

**International  
Institute of  
Social Studies**

*Erasmus*

**Mental Illness and the Evil Spirit Narrative in  
Ghollywood: The Bane to the Realization of Mental  
Health Sustainable Development Goal in Ghana.**

A Research Paper presented by:

***Eric Amponsah Asadu***

(Ghana)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Human Right, Gender and Conflict Studies**

SJP

Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Shyamika Jayasundara-Smits (Supervisor)

Dr. Otieno Ong'ayo Anthony (Reader)

The Hague, The Netherlands

December 2019

***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

***Inquiries:***

International Institute of Social Studies  
P.O. Box 29776  
2502 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460  
e: [info@iss.nl](mailto:info@iss.nl)  
w: [www.iss.nl](http://www.iss.nl)  
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>  
twitter: [@issnl](https://twitter.com/issnl)

***Location:***

Kortenaerkade 12  
2518 AX The Hague  
The Netherlands

# Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Maps</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Appendices</i>	<i>vi</i>
<i>List of Acronyms</i>	<i>vii</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>viii</i>
<b>Chapter 1 . Mental Illness and The Media Representation</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Research Problem Statement	2
1.3. History and Evolution of Ghana Film Industry	5
1.4. Objectives.	6
1.5. Research questions	6
Main Research Question	6
Sub questions:	7
1.6. Organization of the Discussion in the study	7
<b>Chapter 2 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1. Introduction.	9
2.2. The Influence of Media on the Social Construction of Reality and Media Public Perception of Media Issues	9
2.3. Cultivation and Social Learning Theories	10
2.4. Framing and Representation Theories	11
2.5. Conclusion	13
<b>Chapter 3 . Field Data Collection</b>	<b>14</b>
3.1. Introduction	14
3.2. Data Collection Method	14
3.3. Process of Data Collection	15
3.3.1. Films Producers/Actors/Actress	15
3.3.2. Selection of Movies	17
3.3.3. Selection of Audience	18
3.4. Ethics and Challenges	19
<b>Chapter 4 . Analysis of Movie Producers Motivation in Producing Movies with Mental Illness Scenes.</b>	<b>21</b>
4.1. Introduction	21
4.2. Background to The Selected Movies.	22
4.3. Tapping into Cultural Desire of Viewers to Maximized Profits	24
4.4. Religion	27

4.5 Education Purpose	28
4.6. Conclusion	31
<b>Chapter 5 Consequences of Representation on Mental Illness in Ghana Movies and How Government Should Respond</b>	<b>33</b>
5.1. Introduction	33
5.2. A narrow understanding of Mental Illness	33
5.3. Relegation of Medical Treatment to The Background	35
5.4. Government Regulation of the Movie Industry	37
5.5. NGOs and Religious Institution	38
5.6. Conclusion	40
<b>Chapter 6 . Conclusion and Summary</b>	<b>42</b>
Recommendation	44
<b>References</b>	<b>46</b>

## List of Tables

Table 1 Summary of Sample

**Error! Bookmark not defined.**

## List of Figures

Figure 1.1 Young girls tending cattle

**Error! Bookmark not defined.**

## List of Maps

Map 1.1 Map of Ethiopia

**Error! Bookmark not defined.**

## List of Appendices

Appendix 1

**Error! Bookmark not defined.**

## List of Acronyms

GFA	Ghana Film Association
GFIC	Ghana Film Industry Cooperation
GCFU	Gold Coast Film Unit”
NAFTI	National Film and Television Institute
SDGS	Sustainable Development Goals

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

I need to offer my sincere gratitude to my Supervisor, Dr Shyamica Jayasundara-Smits, whose effort appropriate direction and kind supervision are immeasurable. It empowered me to perform to my fullest potential. Without her guidance and persistent help this research would not have been conceivable.

I equally stretch out my heartiest gratitude to my second reader, Dr. Otienno Ong'ayo Anthony for his useful criticism and comment which prove very useful for this research.

I thank all my friends who contributed for make this research a success.



## **Abstract**

In many West African countries, the conceptualizations of mental illness are still entrenched in the cultural and religion worldview that beliefs in supernatural provenances for numerous health-related problems. Unfortunately, this primitive, worldview preserves it fitting in Ghana in the 21<sup>st</sup> century with great thanks to Ghollywood, the Ghana Film industry. In Ghana movies, mentally ill characters were presented through the evil they have committed. This misconception leads to stigma and discrimination that discourages the individual with mental health problems to seek medical help for fear of discrimination. Therefore, the study examines the underlying factors that contributed or influenced the decisions of movie producers to cast mentally ill characters in their films in the way and manner they are depicted. Also, to bring to the fore of development discourse the implication that such casting of mentally ill have of the realization of the SDGs on mental health in Ghana.

Qualitative data was collected through content analysis, telephone interviews with movie producers and actors as well as semi-structured interviews with Ghanaians living in the Netherlands. The data collected were subjected to an analysis from various theoretical perspectives, which includes social learning, cultivation, framing, and representation theories. The findings show that the movie producer's primary aim is profit as the targeted audience of

movie producers differs from each other. As a result, the producers construct and design their stories to meet the cultural, religious, and traditional expectations of the audience, which will make the movies to be more appealing. Secondly, religion plays a crucial role in casting mental illness in Ghana movie by producers in which some of them are pastors, imams, and other religious leaders. Thirdly, casting mental illness in a negative light in some cases are unintentional, the intention is to use mental illness as deterrence to criminal behaviors and shape the behavior of the public to conform with good societal standard.

However, the representation of mentally ill persons tends to have negative impacts on the way as well as the responses that are given to address mental health in Ghana as a whole. As such, people who suffer from mental health are seen as people who are dangerous, violent, fearful, wrongdoers within the Ghanaian communities. To address the problem it was suggested that the Ghana government need to intervene and regulate the Ghollywood as well as collaborating with religious leaders and faith-based organization to work towards reforms in the Ghallywood.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

The paper is relevant for a number of reasons. First of all, the examination of the effects of the manner through which mental health is portrayed in the Ghanaian movies and the reasons behind this, will help to draw the attention of major stakeholders; including the government, the media, the movie industry, the national media commission etc, in realizing the need to address mental health patients and mental health in general, as critical issue that needs to be addressed within a development scope. In addition, as the way in mental health is portrayed in our local movies tend to some extent infringe the rights of mental health patients and their exclusion in the wider society, as well as limited access to certain public spaces; the paper will help in addressing some of these issues as a whole.

## **Keywords**

Mental illness, Mentally ill, Ghollywood, Ghana, Representation, movies

# Chapter 1 . Mental Illness and The Media Representation

## 1.1. Introduction

The drive to include Mental Health (MH) into the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS) in 2015 signifies a paradigm shift to the way mental illness ought to be treated in the society as well as the determination of the international community not to leave anybody behind in the global agenda 2030 (Mackenzie & Kesner, 2016:9). Despite the declaration of commitment for prioritizing mental health in the development agenda, the realization of adequate treatment and attention to mental health has been riddled with a number of challenges that makes the realization of the agenda 2030 a mirage. Challenges such as funding (Mackenzie & Kesner, 2016:9), inadequate medical professionals that can handle mental health issue (Merwin et al., 2004; Butryn et al., 2017), depiction and undesirable representation of mental ill in the media (Mfoafo-M'Carthy et al., 2016; Wahl and Roth, 1982; Klin and Lemish, 2008; Ampadu, 2012) among others have been documented globally as major obstacles to mental ill accessing required health care and attention.

While funding is the major problem of MH in the developed world, in many West African countries, the conceptualizations of mental illness is still entrenched in the cultural and religion worldview that beliefs in supernatural provenances for numerous health-related problems. Unfortunately, this primitive, worldview preserves it fitting in Ghana in the 21<sup>st</sup> century with great thanks to Nollywood and Ghollywood, the Nigeria and Ghana Film industry (Ampadu,2012, Aina, 2004; Aroyewun–Adekomaiya, 2017). Films are important means that can trigger societal transformation; it is a medium that readily that voluntary serves as a platform for the investigation for social change in various societies (Aroyewun-Adekomaiya, 2017). The undesirable representation of mental illness in films is not limited to the developing countries or global south, it is a universal phenomenon riddled with misinformation, exaggerations, and inaccurate description of the mentally ill (Klin and Lemish, 2008).

The mentally ill are not just represented as abnormal, but also as a dangerous individual. As a result, the media propagate stigma and fallacies (Kiln and Lemish, 2008:434). Despite government film censorship have demonstrated sensitivity towards the use of derogatory

terms (lonney, crazy, moron e.t.c) to depicts mentally ill people, Wahl and Roth posited that habitual representation of mental illness with violence as well as the cause of wrongdoing still dominate the television screen (Wahl and Roth, 1982:600). Without a doubt, there have been some efforts by the authority of the Ghana film industry to adjust certain social orientations through their portrayal in video films of the cultural, political, and social specifics that define the existence of the Ghana people. Therefore, films serve as a catalyst for social change and must not be left alone without proper monitoring of the content because it is now serving as obstacles to the realization of mental health for all.

This thesis focusses on the mental illness and the evil spirit narrative in Ghollywood in the Ghanaian Context. Ghanaians continue to be scared of people with mental illness because of the general misconception being portray by the Ghanaian media. This misconception leads to stigma and discrimination that discourages the individual with mental health problems to seek medical help for fear of discrimination. Ghollywood has become a powerful tool and an effective means of communicating important message(s) to all categories of audience in a language that is appreciated and understood. This feature makes film to stand out as a powerful platform for public awareness and co-operation in a task for nation-building. While several studies have looked into how the Film industry in Ghana and Nigeria represent women and children in a negative way, there is rareness of study on the representation of mental illness as regards the Ghanaian home videos in Ghana. This study intends to explore reasons behind movies producers in Ghana includes mentally ill characters and scenes in their movies, and examine the consequences of such representation of mentally ill persons in the movies have on the responses to mental health Sustainable Development Goals realization in Ghana.

## **1.2. Research Problem Statement**

Ghanaian movies heavily influenced by Nigerian movies that are popular across West Africa even in Europe and America among many families with West Africa descent that subscribed to online outlets and Sky 329 to access the over 1,500 films produced yearly by both Nollywood and Ghollywood (Haynes,2007; BBC,2005). In most cases, it is difficult to differentiate from Nigerian and Ghanaian movies because both films industries cast both Nigerian and Ghanaian actors and actresses together in the same film. In particular, filmmakers from both film industries construction and production of films follow similar pattern and narration that

fuses reality with supernatural and extraterrestrial powers (Eghagha, 2007). However, in the last decade, the Ghana movie industry have witnessed an upsurge in the representation in mentally ill characters in the home videos produced in Ghana (Atilola and Olayiwola, 2011). While in most cases their representations mimic the actual situation on the ground where mentally ill demonstrating stereotypical psychiatric disorders symptoms such as austere schizophrenia working around the street in tattered clothing's. In Ghana movies, characters were presented through the evil they have committed and as a result become "psychotic and are often subjected to mob revenge or mocking, ostracized from the society, lynched, kept in chains at fetish groves or healed through some spiritual encounter" (Apamdu, 2012:9-10).

Media has a complex interrelationship with mental illness because in virtually all the movies produced by Ghollywood, mental illness is a form of reward for evil or punishment for wrongdoing. For instance, out of 103 Yoruba Nigerian movies studied by Atilola and Olayiwola (2013), 27 contained scenes that portrayed mental illness with psychotic symptoms been the most dominant representation, with unorthodox effective treatments as the only panacea. From their findings, "the most commonly depicted etiology of mental illness was sorcery and enchantment by witches and wizards, as well as other supernatural forces" (Atilola and Olayiwola, 2013:442). Also, Aina (2004:23) examines 163 films over the period of three years and came out with similar outcome. Twenty-five of the films examined by Aina contain scenes of mental illness and all the scenes depicted supernatural forces as the causal factor except one that was due to overdose of drug abuse. Similar to Atilola and Olayiwola findings, the most effective form of treatment or healing was represented to emerge from traditional forms of care or magical means. The consequences of these kind of representation of the causal factors as well as panacea to mental illness in Ghana home videos films for the public, in particular with viewers with mental illness is that, the solution to their illness lies with individuals or organizations that have supernatural power since the causal factors is supernatural (Aina, 2004; Atilola and Olayiwola, 2013).

In response to the prevalence of mental health issue in Ghana, the government took a proactive step to address the country mental health by circulating the Mental Health Act 846 making Ghana one of the few Africa countries that have a robust policy that address mental illness (Gberie, 2017:18-19). To some extent, the government effort shows signs of changes in the deleterious discourse on mental illness in the country. Nevertheless, government sponsored media in Ghana continue to use disparaging language to designate this population.

Destructive “descriptor words such as crazy, lunatic, and mentally deranged or mentally challenged continue to surface in both electronic and print media” (Mfoafo-M’Carthy et al., 2016: 197). Regrettably, the usage of such description has a tendency to propagate the stigmatization of mental illness and roll back whatever little progress government efforts has achieved. The problem here is that the government that ought to be in the position of changing behavior of the film industry using its administrative and bureaucratic power (i.e., financial incentives, censorship) to address the problem of misrepresenting mental illness is also culpable of reinforcing the films narratives about mental illness. Empirical evidence shows that Ghana’s Ministry of Health even promote the patronage spiritual and traditional healers that deliver health care because services rendered by these people are more affordable and accessible (Tabi, 2006; Public Agenda, 2008).

