Revisiones

Newspaper portrayal of mental illness in England, Canada, Portugal, Spain and Japan

Representación de las enfermedades mentales en periódicos de Inglaterra, Canadá, Portugal, España y Japón

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Abstract

Research concerning media portrayals of mental illnesses and the effects such portrayals might have on the public has usually been carried out within one country as a geographical limit. Herein, we analyse the results of the research carried out through the analysis of newspapers in 5 different disperse countries around the world in the last decade; England, Canada, Portugal, Spain and Japan. Some of these countries have started national campaigns to reduce the stigmatisation of these conditions, including a focused awareness on Mental Health communication in media. Despite the heterogenicity of the societies studied and the different measures adopted, there is still a negative portrayal of mental illnesses in newspapers, which contributes to the ongoing mental illness stigmatisation. Other media also showed similar results. Moreover, this review intends to give a general vision on how research in this area is carried out and propose a reflection on how it should be pursued.

Keywords: media; newspaper; stigma; western countries; mental health.

Resumen

La investigación relacionada con la imagen que los medios de comunicación proporcionan de las enfermedades mentales y los efectos que esta imagen tiene en el público se suelen realizar dentro de un país como frontera geográfica. En esta revisión se analizan los resultados obtenidos en diferentes estudios que analizan la cobertura de la salud mental en periódicos de 5 países diferentes, Inglaterra, Canadá, Portugal, España y Japón. Algunos de estos países han lanzado campañas a nivel nacional para reducir el estigma relacionado con estas enfermedades y presentan una parte focalizada en la comunicación de la salud mental por parte de los medios de comunicación. A pesar de la diversidad de las sociedades estudiadas y de las diferentes medidas tomadas en cada uno de estos países, sigue habiendo una representación negativa de las enfermedades mentales en los periódicos, lo que contribuye a la perpetuación del estigma. Además, se han obtenido resultados semejantes en otros medios. Finalmente, esta revisión intenta dar una perspectiva general de cómo se llevan a cabo este tipo de investigaciones y propone una reflexión de cómo debería de ser.

Palabras clave: medios de comunicación; periódicos; salud mental; estigma; enfermedad mental.

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Introduction

According to the World Health Organisation, "mental health is defined as a state of well-being in which every individual realises his or her own potential, can cope with the normal stress of life, can work productively and fruitfully, and is able to make a contribution to her or his community". Therefore, it is expected that most of citizens in the world would suffer from a lack of mental health at any one point in their lives. Mental Health is greatly influenced by the social context. For example, one meta-analysis showed increased levels of anxiety, depression and PTSD in detained immigrants and refugees residing in camps (Taylor-East, Rossi, Carnana, & Grech, 2016).

Despite their great prevalence, mental illnesses are still a burden in the vast majority of societies and are frequently stigmatised. Stigma is an all-encompassing term that is built by ignorance or misinformation, prejudice, and discrimination that affects the daily life of people with mental health problems in many aspects of their life (Maiorano et al., 2017;Thornicroft, 2006; López, Laviana, Fernández, López, Rodríguez, Aparicio, 2008). Mental illness stigma contributes to a high percentage of people with mental health problems feeling pressure to hide the condition in order to be protected from society judgement and can even keep them from seeking help (Corrigan, & Kleinlein, 2005). Stigma has been found to discourage help-seeking behaviours, thus, the possibility of recovery is decreased (Maiorano et al., 2017), further perpetuating the existence and rise of mental health. It can also exclude people of metal health from finding and sustaining employment and can also lead to poorer physical health. It can be said that stigma is one of the main obstacles to social recovery for those with mental health problems (Corrigan, 2016; Maiorano et al., 2017).

