1,490				
Distinct States	51	51	51				
Means (S.D.) for County-Weeks							
	n > 200	n > 50	Full				
Users/County-Week	1,585 (3,042)	815 (2,297)	399 (1,650)				
Depression Score	2.41 (0.076)	2.42 (0.098)	2.42 (0.34)				
Anxiety Score	2.74 (0.073)	2.74 (0.097)	2.76 (0.35)				

(C) County-Week Data Descriptives

Fig. 2. Spatiotemporal reliability of language based mental health assessments of depression across different granularities of space and time in the New York metropolitan area. The heatmap in Table 2A shows the 1 - Cohen's d reliability of select New York metropolitan depression data, at each space and time unit > 20 unique users were required. From this heatmap we target the smallest time unit from the smallest space unit greater than 0.9, which is county-week. The plot in Figure 2B shows how the reliability of a county-week measurement of depression increases with the minimum number of unique users required to consider that county-week. In the case of Gallup data, after a UT of 100 none of the county measurements can meet the minimum criteria to be reported. Horizontal lines are drawn at 0.8 and 0.9 reliability, which were used to select a 50 and a 200 county user threshold. Standard error of the reliability is shown with red shading, and the 95% confidence interval is shown with error bars. The county-year Intraclass Correlations, test-length corrected (ICC2; (24)) at a UT of 50 are ICC2 = 0.33 for Gallup Sadness and ICC2 = 0.97for LBMHA depression, while at a UT of 200 are ICC2 = 0.87 for Gallup and ICC2 = 0.99 for LBMHA. Table 2C shows data descriptives for the county-week dataset after applying a user threshold of 50 and 200 as per the reliability findings and applying all other thresholds.

unadjusted level of both measures is increasing. These results
over a comparison of event and non-event weeks for several
counties suggest that changes in community mental health can
be attributed to specific events.

American Communities Comparison. Figure 5 shows how anxiety differs across American community types. We select the five communities for which we the greatest representation in our final dataset of county-week LBMHAs. We observe that the Exurbs, defined as communities that "lie on the fringe of major metro areas in the spaces between suburban and rural America", score as the most anxious and most depressed of ob-
served U.S. communities. Although overall difference between
community types are modest, we anticipate that examinations
of factorized measures of anxiety and depression may show
larger discrepancies.130131132

134

Discussion

Anxiety and depression are costly, underdiagnosed, under-135 treated, and, while common overall, their prevalence varies 136 across time and location. Depression alone has been attributed 137 as the second highest mechanism for loss of disability-adjusted 138 life years, more than cancer and diabetes (26). The present 139 study used 15.7 billion words from 2.05 million people living 140 across the U.S. to evaluate a modern approach for measur-141 ing public mental health, from behavioral patterns (language 142 use). We found this approach achieved much greater regional 143 and temporal resolution (e.g., within U.S. counties each week) 144 while also achieving high convergent validity for the limited 145 amount of high resolution survey-based assessments available. 146

We put together many recent developments in the best 147 practices for social media-based well-being assessments. First, 148 we utilized the notion of a digital cohort, whereby documents 149 are aggregated through people, mirroring modern surveys (27). 150 Then, we utilized new computational methods to mitigate epi-151 demiological selection biases using robust poststratification (21). 152 Additionally, we adapted anxiety and depression models, in 153 the form of weighted lexica, to the specific domain of 2019 and 154 2020 Twitter, these adjustments have shown large gains when 155 adapting models designed for new target domains (28). We 156 also contributed a novel analysis on the statistical reliability 157 of LBMHAs in order to establish minimal sampling thresholds. 158 Finally building on epidemiological work we controlled for 159 seasonality effects by adjusting using previous data to find the 160 changes attributable to events occurring in 2020(29). 161

Our LBMHA pipeline reported similar temporal patterns, both nationally and at the county-level, to existing U.S. weekly data from Gallup, while also demonstrating the ability to report reliable results for a far larger number of counties and weeks. Further, LBMHAs captured changes in depression and generalized anxiety that corresponded to major events in 2020, including those of the COVID-19 pandemic declaration.

Symptom presence and severity cannot be readily measured 169 for mental illness because unlike physical illnesses, they have 170 no highly sensitive biomarkers. Furthermore self-reports are 171 suspected to be hindered by stigmatization associated with 172 mental illness. To improve the assessment process, this work 173 joins recent research focused on identifying behavior-based or 174 objective measures including functional (30) or structural neu-175 roimaging (31), as well as those capturing cellular changes (32). 176 Instead of relying on putative biomarkers to identify behavioral 177 disorders, this study instead determines levels of depression 178 and anxiety by observing individuals' natural unedited com-179 munications. 180

The shared geographic and temporal resolution presented 181 in this study could enable the ability to understand the role 182 of social, economic, or natural events and mental health at 183 unprecedented resolutions. This study shows that improved 184 resolution of mental health outcomes reflect the presence of 185 major national events. For example, following the murder 186 of George Floyd, language-estimated depression prevalence 187 showed a clear increase, mirroring similar trends observed in 188