However, accessibility and affordability of spiritual healers’ services may not be the only reason for the practice of allowing spiritual leaders to take charge of mental illness in Ghana. According to Pearce (1989), it is naive to think that causal factors of illness is limited to a physical attack on the body, it could as well be as a result of invisible force. This line of thoughts often responsible for the verbalization of the thinking of the majority of West African including health care providers which in many cases in movies, a medical doctor will refer patients to go and resolved the illness with a traditional means as the illness is beyond medical solution but supernatural and divine intervention (Aina, 2004). Aina argued further that, “it is strongly believed that an individual’s wellbeing can be influenced through the subtle manipulation of those agents that constitute his or her psychosocial environment. In line with these beliefs, the perceived major causes of life misfortunes such as ill health (especially mental illness) and death among Africans include the activities of these supernatural agents” (Aina, 2004:23). The supernatural narrative remains dominant as the causal factor to mental illness because in traditional African society, fervent beliefs in the existence and activities and existences of ancestral spirits, witches, magicians, spiritualists, and so on still have influence on the daily lives of people (Aina, 2004; Atilola and Olayiwola, 2013).

The portrayal of mentally ill people by the entertainment industry with negative terms which is often associated with evil spirits and this depiction may impede utilization of mental health care services and this might have grave impact on the ongoing efforts tackle psychiatry stigma in Ghana and the West African region (Atilola and Olayiwola, 2013:442). In other worlds, one might want to argue that the reflection of mental illness in the movie is the

representation of the existence beliefs about mental illness in the society before the emergence of home videos. Nevertheless, it highly germane to unravel the motivation behind movies producers casting of mentally characters in their movies when the movies have nothing to do with mental illness in the first place. However, it is important to first look deep into the historical antecedent of film industry in Ghana

### **1.3. History and Evolution of Ghana Film Industry**

The history of filmmaking in Ghana can be traced as far back as the 1920s when cinemas were opened by individuals in the private sectors for the upper class of the society and the colonial masters (Sakyi 1996; Diawara 1992). However, by the late 1940s, the colonial masters realize that cinemas are more valuable than just an entertainment tool; it could be used to brainwash the local population to the colonial biddings and as a result, decided to create the “Gold Coast Film Unit” (GCFU). The GCFU produced films that include newsreels and government propaganda to influence society, for example, World War II (Diawara 1992: 3) with free open attendance to the public (Sakyi 1996: 9). The World war, the GCFU start to produce films that portray Western culture as a superior and advanced civilized way of life against the backwardness of the African way of life.

The films produced by GCFU emphasized on the need for the local population to abandon "superstitious" customs (Ukadike 1994: 44; Diawara 1992: 3) with the help of the few selected African filmmakers that were trained by GCFU (Middleton–Mends 1995: 1). Immediately after independence, Dr. Nkrumah, the first President of independent Ghana, established Ghana Film Industry Cooperation (GFIC) to reverse the damaging effect of colonial government films on the psyche of average Ghanaian citizens that have been brainwashed that their culture is backward. As a result, several Ghanaians were sent abroad to become professionals by studying filmmaking in order to run the GFIC perfectly. On their return from abroad, they were saddled with the responsibility of producing films that will advance the socio-economic development of Ghana (Diawarra, 1992).

The GCFI was making films to promote the African culture, and by the late 1960s, the GCFI had produced more than 150 features and documentary films (Adjei, 2014:61). The military coup that overthrow Nkrumah in 1966 come with a severe consequence for the booming GCFI and witnessed a decline in the production of films. The outcome of the distribution in the vision of GCFI to use film to propagate the African culture opened a

flood gate of commercial films from Indian, China, and America into the Ghana market (Meyer 2015). However, in the 1980s, Ghollywood emerged as a new cinema industry in Ghana. Individuals began to produce films, using the VHS video cameras. They are creating their own Ghana stories and scripts, assemble actors both amateurs and professionals, and produce successful films, especially in Accra. The decline in GCFI funding gives room to the independent filmmakers whose funding depends on the widespread appeal of the films (Adjei, 2014:61). Some of the popular themes that appeal to viewers are those with darkness and occultism themes placed in a framework of God vs Devil (Meyers, 1999).

In the 1990s the movie industry in Nigeria knowns as Nollywood witness a dramatic rise with the help of technological advancement that led to massive production and distribution of Nigerians movies across West African region, turning Nigeria into an "economic and cultural power in the West African Region" (Garritano 2013:2). Ghana movie producers continue to struggle with the saturation of Nigerian movies that appears to be more appealing to the Ghana audience because the Nigerian movies demonstrate more violent images, which are most of occultic and spirituality (Haynes, 2007:4). The domination of Nigerian films led to the rise of Kumasi-based filmmakers to start producing films in the Akan language instead of English, which was the norm, and incorporated Akan traditions, histories heritage, folk tales, traditions and vernacular stories in the films coming out of Ghana (Aveh 2014). Therefore, countering the folk tales and occultic scenes representing the cultural identity of Nigeria that the Ghanaians audience found fascinating with the Akan version becomes the order of the day.

#### **1.4. Objectives.**

The objectives are to examine the underlying factors that contributed or influenced the decisions of movie makers or film producers to cast mentally ill characters in their films in the way and manner they are depicted. Also, to bring to the fore of development discourse the implication that such casting of mentally ill have of the realization of the SDGs on mental health in Ghana.



## **1.5. Research questions**

### **Main Research Question**

How has the depiction of mental illness by Ghollywood movies contributes or hinder the successful implementation of the Agenda 2030 towards the realization of SDG on mental health in Ghana?

### **Sub questions:**

- 1.What are the underlying factors that influenced the movie/film makers in Ghollywood decision to cast mentally ill characters in movies produced in Ghana?
- 2.What are the consequences of the negative depiction of mental illness in the movies on the Ghana government response to mental illness and the realization of SDG on mental health in the country?
- 3.How best can the government address the negative representation of the mental illness in the Ghanaian society?

## **1.6. Organization of the Discussion in the study**

The paper is organized into five chapters. The first chapter already highlighted the background to the study, the research problem and question, justification of the study and a brief historical analysis of the Ghana film industry. The second chapter discussion is on the process of data collection for the study as well as the theoretical framework. The discussion on data collection focused on selection of movies for the content analysis, justification for the selection of respondents, actors, movies producers, and viewers represented by Ghanaians living in the Netherlands that participated in the semi-structured interviews. In chapter two, the discussion on various theories such as cultivation theory, social learning theory, framing, theory, and representation theory were discussed in details and their application and relevance to the study. Chapter three focus on the answering the research question one that address the underlying factors that motivates movies producers to produce films with mental illness scenes. The Fourth chapter, discuss the consequences and implication for government efforts to ensure that all Ghanaians have access to health care. Besides, how best can the problems could be resolved.

## **Chapter 2 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework**

### **2.1. Introduction.**

A sizable body of empirical studies (Diefenbach and West, 2007; Domino,1983; Signor-  
ielli,1989; Wahl and Yonatan Lefkowitz, 1989; Granello and Pauley,2000;) suggests that the  
negative representation of mentally ill persons in the mass media reinforced the stigmatiza-  
tion of mentally ill people. Explicitly, social learning theory, cultivation theory, and framing  
theory, and representation theory have been used to by various study to examine how the  
media has affected the stigmatization of people suffering from mental illness (Gerbner et al.  
2002; Sieff, 2003; Angermeyer et al. 2005; Bandura, 2009; Parrott and Parrott, 2015). All  
these theories are relevant to the data analysis of the representation of mental illness in the  
Ghollywood movies. And its implication on the realization of the SDG on health for Ghana.  
It helps to give more meaning to the discussion of the research study. The chapter discusses  
the various theories and their relevance to the analysis of the data. This includes the social  
learning theory, cultivation theory, framing theory, and representation theory. However, it is  
important to briefly discuss the effect of media in the construction of social reality, which is  
germane to the understanding of why Ghanaians perceived people with mental health chal-  
lenges.

### **2.2. The Influence of Media on the Social Construction of Reality and Media Public Perception of Media Issues**

When it comes to the issue of social perception, there are two main dimensions that are  
generally considered: the "construction of social reality" or the "social construction of real-  
ity"(Glynn et al., 1995). While the former speaks to the individual cognitive world view, the  
latter was used to describe the system-level social "determination" of perception (Glynn et  
al., 1995). The "social construction of reality" perspective is a common perspective that helps  
in the understanding of the part that media plays in shaping people's perception. As sug-  
gested by Gunther (1998), the convincing media interpretation is a process-oriented ap-  
proach to perceptions of both the public opinion climate and media coverage. It assumes  
that people explore the media milieu for any particular issue that is of interest to them, form

their opinions as regards the media coverage valence, interpret that the news bear a resemblance to what they have personally observed, draw conclusion that the particular media coverage have influence on others, and considered public opinion as consistent to the perceived gradient of the news (Gunther, 1998).

At the level of the public, the media is a purveyor of information that is directed to the public. The media presents stories and issues as a mediated experience. The experiences presented in the media come to the awareness of the public through the reports of those who experience the elements of the issues. Therefore, I looked into the roles of the media and how it is associated with public perception. Perception is a useful construct to interrogate the effect of specific triggers studies by Fischhoff and Scheufele, (2013): Kahn, (2015) point to how the formation of public opinions continues to unfold because of the power of the media. McCombs (2005) noted that the news media is the principal source of information for the general public. In shaping public perception, the media has been identified in the coverage of issues to play the role of framing issues (De-Vreese and Kandyla, 2009; Keum et al., 2005; Davenport, 2015; Voss, 2018), the role of narratives in coverage (Nisbet, 2009; Mayer 2012:2014) and the “production, reproduction and transformation of meaning” (Cavarlho, 2010).

### **2.3. Cultivation and Social Learning Theories**

Cultivation theory is used in this study as a tool to examine the longstanding effects of home videos on the Ghanaians perspective on mental illness in the country. Cultivation theory proposes that the continual, unrepresentative, and prejudiced media coverage that presents undesirable and erroneous pictures of mentally ill people encourages damaging stereotypes of mental illness (Angermeyer et al., 2005; Granello and Pauley, 2000). According to Riddle (2009), "the primary proposition of cultivation theory states that the more time people spend living in the television world, the more likely they are to believe social reality aligns with reality portrayed on television" (Riddle, 2009:3). This means that people who spend much time watching TV, in the case Ghana home videos are likely to assume a worldview as regard mental illness based on the way it was dominantly presented on the TV (Gerbner et al. 2002) because of the impact of exposing people to images "over and over again" (Shanahan and Morgan, 1999: 1).

In addition to the cultivation theory, the social learning theory was adopted to corroborates the analysis of data in chapter 4 and 5 of this study. The social learning theory suggests learning is beyond experiences that individual pass through directly in their day to day activities, learning can also be achieved through observation. As posited by Bandura (2009), people gain knowledge about behaviors and social norms from television programs that reinforced social conventions such as how to interact with or treat people that are suffering psychiatric disorders (Bandura, 2009). Social learning theory has been used to discovered substantial connections between watching violent television programs and aggressive behaviors (Paik and Comstock, 1994; Markey et al., 2012). It has also been used to discover how cinematic documentaries and movies have impacted positively on the social change in perspective (Penn et al., 2003; Dabyshire and Baker,2012). The implication is that media can both be used positively and negatively in the construction of the general public perception about mental illness.

## **2.4. Framing and Representation Theories**

The concept of framing is also used to analyses how Ghana movies producer adopted a unison pattern of ignoring the specific aspect of mental illness but predominantly emphasized the aspect they want the society to hold onto as the causal factor of mental illness. Jasperson et al. (1998) pose the question of how does the public gets information about issues and policy alternatives? This question was underlined by the observation that the media is primed to shape the attitudes of the public. They, therefore, posit that the answers lie in the setting of the agenda. The media considers that specific issues have more priority than others. McCombs & Estrada (1997) opined that:

"How news frames affect public opinion is the emerging second-level of agenda-setting. The first level is the transmission of the object salience. The second level is the transmission of attribute salience refers to the multiple way's political elites or media sources can choose to shape the presentation of issues; as such, the second level of agenda-setting implicitly draws upon theories of media framing" (McCombs & Estrada, 1997: 240).

The statement above has some implications. Firstly, news issues are presented in frames. A frame is defined as an organizer of experience and tools for understanding (Ziem, 2014). Those frames guide the narratives and meanings that can be extracted from the text. This frame consists of first the salient issues and the salient attributes of the issue. Hence, the

coverage of an issue serves a purpose. It orients the reader to the issue deemed important, and the attributes of the issues deemed necessary by the media from this understanding. Framing is, therefore, an essential tool used by media to shape the public understanding of mental illness in Ghana. The effectiveness and power of framing are not embedded in "what you say; it's how you say it" (Rathje, 2017).

