Violence and victims: Measuring the impact of professional guidelines on representations of male schizophrenia in UK national newspapers (2013-2016)

Violencia y víctimas: Evaluando el efecto de los códigos deontológicos en las representaciones de la esquizofrenia masculina en los periódicos nacionales del Reino Unido (2013-2016)

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Abstract: UK newspapers are steered towards responsible reporting by guidelines produced by organisations such as the National Union of Journalists (NUJ). Regarding mental health, these guidelines advise, amongst others, avoiding links between mental health and violence, and using stigmatising portrayals. However, adherence to these recommendations is not always consistently achieved. This study adopts a Discursive News Values Analysis (DNVA) framework (Bednarek & Caple, 2017) to examine visual and textual representations of males with schizophrenia in the UK press in light of the NUJ's mental health guidelines. Specifically, we analyse the news values drawn upon in the text and images contained in all articles about males with schizophrenia published in *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Metro* the year prior to and the two years following the publication of the current edition of the NUJ's guidelines (2014). Our results show the prevalence of four news values: Consonance, Negativity, Personalisation and Positivity. These values suggest correspondence between maintaining negative stereotypes associated with schizophrenia (Consonance/Negativity) and exploring in a more positive manner the experiences of males with this condition (Personalisation/Positivity). Prior to the guidelines' publication, textual instances of Positivity and Personalisation are more frequent than those of Consonance and Negativity across all four newspapers. However, and unexpectedly, the reverse is true following the guidelines' publication. As for visual representations, Negativity and Personalisation feature more frequently pre-publication while, post-publication, Consonance features as frequently as Negativity. Our study concludes that uptake of the NUJ's guidelines has been low and proposes that, to achieve more sensitive

portrayals of mental health, greater use of positive, contextual details of individuals with lived experience of schizophrenia are required.

Keywords: news values; media guidelines; mental health; schizophrenia; British print journalism; discursive news values analysis.

Resumen: La prensa británica se orienta hacia una información responsable mediante directrices elaboradas por organizaciones como el Sindicato Nacional de Periodistas (NUJ). En lo que respecta a la salud mental, estas directrices aconsejan, entre otros, evitar los vínculos entre la salud mental y la violencia, así como el uso de representaciones que estigmaticen. Sin embargo, el cumplimiento de estas recomendaciones no siempre se consigue de forma sistemática. Este estudio adopta el marco de análisis discursivo de los valores noticiosos (DNVA) (Bednarek & Caple, 2017) para examinar las representaciones visuales y textuales de los hombres con esquizofrenia en la prensa del Reino Unido a la luz de las directrices de salud mental del NUJ. En concreto, analizamos los valores noticiosos extraídos del texto y las imágenes contenidas en todos los artículos sobre varones con esquizofrenia publicados en *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent* y *The Metro* el año anterior y los dos años posteriores a la publicación de la edición actual de las directrices del NUJ (2014). Nuestros resultados muestran la prevalencia de cuatro valores noticiosos: consonancia, negatividad, personalización y positividad. Estos valores sugieren una correspondencia entre la perpetuación de los estereotipos negativos asociados a la esquizofrenia (consonancia/negatividad) y la exploración más positiva de las experiencias de los hombres con esta condición (personalización/positividad). Antes de la publicación de las directrices, los ejemplos de positividad y personalización son más frecuentes en los textos de los cuatro periódicos que los de consonancia y negatividad. Sin embargo, ocurre lo contrario tras la publicación de las directrices. En cuanto a las representaciones visuales, los valores de negatividad y de personalización son más frecuentes antes de la publicación, mientras que, después de la publicación, la frecuencia de los valores de consonancia y negatividad es similar. Nuestro estudio concluye que la adopción de las directrices de la NUJ ha sido escasa y propone que, para lograr representaciones más sensibles de la salud mental, se requiere un mayor uso de detalles positivos y contextuales de individuos con esquizofrenia.

Palabras clave: valores noticiosos; directrices de los medios de comunicación; salud mental; esquizofrenia; prensa británica; análisis discursivo de los valores noticiosos.

1. Introduction

While reporting on issues relating to mental health can be influential in shaping public attitudes (Mind, 2021), doing so sensitively remains a complex challenge. Media representations of mental health have long been identified as problematic by academic literature (see, for example, Cutcliffe & Hannigan, 2001; Coverdale, Nairn & Claasen, 2002; Klin & Lemish, 2008) and mental health charities (see, for example, Mind, 2021; The Samaritans, n. d.; Time to Change, 2021; Young Minds, 2021). In particular, issues related to problematic reporting of mental health typically centre around an overemphasis on dangerousness and unpredictability (Coverdale et al., 2002), violence (Anger-

meyer & Schulze, 2001; Kalucy et al., 2011) and criminality (Angermeyer & Schulze, 2011; Coverdale et al., 2002), especially with regards to print media. These trends in reporting are troubling when the role of the media as a key socialising agent is considered (Klin & Lemish, 2008). Given that media audiences are unlikely to have direct knowledge of someone with a mental illness (Penn, Chamberlin & Mueser, 2003; Stuart, 2006; Turner et al., 2014), media images can often be the sole factor in shaping audience understandings of mental illness.

In order to address the issues surrounding such problematic representations as those outlined above, reporting on mental illness in the UK is governed by style guides and guidelines, including those published by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ). Despite the potential importance of these guidelines, to our knowledge, there has been no longitudinal analysis of their impact on journalistic practice. As such, this study aims to address a gap in the literature by answering the following question: what impact did the NUJ guidelines have on representations of males with schizophrenia in UK news reports? To answer this question, this study examines newspaper articles of males with schizophrenia published a year before and two years after the publication in 2014 of the current edition of the NUJ guidelines. Our study focus was selected due to the higher incident rate of schizophrenia in males (Mental Health First Aid England, 2020) and the increased likelihood of male mental illness featuring in stigmatising print media content in comparison to women (Coverdale et al., 2002; Whitley, Adeponle & Miller, 2014, see also section 2.1.).

Methodologically, our study adopts a discourse news values analysis (DNVA; see Bednarek & Caple, 2017) approach. To date, DNVA has been adopted to examine news representations for a wide range of issues and social identities (see section 3). However, it has not yet been applied to the field of mental health reporting, which commonly draws upon content analysis methods (e.g., Goulden et al., 2011; Nawka et al., 2012). Therefore, this paper also contributes to calls by Bednarek & Caple (2017) to apply their DNVA approach to a broader set of topics within media discourse.

The article is structured as follows. In section 2, we provide a brief overview of the relevant research into, respectively, representations of mental health (with a focus on males with schizophrenia) in the print news media, attempts at challenging stigmatising reporting (with a focus on the NUJ guidelines) and the field of news values. Section 3 describes the methodology adopted in our study. Section 4 examines the newspaper data using DNVA, with section

5 exploring the key trends from this data in more depth. Section 6 draws on these trends to evaluate the impact of the NUJ's guidelines. Finally, section 7 draws together the conclusions of this study.

2. Mental health in the media

2.1 *Representations of mental health in the news*

While elements of coverage surrounding mental illness have improved over time (Time to Change, 2017), on the whole, reporting on this topic continues to be problematic, particularly in tabloid newspapers where individuals with mental illnesses are discussed in a more negative and sensationalised manner than those with other medical conditions (Nawka et al., 2012; Nawkova et al., 2012). This tendency towards the sensational can be attributed to the news selection process, which leads journalists towards deviant or spectacular news stories, the unusual nature of which tend to appeal to media audiences (Nawka et al., 2012; Balfour, 2020). Such negative, sensationalist reporting predominantly portrays individuals with mental illnesses as violent and/or dangerous criminals (Nawka et al., 2012).