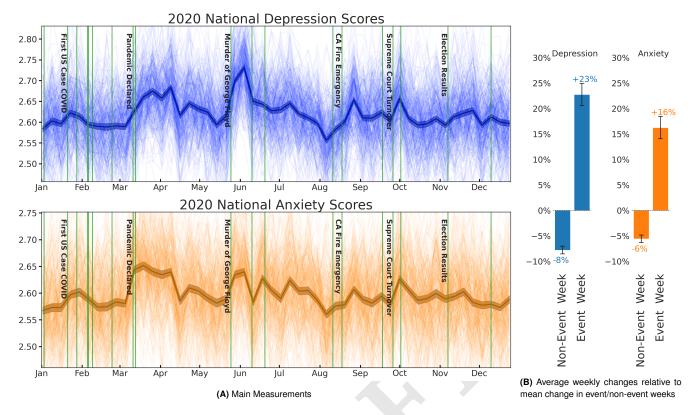


Fig. 3. Shown in Figure 3A are depression (blue) and anxiety (orange) measured at the nation-week level for all of 2020, controlling for 2019 measurements. All scores shown are based on aggregated user scores that are scaled from 0 to 5, 5 representing the highest level of depression/anxiety. Labeled green vertical markers are placed on the start of major events. In dark blue/orange, we have plotted nation-week averages alongside x 95% confidence intervals, and in thinner lines we show similar trends for individual counties. This figure requires counties to contain at least unique 200 (UT=200) users in a given week to be included, this gives distinct 370 counties spanning 2020. Figure 3B contains an analysis of the impact of weeks containing major US events against weeks without similar events. Shown are the z-scored percent differences from the prior week in LBMHAs between weeks that do contain major US events and those weeks that do not. Confidence interval bars are generated from Monte Carlo bootstrapping on 10,000 samples from the pool of either event weeks or non-event weeks and re-calculating mean z-scored percent differences between the drawn samples.

189 Gallup survey data (33).

COVID-19 first arrived in the U.S. during the data collec-190 tion period (2019 to 2020). Consistent with prior research, we 191 found that COVID-19 caused a rapid increase in depressive 192 symptoms and generalized anxiety across the U.S. that did not 193 dissipate before 2021. The distribution of poorer mental health 194 was widespread and included large increases in regions with 195 relatively low pre-pandemic levels of depression and anxiety. 196 For example, the average level of anxiety increased from the 197 lowest to the highest levels in Kansas in the months after the 198 pandemic. These mental health shocks also began late in 2019, 199 when COVID-19 was first being identified globally, and spiked 200 in early March 2020 when much of the Northeastern U.S. was 201 shuttered and people in open states chose to self-isolate. While 202 these effects show the value of the approach for understand-203 ing how public mental health changes in a pandemic, these 204 data also show that anxiety and depressive symptoms had 205 not yet returned to pre-pandemic norms by the end of the 206 observational window. 207

As with any social media platform, many users will selfpresent – deliberately behaving in ways that influence how others perceive them. Here that might look like a user sharing posts that emphasize the positive qualities of themselves that they would like their audience to see. It is important to understand that the language-based assessments we use treat language use as a behavior and do not rely on a priori as-

4 | www.pnas.org/cgi/doi/10.1073/pnas.XXXXXXXXXX

sumptions of what language should signal a psychological trait. Rather, the LBMHAs we used are data-driven. Past work has shown that social media language behavior, whether motivated by self-presentation or not, is predictive of psychological traits and states (34).

We observed mental health using posts from geo-located 220 Twitter users, as this allowed us to examine rapid changes 221 in mental health at scale. LBMHAs have been reliably used 222 outside of social media. For example, studies of psychological 223 stress have noted that LBMHAs can aid in identifying indi-224 viduals with at risk of poorer postpartum mental health when 225 relying on mothers' diaries (35) and for identifying poorer 226 long-term prognosis in post-traumatic stress disorder when 227 relying on oral histories (20). 228

Limitations. Results from this study should be interpreted in 229 light of a number of limitations. First, many U.S. counties with 230 small populations or a small numbers of social media users 231 had to be combined into super-counties to provide reliable 232 estimates. Accounting for a only a small percentage of the 233 total US population, these are regions that are often under-234 represented in research studies. This approach allowed for 235 their inclusion but nevertheless resulted in units covering large 236 geographic areas. 237

Additionally, social media platforms aren't rigid organizations and can change ownership, policies, and user populations. 239 Twitter recently changed ownership resulting in new content 240

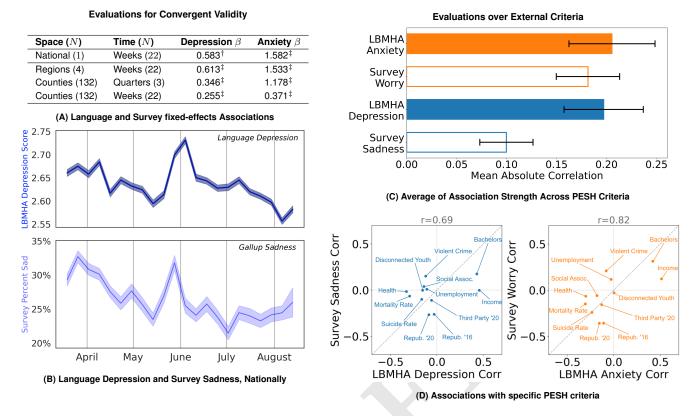


Fig. 4. Left-hand Column: Convergent validity between language-based mental health assessments and survey-based measures at different resolutions, as well as longitudinally. Table 4A shows fixed-effects coefficients between language based mental health assessments and measurements collected by the Gallup COVID-19 Panel Questionnaire. Depression β compares our language-based depression scores to Gallup's surveyed sadness scores via hierarchical linear modeling coefficients. Anxiety β compares our language-based dapression scores. Figure 4B shows the national plots of depression as measured by LBMHAs and sadness as measured by Gallup. Both Questionnaire and LBMHA measures are held to reliability constraints as described in our section on reliability. Between the two national-week plots shown there is a $\beta = 0.583$. Results significant at: ${}^{\dagger}p < .001$, ${}^{\dagger}p < .01$

