

## Media's construction of suicide trends

A content analysis of online newspapers and their coverage of suicide. Are they portraying suicide as a growing societal problem?

**Haaken Munthe-Kaas**

Journalistikk  
60 studiepoeng

Institutt for medier og kommunikasjon  
Det humanistiske fakultetet

01.06.2023





## Contents

Summary .....	5
Trenger du noen å snakke med? .....	6
Do you need someone to talk to? .....	6
Preface.....	7
Personal note .....	8
Introduction.....	10
Suicide facts.....	11
Research question and hypothesis .....	12
Purpose of research .....	13
Theoretical framework.....	15
Influencing power of media .....	15
How do we perceive the world? .....	17
Other conceptual factors .....	19
Media's power to set the agenda .....	21
Journalists and trust in media .....	22
Media coverage of suicide .....	24
The history and development of suicide in media.....	25
Existing research.....	27
Suicide portrayed in Norwegian media.....	28
Moral panic.....	32
Influencing factors.....	34
Methodological framework.....	36
Research design.....	36
Data collection.....	37
Search strategy.....	38
Data analysis.....	39
Categories of articles.....	40
Results .....	44
Category 1 – Metaphorical use of suicide.....	45
Category 2 – Suicide cameo .....	45
Category 3 – Suicide as a supporting role .....	47
Category 4 - Informational .....	48
Category 5 – Following cases .....	50
Category 6 - Stories from next of kin .....	53

Category 7 - Stories of improvement .....	55
Category 8 – Critical articles.....	58
Category 9 - Suicide as a societal problem.....	62
Category 10 – Diverse articles.....	69
Discussion .....	73
General findings .....	73
Categorical findings.....	76
Final evaluation and discussion of impact by media .....	81
Conclusion .....	85
Literature list .....	87
Attachments.....	90
Category 1 .....	90
Category 2 .....	91
Category 3 .....	93
Category 4 .....	94
Category 5 .....	96
Category 6 .....	96
Category 7 .....	97
Category 8 .....	98
Category 9 .....	99
Category 10 .....	100

## Summary

Despite almost all the important developments in society are improving, people have a perception of the world that are extremely negative. Media has a critical role in shaping these misconceptions. So is the case in influencing people's negative misconception about suicide trends, where people believe it is a growing societal problem, although statistics show us that suicide in Norway, and the world, has decreased over the last decades. This thesis will investigate the role of media in shaping people's perception on suicide trends in Norway.

Coverage of suicide by media have been a sensitive and difficult practice for a long time. For decades it was taboo for journalists to cover suicide and it was not before a change in the *Be careful poster* in 2006 this changed. Slowly has coverage of suicide opened up and are now gradually being normalized in media and covered more as a societal problem. This increased attention in the public sphere has also brought with it negative publicity as the preventive work against suicide and the system around it gets a lot of critical publications in the media.

By using a content analysis of the four most popular online newspapers in Norway and their coverage of all suicide-related articles over a span of a year, I have been able to analyze if Norwegian media is framing suicide as a growing societal problem. My conclusion says that media is covering suicide as a growing trend and an increasing societal problem. The general negative portrayal of suicide development, the critical articles towards the preventive work and system around it, and the use of statistics and comments without full context, that implies a growing trend of suicide, is the reasoning behind this conclusion.

Trenger du noen å snakke med?

**Mental Helse** kan nås på **116 123**. **Kirkens SOS** kan nås på **22 40 00 40**.

**Røde Kors** samtaletilbud «Kors på halsen» er en tjeneste for barn og unge opp til 18 år, og kan nås på **800 33 321**. Tjenesten er åpen mandag – fredag kl. 14–22.

**Mental Helse chat: sidetmedord.no**. Åpningstider: Hele døgnet.

**Kirkens SOS: soschat.no**. Åpningstider: Hver dag 18.30-22.30 og hver fredag frem til 01.30.

**Alarmtelefonen for barn og unge: 116 111**.

**SnakkOmPsyken.no**: Anonym chat-tjeneste for barn og unge (søndag-torsdag kl. 15.00–21.00).

Do you need someone to talk to?

Mental health can be reached at **116 123**. *The Church's SOS can be reached at 22 40 00 40.*

The Red Cross call service is a service for children and young people up to the age of 18, and can be reached on **800 33 321**. *The service is upon Monday-Friday at 14-22.*

**Mental Health chat: sidetmedord.no**. *Opening hours: Around the clock.*

**The Church's SOS: soschat.no**. *Opening hours: 18.30-22.30 and every Friday at 14-01.30*

**The emergency telephone for children and young people: 116 111**.

**SnakkOmPsyken.no**: *Anonymous chat service for children and young people (Sunday-Thursday 15-21).*

## Preface

I would like to thank my supervisor, Cristina Archetti (Spring 2022-spring 2023), for your guidance through this thesis. Especially for helping me simplify the task at times when I was stuck in earlier phases, and in general for good input and feedback.

Thank you to the institute of media and communication at University of Oslo for all the help through the years, and for facilitating so that I could focus on my thesis.

Thank you to my sister-in-law, Heather Menzies Munthe-Kaas, for looking over my thesis and giving valuable advice at the end.

Also, to my fellow student, Laila Halvorsen, for reading through my paper, giving helpful feedback, and good company at the study room, thank you!

I would also like to thank the rest of the guys at the study room, and family and friends for good support and food.

Haaken Munthe-Kaas

Oslo, 01.06.2023

## Personal note

Regarding ethical issues and my own position, I realise writing about suicide is something that needs to be carried out with extra caution. As delicate as this topic is it can both be difficult to read about for those affected personally by suicide and have a potential influence on people struggling with suicidal thoughts or mental health. According to the Norwegian Institute of Public Health (NIPH) there are around 6000 closely left behind and next of kin affected by suicide each year in Norway. Many have personal experiences with suicide and/or suicide attempts and this needs to be considered when writing about the topic. As to me personally I believe it is relevant to mention that I have no close experience to suicide, neither personally nor someone close to me. I have no personal agenda going into this project, and suicide as a topic was something I chose firstly because of its characteristics as a misconceived topic. When that is said, I do hope that the discoveries made in this paper can be used positively towards the work of preventing suicide.



# Media's Construction of Suicide Trends

- A content analysis of online newspapers and their coverage of suicide. Are they portraying suicide as a growing societal problem?

Haaken Munthe-Kaas

University of Oslo

01.06.2023

## Introduction

According to most objective standards, the world has never been safer (Rosling, 2018. Gleditsch, 2016). Despite obvious progress related to happiness, poverty, mortality, life expectancy, conflict, gender equality, crime and natural disasters, many people perceive the world to be more dangerous than ever (Rosling, 2018). Media outlets have played a special role in propagating this view.

Similar to other measures of progression and health, suicide rates have also dropped significantly over the last decades (World Health Organization). Despite this, media coverage of suicide is part of giving the impression that suicide rates are higher than ever (Rosling, 2018).

This thesis is about the role of media and in how they potentially influence our perceptions about the world. It will focus especially on misperceptions about suicide, and on how media write and frame their coverage of suicide. Does media encourage the perception that suicide numbers are increasing, when in fact it is decreasing? I have chosen to research on suicide because I find the dynamic between media and suicide as an important, interesting, and a bit confusing topic. Before going into this I knew there were regulations and guidelines on media coverage of suicide. I had noticed a more comprehensive media coverage over the years on suicide, but I had never grasped the intentions of journalists when covering the topic and how they are allowed to write about it. Suicide as a societal problem is also a topic worth researching for possibly finding ways to decrease the numbers or make the preventive work more effective.

A survey on the perception of suicide trends shows the negative misconception on the topic. The question that was asked in the survey: "What happened to the global suicide rate the last 20 years?" with options being 'decreased about 25%, stayed the same or increased about 25%'. I must admit my first intuition would suggest that it had increased about 25%, but it had in fact decreased 25%. In the about 20 countries around the world this question was asked in a survey, 64% had the same conclusion thinking it had increased, with only 11% answering correctly. Looking at the answers from Norway it was about the same, just a bit

worse with 66% believing suicide had increased and only 7% of the answers being that it had decreased, 27% left thinking it had stayed the same. (Rosling, 2018)

The first reason that comes to mind is as to why people have this perception is that we are possibly deluded or misled by the media, but if so, how and why? That is what the focus in this thesis will be, how the media writes about suicide. How they frame it, what they include, what they do not include, how can this affect readers and how do they get influenced to believe that suicide is an increasing trend. The influence from media is important but how we get our conceptions are also more complex than only transparent listening to the media. Media is part of a greater reality, and it needs to be considered towards other societal aspects and processes in a wider context. To see how media impacts its audience, it needs to be explained how the encounter between media and its consumers creates meaning, both individually and collectively, among the people. Media interacts with other institutions and their meaning changes under varying conditions (Waldahl, p.14, 1999).

### Suicide facts

Depending on which source you use the numbers differ a bit, but the general trend is pretty much the same. Our World In Data is an international scientific online publication that focuses on large global problems. Their numbers are lower than they of the Norwegian Institute for Public Health (NIPH)<sup>1</sup>. In year 2000 the suicide rates in Norway were on 11.9 per 100 000 people a year and it had decreased to 8.89 in 2019. In the world the suicide rates were 14.43 per 100 000 in 2000 and 9.39 in 2019. Going further back to 1990 the rates were 15.38 in Norway and 15.37 in the world. Suicide as a part of all deaths has also decreased from 1.58% in 1990 to 1.34% globally and in Norway it went down from 1.63% of all deaths in 1990 to 1.36% in 2019 (Our World in Data). WHO tells us the suicide rate was 9.91 per 100 000 people in 2019, down from 13,02 in 2000, and 10,89 per 100 000 in 2010 (WHO). The numbers from NIPH shows that 658 people killed themselves in 2021. The suicide rate in Norway was 12,4 per 100 000 people in 2021, about 25% decrease from the rate in 1990 when it was 16,4 per 100 000 people. The numbers were lower in the decades before 1990

---

<sup>1</sup> I have tried to contact FHI to get an answer on why these numbers are different and how they register suicide in their statistics but have not been answered.

and was around 10 per 100 000 people in 1970, before increasing up to around 1990 where it peaked and started decreasing. The last 10 years the suicide rate in Norway has been stable with some expected yearly arbitrary variations. Around 2 out of 3 that commits suicide in Norway are men and the median age is 47 years old. According to NIPH, Norway's suicide rate was lower than the other Scandinavian countries up to around the year 2000 but are now at a similar rate. Norway's suicide rate is at the same level as the rest of Europe, North America, and Australia. Although many feared that the suicide rates would increase during the Covid pandemic, they did not differ from the expected yearly variations (NIPH).

### Research question and hypothesis

In this thesis I will aim to address the following research question: Is the media framing suicide as a growing societal problem, or is it balanced and depicted according to the statistics?

The specific aims of this research are to explore:

- Whether media coverage of suicide includes facts or statistics that are showing positive changes or perpetual consistency (where that is the case) in suicide trends.
- To what extent there is communicated positivity versus negativity regarding trends of suicide as a societal problem.
- If there are comments towards society and systems surrounding suicide (political, aid agencies, institutions), and how are they framed.

Using the findings from this research, I will discuss how, and to what degree, the media influences people's conceptions on suicide. I will also investigate other factors that are a part of shaping people's conception on the topic.

My hypotheses are that media is covering suicide one-sided, giving the impression that suicide numbers are increasing, that it is a growing societal problem and that there is minimal focus or mentioning about positive trends or progress that transpires. Following that, I believe that media will use a rhetoric that will insinuate a negative spiral that suggests

suicide is an increasing problem in society. I will also explore the possibility of media creating a 'Moral panic'. Examining the results from the analysis and seeing it in the light of theories on moral panics.

#### Purpose of research

Suicide covered in media has been taboo for a long time. The research about the coverage of suicide in media has been deficient, and the consequences of writing about suicide has been feared by media professionals as it was established that there was a possible imitation effect that could cause more suicides when writing about it in the media. This practise has had a transition over the last two decades and media coverage of suicide has become more customary. It is therefore important to explore on how media constructs their message about suicide to their consumers, especially when we know how sensitive the topic is. Most studies I have found on media coverage of suicide in Norway have been focusing on general coverage of suicide and whether or not it is harmful and could trigger these imitation effects. If it is sensationalistic, includes the method of suicide, includes pictures/videos or other characteristics that have been seen as harmful or could lead to imitation effects. My focus in this thesis will be to study if media has a balanced coverage and portrayal of suicide compared to the statistics I presented earlier where there is a decline in suicide among the population. We have seen that people have a negative misconception on suicide, believing it is increasing even though facts and statistics shows otherwise.

Writing a thesis to see if media is covering suicide too negative can be perceived as controversial as suicide of course is purely negative. It is in no intent in this paper to diminish suicide as a societal problem or downplay the importance of continuing the preventive work towards those that have mental health problems and/or suicidal thoughts. Every suicide is an unnecessary tragedy that us as a society should do everything we can to prevent. It is however, as my new favourite author, Hans Rosling, says several times in his book 'Factfulness' (2018), possible to have two thoughts in our head at the same time. We can acknowledge that something is bad and endorse that it is getting better at the same time. To quote Rosling in his book, "If you cannot pay attention to the progress, you do not know if your measures are working." (p.233). It is important that people have a conception based on

facts and that it is possible to change people's way of thinking, calm down the irrational fear and direct their energy towards constructive, fact-based actions. It could be argued that it is a good thing that suicide as an issue is exaggerated so that more measures and money are put into preventive work, but that could also lead to taking resources away from other equally important issues that could have needed it more because of false assumptions. Overdramatising an issue could trigger the instinct of urgency which again can lead to unnecessary stress, bad decisions and remove the attention from the important matters (Rosling, p.227). Having a negative misconception on a topic like suicide and not seeing the progress could also diminish the work that are being done and lead to a feeling of hopelessness or a carefree attitude towards it as it is believed it does not help much. There is a similar problem in the battle against global extreme poverty where most people do not know of the success that has been happening the last decades. This is feared to make the continuing progress to exterminate extreme poverty more difficult if the public do not believe it is possible (Quinnell, 2016). The preventive work of suicide could have some of the same problems if people have a negative misconception towards it.

## Theoretical framework

To be able to put the data I find in this research in context and evaluate them I need to understand how media influence people's conception and views, particularly on suicide. I will obtain and explain processes between media and perception. I will include a broader look into how people get influenced to demonstrate that it is a complex procedure with several factors. To understand how suicide is portrayed in media we need to look closely on how coverage of suicide has developed through the years in media. Especially looking at Norwegian media and their coverage of suicide, and the research that have been done on the area. This will give insight to what consumers have been exposed too and an overview of what have led to present coverage of suicide.

### Influencing power of media

In the modern world of today, everyone must relate to, and will be influenced, by the media society. It is such a big part of everyday life it is nearly impossible to avoid or not be affected by, either directly or indirectly. It is both a gift of information and entertainment in endless supply, but also a challenge to use this content in an insightful and expedient manner. We as consumers must use our abilities to understand and apply relevant information from media to make sense of it and obtain our own interests (Waldahl, 1999, p.12). As different processes of influence by the media are presented in this thesis, I will discuss how consumers are expected to use their abilities to convert the information from media to apply to their understanding of suicide trends. Simultaneously we need to understand that media is only a part of a greater reality. It is never an isolated occurrence and needs to be contemplated in contrast to other aspects and processes in society in a broader context. To explain and understand media influence we also need to identify how media interacts with other institutions in society, and how creating purpose of the media, both individual and collectively, changes under different surrounding conditions (Waldahl, p.14). How you as a consumer perceive suicide will not be shaped only by what you read or hear from media. There are several other factors that determines your perception on the topic. Environment around you, biological elements, personality, selective memory and thought processes are some of the factors that forms your opinion (Waldahl, p.90).

Opinion and meaning occurs in an individual when they interpret the information they get together with their own experience and mental abilities. Media does not transfer opinions directly to the consumer. Media, together with society, creates the framework where which inside it each individual can interpret the content that media produce. The context is a central aspect of creating opinion, and together with the framework and the interpretation potential of the audience, they are the main elements of the process when creating opinion (Waldahl, p.50). Opinion is a dynamic attribute and open for change. Media is part of shaping opinion in their consumers when interaction of media content and consumers interpretation potential, such as when experience and mental abilities occurs. It is the mix of these two components that creates opinion, and the result cannot be attributed to one of the components alone. It is important to separate the meaning that media presents and the meaning the consumers constructs. In other words, opinion making connected to media's function in society is both the creative process in producing media content and the mental process consumers performs in their encounter with the content (Waldahl, p.52). People who are exposed to the same media content about suicide can therefore have different opinions and perceptions on suicide based on how they interpret the content.

As much as consumers interpret media content individually and other factors might be more important in some of the opinion making processes, what media produces has still a great influence. They are part of shaping consumers understanding of it and they set the premisses which within consumers can interpret. Media has thus a lot of power as consumers must correlate to the content created by media (Waldahl, p.57). The matter of how media cover suicide consequently influences and are a part of creating the starting point from where consumers begin to create their opinion on suicide. Media are also important in setting the framework within where consumers opinion about suicide can be formed. When consumers interpret content, they do so on the collected media content produced over time, not just singular content. As all forms of communication, media included, is a part of a bigger sociocultural context, every text in media will therefore be presented in a specific context (Waldahl, p.62). That context will be experienced different for every consumer as other factor will affect their interpretation. Even though most people use



media extensively, these factors are more influential for the basis of experience (Waldahl, p.90).

How do we perceive the world?

Waldahl (1999) describes three different experience types that establishes and develop personality in humans, and therefore creates their opinions and perceptions. 1 - Personal experience: everything you have experienced first handed personally. 2 - Substitute experience: the experience of others, told experiences, what you read and hear but do not experience yourself. 3 – Derived experience: generalizing, draw conclusions, logic from exterior observations. Personal experience used to be the most influential basis of experience. It has become less significant with the growth of mass media that has increasingly replaced personal experience as a basis of experience. These changes from personal experience to substitute experience have some positive sides - people are more informative, and development of mindset have a broader premiss which lead to expanded perspective and horizontal thinking. And some negative sides – basis of experience get more disordered as it is composed by smaller pieces of countless events, and their attachments to the experience are more impersonal as they are not affecting their lives directly as much as personal experiences (Waldahl, p.73-75). Personal experience on suicide is probably very varied. As mentioned, NIPH says there are around 6000 people in Norway that are closely affected by suicide each year, as they consider each suicide victim to have on average ten next of kin and closely left behind. If you are to include friends, co-workers, more distant family, and even acquaintances, the number that have personal experience of suicide is probably a lot higher, although in a different degree. The more personal experience a person has on suicide, the more likely that consumer will be less affected by media and their personal experience will be more significant when their opinion about suicide is shaped.

Derived experience is the part where people use the experience they have, both personal and substitute, and conclude. This can be very helpful as it gives you logical thinking that is necessary, but it can also be used to generalize and conclude incorrectly. For example, you read more about people committing suicide in the media so therefore you conclude that more people commit suicide. There are also biological reasons to why we often conclude in

an overdramatically fashion without analysing too much. Evolution over millions of years have made our instincts to react fast and conclude when in face of danger in order to survive. These instincts are still latent in humans and transferred to today's society it makes us often overdramatize, overreact, and conclude fast when we hear or read dramatic stories in the news or from other sources (Rosling, 2018, p.15). Again, if we read a story where suicide is the topic and it is framed and/or implied that suicide is a growing trend, it is natural for people, even without facts or statistics, to react with discontent and conclude that not enough is being done to prevent it.

It is the collected and accumulated message from the media that has the greatest impact on their consumers, not the singular sensationalistic article or comment. If a message is repeated over a longer period in different medias and context, the potential of influence is bigger. Especially if one view is continually repeated without being questioned or objected by opposite views. Messages that are working solo on the opinion market has a greater impact then a message that is fighting objections (Waldahl, p.86). The media coverage of suicide has increased over the last decades. The content analysis will show how media communicate and frame suicide to its consumers, and if my hypothesis about media covering suicide one-sided as an increasing problem without objections is confirmed, it would be reasonable to assume that a higher volume coverage with a one-sided framing will affect consumers perception. A message that is more or less acknowledged as correct on the opinion market can still be changed if you follow the information theory. If suicide is uninterruptedly reported as an expanding issue it can be believed to be acknowledged by consumers. Another dimension, or power if you like, that Waldahl speaks of, is that media can function as a cultivating factor. With cultivating in this context, it is meant that processes with repeated and extensive exposure of unambiguous media content, creates enduring and permanent attitudes and norms (Waldahl, p.243). The information theory says that humans are rational beings that will use information in a sensible way. If people can recognize available information as considered and reasonable, new and changed knowledge or information on the topic will change people's perception on that topic (Waldahl, p.127). A changed framing of suicide based on trusted sources and valid statistics in media could potentially alter consumers perception on it and reverse the cultivating factor.

## Other conceptual factors

The conception of suicide as a social problem and how it develops is more complex than just looking at the media and how they influence their consumers. I have briefly discussed some of the other influences earlier in this chapter and here we will look closer on some of the other aspects that are part of shaping our perception on suicide.

