

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

THE APPLICATION OF WHO GUIDELINES IN
MAJOR LEBANESE PRINT MEDIA SUICIDE REPORTS:
COMPLIANCE AND DISCREPANCIES

by
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To anyone who is going through a hard time and/or contemplating suicide, please know you are not alone, help is available, please reach out and don't go through your struggles alone.

ABSTRACT OF THE PROJECT OF

Zeina Adel Ghanem for

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Major: Media Studies

Title: The Application of Who Guidelines in Major Print Media Suicide Reports: Compliance and Discrepancies

Suicide deaths rates are among the top twenty leading causes of death worldwide resulting in more than 700,000 deaths every year (WHO, 2019). In Lebanon, it is estimated that someone dies by suicide every 2.1 days, and every 6 hours someone attempts suicide (Embrace, 2021).

Appropriate circulation of information, responsible reporting and public education are primary factors in the success of suicide prevention programs. Reporting on suicide by media outlets has been an important field of study, due to widely spread belief that media reports on suicide may lead to imitative or copycat acts especially by vulnerable individuals. These studies compelled international health organizations to develop guidelines for media professionals to regulate suicide reports and enhance the quality of information delivered to the public. In 2000 the World Health Organization (WHO), in collaboration with the International Association for Suicide Prevention (IASP), developed a set of guidelines for media professionals entitled: “Preventing Suicide: A Resource for Media Professionals” (WHO, 2019). This resource serves as a guide for media professionals across the globe on how to responsibly report suicide and has been updated in 2017 to adapt to new forms of media, particularly online media. With the goal of improving the mental health care scene in Lebanon, the Ministry of Public Health (MOPH) as well as other local NGOs developed several initiatives to raise awareness on suicide and control the increase in suicidal rates. In May 2014, the MOPH with the support of WHO, UNICEF, and International Medical Corps (IMC) launched the National Mental Health Program (NMHP). In 2019, the NMHP developed a set of guidelines based on the WHO guidelines for media professionals to be able to produce healthy content on mental health and substance use, accompanied with trainings and collaboration with media professionals (MOPH, 2019).

This project focused on 2 major suicide cases in Lebanon that occurred between 2016 and 2020 through articles published in 6 major Lebanese Newspapers pertaining to the two cases. The articles were collected through accessing AUB print archives, the newspapers’ websites, and Lexis Nexis research tool. Through textual analysis, this project aims to reveal the compliance or non-compliance of the media reports with the WHO guidelines and reflect on how the reporting practices have changed in the past 4 years. The textual analysis pinpoints words/statements/terminologies and practices that reveal the presence or absence of the implementation of the WHO guidelines.

The findings reveal the discrepancies present in the articles when it comes to reporting suicide in a healthy and ethical manner in Lebanese newspapers.

The project discussed the findings, relating to research done in the field of suicide and media along with theories that serve to support the discussion. The project findings are reflected in a media campaign targeted at media professionals, as a call towards more objective and responsible journalism especially when it comes to sensitive topics like suicide.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Suicide is a pressing global public health issue, being among the top twenty leading causes of death worldwide. More than 700 000 people die by suicide every year. (WHO, 2019) According to the World Health Organization (WHO), globally, the age-standardized suicide rate in males was 1.8 times higher than in females. Suicide was the second leading cause of death in 15–29-year-olds for both males and females, after road injuries. Most of the world’s suicides happened in low-and-middle-income countries (79%), while high-income countries had the highest age-standardized suicide rate (11.5 per 100 000). Lower-middle-income countries had a marginally lower rate (11.4 per 100 000), and low-income and upper-middle-income countries had lower rates (10.8 per 100 000 and 9.0 per 100 000 respectively). (WHO, 2019)

Suicide has a wide range of social, emotional, and economic consequences, as its not only related to the person who dies by or attempts suicide but also the bereaved family members and friends as well as the local community.

The prevention of suicide requires a multidisciplinary approach that involves a whole array of measures, ranging from the environmental control of risk factors and resources to the timely recognition of the issue and the efficient treatment of people with mental and substance use disorders, and the responsible reporting of suicide in the media (WHO, 2017). Across-the-board public health action to prevent suicide is one that considers the population at large and targets more specifically individuals at risk. A complete prevention plan should engage all sectors related to the above-mentioned procedures from governmental and non-governmental organizations to health professionals and media professionals as well.

Appropriate circulation of information, responsible reporting and public education are fundamental components for the success of suicide prevention programs. Tackling suicide cautiously in the media has been a major field of study, due to widely spread belief that media reports on suicide could induce imitative or copycat acts especially by individuals at risk. This field of study emerged in the 1970s by David Phillips who coined the term 'Werther Effect' to depict waves of copycat suicides that occur after celebrity suicide are reported by the media. The term referred to the main character in novelist and author Johann Wolfgang von Goethe novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, The novel is about a young man who travels to Germany and falls in love with a young married women Charlotte, but later ends his life in despair over his unreciprocated love for her (Ownby, Routon; 2019). The popularity of this novel led to an enormous controversy due to the fear that readers might imitate the actions of young Werther. In one specific case a young woman who had been deserted by her lover drowned herself in the River Ilm behind Goethe's garden in Weimar, with a copy of Werther in her pocket (Arnett, Larson, Offer; 1995). Since then, there have been various claims and studies that indicate the effect of media on imitative suicidal behavior especially among vulnerable subjects.

While researching this phenomenon during the 1970s, David Phillips coined the term the 'Werther Effect' to depict waves of copycat suicides (Phillips, 1974). Building on the Werther Effect, while moving on to other media outlets, research has been conducted globally to define the relation between media and suicide; in many cases it has been discovered that unguided reporting might cause an increase in suicide rates, especially among individuals at risk. Studies by Phillips on the effects of imitation of

suicidal behavior portrayed in the mass media demonstrated that the more suicides there were found in the period after the publishing date of the reports (Phillips, 1974).

Based on the above and other similar studies that are explored later, this project focuses on the coverage of two particular suicide cases in Lebanon. The first deceased is Nourhan Hammoud, who died by suicide in the summer of 2016. A young activist in her 20s, Nourhan jumped off the balcony of her house in the Sanayeh neighborhood of Beirut, putting an end to her life.

The second deceased is Ali El Haq who died by suicide in the summer of 2020 in the heart of Hamra, a main and busy shop-filled street in Beirut, in broad day light with a note that said: أنا مش كافر بس الجوع كافر. (I am not blasphemous, but hunger is blasphemous.)

This project focuses on the coverage of those two cases in six major Lebanese newspapers 10 days after their respective suicide dates. Textual analysis was conducted to examine the compliance of these articles with the above mentioned WHO guidelines and to track the changes in approach in the past 4 years with all the advancements that have been implemented from existing initiatives.

The data was used to develop a media campaign targeted towards media professionals to raise awareness on the importance of healthy reporting of suicide.