Right-hand Column: Cross-sectional associations between language based mental health assessments (LBMHAs) of Anxiety/Depression and survey based assessments of Worry/Sadness against external criteria from Political, Economic, Social, and Health (PESH) variables across N = 256 counties. Figure 4C compares the average absolute effect Pearson correlations of LBMHA and Survey measures against external PESH variables. Figure 4D shows scatterplots of correlations between external criteria and our scoring method on one axis and the surveyed results on the other axis. All counties included meet our reliability requirements. Perfect agreement is shown as a diagonal dashed line. Association is measured using Pearson correlation. For the limited sample of PESH variables examined we observe a Pearson correlation of Pearson correlations of 0.82 for Anxiety-Worry and 0.69 for Depression-Sadness, both of these findings are significant to p < 0.01.

moderation strategies and data sharing practices. While other
sources of public language exists, such as Mastodon or Reddit,
the evaluations of this paper are focused on prior years of
Twitter and any application after the recent ownership change
or to other platforms require further validation.

This work centered around 2019 and 2020 data. Using 246 2019 as a control addresses some effects of having a short time-247 frame, such as seasonal effects. However, language evolves over 248 time. Social media has a so-called "semantic drift" whereby 249 words slowly begin to take on differing meanings (36-38). Thus, 250 analyses of LBMHAs to future years should include convergent 251 validations, reliability testing, and potentially apply further 252 model adaptations. 253

254 This work utilized lexicon-based models (i.e. weighted dictionaries). Recent work has shown that transformer-based 255 language models (i.e. those used by programs like ChatGPT) 256 can result in performance gains in assessing mental health from 257 language (39, 40). Lexical models had two main advantages 258 when we began this project: First, they have a longer history 259 of use and the models we used have been through a wider range 260 of validations at the person-level (41, 42). Second, they are 261 much faster to run, requiring much fewer computing resources 262

than large language models. As large language models (LLMs) 263 become further validated at the person-level and more efficient 264 to run across billions of texts, we anticipate that LBMHAs 265 will begin to utilize them. We would expect LLM approaches 266 to implicitly handle semantic drift and other word-context 267 issues. The completion of this work supports future pipelines 266 that can be recreated with transformer-based models. 269

Implications for Population Health. The strength of this epi-270 demiological study is that it applied scalable methods meant 271 to improve generalizability on a sample that included over 272 1 billion observations on 2 over million individuals (0.6%) of 273 the U.S. population) across more than 1,400 U.S. counties. 274 These results are to our knowledge the first to validate tem-275 poral results only previously available from U.S. polling sites 276 interested in tracking mental health. 277

To date, most efforts to profile the mental health of people in the U.S. and globally rely on subjective responses to survey prompts. These surveys may be biased by the tendency for people to under-report less desirable or stigmatized traits, such as the presence of mental illness. Up to date access to objective measures of changing mental health could improve in

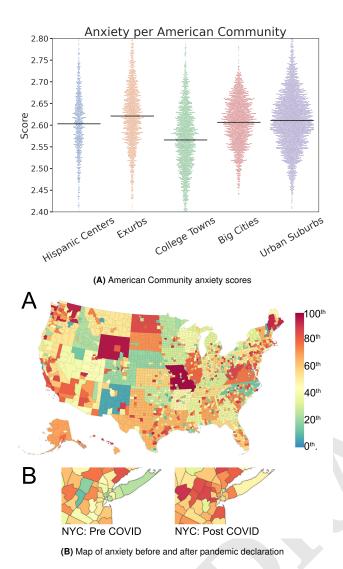


Fig. 5. Scores within communities in 2020 and county mapped anxiety before and after COVID-19 is declared a pandemic. In 5A the 5 communities most represented in our data, out of 15 possible communities as defined by the American Communities Project, are shown ordered by the number of measurements captured. A black horizontal mean line is overlaid on swarm plots of the county-week measurements for each community type. In 5B percentile county-level measurements of anxiety are shown, where red shows where anxiety is highest and blue where anxiety is lowest. Pre-declaration is defined as two months before the declaration (3/13/2020) and post-declaration is defined as two months after the declaration. Section (A) depicts national anxiety per county in the post-declaration time window, while Section (B) shows a zoomed-in view of the NYC Metropolitan Area in each time window. Super-county binning is performed to report results for counties that are not individually reliable.

the ability to allocate scarce mental health treatment resources
in a time of great need, and will facilitate new analyses that can
help us to better understand the risk factors and consequences
of depression and anxiety in population health.