It is difficult to say how much or how media use influences people, and especially to document causal relationship between media use and all the other parts of life that are not directly media influenced (Waldahl, p.97). Waldahl highlights that as much as media do influence us, other factors like home and family, local environment and friends, working life and colleagues, are more important when creating our basis of experience (Waldahl, kap.4).

Rosling says there are two things that makes us notice what is bad more than what is good in addition to media and journalists' selective coverage: we remember the past incorrectly; it feels heartless to say things are better when it is still bad (Rosling, p.65). We as people seem to remember the past very selectively in a positive way. Forgetting and burying the bad parts of our past and romanticizing the good parts. The classical slogan of 'everything was better when I was young' or similar phrases in that category are heard often, but our memory can, and will most likely, deceive us. A British criminologist researched on fear of street violence in Britain over time. In every generation for centuries, he would find statements from political aristocrats complaining on the dramatic and shocking development from the golden age they compared it to a couple of decades before (Gleditsch, 2016 p.95-96). Rosling describes another example from a Swedish journalist visiting rural India in the 1990's after writing a report on the same area in the 1970's. He showed the locals pictures of the same place from the 70's but they did not believe him saying he must be wrong and that they had never been that poor here (Rosling, p.65). Another example on the mindset of people comes from the tv show "This is Norway" ("Sånn er Norge"). Here they followed a yearly survey asking if most people are to be trusted. The trust among people had a steady increase from 55% saying yes in 1984 to almost 80% in 2019. In their own survey they asked if they believe people's trust to other people has gone up or down since 1984, 68% believed trust had worsened and only 6% believed trust among us had gone up. The irony is obvious as people

trust each other more and more, but at the same time the same people believe trust among us is getting worse.

The romanticizing about our past is something most people do on most topics, suicide included, and is probably inevitable. It partners well with another of Rosling's theories on our negative mindset, that we feel rather than think. When people are asked if suicide is an increasing or decreasing problem, Rosling believes most people do not think, but feel the answer (Rosling, p.68). Most people are not following the suicide statistics or have expert knowledge of the trends so I would assume when they answer a question on it, they follow their initial gut feeling. All the experience, all they have read, seen, and talked about have given them the feeling that suicide is a growing problem.

Standalone numbers are also easily misleading. As one of the master theses I refer to in this thesis writes in her introduction, "I came over an article in a Norwegian newspaper, here it said that in Norway around 500-600 suicides occur yearly. This was a number I found hard to relate too.." (Veel, 2021). If you have no relation to suicide numbers and you see that 600 people die yearly of suicide now, you will most likely conclude with that being a considerable and extensive number. Especially if it is also put in the context of being a bigger problem than other serious societal problems as traffic accidents, overdose and cancer, to mention some. Although this is very true, suicide does take more young lives in the Nordic than the other mentioned problems, but that is mostly because of the huge progress done to reduce the death numbers on these fields. Numbers often look big on their own, and if you do not compare it to other numbers, it will mislead you (Rosling, kap.5). Numbers are often exaggerated on many topics, both on purpose and not, and been used as a mean to influence action. There are many examples from wars and conflicts where numbers of deaths or refugeed have been in the hundreds of thousands and established as known truths, only for revisions years later where the number have been concluded to be sometimes only a tenth of that (Gleditsch, p.89-92). There is not the same incentive to discompose suicide numbers as there is in many of the examples above, but there can still be occasions where the suicide numbers are exaggerated or misquoted, either by mistake or by purpose for a hidden agenda.

## Media's power to set the agenda

Media are influential in setting topics on the agenda, and in that way, they are significant in telling audience and politicians what to focus on (Waldahl, p.215). Media are of great significance for social development, but are media a driving force of the development in important parts of the society or are they primarily a following consequence of the development in other areas? A difficult question to answer and probably not possible to be absolute certain. What is apparent is that how they chose to cover topics, what they include and not include, how they present and frame it, will be a factor in the perception that consumers have.

Framing is the definition of how media addresses and process each case. How they chose to frame each case will be decided on how they problematize it, what causes are highlighted, what solutions are presented, what is included in the coverage, and what is left out. What aspects in the coverage are chosen to be emphasised and how the different elements are drawn together as a product is what determines the framing (Waldahl, p.218-219). These are important characteristics of the media's composition of social issues that decides consumers perception of it. "Media's prioritizing and framing of the content has also important guides to peoples elementary understanding of central development trends in society. They affect what values which is central in the development, and which is pushed in the background." (Waldahl, p.281). From what Waldahl is writing, the way that media frames their coverage of suicide will have a big influence on how consumers understand the development of it. Framing suicide as a growing societal problem would also speak to the values of society and question the public services that could be interpreted as failing in their task to prevent suicide. The more media cover suicide, to a greater extent will consumers believe it is an important development in the society. If this coverage is both experienced exclusively negative and important, it will create a spiral where consumers will perceive it as dramatically and urgent to do something about the negative suicide trend. As we fear this will have consequences for ourselves or people we know and love, this will trigger the fear instinct that Rosling presents where we overdramatize, overreact, and conclude fast (Rosling, ch.4).

Priming is the term referred to as the description of what media decides to include in their coverage. This will decide what criteria and aspects that consumers will base their assessments of the topic. Priming is relevant in this thesis as to how much media chooses to write about suicide. This thesis main focus is on framing and the influence this has on people's perception. However, how often and in what degree media chose to include suicide will also have an influence on consumers and is therefore important to discuss how they chose to prime. The question if they are a driving force or following other developments is interesting in regard to if media are the ones putting suicide on the public agenda or is it on the agenda because of other forces in society are making it relevant. The more other forces are pushing to set suicide on the agenda, the more do these other forces contribute to influence. Media also becomes more transparent and its role as a mouthpiece for others more distinct. (Waldahl, p.218-19)

Reflecting more on the question of media is a driving force of development itself or only a transparent mouthpiece for other voices, there are some characteristics where it seems media has greater influential potential. If there is a topic that a large part of the public has personal experience from, spotlight from media on that topic will make it more likely to be on the public agenda (Waldahl, p.218). At the same time, topics where people have personal experience, media will normally be less influential as the competition from personal experience will trump the medial influence (Waldahl, p.233). The effect is opposite, and media is more influential when people have less experience, or the topic is further from consumers point of view. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, the personal experience from suicide is divergent. While some experience it as a very personal topic and with their personal experience are very hard to influence, others have no personal experience and are more accessible for it.

#### Journalists and trust in media

Journalists and media are often blamed by their audience for portraying an incorrect picture of the world with dramatic news and misleading the public. That is probably correct in some ways as there are journalists that feels forced to overcompensate or exaggerate their stories to compete for consumers attention against all the other media outlets. More likely is it

however, that media does not necessarily have an intentional purpose to affect the attention and/or mindset of others with their message or how they frame it. Significant parts of the effect from media are neither planned nor intentional. Many media outlets have an ambition for their overall news to be neutral as much as possible (Waldahl, p.44). The intended impacted part of medias influence is probably just a small part of the overall collected impact they have. When there are attempts on intended impact, they are for most part obvious and candid about the desired impact. This makes it also less effective when the consumers know media are trying to influence them. Unintended or unconscious impact are more common than one might think and are more effective as consumers do not feel like media are trying to affect them, and therefore is not motivated or interested in reporting anything but the objective truth (Waldahl, p.83). Also falling under the unintended impact which is important to note when discussing media and journalist's possible agenda is that they are often not aware of their misleading. First of all, media workers are also humans and have the same overdramatic instinct, so when they work on a dramatic story, they too find it dramatic and feel they have to alert the public about this in a dramatic fashion. Secondly, they seem to struggle with the same misconceptions as the rest. In the previous mentioned surveys done by Rosling (2018), they tested journalists isolated and found out that they as a group have no more knowledge of the important topics of the world then the rest (Rosling, p.210). It becomes unrealistic to demand that media portrays and reflects the world correctly when they do not know how the world is themselves. The same applies to their cover of suicide as most journalist probably also believes that it is an increasing problem and therefore are reporting their truth.

The message from media, and how trustworthy it is experienced, is affected by how the transmitter are perceived. Credibility depends on expertise and reliability. Expertise as in thorough and relevant knowledge. Reliability is measured in neutrality and without self-interest or agenda in the case (Waldahl, p.175). Trust to the content of media is tested by consumers by their own experience and will be formed after how much the content and own experience corresponds with each other. Consumers will in most cases have a higher trust to the medium they use often (Waldahl, p.202). According to surveys, media trust among Norwegians seems to be relatively high. Although the results vary a bit depending on the variables in the surveys, the trust in Norway are higher than the average in the EU

(Sakariassen, et al. 2017) and amidst the highest among international countries (statista.com). In a survey done by the Norwegian Media Authority in 2019, 83% answered Norwegian media is fundamentally to be trusted. Another survey done annually displays that media trust has been increasing the latest years and in 2022 show that almost 90% of Norwegians have great or some trust in media, with those answering they have great trust being tripled since 2019 (Nordiske mediedager). This trend is backed up by another survey that also shows an increase in media trust the last 5 years (M24). The trust consumers have to media affect how much they trust their coverage of suicide, which again affects how much they get influenced. When we talk about trust in media to report about suicide it is mostly about the expertise and not so much on reliability. Suicide is a valence issue, an issue where there is consensus on wanted aim but not necessarily which measures to utilize to get there. Everyone agrees society needs to prevent suicide as much as possible so consumers would not doubt the intention of media, only their expertise on the issue.

#### Media coverage of suicide

Reporting on suicide in media is a sensitive subject. The research on the topic shows what most of the researchers concludes with - media and journalists have been struggling on finding the correct balance when covering suicide (Nybø, 2016). The balance of being informative and socially beneficial, but not exceed the strict guidelines that exist on the topic. It seems to be an insecurity and caution among media professionals on how they are supposed to cover suicide in media (Nybø, 2016). The research done on media coverage of suicide in Norway is not too considerable or widespread, and many of the researchers urges more studies on the topic to understand more of the consequences it can have. There is however a strong agreement on some of the important influences that media affects with their reporting of suicide as I will describe here.

The research is almost exclusively on how media present suicide and if it is according to the national *Be careful poster* (Vær varsom-plakaten) or other guidelines on suicide mentioning, mainly the international counselling from WHO that advises media professionals, “WHO. (2017). Preventing Suicide – A Resource for Media Professionals”. A lot of the focus in the research are on the changes made in the *Be careful poster* in 2006, where the paragraph on



suicide in media was rewritten, and if that had any effect on how media covered suicide. The *Be careful poster* is a list of ethical guidelines for Norwegian press.

#### The history and development of suicide in media

The history of suicide portrayed in media reflects in many ways how the society at the time contemplated suicide. Suicide was seen as a huge shame and for centuries it was thought worse than murder in the Christian society in Norway. Suicide victims would not get the same burial rights, families left behind would not inherit after suicide and it was not decriminalized before 1902 (Veel, 2021). Media would often describe suicide detailed and name it as a sickness until the *Be careful poster* was made in 1936 by the Norwegian Press Association (Thorvik, 2021). Here it said that suicide, suicide attempts and mental illness should not be mentioned in the media except in extraordinary occasions. It was revised in 1975 saying “Suicide or suicide attempts shall as a main rule not be mentioned.” (Lamark&Andreassen, 2007). Media would follow these guidelines loyally with suicide seeming to be a topic neglected by both society and media in the post-war period, an era of positivity where it seems the topic of suicide had little room in the public interest (Thorvik, 2021).

The suicide rates in Norway were low in the decades after the World War 2, compared to our neighbouring Scandinavian countries at the time (NIPH), and the numbers that would come at the end of the century. The numbers would rise and by 1990 they would be at the same level as Sweden and Denmark, changing the insignificant phenomenon brand it had by media and public alike (Thorvik, 2021). At its highest in 1990 Norwegian suicide rates were 16,4 per 100 000 (NIPH, 2022a). Putting suicide on the agenda begun properly in the 1970s when doctor and professor Nils Retterstøl published his book “Suicide”, which described suicide as a societal problem as well as a personal problem. Learning books in psychiatry would change from sporadically mentioning suicide as a result of medical conditions to a more comprehensive coverage and describe suicide as an independent phenomenon (Thorvik, 2021).

Around the same time in 1974 the *Werther effect* was established after a study concluded that there were possible imitation effects after media coverage of suicide (WHO, 2017). The *Werther effect* origins from the title character in Gothe’s novel from 1774, ‘The sorrows of young Werther’, who dies by suicide when faced with the rejection from the woman he loved.

This novel allegedly caused a suicide epidemic among young men at the time. Studies on suicide and media would strongly be influenced by the *Werther effect* after this and most studies would be on the imitation effect of media or how to prevent it (Niederkrontenthaler et al., 2019). To this day the coverage of suicide in media is strongly influenced by the *Werther effect*. The guidelines and *Be careful poster* main purpose is to prevent this effect, and journalists seems terrified of triggering it.

Norwegian studies on media and their coverage of suicide have since 2006 been strongly influenced by the rewriting of the *Be careful poster* that year. It was changed from what was experienced as a prohibition of mentioning suicide to more open guidelines (Desroches, 2016). From 1st of January 2006 the *Be careful poster* paragraph 4.9 was changed to: “*Be careful when mentioning suicide and suicide attempts. Avoid mentioning that are not necessary to fulfil general information needs. Avoid description of method or other circumstances that can contribute to triggering more suicidal acts.*” (The professional committee of the press, 2015). This change happened after a public discussion where several groups including next of kind, journalists and professionals from the suicide research centre wished for a more open attitude towards suicide as a societal problem (Desroches, 2016). Norway became the first country to have a press ethic rule that considered the effect of imitation (Nybø, 2016).

The other theory, next to the Werther effect, that has affected the research on media and suicide the last decade or so is the *Papageno effect*. This has the opposite effect of the *Werther effect* and claims that responsible reporting about suicide may help to educate the public about suicide and its prevention. This may encourage those at risk of suicide to take alternative actions and may inspire a more open and hopeful dialogue in general (WHO, 2017). The name *Papageno effect* are based on the protagonist in Mozart’s opera *The magic flute* from 1791 where Papageno are a comical bird catcher who, likewise to Werther, feels betrayed by the woman he loves. He is about to commit suicide when some boys walking by convinces him to look at the alternatives of suicide and he realises there are other solutions (Thorvik, 2021). The *Papageno effect* became a designation used after a study in 2010 that were initially looking for the *Werther effect* in Austrian media. Before this study researchers only focused on the identification of harmful media portrayals. In this study however, they also found a decrease in suicide when media were specifically focused on individuals who successfully coped with their suicidal crises (Niederkrontenthaler et al., 2019). The research

done on the *Papegano effect* are not yet considerable enough to determine the effect, but it shows that there is hope for media suicide coverage to not only be informative but also beneficial in the preventive work.

#### Existing research

The guidelines presented by the WHO in 2017 seems to be generally acknowledged and followed by many media professionals around the world and as a standpoint for researchers. In it the WHO writes that more than 100 studies about the imitating effect from media reports shows that it can lead to subsequent, additional, suicidal behaviours. Especially if it is repeated coverage and/or a high profile (celebrity) that is high regarded by the viewer, or someone he/she identified with, or feel like they are similar to the person that died. Stories that confirm or repeat myths about suicide or that include a detailed description of a particular method of suicide, or the vicinity of the event are more likely to result in copycat suicides. There is a consensus in the research community about these effects and Niederkrontenthaler et.al (2019) came to the same conclusions on the *Werther effect* when they studied the research in their ‘Suicide and the Media: From Werther to Papageno Effects – A Selective Literature Review.’ in 2019. Most of the studies they looked at also highlighted the media effect of writing sensationalistic as a contributor to imitation effects.

One example of the *Werther effect* is a study done on suicide in USA after movie star Robin Williams killed himself in august 2014. The study shows that there was an increase of almost 10% of the expected suicide trend rate in USA from august to December 2014, which would say an increase of 1841 people (Fink et al., 2018). The increase was strongest in the group of male 30-44, who would identify with Williams, and the method which he used (suffocation). Media in USA did not follow the guidelines in this case and covered it sensationalistic, descriptive of both method, reason and scenery. It was also in the news over several months after the incident (Fink et al., 2018).

Although there is less evidence overall for fictional media such as fictional films and television series to trigger suicidal ideation and behaviour, mainly due to the smaller number of studies in this area, there are some studies that clearly indicate that fictional portrayals of suicides can also influence real-world suicidal behaviours (Niederkrontenthaler et al., 2019). Both the *Werther effect* and *Papageno effect* came from fictional media. Studies in both

Germany and New York showed an increase in similar suicides and groups after it was shown in tv series and films in the 1980s (Niederkrontenthaler et al., 2019). A study on the debated tv show “13 reasons why” that Netflix released April 2017 also shows a suicide increase in the target group in USA. The show portrays very closely why and how a 17-year-old girl kills herself. Main target group for the show was age 10-19 and in USA there was an increase of suicides by 15% in that group in the 3 months that followed the release. There was no increase for any other age group in that period. (Till B, et al., 2019).

#### Suicide portrayed in Norwegian media

Coverage of suicide in Norwegian news are generally becoming more open since the millennium. There are several studies that shows that suicide inclusion in media is growing, and that there has been a change since the rewriting in the *Be careful poster* in 2006 (Nybø, 2016). Thorvik (2021) presents empirical evidence that media has used the word suicide increasingly since the 1950s, especially are there a significant growth from the 1990s and onwards. In my research I have not managed to find designated content analysis studies that researches on Norwegian media coverage of suicide before 2006. This is on accord with other studies who have had the same conclusion (Lamark&Andreassen, 2007). The general impression that is given in most of the studies suggests that before the rewriting of the *Be careful poster* in 2006 many journalists and media professionals in Norway saw suicide as a forbidden topic they should not write about (Hognestad, 2007).

The research on how the media in Norway cover suicide is not extensive, but there are a few studies. The first comprehensive study on suicide in media that covers the changes made in the *Be careful poster* in 2006 is a study from the Norwegian journalist trade union. Made by Lamark&Andreassen (2007), its purpose was to see how media covers suicide in 2006 after the revision. Later research has mainly been master thesis and have often compared too or used the study of Lamark&Andreassen as their inspiration. Sagflaat (2008) made a content analysis of 4 newspapers depiction of suicide. Desroches (2016) made a similar study as Lamark&Andreassen to see if media coverage was beneficial to society and in accordance with the *Be careful poster* in 2014 and compared it to the study findings from 2007. In 2019 Johansen wrote her study on how bloggers mention suicide and compares blogging and mainstream media coverage of the topic. She uses both Lamark&Andreassen and Desroches studies to compare how coverage has evolved and if they are following the WHO guidelines.

The latest study included on the topic comes from Veel (2021) who, besides having her main focus on suicidal problems in prison and psychiatric institutions, describes the development of suicide coverage in the media from 2006 to present.

In these studies, there are little critique against the media for not following the paragraph on suicide. From the year after the revision in 2006, Lamark&Andreassen concludes that the coverage on suicide is projected responsible and carefully, not sensationalized, or unnecessary for the public's interest. When Desroches (2016) and Veel (2021) later follows up with similar studies and compares it to the time of Lamark&Andreassen's study, they too find the coverage similarly responsible and in accordance with the guidelines. Another that reaches the same judgement, is the general secretary of the Norwegian association of editors, Reidun K. Nybø (2016). She created the guidelines for suicide coverage in media for the Norwegian press association and is one of the most prominent researchers on the topic in Norway. In a study from 2016 on all the cases where there had been filed a complaint to the professional committee of the press (PFU) since the revision in 2006 (there were 12 complaints in total, 9 was evicted), Nybø found, with some exceptions, that media in Norway rarely violate the *Be careful poster* and they follow the paragraph from 2006. It would seem there is consensus among researchers that Norwegian media manages to avoid sensationalize and create imitation effects when they are covering suicide. This would suggest, following Waldahl's (1999) theories, that the media processes that lead to consumers misconception on suicide is, firstly not intended, but also not caused by overdramatized and sensationalistic coverage of the topic.

This, however, does not mean that there is a general satisfaction among researchers on how suicide is portrayed in the Norwegian media or how the paragraph in the *Be careful poster* have affected the development. Already in the year after the revision in 2006, Lamark&Andreassen (2007) noted that there was little change in how suicide was covered and that journalists they interviewed found the new paragraph more difficult to relate to. In their study they state,

*“Det old paragraph on suicide in the Be careful poster stood untouched for thirty years and it might seem rash to imply a new revision only a year after the last. Still, this study gives several good reasons to do exactly that.”* (p.55, 2007).

The general criticism from Lamark&Andreassen said the journalism on suicide was superficial, predictable and very distanced. Journalist were afraid to write about the topic and had no practice for it after treating it basically as a prohibition in the past.