Mass media has been proven to provide a negative image of those who are often labelled as dangerous or unpredictable, thus, reinforcing common stereotypes of people with mental health problems (Whal, 2003; Sieff, 2003; López, 2007, Maiorano et al., 2017). Studies also showed that the perception of mental illness can be related to its portrayal in media (Clement et al., 2013; Dietrich, Heider, D., Matschinger, H., & Angermeyer, M.C., 2006) Several of these studies show how mental illness was consistently misrepresented during the last half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st. Specifically, people with mental illness were frequently depicted as unpredictable, violent and dangerous (Nairn, 2007; Sieff, 2004; Stuart, 2006; Wahl, 1992). The content of articles tends to focus on mental health aspects of perpetuators of

incidents in order to create sensationalised content (Wahl, 1992; Coverdale, Nairn & Claasen, 2002). Of particular concern is the risk of internalisation of stigma portrayed in media, creating fear and the belief in people with mental illness that they are dangerous to themselves or others (Chen, &Lawrie, 2017). As well as existing stigma, there is a lack of genuine representation of those with mental illness in the media, creating and isolated group with limited social acceptance. There is also poor coverage of recovery in the media, creating an inaccurate imbalance of reported mental illness and subsequent potential recovery (Whitley,& Berry, 2013). With this in mind, the media has formed social structures maintaining the negative stigma of mental illness, with or without intention (Corrigan et al., 2005, Maiorano et al., 2017).

Research concerning media portrayals of mental illnesses and the effects such portrayals might have on the public has usually been carried out within one country as a geographical limit. However, recent analysis comparing written media across five different Centre European countries showed significant differences in the way these countries represented mental illness (Nawková et al., 2012). According to the authors, these findings reflect the idea that mental health will be represented differently by different cultures or groups.

Therefore, herein, we have brought together studies concerning the portrayal of mental illnesses in newspapers from 5 different countries during the last decade; England, Canada, Portugal, Spain and Japan. The countries were chosen to represent different profiles of developed countries around the world.

Firstly, England and Canada have implemented National Antistigma campaigns that include the reformation and training of journalists in their treatment and depiction of mental health in the media. They are also English speaking countries with at least one research group specialized in this topic and, especially England, with a large track record on this issue. USA was excluded from this review due to the problematic mass-shooting concern. Most of the articles in this country are focused on this issue, which makes it a unique situation, not comparable to any other country. Secondly, Portugal and Spain have gone through a significant economic crisis that could have greatly affected the mental health of its inhabitants, with the former presenting several guidelines in mental health journalism. These countries are part of the same geographical unit and their language and culture are related enough to make them interesting for a further analysis. Finally, Japan was chosen as a distinctive representation of developed country that do not belong to the Western culture. Moreover, this country has changed the Japanese

word for schizophrenia to a less stigmatising one in the hopes to minimise discrimination and prejudice. Therefore, we aim to put together part of the recent current studies to analyse if there exists any global trend, despite the socioeconomics and cultural differences, and how the different measures implemented to reduce the stigma are working.

Design/methodology/approach

The current paper is a narrative review of literature on how mental illnesses are covered by newspapers in different countries. Herein, we summarise and analyse research published in the last 10 years, between 2008 and 2018. A combination of searching key databases and examining reference lists of selected articles was used to identify relevant articles. In total, 11 empirical studies published in the last 10 years were reviewed.

Countries were chosen for the reasons stated in the introduction section after the first search, when articles covering newspapers in different countries were subjected to a preliminary screening. Only articles referring to mental health in general were chosen, with the exception of Aoki et al. (2016) which focus specifically on schizophrenia. This article was chosen due to the significant relevance the change in the Japanese word for Schizophrenia could have had on reducing the stigma. Articles including references to mass-shooting or drug abuse were excluded, therefore, countries such as USA and Colombia were also excluded from the selection.

Keywords included mental illness, mental disorders, mental health, psychiatric disorders, stigma, media and newspaper, either in English or in Spanish. Only empirical research analysing newspapers portrayal of mental illness written in English or Spanish were selected and examined in this paper. To cover possible missing articles, reference lists of the previously selected sources were examined and all empirical research that did not appear in the Web of Science database were added.