The stereotypical link in the media between mental illness and violence has been long established in the academic literature with mental illness being provided as a reason for criminal behaviour (e.g., Coverdale et al., 2002). In particular, individuals with mental illnesses are frequently presented as perpetrators of violent crime, such as murder or assault (Nawka et al., 2012). In exaggerating the connection between crime and mental illness, these representations propagate the myth that individuals with a mental illness are dangerous by depicting them as "violent, unpredictable criminals" (Nawka et al., 2012: 484).

News media reports about mental illness also draw upon alternative stigmas in depicting the person in question as a victim of their condition. In these instances, the mental illness itself is typically framed as an "autonomous, agentive and aggressive" entity that exists "independent from the sufferer" (Balfour, 2020: 139). Even when treatment and recovery are discussed, the individuals are "represented as more or less hopeless" (Balfour, 2020: 150, see also Balfour, 2019). As such, media audiences are led to conclude that individuals with mental illnesses are "unable to control their own life" and, therefore, are "erratic, frightening, unreliable, or untrustworthy" (Coverdale et al., 2002: 699).

Links between mental illness, violence and/or victimhood are especially prevalent when the individual in question has a diagnosis of schizophrenia. A report by mental health charity Time to Change found that, while reporting on mental health in general had become "significantly more anti-stigmatising" since 2008 (Mind, 2017, online source, see also Goulden et al., 2011), individuals with a diagnosis of schizophrenia continue to be presented either as dangerous or as victims of their condition. In particular, schizophrenia is often reported on in relation to exceptional instances of violence (Balfour, 2020), crime and court proceedings (Holland, 2018). In particular, Holland (2018: 1770) argues that news reports such as these typically centre "on a particular incident that attracts media attention because it fulfils enduring news values of sensation, conflict and drama, while affirming cultural stereotypes of madness that have a long history". As a consequence of reporting such as this, Nawkova et al. (2012: 35) regard schizophrenia as "the most stigmatised mental disorder".

There are also differences in how mental health is reported on depending on the gender of the individual in question. While males with a mental illness are more likely to feature in print media than females (Coverdale et al., 2002), reports about women are more likely to include contextual details regarding the background of the illness and discussions of recovery (Whitley, Adeponle & Miller, 2014). Additionally, news reports about male mental illness are more likely to be stigmatising, to focus on crime and violence, and to include references to danger (Whitley et al., 2014). When these trends are compared to the higher suicide rates for men than for women (Office for National Statistics, 2021), it becomes increasingly important to address the way that male mental health is seen in the public sphere.

The prevalence of negative representations of mental health in the news is problematic given this medium's status in today's society. Klin and Lemish (2008) argue that media texts, such as newspapers have the capacity to shape audience perceptions of the world around them. This finding is supported by Meyrowitz (2008) who argues that the media texts an audience consumes can influence how they think about particular topics. As such, the pervasive nature of negative representations around mental health in the news media – combined with the low likelihood of media audiences knowing someone with a mental illness (Penn, Chamberlin and Mueser, 2003; Turner et al., 2014)– can have negative consequences for how this topic is seen and understood. By predominantly associating mental illness with violence and criminality, news texts "generate intense emotional responses" that are "even capable of

overriding positive personal experiences, corrective information and positive news" (Stuart, 2006: 102) and, in turn, lead to feelings of mistrust and fear in media audiences towards those with mental ill health (Angermeyer & Schulze, 2001).

To address the problematic portrayals outlined above, the journalism profession has been working towards more accurate and sensitive portrayals of individuals with mental illnesses through the publication of guidelines and/or the updating of internal style guides. While journalists are encouraged to consider these guidelines when it comes to reporting on sensitive topics, such as mental health, these documents can appear as prescriptive. Therefore, they may be perceived as threatening to media professionals in that outlining what constitutes "good" and "bad" reporting can be seen as "projecting assumptions about the appropriate role of journalists" (Holland, 2018: 1768).

In the UK, these documents stem from organisations such as Mind, Time to Change and, the focus of our study, the NUJ. The NUJ is "one of the biggest journalists' unions in the world" with over 30,000 members across the UK, Ireland and parts of Europe (NUJ, 2019, online source). It represents a broad range of media professionals, including editors, photographers and reporters, and places emphasis on improving their pay and working conditions (*ibid.*). Additionally, the NUJ encourages "media freedom, professionalism and ethical standards" in its members (*ibid.*). As part of their membership responsibilities, members are advised to "combat discrimination" by avoiding the use of "prejudicial language or comments about people on the grounds of gender, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, age or disability" (NUJ, 2020). It was within this context that the NUJ published their *Responsible Reporting on Mental Health, Mental Illness & Death by Suicide* guidelines in November 2014. This document sought to address the NUJ's aims to promote the ethical responsibilities of its members by offering solutions to issues around reporting on mental illness and death by suicide. The aspects of reporting covered by these guidelines were proposed by NUJ members and, subsequently, resolved by more experienced journalists within the organisation (Christie, NUJ member, 2016, personal correspondence). The collaborative nature of their production indicates that these guidelines reflect the expectations of the journalism profession in the UK and Ireland.

Guidelines about mental health reporting have typically emphasised the importance of avoiding prejudicial or pejorative references to an individual's mental illness (The Independent Press Standards Organisation, 2018), and of using terms such "schizophrenic" and "psychotic" purely in a medical context

(The Guardian, 2019). The importance of replacing derogatory language such as "psycho" with phrases such as "a person who has experienced psychosis" (Time to Change, 2019) has also been emphasised. These recommendations also exist in the NUJ's guidelines (see table 1), which cover numerous aspects of the news production process, that is, of the linguistic elements of the news texts and considerations surrounding the story being told. The NUJ pays particular attention to the lexical choices made by the journalist (i.e., the labelling of both mental Illness and individuals diagnosed with them), as demonstrated in the guidance to use medical terms in the appropriate context and to avoid the use of derogatory language and colloquialisms for mental health conditions. Although the guidelines do not make explicit reference to the visual elements that can typically accompany the news text, they are intended to cover both use of language and images through their references to "reporting" in general.

Do	Report mental health, mental ill health and death by suicide sensitively Ensure you use correct diagnosis where appropriate Use medical terms correctly Focus on help, support and treatments Offer contact details such as helplines
Don't	Use derogatory language Stigmatise mental health and mental illness Assume link between mental illness and violence Dismiss mental illness as a fad Discriminate against those with mental illnesses Glamourise or sensationalise Use colloquialisms such as: 'happy pills' for anti-depressants 'cocktail' of drugs for over-dose 'shrink' for psychiatrist

Table 1. NUJ guidelines for reporting on mental health and death by suicide (NUJ, 2014: 2)

The implementation of these guidelines can help to address the manner in which some mental illnesses are represented in the media. Yet research shows that such implementations are not always successful. For instance, in an attempt to address the way that mental illnesses were discussed in a regional Canadian newspaper, Stuart (2003) worked with the editors and journalists to implement a set of guidelines with the intention of increasing both the number of positive news stories about mental illness and the length of these articles. To assess the effectiveness of this campaign, Stuart compared all arti-

cles written about mental illness published 8 months before the intervention to those published 16 months after this date. In conducting this analysis, Stuart found that, while reports of mental illness such as anxiety and depression became more positive and included more contextual information, this finding did not extend to reports on schizophrenia. Instead, the number of negative reports about this condition increased at a faster pace than positive ones with the number of stigmatising stories in particular increasing by 46%. These findings led Stuart to conclude that schizophrenia is the one mental illness that is most resistant to change when it comes to media reporting.