This work lays a foundation to expand on the AI-based population assessment process to both refine the tools and improve the generalizability of assessments as we move this work into public mental health monitoring programs. Furthermore, quasi-experimental designs using rich temporal data have shown potential in revealing deeper facets of longitudinal effects suffered by those struggling with depression (43)

²⁹⁵ Beyond population health, applications of language based

mental health assessments from social media in more the local-296 ized health in educational, professional, and medical organiza-297 tions may be possible (44). For example, integrating a system 298 using the pipeline described here into an opt-in program for 299 communications platforms for high burnout professions, such 300 as hospitals, WHO employees, or legal offices. This study 301 suggests that the careful analysis and aggregation of social 302 media data can yield spatiotemporal estimates of population 303 mental health that exceed surveys in resolution and potentially 304 in reliability and validity. 305

Materials and Methods

2019-2020 County Tweet Lexical Bank. As our main source of social 307 media data we introduce an updated version of the original *Countu* 308 Tweet Lexical Bank (27) which we refer to as CTLB-19-20. This 309 new version contains a cohort of county mapped Twitter accounts 310 and their posts spanning from 2019 to 2020. These county-user pairs 311 were derived from posts with either explicit longitude/latitude pairs 312 or the first instance of a self-reported user location in the account 313 public profile. Previous work mapping location strings to counties 314 was found to be 93% accurate compared to human assessments (45). 315 The unprocessed CTLB-19-20 contained 2.7 billion total posts from 316 a cohort of 2.6 million users over 2019 and 2020, after filtering this 317 would result in 1.2 billion posts from 2 million users (see Table 1). 318 For each post in this dataset we retain the date it was posted, a 319 unique user identifier, the original text body, and the US county 320 that the poster is from. 321

306

Filter and People Aggregation. Following Giorgi and colleagues (27), 322 preprocessing steps filtered out posts to increase the accuracy of 323 social media based population assessments (34). Posts are only 324 included if they are marked likely to be English according to the 325 langid package (46), and then they are further filtered to remove 326 reposts, posts containing URLs (i.e. posts likely of non-original 327 content), and finally any duplicate messages from individual users. 328 The final processed dataset contains nearly 1 billion posts across of 329 2 million unique accounts for all 104 weeks in 2019 and 2020. At 330 this point 1,490 counties (whose total population equals ${\sim}92.5\%$ 331 of the US population) are captured. Further statistics about the 332 filtered CTLB are described in more detail in Table 1. 333

To maintain a minimum level of reliability for our depression and 334 anxiety measurements users must post at least 3 times in a given 335 week to be included in that week, and from our reliability testing 336 we determined that counties must contain at least 200 unique users 337 per week to be considered for any given week. The 3 user posting 338 threshold (3-UPT) was determined to balance diversity of users 339 while minimizing noise from infrequent users. The 3-UPT approach 340 resulted in a 37% decreased in unique user-week pairs retained, as 341 opposed to a 23.4% decrease for 2-UPT and a 53% loss for 5-UPT. 342 The 200 user post threshold (UPT) was determined by a reliability 343 analysis whose results are shown in Figure 2B. Counties that fail 344 to report a score for 10 weeks consecutively are dropped from the 345 dataset to remove the influence they pose to findings for a single 346 week 347

After applying our 3-UPT, UT, and max gap filtering many posts 348 belonging to mostly rural counties are necessarily excluded from our 349 analysis. Since the target of this work is to better meet mental health 350 reporting needs we implement a super-county binning strategy to 351 reincorporate those "unreliable" county findings. All county-week 352 findings that fail to meet the UT filter are weighted-mean aggregated 353 by state into a super county-week result. Weights for the mean 354 aggregation are assigned based on the reporting population of users 355 of the included counties. Super counties must then pass the same 356 UT set for regular counties to be included. In the case of UT=200 357 this results in a gain of 4,714 super county-week results over the 358 original 30,899 county-week results. Figure 5 visually demonstrates 359 how super-county binning reincorporates findings from unreliable 360 counties. 361

The final post-processing step in our county-week pipeline is to run linear interpolation on a per county basis between missing weeks. For reference, at UT=200 this translates to an increase $_{365}$ $\,$ from 35,613 to 36,260 county-weeks. When running our analyses in

this work we opt to adjust 2020 county-week findings by removing

periodicity effects by subtracting means for 2019. This adjustment
 highlights 2020-specific movement from week to week.

Extract Linguistic Patterns. To extract language based assessments of 369 well-being from posts, we used existing lexical models of depression 370 and anxiety (41, 42) that we adapted to 2019-2020 Twitter vocab-371 372 ularies using target-side domain adaptation (28) which removes lexical signals that have different usage patterns (see target domain 373 adaptation). The process for applying the model consists of extract-374 ing words from posts using the social media-aware tokenizer from 375 376 *dlatk* (47). Following (48), the relative frequency of the words per user and unit of time are then Anscombe transformed to stabilize 377 the variance of power law distribution. The approach then applies 378 a linear model that is pretrained to produce anxiety and depres-379 sion prediction scores from the word frequencies (42, 49). This 380 produces a degree of depression (DEP_SCORE) and degree of anx-381 iety (ANX_SCORE) for each user-time unit pair in the processed 382 dataset, for this work that pair is user-week. 383

Depression and Anxiety Scoring. The calculation of a language
 based mental health scoring, for example the depression score for a
 user-week, is defined as:

$$LBMHA_{DEP}(x) = L(x) \times demographics(x)$$

387

388

38

$$_{9} \qquad L(x) = \sum_{w \in lex} \left[(A_{ns}(freq_{w}(x))) \times lex_{wt}(w) \right] + lex_{i}(DEP)$$

390 where $LBMHA_{measure}(x)$ is the Language Based Mental Health Assessment of an entity in time. x, is the sum of the summation of 391 392 the lexicon weights $lex_{wt}()$ of all words w in the lexicon lex times that word's Anscombe transformed frequency, $A_{ns}(freq_w())$, and 393 the overall lexicon intercept $lex_i()$ for that particular assessment. 394 395 This outcome is multiplied by demographics(), which maps to a per user-week post-stratified weight correcting for the socio-economics 396 397 of the community before aggregation.