Results

England

England adopted the Time to Change programme in 2009 (TTC) (Henderson et al., 2012). TTC coordinates national and local interventions to engage individuals, communities, and stakeholder organisations, such as health services and professional groups to improve the attitude and behaviour of the general public towards people with mental health. To address the poor media coverage, a guideline on how to appropriately report on mental Health issues was elaborated (Time to Change. Media Guidelines).

Some studies published in the last decade cover years before the implementation of the TTC. Namely, in 2013, Wibberly et col. published a content analysis documenting over a 10-year period (1998-2008) of news published in 4 national UK newspapers, The Times, The Guardian, The Mail and The Telegraph. This descriptive content analysis compared the number of articles related to mental health in each newspaper and the percentage of such publications across the sample and if mental illnesses were being stigmatized in these news by the use of phrases such as schizo, addict or violent. The study showed how the use of pejorative terms and the link between mental illness and violence and drug use had continued despite the increase in articles related to mental health (Murphy, Fatoya, and Wibberley, 2013). Interestingly, a previous study published in 2011 by Goulden et al. documenting the period between 1992 and 2008 indicated that there was a significant enhance in articles explaining psychiatric disorders and also a significant proportional decrease in negative articles about mental illness during this period (Goulden et al., 2011). Differences between mental illnesses were also found; the coverage for depression improved whilst the coverage for schizophrenia remained principally negative.

Despite having a smaller sample, this study was more exhaustive than the previously reported one. It covered 3 national UK newspapers, 2 broadsheets and 1 mid-market tabloid, The Guardian, The Times and The Daily Mail, and one of the highest circulating regional newspapers, the mid-market tabloid London Evening Standard. 36 general and diagnostic terms were used for the search following the recommendations of Whal (Whal, 1992), see table 1. The content analysis was carried out using a coding frame developed exclusively for this study in order to analyse the changes in the overall coverage and specific variations in reporting on a range of diagnoses. This coding system was based on previous coding systems developed by Corrigan and Whal (Corrigan et al., 2005; Wahl, Wood, & Richards, 2002) and the data analysis takes into account the frequency and proportion of articles themes.

During the first phase of the TTC programme implementation, Thornicroft et al. released a study on the newspaper coverage of mental illness in England from 2008 to 2011(Thornicroft et al., 2013). In this case, they analysed the coverage in 27 local and national newspapers, including tabloids and broadsheets. This study also used the recommendations of Whal for the search descriptors and a specific coding system was specially developed to classify the articles according to whether their main theme contained elements that were stigmatising, antistigmatising or neutral. Results were based on frequencies and proportions

of elements in the articles. Their analysis lead to conclude that there was no reduction in the proportion of stigmatising articles, and fewer articles were coded as mixed or neutral. Therefore, for the first phase of implementation of the TTC programme, no significant improvement seemed to happen with respect to previous achievements.

In 2016, Henderson et col. published an update of the changes in newspaper reporting of mental illness over the duration of the TTC (Rhydderch et al., 2016); in total, a 7-year period was evaluated (2008-2014). The authors analysed again 27 local and national newspapers, including ten national mass circulating newspapers, daily newspapers and the eight highest circulating regional newspapers and used a similar coding system with slight variations. In this case, authors showed an improvement in the coverage of mental illness; the number of articles covering this issue increased significantly and the proportion of articles presenting mental illness in an antistigmatising way also showed a slight increase whilst the portrayal of mental illness as 'dangerous to others' decreased proportionally. However, the later results were not consistent during the period studied and different disorders were treated with different approaches; whilst anxiety disorders and Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) were the diagnoses that were more often reported in an antistigmatising manner, personality disorders, schizophrenia, Obsessive Compulsive Disorder (OCD), Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) and eating disorders were mostly represented in a stigmatising context. Therefore, the authors stated that:

> during the time period studied, Time to Change has likely affected reporting through the effects of two of its components: the inclusion of newspaper journalists and editors as a target group for advice, training and lobbying, and the effect of its social marketing campaign on journalists as members of the public. However, our mixed results show that this impact has been a partial one, and the lack of a consistent pattern over time precludes optimism about continued positive change in the future (Rhydderch, 2016, p. 50).

