



**“Images of Disabled in Lithuania –  
View from the Scandinavian Perspective”**



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Research conducted by:

Karin Ljuslinder, Head of Dept. of Culture- and Media Studies, Associated professor in Media and Communication Studies, University of Umeå, Sweden

karin.ljuslinder@kultmed.umu.se

Jurga Mataityte-Dirziene, Lecturer at Social Work department Vilnius University, Lithuania

jurga.mataityte@fsf.vu.lt

Lisbeth Morlandstø , Associated professor in School of Journalism, Bodø University College, Norway

lisbeth.morlandstoe@hibo.no

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## 1. Introduction

According to the results of survey “Human Rights in Lithuania 2006: Overview” by Vilmorus (2006)<sup>1</sup> Lithuanian society is intolerant to the mentally ill. **The overall aim** of this project is to raise awareness and enhance knowledge regarding the media representations of mentally ill persons in Lithuania in order to deepen the respect for difference and acceptance of persons with mental illness as a part of human diversity.

How is a media study going to deepen the respect for otherness? Mass media is considered to be the greatest socio-cultural (re)producer in the whole society. We receive all the information and knowledge that is out of our personal reach from the mass media which McLuhan called *...our prolonged senses* (1967). Reality in the media is represented selectively – from the flow of the events it constructs the surface image of everyday life. The image that is conveyed by the media influences general public as well as those who are responsible for the policy making (politicians). When this image is negative and presents mentally ill people as aggressive and dangerous it influences not only public opinion but also potentially leads to stricter regulations and different restraints in legislation of this area. That in turn leads to seclusion of this group and diminishes its’ possibilities of social integration.

As the main source of information the media could have a great influence on destigmatization of the mentally ill. Information provided in an ethical way could help to challenge existing stereotypes and prejudices towards this group. Today’s leaders of stigma research P. Corrigan (Associate professor, University of Chicago Centre for Psychiatric Rehabilitation), G. Thornicroft (Professor of Community Psychiatry, Head of the Health Services Research Department, Institute of Psychiatry, King's College London) and others regard public campaigns using the media as one of the most effective means of diminishing mental illness stigma.

**The immediate objective** of the study is to find out what images of mental illness and mental health services are portrayed by Lithuanian printed newspapers and news websites and compare them to the Norwegian and Swedish media images and previous research within this area.

<sup>(1)</sup>Survey on public opinion available at: [http://www.hrmi.lt/admin/Editor/assets/ZT\\_menuo\\_2006\\_Vilmorus\\_pristatymas.pdf](http://www.hrmi.lt/admin/Editor/assets/ZT_menuo_2006_Vilmorus_pristatymas.pdf)

## 2. Previous research

The amount of research concerning media and mental health services is generally quite limited, especially among media researchers. John Clogstone (1989) argues in his article from late 1980's that "the mass communication literature has virtually ignored this issue". In many ways that is true even today. There is some more research if we look at the somewhat broader field of disability studies, but again, not much with respect to mental illness. However, looking at the limited research actually found, it seems to draw a fairly consistent picture of the way in which mental health and mentally ill persons are represented in the media. First, most of the media research concerning persons with any kind of disability is related to film as medium (Pointon 1997). This is sort of surprising since both Cumberbatch & Negrine (1992) and Ljuslinder (2000) find relatively more stories reflecting issues of disability in the news media than in fiction. Second, research concludes that persons with mental health problems appearing in the media are most often portrayed as criminals, both unstable and violent (Wahl 1995).

Otto Wahl (1995), an American psychologist, contends that the knowledge of mental health issues in the general population hardly comes from the mental health magazines or public information campaigns: "It is far more likely that the public's knowledge of mental illness comes from sources closer to home, sources to which we are all exposed on a daily basis – namely, the mass media". The Glasgow Media Group has analyzed all kinds of media products, from news texts to fiction, newspapers, magazines and television, as well as programs and literature for children. They conclude that more than half of the programs and news items identify persons with mental health problems as violent in one or another way.

If Wahl is right, this may very well affect the general picture of mental illness and, subsequently, stigmatize the whole group of people. In a more recent article, Dara Roth Edney (2004) argues that: "Over the past 30 years, a substantial amount of research has been conducted to determine the effect of the mass media on the public's belief systems. These studies have concluded that the media's power to influence public perception and the degree to which people are exposed to media representations combine to make the mass media one of the most significant influences in developed societies." Thus the picture created by the mass media containing negative and biased information by stereotyping persons with mental health problems may foster stigmatization and provoke discriminatory actions towards this group. Therefore the research on media and mental health is important. In the rest of this chapter we will present some of the research available both in Lithuania, Sweden and Norway and other counties as well.

There hardly exists any research on the portrayal of persons with mental health problems in Lithuanian media. Ruskus J. & Daugela M. (2003) have published the study on "The structure and purposefulness of social images of physical disability in Lithuanian newspapers". According to the authors the study shows that the images of physical disability and the way they are structured in the media are

multidimensional and ambivalent. On the one hand, persons with physical disability are portrayed as subjects, who reorganize their recourses and manage to overcome the difficulties caused by disability. On the other hand, they are objects of clinical attitudes and practices. So far this is the only scientific research in the area of the media representations of socially vulnerable groups in Lithuania.

In Sweden, Birgitta Höijer and Joel Rasmussen (2005) have done a study of violence and crime connected to mental health problems in the largest national newspapers and the most prominent news program on Swedish television, Rapport. This study started after the murder of Sweden's Foreign minister Anna Lindh in September 2003. The researchers conclude that in most of the articles and news items the journalists do not distinguish between the person and the crime; the label "mentally ill" is often presented as an explanation of the crime committed. They also claim that it is almost impossible to find alternative angles to this kind of news stories that reflect a different story about the mentally ill murderer. They ask what kind of 'knowledge' or perceptions of mental illness this kind of news produce in people's minds.

In Norway, Lisbeth Morlandstø (2006) has done a study based on quantitative content analysis, of the way in which mental health and persons with mental health problems are represented in national and regional newspapers. She has also interviewed journalists working in this field of journalism in the included newspapers. The study, which was done in connection with Morlandstø's doctoral thesis, covers the first two years of the psychiatry reform in Norway (the reform was effected from 1999-2006). Her conclusions are that there is a gap between the journalists stated intention concerning how to represent the mental health field and the actual news stories produced in the newspapers. Journalists announce that they want to represent the experiences of people living with mental health problems today, but they very rarely do talk to persons with such problems. Instead they talk to the doctors and politicians. It is probably this distance preserved by the media to personal experience with mental health problems, Morlandstø suggests, that provides the room for the default news stories about crime and mental health in which the mental health problem in itself, and often alone, explains the violent crime.

There is some more research, both in Norway and Sweden, on how disability is represented in the news media, which is of some relevance to the persons with mental health as well. One of them was conducted by Karin Ljuslinder (2002) and deals with representations of persons with disabilities in Swedish television. At the beginning of the Swedish Public Service Television, in 1950-1960's, mental illness and mental disabilities did not at all occur. By the time of the 70's this had changed, but still the mentally ill persons were not allowed to talk for themselves. It was always a caretaker, a medical doctor or a politician that was given "the speaking-space".

Furthermore, as the persons with physical disabilities were more or less invisible in other media genres than news, the mentally ill persons were represented in such as fiction, TV serials and drama. A mentally ill person occurring in the news genre was mostly depicted infantile, but a mentally ill person

featuring in a drama, fiction etc. was for the most part depicted as a criminal.