A decade later, Nybø (2016) writes that media has become braver and more open in their cover of suicide. But not brave or open enough for her taste. Nybø criticize journalism in Norway for not covering suicide in the manner it deserves, seeing the stature it has as a societal problem. She says there is an uncertainty among journalists on how to mention suicide and that it is a bigger problem that journalist does not cover suicide then it is that they overstep the press ethics when doing so. Likewise to Nybø, Johansen (2019) finds it problematic that journalists seem to not know how they are supposed to cover suicide. The coverage of suicide as a societal problem has not developed as Nybø hoped for after the rewriting of the *Be careful poster* in 2006. These comments on the uncertainty and fear on how to cover suicide in the media could have an effect on the coverage. If all the journalistic focus is on the effect that media can cause suicide and not so much on the informational and balanced coverage, focus where people are informed of the states of affairs would come as subordinate importance. Desroches (2016) is more positive and states that the coverage of suicide by the media is socially beneficial for the society. She shares Nybø's view in that coverage is still lacking, especially in information and communicating hope. Desroches finds empirical evidence for more media coverage of suicide, more openness, and more mediation of hope in 2014 then 2006. There is also a clear tendency of covering suicide more as a societal problem then individual cases. This was not the case in 2007 when Lamark&Andreassen stated: "*Have Norwegian press become more concerned with suicide as a challenge for the community, and as a societal problem that we can contribute doing something about? Hardly.*" (p.17, 2007).

In the newest research, Veel (2021) remarks how media has developed to contribute to the preventive work of suicide and the important work media has to remove the tabu around it. She focuses on how media can affect politically by writing about suicide and the failure and adequacy in the system around the preventative work. An example comes from 2018 when NRK revealed numerous law-breaking offences in suicide cases within Norwegian psychiatry. They followed up with several stories where next of kin shared their stories. The focus on the topic led to the health minister of Norway gathering all the health organizations of the state to revise the problem, which again led to an improvement of the preventative work of suicide in

the health service. Higher prioritizing of suicide preventing work was also achieved in Canada when a local reporter travelled to Norway and Finland to write articles on suicide prevention in the two countries. The articles got a lot of positive reactions and led to political changes in Canada as parliament members collaborated on creating a new prevention strategy (Lesage, 2003). Reports like these that uncovers structural problems in the preventive work on suicide can be very helpful and important. However, the result will often be presented sensationalistic, and the framing will necessarily be negative to point out the problem and to make an impact, which again will make consumers interpret suicide to have a negative trend when that necessarily is not the case.

Besides the ordinary news that now include online media, blogging is increasingly becoming influential in people's lives. Especially influential on the typical reader of blogs, young people, who are also those that are most vulnerable and affected by the imitation effect of suicide (Veel, 2021). Bloggers are often independent and are a media group that do not have the ethical regulations of ordinary news they need to follow. Johansen (2019) did a content analysis of blog posts and online media in 2017 to compare how the different media writes about suicide. She concluded that there is not too much difference in how media and blogging cover suicide. Bloggers write a bit more sensationalistic and more about suicide methods, but they also offer more information on how to get help or deal with suicide thoughts compared to media. There are other concerning findings on online use as EU Kids Online research from 2018 shows that 26% of Norwegian kids aged 9-17 have visited webpages that discuss suicide, an increase from 9% in 2010 (Johansen, p.18). In 2019 there was also uncovered a hidden network on Instagram where hundreds of young Norwegian girls shared pictures and videos of self-harm and methods of suicide. 15 members of this group had committed suicide in the last 5 years (Johansen, p.96). Even though the findings of online forums and networks for underage are alarming, Johansen's dissertation shows that blogging have a similar coverage of suicide as mainstream media and consumers perceptions on suicide that use this platform should presumtuously not differ to much from that of the mainstream media consumers.

Even though most scholars encourage more open covering of suicide in the media, some are more hesitant. Thorvik (2021) questions how desirable it is to normalize suicide. In one of the newest content analyses by Johansen (2019) on suicide articles descriptions of suicide method had gone up to be included in 10%, up from 6% in 2006 and 3% in 2014. This could be a

result of writing more openly about suicide and it might be difficult to have more open dialogue and not get unwanted consequences when doing so. A book researching on suicide also has their concerns towards what degree effects of opening up too much about suicide will have:

“Destigmatizing suicidal behavior and making suicide a topic of public debate will have a positive effect (e.g. encouraging help seeking), but destigmatizing and normalizing suicide will also reduce the threshold of reaching the decision to end one`s life (e.g. for those depressed and feeling as if they are a burden to their family). Lowering the threshold is therefore likely to increase suicide risk in these patients, and the balance between costs and benefit remains unclear” (Kölves et al., 2020, p.107-108).

As a part of their research in 2007 Lamark&Andreassen interviewed journalists on how they wrote about suicide and how the revision of the *Be careful poster* had changed their journalistic assessments when writing about the topic. Many was unsure and scared to direct the issue and found the phrasing in the Be careful poster of avoiding description that can contribute to triggering suicidal acts difficult to assess. This was still an issue that Nybø addressed in 2016 stating that there was still an unpleasantness among journalists when covering suicide. She asks rhetorically in what degree is it the media`s responsibility to prevent suicide? (Nybø, p.9). Lamark et al. advised 15 years ago that the press organizations should work actively to inform and train journalists and editors to better knowledge on suicide and journalism (Lamark&Andreassen, p.56). Considering the uncertainty journalists still seem to have covering suicide, the advice has likely been overlooked.

### Moral panic

The theory on moral panic was first introduced by Stanley Cohen in 1972 in his work ‘Folk devils and moral panics’. Here he explains how moral panic is a phenomenon created by mass media, “A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylized and stereotypical fashion by the mass media” (Cohen, 1972). Moral Panics can occur in every society, and it happens when something or someone threatens the morality in that society.



Cohen says the mass media will exaggerate and sensationalize particular facts in order to highlight deviant behaviors and then project them onto the public as “news,” which is then internalized by consumers. What really excels media’s role in contributing to moral panics are their selective interpretation of particular facts and influence in conceptualizing deviance. Deviance from society is seen as a necessity for moral panic to occur and media can create this deviance, and decide what is and what is not deviance, says Cohen. What results is the reporting of particular facts or pieces of information that may generate concern and anxiety. The circumstances can be something which has been in existence long enough, but suddenly appears in the limelight, like suicide (White, 2009).

One perspective in moral panic that could be relevant for suicide is that of the constructionist. This view says that social problems can be characterized, not by a concrete and real threat, but from a collective feeling of concern in the society. Concern like this can take place if the societal problem has a large amount of organized activism, campaigning or social movements targeting it. The degree of seriousness from the government and the extent of media coverage of the social problem is also a characteristic that can be measured to see how collectively concerned the society are on the matter (White, 2009). Looking at the constructionistic view considering suicide there are several similarities. Suicide is a concrete and real threat, but as we have seen there is also a belief and feeling in society that it is a growing problem. It is however difficult to say if it is believed to be a bigger social problem than it is or just a growing social problem. There are in Norwegian society large amount of organized activism, campaigning and social movements targeting suicide, especially was this visible during the covid pandemic. Also, during the pandemic, the government was very visible in media focusing on the importance of decreasing the suicide numbers and in 2020 they introduced a five-year plan of zero vision for suicide. The extent of media coverage on suicide will be easier to consider after the content analyze, but we already know that the amount of coverage on suicide has increased drastically the latest decades.

In a research article from 2013, Ann Luce covers how journalists have a specific responsibility to avoid creating moral panic. She writes that media’s role is to help maintain stability in a society and moral panic emerges when there is a misrepresentation of an important social

issue. My hypothesis in this dissertation claims there is a misrepresentation of an important social issue that suicide is, it will be interesting to see if that is found correct, and if so, if that then will be regarded as irresponsible in a way that it can be argued for creating moral panic.

As Luce says,

*“In short, as a journalist, you always need to think beyond the immediate limits of a story to consider its wider impact. Your personal moral code entails recognizing that what you write or broadcast can shape people’s lives, sometimes in profound ways. It is when journalists forget this moral code, or do not practice responsible journalism, that moral panics emerge in society.” (Luce, 2013).*

An example of moral panic and suicide comes from 2008 when a town in Wales who had had several suicides over a short period got international media attention after journalists had sensationalized and reported without considerable evidence. Moral panic occurred when journalists misreported and concluded on several reasons behind the suicide wave, including drugs, internet networking and cults, neither of whom was proven. Together with the demonizing of the victims, the media coverage complicated the investigation and the preventive work, created suspicions and reinforced prejudices towards locals, and aggravated the situation for those affected by the suicides (Luce, 2013).

#### Influencing factors

To summarize the studies done on media and suicide, media influences people and their view on suicide. There is clearly a chance of an imitation effect like the *Werther effect* that media needs to consider, even though it is difficult to state exactly how it is triggered or in what scale. Mentioning method of suicide, including revealing pictures/videos, romanticizing, or writing sensationalistic and repetitive about suicide are some of the traits proven to have a dangerous effect on vulnerable groups. Norwegian media are considerate and responsible in their coverage of suicide and have been so since the revision of the *Be careful poster* in 2006. Many of the scholars on the subject are not content with only following the guidelines and urges media to do more. Research shows there is a positive trend in the coverage of suicide in the media from the study of Lamark&Andreassen in 2007 to the more recent ones with Johansen (2019) and Veel (2021). Media is writing more openly about suicide, something that

have been emphasized as a goal by both the press association and most researcher, especially Nybø (2016). Those left behind and next of kin are progressively being prioritized to tell their stories by the media, giving them powerful voices. There is empirically proven that there is an increasingly critical view towards societal matters in articles on suicide, a pattern that shows society alternates the view on suicide as an individual problem to a societal problem. Articles with a critical voice towards societal structures grew from 27% in 2006 to 64% in 2017 (Johansen, p.72). Direct information in articles on help coping with suicidal thoughts increased to 22% in 2017 from 6% in 2014 (Johansen, p74).

So how does this influence consumers perception on suicide? Most of the findings in the research on suicide in media that has been presented here focuses on how media effect people's behaviour and actions in the shape of being possibly influenced to commit suicide. This affects how the press and journalists cover suicide; therefore it is relevant to this thesis. But more interesting in this paper is it to discuss how that coverage influences consumers and their conception on suicide. This will be easier to answer after the content analysis is performed, but we can make some assumptions based on former research. We have established that media cover suicide responsible and not sensationalistic or overdramatic for most part, which are the main characteristics for media influences that Rosling (2018) highlights. The quantity of suicide coverage has grown a lot, this can be a factor that influence the consumers. Seeing more coverage of the topic could give them the perception that it is a growing problem. Media is writing more openly and personally about suicide, giving more space to those left behind to tell their emotional stories which are more likely to give an impression and be memorized by readers. The increasing focus and coverage of mental health in media is probably also contributing to perception on suicide. Suicide is heavily linked with mental health for a good reason, as National Centre for Suicide Research and Prevention says that near 90% of suicide victims have a mental illness at the time of death (Nybø, National Guidelines). The perception on the two topics is likely to follow each other. Probably the most influencing factor, which Waldahl (1999) point out, is the collected and accumulated message that media communicates to their consumers about suicide. The quantity and framing with a repeated and extensive exposure can create a cultivating factor as described earlier in this chapter.

## Methodological framework

To understand some of the media habits of Norwegian consumers I have looked at research done by Reuters institute in cooperation with Sakariassen et al. They did a digital news report in Norway (and many other countries, mostly EU countries) in 2017, mapping media patterns of how the population used the different media outlets. This report covers many interesting media habits in Norway and is important framework to work from when constructing method of research in this paper. Almost every Norwegian consider themselves as interested in news. 85% uses news daily and three out of four uses it several times a day. This report also shows how technological development has fundamentally affected how consumers find their news. The traditional newspaper in paper version, that for so long was the primary source for news, has the last decades been dethroned and surpassed by news sources like social media, online newspapers/apps, tv and radio. Only 4% say that traditional newspaper is their most important source to news, while two out of three use their smartphones to read news. Online newspapers and news programmes on tv are the two most important source of news and it is so for more than half the population. Social media and news on radio are the primary news source for about 20% of the people. Interesting finds in the report includes that Norwegians use traditional news (news houses that were established before the digital era) a lot more than EU countries, and there is a higher trust in media in Norway then in the EU, which reflects why so few Norwegians avoids news. (Sakariassen, et al. 2017)

## Research design

To investigate on media's coverage on suicide and to answer my research questions and hypothesis, I have chosen to perform a content analysis. My goal is to include as much as possible the daily content over a period that most consumers are exposed for. This way I can with more certainty see what media content that possibly influence people to have the conceptions that they have. Seeing that online media outlets are the most used and important media source for consumers (Sakariassen et.al, 2017), I will analyse the four most used Norwegian online media outlets. These online media outlets are Verdens Gang (VG), Norsk Rikskringkasting (NRK), Dagbladet (DB) and TV2. These four online media outlets stand

out as the most used. Research from 2022 shows that the fifth most read online media outlet have about half the readership as TV2 who is the least read among these four (MBL. Kantar), meaning that these four media outlets stand out in readership quantity from the rest of the online media outlets. All these four media outlets are producing general news from different parts of society. None of them have a known profile that focuses on some parts of the society, like the 5<sup>th</sup> most read online newspaper, E24, who focuses their news on economy and business. Two of the media outlets, VG and Dagbladet, are traditional newspapers who also produce paper editions. They were the two most read newspapers before the transition to online news became more popular. The two other media outlets, NRK and TV2, are the two most popular TV broadcasting outlets and have supplemented their product with their own website with online news. NRK are Norway's national broadcasting and financed by the Norwegian state. TV2 are the largest commercial broadcasting in Norway. NRK and Tv2 are the two only Norwegian broadcasting outlets that shows news programmes on TV, and will make the analysis reach larger part of media consumers. This because the media outlets are transparent and much of what is presented in TV news programmes on NRK and TV2 will also be posted on their online media sites. News programmes on TV, together with online news, are the most important source of news to the consumers. Studying these four websites will cover most of both the consumers and the population as Norwegians have a high user participation of news online.

#### Data collection

I collected data that was published between 1 January – 31 December 2022 (1 year). I chose this time period as it would represent coverage of suicide that the public is exposed to during the course of a year. The logic behind this is that in this way I will get all the different seasons of the year and avoid annual differences. I did consider comparing different years but then I would have less media outlets and not cover as much of the consumers total media exposures. I also considered comparing different periods of different years but then I would not get the full content that consumers are exposed to over the period I wanted. This way it will not be annual differences and disproportionate amount of coverage one year from the other following a political debate, celebrity suicide, or something in that manner that effects the coverage and would influence the analysis. Days or periods during the year

that may affect the coverage will all be included thru the year, like suicide preventive day and world mental health day. This design will make it easier to compare it to other similar research like Lamark&Andreassen (2007) and Desroches (2016) who had the same timeframe looking at media coverage of suicide over a full year, 2006 and 2014 respectively. Their research questions and focus were different than mine, and they analysed different media outlets, but with the same topic that will have many relevant findings and similar method design it will be comparable on many levels.

### Search strategy

I conducted my search using Retriever, a Norwegian media search engine that has all necessary media content that I need in their archives. Again, same search engine used by Lamark&Andreassen (2007) and Desroches (2016) and will make it more comparable. To find relevant articles to my topic I used the word suicide (“selvmord”) when searching for articles. Desroches used several paraphrases like “decided to leave us”, “chose to take his/her own life”, “personal tragedy”, “nothing criminal”, but found in her content analysis from 2016 that 98% of all relevant articles included the word suicide. She concluded that the tabu around suicide have gotten so small and the openness around the topic following so substantial that media does not use paraphrases for suicide anymore. I see no reason that media has shifted towards a lesser use of the word suicide since then and believe this method will extent all relevant articles. I will therefore constrain and simplify my method to only use the word suicide as a source to find the content to this research.

I have chosen to only include articles that are free and available for every consumer online. Two of the media outlets in the analyse, VG and Dagbladet, have subscription options where consumers can pay to get more content, called VG+ and DB+. These subscription contents are normally longer reports on diverse topics in society. The amount of people that have access to online news through at least one paid subscription are according to two different surveys 26% in 2017 (Sakariassen et.al) and 36% in 2021 (SSB) of the people that was asked if they had access to news thru paid subscription. This is numbers for all paid online news subscription, not only VG+ and DB+. Searching with the same design of method as I am using in this research but switching out the four media outlets in my analysis with the two paid

subscription outlet, VG+ and DB+, would give a result of 59 articles. These will not be included in the analysis because the majority of the consumers do not have access to them, and I wish to look at the content that most consumers are exposed to.

### Data analysis

In my research question I asked if media is framing suicide as a growing societal problem, or if the coverage is balanced and depicts suicide according to the trends and statistics. I also predicted in my hypothesis that I thought media covered suicide one-sided as a societal problem that was growing, giving the consumers the impression that it had a negative trend. To answer my research question and confirm or contradict my hypothesis I need to analyse these articles and look at how suicide is framed and portrayed. In a general perspective I will look at how suicide as a word and phenomenon is used and how it is framed and put in context in each article as a measure to communicate the message of the article. More closely I will identify how each use of the word suicide is portrayed in a negative or neutral setting. If it is used out of context and as an example of how bad suicide is. In articles where suicide as a societal problem is discussed I will observe if the discussion is balanced or if it has a negative framing. I will look at if the articles have comments or statements that remark on the development of suicide, are these negative, positive, or neutral? I will view an article as a whole, meaning looking at how the article is framed from the headline to the preamble and the body text. What is highlighted and what is the general impression of the article. An important characteristic of the articles that I will regard is how they imply the development of suicide. If it is not written directly, it could still be implied in the articles on negative or positive trends that can be perceptible by consumers. It can also be written indirectly by for example covering a mental illness topic negatively where suicide is a problem among those with this illness. The total impression of all the articles will also be emphasized as to how the assessment of the coverage of suicide by media is done. As been mentioned in the theory chapter, the collected and accumulated message has a big effect on consumers perception.

## Categories of articles

To structure the content analysis and get an overview of the articles, I will categorize them in different categories. Seeing that there will be a lot of articles in this content analysis it is to assume that the analysis will be of a quantitative method style. However, to answer my research question in the best way, I believe that making it as qualitative as possible within the frames of the design of method is beneficial. That means I will analyse each article for its content and characteristics instead of using variables that defines the nature of the articles. What will define which category the articles will be specified as, will mostly be decided by how suicide is portrayed and framed in them, and how the articles are designed.

There are 10 different categories created where the articles will be distributed according to their content and characteristics.

### **Category 1**

The category contains all articles where the use of the word suicide is not used as a description of what we know suicide to be - death caused by injuring oneself with the intent to die. Using the word suicide in another context than this is not abnormal and would be expected to occur. The use of suicide as a metaphorical statement is also expected to appear. "Political suicide" is an example of suicide used as a rhetoric mean to describe someone who ruins their political life, not physically tries to injure themselves.

### **Category 2**

The articles in this category will mention suicide, but it will not be very relevant for the article. Suicide will not be a topic in the articles or mentioned more than in a secondary importance for the story.

### **Category 3**

In this category, suicide is mentioned and has a more prominent importance in the article than in articles from category 2. Suicide is, however, not a big part of the story and the articles does not discuss suicide more than mentioning it in a secondary sentence or briefly as a possible consequence.



#### **Category 4**

These articles will mostly be informational coverage about individual suicide or several suicides that are connected. These articles will not discuss suicide in a broader context as a societal problem. The topic of the articles is mostly directly informing of the death of the person with suicide being mentioned as the cause of death. Since media do not cover suicide deaths unless it is seen as necessary public information, as presented in the theory chapter, it is to expect that most of these informational articles will cover suicide that relates to or affects someone famous or in an important role in society. Extraordinary surroundings on the suicide can also be a reason for media to cover it.

#### **Category 5**

I have created a category for stories and topics that are repeatedly covered by the media in many follow up articles. This will often be one media outlet that publishes an article on a story and then creates several follow up articles on the same or similar story to keep the consumers updated on the development and investigating the affairs more closely. It can also be considerable articles relating specifically to the same topic that repeats itself over a period and are associated closely. These groups of articles should be seen individual and together to understand the full coverage and impression it presents.

#### **Category 6**

These are stories that focuses on the friends and families of those that have committed suicide. The articles consist mostly of interviews and point of view stories from those that stood close to the diseased. In these articles the consumers get a glimpse of what a suicide can do to the people left behind.

#### **Category 7**

As discussed in the theory part, there are indications that stories of hope and improvement can have a positive influence on suicide numbers. I will have a category for the stories that portrays these positive changes and where the people in focus tell their stories of improvement after experiencing mental illness and suicidal behaviour.

### **Category 8**

This category will attain the articles that are critical to structural, political and institutional affairs in relation to suicide, especially the preventive work of suicide. These articles focus on suicide related matters where governmental and institutional organs, directly or indirectly, are being criticized for their actions.

### **Category 9**

In these articles, suicide as a societal problem is being discussed thoroughly. Suicide and how to prevent suicides is the main topic in these articles that focuses on discussing ways to improve the work against mental illness and suicide, both in general and in smaller groups of demographics in society.

### **Category 10**

These are the articles that did not fit in any of the other categories. This will be because of the way suicide is included and discussed in the article is not matching any categories, or that they have qualities that makes them suitable in several categories evenly. This will be a diverse set of articles that will have different characteristics.