As discussed earlier, there are many underlying factors that contributed to mental illness as well as individuals suffering from different forms of mental illness. Schwalbe (2006) argued that, "the media can subtly but powerfully shape public perceptions and opinion by how they frame a story. However, the framing has two dimensions, media frames (how the media present the news) and audience frames (how views and readers understand and react to those frames)" (Schwalbe 2006: 268). Framing will help us to make sense of why causes such as drug/alcohol abuse, stress, anxiety disorder among others causes appear less or did not often feature in the movie's frames in Ghana in comparison with the frames and images of Schizophrenia as the only form of mental illness in the society with causal factor deeply embedded in supernatural power. Framing is so useful since it is a exploratory, or mental shortcut because by nature, human beings are "cognitive misers," and will not want to engage in prolong thinking and therefore will prefer to do minimal thinking as possible (Fiske and Taylor, 1991).

Fiske and Taylor maintained that the frames offer people the most comfortable and quickest technique to process the information before them. As a result, people use their mental filter to add up and apply meaning to the incoming messages (Fiske and Taylor, 1991). This accorded the framer and sender of the information massive power to use intended frames and representations to impact how those receiving the messages will interpret them (Entman, 1993). Basically, the usefulness of the framing theory is that it explains how an issue or something, in this case, mental illness, is presented to the public plays a crucial role in influencing how people choose to process information.

Closely related to framing is the concept of representation, which focuses on how do people make sense of what is being depicted on cinema about mentally ill people and their stake in reproducing certain representations by the media. It will also help explains how specific social relations on power matter and shape their engagement, meaning-making, and action towards mentally ill people in Ghana. Representation is a central fragment of the construction of a story, as hypothesized by Hall (1997). Hall argued that "representation is an essential part of

the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture. It does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent things"(Hall, 1997:15).

## **2.5. Conclusion**

The shaping of public opinions and perception, therefore, follows a pathway in the observable setting of agenda through the pathways of language usage by the media; these threefold roles are played out. In framing issues, the media selectively covers issues; it is the position or viewpoint from which a news story is communicated. The narrative refers to the structure of relaying the issues, the characterization of elements, and the direction of the issue. Through the production and reproduction, and transformation of meaning, the media is engaged in meaning-making disruption and transformation of identities of elements in a narrative. These roles are delimited to public perception and shall form the basis for the analysis of the theoretical, conceptual, and empirical literature of the current research.

## **Chapter 3 . Field Data Collection**

### **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter discusses the process of the data collection and the theoretical framework adopted to analyse the data collected through the qualitative methodological approach. The social learning theory, cultivation theory, and framing theory, and representation theory were used to make sense of the data collected from the study. The first part of the chapter focusses on the methodology that includes the justification for the choice of content analysis, telephone and semi-structured interviews, the sample selection procedures, ethical considerations, and challenges encountered during the process of data collection.

### **3.2. Data Collection Method**

The study adopted content analysis, telephone, and semi-structure interviews as the method of data collection. It was done for the basis of the analysis of Ghanaian movies on how mental illness was depicted by conducting interviews for moviemakers, actors and actresses, and Ghanaians in Diaspora. As suggested by Holsti (1969), the content analysis approach helps in concluding by objectively and methodically picking out features of a message. Holsti described fifteen different ways that content analysis can be used and categorized them into three main categories. These categories can be used to make inferences about the backgrounds of a communication, define and make interpretations about the physiognomies of communication, and make extrapolations about the effects of communication. However, Holsti argued that the uses of these categories should be applied in the context of the original communication paradigm. Similarly, Haller (2010) emphasizes one of the best tools for media research content analysis. She maintained content analysis will help the researcher to understand who say what, through which channel, and to whom, in particular the effect of what is being said. In other words, the movies producers in line with Haller's argument is who, the movie is the channel, the what is the how mental illness was represented in the movie, the viewers are the whom, and the effect is the understanding of the representation of mental illness by the viewers. Content analysis can either be qualitative or quantitative or both (Haller, 2010). However, the qualitative aspect of the representation of mentally ill person in the Ghana movies is what I adopted in this study. This is because qualitative content analysis is more suitable as it deals with analyzing hidden contents which includes but not limited to

the implications that the use of stereotypical images of mentally ill persons in the Ghanaian home videos.

If possible, I would have opted for a face-to-face interview. Nonetheless, a telephone interview works perfectly for this research and proved as a practical substitute to face-to-face interviews, most notably when the targeted respondents are elites (Stephens, 2007:203). In reality, telephone interviews enable the researcher to involve respondents from any part of the country that the research is being carried out (Musselwhite et al., 2007).

The telephone interviews are essential because they help in exploring and understanding the different beliefs and attitudes towards people suffering from mental illness to generate needed data to answer the research questions that seek to unravel the motivation behind the characterization of mentally ill persons in the Ghanaian movies the way they are habitually represented. It will also help to understand whether or not movie producers undergo any research before they make a decision to cast mentally ill persons in their movies. In particular, if they are aware of any consequences that their decisions might have created for the awareness of mental illness in Ghana. As emphasized by Knox and Bukard (2009), telephone interviews have many benefits. For example, the ability to cast this broader net while speaking to people in many parts of a vast country and this established quite attractive...[and] an efficient and economical way to capture the experiences of non-local participants" (Knox and Bukard, 2009:4-5). This approach is more suitable for the tight schedule of actors and actresses, and the moviemakers are always busy moving from one film location to another for months. Besides, it addresses the challenges of not honoring a face-to-face interview that might arise from not honoring appointments or last-minute cancellations. Moreover, the telephone interviews can be conducted at any time of the day at any place which makes telephone interviews to be more economical and still gives the interviewee the opportunity to demand for their identity to be hidden if they opted to remain anonymous (Hill et al., 1997; Hill et al., 2005).

### **3.3. Process of Data Collection**

#### **3.3.1. Films Producers/Actors/Actress**

In the selection of the moviemakers, actors, and actresses, the purposive sampling technique was adopted because they possess vital information to answer the proposed research questions for this study. Purposive sampling was used in the selection of the movie producers,



actors, and actresses because it is a process that helps in getting information that could not be acquired elsewhere unless from specific set of people that have direct experience of a particular events or issues (Maxwell, 1996). Ghanaian movie producers and actors/actresses' websites were searched online, and contact was made through messages via SMS and WhatsApp to the listed telephone numbers on their websites. Also, direct messages were sent to their personal and official Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram accounts to secure their consent in participating in the study. I targeted movie producers who had produced ten or more movies with at least two or more depictions of Mental illness in the film's characters. The reason for these criteria is because those with ten movies under their belt would be in an informed position to give concrete explanations for casting Mental illness characters in their movies.

A preliminary list of 50 producers and 100 actors were drawn from the internet. The list of producers was narrow down to 20 after extensive background checks to meet the selection criteria of a minimum of ten films produced, and at least two should have a scene of mental illness. To determine if the films have scenes of mental illness, I assess the synopsis of each film as well as film critics review under each of the 20 producers produced films. This approach saves me the stress of watching hundreds of movies to determine which one suits the purpose of the research. The 20 producers were contacted via text messages, 12 of them responded, and eight did not acknowledge receiving the message. Out of the 12 that responded, only four agree to participate in the study. The same process was repeated for the actors and actresses; only 25 responded to the message sent to them via WhatsApp, Instagram, Twitter. However, only 6 of them agree to participate in the study. The message was explicit in the demand of "you must have acted in a movie with mental illness scene or as a character of a mentally ill person in a movie." This might be the reason for the low response rate of the actors and actress that were contacted.

In total, four producers and 6 actors and actresses were selected for the study. Although efforts were made to have interviews with producers and actors/actresses on some of the films that were eventually selected for the analysis of this study, none of the producers that eventually agree to participate have their films selected for the content analysis. The reason for this is that, none of their films video clips can be found online, it is only available on DVDs in local stores in Ghana. Also, only one actor that acted the mentally ill character in one of the films selected show interest in participating in the study, the other 3 actors and

actress that were interviewed acted in different films that were not selected for the content analysis. However, not getting producers and actors that acted in the movies selected did not invalidate the data collected from producers and actors of films not selected. The most important consideration is they are film producers and actors, and they have either acted in films that depicted mental illness or acted the mentally ill character.

### 3.3.2. Selection of Movies

The selection of films was made through multiple channels with the Google search as the primary source of the movies with mentally ill characters for the purpose of the content analysis. The word "mad and Ghanaian movies" and "Mental illness and Ghollywood" were typed into Google as well as YouTube and other Online movie platforms. I also posted a request to suggest Ghanaian films with mental illness characterization on my social media accounts timelines (Facebook, Instagram, Twitter) and on different Ghanaians WhatsApp groups that I belong to, such as Ghanaians in the Netherlands WhatsApp group. The online search and request on social media account timelines yielded 113 movie suggestions. Although I have watched some of the movies suggested before, the vast majority of the movies I have no idea they exist. The 113 movies were narrow down to those that can be accessed freely online, which eventually reduced the number of movies under consideration to 46. All the 46 movies found online were reviewed to determine if they meet the selection criteria for the study. Table 1 below shows the films selected and the reasons for selecting them.

Table 1: Selection of Movies for Content Analysis

Year of Release	2018	2018	2013	2011	2003
<b>Movie Title</b>	Desperate Boys (1-5)	Sika Mu Sakawa	Letter to My Mother	Soul of Love	Emergency Wedding
<b>Producer</b>	Socrate Safo	Samuel Nyamekye	Kafui Danku	Rev Isaac Aidoo	Adil Williams
<b>Minutes of Mental Health scenes</b>	15 minutes	5 Minutes	30 minutes		45 Minutes
<b>Representation</b>	<b>Paranoid schizophrenia</b>	<b>Paranoid schizophrenia</b>	Post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD)	<b>Paranoid schizophrenia</b>	<b>Paranoid schizophrenia</b>
<b>Cause</b>	Instructed by Native doctor to pretend to be mad in the public as a requisite for money ritual	Enter a money ritual room by mistake	Loss of Mother and Betrayal by wife and best friend	Rival Step-Mother visited witch doctor	Rival wife approach witchdoctor
<b>Solution</b>	End to pretense after completing the ritual task	Church deliverance	Mental health hospital	Church deliverance	The Juju/Black magic backfire on the junior

Source: Author

Only movies that were produced between year 2002 and 2019 were considered, and the movie must have a minimum of 5 minutes screen time that was used to represent mental illness. Most especially, the movies must be accessible online for a review. Movies produced from 2002 onwards were selected because it was ten years to the passage of the “Ghana Mental Health Act in 2012”, and it will allow me to see if there is any difference in movies that were produced before and after the passage of the Act. Besides, the movie must show the cause and cure to the mental illness, movies that only depicted the cause of mental illness without the cure were not selected. The reason for sticking to the criteria of cause and cure is due to the objective of the study that seeks to understand the implication of negative representation of mental illness on the realization of Sustainable Development Goal Agenda 2030 on Health for All. Understanding how the Ghana movies are representing the cure to a mentally ill person is very crucial in ensuring all mentally ill persons have access to requisite healthcare.

### **3.3.3. Selection of Audience**

Ghanaians residing in the Netherlands were selected for interview to understand whether the Ghana movies representation of mentally ill person shape the opinions of viewers or not. In particular, if the depiction of the mental illness characters in the Ghana movies is the actual representation of the initial perception of the viewers about mental illness, which is deeply rooted in the social construction of the mentally ill person. The respondents were selected through Ghanaians Residing in Netherlands WhatsApp and Facebook groups, and among fellow Ghanaians students in the International Institutes of Social Studies in the Hague. The selection was made at random; 75 potential respondents were contacted; only ten responded to be interested in the study. It is important to note that while interviewing diaspora whom might have acculturated to the Dutch perception of mental illnesses which is different from that of Ghana can affect the responses of the respondents to be one sided, I ensure that I included new arrived students that have spent less than one month in Netherlands in the sample selection. Out of the 10 Ghanaians in the Netherlands that I selected, five of them are students that arrived in September for their Masters studies in Delft, Rotterdam, and The Hague. As a result, they were able to give the most recent understanding about mental illness perception in Ghana due to the representation of the home videos.

Table 2: Summary of Sample and Purpose of Selection

Respondents	Number	Method of Data Collection	Purpose
Film Producers	4	Telephone Interviews	To Understand the underlying factors that influenced the movie/film makers in Ghollywood decision to cast mentally ill characters in their movies?
Actors	4	Telephone Interviews	Perception about Mentally ill Representation in movies
Actress	2	Telephone Interviews	Perception about Mentally ill Representation in movies
Ghanaians in Diaspora	10	Semi-Structure Interviews	How best can the government address the negative representation of the mental illness in the Ghanaian society.
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>		

Source: Author

### 3.4. Ethics and Challenges

Confidentiality and making sure that all the respondents gave their consent to be interviewed and recorded was a priority during the data collection process. I ensure that all the selected respondents (actors and Ghanaians diaspora) are individuals that are above the age of 18 years old that are capable of making decisions on their own without the need to secure consent from their parents and guardians. Besides, a researcher needs to be aware of his/her own bias in order to be objective throughout the data collection process (Smith, 1990; Phillips 1990). This includes being aware of his/her values, beliefs, and biases, which could have a direct influence on the outcome of the research (Smith, 1990). I struggle to come to terms that I am doing research that questions some of the long-age beliefs.