Even if we look at a wider international scene the amount of research about the media and mental health is fairly limited, but some research communities have showed a certain dedication to the field. One of these is the Glasgow Media Group at Glasgow University, already mentioned above, that has several scholars occupied by media and mental health research. The focus of this research concentrates on how the media-representations affect people's attitudes. The research covers both content analysis of news texts (written, audio and visual), and interviews with persons with mental health problems, recipients of media texts, and producers and editors of media programs and texts. Researchers work closely together with different NGOs who actively use the research results approaching the media corporations and criticising their portrayal of the mental health issues (see Philo, McLaughlin and Henderson 1996, and Philo 1996 and 1999). This draws on findings even from more general studies on disability in the media, such as Colin Barnes (1992) from England who shows how the presentation in books, film, television and newspapers of disabled people as weak, helpless, and dependent on help from other's mercy preserves negative attitudes in the public.

In New Zealand, John Coverdale, Raymond Nairn & Donna Claasen (2002) have conducted a nationwide study of how media is depicting mental illness in the country. The study is based on all available examples of how mental illness is depicted in the country's printed media. The analysis shows that negative depictions dominate and that they are forming a stereotypical and stigmatizing image of mental illness.

Gail Auslander and Nora Gold (1999) concluded a study covering Canada and Israel in which they compared the way different groups of disabled people were represented in Israeli and Canadian newspapers. They found that media's presentation of persons with mental health problems was much more negative than presentations of persons with physical impairments. They concluded that media reinforces negative attitudes toward people with disabilities in general and people with mental health problems in particular. Heather Stuart (2006), also with reference to Canada, describes how entertainment and news media "provide overwhelmingly dramatic and distorted images of mental illness that emphasise dangerousness, criminality and unpredictability". But she also points out the possible benefits of lobbying and working with media in order to improve the accuracy and relevance of media representations and, subsequently, even the public perception and self perception of people living with mental health problems.

Finally in the US we have already mentioned Otto Wahl who is one of the leading researchers in this field. Other researchers are Patricia A. Stout, Jorge Villegas and Nancy A. Jennings who in 2004 presented an article in which they stated that this is still a research field of low priority in the States. They argue that there is a need to investigate a wider range of media representations and that focus should be paid not only to the products but also the process of production of such representations. However, the biggest gap

identified by various authors is the lack of research regarding the effect of media representations on the perception and stigmatization of mentally ill persons.



# 1. Methodology

The methodology used in this study comprises of quantitative content analysis. Data includes the total number of 566 articles from national newspapers in Lithuania (144), Sweden (161) and Norway (261). The term ‘article’ here includes news articles, reportages, feature articles, notes etc. National samples contain all articles with some reference to mental illness appearing in the selected newspapers over a period of three months in the Fall 2008. The source of selection includes three national newspapers in Sweden and Norway respectively and four national newspapers and three online news sites in Lithuania.<sup>2</sup>

*Table 1: Newspapers and websites after country*

Country	Newspaper	Website
Lithuania	Lietuvos rytas and its website www.lrytas.lt were considered as a single source of information Respublika Vakaro ziniuos 15 minuciu	www.delfi.lt www.zebra.lt
Norway	Aftenposten Dagbladet Verdens Gang	
Sweden	Aftonbladet Expressen Dagens Nyheter	

The three countries have different history and traditions with respect to their newspapers. Norway has often been characterized as a “newspaper-nation” in a class of its own. Not only it has a large number of newspapers in comparison to its population size, but also a great variety of them, especially on local and regional level. Every small community has their own newspaper.

In Sweden we can see a similar picture, although not with the same spectrum of local newspapers. Instead, Sweden has more national newspapers and a stronger competition among them, especially in the larger cities in contrast to Norway.

Lithuania differs from the two other countries in the sense that Norway and Sweden have a larger numbers of regional newspapers, while on the national printed media level the three countries are more comparable.

The national newspapers and online editions were chosen as the source of information of this project for comparative purposes. Local and regional newspapers are expected not only to be different but also to play rather different roles in the three countries, thus making them more difficult to compare. In Norway and Sweden most of the main online news sites are connected to larger media corporations, thus to a large extent overlapping with the newspapers chosen. In Lithuania, by contrast, online news sites are more

(2) The search for articles was done through searchable electronic archives such as "Mediearkivet" and "Presstext" in Sweden and "Retriever" in Norway. In Lithuania articles were selected from printed newspapers in National library and internet websites archives.

independent. Some of them are available only online, thus serving much of the same role as the newspapers in Norway and Sweden. We therefore decided to include these online news sites only for Lithuania, well aware of the challenges it represent in terms of interpretation.

The samples of articles include all media texts obtained from the selected sources that have some reference to mental illness. Our mutual search terms were: “mental health”, “mental illness”, “mental disorder”, “psychiatric patients”, “mental patients”, “treatments or practitioners in mental health services”, and “users of mental health services”.

In order to prepare the data for quantitative content analysis, we have constructed a number of variables referring to different properties of the articles. The three first variables contain ‘facts’ about the media source used (newspapers and online news sites) and when in the selected period the articles appeared. Variables 4 – 7 contain information about the articles’ content and form, both type of headline used and main topic, genre and size. Variables 8 – 11 characterize the main persons in the articles and the depiction of the mentally ill. Finally, variables 12 – 13 identify the sources used in the articles and journalists’ use of statistics. For each variable a number of ‘values’ was constructed. So for example for the variable “main topic” for we differentiate between mental illness, politics, treatment, crime, entertainment and other (see total coding list in appendix 1).

## 4. The Case of Lithuania

In Lithuania there were 144 articles collected from four biggest national newspapers and three most visited internet news websites in the period from September to November 2008 (see table 1 Lithuania in appendix 2). More than 60 % of the articles were collected from the printed newspapers and the rest came from the news websites. All the newspapers except “15 minuciu” can be subscribed to or bought separately and they have morning edition only. The newspaper “15 minuciu” is circulated free of charge.

### Genre

The vast majority of articles analyzed in this research were news reports and notes: 64% and 28% retrospectively. The other genres (like reportage, debate, reader’s letters, etc.) were not common in analyzed data and amounted to just 8% (see table 7 in appendix 2). As the object of this research was news websites and newspapers this finding is not surprising. Majority of the headlines of the articles in these genres do not have mental illness/health aspects (75%) (see table 4 in appendix 2). The most common main person in the articles was a mentally ill person (about 40% in news reports and notes genres). The main topic in these genres was “crime” - 36% of news report and 27% of notes.

The results of the research demonstrate that reportages are generally rare when journalists write about mental health issues. There were only two articles (1,4%) about mental health issues written in reportage genre and both of them were published in the same newspaper “Lietuvos rytas”.