This project comes as a combination of my experience as a media student, and a lifeline operator at the Embrace Lifeline the National Emotional Support and Suicide Prevention Helpline. Through the courses I took, and research I have worked on, I have learned of media's role in society, and how media can serve as a powerful tool to help people gain knowledge on certain topics, formulate opinions, and often gradually change their behavior or lifestyle. As such, media professionals have a responsibility to

handle delicate topics, like mental health and suicide, with great care and attention. Moreover, through my volunteering at the Embrace Lifeline, I was able to witness firsthand the importance of mental health education and suicide prevention for individuals at risk. Supplying people with resources to help them reach out to professionals that can help them with their struggle, will most importantly help them know they are not alone. Help is available; sometimes a stranger on the other end of the line might save a life.

1.1. Aim and Objectives of the Project

The project aims to examine the compliance of the six Lebanese newspapers to the WHO guidelines in articles reporting the suicides mentioned above. Through textual analysis, the analysis pinpoints the words/statements/terminologies that examines the absence or presence of the implementation of the WHO guidelines. The findings are discussed in relation to previous studies done in the field of media and suicide prevention as well as theories that support the finding and main hypothesis.

The findings of the analysis were utilized to create a media campaign targeted towards media professionals, to highlight the important role they play in creating ethically-sound articles on sensitive topics such as suicide.

1.2. Purpose of the Media Campaign

The media campaign will serve as a supportive campaign to help journalists understand the importance of dealing with sensitive topics like suicide, while advocating responsible journalism that aims to educate the public and guide them to resources that can aid them in their fight with mental illness and suicide. The messages might shed light on the red flags of reporting suicide based on international guidelines and suggest a more responsible approach to reporting suicide.

Various theories have been used to demonstrate the underlying relationship between media reporting of suicide and actual suicidal behavior: Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1977), The Health Belief Model (HBM),

(M. Rosenstock, M. Hochbaum, Kegeles, and Leventhal) and the Differential Identification Theory (Herbert C. Kelman, 1958)

Studies in the field of suicide prevention and its relation to the media compelled numerous public health organizations to develop guidelines that could aid media professionals to create more responsible reports and portrayals of suicide. Twenty years ago, the WHO in collaboration with the International Association for Suicide Prevention (IASP) published a set of guidelines for media professionals aiming to regulate and improve the quality of media reports and raise awareness on a global public health issue. The manual, which has been globally used and adapted in many countries, was updated in 2017 to include both traditional and new media (WHO, 2017).

The WHO guidelines urge media professionals to:

- Provide accurate information about where to seek help
- Educate the public about the facts of suicide and suicide prevention, without spreading myths
- Report stories of how to cope with life stressors or suicidal thoughts, and how to get help
- Apply particular caution when reporting celebrity suicides
- Apply caution when interviewing bereaved family or friends
- Recognize that media professionals themselves may be affected by stories about suicide

- Avoid placement of stories about suicide prominently and don't unduly repeat such stories
- Refrain from using language which sensationalizes or normalizes suicide, or presents it as a constructive solution to problems
- Abstain from explicitly describing the method of suicide used in a particular suicide case, as well as the site of the suicide
- Avoid using sensational headlines
- Refrain from using actual photographs, video footage or social media links that might be sensitive to the viewer (WHO, 2017)

After these guidelines were published several studies were conducted in different countries to test if the implementation of these guidelines might have led to a decrease in suicide rates or imitative behavior. Research was conducted in Vienna (1987) to test the effect of the implementation of media guidelines on how major Austrian newspapers, research noted the change in the style of reporting from sensational headlines to informative reports, and consequently a decrease in suicide rate (Gould, Jamieson, Romer, 2003). In another study at the University of Hong Kong, the researchers focused on analyzing the media reports in Hong Kong (2004) after the application of the WHO guidelines, and implementation of awareness programs. The application of the WHO guidelines reduced the employment of pictorial presentations and headlines mentioning suicide (Fu, YIP, 2008).

As for the case of Lebanon, as of 2021 statistics reveal that one person dies by suicide every 2.1 days, and one-person attempts suicide every 6 hours. The rate of suicide in Lebanon however is likely underreported due to the dominant religious, legal,

and social stigma that surrounds suicide, which often result in the mislabeled cause of death as natural, accidental, or undetermined. Moreover, these numbers don't take into consideration the number of individuals who come across suicidal ideation (Embrace, 2021).

In Lebanon mental illness -- and particularly suicide -- is still characterized by stigma and lack of awareness. People shy away from discussing the topic or reaching out for help due to the shame related to the topic. Most suicides are caused by mental illness, although social determinants are also significant specifically in countries like Lebanon, which is exposed to military and political conflict and income inequality and social disparity (Compton & Shim, 2015). The prevalence of mental illness in Lebanon is similar to that of developed countries in Western Europe, but the unattainable need for treatment is remarkably higher in Lebanon than in Western countries (Karam et al., 2007).

Embrace, a local organization leading on mental health and suicide prevention in Lebanon, reported that in the first 6 months of 2020, 80 persons died by suicide, with an average of 13 death per month following the deteriorating economic situation that was accompanied by the COVID-19 pandemic and state lockdowns. Embrace also operates an emotional support and suicide prevention helpline in collaboration with the National Mental Health Program (NHMP) at the Ministry of Public Health (MOPH).

The lifeline, which is run by trained volunteers, witnessed an increase in the number of calls in the first 9 months of 2020 with 4,658 calls compared to 1,561 calls during the same period in 2019 (Embrace, 2020).

Despite such alarming numbers, the discussion of mental health and suicide in Lebanon still comes with stigma and shame; individuals who die by or attempt suicide are looked at as ill, and not aware of their behaviors, even sometimes labeled as criminals or blasphemous.

Embrace has been working on raising awareness on the importance of emotional support and suicide prevention in Lebanon with several initiatives and campaigns. Moreover, in 2019, the National Mental Health Program (NMHP) at the Ministry of Public Health (MOPH) developed a set of Guidelines for media professionals based on the WHO guidelines to be able to produce successful content on mental health and substance use, along with offering trainings and collaborations with media professionals to spread awareness across the field (MOPH, 2019).

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE VIEW

Several studies have been conducted to examine the nature of the relation between media and suicidal behaviors, which produced a body of literature that could operate as a strong basis for any new observation in this field. In 1974, David Phillips conducted one of the earliest studies on the effects of mass media reports using data from national suicide statistics for 1947-1968 in the US and the United Kingdom, to prove that suicides increase directly after a suicide story has been published in the newspapers, which results in the imitation of suicidal behavior by individuals at risk (Phillips, 1974). Phillips proposed the “Werther Effect” as a basis for the results encountered. Phillips noticed that the more publicity a suicide case was given – remarkably on the front pages of newspapers– the more suicides could be detected in the timespan after the publishing of the suicides (Phillips, 1974).

In another study that observed the relationship of suicide deaths with suicide news in longitudinal and spatial dimensions in Taiwanese media reports during the period 2003–2010, Albert C. Yang et. al identified three key findings. First, the compatibility of suicide deaths and media reporting of suicide was observed in major suicide events, which suggested a copycat effect of suicide occurring during the massive reporting of major suicide events. Second, when the methods of suicide were reported in the media it peculiarly affected the suicide models. Third, media reports of suicide had a higher relationship with suicide deaths in urban than in rural areas (Yang et. al, 2013).