For example, I am a Christian with a Pentecostal background that believes in the supernatural power of God and the existence of evil and that people with evil power can afflict their enemies with various kind diseases, mental illness inclusive. On the other hand, I believe that not all diseases or mental illnesses are triggered by extraterrestrial factors, my academic exposure has made me realize that there are different types of mental illness and various factors

that are responsible for such occurrence in an individual. I was able to deal with my biases on the subject of research, becoming an unbeliever for a moment to be able to see different themes that can be derived from the data collected as well as the content analysis of the movies selected. Without jettison the religious and cultural belief for the moment of interpreting the data, some of the themes that came up from the analysis that appears to be against my religious and cultural beliefs would not have emerged. In general, the identity of all the respondents (movie makers, actors, actresses, diasporas) was given pseudonyms. The reason for this is because some of the moviemakers and actors made mention of their concerns about upsetting their sponsors. Moreover, some viewers might question their future work if they say something contrary to their beliefs.

However, the main challenge encountered during the process of data collection is the accessibility of the movies online. Many movies would have been perfect for the content analysis based on the review of the synopsis and the description from those that have watched the movies. Some of the movies were found on sites that I have to pay membership and yearly subscription fees that range from \$100 to \$150 before accessing the movies. It is not even a guarantee that I will be able to access all the films that I needed to review in a single site, that means I would have to pay to different sites on multiple occasion to be able to access the limited movies that fit the selection criteria. Therefore, I was limited to only movies that can be accessed freely on YouTube and IROKKing.com basis user subscriptions.

Also, there was a challenge to get the actors and actresses interviewed despite given their consent, and the schedule for interviews have been fixed. The reason was that they spent time shooting movies in rural areas with low network coverage, some are leading the political campaign for one of the Ghallywood actors running for a political post, and some other reasons which were as a result of force majeure. Many of them canceled at the last minute to reschedule for another time. It took me 13 weeks to completes all the ten interviews for the producers, actors, and actresses.

# Chapter 4 . Analysis of Movie Producers Motivation in Producing Movies with Mental Illness Scenes.

## 4.1. Introduction

The motivation behind the representation of mental illness in Ghana movies is the main crux of this chapter. The chapter examines the factors behind Ghana movie producers for casting scenes of mental illness in their movie's stories. Four movie producers and six actors and actresses were interviewed, and three primary themes came out of the findings. Table 4 below shows the demography profile of the movie producers.

Table 3: Demography Profile of Movie Producers

Movie Producer (MoP)	MoP1	MoP2	MoP3	MoP4
<b>Numbers of years in the Industry</b>	27	20	12	10
<b>Numbers of Movies Produced</b>	30	27	17	14
<b>Number of Movies with Mental Illness scenes</b>	10	3	7	5
<b>Religion</b>	Christianity	Christianity	Muslim	Christianity
<b>Ethnicity</b>	Akan	Ashanti	Hausa	Akan
<b>Predominant Language of Movie Production</b>	Twi	English	Hausa	Twi

Source: Author

The movie producers that were interviewed for this study have a total number of 88 movies accredited to their names, in which 35(approximately 40%) of the movies have scenes of mental illness. They were asked various questions to understand the motive behind their decisions to represent mental illness in the ways they do in the movies they produced (See list of questions attached in Appendices). Themes such as maximizing profit by fulfilling the cultural and traditional of targeted viewing audience, to discourage the public against social vices behaviors and to educate the audience on the consequences of doing evil such as money rituals; and most importantly to promote the supremacy of God over evil are the primary reasons movie producers produced movies with mental illness scenes. However, before going into the analysis of the motivation behind movie producer’s representation of mental

illness in movies, it is important to briefly describe how the five selected movies for this study represented mentally illness.

## 4.2. Background to The Selected Movies.

The first movie that was reviewed is the "Desperate Boys". It was one of the most popular movies in 2018/2019 in Ghana. The film was so popular to the extent that the producer of the movie turned it into a miniseries from Part 1 to 5. The background story centers on a group of young men involved in "Sakawa (internet scam combined with money rituals) in order to escape poverty and live an extravagant lifestyle spending lavishly on girls, gold chain, mansions, and luxurious cars. The movie was current and timely towards the era that there was internet crime on the rise in Ghana. Each of the 5 parts of the film running screen time was not less than 2 hours. While in part 1 to 4 of the movie, the consequences of engaging in Sakawa was the affliction of a strange disease that could not be cured by Western medicine unless by spiritual means. In part 5 of the movie, one of the boys was directed by the witchdoctor consulting for them to disguise as a mentally ill person and spend the whole day walking the street. *"You will have to behave like a mad man; the more people look at your display of madness, the more the whole world will see your riches"*, said the witchdoctor to the boy. The boy drove his car to a spot near to the market place, change his clothes to tattered one, and walk to the center of the street displaying symptoms of chronic schizophrenia. After 15 minutes of display of mental illness, he went back to his car and changed his clothes then drove off.

Sika mu Sakawa is an Akan movie. The word Sika mu sakawa means "money earned via money rituals," The movie is about a young man named Among, who has the family obligation of taking care of the financial needs of his mother and two sisters since. The pressure continues to mount on Among, particularly when he lost his job. He ends up to kill one of his sisters for money ritual, then used his wife to renew the potency of the ritual. He was about to use his mother again as instructed by the Demonic spirit when his other sister mistakenly entered the forbidden room in the house. She immediately starts the display of insanity, and she was rushed to the church where she was healed. Among was also delivered from the demonic spirit.

Table 4: Summary Background of Reviewed Movies

Movie	Desperate Boys	Letter to My Mother	Sika Mu Sakawa	Emergency Wedding	Soul for Love
Language	Akan	English	Akan	English	English
Character Status	Major	Major	Minor	Major	Major
Themes	Culture, Religion, Education	Education	Culture, Religion, Education	Culture, Religion, Education	Culture, Religion, Education
Representation of Character Behavior	Dirty, Unkempt, Violent	Clean, peaceful, noncommunicative, Quiet	Incoherent speech, Peaceful	Dirty, Incoherent speech, hostile when threatened	Incoherent speech, hostile
Gender	Male	Male	Female	Female	Female
Profession Before Illness	Cyber Crime	Business Man	Student	Human Resources	Doctor of Medicine
Character Circumstances	Homeless	Mental Health Hospital	Functional Home	Homeless	Homeless

Source: Author

Soul for Love is about the story of John, who is a medical doctor that was envied by his stepmother because her son is not as successful him. The stepmother placed a curse on John with the charms she got from a spiritualist, and John starts to display insanity. His wife was busy moving from one church to the other, falling into the hands of scammers but eventually find salvation and healing for her husband after meeting a genuine pastor that prayed for John, and he was cured of his insanity.

Letter to my mother's main character Mike was a mental patient that in five years did not uttered a word while the psychiatrist attempts to unearth the root of his mental illness. The movie started with a reputable and decorated psychiatrist scene on a journey based on an invite to consult in the perplexing case of a dangerous prisoner, imprisoned for committing an appalling crime. The patient/prisoner that has not spoken a word in 5 years and does nothing but scribble on anything he can get his hands on. After two years of treating Mike, the physiatrist was about given up until he deciphers the incoherent scribblings as letters that Mike writes to his mother. Thus, begins the unraveling of the tale, told in flashbacks of what transpired. It was later revealed that the main reason Mike mothers refuse his marriage intention to his fiancé that they came back from overseas together is that the mother knew his fiancé bad past, and mike later caught his intended wife in bed with his bed friend. He was shocked and lost his mind and killed his fiancé and his best friend. The characterization of



mental illness in the movie is an emotional disturbance, post-traumatic stress disorder, and the cure is clinical medical treatment.

Emergency wedding, part one and part two, the characterization of mental illness started at the end of part one, and it was run for 45 minutes out of the 1hr, 25 minutes of part two of the movie. The story is about a married couple with two children living a peaceful life until the husband (Odili) lost his job, and the wife (Joy) took over the position of the family breadwinner. Odili's friend Chimma offered Odili the opportunity to partner in a 5-million-naira deal, but Odili will need to raise 500 000 nairas. The quest of Odili to raise the money led her to Stella, a rich lady that offers to give him the money only if he is ready to marry her. However, Stella did not want any stone unturned; she visited a shrine of a witch doctor to help her do something that will make Odili dislike Joy because he is hesitating in accepting Stella's marriage proposal. The witchdoctor suggested to Stella, "*can't we make her run mad, the moment she becomes mad, definitely Odili will leave her*". Joy's became insane and her insanity was eventually cured after the death of Stella's through divine powers

Media representations are how the media depicts certain groups, societies, ideas, topics, and experiences from a particular value or ideological standpoint (Hall, 1997). In all the five movies stated above, it can be seen that only the letter to my mothers have a different narration, others framed mental illness as an abnormal and rejected behavior caused by evil doers through black magic, juju, witchcraft, and sorcery. Various studies (Weaver, 2007; Scheufele, & Tewksbury, 2006; Maher, 2001) have shown that frames are constructs that work to structure or organize the meaning of a message. The frames from the four of the five movies was intentional as to communicate punishment, and deterrence. The message is simple, "do bad things, and suffered mental illness". While frames are commonly used in the news or media place, they are assumed to significantly influence the audience perception of the news. Therefore, it could as well be interpreted as a procedure for second-level agenda-setting because they don't just inform the audience of what to think, they also influence the audience of how to think about the issue. This was evident in the analysis of the data collected from movies producers, actors and actresses as well as viewers that I will discuss in details in this chapter and the next one.

### 4.3. Tapping into Cultural Desire of Viewers to Maximized Profits

The information gathered from the movie's producers during the interviews was that the first thing many most movie producers, if not all, consider when producing a film is profit. It does not matter what type of character they need to represent in the movie; the main thing is that the story must have the potential of appealing to the targeted audience and market. MoP1, who has produced 30 movies in which ten of them have scenes and characters of a mentally ill person in the space of 20 years, said that he produced movies based on the cultural and societal moral standard and expectation. His targeted audience are mostly in the rural areas, and that was the reason 90% of his movies were produced with the indigenous language Twi or a mixture of Twi and Pidgin. MoP1 maintained that the audience must be able to connect with the scenes in the movie as the reality of the society. The moment they start saying the story you are telling is not possible to occur in society, then the chance of the movie bringing enough profits is very slim. He gives examples to back his thought;

"When you watch Chinese, Indian, and American films, you see that they represent what is going on in their society. For example, scenes of teenagers having a boyfriend or questioning their parents are common in American movies. I cannot imagine producing a movie with that kind of representation; I will not make a profit because such a thing is not common in Ghanaian societies. So, when I get the scripts, for example, on money rituals, what I look for is, does the story reflect the reality in the society. The reality of the society is that when you engage in money rituals, the consequence is either a miserable death or you run mad, anything short of that means your movie will not sell" (MoP1, Interview, August 2019).

As suggested by Mahmmod (2013), movie content has always been regulated by social dynamics. Mahmood argued that from action-thriller to emotional drama to floss romance cinema derives its sustenance, imaginations, and ideas from its environs. As a result, the "images cinema creates, a surreal or tangled wave of deceit, need to be in sync with societal aspirations and basic urge of humanity to recreate and have fun and entertainment" (Mahmmod, 2013:77). When the moviemakers were asked if they truly believe that the consequences of money ritual and other social vices are insanity as represented in some of their movies, MoP 3 replied that;

"This is not about what I believe in; it is about what the audience that will buy our movies believed in. We are not in the US where science fiction, and superhero movies are breaking the box office. If the targeted audience cultural belief is that the consequences of money ritual or evil are insanity or mysterious death, then to maximize profit, your films must accommodate cultural components that the audience can relate with" (MoP 3, Interview September 2019)

The account of the movie producers did not buttress the argument of Philo et al. (1994) that people heartily absorb what the media tell them. Rather, it supports the argument of Bolton (2000) and Salter and Bryne (2000) that the media are only reflecting what is already in the society. From the movie producers' account of the reasons behind casting mental illness in their movies, it was evident that they are capitalizing on the desire of the audience to see films that epitomized cultural with social norms and reality components. Other movie producers also share the same opinion about producing movies that meet the cultural beliefs of their targeted audience if they want to maximize their profit earnings. MoP2, who has produced 27 movies with only 3 with mental illness scenes, said that the audience a producer is targeting determines the type of story the producer sells to them. MoP 2 explains how some of his fans on social media were bombarding him with the suggestion that if he wants his movies to gain National attention and popularity he needs to start producing films that will strike a chord with the traditional norms and beliefs and not the one that appears to be copycat of Western films. He produced his first movie with a mentally ill character two years ago. He explains further;

"Do not forget movie producers themselves are members of society, and many of us write stories based on our daily experiences. We have fans, friends, brothers, sisters, and other extended family members that give feedbacks on our work. I don't usually cast mental illness in my movies because most of my stories are on Love, hard work, corruption, and bad governance. Nevertheless, two years ago, I decided to produce a Sakawa movie where the consequence is a mental illness in the Twi language with English language subtitles; I can tell you that the Sakawa movie was the most profitable movie I have ever produced". (MoP 2, Interview, September 2019)

It without a doubt from the various account of the movie producers that they themselves might not believe in the representation of mentally ill persons negatively. However, they were driven by the concern about how their films will be rated in terms of representation of cultural and traditional beliefs. The more accepted the films are to the public, the more money

they make in producing the movies. Various scholars have argued that films are cultural relics formed by specific cultures as a reflection of the cultures that created them to articulate social consciousness and in turn, affect them (Crane, 2014; Ugbam et al., 2014; Ogunleye, 2014). Many African films are classified by the audience as "foreigners in their own countries" because the moviemakers show less concern about cultural preservation and authenticity (Garritano, 2008). There have been calls for African moviemakers to increase their efforts in taking advantage of their cultural resources, instead of introducing the "valueless" characteristics of the Western values cultures (Ugbam et al., 2014). According to Ugbam et al. (2014), losing one's culture is synonymous to losing one's identity', Besides, it is like cutting off a society from its roots, even though, it might appear that the society is thriving, it will eventually wither like flowers cut in a vase (Ugbam et al., 2014). However, what Ugbam and others failed to realize is that African culture is not faultless, and besides, culture is not static. Therefore, it can change and evolved to eradicate some of the negative aspects of the culture that can hinder development. Films, especially the home videos, play a significant role in changing social behaviors through repetitive production of movies with specific messages. Unfortunately, the evidence from this study did not suggest that not all movie producers are motivated by the preservation of cultural and traditional values in the production of their movies; they are driven by profit which make them to have certain character such as mentally ill person in their casting. In order to cut down the cost of production, many Ghana producers wrote the scripts, directed the films, and even acted in the film at the same-time (Agorde, 2006:72).