### Main topic

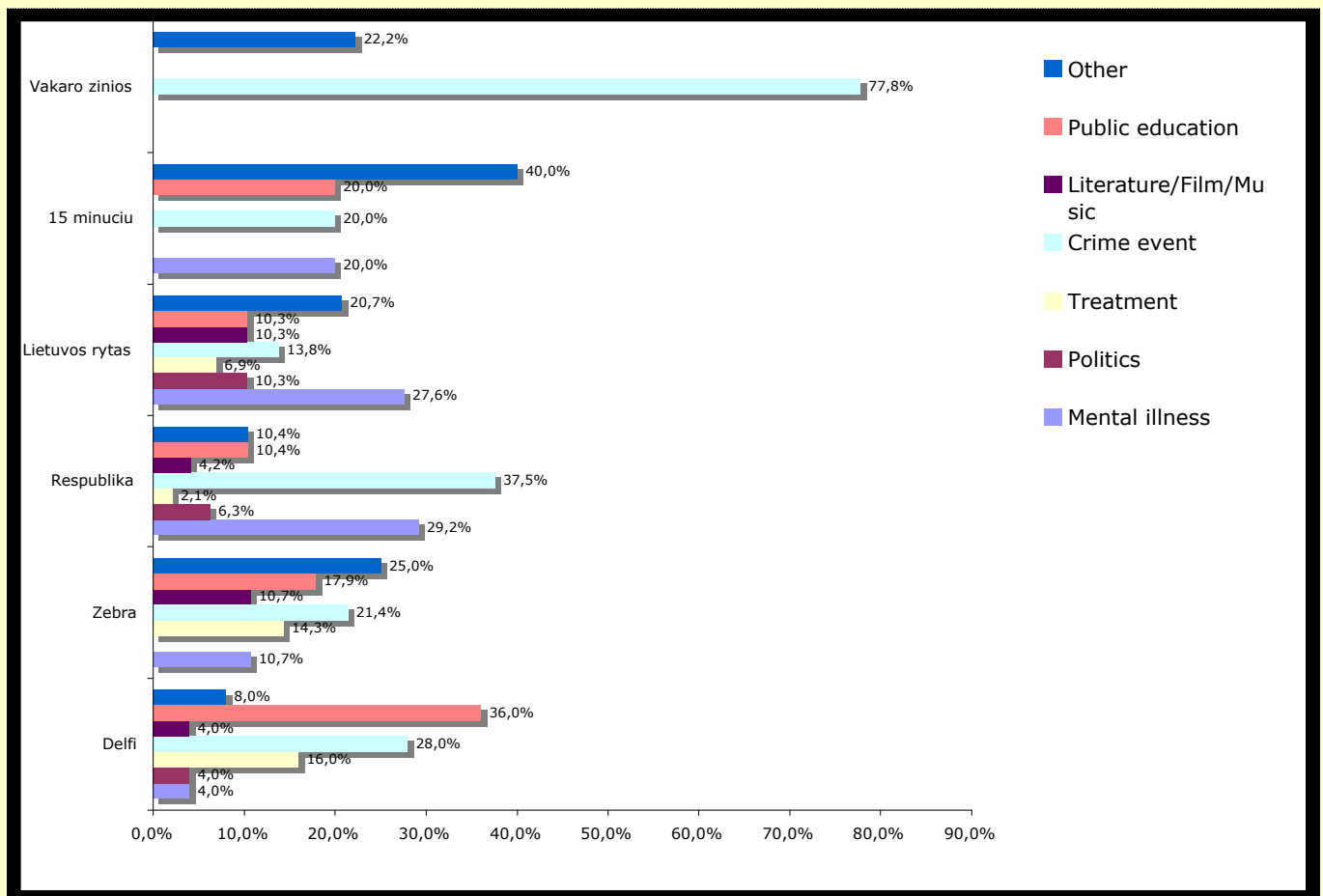
The articles were analyzed according to their main topic. The data obtained shows that in one third (30%) of the articles the main topic is “crime”. The second largest category is “mental illness” (19%). Also quite a number of articles (16%) deal with general “public education” issues such as raising and educating children, helping people close to you, overcoming psychological problems and etc. (see table 5 in appendix 2). This shows that Lithuanian media is following in a good public service tradition footsteps. The media is used as an educational tool and not just as a mere provider of information. It would be interesting to further investigate what the latent content of information about mental health/illness issues is in these public education articles.

When looking at how topics vary in different newspapers/websites it can be seen that in “Respublika” (the newspaper that had the highest number of articles) the most common topics were “crime” (34%) and “mental illness” (29%). In [www.zebra.lt](http://www.zebra.lt) (website that had the largest amount of

articles) the most common topics were “other” (total 25%, topics like events from celebrities life, emigration, weird acting people and similar dominated) and “crime” (21%). The biggest amount of articles with the “crime” topic was in newspaper “Vakaro ziniuos” (78%). This newspaper is often regarded as an example of “yellow” or “boulevard” press. But the overall amount of articles from this newspaper in this research was very small – just 9 articles altogether (6% of all collected articles). And the smallest amount of articles with the “crime” topic was published in daily/website “Lietuvos rytas” (14%).

The topic “politics” was the least addressed in the analyzed articles – just 5% of all articles (seven articles). Mental health issues are still avoided in the public space, therefore policy and practice in this area is not being discussed.

The graph below presents the amount distribution of main topics in the analyzed newspapers and websites.



Picture 1: Main topics of articles in the analyzed newspapers/websites

As already mentioned a significant amount of crime stories was found in this material. In addition, we also wanted to analyze whether there was a crime aspect in the other articles as well. The greater part of the analyzed articles did not have a crime aspect in them (67%) however one third (33%) of the articles analyzed did have a crime aspect in them. This is consistent with the main topic of the articles – one third of the articles were about crime. While comparing the number of articles where “crime” is the main topic with the number of articles that have crime aspect there was a few more (four) articles with a crime aspect.

*Table 2: Crime aspect in different newspapers/websites, percentage*

<b>Crime aspect</b>	<b>Delfi</b>	<b>Zebra</b>	<b>Respublika</b>	<b>Lietuvos rytas</b>	<b>15 minuciu</b>	<b>Vakaro ziniuos</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<b>Yes</b>	28	25	46	14	20	78	<b>33</b>
<b>No</b>	72	75	54	86	80	22	<b>67</b>
<b>Sum</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	<b>100</b>
<b>N=</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>144</b>

As it can be seen from Table 2 the newspaper “Vakaro ziniuos” had the highest percentage of articles with a crime aspect in them – 78%. And the lowest percentage of articles with a crime aspect was published in the newspaper “Lietuvos rytas” – 14%. In websites the percentage of the articles with crime aspect is very similar – 28% in “www.delfi.lt” and 25% in “www.zebra.lt”.

Analysis of the articles also displays that 89% of the articles with a crime aspect have “crime” as their main topic. Just 6% of articles with crime aspect have “mental illness” as the main topic. It can be noted that quite often there is an allegation in the crime articles that a person who is suspected of committing a crime *might be* mentally ill or is being sent for official forensic psychiatric inspection – so such allegations are clearly based on presumptions and not facts. This again reinforces the negative presumptions about mentally ill.

### **Main person in the article**

All the articles were analyzed in order to identify their main characters. In 38% of the articles the main character was a mentally ill person. The second largest category as the main character was general public – 14%. In the Table 3 distribution of all the main character categories according to newspaper/website is presented.

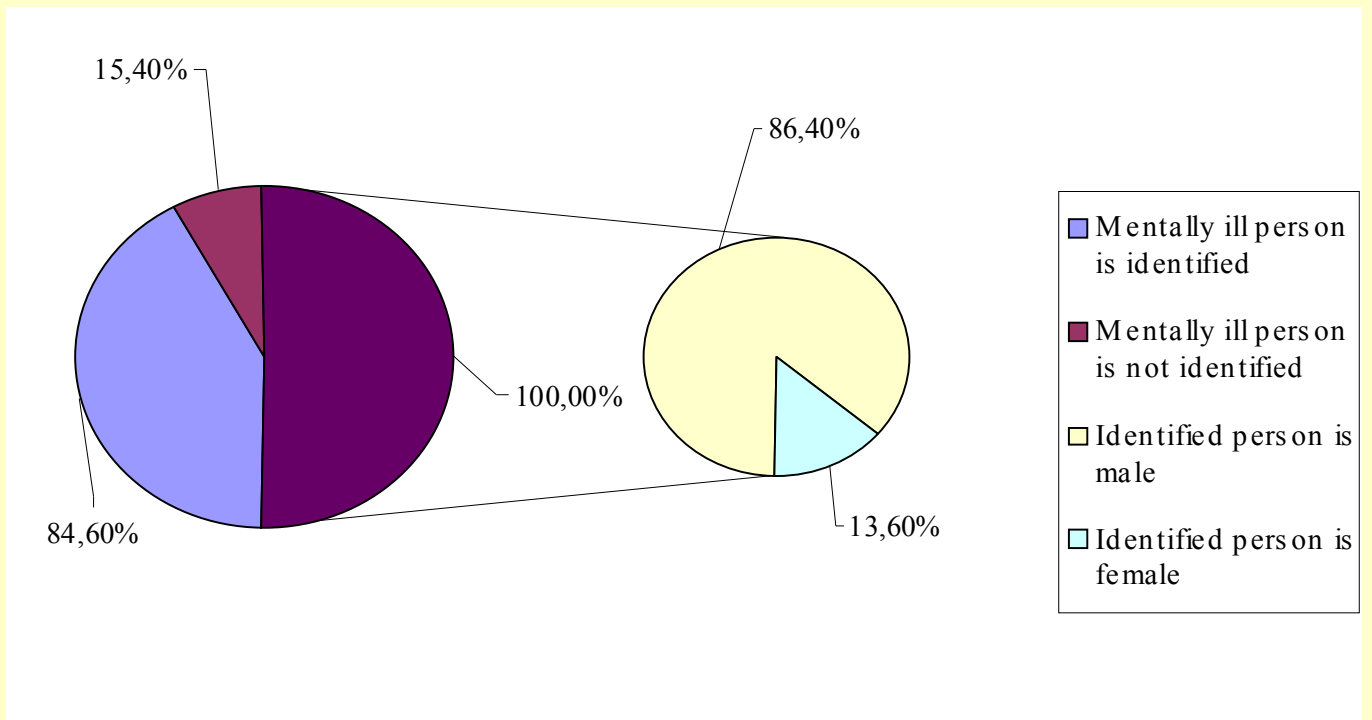
Table 3: Main character in different newspapers/websites, percentage