2.2 *News values as a way to examine media representations: a discursive news values analysis approach*

While it is not possible to identify the inherent quality of a news event that makes it relevant to media audiences, these events can be imbued with newsworthiness through references to news values (Bednarek and Caple, 2014). These news values "work by providing decision-making parameters, justifications of these decisions, and a 'hierarchy of importance' in terms of news-story outcomes that allows fast decision-making and swift dispatch when there are many and disparate claims on time" (Cotter, 2010: 73-74). As such, news values "drive what makes the news" (Potts, Bednarek & Caple, 2015: 150).

A variety of definitions of what constitutes news values exist within the literature (within linguistics, see, for example, Bell, 1991; Cotter, 2010). Provisionally, it is possible to understand news values as news-writing objectives, such as brevity and accuracy, which govern the actual process of composing a news story. However, it is also possible to understand news values as factors, such as commercial pressures, deadlines and audience analytics, which influence "whether or not an event gets covered or a story becomes published" (Bednarek & Caple, 2017: 41). Finally, news values can be understood as "concerning the newsworthiness of events – their potential newsworthiness in a given community, their newsworthiness as evaluated and determined by news workers in news practice, or their newsworthiness as constructed through discourse" (2017: 42), thus placing news values as embedded within the text itself.

Following Bednarek & Caple (2017), it is this final dimension –discursive– that our study adopts. In doing so, we treat news values as "the newsworthy aspects of actors, happenings, and issues *as existing in and constructed through*

discourse" (Bednarek & Caple, 2014: 137, emphasis in original). Therefore, news values are not seen as an inherent entity of a particular event but are constructed through discourse, meaning that semiotic resources are used to express, indicate, emphasise and highlight a given news value (Bednarek & Caple, 2012: 45). A DNVA approach thus engages in multimodal analysis to "investigate how semiotic systems other than language construct news values and how they interact with linguistic resources" (Bednarek & Caple, 2014: 140).

Throughout the literature, a wealth of news values has been identified including consonance, impact, negativity, prominence, superlativeness, and timeliness, resulting in broadly agreed, evolving news values taxonomies (see, e.g., Cotter, 2010; Harcup & O'Neill, 2016; Bednarek & Caple, 2017). These taxonomies should not be interpreted as a list of definites, but as potential options for researchers to apply to their own work (Harcup & O'Neill, 2016). As Harcup and O'Neill (2016: 3) note, it is important to recognise that no "theory of news values can explain everything". However, "there is merit in showing how news values are constructed" (Potts, Bednarek & Caple, 2015: 161-162).

3. Methodology

3.1 *Data*

Newspaper articles published by *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent* and *The Metro* between 1st November 2013 and 30th November 2015 were collected as this study's primary data. As shown in table 2, these publications were selected due to their relationship with the NUJ and their spread of publication types, encompassing tabloid, broadsheet and free publications. These features enabled a comparative analysis to take place between widely distributed broadsheet, tabloid and free publications as well as between publications associated with the NUJ and those that are not. It was anticipated that, in having a membership branch, publications affiliated with the NUJ would have more direct access to the guidelines than those without one and, therefore, may experience a greater expectation to adopt them.

Newspaper	Publication type	Relationship with NUJ
The Daily Mail	Tabloid	No membership branch
The Guardian	Broadsheet	Has membership branch
The Independent	Broadsheet	Has membership branch
The Metro	Free newspaper	No membership branch

Table 2. Selected newspapers

All available news texts about males with schizophrenia published by these newspapers between 1st November 2013 and 30th November 2016 were collected. As a result, the data set consisted of 86 articles, containing 41,307 words and 64 images (see table 3).

Newspaper	Number of articles	Total word count	Average word count per article	Number of images
The Daily Mail	11	6,171	602	6
The Guardian	23	12,668	591	19
The Independent	40	19,496	487	31
The Metro	12	2,972	248	8
Total	86	41,307	496	64

Table 3. Composite figures for newspaper data

In total, 11 different news events were reported on, each of which involving a different male with schizophrenia as the central actor. The majority of these news events discussed a criminal incident (n=7 news events), diplomatic incidents (n=2 news events) or mental health awareness campaigns (n=2 news events). One of these eleven news events spanned three years, with the remaining ten taking place across a one-year period.

To investigate the impact of the NUJ (2014) guidelines, the data was divided into three time periods: pre-guidelines publication period (1st November 2013 – 5th November 2014, 34 articles, 3 news events), post-guidelines publication period 1 (6th November 2014 – 30th November 2015, 29 articles, 6 news events) and post-guidelines publication period 2 (1st December 2015 – 30th November 2016, 23 articles, 4 news events[1]). While previous longitu-

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[1] The total number of news events here exceeds 11 due to one event spanning all three publication periods.

dinal research on media representations of mental health has focused on a one-to-twenty-four-month period in total (e.g., Angermeyer & Schulze, 2001; Coverdale et al., 2002; Stuart, 2003), our study extends the length of time investigated. In doing so, longer-term impacts may be identified, allowing for any delayed responses to the guidelines to be captured in addition to more immediate changes.

The newspaper data was collected via the online newspaper database NexisUK, using the wild card truncation schizo![2]. The articles were then screened against the inclusion and exclusion criteria in table 4.

Inclusion criteria	Exclusion criteria
1. Articles published between 1st November 2013 and 31st December 2016. 2. Articles that discussed a news event involving a male with schizophrenia as the central news actor and featured extensive reference (defined within this study as being over one paragraph) to schizophrenia. 3. Articles involving males with schizophrenia that featured in >3 of the 4 selected newspapers.	1. Editorials, letters to the editor, features and comment pieces. 2. Articles that focused on schizophrenia as a general medical condition or made a passing reference (less than a paragraph) to a male with schizophrenia. 3. Articles that discussed a news event involving a female with schizophrenia.

Table 4. Inclusion and exclusion criteria for newspaper data collection

As NexisUK does not contain images, the visual data was collected separately through one of two methods: via the PressReader app[3] or the publication's online database. The images were located via a search for the article headline and were saved against their corresponding text. These articles were then cross-referenced to ensure that the correct image had been located.

3.2 Analytical procedure and framework

The newspaper data were transferred onto the qualitative software NVivo 10[4] and analysed using Bednarek & Caple's (2017) DNVA framework. This framework was chosen due to its effectiveness in examining the underlying

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[2] Prior to data collection, ethical approval was obtained through [University's] Research Ethics and Integrity Committee.

[3] https://www.pressreader.com/

[4] https://www.qsrinternational.com/nvivo-qualitative-data-analysis-software/home/

ideologies and discourses within the print news media. While DNVA has been applied to a wide variety of news events, including environmental issues (Bednarek & Caple, 2012; Bednarek & Caple, 2014; Caple & Bednarek, 2016), political crises (Lorenzo-Dus & Smith, 2018), hate crimes (Maklad, 2019) and war reporting (O'Regan, 2010), to our knowledge, no research using DNVA has been applied to news reporting on mental health.

Provisionally, Bednarek and Caple's (2017) DNVA framework was applied to a subset of 20 articles from the dataset. Each article was analysed for any linguistic or visual news values present in the text or its corresponding image/s (see Bednarek & Caple, 2012, 2014, 2017). Following Bednarek and Caple's guidance, any visual or textual elements that related to multiple separate news values were coded against all relevant values. The data was coded by the authors independently with any coding discrepancies being resolved through discussion.