It is noted that Twitter is a biased sample of the American populace, we find that their users are younger, more educated, and more male than the average American (50). In order to correct for these discrepancies from the true socioeconomic diversity of US counties we apply a post-stratified weighting scheme to emphasize the language of voices that are under-represented in social media.

Robust post-stratification (21) is a pipeline for generating post-404 stratification weights from sparse and noisy data (i.e., demographic 405 406 estimates from machine learning models applied to social media text). These weights allow us to aggregate biased samples to ac-407 curately represent target populations being studied by adaptively 408 removing selection biases. Calculating these weights starts with esti-409 mator redistribution where socio-demographic estimates are shifted 410 per user such that the sample distribution matches the national-411 level target socio-demographic distributions. An adaptive binning 412 process is then applied to these resulting sparse bin distributions 413 to create merged bins that meet minimum observation thresholds. 414 Finally, informed smoothing is applied by padding weights with a 415 sample of users from a known distribution of demographics. In this 416 work user-time-place mental health scores from social media are 417 being redistributed through a weight that is assigned per county 418 user-week LBMHA measurement. 419

The final aggregated community-time scores for depression and anxiety are then clipped to be between 0 and 5 for ease of interpretation. From these final scores, weighted aggregates can be generated at higher space and time resolutions.

Target Domain Adaptation. The mental health lexicon used in this 424 work was originally trained for use on Facebook posts in the late 425 426 2000s so the following target-side domain adaptation steps were taken to adapt the lexicon to Twitter language in 2019-2020. In 427 comparing the language use of Facebook versus Twitter we first 428 429 trimmed the original lexicon's vocabulary which contained 7,680 unique words, to a set of 5,765 words for the target set where the 430 word usage and mean word frequency between the two domains fell 431 within certain ranges of each other. 432

To adapt lexical patterns to the target domain, we remove words which display different usage patterns in the target domain. Specifically, words that appeared with significantly different distributions in terms of sparsity or mean frequency. We then retrained the lexical model of mental health (41, 42) based on this filtered set of words to generate our domain-adapted well-being lexica (28).

439

440

441

442

443

444

445

446

447

448

449

450

451

452

453

454

455

456

457

458

459

460

461

462

463

464

465

466

467

468

469

470

471

472

473

474

475

476

477

478

479

480

481

495

496

497

More precisely, usage and frequency filters were used to address the phenomena of words and phrases that are used with different frequencies between two domains of text being more likely to have significant differences in their semantics between those two domains (28, 51). As the correlation between the frequency of a phrase and outcomes for a given lexicon may differ for semantically different usages of a phrase, filtering words with different usages and frequencies limits our set of tokens to those that are more likely to carry similar semantics (and thus, similar correlations). We modify (28)'s frequency filter for the source to target adjustment to instead normalize by standard deviation across the source Facebook users, and introduce a usage filter (what percent of users in each domain used a specific token even once).

Specifically, for each of our two domains (the target Twitter domain and the source Facebook domain), we computed each user's frequency for each word, and stored the results in frequency matrices C^S of dimension $n \times m$ and C^T of dimension $k \times m$, where n is the number of users in our source domain, k is the number of users in our target domain, and m is the cardinality of the set of words that appear either in the Twitter or Facebook domain. For each word, we then computed the average relative frequency across all users (word frequencies f^S for Facebook and f^T for Twitter), and the percent of users who used the word at least once (word usage percentages u^S and u^T).

First, only words with word usage percentages within a multiplicative factor 10 across domains were kept $(-1 < \log_{10}(u^T/u^S) < 1)$, leaving 6,214 words. Then, for each word we take a Cohen's d filter of f^S versus f^T in the range [-0.2, 0.2] on the word frequency using the larger source domain's standard deviation. A mathematical definition of this process is given in the supplement materials.

Finally we dropped common US names found in the United States' Social Security list of Popular Baby Names by Decade (e.g. Emma, Noah, Olivia, Liam)(52). The resulting Twitter adapted lexicon vocabulary after these three filters is 5,469 words long.

Using the Differential Language Analysis ToolKit's (DLATK) (47) regression-to-lexicon feature a new lexicon was trained using ridge regression, we note that the option to not standardize is selected since it better suits the lexicon creation task.

The final retrained lexicon contained 5,765 words and an intercept each with a weight for depression (DEP_SCORE) and anxiety (ANX_SCORE).

Statistical Analysis

Reliability vs. Resolution. At this point, we can begin to aggregate to a larger spatial or temporal resolution as necessary for analysis. To determine an appropriate resolution, we examine the finest resolution we can achieve while retaining reliable depression and anxiety score measurements.

To evaluate the reliability of a given spatio-temporal resolu-487 tion, for each space-time pair in the resolution, we gather the 488 set of users who posted at least 3 messages in this time period. 489 If there are at least 20 such users, we randomly split the set 490 into two approximately equally sized subsets and compute the 491 split-half reliability (R = 1 - Cohen's d) using their depression 492 scores. Finally, the reliability is averaged across all space-time 493 pairs. 494

Figure 2 shows the reliability scores of different spatiotemporal resolutions from running the procedure with counties in the New York City metropolitan area.