Main character	Delfi	Zebra	Respublika	Lietuvos rytas	15 minuciu	Vakaro ziniuos	Sum
Mentally ill person	28	32	46	38	80	22	38
General public	7	7	12	10	0	22	13
None main person	3	18	14	7	0	0	10,5
Other	4	11	10	7	20	0	10,5
Author/actor/actress/ musician	1	21	6	7	0	0	8
Criminal person	0	4	4	0	0	33	4
Politician	1	0	0	14	0	11	4
Psychiatrist	0	7	0	10	0	0	4
Experts	0	0	4	3	0	0	2
Children and young people	0	0	4	0	0	11	2
Police	0	0	0	3	0	0	1
Family and friends	0	0	2	0	0	0	1
Professional care person	8	0	0	0	0	0	2
Sum	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N=	25	28	48	29	5	9	144

When analyzing data according to two criteria (the main topic of the article and the main character), it can be noted that where the most common user of mental health services was the main character in articles the main topic was “mental illness” (63%) and “crime” (60%).

Mentally ill persons are identified in 37% of all the articles (see Table 10 in Appendix 2). Most commonly they are identified when the main topic of article is “crime” (63%) and “mental illness” (44%). In the news genre articles mentally ill persons are identified in 39% of the cases. Also mentally ill persons are 100% identified in reportage genre (two articles) but the positive notion here is that in these articles mentally ill persons were the main source of information and were allowed to speak, to share their experiences of living with a mental illness.

The results of the research about the identification of mentally ill persons in the articles are quite worrying when only the articles that have crime as the main topic and mentally ill persons as their main characters are taken into account and analyzed (there are 26 such articles or 18% of all the articles). In these articles mentally ill persons are identified in 85% (n22) of all the cases. Gender-wise the identified cases consist of 86% males and 14% females. This is illustrated by Graph 2.



*Picture 2: Identification of mentally ill persons in crime event articles, where they are the main characters (n26)*

This is a worrying tendency, because the person might be double labeled and stigmatized – as being a criminal and mentally ill. And the common tendency of such articles is that the media tends to judge people before they are considered to be guilty in the court of law.

In nearly half of the articles (44%) mentally ill persons are representing themselves, as individuals and in 33% cases they represent the whole group of mentally ill (see Table 11 in Appendix 2).

### **Source of information**

Who are the main sources of information for articles that in one way or the other deal with mental illness? Distribution of information sources can be found in Table 12, Appendix 2.

Most commonly there was “someone else” as a source of information (in 50% of the articles) – in most cases there was no reference who exactly this person could be, thus it can be presumed that the source was the journalist himself/herself. The police was the biggest identified category as the source of information – in 17% of the articles. The second most common source was psychiatrist – in 16% of the articles. A mentally ill person was the source of information just in 10% of the articles. Politicians and professional care persons (such as social workers, nurses, etc.) were the least common source of information in the articles – each in 4% of the articles.

When analyzing who is the main source of information according to different topics of the articles it can be seen that when the main topic is mental illness the main source is someone else 36% of the cases (supposedly journalists themselves), followed by psychiatrists with 17% of the cases and only then mentally ill persons occupy the third place with 14% of the cases. In the articles with “crime” the main source of information was police (29%) and judge and law persons were marked as the source of information in 13% of the articles. When the main character in the article is a mentally ill person (in 38 % of the articles) he/she is the source of information just in 22% of articles. So even when the article is written about a mentally ill person they are rarely allowed to speak for themselves.

There is virtually no statistical information provided about mental illnesses in the analyzed articles (such information is provided just in 4% of the articles). So it can be concluded that the journalists do not try to base their presumptions on statistical data (or facts). Also there is no information about organizations providing help in crisis situations, such as attempted suicide cases and so on. Would it be reasonable to expect from the media some socially responsible action – to provide some information about institutions providing help in suicide cases and similar situations once such events are described?

### **Summing up**

When summing-up the results of Lithuanian media research it can be seen that majority of the articles that one way or the other are dealing with mental illness/health issues have been written in news report and note genres, where the main character is a mentally ill person and the main topic is “crime”. Usually it is not clear from the articles headlines that they will touch on mental illness/health issues.

Lack of reportages, explorations of the described events is especially worrying since the most common main topic in the analyzed data was crime therefore such news reportages and short notes tend to present mentally ill persons as dangerous criminals and that in turn is likely to create negative stereotypes about this vulnerable group and strengthen its stigma.

Quite rarely mentally ill person is the source of information for the articles that one way or the other dealing with mental illness/health issues. It is more often that officials such as police, psychiatrists and other experts serve as the source of information. In most cases mentally ill person do not have a possibility to express their opinions.



Another very important actor in the mental health area that is missing in the articles is the mental health institutions. Though they dominate Lithuanian mental health system but are hardly ever mentioned in the articles and remain closed from the public. As it was clearly stated in the report of “Human Rights Monitoring In Residential Institutions For Mentally Disabled And Psychiatric Hospitals”<sup>3</sup> large residential institutions cannot and do not properly safeguard the basic and fundamental human rights, and the worrying thing is that these issues attract much less interest from the media than a quick and easy case of a crime story, committed by an allegedly mentally ill person.

<sup>(3)</sup> “Human Rights Monitoring In Residential Institutions For Mentally Disabled And Psychiatric Hospitals”, Monitoring Report, Human Rights Monitoring Institute, Global Initiative On Psychiatry, Viltis: Lithuanian Welfare Society For Persons With Mental Disability, Vilnius Center For Psychosocial Rehabilitation, Vilnius 2005

## 5. The Case of Norway

In the Norwegian part of the study there were three national newspapers selected, two of them single sold<sup>4</sup> and one distribute on subscription basis<sup>5</sup>. A total of 261 articles dealing with mental health or persons with mental health problems were found in these three newspapers in the period three months, from October through December (see Table 1 Norway in Appendix 2). Approximately half of the articles were found in the newspaper sold on subscription basis. It should be added that this newspaper is published in two daily issues (morning and evening).

### Genre

Almost half of all the articles found in the three newspapers are what we here will name as “news reports”. This is hardly surprising since it is the news media we are analyzing. Still, two things are worth noticing. Firstly, the relative number of news reports is higher in the single sold newspapers than in the subscription one, and the readers’ feedback (reader’s letters) is far more common in the subscription newspaper than in the single sold (tabloids) newspapers, reflecting the different roles of these two types of newspapers. In fact, more than a quarter of all the articles in the subscription newspaper consists of readers’ letters, which is a bit surprising since this is the largest subscription newspaper in the country.