Hawton and Williams (2001) have also indicated that the media outlets are inclined to oversimplify the triggers of reported suicides, stating single factors such as

financial disaster or broken relationships, but disregarding the most common and noteworthy aspect leading to suicide, which is a pre-existing mental health condition, which recurrently goes unnoticed and even dismissed. Conflicting representations of suicide might lead social and political sectors to take actions that are not deeply relation to the experiences and the lived realities of the population (Stack, Bowman, 2007).

Considering newspapers coverage, Steven Stack (2003) has declared that unlike televised suicide stories, “newspaper suicide stories can be saved, reread, displayed on one’s wall or mirror, and studied. Television based stories on suicide typically last less than 20 seconds and can be quickly forgotten or even unnoticed.” In several comprehensive studies of suicides following media coverage of suicide, copies of suicide news stories near have been reported to be found next to the body of the victim. According to Stack (2003), research centered on televised stories was 82% less likely to resulted in a copycat effect than research centered around newspaper stories.

In a more recent study conducted by researchers from the Department of Epidemiology at Columbia University after the death of entertainer Robin Williams by suicide on August 11, 2014 -- who hung himself with a belt and died from asphyxiation -- results showed an increase in suicides from August to December 2014, both in males (9.1%) and females (9.7%), and across all age groups. Those ages 30±44 showed the greatest increase in suicides (12.9%) These increments embody an additional 1,841 cases (1,398 among males, 386 among females). (Fink, Santanella-Tenorio, Keyes; 2018) With the increase in media coverage about William’s story on different platforms, researchers witnessed the highest surplus in suicide cases were among persons who used a similar method (i.e., suffocation) and who were of the same sex (i.e., male) and in a similar age group as Williams, which led them to believe that it

might be possible that this surplus excess in suicide cases is an example of the “Werther’s effect”.

While there were many studies that focused on the effects of the publicized suicide reports on suicide rates, Sonneck and co-workers led a study that distinctly depicts the preventive effects of mass media after the application of media guidelines. The Viennese Subway in Austria has been a popular method of suicide since its opening in 1978, while the suicide rate was low in the first couple of years, surprisingly in 1984 there was an increase in both suicide and suicide attempts. Researchers suspected that this development might be related to how major Austrian newspapers reported the suicides in a very sensational and exaggerated manner. The Austrian Association for Suicide Prevention initiated media guidelines and advised the press to abide by them as of June 1987. Soon after the employment of the guidelines the content of the reports changed significantly, from sensational articles to informative reports. Consequently, the number of suicides significantly declined from the first to the second half of the year, and the rates remained low after (Gould, Jamieson, Romer, 2003).

In 2004 another study led by Dr. K W Fu and Professor Paul S. F. Yip at University of Hong Kong, the researchers focused on analyzing the media reports in Hong Kong (2004) after the application of the WHO guidelines, and implementation of awareness programs. The application of the WHO guidelines reduced the employment of pictorial presentations and headlines mentioning suicide. Since 2004 Hong Kong's suicide rate has decreased from its historical high in 2003, though this can be credited to several other social factors, the change in the reporting style was considered as one of the viable factors since to the decrease occurred after the application of the WHO guidelines (Fu, YIP, 2008).

While there has been extensive focus on the relationship between suicidal rates and media reports, some research has also studied the protective effects of media on audiences. The *Papageno effect* focuses on the suicide-protective effects of the media, in comparison with the harmful Werther's effect. A seminal study in 2010 revealed that the publication of media reports of individuals coping with difficult circumstances was met with a decrease in subsequent suicide in regions where the media reached a large audience. Thus, reporting on experiences where individuals overcame suicidal ideation and healed can lead audiences to have hope and serve as a suicide prevention approach (Niederkrötenhaler, 2017).

This wide body of research paves the way for new research in countries where such topics are under researched. The viable role that the media have in relation to suicide prevention serve as a basis for research on the media coverage on suicide in a country like Lebanon, where mental illness is still regarded as taboo and suicide as a blasphemous and selfish act. With the deterioration of the economic situation, people carry more weight on their shoulders and possibilities of development of mental health issues and suicidal thoughts increase.

Based on personal experience and first-hand observation as a helpline operator at Embrace, after wide dissemination of the Embrace Lifeline number (1564) by several media outlets addressing the suicide of Naji el Fleity in December 2019, the numbers of calls spiked, and Embrace had to alleviate its operations from 3 individuals answering calls per shift to 11 individuals handling nonstop calls. The number of calls as per monthly reports published by Embrace increased from 174 in November 2019 to 270 calls in December 2019 and even a higher increase in the first few months of 2020 (Embrace, 2019-2020).

The main question addressed in the present research was: how does unhealthy coverage of suicide cases in Lebanese media affect the mental health scene in Lebanon and the public perceptions on suicide?

Media plays an important role by serving as a significant source of health-related information for the public, policymakers, and health professionals. It can shape individuals' health behaviors, urge policymakers to take decisions to endorse health and spread health research results to the medical and science community as well (Yanovitzky I, Bennett C 1999; Cook et al, 1999; Grilli, Ramsay , Minozzi , 2002; Phillips et al, 1991). Therefore, the adaptation of a healthy reporting style could serve as an incentive to improve the quality of mental health care scene in Lebanon and encourage people to seek help when in need.

* To maintain neutrality and avoid judgment towards the topic of suicide, and the individuals deceased by suicide, I will avoid terms such as commit, or complete suicide which carry negative connotation. Following international recommendations, the terms that will be used will be: died by suicide or attempted suicide. (<https://www.suicideinfo.ca/resource/suicideandlanguage/>)

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

One of the most well-known theories attributed to the study on suicide copycat effects is the Social Learning Theory (Bandura, Walters, 1977). According to Albert Bandura, the pioneer of Social Cognitive theory, people are “self-developing, proactive, self-regulating, and self-reflecting, not just reactive organisms shaped and shepherded by environmental events or inner forces” (Bandura, 1994, 49). Human self-development, adaptation, and change are rooted in social systems. Consequently, personal agency functions within a comprehensive system of socio-structural influences (Bandura, 1986; 2006c). Humans have advanced a progressive capability for observational learning which allows them to increase their knowledge and skills promptly through information delivered by the wide spectrum of models. Social learning happens either intentionally or unintentionally from models in one’s direct environment. Mass media is heavily responsible for transmitting information about human values, styles of thinking, and behavior patterns which impacts human behavior and actions (Bandura, 2009). Social cognitive theory proposes that mass media might reinforce behaviors such as suicide, which are normally suppressed by society through regarding these behaviors, or acts as acceptable or heroic, even more an escape from struggles. It is very important to consider such theories while addressing suicide in the media, which is why this research focuses on the importance of taking caution while reporting on such delicate issues in the media, especially for individuals at risk, portraying suicide as a solution to problems might motivate them to act on their thoughts to relieve the pain.