It is possible to generate reliable measures (R > 0.9) at the county-week level. We also analyze the effect of the threshold for the number of users per county-week pair on reliability. 500

Figure 2 shows the reliability scores from running the afore-501 mentioned procedure with the entire CTLB data and with 502 different thresholds for the number of users. 503

When relying on regional data, we report data that exceed 504 505 a final group frequency threshold placed at 50 or 200 to match repeated split-half reliability (RSR) where RSR > 0.7, 0.8, 506 and 0.9 for these thresholds respectively. RSR is calculated 507 as the mean Cohen's d of N repeated split-half samples into 508 equal length a and b halves from the data belonging to a given 509 region in time. 510

RSR511

$$=\frac{1}{N}\sum_{i=1}^{N}1-\frac{\mu_a-\mu_b}{\sigma_a\cup b}$$

Convergent Validity. Figure 4 we look to the Gallup COVID 512 Panel (53) to compare the validity of our measure and deter-513 mine if these assessments are tracking the same underlying 514 construct. Note that we do not treat the Gallup poll as a gold 515 standard to exactly align with since the poll is a survey based 516 measure of self-reported sadness and worry, while our language 517 based assessments are scores of depression and anxiety. The 518 purpose of this particular study is to show common alignment 519 between a traditional survey method and an observational 520 social media method. The Gallup data is based on individual 521 responses to a survey which are then tagged with a week and 522 a county of the respondent. This dataset covers 2617 counties 523 with an average of $\sim 4,601$ measurements per week across all 524 counties. To this end we use fixed effect multi-level modeling 525 to remove the effects of endogeneity bias stemming from in-526 herent between-county differences. While LBMHA scores are 527 already held to a baseline 1-Cohen's d reliability of 0.9, Gallup 528 results are held to a standard of 0.7. If this adjustment is 529 not made there are no counties collected by Gallup for which 530 county-week results are reliable for the full 22 weeks the survey 531 covered. 532

External Criteria. To compare our assessments cross-sectionally 533 against other external measurements we look to the County 534 Health Rankings (CHR) (25). From CHR 2020 we look to 535 political, economic, social, and health based outcomes at the 536 county level. For political variables we evaluate the proportion 537 of county voters who voted Republican in 2016 and 2020 538 and Third party in 2020. For economic variables, the logged 539 median household income, the unemployment rate, and the 540 proportion of people over age 24 holding bachelors degrees. For 541 542 social variables, the per capita number of social associations, 543 the violent crime rate, and the percent of youth unaffiliated with school or a similar organization. For health variables, 544 the surveyed percent of people reporting fair or poor health, 545 the age-adjusted suicide rate, and the age-adjusted mortality 546 rate. LBMHAs were limited to the same cross-sectional period 547 as was covered by the Gallup survey, reported correlations 548 controlled for geographic effects at the state level. Figure 549 550 4D extends the cross-sectional test of validity to conduct a longitudinal study of major events on measurements across 551 counties. For this work we examine the weekly changes in 552 county measurements of anxiety and depression during weeks 553 where major US events occurred and weeks where they did 554 not occur. Combining 14 events identified by The Uproar 555 (54) with 18 events from Business Insider (55) we arrived 556 at 14 weeks of 2020 as "major US event weeks" (13 events 557 were in common between the news sources and a single week 558

could contain more than 1 event). We then filtered these to 559 those that happened within the United States (including those 560 applying global, such as pandemic onset) arriving at 14 total 561 event weeks to compare with 38 non-event weeks. An event 562 week is defined as an ISO week which contains the date any 563 of the labelled major events occurred on. A 1 day buffer is 564 added to the date of the event before mapping to a week so 565 that scoring changes caused by the event can be captured. 566 For each sample of event and non-event weeks, we collect 567 the percent change in national-week depression and anxiety 568 scores from the previous week. Using these two samples we 569 compute Cohen's d between the event week and non-event 570 week findings. To establish a confidence interval we use Monte 571 Carlo bootstrapping over 10,000 iterations of event and non-572 event weeks. 573

Data Sharing and Availability. To support open science, we 574 provide an open-source toolkit to run the LBMHA pipeline as 575 well as data describing the results per county week. Please see 576 github.com/wwbp/robust spatiotemp for a repository of code 577 and github.com/wwbp/lbmha_2019-2020 for a repository of 578 data associated with this article. Additional code used for 579 generating robust post-stratified weights can be found at 580 github.com/wwbp/robust-poststratification. 581

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS. Support for this work was provided by: 582 The National Institutes of Health and National Science Foundation 583 Program, Smart and Connected Health, Grant NIH/NIMH R01 584 MH125702 (PIs Eichstaedt, Schwartz.), Centers for Disease Control 585 NIOSH Grant U01 OH012476, as well as DARPA Young Faculty 586 Award W911NF-20-1-0306. The conclusions and opinions expressed 587 are attributable only to the authors and should not be construed 588 as those of DARPA, the U.S. Department of Defense, or any other 589 sponsor. 590