*Table 4: Genre and newspaper in percent*

Newspaper	Verdens Gang	Dagbladet	Aftenposten	Sum
News report	63	51	38	48
Reportage	2	6	6	5
Debate/Chronicle	18	14	9	12
Readers letter	0	7	25	14
Note	13	18	18	17
Editorial cartoon	2	0	0	1
Editorial leader	2	4	2	3
Sum	100	100	100	100
N=	55	81	125	261

As revealed in Table 4, there are some more reportages in the subscription newspaper, as compared to the

<sup>(4)</sup> Dagbladet og Verdens Gang

<sup>(5)</sup> Aftenposten

single sold newspapers, especially “Verdens Gang” (8 out of a total of 14 reportages). This probably means that “Aftenposten” spends some more resources on individual stories as compared to “Verdens Gang”.

A reportage genre demands for the newspaper to send a journalist out in the field to talk to the people they are supposed to portray and actually look at the things they describe, which consequentially requires more time and resources than is the case with most news reports in which the journalist can do most of the work in the office by using internet and telephone. The main picture, however, is that reportages are generally rare (only 5 % of all the articles), but the newspaper sold on subscription has got more reportages than the other two put together.

All the three newspapers selected have a long tradition of being important channels for debate. As we see in Table 4, the debate/chronicle genre comprises between 9% and 18% of the articles reflecting the issues of mental health and mental illness. The relative number of articles in the debate/chronicle genre is less in “Aftenposten” than in the two single sold newspapers. But then we have to take into account that many, perhaps most, of the readers’ letters in “Aftenposten” would comply to this genre, but remain printed in a separate section for readers’ letters. It seems like “Aftenposten” reserves some more space, or pages, to contributions from the readers, than the two other newspapers do.

### **What do the newspapers write about?**

When the issues of mental health are the subject of articles in Norwegian newspapers, two main themes are recurring (see Table 5). One is treatment, and the other is crime. If we look closer at the treatment theme, the most frequent question discussed is the exercise of force or coercion. This again is closely related to the debate started by an announced chronicle published in “Dagbladet” on November 27, 2008 with the title: ”Me – a torturer?” Norway has been criticized for the amount of force used in the field of mental health services. The chronicle was provoked by a news story on Norwegian public television<sup>6</sup> reporting on a UN-report denouncing the use of forced medication: ”Depending on the circumstances of the case, the suffering inflicted and the effects upon the individual’s health may constitute a form of torture or ill-treatment”. About the same time a Norwegian study on the use of force in psychiatry concluded that one out of four cases of forced admissions to psychiatric hospitals is reversed within twenty-four hours which means that there is a large number of unrecorded cases concerning forced admissions in Norway<sup>7</sup>. This finding started a heated discussion in the media, (including the three newspapers selected for our study) regarding the use of force in psychiatric treatment. We can find health care professionals, representatives of user organizations and people with personal experience of forced psychiatric treatment among the discussion participants. Also a study based on the articles on mental health issues in Norwegian

(6) The news story was presented in a popular documentary program called “Brennpunkt” in Norwegian Broadcasting Company (NRK) 28<sup>th</sup> of November 2009.

(7) *Tvingen Psykisk helsevern ved døgnopphold i perioden 2001-2006*. SINTEF-rapport 2008.

newspapers in 1999 and 2000 (Morlandstj 2006) concluded that treatment was the domination focus of attention, and forced treatment was considered as important issue even in those years but then it had been provoked by a new legislation which extended the boundaries and territory for using force in psychiatric treatment so far that it even included people’s own homes. Most of those treatment articles were published in “Aftenposten”.

*Table 5: Main topic and newspapers in percent*

<b>Newspaper</b>	<b>Verdens Gang</b>	<b>Dagbladet</b>	<b>Aftenposten</b>	<b>Sum</b>
<b>Topic</b>				
<b>Mental illness</b>	18	7	10	<b>11</b>
<b>Politics</b>	5	16	14	<b>13</b>
<b>Treatment</b>	11	16	29	<b>21</b>
<b>Crime</b>	44	24	10	<b>22</b>
<b>Literature/music/film</b>	4	17	13	<b>12</b>
<b>Other</b>	18	20	24	<b>21</b>
<b>Sum</b>	100	100	100	<b>100</b>
<b>N=</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>261</b>

Another frequent topic when journalists write about mental health is “crime”. And as we can see from Table 5 articles on crime and mental health appear far more often in the single sold newspapers, especially in “Verdens Gang”, than in the newspaper sold on subscription. On average more than 20% of the articles have crime as their main theme, while in “Verdens Gang” almost half of the articles have a focus on crime. As demonstrated in Table 6 a third of all articles include certain aspect of crime. This means that when mental health issues are represented in Norwegian newspapers, about a third of the articles connect mental health with crime in one way or another. This is a high number, especially when we take into account that many of the crime stories represent widely known cases, attracting a lot of media attention, often occupying the front page of the newspapers and followed up by several pages inside. Quite often the crime stories become serialized over several days after an occurrence of the incident or an issue is put high on the mass media agenda. In “Verdens Gang”, approximately two thirds of the articles on mental health have some aspect of crime. Compared to the aforementioned study of the newspaper articles from 1999/2000 the occurrence of crime in Norwegian newspapers has increased by half (from 20 to 30%) in less than a decade (ibid).

Table 6: Articles containing crime in different newspapers in percent

Newspaper	Verdens Gang	Dagbladet	Aftenposten	Sum
<b>Contains crime</b>				
<b>Yes</b>	66	25	18	<b>30</b>
<b>No</b>	34	75	82	<b>70</b>
<b>Sum</b>	100	100	100	<b>100</b>
<b>N=</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>261</b>

In addition to this a rather large amount of articles neither deals with mental illness, treatment, politics nor crime as the main topic, but proliferates on other topics such as childcare, animals, medicine, elderly people, Facebook, and even ghosts. These articles were categorized as “other” (see Table 5).

Table 7: Genre of the article after the main topic of article in percent

Genre	News	Reportage	Debate/ Chronicle	Readers Letter	Note	Editorial Cartoon	Editorial Leader	Sum
<b>Main topic</b>								
<b>Mental illness</b>	10	14	3	11	20	0	0	<b>11</b>
<b>Politics</b>	10	7	25	13	9	100	29	<b>13</b>
<b>Treatment</b>	15	29	34	34	11	0	43	<b>21</b>
<b>Crime</b>	35	14	3	0	20	0	14	<b>22</b>
<b>Literature/ music/film</b>	15	14	13	2	16	0	0	<b>12</b>
<b>Other</b>	15	22	22	40	24	0	14	<b>21</b>
<b>Sum</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	<b>100</b>
<b>N=</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>261</b>

As shown in Table 7, mental illness is the most likely to constitute the main topic in the reportage genre. It is also in there that the persons with mental illness most often are allowed to speak (see below).

The politics is the most often the topic in the debate and chronicle articles and when the editor of a newspaper has something to say (editorial leader and cartoon). As we have already mentioned the topic concerning treatment is a typical debate issue, also when the editor wishes to discuss or put more general topic of mental health on the agenda. Almost half of the editorial leaders concern the treatment issue. Crime occurs first and foremost in the news articles and in the small notes.

### **Who is the main person in the articles and who is allowed to speak?**

When mental illness is the topic in Norwegian newspapers it is persons with mental health problems who most often appear as the main characters of the articles, followed by children and young people, criminals and celebrities, such as movie stars or musicians (see Table 8 in Appendix 2). Persons with mental health problems appear as the main characters in 29% of the cases. There are also quite a few articles about specific issues such as hospitals or particular diagnoses in which no particular actors or persons appears. But even if persons with mental health problems appear as the main character in almost one third of the articles, they are the source of information only in 12% of the articles (see Table 12 in Appendix 2). Hence, they are often the focus of attention, but get seldom heard. The ones who are heard are different kinds of experts, such as researchers, medical doctors, including psychiatrists and hospital directors with the list encompassing politicians, the police and others related to the judicial system. This is pretty much what Morlandstø (ibid.) found in her Norwegian printed media study from 1999 – 2000. The most often used information source in this Norwegian part of the study, is also “someone else”, who can be the journalists and the editors themselves, other news media and reference books, authors, teachers, bank employers and also representatives of different NGOs, to mention just a few of them.