Another relevant theory that relates to the protective aspect of the media effects is the Health Belief Model (HBM) that was established in the 1950s (Henshaw, Freedman-Doan, 2009). The HBM is based on a socio-cognitive standpoint which suggests that individuals are more likely to become involved in a particular health-related behavior to the degree that they accept they might be at risk to get inflicted by it, and to the degree that such belief might have serious outcomes that will interfere with their daily social lives. HBM provides a fundamental social factor when it comes to mental health care employment, where cues and calls to action serve as reminders of the severity and threats of such disorders (Henshaw, Freedman-Doan, 2009). Relating this theory to the mental health scene in Lebanon and the dissemination of Embrace lifeline number after a particular suicide, whether through print or online media, might motivate individuals seek help and call the Embrace lifeline, or other resources/NGOs that provide mental health support.

The theory of differential identification developed by Herbert C. Kelman in 1958 suggests that individuals tend to identify with someone who is “socially superior”; vertical identification occurs in the case of celebrities. This is reinforced by the high number of case studies that observed an increase in suicides following reports on celebrity suicides. Horizontal identification proposes that social similarity between imitator and model (e.g., same age group and sex) is a significant aspect in identification and in imitative behavior (Blood & Pirkis, 2001; Stack, 1992). This theory is of key importance in the case of Lebanon especially after the economic crises; though the individuals who died by suicide are not celebrities, yet they share the same economic status and attribute their loss of hope due to their inability to provide a decent life for their families: Naji El Flaity, Dani Hiadar and Ali El Haq, all popular cases in

the media, died by suicide after the October 2019 revolution and the deterioration of the economic situation.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

In order to investigate the compliance of Lebanese newspapers media portrayal of suicide cases with the WHO guidelines and in turn their impact on readers, newspaper articles were collected from 6 major Lebanese newspapers through their print issues and websites, over a 10-day span starting from the day of the suicide case.

The newspapers were chosen based on their high audience concentration

Al Joumhouria (الجمهورية) = 21.2%

Al Nahar (النهار)=20.8%

Al Akhbar (الأخبار)=17.2%

Al Diyar (الديار)=14.6%

Al Liwaa (اللواء)=1.8%

L'Orient-Le Jour =3.1%

(MOM, 2017)

Suicide case timeline:

Nourhan Hammoud:

August 29- September 7, 2016

Ali El Haq:

July 3, 2020 – July 12, 2020

Articles were retrieved using three methods:

- Manually searching print editions (through microfilm or digital print issues) published between the above-mentioned dates respectively, including any article that mentioned the suicide case, whether to report the incident or to analyze the incident in relation to the economic-political situation.
- Online search (using the search engine from each newspaper's respective website) by searching the name of the person that died by suicide, and the word suicide. When available, the time span was specified as well.
- Online search through the Lexis-Nexis search engine by searching the name of the person who died by suicide, and the word suicide. The search was narrowed down by (1) specifying a timeline for each case, (2) specifying the geographical location (Middle East then Lebanon) of the newspapers mentioned above. Examples of the search are shown below.

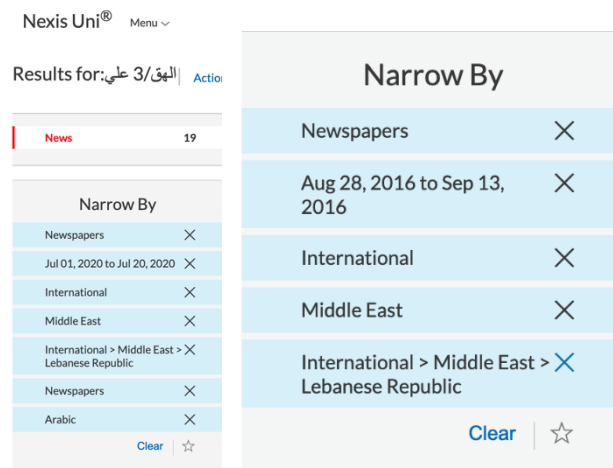


Figure 1: Lexis Nexis search scheme for articles

The textual analysis was conducted on the retrieved articles to determine their compliance with the WHO guidelines mentioned above by studying the presence or

absence of the recommendations. The textual analysis pinpointed words/ statements/terminologies that reflect the presence or absence of the implementations of the WHO guidelines.

The textual analysis highlights the presence or absence of the WHO guidelines for reporting suicide with a focus on the below Do's and Dont's.

The Do's:

1. Do provide accurate information about where to seek help
2. Do educate the public about the facts of suicide and suicide prevention, without spreading myths
3. Do report stories of how to cope with life stressors or suicidal thoughts, and how to get help
4. Do apply particular caution when reporting celebrity suicides*
5. Do apply caution when interviewing bereaved family or friends *
6. Do recognize that media professionals themselves may be affected by stories about suicide *

Dont's

1. Don't place stories about suicide prominently and don't unduly repeat such stories
2. Don't use language which sensationalizes or normalizes suicide, or presents it as a constructive solution to problems
3. Don't explicitly describe the method used
4. Don't provide details about the site/location
5. Don't use sensational headlines

6. Don't use photographs, video footage or social media links

The analysis tracked the changes in reporting style between the 2 cases, due to the differences that occurred between these years starting with the launch of the National Mental Health Program in 2015 and the establishment of the Embrace Lifeline in 2017, along with the release of the local practical guidelines for media professionals on the coverage of mental health and substance use in 2019.

The outcomes from the above analysis will be deliberated in the findings section with relation to the literature review that focuses on the existence of a relationship between suicide rates, perception and media reports. Furthermore, the discussion explores how the findings coincide with the theoretical background, in terms of the Social Learning Theory (Bandura, Walters, 1977), the Health Belief Model (HBM) (Henshaw, Freedman-Doan, 2009), and the Differential Identification Theory (Kelman, 1958).

*Do's 4, 5 and 6 were not applicable to the suicide cases at hand, since they are not celebrity suicides. The effect on media professionals could not be tested due to the limited scope the project had to follow.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND ANALYSES

The total number of articles in the seven newspapers amounted to 50 articles.

These include news articles, feature articles, editorials and opinion and editorials articles (op-eds). All 6 newspapers reported Ali’s suicide, while only 3 reported Nourhan’s suicide.

Newspaper	Nourhan Hamoud Suicide Timeline (August 29- September 7, 2016)									
	29/ 8	30/8	31/8	1/9	2/9	3/9	4/9	5/9	6/9	7/9
Al Joumhouria	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Al Nahar	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Al Akhbar	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Al Diyar	0	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Al Liwaa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
L’Orient-Le Jour	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Total Number of articles=9

Table 1: Articles that report the suicide of Nourhan Hammoud among the chosen newspapers (Numbers in red reflect online articles, while numbers in blue reflect print articles.)

	Ali El Haq Suicide Timeline (July 3, 2020 – July 12, 2020)									
Newspaper	3/7	4/7	5/7	6/7	7/7	8/7	9/7	10/7	11/3	12/7
Al Joumhouria	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Al Nahar	8	4+3=7	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
Al Akhbar	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Al Diyar	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Al Liwaa	0	4	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0
L'Orient-Le Jour	1	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0

Total number of articles: 41

Table 2: Articles that report the suicide of Ali El Haq among the chosen newspapers (Numbers in red reflect online articles, while numbers in blue reflect print articles.)