News value	Definition (Bednarek & Caple, 2017)	Operationalisation (this study)
Aesthetic Appeal	The event is discursively constructed as beautiful (visuals only).	Visual references to an event involving a male with schizophrenia that are aesthetically pleasing to the audience, typically achieved via techniques, such as focus.
Consonance	The event is discursively constructed as (stereo)typical (limited here to news actors, social groups, organizations, or countries/nations).	Reference made to the features, symptoms or stereotypes typically associated with schizophrenia, i.e., references to violence, criminality or hallucinations.
Eliteness	The event is discursively constructed as of high status of fame (including but not limited to the people, countries, or institutions involved)	Reference made to or a quotation from a high-status individual, place and/or organisation, i.e., a politician or a legal/medical professional, speaking in an official or professional capacity about an event involving a male with schizophrenia.
Impact	The event is discursively constructed as having significant effects or consequences (not necessarily limited to impact on the target audience)	Reference made to the impact, consequences or significance of an event involving a male with schizophrenia or the circumstances surrounding it, e.g., references to the effect of the event on the community/family of the male with schizophrenia, or on society as a whole.
Negativity	The event is discursively constructed as negative, for example, as a disaster, conflict, controversy, criminal act.	Reference made to the negative aspects, consequences or outcomes of an incident involving an individual with schizophrenia, e.g., references to a crime or an individual crying.

News value	Definition (Bednarek & Caple, 2017)	Operationalisation (this study)
Personaliza-tion	The event is discursively con-structed as having a personal or "human" face (involving non-elite actors, including eyewitnesses).	Reference made to or a quotation from a lay person involved in the event involving a male with schizophrenia, speaking in a personal capacity, i.e., an eyewitness, the individual with schizophrenia or the victim.
Positivity	The event is discursively construct-ed as positive, for example, as a scientific breakthrough or heroic act.	Reference made to positive details about the male with schizophrenia, whether personal, social or medical in nature, e.g., reference made to coping strategies shown to be beneficial.
Proximity	The event is discursively construct-ed as geographically or culturally near (in relation to the publication location/target audience).	Reference made to the geographical or cultural nearness of the event involving a male with schizophrenia in relation to the audience of the article, e.g., references to specific landmarks.
Superlative-ness	The event is discursively construct-ed as being of high intensity or large scope/scale.	The use of maximised or intensified lan-guage, such as quantifiers, intensifiers or metaphors/similes, to refer to the event involving a male with schizophrenia.
Timeliness	The event is discursively construct-ed as timely in relation to the pub-lication date: as new, recent, ongo-ing, about to happen, or otherwise relevant to the immediate situa-tion/time (current or seasonal).	Reference made to the temporal elements of the event involving the male with schizophrenia, including references to recent, ongoing or upcoming events.
Unexpected-ness	The event is discursively construct-ed as unexpected, for example, as unusual, strange, rare.	Reference made to new, unexpected or un-usual elements of the event involving the male with schizophrenia, e.g., references to the sudden popularity of a social media campaign.

Table 5. DNVA framework (adapted from Bednarek & Caple, 2017: 55)

Through this pilot investigation, the need for minor changes to the origi-nal framework was identified in relation to the analysis of males with schizo-phrenia (see table 5 for adaptations made). These involved populating five news values with sub-categories that would enable a deeper analysis to take place: Consonance, Eliteness, Impact, Personalisation and Positivity.

Consonance was populated with the stereotypes and symptom-based ex-pectations associated with schizophrenia identified by the literature, such as schizophrenia and criminality, schizophrenia and delusions, and schizophre-nia and violence. A similar process was followed with the Impact news value.

While this news value encompasses all groups affected by the news event in the original framework, more nuanced interpretations were achieved by breaking down this news value into the groups affected by the news event, namely the community, the family of the male with schizophrenia and society as a whole. This process enabled this study to measure the implied risk posed by the male with schizophrenia by determining if the news event affected a small radius of individuals or society as a whole. Similarly, Personalisation and Eliteness were populated with the news actors involved in the news event itself with the former capturing those news actors involved in a personal capacity (e.g., the family and friends of the male with schizophrenia), while the latter captured those involved in some professional capacity (e.g., legal professionals, such as policer officers and lawyers). Expanding these categories enabled this study to identify what voices were deemed more salient by the text producers and, as such, whether a more personal or professional account of the news event was given.

Positivity was further nuanced, too. In Bednarek and Caple (2017), this news value captures the positive aspects of the news event (namely, positive emotions, behaviours and lexis). However, given our focus on representations of males with schizophrenia, our pilot analysis revealed the need for greater differentiation to be made between positive elements that centred around the males themselves (person-based) and those that focused on the news event (event-based). While these details contextualised the news event being reported on by providing further details about the condition or first-hand experiences of the male with schizophrenia, they also helped to identify whether these positive elements centred around the news event or an individual, thus enabling a better understand of the perspective taken on the male with schizophrenia throughout the article.

Our study examined the discursive construction of news values across both the linguistic and visual data. As Bednarek and Caple (2017) state, there is no direct one-to-one correlation between a news value and a given visual or textual feature. Instead, the same feature can evidence multiple news values simultaneously. In this manner, it is possible for one section of data to be coded across multiple news values, enabling any correlations or patterns across the data to be clearly identified.

Once the newspaper data had been analysed using DNVA, a Content Analysis of the NUJ guidelines took place, which identified the key recommendations that could then be aligned with Bednarek and Caple's (2017) framework. A one-to-one correlation was not possible due to substantial differences

between the two text types. In particular, the DNVA framework focused on specific aspects of reporting while the NUJ guidelines offered broader, more general recommendations. However, parallels could be drawn between those recommendations that focused on societal beliefs surrounding schizophrenia (i.e., making links between mental illness and violence) and Consonance. In addition, links could be made between Negativity and those recommendations that referenced negative perceptions or language associated with mental illness. Personalisation could be linked with details that typically emerged through personal accounts, such as a focus on help and support. Finally, due to their ability to contextualise schizophrenia as lived experience, Positivity could be linked to recommendations that advocated for the appropriate use of medical terminology and sensitive reporting. Table 6 below outlines the links made between the DNVA framework and the NUJ guidelines.

News values	NUJ recommendation (2014: 2)
Consonance Reference made to the features, symptoms or stereotypes typically associated with schizophrenia, i.e., references to violence, criminality or hallucinations.	Do not assume link between mental illness and violence.
	Do not stigmatise mental health and mental illness.
	Do not discriminate against those with mental illnesses.
Negativity Reference made to the negative aspects, consequences or outcomes of an incident involving an individual with schizophrenia, e.g., references to a crime or an individual crying.	Do not use derogatory language.
	Do not use colloquialisms such as: "happy pills" for anti-depressants. "cocktail" of drugs for overdose. "shrink" for psychiatrist.
	Do not dismiss mental health as a fad.
	Do not glamorise or sensationalise.
Personalisation Reference made to or a quotation from a lay person involved in the event involving a male with schizophrenia, speaking in a personal capacity, i.e., an eyewitness, the individual with schizophrenia or the victim.	Do focus on help, support and treatments.
	Do offer contact details such as helplines.
Positivity Reference made to positive details about the male with schizophrenia, whether personal, social or medical in nature, e.g., reference made to coping strategies shown to be beneficial.	Do report on mental health, mental ill health and death by suicide sensitively.
	Do ensure you use the correct diagnosis where appropriate.
	Do use medical terms correctly.

Table 6. Links made between DNVA framework and NUJ guidelines

4. Results: news values and the reporting of male schizophrenia

The normalised frequency of use for seven out of eleven news values behaved consistently across newspapers and publication periods for the entire primary dataset (see figures 1 and 2 for linguistic and visual representations respectively). In particular, Superlativeness, Timeliness and Unexpectedness remained at consistent levels across all three publication periods and both semiotic modes, increasing or decreasing by less than 3% across publication periods. This finding is consistent with previous work that has identified these three news values as being common throughout print news discourse in general (see, for example, Bednarek & Caple, 2012, 2014; Caple & Bednarek, 2016). Only four news values fluctuated in usage across publication type and period: Consonance, Negativity, Personalisation and Positivity. This section explores these four values across two perspectives: publication period (section 4.1.) and publication type (section 4.2.).