When persons with mental health problems appear in the newspapers, they are predominantly men. Among the persons with mental health problems used as the source of information in the articles, three out of four were men (see Table 9 in Appendix 2). 40 percent of persons with mental health problems appearing as the main characters in articles are identified, and they most often represent themselves, and not a group (see Tables 10 and 11 in Appendix 2).

### **Summing up**

The most notable finding in the Norwegian part of the study is the amount of articles combining mental health with crime, or vice versa. No less than one third of all the articles on mental health issues had a major focus on crime, which amounts to an increase of 50% in the last ten years. Political issues are less highlighted today than ten years ago, which is probably because the mental health care system reform is over. Treatment, and especially forced treatment or force used in treatment remains to be an important

issue, not least in the debate genre. Finally it is worth noticing a certain increase in the use of persons with mental health problems as sources of information in the articles. Yet to twist an old disability slogan: The most about them is still without them!

## 6. The Case of Sweden

The study comprises the three biggest newspapers in Sweden out of which one is a morning newspaper and the two others are so called evening newspapers even though nowadays they are distributed in the mornings. Nevertheless, the ordinary reading habit in Sweden is that you subscribe to a morning newspaper and you buy a single sold newspaper on your way back home from work in the evening. It is not possible to subscribe to an evening newspaper and that means that they are dependent on a tempting front page headlines to get buyers.

### Numbers of articles and genres

Altogether there were 161 articles that dealt with mental illness during these three months. Two thirds were found in the evening press, and the others appeared in the morning press. Most of the articles (68%) occurred in the news-genre. The second most common genre was reportage (see Table 7 in Appendix 2).

### Topic

The most common topic with regard to mental illness was crime and 62% of the articles dealt with the crime subject (see Table 5 in Appendix 2). It is difficult to say whether this is a common pattern in Swedish media or if it is nothing more but a coincidence. During the period as many as three widely media covered murders were committed in Sweden, and in two cases children were involved. Furthermore, a mass murder, extended suicide, in a school in Finland attracted much attention as well as the case of Austrian Josef Fritzl who kept his daughter locked in the house cellar and raped her during 24 years.

*Table 8: Topics and type of newspaper in percent*

Type Topic	Single-sold	Subscribed	Sum
<b>Mental illness</b>	11	18	<b>14</b>
<b>Politics</b>	1	9	<b>4</b>
<b>Treatment</b>	2	20	<b>8</b>
<b>Crime</b>	79	29	<b>62</b>
<b>Literature/music/film</b>	2	9	<b>4</b>
<b>Other</b>	5	15	<b>8</b>
<b>Sum</b>	100	100	<b>100</b>
N=	106	55	<b>161</b>



Without doubts the crime articles were the most common topic in the evening press. In as many as 79% of the articles in the evening press the main topic was crime that touched either on the crime event, the trial, the examination conducted by a forensic psychiatrist or the criminal's background. Also in the morning newspaper crime was the most common topic, but there the percentage stood much lower (29%). Even though crime is the most common topic in both types of newspapers the percentage of the crime-articles in the evening press did stand out and a qualitative follow up about the content of the articles would be very interesting.

On many occasions an article about a crime committed by a mentally ill person had a special kind of headline where the crime event received a short, easy to recognize label connected either to the criminal or to the place of the crime event, for example *Tyskan* ("The German woman", AB 081026), *Järnspettsmannen* ("The Iron bar man", AB 081105) and *Jägaren* ("The Huntsman", Exp 081115).

The second most common topic was mental illness (14%). These articles dealt with mentally ill person's own story of his or her mental health, for example *Jag blev fånge i min egen kropp* ("I became a prisoner in my own body", AB 080919), *Kräkningar är ett manligt tabu! Skammen är värst för killar med ätstörningar* ("Vomiting is a mail taboo! The shame is the worst for boys with eating disorders", AB 080911) and *Jag är beroende av dataspel* (" I am dependent on computer-games", DN 081128). They also dealt with studies of mental illness, for example *Gamla pappor kan få manodepressiva barn* ("Old fathers can get manic-depressive babies", DN 080902) and *Den psykiska ohälsan bland de unga är ett dolt problem* ("The mental ill-health among adolescents is a hidden problem", AB 080918).

Not surprisingly, the articles mostly consisted of news. Only very few articles from the other media genres were represented. Consequently, every topic is most often represented in the news-genre, and crime articles are the topic that has the highest representation in the news-genre. 79% of all the crime-articles are found in the news-articles. Furthermore, every topic is most frequently represented in the news genre. 70% of all the news articles dealt with crime.

### **Main character in the article**

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the most common main character in the articles was a criminal, since a criminal could be found in nearly two thirds of the articles (62%). This is of course no surprise considering that the main topic in the articles was crime. Over three quarters (77%) of the single-sold evening newspapers had a criminal as the main character and 29% of the morning paper.

In 73% of the articles where gender of the mentally ill person is mentioned that person is a man (see Table 9 in Appendix 2).

The mentally ill person is identified with name and often also age in 52% of the articles. The most common mentally ill person that is identified in the articles is a criminal. It is mostly men that are identified across all genres and topics, but of all the women mentioned 77% are identified, which is a higher percentage if compared to 70% of all the men identified. Are women more often identified in other genres than crime? The answer is yes. So for example, in a reportage dealing with other topics than crime, women are more often identified than men. Another example is, celebrity women coming forward in reportages and telling their stories about depression, eating disorders or anxiety hysteria. Yet another example is when one of the participants in the famous Swedish docu-soap *Lonley Mother is seeking...* is telling in *Aftonbladet* (080919) about her previous anxiety hysteria, and a female program presenter share her everyday struggle with her borderline diagnosis (*Expressen* 080927).

### **Who is speaking? Who is the source of information?**

The most common source of information and the person and function that receive the most “speaking-space” in the articles are the journalists themselves. They use themselves as the single source of information in most cases. It is also very common, at least in the evening newspapers, to refer to what another newspaper has written. Most referred newspaper is “The Sun”.

An interesting result is that in one of the evening newspapers (*Expressen*) all the articles about crimes committed outside Sweden, refer to the Norwegian newspaper “*Dagbladet*”. Apart from that, “other experts” (27%, of the articles) and “judge and lawperson”, (26% of the articles) have been commonly used sources of information. The category “other experts” includes not only individuals that serve as verbal sources of information but also official reports, for example examinations conducted by a forensic psychiatrist, research reports and governmental reports.

If we look at who the source of information is with regard to different topics in the articles the only thing that stands out is the fact that almost no articles use professional caretakers as their source of information.

### **Summing up**

The ideal-type of article according to the data extracted is a news article about a crime with the criminal, which is a man, as the main character. The high proportion of crime articles is a very surprising and interesting finding. Historically crimes committed by mentally ill persons have been represented them as dangerous in a very stereotypical and stigmatizing way (Signorielli 1993, Philo 1996, Ljuslinder 2002). If this is still the case in Sweden in 2008, than it really has to be paid attention to. What is of public interest in crime story with a mentally ill person? When is a mentally ill criminal identified in the media?

## **7. Final Discussion – similarities, differences and further work**

There are many similarities in the newspapers' reporting on mental health and mental illness in Lithuania, Norway and Sweden. This is probably best explained by the media logic, a generalized and standardized set of media norms throughout the whole western hemisphere concerning news criteria and dramaturgy, a dramaturgy that is rooted in the classical Aristotelian drama.