In addition to these categories I will also identify if the articles have two other characteristics. The first being if the article is focusing on domestic or international relations and conditions. Meaning if the article covers something that are in Norway or about matters related to Norwegian society or Norwegian people, or if it is about international concerns. This categorizing is relevant because matters that are closer to consumers environment would have a stronger impact effect on the consumers according to Waldahl (1999), therefore will articles about suicide that are matters regarding domestically about Norway or Norwegians have a bigger impact on the Norwegian consumers. It will also be interesting to see if there are distinguished differences in the topics that are covered and the framing and portrayal of suicide when comparing coverage of Norwegian and international relations and conditions.

The other characteristic that will be listed is if the articles include a box of contact information to aid agencies. These contact information boxes contain phone numbers, chat

service links, websites and/or email addresses to aid agencies where people who have mental problems can make contact, talk about their issues, and have confidential conversations with volunteers or employees of the agencies. By identifying if contact information boxes are included where people with suicidal risk can get help, it can be compared to Desroches research from 2016 and Johansen's from 2021 who identified the same characteristics in articles about suicide. Including contact information boxes for the suicidal and mentally ill is also a characteristic in articles that tells consumers that this article is about suicide, it is serious, and that there are people who need help to get better. It is a signal that this article and the journalists that produce it takes suicide seriously and commemorate their social responsibility.

## Results

Implementing the method design as explained in Retriever with suicide in 2022, the result was 284 articles. Of these, seven were not accessible thru Retriever and therefore irrelevant. Six of these were behind a subscription wall, either Dagbladet+ or VG+ (Not sure why these were included as the choice to include subscription articles from these outlets were not selected in the design). Link to one of the articles from Dagbladet did not work. In total that means that there were 277 articles to analyse. This is how they were distributed between the media outlets:

- VG: 74
- DB: 92
- NRK: 35
- TV2: 76

The monthly distribution through the year from when they were published looked like this:

- January: 31
- February: 19
- March: 14
- April: 24
- May: 19
- June: 22
- July: 19
- August: 14
- September: 42
- October: 24
- November: 20
- December: 29

Total: 277 (Average of 23 articles per month)

Of these 277 articles, 131 were categorized to cover Norwegian relations and conditions, 140 covered international relations and conditions, and 6 covered both Norwegian and international relations and conditions.

67 of the 277 articles included some kind of contact information (phone number, e-mail, or chat) to aid agencies to contact if you need someone to talk to.

#### Category 1 – Metaphorical use of suicide

Approximately 15% (33 of 277) of articles included reference to suicide as a rhetorical point and as a metaphor in other contexts. It was used 15 times to describe different war tactics in the war between Russia and Ukraine. Many articles include statements referring to actions in the war like “it would be suicide to attack Kyiv” or “The employees further describe the soldiers' lack of anti-radiation equipment as "suicide"", coming from Ukrainian side about Russian forces. “Collective suicide” is mentioned three times in context to climate change, “political suicide” five times and “career suicide” two times, to mention some other examples. Also, four articles have the word suicide only in a link on the article site, not part of the article and the article is not relevant to suicide.

#### Category 2 – Suicide cameo

61 articles are categorized as mentioning suicide, but not very relevant in the article. By this I mean that the topic of the article is not about suicide, and although suicide is mentioned, it is considered to have little influence on both the article and the consumer. It will still be evaluated and analyzed as the collected and accumulated message could have an impact, as well as how suicide is used in these articles despite not being the focus. In many of these article’s suicide is mentioned briefly in a secondary sentence, about fictional characters or as one in a collection of several other similar issues.

There are 13 articles that are reviews on books, and three reviews on movies. Four articles are about tv-series. The articles on tv-series are all about fictional shows and it is mentioned that suicide occurs in them. Two of these articles are about a Norwegian show that have

been praised for focusing on suicide among young men, but this is not the focus in the articles and is only mentioned briefly. In two of the movie reviews suicide is mentioned as a small part of the action, while in the third biographical movie about Marilyn Monroe it is stated shortly that her death was probably suicide. The book reviews are all fictional books and suicide is in most of them mentioned as something occurred in the past of the main character or as a part of the beginning in a crime novel. Many of these books might address suicide more than what shows in the articles but considering the review articles that I base my analyze on it is not too influential about fictional characters. I do, however, notice that there are in total 17 book reviews totally in this selection that mentions suicide, which is a big portion of the 88 book reviews that are included if I would change the word in the design of this thesis from "suicide" to "book review" ("bokanmeldelse") and then include all book reviews in 2022 in the four media outlets.

Several of the other articles under this category where suicide is used are articles on diverse crimes. Two articles report on murderers who tried to make the crime look like suicide, while another tried to fake his own death to get out of murder. Two more articles write about cold cases where it was stated as suicides at the time, but new information changes this to a murder case. Three articles cover a Norwegian police officer that alerts about poor police work and deficiency, a case from years back where the police concluded with suicide on a young girl which later was confirmed to be a murder is an example mentioned. Suicide is also mentioned briefly as not likely in two other articles about missing people, as one of several problems in the old Soviet state armies because of brutal bullying, or as a possible consequence of alcohol, together with violence, accidents and sexual assaults. Some more examples include the Norwegian King being praised for talking about societal problems, including suicide, an article on a refugee who says she will "rather commit suicide than marry him", and encouragement of suicide being taken out of proportions in an article on online debate. All the articles in this category mentions suicide in different contexts and with various importance. But in none of them is suicide a topic discussed or is what makes the article newsworthy.

### Category 3 – Suicide as a supporting role

There are 26 articles categorized as mentioning suicide but not big part of the story. In this category suicide are still not the topic of the story but has a bigger impact on the story of the article and consequently more influential on the reader. In some of the articles the reader can also get the implied feeling of tendencies regarding suicide, even though it is only mentioned as a subsequent topic. Compare to the former category suicide is mentioned more closely to those that are in the focus of the articles.

Some topics of the articles are similar to the ones from category 2, one about faking your own suicide or an old case that has changed from suicide to murder. In these articles they focus more on the events regarding suicide as a topic and it is more highlighted. There are also two book reviews and two articles covering movies. The book reviews are more applicable as one is about a biographical book where a suicide is life changing, and the other, though fictional, is about a suicidal person. The articles covering the two different movies, one documentary about mental health and one biographical about a celebrity committing suicide, gives a bit more space to discussing different consequences around the suicide events and then barely mentioning it. In some longer articles concerning a massacre from Vietnam war or growing up in the Playboy mansions, it is revealed that several of the soldiers from the war and Playboy women have committed suicide. Two articles describe how alcohol can increase the risk of suicide, while another story on a sexual abuser quotes that victims from sexual assaults have three times higher risk of suicide. One article tells the story from the perspective of a next of kin to a famous person in jail where the treatment of this person is controversial, at one point the wife says she fears the prisoner might commit suicide if he is not released. In an article focusing on all the scandals of the royal house during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, it is briefly mentioned that the Duchess Meghan Markle felt pushed to the brink of suicide at some point following racism accusation and pressure. It is also mentioned in a couple of articles dealing with the storming of Congress in the US in 2021 that several police officers have committed suicide in the aftermath.

Other articles describe the concern of suicide as a problem in minority groups. One article follows women activist in Afghanistan and among others write about a female psychologist

who struggles with an increase of young female patients after Taliban's takeover in the country, "We have seen an increase in youths who has attempted suicide, she tells", is quoted in the story. In an article on the minority refugees Yezidis, it is concerns after several suicides have been reported among young Yezidis. Suicide is mentioned as a way out for homosexuals in countries with strict laws in one article, and one that states that homosexuals and trans people are a group that commit suicide more often. Two times suicide is mentioned in articles regarding Covid-19, ones as included in a group of external damages where this group was more deadly than the Covid disease, another where suicide is used as an example as deaths that are shifted from Covid to suicide because of lockdown.

As described, suicide in the articles falling into this category are more highlighted and more prominent than suicide included in category 2 articles. Suicide as a potential societal problem is shown and implied in a number of these articles. Especially in the articles were there is mentioned a concern of suicides among minorities or as a consequence of lifestyle or diseases. The common denominator in all these articles is nonetheless that suicide is not the topic. Suicide is mentioned in a secondary sentence or as a possible concern depending on other topics that are more prominent in the articles. A good indicator that these articles are not focusing on suicide is the fact that none of them have included contact information to helplines dealing with mental health and suicide thoughts.

#### Category 4 - Informational

The articles that fall under the category informational are mainly straightforward informative covering of suicides. With a couple of exceptions, the topic in the articles in this category are firstly the suicide of the person or persons that have committed suicide. The coverage on these suicides is for most part reported as individual cases and not set in a broader context as a societal problem. Although, some of the articles concerns trends in smaller scale environments. Writing in the media about a "normal persons" suicide as an individual phenomenon is very unusual, so we can see here as all mentioned suicide are either related to fame of some kind or extraordinarily circumstances.



In total 22 articles are included in this category, rather evenly divided by the three commercial media outlets, Dagbladet, VG and TV2, NRK has none. Each of these commercial medias covered the presumed suicide of a former Miss USA with a short and informative article, besides that none of the media outlets covers the same suicides throughout the year. Four more articles are only informational on deaths by celebrities and that it was most likely suicide, one of these was an assisted suicide. There are also four articles covering suicides of athletes, or former athletes from college or high school in the US. One does not say it is a suicide (and is only in the selection because of the word suicide is in the contact information box) but it is implied. The article also presents it as 'another death' among American college sport in a short period, naming two others that then are also impliedly suicides. On a suicide from a high school girl, we are presented with her mother's story blaming bullying among her teammates as the reason for the suicide.

Other articles inform of suicides in relation to other crimes, like a man that admitted murder before killing himself, school shooter finishing his massacre with suicide, staging own suicide to get away from jail, or committing suicide after killing the entire family of an ex-girlfriend. Two of the articles refer to reported suicides where others doubt that conclusion and believes something suspicious have happened. An article remarks that there are many deaths among Russian soldiers before they arrive at the front of the war, mentioning many of the causes of deaths, suicide being well represented. Two stories of more extraordinary sort are also covered, one being a family of five in Switzerland seemingly jumping to their deaths from a tall building, another was a suicide in Larvik, Norway, where a woman was found after laying dead in a sunbed for six days.

Common factor for the articles in this category is that they are relatively short, informative about the suicide or suicides they report on, and little to no space are given to other factors that goes beyond the suicide that are the main focus point in most of the articles. A little less than half of these articles include contact information to helplines. These articles put suicide on the agenda and reminds people of the fact that it is a problem that occurs often, especially also among famous – or those viewed as successful - people. But first of all, they perform the duty of the media by informing the public about incidents, although one might question some of these articles and their newsworthiness in Norwegian media.

## Category 5 – Following cases

Analyzing all the articles through 2022 there are some cases or stories that keeps getting repeated and creates a lot of follow up stories. I have created a category for these cases that are tangled together and are based on earlier articles or are about the same topic. These articles must be viewed both together to understand the total impact and alone to separately see what influence they can give. There are four different cases that has been included in this category and in total they consist of 48 articles. 11 articles are about the Recovery academy, a private mental health institution that receives a lot of criticism after a patient probably commits suicide, and the investigation that follows. Suicide is mentioned in other 11 articles about mass shooting and the debate on gun laws in USA. After the outburst of the war between Russia and Ukraine, a lot of high-profile Russian businessmen, especially oligarchs, are found dead under suspicious circumstances, often pointed to suicide by the authorities. 13 articles cover this phenomenon. The last topic is a big debate in media on Norwegian prisons and suicides among prisoners that are covered by 13 articles.

In the articles on the private health institution, the Recovery academy, we learn that it was put in the spotlight after a documentary series from NRK visited the place and gave it a lot of positive PR. The institution has a special drug-free treatment ideology. All the articles are from Dagbladet who covers it with a critical eye. The first five articles are from January and focuses on insufficient treatment given to Kevin (the man who probably committed suicide, as the articles say) and reveals several other deficient conditions. This includes harsh critique and stories from next of kin to Kevin, other patients and professionals going through the cases. In May there is another big article about several more inadequate patient care findings in the institution. In July, it is covered that Kevin's family are suing the Recovery academy, including a lot of information around the death, not details about the physical act of the suicide. Four more articles are posted about the institution, these mentions shortly the suicide of Kevin, but are focusing more on the deficiency and the investigation that surrounds the institution. Two of these articles are about another man who died at the center under objectionable conditions, but suicide is not mentioned as a probability here. The two other covers different former employee whistleblowers about the institution that was not followed up correctly. Looking outside of those articles that are included in this

method design, it is a larger focus on the scolded institution. Two articles on the probable suicide of Kevin were posted late 2021 and therefore a couple of days before what is included in this analysis, not giving this story the full picture in this dissertation. A further 14 articles from Dagbladet are also posted about the Recovery academy in 2022, showing that these articles included in this thesis are a part of a bigger accumulated coverage of the institution. These do however not focus on or mentions suicide, but seemingly focus on the general outrageous operation of the institution.

In the 11 articles distributed between April and July on all four media platforms on mass shooting, gun violence and debate on gun laws in USA, suicide is mentioned briefly in all of them, but still presented in a way that gives it a powerful statement. Most of these articles are published as a reaction to mass shootings and the following debate on gun laws in the United States that ran hot at the time. Suicide is not the topic of the articles but is mentioned as additional information in every article as included in the death numbers following use of firearms. In three of the articles it is quoted, “estimated 40.000 people are killed with firearms each year, suicide included”. Two other states the exact numbers of both people killed, and suicides, by firearms. In two more articles about firearm incidents, it is said almost 30% is suicide. Included in three of the articles covering the debate on gun laws, the quote “so far this year firearms violence has claimed 19.300 human lives in USA, more than half by suicide”.

The numerous suspicious deaths of oligarchs and other high standing men from Russia is covered in 13 articles. The articles are informative about the deaths, which are mostly reported from Russian media and government to be suicides or accidents. All the articles mention the high number of deaths among these high standing men since the war started, and some include comments and speculations where it is believed it is staged and that most of these people were killed by the Russian regime. Many of the victims had been negative towards the war, and in several of the cases their wife and children were also found dead at the scene.

A long article in the beginning of fall about a young man, named Jonathan, who killed himself in prison started a flood of critical articles towards prison conditions and the

correctional service in Norway. The debate shade light and have a critical view to the number of suicides in prisons, treatment given to inmates, how the system works regarding mentally ill in prison and the political use of money to these institutions. Of the 13 articles covering this topic, 11 of them are from VG and two from NRK. After the story of Jonathan, four more articles were published with a critical view towards the prison and both other inmates and lawyers blamed the prison for not preventing the suicide. The articles are very critical to the supervisory system for correctional facilities and the Minister of Justice and Emergency Preparedness promises change. In the end of November, the debate flare up again after a new critical article saying that mentally ill inmates that should be in psychiatric institutions keeps trying to commit suicide. In total eight articles on suicide and mentally ill in prison are published the last weeks leading up to Christmas. The articles include several examples of suicide victims where their families criticize the treatment given to the victims. Both politicians and those working in the correctional facilities problematizes the system and admits there is a problem that inmates with suicide risks are in prison and not in psychiatric institutions. Several of the articles are framed as the trust those put in jail should have to the system have been deceived by letting so many commit suicide, and especially again critical to the supervisory system for correctional facilities that are supposed to control the prisons and their operations.

VG presents a big investigating article with all the suicides in Norwegian prisons since 2008. An overview over all the 69 suicides in Norwegian prisons and stories from many of the victims with comments from their families are presented. In all the examples, it is quoted that there is believed from next of kin that there has been a failure in the system or that the suicide could have been avoided with correct treatment. This problem of suicides in prison and the debate that these articles pictures can be summarized by two quotes from two different articles, "Many inmates are too ill to sit in prison, but are not given a place in psychiatry.", and "who will take responsibility for the group of "chronically suicidal" who fall between all the seats, and whom no one wants on their conscience to succeed in their suicide attempt?".

These four cases, all with multiple correlated articles, show different sides of society with suicide related issues. The case with the Russian oligarchs is a bit bizarre and are mainly

covered in the news because of the hinted possibility of it being Russian government or other powerful people standing behind these “suicides” in very suspicious circumstances. Suicide is not the prime topic in the cover of mass shooting and the following debate on gun laws in USA that draws in suicide numbers from firearms. Similarly in all the articles it is mentioned only as information in one secondary sentence each article, as the focus in these articles are more about informing of gun violence and finding ways of stopping people shooting other people. Suicide as a societal problem is not discussed in any of the articles. These singularly mentioning’s of suicide number is however so influential powerful with the framing of the statistics that it is relevant in the analysis of this dissertation. Of the articles on these two cases, neither had any contact information to helplines dealing with mental health and suicide thoughts.

The two other cases are correlated articles following critical views of two different Norwegian institutions and how they have failed in preventing suicides. Looking at all the articles on the coverage of the Recovery academy it begins with focusing on a suicide but are conducted more towards the shortcomings of the institution and the charges of deficient operating. It is still clear to the reader that this inadequacy is what possibly caused the initial suicide and other deaths on the institution. The articles that bring to light the suicide numbers in Norwegian prisons are questioning the competence of one of the most important governmental bodies to protect its residents. This coverage gives many moving stories of what seems to be deaths that could have been avoided. It also focuses on suicide as a societal problem within the boundaries of jail, and of mental illness among prisoners. There is no contact information to helplines dealing with mental health and suicide thoughts regarding the coverage of suicides in prison, but six of the articles on the Recovery academy have this included.

#### Category 6 - Stories from next of kin

The articles in this category focuses on the stories for those left behind and next of kin to those that committed suicide. From their point of view, we read how they cope with life after their loved ones are gone and the life they now have. These stories, 11 in total, are

often long and personal, and descriptive on both the lives that were before and the grief that they experience now.

Several of the stories from next of kin are either celebrities themselves or talk about their celebrity family member that died. Five of these stories are quite similar. Not too long reports, but tells the story of next of kin, mostly reporting on other sources that has done interviews. Three articles are about next of kin to the same person, the former husband of the Norwegian princess. Two are almost identical about his daughter that lost her dad a few years back and now opens up about it in a podcast. Another tells the story of his girlfriend at the time of death that now have moved on and given birth. All three stories give an optimistic vibe where life is better after tough times. Less optimistic are the two other articles who speak of how life is still difficult after her son's death, and one wife that describes the situation where she lost her husband to suicide recently.

A father that lost both his twin sons to suicide in the span of six months and wrote a book about it is the topic for two gripping articles. One a book review where the reviewer gives the readers of the review a picture of how difficult the book is to read following the grief that are in it. The other an interview of the father telling the story on a tv-show. The book review mentions suicide deaths per year and the overweight of men in this statistic. We are retold how the family struggled with both the first suicide being sudden and brutal, and the other being a long fight to keep their son alive and about a healthcare system that appears helpless but not criticized in the book. In the interview we get the story directly from the father which makes the framing more emotional.

The rest of the stories from next of kin are all different in course of events, framing and topic. A long report tells the story of three older men that have found each other in the local kiosk where they meet on a daily basis. In common they have deep sorrows from losing children, two of them to suicide. Here they have found a safe space to open up and talk about their grief. In an article about a celebrity writing a book about crying and how this helped her through losing a friend to suicide, she mentions how she found it harder to open up about the grief following suicide than it was with sickness. Another story told from the daughters of their deceased mother are critical to how the health services acted in the last

hours before their mother killed herself. We are told how their mothers mental health got worse over the years, and how they feel deluded by the health services when their suicidal mom called for help hours before committing suicide.

An article about boys on a russebuss (a concept where youths celebrate finishing high school by driving around on customized party-busses) that honors a friend who killed himself the year before. Includes both stories from his friends and mother and discusses mental health and suicide among young men. The story starts with the boys explaining how they have incorporated their deceased friend and struggling with bad thoughts in their celebration, and how his death has made them more aware of talking about their problems. Through the general secretary of mental health, the article also discusses the importance of focusing on that suicide happens among us, and bringing this to light will remove the stigma around it. A very interesting and informative fact box is integrated in the article that gives a lot of relevant information. This includes information that suicide has gone down since 1990, that median age of suicide victims is 47 years and that it is approximately on the same level as Europe, North America and Australia.

Most of these stories are primarily concentrated around a singular suicide and do not discuss the general problem that suicide is in the society. Reading the stories from those that are left behind and affected by suicide will still influence the consumers and for some be more impactful for their perception than the articles that discusses suicide in a broader context. The story about a father losing both sons are probably one of the suicide stories in this whole selection that influences the consumers most emotionally. Most prominent with their framing are the article that criticize the health services, blaming them for the suicide death, and with the group of friends where balanced statistics and information are presented on top of elevating the importance of talking about suicide.

#### Category 7 - Stories of improvement

Talking about mental health and suicide thoughts have been normalized more over the years. We can see that here with 23 stories published through the year in this category that focuses on people who have been struggling with mental problems and/or suicide thoughts.

The majority of these stories comes from celebrities or other relevant people who has been in the spotlight of some kind. These are mostly direct interviews or indirectly reporting of interviews from other sources. In about half of the articles it is mentioned that the person has had thoughts about, or tried to, commit suicide. The other half are not so explicit and talks about mental problems, but it does not appear in the text that suicide has been an option. Many of these stories focuses on the importance of talking about mental health and a hope that their story can help others that are going through similar feelings.