Twenty years ago, the World Health Organization (WHO) in collaboration with the International Association for Suicide Prevention (IASP) published a set of guidelines for media professionals aiming to regulate and improve the quality of media reports and raise awareness on a global public health issue. The manual, which has been globally used and adapted in many countries, was updated in 2017 to include both traditional and new media.

The WHO report addressed the tremendous responsibility of media professionals in terms of practicing cautiousness in reporting suicide, while also corresponding to indispensable requirements like the “public’s ‘right to know’ against the risk of causing harm.” (p:15)

The below section elaborates on how the data was analyzed in relation to segments from the WHO guidelines.

5.1 Guidelines Compliance:

5.1.1 DO'S 1, 2 and 3

The WHO guidelines encourage journalists to write responsibly about suicide to educate the public and help alleviate the stigma around mental health and suicide. This should be done through providing accurate information about where to seek help, through ending articles by mentioning available local resources for suicide prevention centers, crisis helplines, other health and welfare professionals, and self-help groups, etc...

Moreover, the WHO guidelines calls on journalists to educate the public about the facts of suicide and suicide prevention, without spreading myth; while also Report stories of how to cope with life stressors or suicidal thoughts, and how to get help. Integrating educational facts, positive coping stories and resources motivates people to reach out for help when they are faced with mental illness or suicidal thoughts.

(WHO,4)

- In the case of Nourhan:

Al Diyar and Al Joumhouria did not provide the public with any resources for suicide prevention, nor did they provide educational material on suicide or coping with suicidal thoughts.

Al Nahar's approach in Nourhan's story was informative, they interviewed a specialist to know more about the multiple psycho-social reasons that could lead to suicide, which helps alleviate the myths around suicide.

However, there was no mention of coping mechanisms or resources that an individual can seek if they are having suicidal thoughts. On the contrary the author

reflected that death has become the most appropriate method for young individuals going through hardships.

- In the case of Ali:

Out of 41 articles that reported and mentioned the suicide only two articles followed an educational approach to raise awareness on suicide and its causes, by interviewing professionals in the field as well as mentioning coping strategies and coping mechanisms.

L'Orient-Le Jour published one article on July 4, 2020 discussing the two suicide cases (Ali el Haq and Samer Hebli who died on the same day by suicide) and questioning what else is needed to awaken the minds of politicians. The author interviewed Mia Atoui, President of Embrace, who talked about suicide causes, the lifeline and how it could offer help.

Al Nahar mentioned the lifeline in two articles: On the day of the suicide, a published online article reported the suicide and showed an overview of tweets shared by celebrities about the suicide. One of the tweets shared Embrace's number and reminded individuals going through hardships to seek help.

The tweet said "Sahar Who: A gentle reminder that the suicide hotline is 1564. Call out for help, you are not alone. Also, I am here if you want to talk. We're in this together." (Al Nahar, 2020)

On July 3, 2020, an article was published about the suicide incident, reflecting on the suicide from a psychological perspective. The journalist succeeded in following an educational/preventive approach to writing on the case by:

- Interviewing a mental health specialist that talks about suicide, its causes, warning signs, ways to cope with suicidal thoughts and seek help.
- Educating the public about suicide statistics in the past couple of years.
- Urging media professionals to avoid sensationalism while addressing the suicide and provide educational information
- Mentioning the Embrace Lifeline number 1564 at end, reminding readers that suicide is preventable, and that they can reach out for help.

5.1.2 DONT'S 1:

The WHO guidelines advise media professionals to avoid placing stories about suicide prominently and to abstain from excessively repeating suicide stories.

Prominent placement and undue repetition of stories about suicide could possibly lead to consequent incidents of suicidal behavior than more subtle presentations. When it comes to Newspapers, the WHO advises that stories about suicide should be placed on the inside pages, towards the bottom of the page, rather than on the front page or at the top of an inside page. (WHO,6)

In terms of the prominent placement of the suicide case:

- In the case of Nourhan:

Al Joumhouria published the article on the top of page 9, 2 days after the suicide.

Al Nahar published 1 online article August 30, 2016

Al Diyar published 6 online articles in total from August 30 till September 2, 2016.

- In the case of Ali:

All the print issues collected shared the story on the top of the front page, with pictures from the suicide location, the day after the suicide.

In terms of repetition of suicide stories:

In the case of Nourhan, Al Diyar published 6 articles online.

Tuesday, August 30, 2016=2

Wednesday, August 31, 2016=2

Thursday, September 1, 2016= 1

Friday, September 2, 2016=1

While Al Joumhourya, published 1 article on the second day after the suicide online and another article on the third day of the suicide in the print issue.

Al Nahar published one article the on the second day of the suicide online.

In the case of Ali, Al Liwaa published 9 articles in its print issues, all throughout the 10 days after the suicide, between news articles, feature articles, editorials and opinion and editorials articles (op-eds).

Al Liwaa used the suicide as an opening to articles that tackle the deteriorating economic and political situation.

Al Nahar published 17 articles between online and print issues during the 10-day span, between news articles, feature articles, editorials and opinion and editorials articles (op-eds).

5.1.3 DONT'S 2:

The WHO guidelines advise media professionals to refrain from using language “which sensationalizes or normalizes suicide or presents it as a constructive solution to problems” (Who, 2017). The guidelines urge media professionals to use terminologies that communicate the message that suicide is a public health problem and recognize different risk factors that might have caused the suicide, combined with a message about the prevention of suicide, which can help in educating the public about the importance of suicide prevention.

Among the collected articles, there was a trend towards sensationalism more than raising awareness as most articles focused on the suicide incident as a single event rather than a public health issue. There was a tendency to identify the cause behind the suicide to one factor, ignoring the fact that suicide happens due to a mix of mental and socio-economic factors.

- The case of Nourhan:

The suicide was seen as escape from the reality Nourhan was facing in her daily life, as well as a rebellious act: Al Diyar (2016) newspaper employed terminology that portrayed her suicide as an escape from reality to the dream world which is a safer place. In Al Joumhouria (2016) the author makes assumptions on why Nourhan chose to kill herself and glamorizes the decision as an escape to a dream land. She calls it a moment of giving up on life. Al Nahar (2020) wrote about Nourhan’s suicide as an escape from her dark reality to a better place.

- The case of Ali:

There was a tendency to treat Ali's suicide as a political suicide, as a result of poverty and hunger. The use of sensational terminology glorified Ali and his suicide and portrayed him as a hero at times, and a martyr at other times. Al Akhbar (2020) referred to him as the martyr of deportation and impoverishment, and to a tragic hero in another article within the same day after the suicide incident. Al Liwaa (2020) portrayed Ali as a hero and martyr of poverty and affliction while Al Nahar (2020) used a similar approach to describe Ali as a martyr of hunger, covered with the Lebanese flag. And L'Orient-Le Jour compared Ali's suicide to the many monks of Tibet who died by suicide sacrificing the name of Tibet's independence.

The common discrepancy that almost all the newspapers shared was attributing the suicide mostly to hunger. The suicide was portrayed as the only way to escape the poverty, hunger, and economic inflation that Lebanon has been witnessing since 2019. The suicide was described as a mean to escape the humiliation that a Lebanese citizen faces in the search of a decent and respectable life.