4.1 *Findings by publication period*

As figure 1 shows, within the pre-guidelines publication period (Pre-P), the prevalence for Positivity across the linguistic data (360 instances, 19.01%[5]) was higher than Consonance (144 instances, 7.60%) and Negativity (258 instances, 13.62%). However, this pattern was reversed in post-guidelines publication period 1 (Post-P1) where Consonance (381 instances, 25.03%) and Negativity (310 instances, 20.37%) increased in frequency while constructions of Positivity (89 instances, 5.85%) decreased. This pattern continued across post-guidelines publication period 2 (Post-P2) when there was a slight reduction in the frequency of Consonance (363 instances, 22.15%) and Negativity (296 instances, 18.06%) and a corresponding increase in the frequency of Positivity (142 instances, 8.66%).

While Prominence appears to be disproportionately represented in Pre-P (36 instances, 19.01%) in comparison to both post-publication periods (108 instances, 7.10% and 115 instances, 7.02%), this finding can be explained by the news events being reported on. Across Pre-P, 85.29% (n=29) of articles centred around two diplomatic incidents and a mental health campaign, which involved prominent individuals, such as politicians, legal professionals,

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[5] Percentages shown concern the relevant subcorpus.

and mental health advocates. In contrast with this publication period, news events featuring such prominent individuals were not as frequent across the post-publication periods, resulting in a decrease in the prevalence of Prominence.

Across the visual data, as shown in figure 2, there was variation in how Consonance, Negativity, Personalisation and Positivity were used. Throughout Pre-P, there were no constructions of Consonance (0 instances, 0.00%) and few constructions of Positivity (3 instances, 10.71%) while there was a greater frequency for Negativity (5 instances, 17.86%) and Personalisation (6 instances, 21.43%). However, this pattern reversed across Post-P1, where constructions for Consonance (23 instances, 31.08%) and Negativity (18 instances, 24.32%) increased significantly, while constructions for Personalisation (13 instances, 17.57%) and Positivity (11 instances, 14.86%) decreased. In Post-P2, this pattern shifted: Personalisation (11 instances, 25.00%) and Positivity (7 instances, 15.91%) featured more frequently than Consonance (9 instances, 20.45%), while Negativity (10 instances, 22.73%) returned to a similar level of frequency as that of Pre-P.

As Figures 1 and 2 show, therefore, fluctuations occurred across both semiotic modes for four news values in particular: Consonance, Negativity, Personalisation and Positivity. Within Pre-P, the frequency of use for Consonance and Negativity were low across the linguistic and visual data while Positivity was one of the most salient news values for both semiotic modes. However, this pattern reversed across the post-guidelines publication period where the frequency of use for Consonance and Negativity increased substantially while Positivity became infrequent for both the linguistic and visual data. The sole discrepancy across semiotic modes involved Personalisation, which remained consistently high across the visual data but was used infrequently across the linguistic data. This pattern can be attributed to the news events themselves, which centred around a series of individuals with schizophrenia. As such, it is expected that a visual reference for the news actor in question be present, increasing the visual constructions of Personalisation as a result.
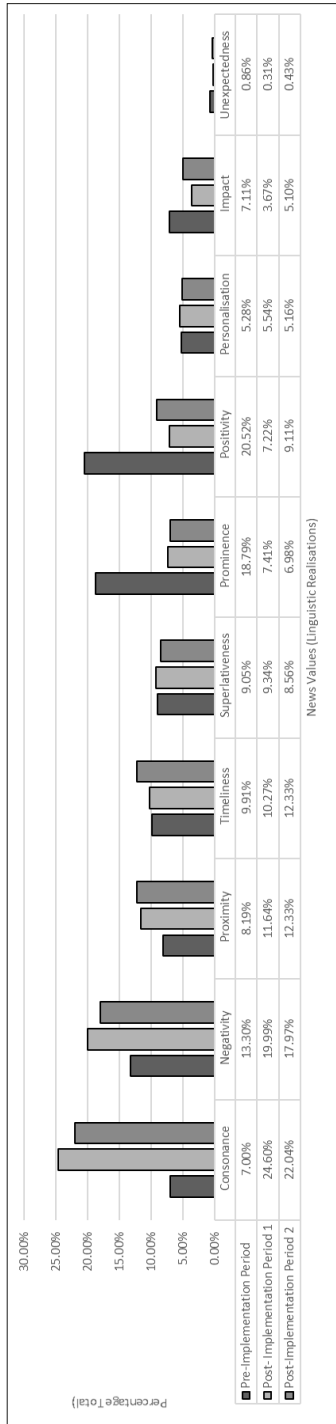
News Values (Linguistic Realisations)	Consonance	Negativity	Proximity	Timeliness	Superlativeness	Prominence	Positivity	Personalisation	Impact	Unexpectedness
Pre-Implementation Period	7.00%	13.30%	8.19%	9.91%	9.05%	18.79%	20.52%	5.28%	7.11%	0.86%
Post- Implementation Period 1	24.60%	19.99%	11.64%	10.27%	9.34%	7.41%	7.22%	5.54%	3.67%	0.31%
Post-Implementation Period 2	22.04%	17.97%	12.33%	12.33%	8.56%	6.98%	9.11%	5.16%	5.10%	0.43%

Figure 1. Linguistic news values by publication period across all publications

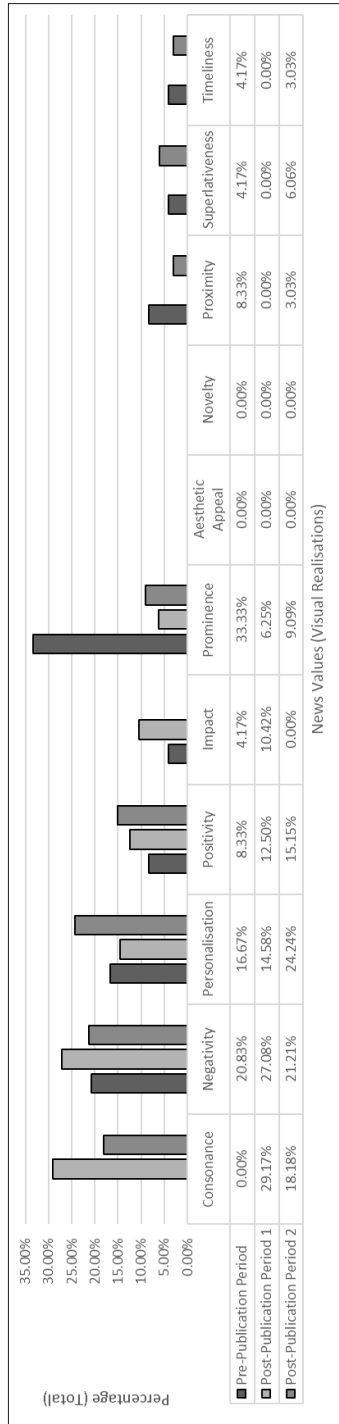| News Values (Visual Realisations)	Consonance	Negativity	Personalisation	Positivity	Impact	Prominence	Aesthetic Appeal	Novelty	Proximity	Superlativeness	Timeliness
Pre-Publication Period	0.00%	20.83%	16.67%	8.33%	4.17%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	8.33%	4.17%	4.17%
Post-Publication Period 1	29.17%	27.08%	14.58%	12.50%	10.42%	6.25%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Post-Publication Period 2	18.18%	21.21%	24.24%	15.15%	0.00%	9.09%	0.00%	0.00%	3.03%	6.06%	3.03%

Figure 2. Visual news values by publication period across all publications

4.2 *Findings by publication*

Having examined overall patterns of use across periods, we next present them by publication (see figures 3 and 4).