#### **4.4. Religion**

Another factor that is responsible for the negative characterization of mental illness in Ghana movie is the influence of religion and religious bodies that seek to promote the gospel to the public through the home videos. It was gathered from the interviews with movie producers and actors and actresses that well-to-do pastors and imams in most cases act as sponsors of most of the films that have a mental illness to demonstrate the power of God as the solution to all afflictions. MoP4 shared his experience on how he altered the scripts of 3 of the movies he produced to accommodate mental illness scenes with a supernatural and divine solution so that he can get financial support to produce his movies;

"Seven years ago, I was struggling to get funds to shoot one of my movies, after like 6 months a friend of mine look at the script and said to me to change the punishment for the main antagonist of the scripts from going to jail to running mad, and the breakthrough for the protagonist to come from visitation to a church where he was asked to fast and pray. We rewrote the scripts then we took it to one of the renown pastors in the region, after going through the script, the pastor gave us half of the money needed for production. It is a win-win situation, I produced my movie, and the pastor church gets publicity while promoting the gospel because we used his church in about five scenes" (MoP4, Interview, September 2019).

The experience of MoP4, as highlighted above, explains why the causes and solutions to mental illness in three of the five movies that I reviewed for this study; Sika mu Sakawa (2018), Soul for Love (2011), and Emergency Wedding (2003) is through spiritual intervention. Some of the actors and actress also notes that some of the movie producers themselves are ordained pastors with churches and congregations and those that are not pastors hold strong religious believes that influence the type of story they accept or write to produce. In fact, the producer of Soul of Love (2011) is a pastor who confirms the position of the actors and actresses on the influence of religion in casting mentally ill characters in movies. According to one of the actors;

"I turned down the offer of a movie role that will require me to act in four scenes as a mentally ill person. I proposed alternative scenes that can pass the same message that the mental illness characterization would have communicated to the viewers. The producer who is a pastor rejected the idea because he believes that in everything he does in life, it must be to the glory of God and win souls for the Kingdom of God" (A&A1, Interview, August 2019)

According to Muller (2014), the Ghana film industry is dominated by filmmakers from Akan ethnic group, which are part of the wider networks of religious institutions, largely Pentecostal-Charismatic Christian and to some extent the modest Islamic ones. "These organizations sponsor filmmakers to spread religious messages" (Muller, 2014:104). Ghana is one of the most religious countries in Africa, although predominantly Christians with 71.2%, there are also 17.6% and 5.2% that practice Islam and traditional religion, respectively (Bartlett, 2016:31). However, Bartlett notes that despite the low percentage of people that practice traditional religion, it is a common practice for those that practice traditional religion to combine some of the Christianity and Islam religion set of beliefs. As a result, "Traditional religion and its beliefs, values, and practices are prevalent in society and are an important part

of Ghanaian culture" (Bartlett, 2016:31). Despite the differences in the various religious beliefs in Ghana, there is, however, a common belief in supreme, omnipotent God that is greater than other gods (Baetlett, 2016:32).

## 4.5 Education Purpose

From the findings, the movie's producers and actors argued that casting mentally ill persons in the movies is not with the intention of mockery or denigrating people that are suffering from mental illness in most cases. They were of the opinion that producers are always concerned with the central message, which is to educate the society against social vices and all sorts of crimes. For example, one of the producers told me during the Interview that he knows about two young boys that have abandoned the idea of going into Sakawa after witnessing three of their friends they were supposed to perform the rituals together dying mysteriously and one of them running mad. They were safe because they missed out on providing the required ingredient for the rituals. He later used the boy's story to produce a movie. He said that the stories in most of the films are from personal experiences that they bring to life to educate other members of the public. According to his statement

"We make movies to educate the public on what is going on, the story of the three Sakawa boys that I told you is real, but how many people know about the experiences of their two friends. It is something that people should learn from. Honestly, I do not get the criticism here, in American movies, you will see producers exposing different methods that serial killers are using to target women in movies, are you saying that they are glorifying molestation of women or they are creating fear into women. For me, it is education; we need to educate the public on what is going in the society that they might be hidden to them" (MoP1, Interview, August 2019)

An actress told me that she did not believe that casting of a mentally ill person in the movies is equivalent to reinforcing the stigma against mental illness in the society. She cites examples of a movie she played the role of a mentally ill person; the core message of the movie is to educate young girls to turn away from prostitution and following rich men that they do not know the source of their money.

"my character in the movie was a wayward girl that refused to listen to the advice of her parents; she eventually falls into the trap of one rich man that happens to be a ritualist. The man used her for money ritual, and as a result, she becomes mad. The movie ended with a

message that all that glitters is not gold. The truth is, money rituals are real in our society, and it is our duty to ensure that we ensure that the public is aware of the danger chasing after money" (A&A5, Interview, August 2019)

However, since 2006, Sakawa rituals and cyber fraud stories have saturated all the nook and cranny of Ghana society with many young boys arrested by law enforcement agencies (Armstrong, 20011; Riedel, 2015). The rate of ritual killings skyrocket, and many of the fraudsters were arrested with human body parts meant for rituals to boost their chances to succeed in their business of internet fraud Armstrong, 20011; Riedel, 2015). It was so rampant to the extent that Sakawa and cyberfraud it becomes the most appealing storyline in Ghana home videos (Oduro-Frimpong, 2014:131). In fact, in the process of selecting the movies to review for the study, 60% of films that were suggested to me by friends and school mates background story is on Sakawa and cyberfraud. Two of the five films that I eventually selected for review, *Desperate Boys 1-5* and *Sika Mu Sakawa*, follow the same popular appeal that is trending in the Ghana film industry. However, the education aspect is not limited to Sakawa and Cyber fraud, one of the actresses argued that

"I have assisted three producers in producing few films, and I can tell you that during production, the concern of the producers is always the best way to present the core lessons in the scripts that will be easier for the viewers to understand. Casting mentally ill person in movies sometimes might be to educate the public on the tactics of armed robbers, kidnappers, and ritualists disgusting as a mentally ill person to commit crime" (A&A4, Interview, August 2019)

The position above reflected in *Desperate Boys 5* (2018), where the witchdoctor instructed one of the Sakawa boys to act like a mad person in broad-daylight at the market in public as part of the money ritual rites. It is a security awareness education and lesson for the public. By and large, education through movies has been described as a form of social learning where the producers incorporate cultural and social elements that can lead to a significant change in behaviors (Bandura, 2003; Singhal et al., 1993). However, the change in behavior depends on the characters that were portrayed in the movies. According to Singhal et al., (1993), there are three major types of characters with the cultural value that are dominant in movies.

The characters that support the value, which can be considered as constructive role models, the characters that reject the value, which is seen as harmful role models, and the characters that have reservations about the values, which neither accept or reject the value.

Characters that reject the value are usually killed as a punishment for undesirable social behavior, while positive social behaviors are strengthened with rewards. As a result, viewers tend to like what the characters they eventually choose like and detest what they abhor (Bandura, 2004). However, there is a danger of the viewers adopting characters that reject the value as their role model, damming the consequences portrayed in the movies.

Some people might want to argue that Ghana movies producers are using the film platform to represent mental illness in their movies so as to create a particular understanding or opinion of a problem as suggested by Robinson (2001:532). According to Mahmood, “movies have a lot of influence on our outlook about everyday life and it has an important impact on observation ability” (Mahmmod, 2013:79). The effectiveness and power of framing are not embedded in “what you say, it’s how you say it” (Rathje, 2017). This explain why Hollywood films have been said to be inspired by copycat crimes to occur, such as school shootings and the formation of a violent gang (Atkinson, 2001; Helfgott, 2015). Therefore, casting a negative image in the name of education and social learning comes with both positive and negative outcomes, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

## **4.6. Conclusion**

The motivation behind movie producers casting mentally ill persons in their movies has been established in this chapter. The first one is that the movie producer's primary aim is profit and would do anything to make the story to be acceptable to the viewers. Moreover, the targeted audience of movie producers differs from each other. As a result, the producers construct and design their stories to meet the cultural, religious, and traditional expectations of the audience, which will make the movies to be more appealing. Secondly, religion plays a crucial role in casting mental illness in Ghana movie by producers. The role of pastors, imams, and other religious leaders in influencing the type of scripts that are produced into home videos.

Thirdly, casting mental illness in a negative light in some cases are unintentional, the intention is to use mental illness as deterrence to criminal behaviors and shape the behavior of the public to conform with good societal standard. This talks to the education of aspect of the Ghana movies as a form of social learning. However, it was also noted that while movies have the potential to serve as a social learning platform, it is not a given that social



learning is going to be positive, people can also learn vile things through movies and construct their social reality deep-rooted in the negativity of what they saw on TV. Details of the consequences of the mentally ill person in the negative frame will be discussed in the next chapter.

# **Chapter 5 Consequences of Representation on Mental Illness in Ghana Movies and How Government Should Respond**

## **5.1. Introduction**

In this chapter, I analyse the data collected from various interviews with actors and actresses as well as Ghanaians in Netherlands on their perception by the prevalent negative representation of mental illness in Ghana movies and the consequences of such representation on the Ghana government response to Mental illness and the realization of SDG on mental health in the country. Three major themes were derived from the discussion (1), the prevalent framing and representation of mental illness as schizophrenia in the movies will make other mental health issues invisible to policy response and social care and attention. 2) Mentally ill people will continue to be taken to Churches and traditional healers for a cure rather than the hospital. 3) Representing Mentally ill people as criminal in disguise endanger their lives. Also, the chapter entails the analysis on how best the government can address the negative representation of the mental illness in the Ghanaian society. The themes that emanated from the analysis are; 1) regulate the Ghana film industry like that of Nigeria (Censors Board). 2) Provision of funds to support the production of home videos that give an accurate representation of Mental illness. (3) Support Non-state actors and civil societies to intensify on the advocacy and awareness; 4) Engaging the Religious leaders. The chapter is divided into three main sections, the first section looks consequences while the second section address the possible way forward, and the last section is the conclusion.

## **5.2. A narrow understanding of Mental Illness**

Eight out of ten respondents said that they could not remember seeing any other image of mental illness other than schizophrenia in all the Ghana movies they have watched since the time they were old enough to watch movies. From our discussion, it was gathered that other knowledge they had about mental illness was acquired through studies and NGO work, and some of them even said that it was until when they relocated to the Netherlands, they realized that depression is mental illness.

"Honestly, it was ten years ago that I came to the Netherlands that my perspective about mental illness changed. The only mental illness that I know based on what we see on the street and in the films is what you call schizophrenia. I do not even know that was the name; all I know is a mad man or woman and how they normally behave. So, if somebody has not reached the stage of roaming the street with dirty clothes, smelling, eating from the dustbin, chasing people around, I do not consider that person mad. But now I know the difference" (Respondent 1, Interview, September 2019)

Four out of five movies I reviewed represented the mentally ill characters in the movies as somebody suffering from chronic schizophrenia. A Masters' student that came to the Netherlands last year said that she has a brother that is suffering from mental illness. Unfortunately, everybody in her family did not consider the health illness of her brother a mental health issue because he is not displaying symptoms of madness, which is schizophrenia. She said she called the attention of her uncle to the fact that they need to take her brother to the Psychiatrist hospital. Unfortunately, her uncle rebuked her, supported by family members, and she was shouted down that she does not know what she is saying;

"my uncle said to me if you see a mad man, can you wait for him, you do not know you are saying. Please stop speaking negativity to the life of your brother. My brother was suffering from manic depression, and if left untreated, his academic performance and can undermine his career. In some cases, it can lead to suicide. Yet uncle insisted that since he is not yet acting like a mad man they see in the movies, my brother is not having mental health issue" (Respondent 4, Interviews, September 2019)

The argument of Atilola and Olayiwola (2011) on the danger of representation of mental illness as chronic schizophrenia can lead to the invisibility and understanding of other types of mental illness in the society was validated by the respondents that interviewed. In Ghana, "people define anything mentally abnormal as madness" (Spittel et al., 2019: 125). This narrow understanding of mental illness constitutes a potent danger to the well-being of people suffering from other mental illnesses. One of the Diaspora that I interviewed shared her experience on how she saved an older woman who has dementia from public lynching as she was alleged to be a witch looking for children to devour. He said that the moment he noticed the crowd gathering around the woman sitting down in the middle of the street, he knew that if he did not react, she would be lynched. From his statement;

"I told the people trying to beat the woman that they should stop because she is not a witch, that she has a mental illness known as dementia. They said to me, do not be deceived; this woman is not mad; we know how mad people look. It was that day I realized the danger in how the home videos depict mental illness because one of the guys said if you have not seen a mad person in real life, at least you must have seen them on the TV. We are sure that this woman is coming from a witch meeting" (Respondent 7. Interview, September 2019).