With the increase of life stressors in a country like Lebanon, suicide was seen as the only way to escape and rest. On the day after the day of the suicide, Al Joumhouria (2020) mentioned in their article that the Lebanese citizen disputed life and chose to leave because of the difficult life situation, as an act of rebellion. Al Akhbar (2020) explained the suicide as a way to escape the daily humiliation. They said: in a country like Lebanon the options seem limited, either to wait for death or to minimize the time and choose to end our lives. The journalist called upon readers to make Ali's death a theatrical act, an act of defiance to our daily situation. And Al Liwaa (2020) considered that the first relief for poverty and hunger in Lebanon is suicide.

In an opinion article, Al Nahar (2020) focused on hunger as being the main reason for the suicide. The journalist addressed Ali in person, praising him for choosing suicide. The journalist mentioned that he was expecting a suicide to happen, but not from a citizen but rather from a politician. He said that since the politicians were ignorant to the hardships of citizens, they didn't choose suicide; it's good that Ali did. In another article in the same paper, the author questions how politicians can remain ignorant when a citizen chooses to kill himself because of hunger. In fact, in more than one article in Al Nahar, journalists mention that the increasing stressors of life in Lebanon, with the absence of basic rights and needs, are leading people to consider suicide as method to escape life, or even seek a more respectable life by choosing to die. The paper's journalists rush to use Ali's suicide note: "I am not blasphemous, but hunger is". In another article, the journalist commended Ali's suicide note, saying that he is not blasphemous, but rather the politicians that led the citizens to hunger are. In an Al Nahar opinion article six days after the suicide, the author romanticizes the suicide and links it to an international movie, "LA LA LAND", where the main character apparently contemplated suicide as well. The author concludes the article by declaring that the movie character didn't succeed in the suicide and achieved his dream of being a jazz club owner, while on the other hand Ali's reality was not that bright and he succeeded in his suicide attempt.

L'Orient-Le Jour (2020) mentioned that the struggles Ali went through were caused by the economic situation, in particular the devaluation of the Lebanese Lira, lack of job opportunities, and access to basic needs and resources, led him to choose to end his life having lost hope in a better future. Ali's suicide was seen as a theatrical display, comparing the suicide to a scene in a movie or a play.

5.1.4 DONT'S 3 and 4:

The guidelines advise journalists to avoid explicitly mentioning the method and location of the suicide, since it could increase the likelihood that a vulnerable person will copy the act. (WHO, 6)

In both suicides being analyzed, journalists widely shared the method and the location of the suicide anytime they wrote about the suicide.

- In the case of Nourhan:

Journalists mentioned she died by throwing herself from the balcony of her home, mentioning the location of her house.

AL Diyar (2016) mentioned that she died by jumping from the balcony of her house in Sanayeh Area in Beirut (Al Diyar, 2016).

Al Joumhouria (2016) also mentioned that she decided to end her life and threw herself from the balcony of her apartment on the 9th floor (Al Joumhouria, 2016).

- In the case of Ali:

The location was in a public place, in a coffee shop on one of Beirut's main avenues, Hamra Street, and most journalists mentioned the location and considered it very symbolic; it's a very lively street next to Al Madina Theater which hosts plays and theatrical performances. Moreover, the method of suicide was widely shared among the articles, and the details were explicit in many instances.

Al Akhbar mentioned that everyone that was present around the suicide location, heard the gunshot that went through Ali's head and penetrated in the glass of the

stairway that leads to the first floor of the building. They even interviewed a witness that explained that Ali was sitting on a chair at a nearby coffeeshop, he shot himself and covered his face with a towel. (Al Akhbar, 2020)

Al Akhbar mentioned that Ali chose Hamra street as a stage for his suicide since it's a hub that contains theaters, coffeeshops and lot of witnesses. (Al Akhbar, 2020)

In another opinion article, the journalist questioned Ali's choice of location, mentioned the suicide method (gun), the suicide note that Ali left. (Al Akhbar, 2020)

Al Joumhouria mentioned that Ali shot himself at "Dunkin Donuts" coffeeshop in front of everyone that was present and he left his clean judicial record and suicide note with a message on it. (Al Joumhouria, 2020)

Al Liwaa mentioned that Ali ended his life after having a cup of coffee at a neighboring coffeeshop in Hamra Street, a street that held so much cultural background and symbolism (Al Liwaa, 2020).

Al Nahar mentioned shot himself in Hamra street, next to Dunkin Donuts coffeeshop, which caused a shock among people passing by, with his judicial record and a suicide note (Al Nahar, 2020).

L'Orient-Le Jour mentioned that Ali shot himself in the center of Hamra street, at the entrance of Al Madina Theater, with a judicial record and a suicide note that refers to a famous song By Lebanese artist Ziad Al Rahbani. (L'Orient Le Jour, 2020)

5.1.5 DONT'S 5:

The WHO guidelines recommend avoiding sensational headlines. Headlines help attract the reader's attention by giving the core of the story in as few words as possible. The word "suicide" should be avoided in the headline, as well as

explicit mention to the method or location of the suicide. (WHO,7)

- In the case of Nourhan:

There was a common trend to sensationalize the suicide incident with few shocking words. The common themes in the headlines of Al Diyar were, (1) Nourhan, the young Lebanese girl who took her life in her own hands, (2) The reason behind Nourhan's suicide, (3) Nourhan refused to wait for another occasion, and unfortunately ended her life. (Al Diyar, 2016)

Al Joumhouria's headlines stated that Nourhan tore the books and sorrows referring to her status on social media. (Al Joumhouria, 2016)

- In the case of Ali:

The headlines throughout the 6 newspapers focused on the below themes:

Ali as a martyr of hunger and poverty

Attribution of the suicide to hunger and poverty or the situation in Lebanon

Suicide as the first solution/escape of the struggles of Lebanese citizens.

Use of the word suicide in the headlines

5.1.6 DONT'S 6:

The WHO guidelines urge media professionals to refrain from using pictures/videos of the suicide location, including suicide notes. Images of the person who died by suicide should not be shared, except with the explicit permission from the family members. Moreover, these images should not be prominently placed and should

not glamorize the individual or the suicidal act. Social media posts or emails of the individuals deceased should not be published. Research indicates that pictures linked to suicidal acts can be revived by readers at risk later, for example during a personal crisis, and may then elicit suicidal behavior. (WHO,7)

- The case of Nourhan:

Newspapers used photos from her social media account to accompany the stories. Al Diyar and Al Joumhouria (2016) shared her social media posts prior to the suicide where she posted a song by The Doors entitled “The End”, with a caption “this time more than any time.” In another article, Al Joumhouria shared Nourhan’s post prior to the suicide where she announces that she will make a little revolution soon.