Canada

In 2009, the Mental Health Commission of Canada (MHCC), created in 2007, started the antistigma initiative 'Opening Minds'. Amongst the several antistigma activities that this campaign included, there was an intense and targeted intervention with the media. Like Thornicroft in England, Whitley et al. followed the change in newspapers portrayal of mental illnesses during the time of the campaign. The study included the 20 best-selling English-Canadian newspapers that mentioned once or more the phrases or words: mental health, ,mental illness, schizo-

phrenia or schizophrenic. The descriptive content analysis was carried out applying a coding scheme developed by the authors and taking into account frequency counts and proportions of the key questions in the coding scheme. The preliminary results were published in 2013 contemplating a 5-year period analysis (2005-2010) and no significant changes in media reporting were found (Whitley, & Berry, 2013).

Last year, the same research group published a longitudinal analysis of newspaper portrayals of mental illness in Canada from 2005 to 2015, as an extension of the previous study. Authors used the same methods and procedures. The study indicated that newspapers coverage of mental illness improved during the time analysed (Whitley & Wang, 2016). Articles with a positive tone almost doubled whilst articles with stigmatising content reduced by a third. Nevertheless, the articles linking mental illness and crime and violence substantially increased, averaging over 50% of articles in the last 5 years of the study, and the proportion of articles focused on recovery did not improve either. In this case, the authors do think that the MHCC campaign may have had an effect on the results found even though they appreciated that improvement is needed.

Portugal

Portugal has showed significant initiative in recent years to improve its mental health services. It was the one of the first European countries to enforce a national law in 1963, which allowed the opening of district mental health centres across the country. This was also supported by movements integrating mental health and primary care and the initiation of social psychiatric services. However, by the beginning of the 21st century, mental health services still suffered serious limitations in terms of accessibility, equity and quality of care (Caldas de Almeida, 2009). In order to improve this issue, they implemented the Portuguese National Mental Health Plan (2007-2016), which included as part of the prevention and promotion activities, the "awareness and information in diverse sectors, such as primary care, schools, recreational centres, workplaces, television programmes, the internet and the media in general" (Caldas de Almeida, 2009, p. 240). The start of the plan, however, coincided with the beginning of the economic crisis.

In 2017, Dias Neto et al. reported the impact of the 2008 economic crisis on the social representation of mental Health by analysing a decade of newspaper coverage, from 2004 to 2013, that is to say, a 5-year period before and after the crisis (Dias Neto, Figueiras, Campos, & Tavares, 2017). The crisis had direct effects on the Mental Health Plan budget, as well as the significant impact it had on general men-

tal wellbeing in the population (Caldas de Almeida, 2009; Maresso et al., 2015; Caldas de Almeida, Mateus, & Tomé, 2015). The authors analysed how 2 of the most printed journals in Portugal, Correio da Manhã and Jornal de Notícias, portrayed mental health and its treatment, in addition to whether the 2008 economic crisis had an impact on this depiction. The coding system employed for this study was adapted to the Portuguese context from two existing coding systems, that from Goulden et al. (2011), reported above in the England section, and that from Stuber and Achterman (2008), since this latter one also takes into account the treatment, prevention and recovery.

The main finding was the increase in proportion of negative news during the crisis, even though the overall news were positive there were still there were still remaining signs of stigma in representing mental health. The authors stated that "this is a result of newspapers' increased concerns in addressing this issue and continuous advocacy recommendations by national bodies" (Dias Neto et al., 2017, p. 741). The increase in negative news led them to propose two possible causes; more negative events happen, which are then brought to the public (which implies the total objectivity of the media), or the media subjectivity is influenced by the change in social representation.