The statement of Respondent 7 shows that people understanding about mental illness was heavily influenced by what they see on TV, and elderly and poor women that are suffering from severe psychopathological conditions have been misunderstood as witches that crash-land from coming from a meeting (Roxburgh, 2016; Adinkrah, 2019). It was not only Respondent 7 that expressed concerns about the danger of narrow understanding of mental illness that the Ghana movies have created in the minds of the people, in particular, those that are living in the rural areas. Some of the respondents confessed that they knew about the causes and solutions to mental illness from watching the home videos with their parents when they were children. This explains why the findings of Salifu Yendork et al., (2016) study among members of some Charismatic churches in Ghana shows that the vast majority of the respondents in the study said that it is only madness that they know. I found it hard to recollect a Ghana home video that I watched that represented the cause and solution of mental illness to be medical rather than supernatural.

Although the viewers might come from different background with different characteristics, the frequency at which they watch television, in this case, Ghana movies, make the viewers conceptions of social reality to differ from each other as suggested by Gerbner et al., (1980). This was evident in the responses of the ten Ghanaians living in the Netherlands that were interviewed. Six of the respondents believed that they hardly watch Ghana home video movies anymore; they prefer going to the cinemas to watch professionally scripted and directed movies. They prefer to watch Ghanaian series soap- opera mostly, especially the ones that are produced in English languages. This is because they do not want Ghana movies to continue influencing their social reality of the mental illness in Ghana society. They said they do not want their children to be exposed to the repetitive message and imagery of schizophrenia that is common in Ghana home videos. One of the respondents said that

### **5.3. Relegation of Medical Treatment to The Background**

The respondents believed that if the representation of a mentally ill person, the cause, and solution to mental illness continue with the trend and rate that the movie producers are going. The government's effort to build a robust mental health system will be an effort in futility. One of the respondents said that the beliefs that people hold are capable of frustrating government efforts, and she gives examples of how the government has to spent millions of US dollars for sensitization programs to educate people in the Northern part of the country on immunization many years ago. She said that if the government allows the negative representation of mental illness to continue, it will be difficult to convince the public to seek medical treatment for mental illness.

"there is a popular saying that when falsehood persists, it takes the form of truth. What I am saying is that the more movies show that it is the spirit that causes mental illness, the more they will abandon medical option and focus on visitation to the religious houses to solve the problem" (Respondent 8, Interview, September 2019)

One other respondent corroborated the argument of the people losing trust in medical treatment if the representation of mental illness in movies is predominantly negative and only when you go to church or visit traditional healers before the illness can be cured. She said that the problem with mental illness is similar to the HIV/AIDS understanding in the past where many people were visiting traditional healers and churches for a miracle rather than going to the hospital for treatments

"I remember in the late 1980s, the movie's representation of HIV/AIDS was a death sentence, and you can only survive through a miracle or supernatural means. This was also my belief back then, and when my uncle was diagnosed in the hospital, rather than staying in the hospital for treatment, we all convinced him to opt for traditional treatment. He died a few months later, and I cannot say I do not regret playing a part in convincing him, probably he would have lived longer" (Respondent 10, Interview, September 2019)

The responses of the Ghanaians viewers can be understood from the argument of the proponent of the cultivation theory that suggests that "heavy television viewing can result in the creation of a television reality, which is a set of facts and beliefs based on television content rather than facts" (DeMars, 2000: 36.). The consistent, repetitive themes and images (Gerbner et al., 1994) coming out of thousands of Ghana movies that spirituality and evil vs.

good as the causal factor of mental illness in the society contributed to the people understanding of the mental illness. Television or movie messages and information, regardless of if they are considered to be accurate or not, can still be adopted to construct social judgment (Wyer and Unverzagt, 1985) and social reality (Kang et al.,1997).

However, some of the respondents said that there is nothing terrible in representing the cause of mental illness and the solution to be spiritual because they believe that evil people can inflict you with mental illness just like any other affliction. Many doctors do pray to God before they perform surgery, even in Western countries. The respondents that shared this school of thought believe that both medical and spiritual causes and cure of mental illness should be represented in the movies rather than the dominant representation of spirituality. One of the respondents said that;

"I think it will not serve anybody any good if the producers of the movie continue to spread the narrative of the sole causes and solution to mental illness is spiritual. As a Christian, I believe that the spiritual and the physical works together, and that is what should reflect in the movies. Ordinarily, people that visit hospitals for treatment of sickness also called their pastors to pray for them so that they can have a successful surgery. Showing the causes of mental illness to be medical will not change the beliefs of many people, but it will show them that other ways work while they are praying" (Respondent 6, Interview, September 2019).

The positions of the respondents imply that a single story of the casual factor and solution to mental illness should not be allowed to dominate the movie industry, people should be exposed to the fact that mental hospital does cure mental illness. From Quinn point of view, "there are two systems for explaining mental illness: the biomedical, with an emphasis on the diagnosis of symptoms, which are treated primarily through medical interventions; and traditional, which attributes mental illness to many causes such as witchcraft, curses or evil spirits and is treated by herbal or spiritual means" (Quinn, 2007:175). However, it is widespread in Ghana for family members of people with mental illness to approach their spiritual leader for a speedy recovery (Quinn, 2007: 185). One thing about the impact of television is that the viewers do not need to be literate before they can form opinions from the image and messages they were exposed to through the film (Gerbner et al., 1978).

## 5.4. Government Regulation of the Movie Industry

From the findings of this study, it is vital for the government to regulate the content of the home videos if there will be any chance to improve the positive awareness of mental health in Ghana. The actors and Ghana in the diaspora that I interviewed believed that it is the only government that can influence the change in narrative and representation of mental health in the media positively. Respondent 10 gives examples of how the government regulations of the movie industry as regards the content of the movies helped in the awareness campaign against HIV/AIDS in the country in the late 1980s and 1990s in the country.

"I remember when the government was serious about the HIV/AIDS campaign, the scenes in the movies become more educative, showing how you can still leave a normal life if you are HIV positive. Scenes that teach you to always say no to sex without condoms if you must do it with somebody that is not your partner and maintain a single partner. It helps to some extent to change the mentality of people from if you have HIV/AIDS; you are going to die unless you visit a miracle worker to visit a hospital for treatment. Hardly will you people abandon medical treatments of HIV/AIDS for spiritual treatments now" (Respondent 10, Interview, September 2019)

Another respondent, a 60-year-old man residing in the Netherlands that I interviewed, said that the government needs to look beyond regulation. They need to support Christian and Akan movie producers that are willing to produce movies that will enlighten the public on mental illness.

"In the past, the government-supported movies and documentary series are common. This a program that brought to light the different types of information on different health issues. We have HIV/AIDS, Polio, Cholera, Family Planning, and many more. It works, the government should go back to that era, of sponsoring and producing movies to educate the society of burning issues (Respondent 9, Interview, September 2019)

The position here is apparent; when the government intervened on misrepresentation of important medical conditions by the media, such as HIV/AIDS, the images of HIV as death sentences diminished gradually from the television screen. Historical evidence revealed that the Ghana government before the decline of the GFI, regulation, and creation of contents that promote government programs through films and movies is a common phenomenon until the 1980s (McFeely, 2015). Unlike Hollywood that has so many activists acting as

watchdogs against the movie industry when moviemakers make mistakes (Maron, 2009), Ghollywood has not got many of these bodies and activists that can speak up and correct the actions and activities of moviemakers (Adeyemi, 2009:63). According to Bandura (2004), the main reason behind the influence of media representation is because people construct their social reality on what read, hear, and see more often than what they experience directly. As a result, the government must occupy a driving seat in the construction of positive message on mental illness to the public if there will be any changes

## **5.5. NGOs and Religious Institution**

The involvement of non-governmental organizations and religious institution in the awareness advocacy for mental illness as been suggested by various scholars as a relevant factor in deconstructing the negative narrative of mental illness in the society (Carter et al., 2017; Ramsey-Lucas, 2016; Hann et al., 2015). All the respondents believe that without collaboration with faith-based organizations, it will make it practically impossible to influence filmmakers to change their approach in the representation of a mentally ill person in their movies.

"the lives of the vast majority of Ghanaians revolve around spirituality, which makes us respect our spiritual fathers even more than our parents. I am telling you this so that you can understand the power that these men of God wield. When there was a voter's apathy, the government approaches religious leaders, and we all witnessed the result in how people turned out in mass to votes. The same thing can happen to the mental health issue, even beyond the representation in the media" (Respondent 5, Interview, September 2019).

According to Ramsey-Lucas (2016), partnership and collaboration with religious leaders can go a long way to "improve the quality and accessibility of care for individuals living with mental health conditions and their families" (Ramsey-Lucas, 2016:199). These collaborations and partnerships are suggestions that came up from the discussion that I had with the respondents that participated in this study. One of the respondents emphasized the need for the government to ensure that religious leaders are subjected to training on mental health issues and in particular, those that are known to be producing religious movies. She opined further that;

"The government knows religious leaders that produced Christians and Akan films. They should be engaged in a pragmatic way to show how God and science work together to heal



the sick. I will not suggest that they should replace mental illness with another illness in their movies because it will be like creating a problem by solving a problem. But if the government can sit down with these people, I know they will come up with a better way to be representing mental illness in the movies" (Respondent 4, Interview, September 2019)

Some of the respondents say that acknowledging the critical role of the religious leaders in mental illness awareness will make the religious movie makers receptive to collaboration. For one of the respondents who is also a deacon in a church in the Hague.'

"People with mental health problems often find valuable support within their congregations. Many find prayer, worship, religious belief, and belonging to a faith community to be both helpful and affirming. Somebody suffering from depression or emotional disturbance can get better healing and cure through emotional talks with the help of scripture. The raise of hope for a better future can pull somebody out of depression and have a new meaning to life" (Respondent 3, Interview, September 2019)

What I can infer from the statement above is the importance of bringing on board the religious leaders and faith-based organizations to help reform the way mental illness is represented in the movies because members of the faith-based organizations are producing these types of movies with the intent of glorifying God which in turn did not give the accurate representation of what mental illness is all about. As Ramsey-Lucas (2016) suggested, the faith community partnership that brings together psychiatrists and religious leaders together will create enormous opportunities and resources that will help not only in creating opportunities for mutual understanding among different stakeholders but also help reduce the stigma against mentally ill persons.

## **5.6. Conclusion**

The representation of mentally ill persons tends to have negative impacts on the way as well as the responses that are given to address mental health in Ghana as a whole. As such, people who suffer from mental health are seen as people who are dangerous, violent, fearful, wrong-

doers within the Ghanaian communities. With this, people tend to discriminate against mental health people and exclude such people in a number of activities within the Ghanaian society as a whole. Besides, less attention is given to mental health people, and limited measures are therefore put in place in addressing their plight. This, to some extent, comes from the fact that mentally ill people are mostly portrayed in the Ghanaian movies as people who have been possessed by some evil spirits due to some crimes they have committed. As such, society tends to turn down on these mentally ill people without given them attention and given support of any kind. This is due to the misconception that has tended to engulf mental illness and mentally ill people in the Ghanaian movies across the country. With this misconception created mostly by the movie makers and movie producers as well as the media at large in the Ghanaian movies, the plight of mentally ill people is worsened and becomes very difficult for them to integrate and feel part of the broader Ghanaian society. However, it essential for the government to intervene and regulate the movie industry and involve the religious and traditional leaders in the advocacy campaign that will reform how mentally ill persons are represented in the movies.

## Chapter 6 Conclusion and Summary

For all intent and purposes, this thesis examined the underlying factors and reasons why movie makers within the Ghanaian movie industry (Ghollywood) portrays mentally ill people as violent, wrongdoers, fearful, as people who have committed some crimes and being cursed by some gods or been possessed by some evil spirits or powers, etc. in their movies across the country. The thesis has also examined the consequences that the way that mental health is portrayed in the Ghanaian movies have on the responses to mental health in the Ghanaian society, and also the effects that this has on the realization of the Agenda 2030 sustainable development goals with regards to mental health in Ghanaian society as a whole. The thesis has also looked at different ways through which the government and the movie industry could employ effective measures to address mental illness and the manner in which they are portrayed in the Ghanaian movies.