	S Abuse, MHS Administration, Key substance use and mental health indicators in the united states: results from the 2019 national survey on drug use and health. <i>HHS Publ. No</i> 52, 17–5044 (2020).	591
	AJ Baxter, T Vos, KM Scott, AJ Ferrari, HA Whiteford, The global burden of anxiety disorders in 2010. Psychol. Medicine 44, 2363–2374 (2014). HA Whiteford, et al., Global burden of disease attributable to mental and substance use disorders: findings from the global burden of disease study 2010. The lancet 382, 1575–1586 (2013).	592 593
	Ex Knapp, U Bilal, LT Dean, M Lazo, DD Celentano, Economic insecurity and deaths of despair in us continues. <i>Management and substantial and and and and and and and and and and</i>	594
	A Case, A Deaton, Deaths of Despair and the Future of Capitalism. (Princeton University Press), (2021).	595
6.	Y Milaneschi, WK Simmons, EF van Rossum, BW Penninx, Depression and obesity: evidence of shared biological mechanisms. Mol. psychiatry 24, 18–33 (2019).	596
7.	MA Davis, LA Lin, H Liu, BD Sites, Prescription opioid use among adults with mental health disorders in the united states. The J. Am. Board Fam. Medicine 30, 407–417 (2017).	597
	M Matero, S Giorgi, B Curtis, LH Ungar, HA Schwartz, Opioid death projections with Al-based forecasts using social media language. npj Digit. Medicine 6, 35 (2023).	598
	P Nsubuga, et al., Public health surveillance: a tool for targeting and monitoring interventions. Dis. Control. Priorities Dev. Countries. 2nd edition (2006).	599
	G Rose, Sick individuals and sick populations. Int. journal epidemiology 30, 427–432 (2001). Gallup, Health rating remains below pre-pandemic level [internet] (2021).	600 601
	J Hsia, et al., Comparisons of estimates from the behavioral risk factor surveillance system and other national health surveys, 2011- 2016. Am. journal preventive medicine 58, e181–e190 (2020).	602
	NIoMH NIMH, Prevalence of Generalized Anxiety Disorder Among Adults. (National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, MD), (2021).	603
14.	JT Chen, N Krieger, Revealing the unequal burden of covid-19 by income, race/ethnicity, and household crowding: Us county versus zip code analyses. J. Public Heal. Manag. Pract. 27, S43–S56 (2021).	604 605
15.	N Krieger, et al., Geocoding and monitoring of us socioeconomic inequalities in mortality and cancer incidence: does the choice of area-based measure and geographic level matter? the public health disparities geocoding project. Am. journal epidemiology 156 , 471–482 (2002).	606 607
16.	AL Kratz, SL Murphy, TJ Braley, Ecological momentary assessment of pain, fatigue, depressive, and cognitive symptoms reveals significant daily variability in multiple sclerosis. Arch. physical medicine rehabilitation 98 , 2142–2150 (2017).	608 609
	MA Russell, JM Gajos, Annual research review: Ecological momentary assessment studies in child psychology and psychiatry. J. Child Psychol. Psychiatry 61, 376–394 (2020). MJ Paul, M Dredze, Social monitoring for public health. Synth. Lect. on Inf. Concepts, Retrieval, Serv. 9, 1–183 (2017).	610 611
	K Jaidka, et al., Estimating geographic subjective well-being from twitter: A comparison of dictionary and data-driven language methods. Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. 117, 10165–10171 (2020).	612
	Y Son, et al., World trade center responders in their own words: predicting ptsd symptom trajectories with ai-based language analyses of interviews. <i>Psychol. medicine</i> 2021 Jun 22 , 1–9 (2021). S Giorgi, et al., Correcting sociodemographic selection biases for population prediction from social media in <i>Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media</i> . Vol. 16, pp.	613 614
00	228–240 (2022). AP Christie, et al., Quantifying and addressing the prevalence and bias of study designs in the environmental and social sciences. Nat. communications 11, 1–11 (2020).	615
	J Mellon, C Prosser, Twitter and facebook are not representative of the general population: Political attitudes and demographics of british social media users. Res. & Polit. 4, 2053168017720008	616 617
24	(2017). PD Bliese, Within-group agreement, non-independence, and reliability: Implications for data aggregation and analysis. <i>Multilevel theory, research, methods organizations</i> (2000).	618 619
	1.5 Endor, Main Poulation Health Institute, County health rankings and roadmaps 2022. (2020).	620
26.	C Holden, Global survey examines impact of depression. Science 288, 39–40 (2000).	621
27.	S Giorgi, et al., The remarkable benefit of user-level aggregation for lexical-based population-level predictions in Proceedings of the 2018 Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language	622
~~	Processing. (Association for Computational Linguistics), pp. 1167–1172 (2018).	623
	D Rieman, K Jaidka, HA Schwartz, L Ungar, Domain adaptation from user-level facebook models to county-level twitter predictions in <i>Proceedings of the Eighth International Joint Conference on Natural Language Processing (Volume 1: Long Papers)</i> . pp. 764–773 (2017).	624 625
	SH Woolf, DA Chapman, RT Sabo, DM Weinberger, L Hill, Excess deaths from covid-19 and other causes, march-april 2020. Jama 324, 510–513 (2020).	626