Another important outcome was that if the results concerning treatment were analysed on their own, negative news were the trend; with treatment failure, lack of treatment resources and lack of research the main reported issues. Once again, schizophrenia tended to be more associated with negative news.

Spain

Spain was also deeply affected by the economic crisis in 2008. However, the focus of the studies carried out in this country did not consider this socioeconomic context.

A content qualitative and quantitative descriptive analysis reported in 2011 concluded that there was no improvement in the negative image of one Spanish national newspaper´s portrayal of people with mental illness, especially schizophrenia, between 1998 and 2009 (Lima Serrano, Sáez Bueno, & Lima Rodríguez, 2011). The authors created their own coding system taking into account the type of article, the existence of testimonies, the themes covered, the length of the news, the section in which it was located, and the informative treatment. The data was analysed according to the absolute frequencies and percentage of articles.

Basora and colleagues (Aragonés, López-Muntaner, Ceruelo, & Basora, 2014) also analysed coverage on this topic in Spanish leading newspapers during 2010. This study, however, was more detailed and, apart from a bigger sample, it also used an adaptation of the coding systems developed by Corrigan et al (2005) and Wahl et al. (2002), as well as analysing the writing, style, and presentation of the news items. The authors confirmed the hypothesis that the press treats mental illness in a manner that encourages stigmatisation. A significant proportion of news reporting mental illness related to danger and crime was found whilst a very low proportion of news were covering the etiology of mental illness from a biological point of view. However, the positive note was that the non-stigmatising portrayals of mental illness were slightly more prevalent than the stigmatising ones.

Japan

In 2017, Namino Ottewell reported the coverage of mental illnesses in 4 high-circulation national broadsheets between the years 1987 and 2014. The qualitative content analysis was carried out after the development of the first coding system specific to Japan. This coding system was based on Corrigan et al. (2005) and Goulden at al. (2011). The authors stated, once again, that articles which came under the category of 'dangerousness' occupied a high proportion throughout the period, especially those related to schizophrenia (Ottewell, 2017). However, the proportion decreased significantly across the 27-year period. An interesting point that differentiates the results in this country from the other countries analysed is that articles regarding depression were mostly related to work stress. Positively, there was also a significant rise in the proportion of articles about the awareness and understanding of mental health concerns during this period.

A more specific study concerning only media coverage of schizophrenia from 1992 to 2012 showed that there was a decrease in the ratio of articles about schizophrenia and danger related to that of bipolar disorder (Aoki et al., 2016). This decrease coincides with the renaming of the term schizophrenia for a less stigmatising term in some Asian countries (e.g., Japan, Honk Kong, Taiwan, South Korea) in the early 2000s. The authors thus stated that "renaming was associated with a mitigation of stigmatised depiction of the new term in newspaper reports" (Aoki et al., 2016, p.1). This study covered 3 high-circulation national broadsheets and the coding system employed was based on Goulden et al. (2011).

Table 1. Articles reviewed.