Four of these articles are famous or relevant people that opens up about going through or recovering from tough times. The image given in the text are not that suicide has ever been considered and they are only in the selection because of the contact information box includes the word suicide. Furthermore, several artists use their platforms and fame to talk about mental health. There are interviews with two musicians and an author who has struggled with their mental health and are now showing it through their art. They focus on the importance of talking about what people face. They especially want to be role models for men to normalize talking about difficult topics, in context of how most suicides are done by men. In which two of the articles has statistics about this, and general suicide numbers for 2021, are included. One story has a more positive framing with comments from the organization Mental health that says they have experienced physical health becoming more prominent on the agenda of society, and a small revolution in men contacting them for help, especially from the younger generations. A look to a positive development is also quoted in the article, "I don't necessarily think that more people are struggling today, but there are more people talking about it. Before, they couldn't channel it". In a book review article, we are retold of the recovery of a man in his biographical book. The review does not necessarily focus on the improvement of the man in the book, but it starts with describing his miserable life and quoting his suicidal thoughts in the beginning and ending with the impression of a new family life, apparently a happy one.

Various celebrities have opened up in media during 2022 about how their desire to live no longer was present at some point. Distributed over six articles, four former athletes reveal how they in their darkest times wanted to commit suicide. In common they are all better off now and looking positively on the future. Most of them express their wish that their



openness can inspire others that are in the same situation they were to talk about their problems. Other published stories are also a couple of interviews with celebrities looking back at a rough childhood with suicide ideas. Other articles include the story of a man and his battles following sexual assaults at a young age. Several suicide attempts survived as a grown man and now with a feeling of being reborn after opening about it. Controversial medical treatment with ketamine is the focus of an article where a woman talks about the treatment getting her away from the self-destructive and suicidal pattern she had been on for years. The article describes the treatment, which so far is only on research level, with a positive view and speculate that it can save many lives if it would be made accessible to the public. We also hear the story of an old woman who experienced a horrible youth with both sexual and physical assaults after being adopted in the post-war period where the adoption criteria was catastrophic compared to today's standard. She reminisces about her difficult upbringing, but also shades a light of hope as her life has been a good one after all.

In another article, again, with a man exposing his difficult childhood, suicide as a societal problem is discussed in depth. The article focuses on the story of a man, named Dennis, that after a life of loneliness and suicide attempts, now have found his passion and joy of life. Second part of the article switches to discussing how to tackle suicide as a societal problem, especially among men. First with positive comments from the leader of National Center for Suicide Research and Prevention (NSSF) who praises Dennis for his openness and is clear that it is precisely such role models, and these stories of hope and recovery, that we need so that fewer people choose to take their own lives. The article then continues with the subheading 'A major societal problem' and adds comments from a state secretary and suicide association, "These numbers are terrible." and "The suicide rates are shockingly high... The numbers are unfortunately a trend that has been there for many years and continues", with a follow up question as to what to do to change this negative trend.

The three last stories of recovery also discuss suicide on a deeper level. One is an interview with an author who experienced loneliness and suicide by his father in young age. Now writing a semi-fictional book on the topic. Criticism against both the way society communicated around his father's death at the time and how difficult it is for those with suicide thoughts to find help after he did an experiment on it. Another story tells us about

Johannes, an apparently successful and healthy young man, who suddenly became depressed and attempted suicide. The article focuses on how men and woman have two very different ways of handling emotions and crises. Men are more effective in their suicide attempts than woman, and they are not as good as women to communicate and seek out help when this is needed. Johannes's story is yet a story of hope and recovery as it describes a man at a better place in life. A story he hopes can help others to seek help when in his position. In another story of recovery and hope, distributed over two very similar articles in two media outlets of the same man, we meet Oddvar, a man like Johannes, someone who apparently showed that he was healthy and happy, but underneath was struggling and tried to kill himself. He is now relevant as he has written a book about his own suicide attempt. The article focuses on how Oddvar, and others like him who is apparently doing well, also can struggle and be suicidal, it is not unique. Again, the appeal goes out to people to be brave and open about their issues.

All these stories are stories where positivity and hope are communicated to the readers. In focus is the story of recovery and how people who have struggled has found a way out of their misery. These stories are important to tell so that others in similar situations can recognize that they are not alone with their feelings, and that people with resembling problems as themselves have found a way to get help and changed their lives to the better. Loneliness and challenging childhoods are often the sources that are being explained as reasons for mental problems. A common desire in these articles by the people opening about their own problems is to be a role model and encourage others. Especially is it focused on the high proportion of men represented in the suicide statistics and how to be able to make men better at asking for help.

#### Category 8 – Critical articles

One of media's essential tasks is to report on matters of those that governs the country and how this is performed. Many of the articles regarding suicide in this thesis selection have a critical view and/or framing. We will look at those articles that has a critical eye and focuses on structural, political, governmental, and institutional flaws when it comes to dealing with suicide on a level of societal problem. Criticism is voiced in several of other articles in this

selection as well, but in these articles, 20 in total, criticism to state bodies or important pillars of society is the main topic.

Some of these critics are towards singular incidents and how they were handled. A father criticises how the police acted towards his son before he committed suicide, blaming them for being the triggering cause and reports it without getting indemnity. Another mother is critical to the treatment her daughter received, or not received, as she died while waiting for treatment. The report after this incident confirms that the suicide could have been averted with correct treatment from health services, and that there was failure in the follow-up of the diseased after she had been in contact with health services. After the government submitted proposals for the national budget in the fall, where there were drastic changes to the funding of volunteer organizations, a few articles cover the receptions of these changes. Reactions from organizations like queer youths and post-adoptions, who is among the groups with high suicide rates, reacts strongly to these changes to the media. In an article where next of kin to suicide victim reacts to the change of funding, a politician not in government, condemns the new proposal and points out how the emergency places and inpatient places in psychiatry have been greatly reduced in recent years. She is also quoted at saying the suicide numbers are increasing.

Other articles focus on errors and omissions in specific institutional services. One report says that the police's boarding school for foreigners have evaded to alert the state's health inspectorate when there have been suicide attempts at the facility. A handicapped man had his application for financial support for an adapted vehicle denied by the social services. The challenges he is facing without this has brought him to consider taking his own life, as he is questioning the social services and their basis of assessment. In another story we read from the perspective of the mother of the deceased, where her son killed himself after health service had switched out daily visits from a home nurse to a machine that distributes medicines at the correct times. The schizophrenic man had collected medicine over days which he then overdosed on (the only article in the selection where method of suicide is described!). His family does not understand why he, with a record of suicide attempts, where considered to have his daily visits replaced by a machine with no control over his

medicine intake. Their case against the health services were not concluded at the time the article was published.

Several critical voices are expressed in the media towards the system that deals with suicide preventions. The numbers show a negative trend where mentally ill children and young people must wait an average of 45 days before they receive the treatment they are entitled to. This is heavily criticized in this article where a mother of a deceased girl talks about how her daughter died of suicide while waiting for treatment. Politicians also express concern over the trend. In the occasion of a big movie about Norwegian sailors of war, we are told the story of veterans of war and how they often have mental problems and a high suicide rate after service. Through other veterans, the article criticizes the government for not having a system that is good enough for taking care of them after service. Both the capacity and competence are far from what it should be to take care of soldiers that have been on foreign assignments for Norway. The article also focuses on their friend that killed himself some months earlier as an example of a veteran that did not get the help he needed.

Two chronicles in VG brings up the topic of mental health and suicide and proposes concrete measurements to deal with the problem. Both focuses primarily on men and their overrepresentation in the suicide statistics. One chronicle has a broader context in lifting up men and among other measures suggests a reform on mental health directed to men and boys. The other urges the media to take bigger responsibility in using their power to set mental health and suicide problems higher on the agenda. In the latter chronicle, the writer who is a psychologist, starts the text with the following statement, "Not since the 1990s have the suicide numbers in Norway been so high. Norway has a zero vision for suicide, yet the suicide rate has, so to speak, remained unchanged for the past 50 years with around 600 suicides each year".

In an article where the suicide rates are presented as stable the last decades, a suicide researcher and psychologist criticize the government for lack of effort against the problem. The article uses Johannes (who is mentioned earlier in an article on improvement and hope) as an example of an apparently healthy young man who could have easily become a part of the suicide statistic. It includes suicide statistics since 1990 and mentions that more than 600

people kill themselves every year, 2/3 are men, and that the suicide rates have been the same the last 20 years. It also adds that even though many were worried before the suicide numbers were revealed for 2020 following the pandemic, the numbers had not increased here either. The government are criticized for not following their own action plan for the prevention of suicide, where they in the plan for 2020–2025 introduced for the first time a zero vision for suicide in Norway. The efforts, measures and ambitions are not compatible to these goals, claims the suicide researcher. He also says it is a poor consolation that the suicide rates have not gone up and that it is a myth that a lot have been done to prevent suicide through the three action plans we have had in the last 20 years. Generally, the effort towards a societal problem that kills 600-700 people a year is far too little, and it needs to change. Although this article has a critical view to the government and the suicide preventive work that is being done, it is balanced as it brings forth and makes it clear that the suicide rates have not increased.

I will also shortly include in this category two cases that are not critical towards structural or political affairs but merely critical to suicide related events. The song “If I left the world” by a famous Norwegian artist heavily receives criticism for its lyrics concerning its psychological blackmailing and implied threat of suicide if the person was to be left by its partner. It is covered quite similar in three different media houses who focuses on another celebrity that attacks the lyrics on Instagram. The criticism is backed up by suicide experts and in one article it is contextualized with comments on significant increase in self-harm among school pupils. The discussion goes both ways as the lyrics is also defended by other prominent people in showbusiness. Two articles cover a case where a man kills himself after receiving a letter from his former employer that are characterized as a character assassination by his widow. The widow sues the company for causing the suicide, but the court decision does not agree it was punishable by law.

As mentioned in the introduction of this category, it is necessary that media has a critical eye to the dealings of governing actors of society. To keep them accountable, investigate their affairs, question their methods, and inform the public. The downside of this is that it can create an excessively negative portrayal of topics like suicide. These articles give the impression that the government and other pillars of society is not doing a very good job in

the work against suicide. The criticism comes within individual situations and groups, but most of all against the government as a unit as the dissatisfaction of the preventive work against suicide comes forth. Negativity against leading bodies will affect people's belief in their competence and ability and could also affect their impression of suicides in a negative direction.

#### Category 9 - Suicide as a societal problem

The articles in this category is some of the most relevant to this research in sense of looking at suicide as a societal problem and debating on how to improve the situation. They comment and discuss problems surrounding different groups where mental problems and suicide are more occurring. They try to put a spotlight on suicide to emphasize the dire need for improvement in the preventive work, and they address our society and our problems in an attempt to create a more open and understanding dialogue for those that have mental problems and/or are suicidal. There are 22 articles included in this category. Many of these articles focuses on the overweight of men represented in the suicide statistics and discuss how this can be dealt with.

One article covers a report that maps *Incles* in Norway. As stated in the article, *Incels* are mostly lonely men that struggles in the real world with low confidence and social skills. *Incels*, acronym for involuntary celibate, are often active on online communities with other *incles*. This have been feared is a source to dangerous activities as they have a reputation of being misogynists and angry. The report shows that they are for most part a danger to themselves with self-hatred and a high suicide risk among them. The report hopes that it can contribute to raise awareness of how we meet men when they have a hard time, explaining that men are not always met with the same empathy as other groups in society. Another article covers the Minister of Culture and Equality who have created a men's selection to look at men's equality challenges. High suicide rates among men are being emphasized as one of the main reasons this selection is needed.

As mentioned earlier, the tabu and stigma around talking about mental health and suicide has diminished by the years. The number of articles through the year where the message

pleads people to dare talk about suicide shows that many still feel there is a lot of improvement on the subject. Most of the articles that debate suicide mentions the importance of being able to talk about the problems that are faced in one way or another. In these articles the appeal to be courageous and open is commanding a change in status quo. As in an emotional chronicle from a parliamentary representative on World Suicide Prevention Day that request us as a society to dare to talk about suicide. He emphasizes that it is a societal mission to reduce suicides and “The statistics for the number of lives lost to suicide are grim and high”. Another politician urges men to not be afraid to open up and talk about their troubles, and advice more people to open their eyes and stretch out a hand to anyone they might suspect have problems. “Suicide is normal”, is the headline of this article where the focus is to normalize talking about suicide. In this article a man from a suicide association and a script writer who both lost a parent to suicide talk about how important it is that we dare to talk about it. They assert how suicide is a major societal problem and that we as community, together with the government, has a responsibility to deal with this problem. They talk about how they experienced the tabu around discussing suicide when their parents died many years ago, how it has evolved for the better, but that there is still some tabu surrounding it. The same two people figure in one more article where they talk about the script writers tv-show and how it focuses on suicide. “The suicide statistics hit me in the stomach”, is the headline of the article where the script writer talks about how the suicide statistic was a shock to her and the background to why they focused the tv-show and its plot on this.

Some articles during the year expresses worry of the development of mental health and suicide among certain demographics or groups in the population. An article about increasing financial problems for Norwegians puts this in context with the suicide numbers, “In Norway, between 600 and 700 people commit suicide every single year, and financial problems have a clear connection with this tragic statistic, according to the psychologist specialist”. With statistics that shows a steep increase in Norwegians collected depth and proportion that has problems paying their bills, the article has a bleak and worrying presentation implying a huge risk of mental problems should economic downturns continue. Covering a student survey, an article in VG shows that more than a fifth of the students answering has seriously thought about harming themselves or taking their own life, but not actually attempted to do so. Five

percent say they have tried to take their own life, and 1 of 3 are reporting they have serious mental disorders, a double of the reporting from the first edition of the survey in 2010. The article depicts a gloomy picture of the development, but have some balanced coverage, adding comments that the times might have changed the self-reporting and it is better than the year before when covid pandemic rules where strict.

Two articles narrate a historic court order coroner in North London, who became the first to conclude that a child's death can be directly linked to harmful content on social media when a British 14-year-old died of self-harm. In this context, a lot of concern towards mental disorders among teenagers following use of internet and social media is discussed. In another article with a collaboration with faktisk.no, an independent fact checking editorial office, VG has taken a closer look at suicide numbers among children who have been through the child protection system. The research presented in the article shows that the children who have had measures from child protection have had five times higher risk of committing suicide. Although these numbers are high, the article also focuses on dismissing even higher suicide numbers and conspiracy theories that have been circling on social media, where the hate against child protection services are strong. The discussion is balanced by stating that it is important to point out that the report does not demonstrate that it is the child protection measures themselves that cause the mortality rate to increase. Also included are comments like, "We must expect that children and young people who come into contact with the child protection service have been exposed to risks that have had an impact on their lives going forward". Suicide among childcare parents is also discussed with a conclusion that the figures for suicide among parents with childcare experience seem to be high.

Suicide among black and African American, especially men, in US are discussed thoroughly in this article after a famous tv-personality took his own life. The article mentions the suicide rate numbers in the US and Suicide among blacks and Hispanics in the United States has historically been thought to be even less common than in the general population, but that the suicide rate among this group seems to be increasing. It is also noted that suicide was the second leading cause of death for black or African Americans aged 15 to 24 in 2019 and suicide death rate for black or African American men was four times higher than that of



African American women in 2018. Tabu surrounding black communities about mental health is depicted as the reason behind the increased numbers.

In these next articles suicide as a general societal problem is being discussed thoroughly. With the known overrepresentation of men in the suicide statistics it is unavoidable that the discussion often focuses on measures towards men and boys. After The Institute of Public Health published the suicide figures for 2021 in July, two articles covered it with a negative form. The two headlines were “More men took their own life last year” (TV2) and “Suicide in Norway: Disheartening numbers” (Dagbladet). The two articles are similar in their reporting and have the same people and experts commenting on the suicide numbers. They both focus on the number of men and the sentence “Not since the 1990s have so many men taken their own lives” are in both, together with comments like “this is very bad news”, and stating that worldwide, more people die from suicide than from murder and war combined. It is mentioned how the measures from the government are not proportionate to the zero vision on suicide in Norway that the government has introduced. A suicide researcher remark that although openness around the subject have grown, this does not solve the problem by itself. The TV2 article includes several sentences that gives a negative impression by only mentioning total numbers and not ratio, “The number of suicides was high in the late 80s and in the 90s. After this, the number of annual suicides has leveled off somewhat”, “Over the past five years, an average of 644 people has taken their own lives annually. Ulland believes it is difficult to give a good answer to why the numbers of suicides continue to increase, and not decrease”, and a comment from a state secretary of Department of Health is also included, “it is sad and painful to see that the numbers of suicides are increasing”. The article from Dagbladet is more balanced with comments from a suicide researcher stating that “The population in Norway has risen by 20 per cent since the 1990s. There are simply more people living in the country”. He also informs that the number are stable and that they are not seeing a negative development. Both articles finish off saying there has been no increase in suicide during the pandemic.

As mentioned about an earlier article, the government has put together a selection of men to look at challenges men face. This article covers their intention in researching on how to decrease suicide numbers among men. It shows the ‘gloomy statistic’, as it is presented as,

and discuss how they are going to work against this goal, pointing out that today's action plan is not good enough to identify sex. The Health Minister answers about a shocking suicide by a young man in an article as she wants to break down stigmas - and work for more low-threshold offers when it comes to mental health. She says that suicide is a major societal and public health problem, and we have a particular focus on men. The article involves other people point of views where the message is that a lot can be done to avoid suicides. A quote from the association Mental Health puts some shade on the article, "The suicide statistics for young people under the age of 19 have increased quite dramatically from 2018 to 2021". Another article focusing on helping men, a story of recovery from a former drug addict that now have started a seminar called 'Young men's silence'. He emphasizes the importance of helping men like him opening on their feelings early to be counterproductive in the work against suicide. He is backed up by a nurse and a politician who agrees that the offer to young men needs to be targeted against them. They highlight the importance of getting more men in to roles in the healthcare system and caregivers so that young men have role models to open too, and to get rid of the stereotypical macho-man impression of men that does not talk about their emotions.

Following the police on call out on a suicide concern, it is described to the readers how the police deals with possible suicidal people. The article, that were published in October, shares information on how police are trained to deal with these situations and that nationwide they had around 6700 call outs so far this year related to suicide or suicide attempts. The article also includes a fact box on suicide: "The number of suicides per 100,000 has decreased somewhat since 1990 but is still higher than in the 1950s and 60s. The incidence of suicide is roughly the same in Norway as in Europe, North America and Australia. Over 70 percent of those who commit suicide in Norway are men". A chronicle by an author in VG is trying to set suicide in perspective to make people understand the significance of the societal problem. He puts it in context with the 27 murders there were in Norway in 2021 and asks rhetorically how it would have been if it was the other way around with 658 murders and not suicides in this country, "Imagine the press reports it would have generated, the highly timely political demands for action". Together with this he describes a negative trend in the system around mental health. Psychiatry has been downgraded for years, the threshold for receiving emergency help is high, you can be sent home from emergency room, or you are

admitted urgently and discharged the next day because you are not acute enough, are some of the descriptions made by the health care system in this chronicle.

A chronicle with the headline “Mental illness is not a trendy youth rebellion” is striking back to them that are saying that mental illness is cool to talk about. The chronicle lists all the challenges and pressure that today’s youth must cope with and says that it cannot be compared with what older generations had to deal with. It focuses on structural and systematic changes that need to be done to prioritize mental health and how they are neglected today. They mention suicide as a result of mental illness and include numbers, “Every year, 6,000 people attempt to take their own lives in Norway. About 600 does it. Three out of four young people who take their own lives are boys”. In connection to the re-opening of society early in 2022 after Covid-19 regulations, an article is likewise focusing on the mental health of youths. A lot of concern is uttered from the Mental Health Youth organization who is interviewed in the article, as they fear that the re-opening will uncover a great deal of youths that are struggling mentally because of the pandemic. Quotes like, “Many more children and young people struggle mentally now, than before the pandemic” and, “We know that many who have not struggled before are struggling now, and those who have struggled are now worse off. Many struggles with anxiety and suicidal thoughts» is included in the article from the organization. They focus especially on suicide and writes, “This with suicide is particularly worrying. On average, a young person takes their own life every second day in Norway”. Furthermore, they worry how youths will adjust to an open society again, with several reports showing that young people struggle with loneliness and various forms of depression, on top of very slim offering of opportunity for youths.

In a more positive framed article, it is focused on the decrease of deaths by youth in Norway. With the headline “Young people die of this in Norway” and the question “What takes the most lives among young people in Norway?”, asked in the text, the article’s main answer is very little. Less young people are dying in Norway and a scientist interviewed says, “It has been a fantastic development. The death toll is at a very low level historically and internationally”. Suicide, however, is mentioned in less positive wording as one of the reasons in the external death causes together with sickness, and as the most common cause of death among 15-19 years old. A doctor asks in the article if the impression that there is an

increase in mental disorders among young people, are true, and is followed up with “Of all those under the age of 19 who died in 2021, 39 of them were suicides. It is slightly higher than in 2020, but the number has been fairly steady over the past five years”. It is also mentioned that the number of young people who use firearms to commit suicide has decreased.