- The case of Ali:

Photos from the suicide location were shared on all platforms with the note that he shared at the location of the suicide. The photo was placed prominently on the first page or on the top part of the inside pages. Al Nahar shared photos of the suicide scene in Hamra, after the body was removed and showed the Internal Security Forces (ISF) moving the body in a coffin. In their online articles the next day, they showed photos from his funeral in his own hometown, mentioning that they couldn’t share detailed pictures or family members since the family requested privacy. (Al Nahar, 2020)

Al Liwaa shared images from the suicide site on multiple occasions with different articles. In one article, the photo of Ali covered in blood was printed on the last page of the issue published the day after the suicide. Photos from the site, including

Ali's suicide note, were used in opinion pieces that reflected on the suicide with relation to the political situation. (Al Liwaa, 2020)

In one particular article in Al Liwaa, the picture of Ali covered in blood was shown in the last page of the issue published the day after the suicide.

Pictures from the site including Ali's suicide note, were used in opinion pieces that reflected on the suicide with relation to the political situation. (Al Liwaa, 2020)

Al Joumhouria shared images from the suicide site after the body was removed, on the main page in the print issue. On the day of the suicide, they showed an image of the suicide site with Ali's body still present. (Al Joumhouria, 2020)

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

In a country like Lebanon, especially with the decline in the economic, social, and political situation, and the trauma caused by the August 4th explosion, individuals are prone to increasing life stressors which might attribute to an increase in mental health prevalence and suicide risk.

Media play an important role by serving as significant sources of health-related information for the public, policymakers, and health professionals. They can shape individuals' health behaviors, urge policymakers to take decisions to endorse health and spread health research results to the medical and science community as well.

(Yanovitzky I, Bennett C 1999; Cook et al, 1999; Grilli, Ramsay , Minozzi , 2002; Phillips et al, 1991) The way they choose to cover sensitive topics like suicide affects individuals and communities at large, that's why it is very important to practice caution while covering suicide.

The purpose of the compliance to WHO guidelines is not to dictate media practices or limit their freedom, but rather to utilize the media in an effective way that could serve to educate the public (WHO, 2017).

Reporting on suicide by the media is a double-edged sword, as it may not influence copy-cat suicides, but it may also change the public's attitude towards suicide, its risk factors, warning signs and prevention methods (Phillips, 1974; Niederkrotenthaler, 2017).

A common trend that was noticeable in the analysis section, is the inclination of media professionals towards sensationalism when covering suicide. The extensive use of the words hero and martyr to describe Ali reflect a sensationalist approach to attract

readers. Glorifying Ali's suicide by portraying him as a hero is very dangerous, especially for individuals at risk, as it might increase the probability of copy-cat suicides. Research has recognized that the media are more likely to incite suicidal behavior, imitation or 'copycat' suicide when coverage uses sensationalism, recurrently gives the details of methods, displays the story prominently, publishes pictures of the location of suicide, and/or highlights the suicide of a celebrity (Jobes et al., 1996; Pirkis et al., 2002, 2007; Schmidtke and Hafner, 1988; Sonneck et al., 1994; Stack, 1996, 2000). Moreover, the 'normalization of suicide', whereby suicide is considered as a reasonable and common solution to end life usually occurs when there is frequent or repetitive reporting of suicide (Beautrais et al., 2004).

The turbulent situation in Lebanon and the socioeconomic decline affected the society at large and many individuals lost their jobs, their businesses, not to mention the loss of family members due to the COVID-19 pandemic. All these shared experiences connected people together; the fact that the struggle was collective created a sense of identification among citizens in Lebanon. Particularly in Ali's case and due to its political context, the suicide touched a large number of people. Activists and individuals organized sit-ins and protests in the location of the suicide. The anger individuals felt stemmed from their collective shared struggles in the same country.

Such identification with individuals that died by suicide was proposed in the Identification Theory by Kelman (1958). The theory served as a theoretical framework that was commonly utilized to observe the effects of celebrity suicides on copycat suicides (Blood & Pirkis, 2001). Kelman (1958) believes that identification can be described as "a persuasion process that occurs when an individual adopts behavior of another individual or group on the basis of a 'self-defining' relationship." Moreover,

there are two remarkable identification processes that can happen in copycat suicides, “vertical and horizontal identification” (Blood & Pirkis, 2001; Stack, 2000, 2003).

Vertical identification occurs more in the case of celebrity suicides, where socially inferior individuals identify themselves with socially superior individuals and imitate their acts (Blood & Pirkis, 2001). Another type of identification that Kelman proposed was horizontal identification, which can apply to the case of Lebanon; it refers to incidents in which individuals identify more strongly with other individuals that have similar characteristics to their own (Blood & Pirkis, 2001a). This implies the higher likelihood of incidence of copycat suicides among individuals that relate through similar characteristics.

The shared livelihoods of individuals in Lebanon and the common struggles connect them in many ways, not just in how they decide to live but might also affect how they decide to deal with hardships.

Through his work in the field of psychology Edwin S. Shneidman, identifies suicide as different in each case; the connection lies in the pain but the pain or “psychache” as he called is different, it lies in the mind of each individual in a different unique way (Shneidman, 1996).

Attributing suicide to a single cause by the media can trivialize the complexities that lie behind suicide, and the countless reasons and factors that lead people to contemplate suicide. Suicides might be similar, but at the same time they might be very different. Individuals might share similar struggles, but on the other hand the way they go about their struggles is different and varies due to different conditions.

“Suicide is usually a sudden and unexpected event for those left behind—death is the one event everyone knows must happen ... one day—but suicide names the day,

time, place, and method: ‘Suicide is the only kind of death in which the individual supplies most of the details for the death certificate’ (Shneidman, 1996, 160). The way such details are communicated in the media, then, can justify whether suicide is reported responsibly or not (Luce, 2016).

Trivialization of the suicide is where suicide is represented as the subsequent recognizable step or the first coping mechanism in a situation. Such statements might indicate that the only obvious way to escape or end hardships. Such an approach was noticeable in the coverage of Ali El Haq’s suicide: the media focused on suicide as a way to cope with the increasing life stressors in Lebanon. Similarly in Nourhan’s case suicide was portrayed as an escape from a dark reality to a brighter future.

As seen in the findings section, most media reports mentioned the method and location of suicide in details, while it might be seen as just reporting the event at hand, such information may increase the suicide contagion. As such exposure to the suicide method incites imitation in vulnerable populations (Fekete and Macsai 1990). When suicide reports are accompanied with detailed descriptions, photos, or references to the exact location of the suicide, the risk of copycat increases (Sonneck et al. 1994).

“Exposing the location might also increase the risk of point clustering because others learn about a particular location’s success rate for the completion of suicidal behaviors” (DeHaan, 2016).

The sensationalism of media reports in the Lebanese context can be attributed to many factors. The nature of media in Lebanon thrives on competition and delivering news as exclusive to a single media outlet, to attract more readers. There are a lot of gaps to be addressed here that lie not only within individual journalistic practices but also in the editorial policy and decision-making process in media outlets themselves.

Because media outlets in Lebanon doesn't depend on readership, but relatively on investors as a foundation of income, this affects their inclination towards producing quality journalism. The long-lasing economic crisis in Lebanon had its fair share of effects on the Lebanese media and particularly newspapers. (medialandscapes.org, 2022)

Experimental studies in Europe have also discovered that preventive knowledge, such as how people implemented coping strategies to deal with unfortunate situations or educational website, can be connected with a decrease in suicide rates or individuals' suicidal ideation (Niederkrotenthaler et al., 2010; Till et al., 2017). Media-reporting of preventive material creating positive effects is referred to as the Papageno Effect, as a contrariwise to the Werther Effect (Niederkrotenthaler, 2017).