Country	Authors	Years of analysis	Sample size	keywords	Main findings
UK	Goulden et al.	1992, 2000 & 2008	1361	mental health, mental illness, mentally ill, mental disorder, mental patient, mental problem, mental hospital, mental institut*, mental asylum, mental home, secure hospital, special hospital, psychiatr*, depression, depressive, depressed, anxiety, bipolar, panic disorder, panic attack, obsessive compulsive disorder, OCD, post traumatic stress, PTSD, social phobia, agoraphobi*, schizo*, psychosis, psychotic, eating disorder, anorexi*, bulimi*, personality disorder, dissociative disorder, ADHD, attention deficit	Over the period studied, there was a significant reduction in negative articles focused on mental illness and a significant increase in articles explaining psychiatric disorders. There was also an improvement on the coverage for depression even though, it remained mostly negative for schizophrenia
UK	Murphy et al.	1998-2008	5537	"mental illness" and or "mental health"	Over the period studied, there was an increase in the number of articles related to mental health/ illness. Moreover, the use of pejorative terms to describe a mentally ill person was identified in an important proportion of articles.
England	Thornicroft et al.	2008-2011	3001	'mental health OR mental illness OR mentally ill OR mental disorder OR mental patient OR mental problem OR (depression NOT W/1 economic OR great) OR depressed OR depressive OR schizo! OR psychosis OR psychotic OR eating disorder OR anorexi! OR bulimi! OR personality disorder OR dissociative disorder OR anxiety disorder OR anxiety attack OR panic disorder OR panic attack OR obsessive compulsive disorder OR OCD OR post-traumatic stress OR PTSD OR social phobia OR agoraphobi! OR bipolar OR ADHD OR attention deficit OR psychiatr! OR mental hospital OR mental asylum OR mental home OR secure hospital'.	Over the period studied, a significant increase in the proportion of antistigmatising articles was found whilst stigmatising articles proportion remained similar.

Table 1. (Continued).

England	Rhydderch et al.	2008-2014	4876	'mental health OR mental illness OR mentally ill OR mental disorder OR mental patient OR mental problem OR (depression NOT W/1 economic OR great) OR depressed OR depressive OR schizo! OR psychosis OR psychotic OR eating disorder OR anorexi! OR bulimi! OR personality disorder OR dissociative disorder OR anxiety disorder OR anxiety attack OR panic disorder OR panic attack OR obsessive compulsive disorder OR OCD OR post-traumatic stress OR PTSD OR social phobia OR agoraphobi! OR bipolar OR ADHD OR attention deficit OR psychiatr! OR mental hospital OR mental asylum OR mental home OR secure hospital'.	Over the period studied, there was an increase in the proportion of antistigmatising articles an in the number of articles covering mental health but the decrease in stigmatising ones was not significant. There was a substantial increase in the number of articles covering mental health between 2008 and 2014. However, the results were not consistent in time.
Canada	Whitley et al.	2005-2010	11263	mental health; mental illness; schizophrenia; or schizophrenic	No significant changes were found over the period studied, with a high proportion of articles including stigmatising content.
Canada	Whitley et al.	2005-2015	24570	mental health; mental illness; schizophrenia; or schizophrenic	Over the period studied, there was a significant improvement on the coverage of mental health, with articles in positive tone nearly doubled and articles with stigmatising content reduced by a third.
Portugal	Dias Neto et al.	2004-2013	1000	global expressions (e.g. mental health, mental disorder, mental patient, mad, crazy); diagnostic terms (e.g. schizophrenia, depression, bipolar, anorectic, drug addict, alcoholic); and treatment (e.g. psychologists, psychotherapist, psychiatry, anti-depressants, prevention	There was an increase in proportion of negative news during the economic crisis. However, there was a general increase in the positive tone of articles, over the period studied, even though there was a a negative representation of treatment.

Table 1. (Continued).

Spain	Lima-Serrano et al.	1998, 2008 & 2009	367	Trastorno mental, "enfermedad mental", loco, locura, ansiedad, depresión, nervios, bipolar, esquizofrenia, esquizofrénico, neurosis, neurótico, personalidad, psicosis, psicótico, fobias	Over the period studied, there was no improvement in the negative image of one Spanish national newspaper´s portrayal of people with mental illness, especially schizophrenia.
Spain	Aragonès et al.	2010	333	mental illness, mental disorder, psychosis, psychopathy, psychopathology, schizophrenia, and related words. [Search strategy in Spanish: esquizofr* OR 'trast* mental' OR 'enf* mental' OR psicop* OR psicot* OR psicos*]	They confirmed the hypothesis that the press covers mental health in a stigmatising manner.
Japan	Ottewell	1987, 1996, 2005 & 2014	448	mental illness; mental disorder; neurosis; pervert; psychiatric; manic; schizophrenia; bipolar disorder; depression; PTSD; anxiety disorder; panic disorder; eating disorder; obsessive compulsive disorder; personality disorder	Over the period studied, the proportion of articles relating mental illness and danger did not decrease significantly. There was also an increase of articles focusing on mental illness related to stress, especially for depression.
Japan	Aoki et al.	1992-2012	4677	The previous name for schizophrenia (Seishin bunretsu-byo), its abbreviated name (Bunretsu-byo), and the new name for schizophrenia (Togo-sitcho-syo)	The authors found a significant decrease in the proportion of stigmatising articles focused on schizophrenia after it was renamed.