In order to achieve the objectives of the study, the main research question sought to understand how has the depiction of mental illness by Ghollywood movies contributes or hinder the successful implementation of the Agenda 2030 towards the realization of SDG on Mental Health in Ghana? In support of the leading research question, three sub-questions were proposed; What are the underlying factors that influenced the movie/filmmakers in Ghollywood's decision to cast mentally ill characters in their movies? (2). What are the consequences of the negative depiction of the mentally ill in the movies on the Ghana government's response to Mental illness and the realization of SDG on mental health in the country? (3). How best can the government address the negative representation of the mental illness in the Ghanaian society? Qualitative data was collected through content analysis, telephone interviews with movie producers and actors as well as semi-structured interviews with Ghanaians living in the Netherlands. The data collected were subjected to an analysis from various theoretical perspectives, which includes social learning, cultivation, framing, and representation theories.

From the analysis of the findings, it has been seen that moviemakers portray mentally ill people in the way they do in the Ghanaian movies, mainly because they see it as attractive for viewers who patronize the local movies. Moviemakers and producers of movies in the Ghanaian context see mental illness and evil narratives in their movies as strategies to attract the general public to patronize their movies, and in that case, they tend to make enough

profit from it because such representation is appealing to the viewers. Apart from the motivation by profit, religion plays a crucial role in casting mental illness in Ghana movie by producers. The role of pastors, imams, and other religious leaders in influencing the type of scripts that are produced into home videos was visible throughout the analysis of the motivation behind the casting of mental health characters in the home videos. This is an important finding because many of the producers themselves are either a pastor or a very religious individual that their understanding of society and reality is deeply rooted in spirituality and divine intervention. While this is common among Akan movie producers, it is essential to note that the Akan movies are the most affordable and available to the majority of the local population in the rural areas. The well-edited and scripted movies are mostly available at the cinemas, which is most affordable to the elites in the city.

However, casting mental illness in a negative light in some cases are unintentional, the intention is to use mental illness as deterrence to criminal behaviors and shape the behavior of the public to conform with good societal standard. This talks to the education of aspect of the Ghana movies as a form of social learning. However, it was also noted that while movies have the potential to serve as a social learning platform, it is not a given that social learning is going to be positive, people can also learn vile things through movies and construct their social reality deep-rooted in the negativity of what they saw on TV. This comes at the expense of mental health persons and the way they are portrayed in the Ghanaian movies.

The second and third sub-questions were addressed in chapter 4 of the study. Some consequences come with the representation of mental illness in the Ghana movies by the movie's producers. Firstly, the prevalent framing and representation of mental illness as schizophrenia in the movies will make other mental health issues invisible to policy response and social care and attention. People suffering from other forms of mental illness such as depression, dementia, anxiety disorder, emotional disturbance, to mention a few, will be ignored by family members because the only thing they know is "mad," and being mad is the demonstration of schizophrenia symptoms. Even at that, there is a different level of schizophrenia, but the representation in the movies connotes chronic schizophrenia. As such, people who suffer from mental health are seen as people who are dangerous, violent, fearful, wrongdoers within the Ghanaian communities. With this, people tend to discriminate against

mental health people and exclude such people in several activities within the Ghanaian society as a whole.

Also, less attention is given to people with a different mental health problem that is not schizophrenia, and limited measures are therefore put in place in addressing their plight. This, to some extent comes from the fact that mentally ill people are mostly portrayed in the Ghanaian movies as people who have been possessed by some evil spirits due to some crimes they have committed as such society tends to turn down on these mentally ill people without given them attention and given the support of any kind. This is due to the misconception that has tended to engulf mental illness and mentally ill people in the Ghanaian movies across the country.

With this misconception created mostly by the movie makers and movie producers as well as the media at large in the Ghanaian movies, it will be practically impossible to promote medical intervention as a cure to mental illness in Ghana if the trend continues. Since the only solution that is dominant in the representation of mental illness in Ghana is divine intervention, people will continue to be taken to Churches and traditional healers for a cure rather than the hospital. This will defeat the government's effort in realizing its goal. It will also affect the attention and responses that are given at the national and local levels as well as the Ghana movie industry, the Ghana Media Commission (GMI), etc. in addressing mental health and mentally ill people concerning the Ghana movies. It further affects the Agenda 2030 sustainable development goals mental health realization in the Ghanaian society as a whole.

## **Recommendation**

In addressing all the problems raised with regards to the way mental health is portrayed in the Ghanaian movies, it becomes vital for the government together with its creative arts and culture ministry to put in place and implement policies. In particular, the policies should set clear-cut relevant measures to be adopted that will regulate movie makers and movie producers in the Ghanaian movie industry on the way mental health is portrayed in the Ghanaian movies. This will help a lot in bringing down the misconception with regards to how mental health and mentally ill people are portrayed and viewed in the Ghanaian society as a whole. Also, it becomes essential for the Ghana Film Association (GFA) together with the National

Film and Television Institute (NAFTI), to implement policies within their capacity in regulating their members, particularly movie makers and producers, in changing the way they tend to portray mental illness in their movies. This will go a long way to bring down the misconception the way mental health is portrayed in the Ghanaian movies as a whole.

Further to this, the Ghana Media Commission, who is in charge of all movies, videos, etc. that are screened on the Ghanaian televisions and other media outlets to regulate the movies that are screened on the media outlets more especially on televisions. This will help prevent movies that portray mental health as something abominable in Ghanaian movies. It will further help to get off this, movies that characterize mental ill people as outcast, violent people, dangerous individuals, people who are possessed by spirits, etc. This, in the end, will help in addressing mental illness more effectively. It will provide reasonable grounds for addressing the plight of mental health in reaching the Agenda 2030 sustainable development

## Appendices

### **Interview Questions for Movie Producers, Actors, and Actress**

- 1) Please kindly tell me your name, and how many years have you spent in the movie industry as an actor, actress, producer. How many movies have you acted in, produced or co-produced, and written?
- 2) Did any of the movies you have written, produced, or acted in have scenes of mentally ill individuals. If yes, how many,
- 3) If yes: Have you acted any mentally ill scene, if you have acted, what was the source of the illness as stated in the script. (If rejected acting a mental ill scene, why?)
- 4) What is your perception about the challenges of Mental Health in Ghana and the stereotypes associated with mentally ill people?
- 5) The representation on the sources of mental illness (diabolical and supernatural) and treatment of mental illness (pastors or traditional healers) representation in movies shape how people view mental illness. Did you agree with this statement, please explain your decision?
- 6) What do you think are the implication of the representation of mentally illness in Ghana movies on the mental health awareness in Ghana
- 7) Why did you think producers of films produce films that represent Mentally ill people negatively?
- 8) What are the steps you think the government, actors, and movies producers can take to change the negative narrative of mental illness in the entertainment industry.

### **Interview Questions for Ghanaians in The Netherlands**

- 1) Please kindly tell me your name, and how long have you been in the Netherlands?
- 2) When last did you watch Ghana movies, and have you watched a movie with scenes of mentally ill individuals. If yes, how many,
- 3) If yes: describe how the mentally ill person was represented, the root of the illness and the solution if any as depicted in the movie
- 4) What is your perception about the challenges of Mental Health in Ghana and the stereotypes associated with mentally ill people?
- 5) The representation on the sources of mental illness (diabolical and supernatural) and treatment of mental illness (pastors or traditional healers) representation in movies shape how people view mental illness. Did you agree with this statement, please explain your decision?
- 6) What do you think are the implication of the representation of mentally illness in Ghana movies on the mental health awareness in Ghana
- 7) Why did you think producers of films produce films that represent Mentally ill people negatively?
- 8) What are the steps you think the government, actors, and movies producers can take to change the negative narrative of mental illness in the entertainment industry.

<b>Respondents</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Duranton in the Netherlands</b>
1	55	Female	Entrepreneur	15 years
2	42	Male	Entrepreneur	17 years
3	30	Female	Student	1 year
4	29	Female	student	1 month
5	25	Female	Student	1 month
6	45	Male	Barrister	10 years
7	40	Female	Student	1 month
8	46	Female	Caterer	12 years
9	28	Male	Student	1 months
10	60	Male	Pastor	20 years

Profile of Respondents from Netherlands



## References

- Adinkrah, M. (2019). Crash-landings of flying witches in Ghana: Grand mystical feats or diagnosable psychiatric illnesses?. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 56(2), 379-397.
- Adjei, M. (2014). The video-movie flourish in Ghana: Evolution and the search for identity. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences ISSN (Paper)*, 2224-5766.
- Agorde, W. S. (2006). Masculinities at home: Men, marriage, and fatherhood in Ghanaian video films. *Journal of African Literature and Culture JALC-ALJ*, 3, 69-92.
- Aina, O. F. (2004). Mental illness and cultural issues in West African films: implications for orthodox psychiatric practice. *Medical humanities*, 30(1), 23-26.
- Ajiwe, U. C., & Chukwu-Okoronkwo, S. O. (2015). Perception of Sound: A Study of Selected Nollywood Video Films. *Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 1-2.
- Ampadu, V. E. (2012). *The depiction of mental illness in Nigerian and Ghanaian movies: A negative or positive impact on mental health awareness in Ghana* (Doctoral dissertation, Masters Thesis. Sociology and Social Policy, University of Leeds)
- Angermeyer, M. C., Dietrich, S., Pott, D., & Matschinger, H. (2005). Media consumption and desire for social distance towards people with schizophrenia. *European Psychiatry*, 20(3), 246-250.
- Armstrong, A. (2011). Sakawa Rumours: Occult Internet Fraud and Ghanaian Identity. *Unpublished BSc. Working Report in Anthropology. University College, London*  
<https://www.ucl.ac.uk/anthropology/sites/anthropology/files/082011.pdf>
- Aromona, O. (2016). Portrayal of African Women in Nollywood Films over a Five-Year Period: A Content Analysis of Traits Applying the Stereotype Content Model.
- Aroyewun–Adekomaiya, K. (2017). Representation of mental illness: an examination of movies and professional perspectives in Nigeria.
- Atilola, O., & Olayiwola, F. (2013). Frames of mental illness in the Yoruba genre of Nigerian movies: Implications for orthodox mental health care. *Transcultural psychiatry*, 50(3), 442-454.
- Atkinson, M. (2001). The movies made me do it. *Nursing Issues in the 21st Century: Perspectives from the Literature*, 391.

- Bandura, A. (2002, March). Growing primacy of human agency in adaptation and change in the electronic era [Journal article]. *European Psychologist*, 7(1), 2-16. Retrieved from <http://utminers.utep.edu/asinghal/technical%20reports/harnessing%20ee.pdf>
- Bandura, A. (2004). Social cognitive theory for personal and social change by enabling media. In *Entertainment-education and social change* (pp. 97-118). Routledge.
- Bandura, A. (2009). Social cognitive theory of mass communication. In *Media effects* (pp. 110-140). Routledge.
- Bartlett, H. (2016). Mental Health and Religious Beliefs in Ghana: An Intersection Between Faith and Science.
- Botts, B. H., & Owusu, N. A. (2013). The state of inclusive education in Ghana, West Africa. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth*, 57(3), 135-143.
- Butryn, T., Bryant, L., Marchionni, C., & Sholevar, F. (2017). The shortage of psychiatrists and other mental health providers: causes, current state, and potential solutions. *International Journal of Academic Medicine*, 3(1), 5.
- Carter, E. W., Bumble, J. L., Griffin, B., & Curcio, M. P. (2017). Community conversations on faith and disability: Identifying new practices, postures, and partners for congregations. *Pastoral psychology*, 66(5), 575-594.
- Carvalho, A. (2010). Media (ted) discourses and climate change: a focus on political subjectivity and (dis) engagement. *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change*, 1(2), 172-179.
- Crane, T. A. (2014). Bringing science and technology studies into agricultural anthropology: Technology development as cultural encounter between farmers and researchers. *Culture, Agriculture, Food and Environment*, 36(1), 45-55.
- Croffie, G. K. (2016). *A discourse on cultural elements in "Akan" films* (Doctoral dissertation). <http://ir.knust.edu.gh/bitstream/123456789/9276/1/Godfred%20Kojo%20Croffie.pdf>.
- Darbyshire, D., & Baker, P. (2012). A systematic review and thematic analysis of cinema in medical education. *Medical Humanities*, 38(1), 28-33.
- Davenport, J. M. (2015). *Framing immigration issues in small town America: When security overrides ideology* (Doctoral dissertation, Capella University)
- DeMars, T. R. (2000). *Modeling behavior from images of reality in television narratives: myth-information and socialization*. Edwin Mellen Press.