Across the linguistic data (figure 3), all four publications appear to behave consistently. Reflecting the findings from section 4.1., Consonance and Negativity were the most prevalent news values across the four publications. However, slight discrepancies appeared regarding the extent to which each publication used these two values. Firstly, Consonance appeared more frequently in *The Daily Mail* and *The Metro* than in *The Guardian* and *The Independent* in both the linguistic and visual (figure 4) data, seemingly supporting Clement and Foster's (2007) findings that the use of stereotypes is more prevalent in tabloids than broadsheets. The use of Positivity also varied across the four publications, being more frequent in *The Independent* (113 instances, 14.95%) and *The Metro* (21 instances, 12.65%) than in *The Daily Mail* (29 instances, 10.03%) and *The Guardian* (53 instances, 10.72%). Discrepancies were also present for how each publication utilised Personalisation. *The Daily Mail* (19 instances, 6.61%), *The Guardian* (31 instances, 6.24%) and *The Metro* (11 instances, 6.63%) demonstrated a higher frequency of this news value than *The Independent* (30 instances, 3.94%). This pattern was also present with Eliteness, which was frequently realised in *The Guardian* (66 instances, 13.50%), *The Independent* (96 instances, 12.69%) and *The Metro* (17 instances, 10.24%) but was not as prevalent in *The Daily Mail* (15 instances, 5.25%).

Within the visual data (figure 4), the same variations occur across the four publications. Consonance appeared as the most frequently used news value for all four publications, achieving significant prevalence in *The Daily Mail* (11 instances, 36.67%) and the lowest frequency in *The Guardian* (4 instances, 14.29%). Contrasting with this finding was the high frequency of use for Negativity across the tabloid publications (*The Daily Mail*: 8 instances, 26.67%; *The Metro*: 8 instances, 27.59%) in comparison to the low frequency in the broadsheet equivalents (*The Guardian*: 6 instances, 21.43%; *The Independent*: 11 instances, 18.64%). Personalisation also fluctuated across the four publications with this news value appearing more frequently in *The Guardian* (9 instances, 32.14%) and *The Metro* (8 instances, 27.59%) than in *The Daily Mail* (4 instances, 13.33%) and *The Independent* (9 instances, 15.25%). Positivity also demonstrated similar fluctuations, particularly between the two semiotic modes. Across both the visual and linguistic data, *The Daily Mail* had the lowest frequency of usage for Positivity (2 instances, 6.67%). In contrast, the

frequency of visual constructions for this news values across *The Guardian* (6 instances, 21.43%), *The Independent* (9 instances, 15.25%) and *The Metro* (4 instances, 13.79%) did not reflect their respective linguistic constructions, suggesting a disparity between these two communicative modes.

These findings reveal little variation by publication type. As figures 3 and 4 show, while *The Daily Mail* and *The Metro* demonstrate similar patterns in their use of news values, *The Guardian* and *The Independent* are different. Neither publication type (i.e., broadsheet/tabloid) nor affiliation to the NUJ appear to have any influence on the news values used to discuss the news events in question. Instead, the most salient finding centres around four news values: Consonance, Negativity, Personalisation and Positivity. Across both publication period and publication, these four news values appear to demonstrate a relationship across a positive/negative axis whereby instances of Consonance and Negativity decrease while instances of Personalisation and Positivity increase, and vice versa. As the most notable change for these four news values occurs across publication period, the next section will explore how they are discursively constructed across time, reflecting also on the impact of the NUJ guidelines.

5. Using discursive news values analysis to evaluate the impact of NUJ guidelines

Having considered the use of news values within the newspaper data, we next examine the linguistic and visual realisations for the four main news values by publication period: Consonance, Negativity, Personalisation and Positivity. The emphasis across Pre-P is on sensitive portrayals of males with schizophrenia, as example 1 illustrates.

> 1. He had recently been diagnosed with schizoaffective disorder - a combination of schizophrenia and depression - and did not know how to deal with it (*The Independent*, 14th January 2014: 1).

In this example, Personalisation and Positivity are realised through contextual details about the circumstances surrounding Jonny Benjamin's suicide attempt. The temporal adverbial *recently* is used to indicate the immediacy of Benjamin's suicide attempt in relation to his diagnosis. In addition to this, the verb phrase *did not know how to deal with it* shows the emotional impact of this diagnosis, highlighting Benjamin's difficulties (as opposed to, e.g., *un-*

willingness to) seeking support for his diagnosis. Contextualisation is further realised using the relative clause *a combination of schizophrenia and depression.* All these details provide the audience with further information about schizophrenia, either in the form of definitions or by describing the delusions that are symptomatic of this condition. By drawing upon the experiences of the news actor, here, the male with schizophrenia, these examples simultaneously realise the news value of Personalisation and Positivity, aiding audience understandings of schizophrenia and increasing their ability to sympathise with the news actor in question (Philo, 1996).

In a minority of cases within Pre-P, there were instances where the male with schizophrenia's condition was associated with eccentricity and unpredictability (Coverdale et al., 2002) as example 2 illustrates:

> 2. Thamsanqa Jantjie has claimed that he suffered a schizophrenic episode and saw angels descending on the Johannesburg stadium where his bizarre signing prompted consternation last week (*The Guardian*, 20 December 2013).

In example 2, Thamsanqa Jantjie states that their unusual signing during Nelson Mandela's state funeral was due to a schizophrenic episode. However, Jantjie's authenticity is undermined using a verb that is based on questionable epistemic knowledge rather than facticity (*has claimed*) as well as an attributive adjective that describes odd behaviour (*bizarre signing*). By denoting stereotypical behaviours linked to mental health, Jantjie's credibility and proposed explanation are challenged as a result.

Despite instances such as that in example 2, most constructions across Pre-P emphasised the contextual details surrounding schizophrenia in relation to lived experience. By drawing upon these contextual details, a first-hand account of what it is like to live with this condition is provided. Such representations across this study period invite sympathy from the audience, a finding further reinforced in the visual data. Let's consider image 1, for example.
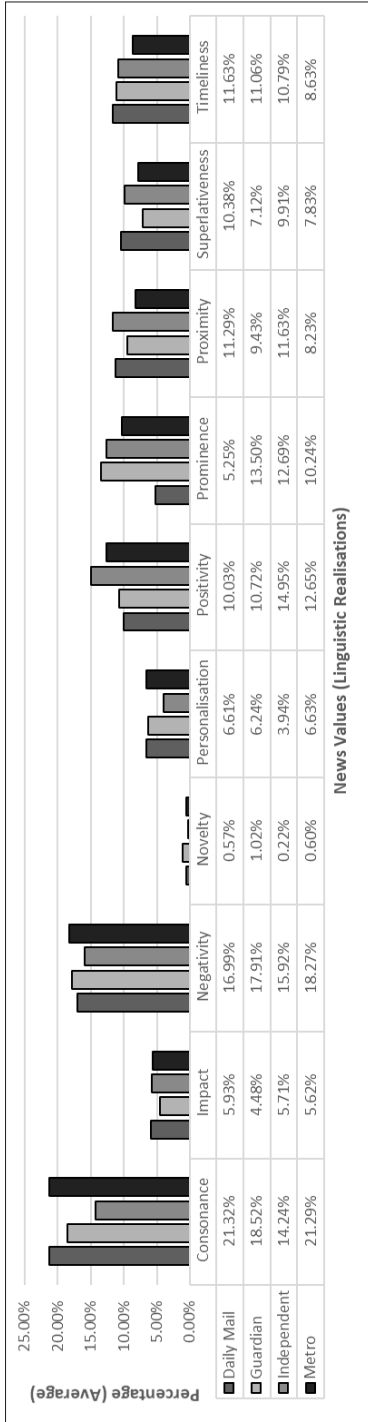
News Values (Linguistic Realisations)	Consonance	Impact	Negativity	Novelty	Personalisation	Positivity	Prominence	Proximity	Superlativeness	Timeliness
Daily Mail	21.32%	5.93%	16.99%	0.57%	6.61%	10.03%	5.25%	11.29%	10.38%	11.63%
Guardian	18.52%	4.48%	17.91%	1.02%	6.24%	10.72%	13.50%	9.43%	7.12%	11.06%
Independent	14.24%	5.71%	15.92%	0.22%	3.94%	14.95%	12.69%	11.63%	9.91%	10.79%
Metro	21.29%	5.62%	18.27%	0.60%	6.63%	12.65%	10.24%	8.23%	7.83%	8.63%