Discussion

Even though different cultures may depict mental health in a different way, negative statements and language reflecting stigma can still be found regardless of the country. (Nawková et al., 2012).

The compilation of the studies showed in these reviews leads to the same conclusion; even though there are disparities in the way the analysis was carried out, there has been an improvement in newspaper coverage of mental illness since the beginning of the 21st century. However, the amount of negative portrayal articles is still high, mostly related to an association between mental illness and dangerousness. This trend is not the same for all mental illnesses. The improvement of the portrayal of conditions like depression has been reported in most of the articles reviewed. However, coverage of schizophrenia still contains a significant number of stereotypes. This issue is contradictory to the research showing that people

with schizophrenia are at least 14 times more likely to be victims than committers in violent crimes (Brekke et al., 2001; Stuart, 2003), and only below 10% of violence in society is caused by people with schizophrenia (Walsh, Buchanan & Fahy, 2002). This incongruity, thus, indicates the pejorative reporting of schizophrenia.

It is also relevant to highlight that most of the research, overall, the quantitative analysis, exclude the metaphorical terminology used in the analysis and that it may be an important source of stigmatisation. Aragonés et al. found that nearly half of the articles analysed used "clinical terms in a metaphorical sense or as pejorative descriptions." (Aragonés et al., 2014, p.1254). The authors, however, were expecting these results since a previous study by Magliano et al. had already reported frequencies of metaphor use near 75% (Magliano et al., 2011). Similar qualitative results were found by Lima-Serrano et al. This issue is mainly addressed in the Journalist writing guidelines in most of the countries. As stated, England and

Canada started a major campaign to reduce the stigma of these illnesses, considering the training and guidance of journalists. In Spain, two main organisations Confederación SALUD MENTAL ESPAÑA and Obertament are working towards the same goal. However, the last report of the latter, showed that even though the percentage of negative news decreased in 2015 related to 2014, the ratio of negative news related to violence or offensive use was similar. Moreover, the pejorative use of psychosis and schizophrenia were still highly in use, even when reporting situations unrelated to mental health, like the terrorists' attacks at Bataclan hall in Paris (David, 2017).

Interestingly, another factor not reported in most of the articles is the differences in mental illness portrayal depending on gender. Whitley et al. (Whitley, Adeponle, & Miller, 2015) compared generic and gendered representations of mental illness in Canadian newspapers. The authors found differences in the articles about men and women with mental illness, with the men's articles being more stigmatising. Moreover, in a recent review by Ma on how the media cover mental illnesses, several studies carried out in different media showed that there is actually an age and gender disparity in news stories; reporting of adult/men with mental illness is less objective and balanced than reporting of children/women with mental illness (Ma, 2017).

Other results on reporting mental illness in newspapers demonstrated to be similar in different studies carried out in other media (Ma, 2017). However, as aforementioned, most of the studies have been carried out applying different methodologies, such as quantitative content analysis, qualitative thematic analysis and a many other different approaches. The terms searched, and the coding frames used are also divergent. As Whitley & Berry explain in an article discussing the main challenges they found during their national project, "given the differing aims and objectives of each of these studies, such methodological diversity is justified and should be considered a strength of the current literature." (Whitley & Berry, 2013: 247) As a result, there is no existing standardisation of the procedure in media analysis of mental illness and there is a lack of guideline methodology. For new researchers this can be a disadvantage in their analyses and should be considered in any future research.