Looking at the articles in this category there are many that frames a negative picture of the suicide numbers. Especially the articles where the media outlets seem to be a mouthpiece for organizations or politicians in their attempt to influence society and governmental structures. When emphasizing their message, the language is often dramatic and statistics on suicide are presented in an excessive way to underline their perspective without the full context. An example is the phrase used in many of the articles, “Not since the 1990s have so many men taken their own lives”, which is correct in total numbers, but is misleading if looking at the ratio. Often is suicide compared to other causes of death who has had a more positive development or are less deadly which gives suicide a negative depiction. Many of the articles also problematizes and criticizes the system around the suicidal preventive work that are seen as not good enough, both in general and towards demographics like youths and men especially.

Several articles are more balanced and presents suicide in a context that shows a more accurate development. A couple articles has included statistic that are put in context and showing an accurate development. A handful others have comments or statements in the text where it says there has not been an increase in the suicide numbers. However, in most of these articles it is recurrent that the framing is still mostly implying a negative development with headlines and preamble, together with most of the text, focusing on high numbers and matters of improvement to lower them. The more balanced comment or statements that sets the suicide numbers in context with the trend over time are usually at the end of the text and not highlighted. Several times will it be an added comment at the end of the article by an expert or scientist, or a short statement between other issues that are discussed deeper.

## Category 10 – Diverse articles

The 17 articles included in this category are those that are relevant to the topic with their theme or comments but did not fit in any of the other categories. Many of them focus on mental health, with suicide being mentioned or implied as a possible consequence without further discussing it in the articles. Others are informative or cover suicide and include relevant statistics or information but is considered to be too different from the articles in the other categories or have characteristics that qualify them for several of them. Some of them have quotes or comments about suicide that makes them too influential to be in some of the first categories.

One of these articles is about covid-19 strategy in Spain where they want to normalize the covid disease. They justify this with focusing on the consequences of strict covid measures are harmful for social life and that “Grim statistics show that suicide is a more frequent cause of death for everyone under 50 than covid-19”, as it is written. Another article where suicide is mentioned barely, and out of context, is about critique against influencers for advertising their OnlyFans pages. One of the influencers answers the critique with this email, “To hell with it. Focus on more important things would you be so kind :) People commit suicide every day and children starve everywhere in the world”. Another article is initially an informative text about a morbid suicide event where a mother in Austria throws her two kids at one and three years old out the window before jumping herself. What makes it unique and in need of highlighting is the last sentence in this TV2 article which states, “TV 2 does not normally discuss suicide or attempted suicide, unless there are very special circumstances”. In no other articles in this selection are there any similar statements like this. An article follows a young girl who has gotten a muscular disease that are known as “The suicidal disease” on common tongue, as several studies point to an increased risk of suicide among those affected. The article focuses mostly on her life and attempts to find a cure, and although she has a lot of pain and struggles with that, it is not implied she has psychological difficulties or is suicidal.

In an article reporting of a death by a US cheerleader in college, one of many several prominent female American college athletes who have passed away in recent months, raises

concern as comments on a mental health crisis in American college sports. It is not mentioned she committed suicide as it is not official, only that she was struggling mentally. Other female athletes' suicides are mentioned as similar cases, so it is implied that she took her life. Also from the US, a reporting on gun violence says there is a particular increase in suicide among Native American boys and men aged 10 to 44. It also says that 53% of all suicides in US are by firearms. These articles are mostly informative, but they also talk about suicide as a bigger problem in a wider societal context.

There are several articles that write about aid organizations and how these organizations experience their conversations with the people that asks for help and advice. An article is reporting of 600 children and young people that have called in to the Red Cross organization during easter holidays. It is said that the topics that are being discussed in the phone conversations are a bit heavier during easter than the rest of the year. Suicide is listed as one of the topics most talked about from those that have called the organization. Children and young people contacting Red Cross is also the focus in another article that are published during Christmas. Here it says that nearly 20 000 children and young people have been in contact with Red Cross during the year and that the callers talk about suicide thoughts among other things. In comments from the team leader at Red Cross it is said that it is becoming more normal that younger children use their help desk, and that children and young people today must wait too long for healthcare in the public sector. In The Salvation Army organization, they report in an article of increased traffic of visitors during Christmas to their center that provides food and Christmas presents. The workers at The Salvation Army believe that difficult times economically has had an impact on people's mental health and that more people need help. They add that there is also a growing tendency for inquiries related to suicide during the festive period. Related to the Christmas period is likewise an article where we meet one of the volunteers in the organization The Churches SOS (Kirkens SOS), who herself was suicidal a couple of years ago. She tells the story of another young girl that was thinking of killing herself while talking to the volunteer on the phone but did not do it. It says in the article that the organization gets 300 000 inquiries in a year, they can answer 200 000 of these and 15% are people who talk about their suicidal thoughts. The organizations experience that people are struggling more during Christmas, but they also

underline that the suicide number are not higher in this period compared to the rest of the year.

In a chronicle, a psychologist, honors a handful of multicultural men that have talked about their fears and shown emotions on tv and other media outlets. The psychologist praises them for being role models for other men, and especially for multicultural men, by talking about mental health. The writer says in the chronicle that the fact that 70% of all suicides in Norway is by men is illustrative that men's mental health is failed and neglected in our society. The connection between mental health and financial problems is highlighted in an article where it is reported on a Norwegian bank that receives training from psychologists to deal with customers with debt - and psychological problems. A psychologist comment on the relation between economic problems and mental problems have a strong connection, especially to depression. He adds that the most serious cases of financial problems and mental disorders can lead to suicide. Another article talks about mental health among athletes after several athletes have spoken in media about their mental illness, such as suicide attempts. A very successful Norwegian athlete are interviewed and says that, although he has not had any mental issues himself, he understands that the lifestyle and pressure as a top athlete can be challenging and cause mental health problems. An article covers an attempt to get men to talk more about difficult topics, such as suicide, from a restaurant/bar that bought a disco ball that looks like a man's genitals. The owner believe that the disco ball humorous qualities can help men lower their guards - and open up about dark sides of life.

In the mixture of articles in this category suicide are framed in many ways, but they are all relevant in how it is portrayed. In some articles suicide is used as a negative comparison to show how suicide is a bigger problem than the problem at hand. In others it is portrayed as suicide is increasing because of other growing problems that leads to more suicide, such as gun violence, mental health in American college sports, and economical problems. In the articles that cover aid organizations it is presented how many people that contact them, how it is heavier during holidays, that younger people contact them, and mentioned how suicide is a normal conversation topic. It is not put in context if this is more or less than earlier, but the framing would imply that it is more. A couple of articles have both positive and negative

messages regarding suicide. On the positive side, it is praised that multicultural men talk about mental health and that a bank takes their customers mental issues serious by training their employees, both implying improvement towards mental illness which again could mean less suicide. On the negative side, it is said that society has neglected and failed men's mental health, and that economic problems, and therefore mental problems, are growing, which would imply that suicides could increase.



## Discussion

In this chapter I will discuss the findings from the content analysis in order to come to a conclusion and answer my research question. The findings of the analysis will be set in context with the theoretical framework that has been presented in this thesis to understand the influence of what media's coverage of suicide has had on the consumers perception of the development of suicide trends. I will first present and discuss the statistical general findings to identify the differences among the media outlets and other characteristics that are relevant to the research. I will then go through each category and discuss how the articles in each category can impact the readers, before evaluating the complete selection of articles together, and the effect it is believed to have had on people's perception of suicide rates.

### General findings

Looking at the results with a statistical view, there are several interesting findings. The articles including the word suicide are distributed fairly even over the 12 months, averaging at 23 articles per month. September is noticeable the month with most articles at 42. Not surprising as the international suicide prevention day is September 10<sup>th</sup>, which got a lot of attention in the media with many articles debating suicide issues around that date. January and December also stood out as over the average with 31 and 29 articles respectively. January had many articles from the Recovery academy case, and in December there were several articles from aid organizations in relation to the holidays, and in general more focus on mental health as Christmas is known to be an especially difficult time for many. March and August had the fewest publications with 14 articles each. The rest were all close to the average between 19 and 24 articles mentioning suicide. Except for in September, when there was a bigger focus on suicide as a societal problem in the media around the international suicide prevention day, there was no noticeable large fluctuations of media focus on suicide during the year. Beyond the cases in category 5 of repetitive coverage of single cases, there was no singular event or suicide that defined the suicide coverage through the year. An example of such an event that were excessively covered by the media

in the past is the suicide of Ari Behn, the ex-husband of a Norwegian princess and a public person, who killed himself in late 2019.

From the four media outlets, NRK stood out with far less articles mentioning suicide than the other media outlets. With its 35 articles, it was less than half of all the other outlets, and close to a third of Dagbladet who published 92 articles including suicide. There is a surprisingly small amount of the articles from the different outlets that are copying each other or covering the same cases. A few times the same suicide deaths or topic is covered in multiple outlets, for example in a couple of the cases from category 5, but this does not happen too often. Meaning the outlets have an independent coverage of suicide.

Looking at the type of articles that are most influential and have suicide as topic, NRK is the outlet that has the least articles that discuss suicide as a societal problem or where suicide is the topic of the article. They have no articles represented in category 9 where suicide is being discussed thoroughly and is the media outlet with the fewest articles that are critically framed in category 8. There are three articles from NRK on stories of improvement, and no stories published from those left behind after suicide, or from the category of informative articles. In general, NRK devote little space to cover suicide-related topics, and they have a limited focus on suicide as a societal problem. TV2 is the media outlet that devotes most space to suicide and has most articles where suicide is the topic. TV2 has the most critical articles, most stories of both improvement and from family and friends that are left behind, from category 8, 6 and 7. Among the articles where suicide as a societal problem are discussed in category 9, the three outlets VG, DB and TV2 have about the same coverage, same on the categories that detains informational and diverse articles. DB and VG have a quite similar coverage of suicide in light of the categories in this analysis, only notable difference is VG has no articles covering stories of improvement, DB has eight stories from this category.

The articles in the selection showed that about half was covering domestic relations and conditions in Norway, and half international matters. In the articles where suicide is the topic and therefore more relevant to this paper, there is however, a clear majority of articles that portrays suicides and issues that are in and about Norway. Almost all the articles in

categories 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10 are about domestic matters. The following cases from category 4 is evenly divided between domestic and international, whereas the informative articles are mostly international. It is feasible to assume that the articles that covers suicide affairs in Norway will be most influential on the consumers in their perception of suicide trends. Not only are they heavily outnumbering the articles on foreign affairs in most of the categories that are most vital in shaping people's perception on suicide. The articles about Norwegian suicide affairs are also essentially more influential on Norwegian consumers as they will have a stronger affiliation and identify to the stories that affect Norwegian society and environment that them themselves are a part of (Waldahl, p.224).

67 of the 277 articles had included direct information about help in case of suicide risk, in form of a box with contact information to aid organizations. This is 24,2% of all the articles. In Desroches study on articles in 2014, 6% of the articles included this. In Johansen's study from 2017 22% had direct contact information on help. Looking at the method design of Desroches and Johansen, many of the less relevant articles in my research, that did not include box of information to aid organizations, would not have been included in their research. If this research had the same inclusion terms as the two other studies, the percentage of articles that had contact information included be around 35-40%. Comparing with the other studies show that media has become a lot better at including direct information about help in articles. This is in line with the guidelines for mentioning suicide in media who encourages the media to convey information about where you can get help if you are at risk of suicide (Nybø, Guidelines). Although there is improvement on this area, it is striking how many articles who debate suicide thoroughly where there is no direct information on help, and how randomly it seems to be which articles include it and who do not. This applies to all the media outlets as none of them seem to have a general protocol on when to include and when not to include information on help. Some articles had information on help where mental health was discussed, and it was not apparent that the article was about suicide. In cases like that, and in general, the increased use of information boxes signals the consumers that the articles topic is suicide, and it shows that media is taking suicide preventive work more seriously, which again could imply that it is a growing problem.

## Categorical findings

The use of the word suicide in the category 1 articles is as mentioned out of context according to what we know the word suicide to mean. It is used to describe actions that are regarded hopeless and where it is seen as impossible to prevail from these actions. The use of suicide in describing other matters this way could be influential in giving suicide as a word and action an overly negative perception. This effect would probably be modest as using suicide as a metaphor is not uncommon in daily communication and reading this in the news will not be out of the ordinary. On the other hand, the more suicide is normalized in media and daily use, the more can it influence the public, both direct and subconsciously, as they are more exposed to it.

There are many articles, 61 in total, in category 2 that mentions suicide. This is a considerable number, and although suicide has a secondary importance in these articles, the constant mentioning of it reminds consumers of the commonness of suicide in the society. Suicide is often put in relation to other crimes in these articles and subsequent given extra negative associations. A remarkable finding in this analysis is the amount of book reviews that has mentioned suicide. Around 20% of all the book reviews published in 2022 in the four media outlets used in this analysis have mentioned suicide in the short review they have written on each book. That tells us how normal suicide is as a topic in literature released in Norway. Seeing as book reviews in category 2 are all about fictional books it could argue that it shows how the perception of suicide is normalized in the extent that so many of the authors uses suicide as an important mean in their storytelling. In general, in this category it would seem with the number of articles including the word suicide without the article focusing on suicide, that the use of suicide in media follows the findings of Thorvik (2021) and Desroches (2016) who found an increasing trend in mentioning suicide in the media. Most of these articles mentions suicide in relations to other happenings and as a natural consequence of the informing and reporting of these. It is mentioned neutrally and not highlighted or portrayed as a growing problem, but as mentioned, the quantity of times applying suicide in articles will have an effect.

The category 3 articles portray suicide in a more prominent and direct way. Suicide is both mentioned as a result for many after incidents covered in the articles, and as a potential consequence of the situation that the articles describe. Suicide as a societal problem is mentioned together with other factors where this is an increased issue, such as with alcohol use, sexual assault victims, homosexuals, trans people, and in context with Covid 19 regulations. Increase in suicide attempts among youths in Taliban controlled areas and refugee group shows a growing suicide problem in minor demographics, but something that can be interpreted as trends in bigger pictures. Although suicide is not the focus in these articles, mentions of people who committed suicide and comments on higher suicide risks in different groups are influential to the readers. There is little direct negative portrayal of suicide in this category but implied together with a negative development of other factors.

In category 4, suicide is the main topic of the articles. They inform and report on deaths after suicides which is the news value. These articles are for most part neutral in their reporting and seem to focus on performing their duty to inform the public about deaths of public people or when it has been suicides under notable or unusual conditions. These articles put suicide on the agenda and reminds people of the fact that it is a problem that are frequent and not a curiosity amidst mentally ill. Most of these articles are covering suicide among people that the society regard as successful - athletes, college students, Miss USA, and other celebrities and public people. Showing that suicide is a problem that can, and does, transpire to anyone.

The articles in category 5 gives the readers a repetitive message of issues related to suicides. These messages vary as there are four different stories that are told comprehensively with more than ten articles each. The articles on Russian oligarchs and their mysterious "suicides" are more framed towards negativity of the Russian regiment and the danger it poses for prominent people to be in opposition it, especially under the circumstances with the war against Ukraine where there is a lot of negativity in media against the Russian state. There are some content in the articles that says that these suicides could be real because of the pressure that these people are living with, giving a message that people under pressure are more easily led to suicide. Following the debate on gun laws in USA the statistics and statements that are told about suicide gives a clear impression of a huge amount of people

that kill themselves with firearms in the US. We only get information of suicides related to deaths from firearms and the numbers presented are very high. Looking at the theory of Rosling (2018), numbers often look big on their own, and if you do not compare it to other numbers, it will mislead you. Suicide put in context with the high number of deaths by firearms in USA will then also imply that the amount of suicide by firearms are high.

The narrative that follows the exposure of the two institutions have many of the same storytelling characteristics and provide a similar negative message of institutions that are supposed to take care of people in a vulnerable situation. In both the articles on the private health institution, The Recovery Academy, and about Norwegian prisons, we are presented with critical stories where it is portrayed as these institutions are too incompetent and inadequate to fulfill the responsibility of what is expected of them in regard of preventing suicide from their suicidal inmates. The more articles that followed and the deeper the journalists went in these two cases; the more was uncovered of the shortcomings and the problematic governing that had been practiced. The way these stories are portrayed says that people with mental illness and suicidal thoughts does not necessarily get the help they need, and therefore influences the confidence the society have to private and public institutions. Especially is the coverage of suicides in prison negatively portrayed as politicians, employees, inmates, and more are critical to the system saying it is not acceptable, and that they are not able to find a solution for criminals that are mentally ill. This is backed up with statistics of suicide numbers in prisons that come across very high. If there are doubts about the institutions supposed to help mentally ill people from committing suicide, people will not have faith in the system preventing suicide and they will believe that more people will not get the help they need, which could lead to more suicides.

Category 6 has stories from family and friends that are left behind after suicides. These stories are framed to trigger emotions in the readers as we read the stories about how loved ones, often inexplicable, ended up killing themselves, and how family and friends of the diseased now are living with the grief. Some of these articles express a more hopeful message, focusing on recovery and moving on with life. Most of the interviews are also trying to have some sort of positive angle, either telling the story in the diseased honor or doing a good thing in their name, but the devastation from people left behind after suicide is

what leaves the biggest impression in these articles. These emotional stories are likely to make an impression on the reader which make them have a more personal attachment to suicide. Comparing it to the study from 2007 (Lamark&Andreassen) where there were no articles found in the online newspapers from next of kin and people left behind after suicide, there has been a significant raise in articles framed from this perspective. As Waldahl (1999) explains, the media and substitute experience are getting more important in shaping people's opinions, and a growth in stories like this that are more memorable with its emotional framing, can therefore be very impactful as people will remember all those that are affected by suicides. Also impactful is the fact box in the article about the boys on the russebuss, where it says among other things that the number of suicides per 100,000 has decreased somewhat since 1990. It is only in one of the articles in this category, but including contextual statistics like this is nevertheless very valuable to portray a correct picture of the suicide trend.

The category that represents most positivity and hope are the stories in category 7 about improvement and a better life after struggling with mental issues and suicidal thought. These stories are framed to be positive, remove the stigma around mental health, and give hope to people who struggles. Especially portrays the stories from celebrities an attempt to normalize attitude towards mental issues and suicidal behavior. A consequence of normalizing talking about mental health and putting it on the agenda is that it shows how widespread mental health problems are in the society. Focusing on the fact that mental health and suicidal thought are so under communicated and that there are so many that have problems with it, which these articles do, it is likely that consumers exposed to this believe that it is a much bigger problem than they initially believed. Following Waldahl's (1999) theory on creating opinion, an increase by media in exposure of people who have mental issues and suicidal thoughts, is also going to give readers a bigger platform in believing that it is a growing issue.

Although most of these stories of improvement conveys hope and positivity about their own individual story there are little balanced information or discussion on mental health and suicide put in context. The articles portray a positive trend in people, especially men, talking more about their issues, but at the same time underlining how many people out there that

are struggling with mental health. Only in one article was it a contradicting notion that mentioned a neutral development in between the stories of otherwise problematizing the large amount of people with mental problems. Many of these articles highlight the suicide numbers, especially on men, and comment on how this is a social problem and surprisingly high.

The critical articles in category 8 comments on the system that surrounds people who are suicidal and for most part is giving a negative portrayal of the treatment that they are receiving. The general framing in these articles portrays a system, both in a micro and macro level, that are flawed and inadequate. Media is used substantially as a mouthpiece for those that want to voice their critique and frustration against systematical errors. The articles portraying unacceptable conditions for vulnerable groups, like the negative trend in waiting time for health service among youths and the lack of help for veterans, are framed as disturbing for not being of better quality. Several of these articles, however, portrays a more balanced picture of the suicide trends as they include statistic and comments that shows a neutral or slightly positive development, and include positive notions of suicide not increasing during the Covid pandemic as many feared. These articles are still framed negatively as they focus on the absence of improvement on suicide numbers as the government are severely criticized for lack of effort against the societal problem.

The articles in category 9 are predominantly setting suicide on the agenda and telling the consumers that it is a huge societal problem. As Waldahl's (1999) theory suggest, by discussing suicide in media, they are telling the consumers what they are supposed to have an opinion about, and what politicians should focus on. Focusing on suicide as a societal problem to a greater extent, as it was concluded that media did not do in the 2007 study by Lamark&Andreassen, will influence readers opinion about it becoming a societal problem. This was not covered in the same extent before and therefore can be interpreted as a new and growing problem by society. The general negative framing towards suicide in Norway in these articles will affect people's understanding of the developing trends (Waldahl, p.281).

Most of these articles in category 9 gives the impression of a suicide trend that is growing. The articles do not present facts and statistics that are incorrect and directly showing an



increase in suicide, it is more implied with comments and framing to the numbers at hand. Like other articles in this selection, the focus is on the lack of improvement in decreasing the numbers. However, the way it is presented with comments and statistics gives the impression that suicide numbers are increasing. Many articles focus on and highlights an increase of the total suicides among groups like men or youths without including ratio that would have shown a different picture. As seen from Rosling (2018), numbers and statistics that are standing alone will look bigger and misguide if it is not put in context. Several articles also present growing problems that again implies an increase in suicide numbers as they are closely related. Presenting it as directly in coherence to, and as a worry to, a cause of increased reason to suicide. Demographics like students, youths after pandemic, financially troubled, among others are being portrayed dramatically as a possibility of groups of people where suicide are likely to increase if not actions are made. Some of the articles in this category are more balanced as they include contextual statistics or comments that show a more correct development. But as they are clearly outnumbered to show a balanced development, they could be less influential as impressions that are predominant become stronger due to the cohesion and strength of those opinions, while those in the minority become weaker, following the spiral theory of Waldahl (1999).