### **Is media reporting about mental health a crime field?**

Most of the articles dealing with the issues of mental health are news articles and most of them have a crime angle. In Norway and Sweden where there is a difference between the single-sold and the subscription sold newspapers, the amount of crime articles is highest in the single-sold newspapers (the so called "boulevard press"). In Lithuania there are no single sold newspapers, but the one that is considered to be carrying a tag of the "boulevard press" also contains the biggest amount of crime articles.

It is somewhat surprising to find that crime is the most common topic in all three countries. If we take into account, based on Morlandstų (2006), that the amount of articles with a crime aspect in Norway has approximately increased by 50 percent since 1999-2000, this might reflect the overall trend. In Swedish single-sold newspapers crime is the main topic in as much as 78% of all the articles dealing with mental health or mental illness. The amount of crime stories in Lithuanian newspapers remains approximately at the same level as that of Norway (30 %).

How can we understand this large amount of articles focusing on crime and mental illness in newspapers today? Is it just a coincidence, as discussed in "The case of Sweden" earlier in this report, that could be explained by an unusual number of "spectacular" or inexplicable murders committed during this period, or do we see and recognize a pattern, a stereotyped way of looking at mental illness and serious crime? It casts little doubt that this amount of crime and mental illness stories has sufficient power to produce and maintain a picture of persons with mental illnesses as dangerous, unstable and violent, as much of the previous research has already claimed. Undeniably such depictions of mentally ill persons strengthen negative stereotypes and stigma. As a result that leads to seclusion of this group and makes integration a very difficult task both for the mentally ill and healthcare professionals that are helping them in that process.

This picture is also strengthened by the fact that mentally ill persons are the most common main characters in the Norwegian and Lithuanian newspapers, but they rarely become the source of information; the media articles tend to focus on those who are seldom allowed to speak for themselves. The same tendency appears even for Sweden, but there the most incurred main character is a common criminal.

Most often various experts are presented as the source of information in crime articles. In Sweden and Norway prosecutors and defence lawyers function as the most common source of information in the crime stories, and in Lithuania the police serve as the main provider of the information. However, in all three countries, the second most common source used is psychiatrists, but also “other experts”, such as researchers, health administrators, other public officials and different leaders are commonly used. In Norway politicians are important source as well, which is not so much the case in the two other countries (see Table 12 in Appendix 2). Hence it seems safer to interview the doctors, lawyers and politicians than those with more personal experiences, such as persons with mental health problems or their families. As Morlandstų (ibid.) suggests, journalists tend to distance themselves from the mental health issues thereby avoiding sources reflecting more personal accounts.

Another tendency encountered across the countries, which also could be interpreted as a way of keeping distance from mental illness, is the fact that very few professional care takers are used as information sources in this type of stories. Nurses, social workers and other professionals are the ones who normally have a much closer relation to persons with mental health problems than psychiatrists or lawyers and quite often possess a deeper insight into how it is to live with mental health problems today. Still, their voice is seldom heard to the public. Is it the professional secrecy that bans them from talking, or is it the journalists who simply just do not call on them?

Another way for the journalists of making distance from the mentally ill is to refer to the events, instead of reporting from the actual place of events. When writing a reportage journalist has to go out and meet live people at the scene, talk to them and describe their social milieu. In our articles we can find a very small amount of reportages (see Table 7 in Appendix 2). There are a few more reportages in the Swedish newspapers than in newspapers from Norway, and even fewer from Lithuania, but no more than 5% in the articles fall under this media genre as a whole.

## **Differences**

One noticeable difference between the three countries is a much lesser amount of articles on politics and policies regarding mental health issues in Lithuanian and Swedish newspapers in comparison to Norwegian media.

Also there seems to be a much stronger tradition for debate articles concerning mental health issues in Norway (debate/chronicles, readers’ letters, editorial cartoons and leaders) than in the two other countries. In Lithuania, it is the exact opposite, mental health politics is not discussed in public sphere at all. However we can observe a growing interest in commenting articles on internet websites. They often evolve into discussions and debates. Maybe this will change mental health politics into a so much needed public

discussion issue in Lithuania over time?

It appears that certain differences exist in the practice of identifying persons with mental illness in our three countries. In Lithuania the identification seems much more detailed than in Norway and Sweden. Mentally ill persons are identified with significant details including name, surname, often picture and even town and street where they live. Even in cases where an article describes a crime event and it has not gone to court yet and the person is only merely suspected to have been involved in a crime – they still are identified very clearly. It is an exception that only initials are mentioned.

### **Further research**

In Norway and Sweden there are no longer any big institutions for persons with mental illness, but in Lithuania there still are quite many. Still the articles in Lithuanian newspapers do not deal in any way with the mental illness institutions, which we find utterly strange and in need of further investigation. We have only found one article/reportage about a mentally ill person and her careers – how they were fighting about the right to look after mentally ill person. It is mentioned in the article that now this person lives in some big state run institution. But the concept of the institution was mentioned just briefly. The article did not primarily concern about her life in institution.

We are also going to continue our qualitative analysis based research work on how the crimes, criminals and crime events are represented in the newspapers. Will we find stereotypical, one-sided representations like previous research has shown us, or alternative and innovative images? And why there is such a big amount of crime articles in the Swedish newspapers? These are just a few research subjects we intend to pursue.

Furthermore we will study how persons with mental illness are identified, when and in what cases they are identified by name and age and how the persons with mental illness are labelled (what labels are used when talking about a mentally ill person)?

To summarize all the aforementioned it can be said that on a general level the media reporting on the mentally ill is very much the same in the three countries. Of course, there are differences. Some of them have become discernible in the course of this comparative quantitative analysis, yet some of them do require further scrutiny by qualitative analysis in order to understand their socio-cultural meanings.

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## Appendix 1

### Code list – articles on mental illness

#### V1 Title of newspaper (Norway)

Categories:
1 Verdens Gang
2 Dagbladet
3 Aftenposten

#### V1 Title of newspaper (Sweden)

Categories:
Aftonbladet
Expressen
Dagens Nyheter

#### V1 Title of newspaper and website (Lithuania)

Categories:
www.delfi.lt
www.zebra.lt
Respublika
Lietuvos rytas/www.lrytas.lt
15 minuciu
Vakaro ziniuos

#### V2 Type of newspaper

Categories:
1 Single sold
2 Sold on subscription
3 Website



### V3 Month of the printed articles

Categories:
1 September
2 October
3 November
4 December

V4 Does the headline tell us that the article is dealing with mental health issues?

Categories:
1 Yes
2 No

### V5 Main topic of the article

Categories:
1 Mental illness
2 Politics
3 Treatment
4 Crime
5 Literature/music/film
6 Other

V6 Does the article have a crime aspect?

Categories:
1 Yes
2 No

### V7 Genre of the article

Categories:
1 News
2 Reportage
3 Debate/chronicle
4 Readers' letters
5 Note
6 Personal stuff
7 Editorial cartoon
8 Advertisement
9 Editorial leader

### V8 The main character in the article

Categories:
1 Mentally ill person
2 Professional care person
3 Politician
4 Psychiatrist
5 Psychologist
6 Family and friends
7 Police
8 Judge and lawperson
9 Children and young people
10 Criminal
11 Author/actor/actress/musician
12 General public
13 None main person
14 Other

V9 Gender of mentally ill persons

Categories:
1 Male
2 Female
3 Not relevant

V10 Are persons with mental illness identified in the article?

Categories:
1 Yes
2 No
3 Not relevant

V11 Do persons with mental illness represent themselves or others in the articles?

Categories:
1 Themselves
2 Others
3 Not relevant

V12 Who is the source of information?

Categories:
1 Mentally ill person
2 Family and friends
3 Psychiatrist
4 Psychologist
5 Professional care person
6 Politician
7 Police
8 Judge and lawperson
14 Other

V13 Is there any statistical information about mental health provided in the article?