In the same article, Whitley and Berry give several advice guidelines according to their experience in the field. These suggestions can be summarised in:

- defining relevant search terms; on one hand we have the standard terminology for mental Health issues, such as "mental health", "mental illness", "schizophrenia", "depression", etc. The articles reviewed here, showed a great disparity in this terminology, since some of them included only the most relevant terms and others included most of the mental disorders. For example, the Japanese research included mental illness; mental disorder; neurosis; pervert; psychiatric; manic; schizophrenia; bipolar disorder; depression; PTSD; anxiety disorder; panic disorder; eating disorder; obsessive compulsive disorder; personality disorder. In fact, other countries were not included in this review due to huge disparities in the search terms, for example USA with "massive shooting" (McGinty, Webster, & Barry, 2013; McGinty, Webster, Jarlenski, & Barry, 2014; McGinty, Kennedy-Hendricks, Choksy, & Barry, 2016) and Colombia with "addictions" (Gutiérrez-Coba, Salgado-Cardona, García Perdomo, & Guzmán-Rossini, 2017). On the other hand, derogatory slang, such as "psycho", "crazy" or "loony", as used in the relevant countries should also be considered.

- developing appropriate inclusion and exclusion criteria. One example related to this issue is the fact that in most of the analysed studies, metaphorical uses of the terms were excluded. This should be done when we are pursuing a quantitative analysis, but it is extremely relevant for qualitative analyses.

- creating a coding scheme. Coding frames are important and research groups should be consistent with it in all their research if they want to compare results over the years. The most used coding frames are the ones developed for the analysis of newspaper coverage of mental illness in USA, England and Canada (Corrigan, 2005; Goulden, 2011; Whitley, 2013).

- choosing strategies of analysis and dissemination. Choosing the strategy of analysis should be the first consideration because most of the other points depend on it. An analysis of media representations of mental illness can be both quantitative and qualitative. As Whitley and Berry, also advise, herein, we recommend a mixed-method approach, since it combines the statistical data to a more linguistic and social insight, e.g. how these stories are either contextualised or sensationalised.

- staffing and training issues. Allocation and training of staff should be given careful consideration in order for such large-scale national studies to be valid. Close supervision and excellent training of research assistants should be adopted throughout.

Finally, it is important to take into account the cross cultural and socioeconomical differences that exist across cultures but we must also be aware of the increasing globalisation of the digital world, since, nowadays, the development and expanse of the Internet is advancing towards a general consensus and unity of the media across cul-

tures, especially within westernised cultures. Therefore, the measures adopted in each country should follow a general guideline for journalists as well as complementing guidelines for individual contexts.

Conclusions

Newspaper coverage on mental health has improved in all the countries analysed. However, there is still a stigmatising and stereotypical portrayal. Journalists should report mental health related news with caution due to the impact their portrayal can have on building a social image. Several guides have been written to help them to use more appropriate language and not to specify a mental condition if it is not relevant for the news piece. These guidelines benefit from being situation and language specific and time-sensitive. It is clear to see that there are significant shortcomings in the research, mainly due to the differing social context in the countries studied and the impact this may have on the search parameters, techniques and methods used within the research. Another noteworthy point of interest is the influence of language across the studies. The definition of mental illness is not consistent across the literature particularly between different cultures. Therefore, comparison studies can be extremely difficult if the terminology is not standardised. Future research should carefully identify specific terminology and outline definitions clearly, perhaps with a more direct focus on specific mental illnesses with the parameters of language use strictly defined. Despite these difficulties, the evolution of such research will be of great interest in the following years particularly due to the increased awareness of mental health in the general public and the constant changing societal context.

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