- De Vreese, C. H., & Kandyla, A. (2009). News framing and public support for a common foreign and security policy. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 47(3), 453-481.
- Diawara, M. (1992). *African cinema: politics & culture* (Vol. 707). Indiana University Press.
- Diefenbach, D. L., & West, M. D. (2007). Television and attitudes toward mental health issues: Cultivation analysis and the third-person effect. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 35(2), 181-195.
- Domino, G. (1983). Impact of the film, "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest," on attitudes towards mental illness. *Psychological Reports*, 53(1), 179-182.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication*, 43(4), 51-58.
- Estrada, G. & McCombs, M. E. (1997). The news media and the pictures in our heads. *Do the Media Govern*, 237-247.
- Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1991). *Social cognition* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Fischhoff, B., & Scheufele, D. A. (2013). The science of science communication. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 110(Supplement 3), 14031-14032.
- Garritano, C. (2013). *African video movies and global desires: A Ghanaian history*. Ohio University Press.
- Gberie, L. (2017). Mental illness: Invisible but devastating. *Africa Renewal*, 30(3), 18-19.
- Gerbner, George; Larry Gross; Nancy Signorielli; Michael Morgan (1980). "[Aging with Television: Image on Television Drama and Conceptions of Social Reality](#)". *Journal of Communication*. 30 (1): 37–47. [doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1980.tb01766.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1980.tb01766.x). [PMID 737284](https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/737284/).
- Gerbner G, Gross L, Morgan M, Signorielli N (1994). "Growing up with television: The cultivation perspective". In M. Morgan (ed.). *Against the mainstream: The selected works of George Gerbner*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. pp. 193–213.
- Gerbner, G., Gross, L., Morgan, M., Signorielli, N., & Shanahan, J. (2002). Growing up with television: Cultivation processes. In *Media effects* (pp. 53-78). Routledge.
- Gerbner, G.; Gross, L.; Jackson-Beeck, M.; Jeffries-Fox, S.; Signorielli, N. (1978). "Cultural indicators violence profile no. 9". *Journal of Communication*. 28 (3): 176–207. [doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1978.tb01646.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1978.tb01646.x)

- Giwa, E. T. (2014). Nollywood: A Case Study of the Rising Nigerian Film Industry-Content & Production. *online*] <http://opensiu.lib.siu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi>.
- Glynn, C. J., Ostman, R. E., & McDonald, D. G. (1995). Opinions, perception, and social reality. *Public opinion and the communication of consent*, 249-277.
- Granello, D. H., & Pauley, P. S. (2000). Television viewing habits and their relationship to tolerance toward people with mental illness. *Journal of Mental Health Counseling*, 22(2).
- Gunther, A. C. (1998). The persuasive press inference: Effects of mass media on perceived public opinion. *Communication Research*, 25(5), 486-504.
- Hall, S. (Ed.). (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices* (Vol. 2). Sage.
- Haller, B.A. (2010) *Representing Disability in an Ableist World: Essays on Mass Media*. Edition. The Advocado Press.
- Hann, K., Pearson, H., Campbell, D., Sesay, D., & Eaton, J. (2015). Factors for success in mental health advocacy. *Global health action*, 8(1), 28791.
- Helfgott, J. B. (2015). Criminal behavior and the copycat effect: Literature review and theoretical framework for empirical investigation. *Aggression and violent behavior*, 22, 46-64.
- Holsti, O.R., (1969). *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- ollander, A. (1991). *Moving Pictures*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jasperson, A. E., Shah, D. V., Watts, M., Faber, R. J., & Fan, D. P. (1998). Framing and the public agenda: Media effects on the importance of the federal budget deficit. *Political Communication*, 15(2), 205-224.
- Kang, J. G., Andersen, S. S., & Pfau, M. (1997). Television viewing and perception of social reality among Native American adolescents. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, 6, 71-84.
- Klin, A., & Lemish, D. (2008). Mental disorders stigma in the media: Review of studies on production, content, and influences. *Journal of health communication*, 13(5), 434-449.
- Keum, H., Hillback, E. D., Rojas, H., De Zuniga, H. G., Shah, D. V., & Mcleod, D. M. (2005). Personifying the radical: How news framing polarizes security concerns and tolerance judgments. *Human communication research*, 31(3), 337-364
- Knox, S., & Burkard, A. W. (2009). Qualitative research interviews. *Psychotherapy Research*, 19(4-5), 566-575.

- Kpobi, L., & Swartz, L. (2018). 'That is how the real mad people behave': Beliefs about and treatment of mental disorders by traditional medicine-men in Accra, Ghana. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 64(4), 309-316.
- Kyei, J. J., Dueck, A., Indart, M. J., & Nyarko, N. Y. (2014). Supernatural belief systems, mental health and perceptions of mental disorders in Ghana. *International Journal of Culture and Mental Health*, 7(2), 137-151.
- La Ferrara, E. (2016). Mass media and social change: Can we use television to fight poverty?. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 14(4), 791-827.
- Lasswell, H., (1948). "The Structure and Function of Communication in Society." In Lyman Bryson (ed.), *The Communication of Ideas*. Harper and Row.
- Lund, C. (2018). Why Africa needs to start focusing on the neglected issue of mental health <https://theconversation.com/why-africa-needs-to-start-focusing-on-the-neglected-issue-of-mental-health-91406>
- Maher, T. M. (2001). Framing: an emerging paradigm or a phase of agenda setting?. In *Framing public life* (pp. 99-110). Routledge.
- Mackenzie, J., & Kesner, C. (2016). Mental health funding and the SDGs: What now and who pays. *London: Overseas Development Institute*. <https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/resource-documents/10573.pdf>.
- Mahmood, I. (2013). Influence and importance of cinema on the lifestyle of educated youth: A study on university students of Bangladesh. *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Scienc*, 17(6), 77-80.
- Markey, P. M., French, J. E., & Markey, C. N. (2015). Violent movies and severe acts of violence: Sensationalism versus science. *Human communication research*, 41(2), 155-173
- Maxwell, J.A., (1996) *Qualitative Research Design*, Newbury Park. CA:Sage.
- Merwin, E., Hinton, I., Dembling, B., & Stern, S. (2003). Shortages of rural mental health professionals. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing*, 17(1), 42-51.
- McFeely, G. (2015). "*Gone Are The Days*": a social and business history of cinema-going in Gold Coast/Ghana, 1910-1982 (Doctoral dissertation, Boston University).
- Meyer, B. (1999). Popular Ghanaian Cinema and "African Heritage". *Africa Today*, 93-114.

- Mfofo-M'Carthy, M., Sottie, C. A., & Gyan, C. (2016). Mental illness and stigma: a 10-year review of portrayal through print media in Ghana (2003–2012). *International Journal of Culture and Mental Health*, 9(2), 197-207.
- Middleton-Mends, K. (1995). Video-Production—Which Direction. *Unpublished Paper*.
- Müller, L. (2014). On the demonization and discrimination of Akan and Yoruba women in Ghanaian and Nigerian video movies. *Research in African Literatures*, 45(4), 104-120.
- Musselwhite, K., Cuff, L., McGregor, L., & King, K. M. (2007). The telephone interview is an effective method of data collection in clinical nursing research: A discussion paper. *International journal of nursing studies*, 44(6), 1064-1070.
- Oduro-Frimpong, J. (2014). Sakawa rituals and cyberfraud in Ghanaian popular video movies. *African Studies Review*, 57(2), 131-147.
- Ogazie, C. A., & Odetade, I. O. (2017). Pornography and Debasement of Womanhood in African Films: The Examples of Selected Nollywood and Ghallywood Videos. *EJOTMAS: Ekpoma Journal of Theatre and Media Arts*, 6(1-2).
- Paik, H., & Comstock, G. (1994). The effects of television violence on antisocial behavior: a meta-analysis1. *Communication research*, 21(4), 516-546.
- Parrott, S., & Parrott, C. T. (2015). Law & disorder: The portrayal of mental illness in US crime dramas. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 59(4), 640-657.
- Pearce, T. O. (1989). Social organization and psychosocial health (K. Peter & P. Ebigbo, Eds.). *Clinical Psychology in Africa*, 47-55.
- Penn, D. L., Chamberlin, C., & Mueser, K. T. (2003). The effects of a documentary film about schizophrenia on psychiatric stigma. *Schizophrenia bulletin*, 29(2), 383-391.
- Public Agenda (2008) Ghana: Country Needs a Mental Health Law Available at: <http://allafrica.com/stories/200808181038.html>.
- Quinn, N. (2007). Beliefs and community responses to mental illness in Ghana: the experiences of family carers. *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 53(2), 175-188.
- Ramsey-Lucas, C. (2016). Faith and mental health: Creating a culture of encounter and friendship. *Review & Expositor*, 113(2), 198-204.
- Rathje, S (2017). The power of framing: It's not what you say, it's how you say it. *The Guardian*.

<https://www.theguardian.com/science/head-quarters/2017/jul/20/the-power-of-framing-its-not-what-you-say-its-how-you-say-it>.

- Riddle, K. (2009). Cultivation theory revisited: The impact of childhood television viewing levels on social reality beliefs and construct accessibility in adulthood. *International Communication Association*, 1-29. [http://citation.allacademic.com//meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/2/9/9/4/5/pages299457/p299457-3.php](http://citation.allacademic.com//meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/2/9/9/4/5/pages299457/p299457-3.php).
- Riedel, F. (2015). Sakawa—The Spirit of Cyberfraud: Analysis of A Rumour Complex In Ghana. *Racism, Ethnicity and the Media in Africa: Mediating Conflict in the Twenty-First Century*, 47, 261.
- Robinson, P. (2001). Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics Models of Media Influence on Foreign Policy. *European Journal of Communication*, 16(4), 523-544.
- Roxburgh, S. (2016). Witchcraft and Violence in Ghana. *Cahiers d'etudes africaines*, (4), 891-914.
- Ukata, A. (2010). Conflicting framings of women in Nollywood videos. *African Nebula*, 1(1), 65-75.
- Utoh-Ezeajugh, T. C., & Anijah, E. E. (2017). Gender domination and domestic violence in Nigerian video films: a paradigmatic appraisal. *UJAH: Unizik Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 18(3), 1-25.
- Sakyi, K. (1996). *The Problems and Achievements of the Ghana Film Industry Corporation and the Growth and Development of the Film Industry in Ghana* (Doctoral dissertation, Thesis, University of Ghana, Legon).
- Salifu Yendork, J., Kpobi, L., & Sarfo, E. A. (2016). “It’s only ‘madness’ that I know”: analysis of how mental illness is conceptualised by congregants of selected Charismatic churches in Ghana. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*, 19(9), 984-999.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2006). Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 9-20.
- Shaka, F., & Ola, U. (2012). Gender representation in Nollywood video film culture. *The Crab: Journal of Theatre and Media Arts*, 71, 1-17.
- Sieff, E. (2003). Media frames of mental illnesses: The potential impact of negative frames. *Journal of Mental Health*, 12(3), 259-269.

- Signorielli, N. (1989). The stigma of mental illness on television. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 33(3), 325-331.
- Singhal, A., Rogers, E. M., & Brown, W. J. (1993). Harnessing the potential of entertainment-education telenovelas [Journal article]. *Gazene*, 51, 1-18. Retrieved from <http://utminers.utep.edu/asinghal/technical%20reports/harnessing%20ee.pdf>
- Spittel, S., Kraus, E., Maier, A., & Wolf-Ostermann, K. (2019). Healthcare challenges of older people with and without dementia in Ghana: An exploratory pilot study. *Ageing in Developing Countries*, 116.
- Stephens, N. (2007). Collecting data from elites and ultra elites: telephone and face-to-face interviews with macroeconomists. *Qualitative Research*, 7(2), 203-216.
- Tabi M.M, Powell M, and Hodnick, D., (2006) Use of traditional healers and modern medicine in Ghana. *International Nursing Review* 53, 52–58.
- Ukadike, N. F. (1994). *Black African Cinema*. Univ of California Press.
- Ugbam, O. C., Chukwu, B., & Ogbo, A. (2014). The Effects of Globalization on African Culture: The Nigerian Perspective. *Journal of Business and Management*, 16(4), 62-71.
- Voss, L. (2018). Choosing Words with Purpose: Framing Immigration and Refugee Issues as National Security Threats to Avoid Issues of Social Policy. *Yale J. Int'l Aff.*, 13, 39.
- Wahl, O. F., & Roth, R. (1982). Television images of mental illness: Results of a metropolitan Washington media watch. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 26(2), 599-605.
- Wahl, O. F., & Yonatan Lefkowitz, J. (1989). Impact of a television film on attitudes toward mental illness. *American journal of community psychology*, 17(4), 521-528.
- Weaver, D. H. (2007). Thoughts on agenda setting, framing, and priming. *Journal of communication*, 57(1), 142-147.
- Whiteman, D. (2009). Documentary film as policy analysis: The impact of yes, in my backyard on activists, agendas, and policy. *Mass Communication and Society*, 12(4), 457-477.
- Williams, L., Gorman, R., & Hankerson, S. (2014). Implementing a mental health ministry committee in faith-based organizations: The promoting emotional wellness and spirituality program. *Social work in health care*, 53(4), 414-434.



- Wilson, D. A., Raish, V., & Carr-Chellman, A. (2017). Film Use to Promote Understanding in Change and Diffusion of Innovation. *Systemic practice and action research*, 30(3), 277-293.
- Wyer, R. S., & Unverzagt, W. H. (1985). Effects of instructions to disregard information on its subsequent recall and use in making judgments. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 48(3), 533.