Categories:
1 Yes
2 No

**Appendix 2:**  
**Data tables, all countries**

Table 1: Title of newspapers/websites Lithuania

Title of newspaper/ website	Delfi.lt	Zebra.lt	Respublika	Lietuvos rytas	15 minucių	Vakaro zin- ios	Total
Count	25	28	48	29	5	9	144
Percentage	17,4	19,4	33,3	20,1	3,5	6,3	100,0

Table 1: Title of newspapers Norway

Title of newspaper/ website	Verdens Gang	Dagbladet	Aftenposten	Total number
Count	55	81	125	261
Percentage	21,1	31,0	47,9	100,0

Table 1: Title of newspapers Sweden

Title of newspaper/ website	Aftonbladet	Expressen	Dagens Nyheter	Total number
Count	55	58	48	161
Percentage	34,2	36,0	29,8	100,0

Table 2: Type of newspaper

Country	Single sold		Sold on subscription		Website		Total	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
Lithuania	5	3,47	69	47,92	70	48,61	144	100,00
Sweden	106	65,84	55	34,16	0	0,00	161	100,00
Norway	136	52,11	125	47,89	0	0,00	261	100,00
TOTAL	247	40,47	249	43,32	70	16,20	566	100,00

Table 3: Month of the printed articles

Country	September		October		November		December		Total	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
Lithuania	48	33,30	56	38,90	40	27,80	0	0,00	144	100,00
Sweden	59	36,65	48	29,81	54	33,54	0	0,00	161	100,00
Norway	0	0,00	96	36,78	92	35,25	73	27,97	261	100,00
TOTAL	107	18,90	200	35,34	186	32,86	73	12,90	566	100,00

Table 4: Does the headline tell us that the article is dealing with mental health issues?

Country	Yes		No		Total	
	Count	%	count	%	count	%
Lithuania	36	25,00	108	75,00	144	100,00
Sweden	51	31,68	110	68,32	161	100,00
Norway	69	26,44	192	73,56	261	100,00
TOTAL	156	27,70	410	72,30	566	100,00

Table 5: Main topic of the article

Country	Mental illness Politics		Politics		Treatment		Crime		Literature		Public education		Other		Total	
	count	%	count	%	Count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
Lithuania	27	18,75	7	4,86	11	7,64	43	29,86	9	6,25	23	15,97	24	16,67	144	100,00
Sweden	22	13,66	6	3,73	13	8,07	100	62,11	7	4,35	0	0,00	13	8,07	161	100,00
Norway	28	10,73	34	13,03	55	21,07	56	21,46	32	12,26	0	0,00	56	21,46	261	100,00
TOTAL	81	15,21	47	7,20	75	11,43	199	37,81	48	7,62	23	5,32	93	15,40	566	100,00

Table 6: Crime-aspect in the article

Country	Yes		No		Total	
	count	%	Count	%	count	%
Lithuania	48	33,30	96	66,70	144	100,00
Sweden	110	68,32	51	31,68	161	100,00
Norway	78	29,89	183	70,11	261	100,00
TOTAL	232	42,92	334	57,08	566	100,00

Table 7: Genre of the article

Country	News		Reportage		Debate/ chronicle		Readers letter		Note	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
Lithuania	86	59,70	1	1,40	2	1,40	5	3,5	41	28,50
Sweden	110	68,32	16	9,94	12	7,45	9	5,59	11	6,83
Norway	124	47,50	14	5,38	32	12,31	38	14,62	45	17,31
TOTAL	320	56,54	31	5,48	46	8,13	52	9,19	97	17,14

Country	Personal stuff		Editorial cartoon		Advertisement		Editorial/leader		Total	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
Lithuania	6	4,20	0	0,00	1	0,70	1	0,70	144	100,00
Sweden	0	0,00	0	0,00	0	0,00	3	1,86	161	100,00
Norway	0	0,00	1	0,40	0	0,00	7	2,69	261	100,00
TOTAL	6	1,06	1	0,18	1	0,18	11	1,94	566	100,00



Table 8: The main character in the article

Country	Mentally ill person		Professional care person		Politicians		Psychiatrist		Other experts		Family and friends		Police	
	Count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	Count	%	count	%	count	%
Lithuania	55	38,19	3	2,08	6	4,17	5	3,47	3	2,08	1	0,69	1	0,69
Sweden	24	14,91	1	0,62	3	1,86	1	0,62	2	1,24	1	0,62	1	0,62
Norway	76	29,12	10	3,83	8	3,07	5	1,92	19	7,28	6	2,30	3	1,15
TOTAL	155	27,41	14	2,18	17	3,03	11	2,00	24	3,54	8	1,20	5	0,82

Country	Judge and law-persons		Other		Children and young people		Criminal		Author/actor/actress/musician		None		General public		Total	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
Lithuania	0	0,00	15	10,42	3	2,08	6	4,17	12	8,33	15	10,42	19	13,19	144	100,00
Sweden	0	0,00	6	3,73	10	6,21	100	62,11	12	7,45	0	0,00	0	0,00	161	100,00
Norway	2	0,77	34	13,03	21	8,05	16	6,13	20	7,66	27	10,34	14	5,36	261	100,00
TOTAL	2	0,26	55	9,06	34	5,45	122	24,14	44	7,82	42	6,92	33	6,19	566	100,00

Table 9: Gender of mentally ill persons

Country	Male		Female		Not relevant		No information		Total	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
Lithuania	44	30,56	24	16,67	71	49,31	5	3,47	144	100,00
Sweden	82	50,93	30	18,63	49	30,43	0	0,00	161	100,00
Norway	65	24,90	21	8,05	175	67,05	0	0,00	261	100,00
TOTAL	191	35,46	75	14,45	295	48,93	5	1,16	566	100,00

Table 10: Identification of persons with mental illness in the article

Country	Yes		No		Not relevant		Total	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
Lithuania	54	37,50	15	10,42	75	52,08	144	100,00
Sweden	84	52,17	30	18,63	47	29,19	161	100,00
Norway	37	14,18	57	21,84	167	63,98	261	100,00
TOTAL	175	34,62	102	16,96	289	48,42	566	100,00

Table 11: Do persons with mental illness represent themselves or others?

Country	Themselves		Group		Other		Not relevant		Total	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
Lithuania	63	43,75	50	34,72	3	2,08	28	19,44	144	100,00
Sweden	95	59,01	26	16,15	2	1,24	38	23,60	161	100,00
Norway	73	27,97	32	12,26	0	0,00	156	59,77	261	100,00
TOTAL	231	43,58	108	21,04	5	1,11	222	34,27	566	100,00

Table 12: The source of information <sup>1</sup>

Country	Lithuania		Sweden		Norway		Total	
	count	%	count	%	count	%	count	%
Mentally ill person	15	10,4	26	16,1	32	12,3	73	38,8
Member of family or friends	10	6,9	11	6,8	28	10,7	49	24,5
Psychiatrist	23	16,0	29	18,0	39	14,9	91	48,9
Psychologist	15	10,4	15	9,3	10	3,8	40	23,6
Other experts	22	15,3	44	27,3	91	34,9	157	77,5
Professional care person	6	4,2	5	3,1	10	3,8	21	11,1
Politician	6	4,2	8	5,0	35	13,4	49	22,5
Police	24	16,7	22	13,7	27	10,3	73	40,7
Judge or law-person	12	8,3	42	26,1	37	14,2	91	48,6
Someone else	72	50,0	52	32,3	109	41,8	233	124,1

Table 13: Statistical information about mental health provided in the article

Country	Yes		No		Total	
	count	%	count	%	count	%
Lithuania	6	4,17	138	95,83	144	100,00
Sweden	15	9,32	146	90,68	161	100,00
Norway	36	13,79	225	86,21	261	100,00
TOTAL	57	9,09	509	90,91	566	100,00

(1) Counts and percentage are more than 100% because it is more than one source of information in some articles.