Figure 3. Average frequency (%) of linguistic news values use across publication periods by newspaper

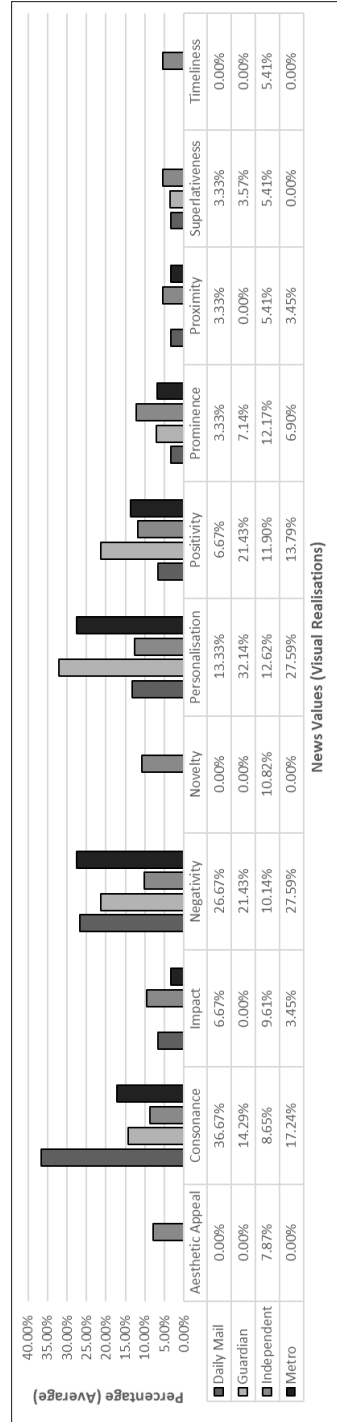| News Values (Visual Realisations)	Aesthetic Appeal	Consonance	Impact	Negativity	Novelty	Personalisation	Positivity	Prominence	Proximity	Superlativeness	Timeliness
Daily Mail	0.00%	36.67%	6.67%	26.67%	0.00%	13.33%	6.67%	3.33%	3.33%	3.33%	0.00%
Guardian	0.00%	14.29%	0.00%	21.43%	0.00%	32.14%	21.43%	7.14%	0.00%	3.57%	0.00%
Independent	7.87%	8.65%	9.61%	10.14%	10.82%	12.62%	11.90%	12.17%	5.41%	5.41%	5.41%
Metro	0.00%	17.24%	3.45%	27.59%	0.00%	27.59%	13.79%	6.90%	3.45%	0.00%	0.00%

Figure 4. Average frequency (%) of visual news values across publication periods by newspaper

Image 1. Visual realisation of Personalisation/Positivity (*The Guardian*, 31st January 2014: 7 / *The Independent*, 17th February 2014: 1)

In image 1, Benjamin (left) is depicted with Neil Laybourn (right), the individual who prevented Benjamin's suicide attempt. Personalisation and Positivity are realised using a close-up shot, which fosters potential intimacy between image participant and onlooker (Bednarek & Caple, 2017). Realisations of these news values are furthered through Benjamin and Laybourn's happy facial expressions and informal clothing, marking their "ordinariness" (ibid.) and making them relatable to the audience.

Of note across Pre-P was the inter-semiotic relationship between Personalisation and Positivity. As example 1 illustrates, the textual data emphasised the difficulties experienced by the male with schizophrenia due to their condition. However, the images predominantly realise Positivity by depicting the same individual smiling. When in conflict (i.e., conveying different emotions), visual input is known to take precedent over linguistic input (see Messaris, 1997). Therefore, the overall realisation in such instances was Positivity. In juxtaposing these two semiotic modes/moods, the article can be seen to humanise mental illness, leading audiences to experience "heightened or developed [...] awareness or sympathy towards the problems of mentally ill people" (Philo, 1996: 99).

In contrast with Pre-P, Post-P1 showed a marked increase in constructions of Consonance, achieved using stereotypes associated with schizophrenia, of which examples 3 and 4 are typical.

3. he decapitated a grandmother (*The Metro*, 24th June 2015: 5).

4. he murdered a young woman in an act of cannibalism (*The Guardian*, 10th November 2014).

Examples 3 and 4 describe murders committed by a male with schizophrenia, Nicholas Salvador (example 3) and Matthew Williams (example 4). Both incidents are described using active behaviour (*decapitated*, *murdered*), constructing Negativity through references to crime. This Negativity was further realised through a combination of verb and noun phrase choices (*decapitated, an act of cannibalism*) that indicate both the severity and the unusual nature of the crime. Consonance was, therefore, realised by drawing upon social stereotypes of the supposed link between violent crime and schizophrenia (Nawka et al., 2012). In doing so, the male with schizophrenia in question was depicted as someone to be feared due to their excessive violence. This stereotype was further reinforced through the visual data, as image 2 below illustrates.

Image 2. Visual realisation of Consonance/Negativity
(*The Daily Mail*, 24th June 2015)

In image 2, Nicholas Salvador is depicted walking down a car-lined street with a machete in one hand and a stick in the other. In a similar manner to the linguistic data, Negativity and Consonance are here realised through the visual representation of a male with schizophrenia committing a crime.

These news values were amplified through the threat of violence that Salvador's weapons imply. The use of a red circle adds to this fear by highlighting the most salient aspect of this image (the machete) and drawing on sociocultural meanings associated with colour to connote danger. Greater facticity was granted to the image using CCTV footage, which increases the truthfulness of the event by representing the crime in action (see Bednarek & Caple, 2012). Images such as this can be seen to intensify the stereotypes associated with male mental health and schizophrenia by solely focusing on the violent and criminal behaviour of the news actor in question.

As in Pre-P, Post-P1 also demonstrated a subtle interaction between Consonance and Personalisation, which example 5 illustrates.

> 5. He should have been in hospital. Every time he came out of prison, we'd go through the same process. He'd be placed in a hostel somewhere with very little supervision and no psychiatric help outside (*The Guardian*, 10th November 2014).

In example 5, the male with schizophrenia's mother discusses her son's mental health history. The details provided in the example personalise the individual in question (Williams) by drawing upon first-hand experiences of someone close to the male with schizophrenia. The details also concern lack of support provided to the male with schizophrenia –note the use of adjuncts (*Every time*; *somewhere*) which indicate the dismissive manner with which the male with schizophrenia was continuously treated. The use of pre-modified noun phrases (*very little supervision*; *no psychiatric help*) further emphasise the limited treatment provided to the male with schizophrenia. All these details combine to create the impression of an individual attempting, unsuccessfully, to self-manage their mental illness, thus seeking to mitigate the blame that may be assigned to the male with schizophrenia for the crime that he has committed (Balfour, 2020).

Further examples across Post-P2 are shown in example 6.