The findings from the diverse articles in category 10 is not as coherent as the other categories where it was easier to see the articles in context to each other. Some articles use suicide to compare and give an impression of a problem of great magnitude. Others imply with its framing of growing influencing factors, or failure in the preventive work, that suicide is a problem that will be expanding if things continue as they are. There are very few comments, statements or statistics in these articles that show a correct development of suicide or balances the coverage.

#### Final evaluation and discussion of impact by media

Beginning with looking at how the coverage of suicide in media has developed compared to the earlier studies that are comparable, especially Lamark&Andreassen (2007) and Desroches (2016), I too will agree that media is covering suicide responsible according to the Be careful poster and WHO's guidelines. There is little sensationalistic or simplifying

coverage of suicide. Only in one article did I notice a direct description of suicide method and there were few headlines about suicide that misguided the consumers. Norwegian media is successful in preventing *the Werther effect* as it has been understood as an imitation effect of sensational and descriptive coverage of suicide. Rosling's theory on dramatic instincts that makes people register overdramatic news more than other news are therefore less applicable to media coverage of suicide.

Following the rationale of the coverage not being sensationalized would increase the possibility of it also not creating moral panic. Cohen (1972) expresses deviance from society as a necessity for moral panic to occur, the coverage of suicide in Norwegian media is the opposite. Media communicate normalization of both mental illness and suicidal behavior. Encourages to focus on it and give it more attention, it is not being defined as a threat to social values and interest. There are some qualities in media coverage of suicide that resembles that of the moral panic that White (2009) describes, where some particular facts or information that generates concern are presented. Much of the coverage of suicide development only presents selected statistics negatively framed or implied as growing. As with White's theory on circumstances that has been in existence for a long time before suddenly appearing in the spotlight, suicide as the societal problem it is now in terms of numbers, has been at least equally big since 1990. Although media's coverage of suicide has some resemblance of the characteristics of moral panic, my understanding of moral panic and my analysis of the coverage of suicide in the media results in a conclusion of media not creating moral panic. Coverage of suicide is responsible and follows the moral code when reporting on the topic. However, journalists and media need to be careful, so they do not lose sight of their responsibility to avoid moral panic. Luce (2013) warns about this when she says that misrepresentation of an important social issue, as suicide is, causes moral panic.

I mentioned in the theory part how, according to Waldahl (1999), media framing can influence consumers' perception of central development trends in society. The way media frames their coverage of suicide will be influential on how consumers understand the development of it. As shown in the analysis, the coverage of suicide trends is mostly negative and critical. This is not a new direction from the media, as Lamark & Andreassen concluded already in 2007 that journalists were critical in their coverage of suicide,

especially when the topic was psychiatry and suicide (p.21). Johansen demonstrated that this was a growing tendency as the amount of critical articles covering suicide had more than doubled from 2007 to her research in 2017 (p.72). Although my analysis does not examine the same variables as these studies, I can say based on my analysis that the impression of this trend continues in 2022. With very few exceptions, the framing of suicide coverage is very critical, especially when it is discussed as a societal problem. The coverage of suicide where this critical view is clearly most present, are creating a negative cultivating factor of the system around the preventive work of suicide, based on repeated and extensive exposure to a one-sided critical and negative framed media content (Waldahl, p.243).

As shown in the analysis, there are several articles that include statistic and statements that shows a correct image of the suicide trend. This help in constructing a correct perception for the consumers. But these positive or neutral suicide developments are very rarely highlighted or focused on in the articles. The message is essentially negative as the preventive work against suicide are being criticized or other growing problems influential to suicide is in focus. Most articles discussing suicide do not include contextual balanced statistic or statements. Numbers or statements on suicides, especially of men, are being used considerable without putting it in context of trends in a bigger picture. This can have a great impact as discussed earlier with Rosling's (2018) theory on standalone numbers.

Based on this analysis it is clear to me that media and journalists do not intentionally mislead the consumers to have a negative misconception on suicide trends. The work from media and journalists gives an impression of a general concern of suicide as a societal problem and a desire to put it in the spotlight as a measure to strengthen the preventive work against suicide. This is in accordance with Waldahl's (1999) theory on media not necessarily having a conscious intention to influence others' attitudes and choices of action with their designs and messages (p.44). It is merely a consequence of their increasing focus on suicide as a societal problem, and an unintended influence by the media which is not unusual (Waldahl, p.83). This would also be in accordance with Rosling's findings on journalists and how their misconception of important developments is on the same level as other groups. They portray suicide as a growing problem because they believe themselves that it is the case.

Consumers perception of suicide trends is largely dependent on the collected and accumulated message that media is portraying of it. This is the overall impression the media gives their consumers. As already touched upon, messages that work on their own in the opinion market have greater impact than messages that fight with counter-concepts, and media comes short in producing enough clear objections to the message of suicide as a growing societal problem when discussing this. The collected and accumulated message is influenced by the general portrayal of suicide in the media, everywhere from the metaphorical mentioning of suicide from category 1 to the thoroughly discussed suicide issues in category 9.

## Conclusion

Based on the results that I have found in the analysis and considering the theory presented to interpret the influence that the media content on suicide has had, the answer to my research question - if media is framing suicide as a growing societal problem – is mainly yes. The answer is, however, a bit more nuanced as the analysis indicates that the coverage has variations and at times gives a more correct portrayal, although this is not prominent.

The coverage of the suicide trend is quite consistently being framed negatively. Through selective use of facts and statistics, or implied in the text, the rhetorical use and the focus of the coverage suggests that suicide is a growing problem. In the occasions where the coverage has included balanced statistics or statements, they are rarely highlighted or discussed about further than in a subordinate role compared to the often critical view of the article.

My hypothesis of media covering suicide one-sided can also be confirmed to some extent. Especially that there is little focus on positive trends or progress that transpires, and that it is given an impression of a growing societal problem. Nevertheless, the coverage is not completely one-sided as there are some contradicting features in the selection of articles, as discussed. These are not considered to have a substantial influence on the overall impression.

An inquiry that needs to be mentioned considering this conclusion is how suicide should be covered to be most appropriate to be socially beneficial in the aim of preventive work against suicide. This thesis deals with how media gives the perception of suicide trends. The conclusion does not necessarily mean that giving this impression is exclusively wrong. An increased focus on suicide and a critical look towards the preventive work and system around suicide prevention is necessary to develop it and make it more effective. A consequence of this can be a negative portrayal of the suicide development and a possibility of giving society a negative conception of suicide trends.

What is the most socially beneficial coverage of suicide needs therefore to be studied further on. This thesis shows that media is framing suicide as a growing societal problem, but I have not investigated the consequences of this. Could this framing have a negative impact on society or suicide numbers, or not? Perhaps is the negative influence on people's conception an inevitable consequence of the most beneficial coverage of suicide. On the other hand, if more people believe suicide numbers in the society are increasing, there could be a similar effect as *the Werther effect* where this leads to lowering the threshold for suicide. These are some of the areas where I believe that there would be socially beneficial to carry out further studies.

## Literature list

- Be Careful Poster, <https://presse.no/pfu/etiske-regler/vaer-varsom-plakaten/>
- Cohen, Stanley. (1972). *Folk Devils and Moral Panic*.
- Desroches, M. T. (2016). *Norske mediers omtale av selvmord i 2014 – er den samfunnsnyttig?* (Masteroppgave, Institutt for klinisk medisin). Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo, Det medisinske fakultet
- Folkehelseinstituttet. <https://www.fhi.no/nettpub/hin/psykisk-helse/selv-mord-i-norge/>
- Fink DS, Santaella-Tenorio J, Keyes KM (2018) Increase in suicides the months after the death of Robin Williams in the US. *PLoS ONE* 13(2): e0191405. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0191405>
- Gleditsch, Nils Petter. 'Mot en mer fredelig verden?' (2016)
- Hognestad, Liv Iren. (2007). *Medieomtale av selvmord og selvmordsforsøk i presseetikk og praksis*.
- H. Allcott and M. Gentzkow, "Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 211–236, May 2017
- Johansen, Vilde Prestø. (2019) *Hvordan omtaler bloggere selvmord?* <https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/73140/Prest--Johansen-Masteroppgave.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- Kantar. (2022) <https://kampanje.com/medier/2022/03/her-er-de-mest-leste-nettavisene/>
- Kölves, K., Sisask, M., Värnik, A., & De Leo, D. (2020). *Advancing Suicide Research*. Boston: Hogrefe Publishing.
- Lamark, Hege & Andreassen, Jan-Erik. (2007). *Selv-mord i forbifarten. En undersøkelse om norske mediers omtale av selvmord i 2006*
- Lesage, Valérie. *SUICIDOLOGI* 2003, ÅRG. 8, NR. 1. *Selv-mord og medier: Tiltak gir støtte*.
- Luce, Ann. (2013). *Moral panics: Reconsidering Journalism's Responsibilities*. <http://eprints.bournemouth.ac.uk/21051/1/JNC-2013-Chapter-24-Luce.pdf>

- Medietilsynet. (2019). [https://www.medietilsynet.no/globalassets/dokumenter/rapporter/kritisk-medieforstaelse-undersokelser-2019-2020/191029---delrapport-4\\_tillit-til-mediene.pdf](https://www.medietilsynet.no/globalassets/dokumenter/rapporter/kritisk-medieforstaelse-undersokelser-2019-2020/191029---delrapport-4_tillit-til-mediene.pdf)
- Niederkrontenthaler, T., Till, B. (2019). Suicide and the Media: From Werther to Papageno Effects – A Selective Literature Review. <https://journals.uio.no/suicidologi/article/view/7398/6916>
- Niederkrotenthaler T, Stack S, Till B, et al. Association of Increased Youth Suicides in the United States With the Release of *13 Reasons Why*. *JAMA Psychiatry*. 2019;76(9):933–940. doi:10.1001/jamapsychiatry.2019.0922
- Nordiske Mesiedager. (2022). [https://kyber.blob.core.windows.net/nmd/3751/rapport\\_nordiskemediedager\\_220408\\_kk-21.pdf](https://kyber.blob.core.windows.net/nmd/3751/rapport_nordiskemediedager_220408_kk-21.pdf)
- Nybø, R. K. (2016). Fra skam og stigma til historier om håp. *Suicidologi*, 21(2), 4–9
- Nybø, R. K. Veileder for omtale av selvmord i mediene. <https://www.nored.no/NR-dokumentasjon/Rapporter-og-veiledere/Slik-omtaler-du-selvord>
- Sagflaat, C. (2008). Selvmord i media. Innholdsanalyse av 4 norske avisers fremstilling av selvmord (Hovedoppgave). Trondheim: Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet.
- Sakariassen, Hilde, Hovden, Jan Fredrik og Moe, Hallvard (2017) Bruksmønstre for digitale nyheter: Reuters Insitute Digital News Report, Norge 2017: Bergen: Universitetet i Bergen
- Statistisk Sentralbyrå. (2022). <https://www.ssb.no/kultur-og-fritid/tids-og-medi bruk/statistikk/norsk-mediobarometer/artikler/1-av-3-unge-voksne-folger-ikke-med-pa-nyheter-i-tradisjonelle-medier>
- Thorvik, Arne. (2021). Om suicid i norsk offentlighet. *Suicidologi* (<https://journals.uio.no/suicidologi/article/view/9303/7852>)
- Rosling, Hans. Factfulness (2018)
- Veel, Julie. (2021). Det vanskelige S-ordet - En analyse av selvmordsproblematikken i norske fengsler og psykiatriske institusjoner fra andre halvdel av 1900-tallet. Samt utviklingen i selvmordsomtale i norsk media fra 2006 til i dag. NTNU
- Waldahl, Ragnar. Mediepåvirkning. (1999).



- Watson, Amy. (2022). <https://www.statista.com/statistics/308468/importance-brand-journalist-creating-trust-news/>
- White, Dana. (2009). The Right to Die Debate: The Demonization of Dr. Kevorkian and the Creation of a Moral Panic Surrounding Physician-assisted Suicide in the United States.
- WHO. (2017). Preventing Suicide – A Resource for Media Professionals. Sveits: WHO, Department of Mental Health and Substance Abuse. <https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/258814/WHO-MSD-MER-17.5-eng.pdf>

## Attachments

Articles used in the content analysis, 277 in total

### Category 1

- <https://www.nrk.no/direkte/xl/stillhetens-treningsleir-1.15796972>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/tv/i/oWPEXK/tmz-logan-paul-slaar-av-1-million-dollar-paa-luksusvilla>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/kreftgaten-er-ingen-gate/75327454>
- [https://www.tv2.no/mening\\_og\\_analyse/cannabis-pa-polet-vil-vaere-et-svik/14562724/?code=tfCFQ3N3RMXRlZj&state=SUZWOTNHUWNqeThPSU04Q0Z4ZUxITEowUWc5Q351cmhhZi1BUmZxdjR5VWw%3D%3D](https://www.tv2.no/mening_og_analyse/cannabis-pa-polet-vil-vaere-et-svik/14562724/?code=tfCFQ3N3RMXRlZj&state=SUZWOTNHUWNqeThPSU04Q0Z4ZUxITEowUWc5Q351cmhhZi1BUmZxdjR5VWw%3D%3D)
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/studio/nyhetsstudio/5?post=88896>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/ukraina-slutt-innen-to-uker/75666966>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/padrar-seg-frostskader/75669581>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/tror-krigen-kan-trekke-ut/75683804>
- <https://www.nrk.no/urix/minelegger-strendene-mens-de-venter-pa-russerne-1.15909771>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/radioaktiv-tsjernobyl-skog-skaper-problemer/75717883>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/studio/nyhetsstudio/5?post=89819>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/forlot-tsjernobyl-i-panikk/75742148>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/har-ett-ar-igjen-a-leve/75817666>
- <https://www.nrk.no/urix/ukraina-ber-om-mer-vapen--har-ikke-vapen-som-kan-forsvare-befolkningen-mot-raketter-mot-kysten-1.15932193>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/L579AP/landsbyen-frigiort-fra-russerne-slik-ble-de-reddet>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/okonomisk-selv mord/76121060>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/klimakrisen-kollektiv-handling-eller-selv mord/76683614>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/skulle-slokke-skogbrann-tok-fyr-1/76690994>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/briten-fikk-sjokk-da-han-gikk-pa-visning-i-norge/14888311/>
- <https://www.nrk.no/urix/to-russiske-landsbyer-ved-den-ukrainske-grensen-evakuert-1.16073200>
- [https://www.tv2.no/mening\\_og\\_analyse/mister-flere-og-flere-liv-mens-vi-venter-pa-arbeiderpartiet/15059510/](https://www.tv2.no/mening_og_analyse/mister-flere-og-flere-liv-mens-vi-venter-pa-arbeiderpartiet/15059510/)
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/trump-med-hjerne/77042173>
- <https://www.vg.no/sport/i/JQ1JvX/normanns-russland-valg-karrieremessig-er-det-naermest-selv mord>
- <https://www.nrk.no/ytring/de-ivrigste-mister-gnisten-1.16096085>
- <https://www.vg.no/sport/fotball/i/P491k7/solbakken-tirade-mot-normann-valg-tonedoevt>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/drikker-vann-fra-nato-land/77439868>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/APLoxr/tror-aleksandr-lukasjenko-og-belarus-dras-motvillig-inn-i-vladimir-putins-krig-i-ukraina>

- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/jllpgn/andrey-yakunin-paagrepet-i-norge-faren-er-en-del-av-putins-absolutt-naermeste-krets>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/viral/trodde-ikke-vi-skulle-overleve-og-vi-aksepterte-det/15283435/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/behandles-som-et-toalett/77966130>
- [https://www.tv2.no/mening\\_og\\_analyse/i-atte-ar-har-jeg-betalt-for-mitt-tidligere-liv-hvor-lenge-skal-dette-vare/15282375/](https://www.tv2.no/mening_og_analyse/i-atte-ar-har-jeg-betalt-for-mitt-tidligere-liv-hvor-lenge-skal-dette-vare/15282375/)
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/hevder-usa-har-nazi-fengsler/15350943/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kjendis/avslorer-alvorlig-kreftdiagnose/78179011>

## Category 2

- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/qW7EjL/baard-hoksrud-frp-om-dobbeltroller-i-helsetilsynet-maa-ryddes-opp-i>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/ukrainsk-soldat-apnet-ild-mot-sine-kolleger/14524705/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/studio/nyhetsstudio/5?post=83935>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/OrP9eA/rapport-om-gabby-petito-saken-politiet-gjorde-flere-feil-foer-drapet>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/Xqngx7/does-overgrepssiktet-arrestert-fordi-han-fikk-corona>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/haper-han-blir-hundre-ar/75103616>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/668K30/gaza-vi-mister-en-generasjon-unge-under-og-etter-hver-eneste-krig>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/innrommer-alt---34-ar-seinere/75134702>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/kong-harald-fyller-85-ar-en-medfolende-konge/14591289/?code=swOXHVcLZqpveGHF&state=Y3RmczlwZWVfQVhZSfN5cDUxS2tmM3MzQXZaVm0yNmtEQVFUuUZiSUpmWA%3D%3D>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/dn85nB/ung-helgefyll-er-verst>
- [https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/irma-22-var-en-av-hitler-tysklands-verste-sadister/14561611/?code=MAI\\_ZlBUeDfHDlx0&state=SVNJVTdYnVpuWHg3cnJ0Rm5uT0Y3eVZsY2lEVlZyOExKZFhTzUycm9jVw%3D%3D](https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/irma-22-var-en-av-hitler-tysklands-verste-sadister/14561611/?code=MAI_ZlBUeDfHDlx0&state=SVNJVTdYnVpuWHg3cnJ0Rm5uT0Y3eVZsY2lEVlZyOExKZFhTzUycm9jVw%3D%3D)
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/bok/i/8QowA1/forbudte-boeker-du-boer-lese>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kjendis/nektes-ny-rettssak/75750400>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/Åsted-norge/forsvant-sporlost-etter-fest-mysteriet-blir-bare-storre/14731688/>
- <https://www.nrk.no/urix/xl/-familien-din-skal-fa-bo-gratis-om-du-gifter-deg-med-meg-1.15956993>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/i/lVo04G/nye-detalljer-gamle-brev-viser-at-hitler-fryktet-stemme problemer>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/viral/dave-ble-terrorisert-av-en-tidligere-flort-i-arevis-sa-gjorde-politiet-en-sjokkerende-oppdagelse/14828955/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/forfalsket-egen-dod-domt-for-overgrep/76276878>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kjendis/svensk-influenser-tatt-for-drapsforsok/76277448>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/tatt-i-grusom-logn-domt-til-livstid/76428821>

- <https://www.nrk.no/kultur/xl/slik-skapte-kate-bush-sin-monsterhit-running-up-that-hill-1.16002746>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/grisebonde-giemte-kona-i-septiktank/76702937>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/i/66mLKe/anne-heche-er-doed-hun-var-modig-og-fryktloes>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/film/i/66pnAo/tmz-match-til-anne-heches-organer-funnet-skuespilleren-kobles-fra-respiratoren>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/mrGadL/soestrene-ble-funnet-doede-saken-forblir-uloest>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/da-barnepiken-ble-bedt-om-a-ta-husvasken-tok-hun-en-grusom-hevn/15028298/>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/L5yOoJ/etterlyser-ny-ukrainer-jeg-tror-det-er-fake-news>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/marerittet-i-skyene-jeg-er-problemet/77047389>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/totalslakt-av-bergenspolitiet-jeg-anbefaler-ingen-andre-a-varsle/15109746/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/et-helvete-av-lidelse/77183440>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/wA814L/usa-sendte-2100-skoleelever-til-konservativ-anti-lhbt-kirke>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/tre-dramatiske-scenarier/77333803>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/2BB0Br/russland-strammer-homogrepet-som-en-stor-militaer-seier>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/politimann-varslet-na-far-han-sparken/15212846/>
- <https://www.nrk.no/norge/xl/hetsen-mot-klimaforskerne-1.16096140>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/meninger/dette-trenger-politiet/78032930>
- <https://www.nrk.no/urix/ekspert-spar-mer-trobbel-for-musks-nye-twitter--dette-er-starten-pa-slutten-1.16215218>
- <https://www.nrk.no/kultur/elon-musk-spor-twitter-om-han-bor-slutte-som-sjef-1.16226025>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/kjendiser-i-munnhuggeri-om-fyrverkeri/15387901/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/sport/fotball/fotball-vm/vold-mobbing-og-kriminalitet-slik-ble-kyle-walker-mannen-hele-england-setter-sin-lit-til/15344368/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/gront-lys-for-ny-sesong-av-squid-game/14862953/>
- <https://www.nrk.no/anmeldelser/anmeldelse-i-gar-av-agota-kristof-1.16042452>
- <https://www.nrk.no/anmeldelser/anmeldelse-stella-maris-av-cormac-mccarthy-1.16207524>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/bok/i/xg49rj/creepy-nordnorsk-krim-bokanmeldelse-det-siste-stykket-hjem-av-oerjan-n-karlsson>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/film/i/RG65Lx/marilyn-skuespiller-ana-de-arma-opproert-over-18-aarsgrense>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kiendis/husker-du-disse-hotel-caesar-stjernene/76693011>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/bok/i/v5oroL/spinnvill-jussi-adler-olsen-krim-bokanmeldelse-natriumklorid>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/film/i/k6oB96/filmanmeldelse-men-verdiloese-menn>

- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/film/i/MLro0R/filmanmeldelse-the-northman-vakkert-og-voldelig-viking-epos>
- <https://www.nrk.no/anmeldelser/anmeldelse - husk-oss-til-livet -av-joanna-dranger-1.15940551>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/fikk-hakekors-pa-husveggen/75633949>
- <https://www.nrk.no/anmeldelser/anmeldelse - tilintetgjore -av-michel-houellebecq-1.15860553>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kultur/n-detalj-odelegger-oscarfilmen/75641179>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/utmattende-om-tragisk-kjaerlighet/75152681>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/desperat-etter-sex/75222903>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/bok/i/y4yAMR/stemningsfull-finsk-krim-sensasjon-bokanmeldelse-av-elina-backman-naar-kongen-doer>
- <https://www.nrk.no/presse/radebank-for-siste-gang-1.15795324>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kultur/slutt-for-radebank/75073258>
- <https://www.nrk.no/anmeldelser/anmeldelse - eufori- -en-roman-om-sylvia-plath -av-elin-cullhed-1.15799998>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/rystende-morkt-fra-mesteren/77549209>

### Category 3

- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/dette-er-bevisene-mot-trump/14863554/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/trumps-tidligere-kampanjesjef-teorien-hans-var-spro/14872042/>
- <https://www.nrk.no/urix/julian-assange-far-ankesak-behandlet-1.15824071>
- <https://www.nrk.no/kultur/forbod-holocaust-bok- -havnet-pa-bestsellerlisten-1.15836043>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/nedstengingene-forhindret-nesten-ingen-dodsfall/75279446>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/viral/my-lai-massakren-fire-timer-som-sjokkerte-en-hel-verden/14791200/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kjendis/han-reddet-livet-mitt/76160186>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/hun-satt-all-moral-til-side-fordi-hun-var-forelsket/14837379/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/flyttet-inn-i-playboy-mansion-da-hun-var-11-ar-tok-sin-forste-operasjon-som-15-aring/14921500/>
- <https://www.nrk.no/kultur/amandaprisen-2022-1.16074779>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/wOMQL1/tilstaar-aa-ha-forfalsket-sin-egen-doed>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/skulle-gifte-seg-funnet-dod/77047787>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/GMIKJ6/vurderer-tilsynssak-mot-kommunen-i-kommuneoverlege-saken>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/skandalene-som-rystet-dronning-elizabeth/15086491/>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/film/i/wAengn/anne-heche-faar-ny-selvbiografi>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/i/pQWnAV/emily-ratajkowski-kritiserer-marilyn-monroe-film-seksualiserer-kvinnelig-smerte>
- <https://www.nrk.no/norge/ber-regjeringen-prioritere-trosflyktninger-1.16135646>

- <https://www.nrk.no/ytring/et-mislykket-eksperiment-1.16131186>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/ab7gX2/kvinneaktivister-kjemper-for-kvinnerettigheter-i-afghanistan-etter-at-taliban-tok-over-makten>
- <https://www.tv2.no/sport/fotball/fotball-vm/vil-gjennomga-dodstall-det-kommer-til-a-bli-fuss/15344533/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/homofile-michael-jeg-ville-heller-ha-vaert-hetero/15352673/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/covid-19-var-den-femte-vanligste-dodsarsaken-i-sverige-i-fjor/14887213/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/sa-mye-ol-kan-menn-under-40-drikke-uten-a-ta-skade/14946826/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/med-en-idiot-til-sjef/75387285>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/et-varslet-terrorangrep/76298396>
- <https://www.nrk.no/ytring/skammen-i-doden-1.15993488>

#### Category 4

- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/kjorte-valgkamp-tross-advarsel/75004364>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/sju-slaktrapporter-siden-juli/74995861>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/knuser-behandlingen-kevin-fikk---tankelost/74995554>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/nrk-tar-grep-etter-dagblad-avsloring/75059549>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/fant-kevin-28--gikk-i-psykose/74996201>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/slaktes-igjen/75977492>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/mammas-kamp-helt-grusomt/76689894>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/varsler-mareritt-ikke-til-a-tro/76960877>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/michaels-siste-kamp-for-pappa/76449480>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/fikk-sjokkvarsel-ventet-sju-maneder/76621734>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/slo-alarm-ble-ikke-hort/76403053>
- <https://www.nrk.no/urix/seks-dode-etter-skyting-i-sacramento-1.15918881>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/seks-drept-og-mange-saret-av-flere-gjerningspersoner/14693998/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/politiet-jakter-pa-flere-etter-masseskyting-i-sacramento/14696408/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/flere-masseskytinger-enn-dager-i-2022/76177213>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/IVxqxy/dette-er-de-verste-skoleskytingene-i-usa>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/studio/nyhetsstudio/5?post=95253>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/skyting-er-den-vanligste-dodsarsaken-blant-barn-i-usa/14822495/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/tusenvis-demonstrerer-i-usa-med-krav-om-okt-vapenkontroll/14860875/>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/47pbq6/naermer-seg-vaapenenighet-i-usa>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/flertall-for-vapenkompromiss-i-senatet-i-usa/14862743/>

- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/paradeskytingen-dette-er-ofrene-i-angrepet/14918353/>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/34byBd/fem-russiske-oligarker-funnet-doede-etter-at-krigen-startet>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/ut-mot-oligark-selv-mord-iscenesatt-1/75938593>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/9K1O4q/kaller-oligark-selv-mord-iscenesatt>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/l3gw59/lukoil-styreformann-er-dod>
- <https://www.nrk.no/urix/styreformann-i-russisk-oljegigant-falt-ut-av-sykehusvindu-og-dode-1.16087712>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/russisk-oljetopp-dod-etter-fall-fra-sykehusvindu/15062247/>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/gEawqj/mange-mystiske-doedsfall-blant-oligarker>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/spekulasjonene-herjer/77057329>
- <https://www.nrk.no/urix/tidlegare-sjef-for-det-russisk-luftfartsinstituttet-er-dod-etter-a-ha-falt-ned-ei-trapp-1.16114235>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/eJJxdg/kreml-stempler-milliardaer-enke-som-utenlandsk-agent>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/mystisk-dodsfall/77780492>
- <https://www.nrk.no/urix/russisk-polemilliardaer-dod- -skal-ha-falt-ned-tre-hotelletasjer-1.16235248>
- <https://www.vg.no/spesial/2022/jonatan/>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/wA6vpP/innsatte-reagerer-etter-selv-mord-det-er-en-skam>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/meninger/i/mQgqLp/jonatan-sak-krever-en-aapen-og-offentlig-samtale>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/WRq7oL/jonatan-saken-kriminalomsorgen-evaluerte-seg-selv-etter-selv-mord-meget-godt-haandtert>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/2B3ody/kritiske-til-tilsyn-i-fengsler-styrer-seg-selv>
- <https://www.nrk.no/norge/kriminalomsorgen -psykisk-syke-innsatte-forsoker-stadig-a-ta-livet-av-seg-1.16196603>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/xgJ39G/advokat-etter-at-silje-20-tok-livet-sitt-i-fengsel-vi-kan-ikke-fortsette-slik>
- <https://www.vg.no/spesial/2022/doden-bak-murene/>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/bgkLOA/rapporter-etter-selv-mord-fengslene-faar-kritikk-i-seks-av-57-saker>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/WRmOJG/datterens-drapsmann-tok-sitt-eget-liv-i-fengsel-det-skulle-aldri-ha-skjedd>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/RG1pXW/mehl-vil-endre-tilsynsordningen-i-norske-fengsler>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/0Qv7J0/hoeyre-profil-erkjenner-feil-pengebruk-har-gaatt-ut-over-bemanningen-i-fengslene>
- <https://www.nrk.no/ytring/selv-mord-i-fengsel-1.16217752>

## Category 5

- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/fem-personer-hoppet-fra-sjuende-etasje/75685196>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/la-dod-seks-dager-i-solsenter/75736005>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/VPP9zd/russiske-soldater-doer-foer-de-kommer-til-fronten-selvord-hjertestans-skrumplever>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kiendis/funnet-dod/75263566>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/i/KzXvwX/tidligere-miss-usa-funnet-doed>
- [https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/miss-usa-2019-funnet-dod-i-new-york/14533069/?code=D\\_RUjXNEt1eqyXbq&state=U3pLYUdBV3VKLkZKaV9OUEJjY09HUTI0U0MxalU1aGh5U3BtQ0ZEVEJXdA%3D%3D](https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/miss-usa-2019-funnet-dod-i-new-york/14533069/?code=D_RUjXNEt1eqyXbq&state=U3pLYUdBV3VKLkZKaV9OUEJjY09HUTI0U0MxalU1aGh5U3BtQ0ZEVEJXdA%3D%3D)
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kiendis/fire-arrestert-etter-dodsfall/75283173>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kiendis/avslorer-dodsarsaken/76085807>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/film/i/onp4Pa/filmregissoeren-jean-luc-godard-er-doed>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/god-kveld-norge/tmz-sonnen-til-tina-turner-er-dod/15345381/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/sport/lopetalent-21-dode/75931248>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/sport/collegestjerne-20-dode/75940388>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/sport/neena-27-funnet-dod/77021986>
- <https://www.tv2.no/sport/ishockey/tragedie-etter-meldingen-haper-ieg-aldri-ser-deg-igjen/15215030/>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/wOMQL1/tilstaar-aa-ha-forfalsket-sin-egen-doed>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/utenriks/i/wA8o2d/afp-15-drept-etter-skoleskyting-i-russland>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/innrommet-drapene-for-han-dode/76083860>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/drepte-familien-i-nissedrakt-etter-skilsmissen/15359816/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/vitner-sar-tvil-om-hvordan-nika-16-dode/15220554/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/krever-obduksjon-av-dode-migrantarbeidere/15272469/>

## Category 6

- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/ieg-var-11-ar-da-ieg-fikk-en-folelse-av-at-ieg-ikke-ville-leve-lenger/14575852/?code=sy-ZdUHORjSpW6Zn&state=cE1%2BV2V5aUxtS2guem9xZllnbnpsS3l6OWd1Rn5KSX5UeERKa1FCRFFLfg%3D%3D>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/mistet-livsgleden/77166105>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/lars-tiet-om-overgrepene-i-40-ar-sa-kom-vendepunktet/15083112/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/dennis-spiste-skolenista-alene-pa-do-i-seks-ar/15098307/>



- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/kontroversiell-behandling-reddet-clearly-fra-selvmord-kan-bli-godkjent/15263745/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/fem-maneder-gammel-ble-marilyn-adoptert-bort-til-overgripere/14709245/>
- <https://www.nrk.no/kultur/xl/oddvar-vignes-levemannen-som-ville-doy-1.16092872>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/jeg-ville-bare-forsvinne/76929024>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/drakk-seg-nesten-til-dode/77415113>
- <https://www.tv2.no/sport/tidligere-tennistjerne-apner-opp-om-selvmordstanker/14863874/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/sport/tennistjerna-gratt-konstant/76348394>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/sport/ville-ta-mitt-eget-liv/76703375>
- <https://www.tv2.no/sport/fotball/tidligere-liverpool-malvakt-bretter-ut-om-pillekjoer-min-historie-vil-sjokkere-mange/14962372/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/sport/ville-bare-do-sa-skjedde-det-utenkelige/14449411/?code=L0ITdOIE00aOJSc&state=QXF1YXVDRDM5UUxxRHIKM0N0UjF1VldSRnRQYVF2RnpMRmxaaGVOVmRBSg%3D%3D>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/sport/ville-ikke-leve-lenger/76878461>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/apenhjertig-tix-i-hver-gang-vi-motes-legen-ville-legge-ham-inn-pa-psykiatrisk/14430753/?code=LmmsmvF6HR4QWYA&state=MIQtMk5POVIuUHd1SjBDWUJRdWRxcTRGZWpPdFNvbk83dIR6RIR5bUthZw%3D%3D>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/jeg-gar-jevnlig-til-psykolog/77247776>
- <https://www.nrk.no/direkte/xl/kunsten-a-danse-med-demoner-1.16128114>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/kompanilauritzen/tropp-1-anna-opplevde-grov-hets-i-barndommen-hvorfor-dreper-du-ikke-deg-selv/15256809/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/kompani-lauritzen-iris-jeg-la-og-kastet-opp/15217841/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/farmen-kjendis/ingrid-simensen-skulle-takke-nei-til-farmen-kjendis-derfor-endret-hun-mening/14430523/?code=k2nSiMUVFy-As3lj&state=R1BnM3FURkxUamkxajE4YjltTUlwZ05Qb0NvRTZoUUhPbTdEzDhRT2RWbg%3D%3D>
- <https://www.tv2.no/sport/fotball/fotball-em/england-legenden-mottok-drapstrusler-jeg-onsker-ikke-a-bli-tatt-av-lufta/14946765/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/har-skjedd-noe-forferdelig/75239761>
- <https://www.nrk.no/direkte/xl/ut-av-morket-1.15816249>

#### Category 7

- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/musikk/i/pWj4k6/aviciis-mamma-spiller-aldri-tims-musikk>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/tvillingbrodre-begikk-selvmord-utenkelig/75771626>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/mistet-begge-tvillingsonnene-i-selvmord/14732681/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/da-anders-16-dode-var-valget-enkelt-for-kompisene-som-sto-igjen/14785874/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/bok/skriver-om-grat-mistet-to-venner/76384357>

- [https://www.tv2.no/spesialer/nyheter/mix\\_kiosken](https://www.tv2.no/spesialer/nyheter/mix_kiosken)
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/i/rlrMvA/leah-isadora-behn-aapner-opp-om-faren-ari-behns-bortgang>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/leah-isadora-behn-apner-opp-om-farens-bortgang/15271059/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kjendis/snakker-ut-om-dodsfall-1/77916060>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/i/Wj582d/ebba-rysst-heimann-er-blitt-mamma>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/det-fikser-vi-sa-tove-alltid-til-andre-men-sitt-egget-liv-fikset-hun-ikke/14653086/>

## Category 8

- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/jennies-13-mamma-fortviler-jeg-blir-sa-sint/14474080/?code=-slibb3YoObhsJmQh&state=WWhLamFvckpzclJoYmFiTnQ4dWJ%2BaGJJZG84WIV0Z0pMVEdfMm1ERgtJaA%3D%3D>
- <https://www.nrk.no/norge/johannes-ville-avslutta-livet- -forskar-kritiserer-regjeringas-plan-mot-sjolvord-1.15829125>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/meninger/i/dn06Oo/trygge-menn-gir-trygge-samfunn>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/meninger/i/wAgJ3G/selvord-mediene-maa-ta-stoerre-ansvar>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/veteransoldaten-tok-sitt-egget-liv-minnes-i-storfilm/15223544/>
- <https://www.nrk.no/norge/selvskading-pa-politiets-utlendingsinternat-1.15879051>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/nar-maskinen-erstatte-menneskene/15224077/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/sokte-om-bil-stotte-fikk-tilbud-om-trillebag/15300576/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/etterlatte-reagerer-pa-kutt/15169180/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/meninger/regjeringen-tar-fra-de-som-har-mistet-alt/77622931>
- <https://www.nrk.no/norge/fay-wildhagen-sjokkert-over-hjelpetelefon-kutt-1.16158919>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/i/15MVKg/3-5-millioner-til-adopterte-en-draape-i-havet>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/sonnen-begikk-selvord-anmeldelsen-henlagt/75960151>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/jennie-13-tok-sitt-egget-liv-svikt-i-oppfolgingen/15156800/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/sonnen-begikk-selvord-far-ikke-oppreisning/77896634>
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/musikk/i/1Oz5eM/mental-helse-om-tix-laet-langt-over-streken>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kultur/manipulasjon/75408335>
- <https://www.tv2.no/underholdning/tix-om-sangtekst-kritikken-ikke-en-trussel/14582161/?code=D1afTc7Zd0TbG9O &state=NvhfRHY1cjFMU09KNVAyMH5PQWwySH4yX29jdlFnLnB1azJEYnRENnV2ZA%3D%3D>

- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/z73y09/soeksmaal-etter-haralds-selvord-kjenner-ikke-igjen-noe-av-dette>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/10Inke/dom-faar-ikke-erstatning-etter-mannens-selvord>

#### Category 9

- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/alkoholen-tok-over-bjartes-liv-n-samtale-ndret-alt/14679970/>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/eEQEyQ/dette-doer-unge-av-i-norge>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/bekymret-for-de-unge/75271734>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/meninger/i/4o78d6/psykisk-uhelse-er-ikke-et-trendy-ungdomsopproer>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/flere-menn-tok-sitt-eget-liv-i-fjor/14974533/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/nedslaende-tall/76747553>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/28MJR4/skal-se-paa-selvordstall-dette-er-en-av-statistikkene-som-menn-topper>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/Bj7ope/selvord-helseministeren-om-thomas-18-som-tok-sitt-eget-liv-det-gjoer-sterkt-inntrykk>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/meninger/i/KnzoB6/hva-om-tallene-hadde-vaert-motsatt>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/Åsted-norge/vi-gjor-ikke-dette-for-a-vaere-jaevlige-mot-deg/15129975/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/kjendisoddsfall-skaper-stor-debatt/15357015/>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/har-kartlagt-incels-i-norge-mest-farlig-for-seg-selv/14542663/?code=hNM5Zu5QVLGBgB51&state=QUZOdDFqR2FXdzB%2BeGxuMTNURIY1RXNNdHYtVUNqaOpWa2hUQkc0VVcxQg%3D%3D>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/qWgj1e/trettebergstuen-sparker-i-gang-enda-et-mannsutvalg>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/mads-41-ber-menn-apne-seg/75977503>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/meninger/i/rIAWWA/25-under-25-vi-kan-ikke-tie-om-selvord>
- <https://trondheim.dagbladet.no/nyheter/selvord-er-vanlig/77121797>
- <https://trondheim.dagbladet.no/kjendis/selvordsstatistikken-slo-meg-i-magen/77123152>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/johnny-56-bar-pa-hemmeligheten-i-flere-ar-det-tar-nesten-livet-av-meg/14815500/>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/9zmWLI/shot-undersokelsen-2022-1-av-5-studenter-har-hatt-selvordstanker>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/kjendis/ber-om-endring/77314659>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/klandrer-sosiale-medier-for-mollys-14-dod/77332074>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/MoozwK/fakta-om-barnevernet-hva-vet-vi-om-selvord>

## Category 10

- [https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/satser-pa-ny-koronastrategi-vil-behandle-covid-19-som-influensa/14483844/?code=29e\\_BGdHowFjycF6&state=R0IXeWJUTUlyNExlVjRxdXg0OGphQy5PdU9xX3ZjTC1uWHdGOC5oNUZ1UQ%3D%3D](https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/satser-pa-ny-koronastrategi-vil-behandle-covid-19-som-influensa/14483844/?code=29e_BGdHowFjycF6&state=R0IXeWJUTUlyNExlVjRxdXg0OGphQy5PdU9xX3ZjTC1uWHdGOC5oNUZ1UQ%3D%3D)
- <https://www.vg.no/rampelys/i/eEv3Ll/influencere-reagerer-paa-onlyfans-tilsyn-faen-til-mas>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/utenriks/mor-38-kastet-barna-ut-av-vinduet-datter-3-dode/14977393/>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/viktorias-21-smertehelvete/77634445>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/sport/funnet-dod/76042257>
- <https://www.nrk.no/urix/usa -voldsom-okning-av-drap-med-skytevapen-1.15962696>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/ble-kona-til-han-pedofile/75311468>
- <https://www.dagbladet.no/nyheter/bekymret-for-de-unge/75271734>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/hundrevis-av-barn-og-unge-kontaktet-rote-kors-om-psykisk-helse-i-pasken/14731408/>
- <https://www.vg.no/sport/friidrett/i/7d939V/warholm-om-mental-uhelse-jeg-er-naiv-naar-det-gjelder-dette>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/meninger/i/4o78d6/psykisk-uhelse-er-ikke-et-trendy-ungdomsopproer>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/banken-tar-et-helt-nytt-grep/15233503/>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/meninger/i/bgmvX3/naar-flerkulturelle-kjendisbroedre-graater>
- <https://trondheim.dagbladet.no/kultur/kuk-restaurant-kjoper-discopung/77280133>
- <https://bergen.dagbladet.no/nyheter/var-helt-texas-fikk-sjokk/78005871>
- <https://www.vg.no/nyheter/innenriks/i/GM0wMV/brennas-oppfordring-til-foreldre-i-julen-legg-ned-mobilen>
- <https://www.tv2.no/nyheter/innenriks/her-reddar-maya-liv/15362419/>