	JR Sato, et al., Machine learning algorithm accurately detects fmri signature of vulnerability to major depression. <i>Psychiatry Res. Neuroimaging</i> 233, 289–291 (2015). M Kritikos, et al., Cortical complexity in world trade center responders with chronic posttraumatic stress disorder. <i>Transl. Psychiatry</i> 11, 1–10 (2021).	627 628
	PF Kuan, et al., Metabolmics analysis of post-traumatic stress disorder symptoms in world trade center responders. <i>Trans. Psychiatry</i> 11 , 1–17 (2021).	629
	JC Eichstaedt, et al., The emotional and mental health impact of the murder of george floyd on the us population. Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. 118, e2109139118 (2021).	630
	K Jaidka, et al., Estimating geographic subjective well-being from twitter: A comparison of dictionary and data-driven language methods. Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. 117, 10165–10171 (2020).	631
35.	A Bartal, KM Jagodnik, SJ Chan, MS Babu, S Dekel, Identifying women with postdelivery posttraumatic stress disorder using natural language processing of personal childbirth narratives. Am. J. Obstet. & Gynecol. MFM 5, 100834 (2023).	632 633
36.	V Kulkarni, B Perozzi, S Skiena, Freshman or fresher? quantifying the geographic variation of language in online social media in <i>Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media</i> . Vol. 10, pp. 615–618 (2016).	634 635
37.	WL Hamilton, J Leskovec, D Jurafsky, Cultural shift or linguistic drift? comparing two computational measures of semantic change in <i>Proceedings of the conference on empirical methods in natural language processing.</i> (NIH Public Access), Vol. 2016, p. 2116 (2016).	636 637
38.	K Jaidka, N Chhaya, L Ungar, Diachronic degradation of language models: Insights from social media in Proceedings of the 56th Annual Meeting of the Association for Computational Linguistics	638
20	(Volume 2: Short Papers). pp. 195-200 (2018).	639
	M Matero, et al., Suicide risk assessment with multi-level dual-context language and BERT in <i>Proceedings of the Sixth Workshop on Computational Linguistics and Clinical Psychology</i> . pp. 39–44 (2019).	640 641
40.	R Martínez-Castaño, A Htait, L Azzopardi, Y Moshfeghi, Bert-based transformers for early detection of mental health illnesses in <i>Experimental IR Meets Multilinguality, Multimodality, and Interaction:</i> 12th International Conference of the CLEF Association, CLEF 2021, Virtual Event, September 21–24, 2021, Proceedings 12. (Springer), pp. 189–200 (2021).	642 643
41.	HA Schwartz, et al., Towards assessing changes in degree of depression through facebook in <i>Proceedings of the workshop on computational linguistics and clinical psychology: from linguistic signal</i>	644 644
	to clinical reality. pp. 118–125 (2014).	645
	Y Son, et al., World trade center responders in their own words: predicting ptsd symptom trajectories with ai-based language analyses of interviews. <i>Psychol. Medicine</i> p. 1–9 (2021).	646
	K Saha, J Torous, E Kiciman, M De Choudhury, et al., Understanding side effects of antidepressants: large-scale longitudinal study on social media data. <i>JMIR mental health</i> 8, e26589 (2021). K Saha, A Yousuf, RL Boyd, JW Pennebaker, M De Choudhury, Social media discussions predict mental health consultations on college campuses. <i>Sci. reports</i> 12, 123 (2022).	647 648
	H Schwartz, H Josty, ML Buy, WL Similarian, M De Groudinary, Godal media discussiona predict mental neural consumations of orgenetic tampassas. Sci. February, 12, 120 (2022). H Schwartz, et al., Characterizing deparaphic variation in well-being using tweets in <i>Proceedings of the International AAAI Conference on Web and Social Media</i> . Vol. 7:(1, pp. 583–591 (2013).	649
	M Lui, T Baldwin, langid. py: An off-the-shelf language identification tool in Proceedings of the ACL 2012 system demonstrations. pp. 25–30 (2012).	650
47.	HA Schwartz, et al., Dlatk: Differential language analysis toolkit in Proceedings of the 2017 conference on empirical methods in natural language processing: System demonstrations. pp. 55–60	651
	(2017).	652
	HA Schwartz, et al., Personality, gender, and age in the language of social media: The open-vocabulary approach. <i>PloS one</i> 8 , e73791 (2013).	653
	HA Schwartz, et al., Predicting individual well-being through the language of social media in <i>Biocomputing 2016: Proceedings of the Pacific Symposium</i> . (World Scientific), pp. 516–527 (2016). G Blank, C Lutz, Representativeness of social media in great britain: investigating facebook, linkedin, twitter, pinterest, google+, and instagram. <i>Am. Behav. Sci.</i> 61, 741–756 (2017).	654 655
	P Resnik, U Luz, representances or obcar media in great or handlin in mesugang account, inneed, innereda gogier, and margani. Ani. Danar. Ou. or, re-root or, re-root or, P Resnik, Using information content to evaluate semantic similarity in a taxonomy in Proceedings of the 14th International Joint Conference on Artificial Intelligence - Volume 1, UCA195. (Morgan	656
	Kaufmann Publishers Inc., San Francisco, CA, USA), p. 448–453 (1995).	657
	S Security, Popular baby names by decade (year?).	658
	Gallup, Covid-19 panel microdata (2021).	659
	C Majerac, The 14 most important events of 2020. The Uproar: https://nashuproar.org/39777/features/the-14-most-important-events-of-2020 (2020). Y Dzhanova, The events that shook and shaped america in 2020. Bus. Insid. https://www.businessinsider.com/the-stories-of-2020-that-shaped-and-shook-americans-2020-12 (2020).	660 661