> 6. Daley, 35, killed Mr Lock with a series of blows to his torso, with the four-and-a-half inch hunting knife, including the fatal wound to his neck (*The Independent*, 17th May 2016: 15)

Both examples above discuss a murder committed by an individual with schizophrenia, Michael Daley, and realise Consonance and Negativity. The continuation of the stereotype that an individual with schizophrenia is unduly aggressive is reflected in the use of dynamic verbs (*killed*), which describes the

fatal nature of the attack. However, there are variations in how these attacks are described in comparison to Post-P1. In this publication period, the use of concrete nouns (e.g., *his torso*, *his neck* in example 6) and pre-modified noun phrases (*the four-and-a-half inch hunting knife*, *the fatal wound* in example 6) provide further details about the attack, using modifiers to either indicate the size (*four-and-a-half*) or type (*hunting knife*) of the weapon used. Here, and also across Post-P2, the language used begins to draw upon terms associated with the medical profession (e.g., *torso*), resulting in less sensationalised reporting.

The visual data also supports the construction of Consonance across Post-P2 (see image 3). In image 3, for example, Daley is depicted seated on the ground and surrounded by police officers. Negativity and Consonance are both realised through the presence of law enforcement, thus indicating that a crime has taken place and identifying Daley as the perpetrator. In contrast with Post-P1, Superlativeness is also present in the number of police officers surrounding Daley. While this instance of Superlativeness can imply Daley's threat by demonstrating the effort required to restrain him, the framing of this image mitigates this danger by positioning the police in a more dominant position to Daley and using a long shot to create a safe distance for the image audience.

Image 3. Visual realisation of Consonance across post-
publication period 2 (*The Metro*, 4th May 2016, p. 7)

As in Pre-P, these references to Consonance and Negativity exist alongside realisations of Personalisation and Positivity, albeit at a lower rate. As examples 7 and 8 demonstrate, references are made to Daley's family's difficulty in accessing the appropriate mental health care for him.

> 7. Daley's desperate parents warned doctors at least four times he could kill and begged them to section him - but nothing was done (*The Daily Mail*, 17th May 2016)

> 8. He would go for long runs and that seemed to make him feel a lot better. (*The Daily Mail*, 17th May 2016)

Daley's parent's frustration is indicated using adjectives (*desperate*) and dynamic verbs (*warned*, *begged*), providing an insight into the tensions that they were experiencing and the importance of seeking the appropriate medical care for Daley. Superlativeness is also linguistically realised in this case using a temporal adverbial clause (*at least four times*), which quantifies the number of times that help was unsuccessfully sought. These details exist alongside realisations of person-based Positivity as illustrated in example 8. Here, emphasis is given to the coping strategies used by Daley to manage his mental illness. The attributive adjective (*long run*) and the modifier (*a lot better*) combine to illustrate the positive benefits that exercise was having on Daley's wellbeing whilst also realising Superlativeness by highlighting the extensive efforts Daley went to in order to manage his condition. Thus, by combining Personalisation and Positivity, a sympathetic portrayal of Daley is achieved by an image of him as struggling to self-manage their mental illness while experiencing a lack of professional support.

6. Measuring the impact of mental health guidelines

As explored throughout sections 4 and 5, there is a move across the study period from sympathetic portrayals of males with schizophrenia to those that utilise negative stereotypes. In examining this shift in more depth, it becomes apparent that there is a pattern across the four key news values whereby instances of Personalisation/Positivity decrease as instances of Consonance/Negativity increase and vice versa. This trend appears to suggest that there is less emphasis on contextualising mental illness and incorporating the personal experiences of those with a mental health diagnosis over time in preference for stereotypes and negative reporting.

Given the emphasis in the NUJ guidelines on non-stereotyping and fair reporting of mental illness (see table 1), it seems that the publication of NUJ guidelines had little to no impact on media reporting about mental health. Notably, while the guidelines recommend avoiding links between mental illness and violence, the male with schizophrenia was typically depicted engaging in unprovoked attacks across the post-guidelines publication period. Benjamin (mental health campaigner, 2017, personal correspondence) described this type of portrayal as "the violence myth" as it propagates the misconception that those with a mental illness are dangerous (Angermeyer & Schulze, 2001; Birchwood & Jackson, 2001; Coverdale et al., 2002; Angermeyer et al., 2011; Kalucy et al., 2011; Nawkova et al., 2012), despite contradicting the reality that those with mental illness are more likely to be a victim than a perpetrator of violence (Stuart, 2003, Nawka et al., 2012, Mind, 2017). As such stereotypes solidify the stigmas surrounding those with a mental health diagnosis, it is also possible to argue that the guidance to avoid discriminating against and stigmatising mental illness has also not been fully implemented.

The increase in stigmatising and discriminatory portrayals across the post-guidelines publication period is supported by the increase in Negativity across the study period. In particular, the increased frequency of this news value suggests a greater emphasis on bad news stories (see, e.g., Coverdale et al., 2002; Goulden et al., 2011), reflecting Time to Change's (2017) findings that positive news stories involving schizophrenia remain a rarity in the media.

Finally, while the guidelines recommend that mental health be reported on sensitively, the reduction in Personalisation and Positivity across the post-guidelines publication period appears to suggest that this guidance was not followed. Instead, the use of positive contextual details that are likely to trigger sympathy about (the individual with) schizophrenia decrease in prevalence across Post-P1. Despite an increase once more in Post-P2, these details are in the minority in our dataset. This reduction in Personalisation and Positivity is of note given the role that sympathy has been shown to have in the news writing process. Journalists report seeing themselves as "watchdogs" with "a strong public service orientation in identifying concerns about rights, exposing suffering and injustice, highlighting areas of unmet need, contributing to social and political change, and giving voice to lived experience" of "the most poorly served people in our society" (Holland, 2018: 1772-4). In addition, readership metrics highlight sympathetic stories as those "that people share and linger on" (*ibid.*). However, there is little to no reference to the inclusion of positive, contextual details about the individual with a men-

tal illness in the NUJ's guidelines, preventing their aims from being fully achieved. Indeed, across our data, the majority of recommendations from the NUJ's guidelines have not been adhered to post-publication, suggesting that they may not have been wholly successful in addressing the manner in which males with schizophrenia were discussed in the UK national press.

7. Conclusion

Our study sought to determine the impact of the NUJ guidelines on representations of males with schizophrenia across four UK national newspapers. Our findings have shown that stigmatising portrayals of males with schizophrenia increased across both post-guidelines publication periods with associations between mental illness and violence being a particularly common feature, reinforcing pre-existing stereotypes surrounding this condition. In particular, our study identified an increase in Consonance and Negativity alongside corresponding reductions in Personalisation and Positivity. These findings point towards a greater number of intolerant and inaccurate news stories that incorporated stereotypes about mental illness following the publication of the NUJ guidelines. While a one-to-one correlation between news values and professional guidelines cannot be established, our findings suggest that the NUJ guidelines had a limited effect on negative reporting about males with schizophrenia.

An important finding was identified in the relationship between Personalisation and Positivity, and subsequent feelings of sympathy inspired through the humanising of the male with schizophrenia. The absence of guidance to include positive, personal details in the NUJ guidelines suggest that more precision is required in these guidelines to assist journalists in reporting "on mental health, mental ill health and death by suicide sensitively" (NUJ, 2014: 1).

It is important to note that, as it is the case in case-study research, one cannot make generalisations to reporting as a whole. In our case, the size of this study's data and the types of articles that were collected may have had a substantial impact on the news values that emerged, as news events themselves can influence how news values are operationalised. However, our findings illustrate the importance of studying reporting around mental health –even subtle changes in how those with a mental illness are discussed in news reports can have an influential factor in how these individuals are perceived and, therefore, understood throughout society (Klin & Lemish, 2008).

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