The incorporation of psychoeducational information and preventative resources might cause readers to think of suicide as less inevitable and, consequently, more probable to prevent and act upon. Furthermore, a number of studies proved that incorporation of helpful resources might improve knowledge about suicide, which in turn has shown to stimulate help-seeking behaviors leading individuals to be well informed and increase their willingness to seek psychological treatment (Barney, Griffiths, Christensen, & Jorm, 2009; Batterham, Calear, & Christensen, 2013; Link & Phelan, 2006; Wright, Jorm, Harris, & McGorry, 2007).

In his Social Cognitive Theory of Mass Communication, Albert Banadura states that "vicarious motivators" are embedded in the expectation that outcomes are shaped by information portrayed as rewarding and punishing outcomes of specific displayed practices (Banadura, 2001). Witnessing others obtaining anticipated outcomes by their practices or actions can generate outcome anticipations that operate as positive

incentives; similar to witnessing punishing outcomes that can generate undesirable outcome anticipations that function as disincentives. Bandura considers that these “motivational effects” are managed by viewers’ verdicts of their capability to achieve the displayed practices, their awareness of the displayed practices as creating positive or negative consequences, and their interpretations that similar or unlike results would occur if they, themselves, were to participate in similar behaviors (Bandura, 2001).

The mass media might reinforce positive outcomes when it comes to seeking help when a person is faced with suicidal ideation. Thus, reflection on coping mechanisms and preventive methods might motivate individuals at risk of suicide to seek help to overcome their hardships.

The Health Belief Model that was established in the 1950’s by a group of social psychologists (M. Rosenstock, M. Hochbaum, Kegeles, and Leventhal) believe that including “cues to action” in health communication serve as reminders of the gravity or the risks of a certain illness. Such cues can be “individual experiences of symptoms”, or “external cues” such as interviews with specialists in the health field providing knowledge on a particular health issue (Henshaw and Freedman-Doan, 2009)

Through observing both suicide cases and their coverage, it was clear that reporting on suicide by media professionals still lack a lot of fundamentals and there are many gaps to be filled.

The nature of the media in Lebanon and its entanglement national politics and international influences, often requires journalists are to act like political activists. While media outlets in many Arab counties are controlled by the states, Lebanese media outlets are not controlled by the state; however, on the other hand, political parties possess the great power to influence and control the majority of Lebanese media

institutions, which therefore highlights the country's sectarian politics, which leads the media to serve as the mouthpiece for political propaganda. (medialandscapes.org, 2022).

The introduction of initiatives to promote healthier reporting has created some change, but there is still a long way to go. The presence of initiatives such as embrace and the National Mental Health Program, and through their work in the media might spark a change in the media reporting of suicide. Raising awareness on media professionals and highlighting their social responsibility towards their communities, motivates media professionals to take personal initiatives and report responsibly on sensitive issues that touch individual's lives.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND FUTURE RECOMMENDATIONS

Responsible reporting on suicide is a key part of changing the perception of suicide and suicide prevention among the public. Journalists should focus on their social responsibility not just to report incidents, but also to create awareness and create a more compassionate approach towards mental health and suicide prevention. According to Luce (2016), “One of the key roles of the press in a liberal democracy is to report the news so that informed public discussion can occur, and the right decisions made about how best to organize, regulate, and fairly distribute resources in society. Journalists also have a responsibility to bring to public attention and scrutiny social issues that might endanger the stability of civil society.” As such, reporting on suicide should follow a very careful process where the stigma is broken, where mental health is normalized, and where people are motivated to seek help and discuss their illness openly with their community.

Reporting suicide should be a very careful procedure where the stigma is broken, where mental health is normalized, where people are motivated to seek help and discuss their illness openly with their community.

Suicide stems from a place of pain, a pain that is explicable that can lead individuals to wish for death rather than fight for life.

Suicide stems from a place of pain, a pain that is explicable that can lead individuals to wish for death rather than fight for life. For Shneidman (1996) to tackle the issue of suicide, it important to discuss a person’s emotions, “rather than engage in the study of the structure of the brain, social statistics or mental diseases.” He contemplates that the two questions that need to be asked are: ‘Where do you hurt?’ and

‘How can I help you?’ (Luce, 2016). Keeping these two questions in mind when reporting on suicide could serve as an eye opener to media professionals, rather than just focusing on the incident, focus on the approach, know how to contribute, how to help, how to alleviate the pain and how to create a more compassionate perception towards mental health and suicide prevention. Mental health professionals can be advocates of social change, advocates of collective compassion towards mental health and suicide prevention.

The visual campaign aims at highlighting the discrepancies in journalistic practices. Through using words inspired from the newspaper articles, the messages focus on how suicide should be considered while reporting a suicide case. The visual campaign calls on journalists to write responsibly on suicide by focusing on suicide as a public health issue and focusing on the purpose of public education rather than news exclusivity.

7.1. Recommendations

Some recommendations useful for future responsible reporting of suicide by the media include, but are not limited to, the following:

1. Conduct research on the change in number of calls that could occur after the suicide helpline number is shared by the media, to have a strong body of scientific evidence that could serve as facts to motivate more research on the field of mental health in Lebanon and in turn motivate media professionals to apply the guidelines.

2. Conduct regular trainings for media professionals on the guidelines created by the NMHP on a wide scope that includes journalists from all media outlets across different platforms.
3. Refresh the knowledge of media professionals on the guidelines especially after a suicide case takes place.
4. Offer inhouse trainings for the editorial board and management teams in media outlets to help create a clear editorial policy when it comes to reporting mental health and suicide prevention.
5. Include the WHO guidelines in the journalism curriculum and dedicate a course on responsible reporting of mental health and suicide prevention.
6. Implement a monitoring strategy by the NMHP and embrace that aims to screen media reports on mental health and suicide prevention on a regular basis to notice gaps and guide journalists on how to report in a healthy manner. This can be achieved through having a monitoring committee that follows up with media outlets to ensure the compliance with guidelines.

As Machlin et al. (2013) noted: “Media reporting of suicide involves a balance between reducing public exposure to information that may lead to imitation and protecting the public’s right to know, including about those who die by suicide. Suicide experts disagree on what that balance looks like. We agree with those who say that it is most important to ensure that “we are doing no harm in reporting individuals’ deaths, but also that the media should contribute to providing the public with an accurate picture about suicide, who is most vulnerable, and what is known about prevention” (Machlin et al., 2013, 132).

Responsible reporting should focus on the issue of suicide as a public health matter rather than an individual occurrence. It should help the community as a whole, understand the significance of suicide, how it affects individuals and communities at large and how it can be prevented. A change is possible, if successful collaborations occur between media professionals and public health professionals, under the common goal of educating the public and providing them with resources that benefit their mental health journey.

7.2. Ethical Considerations of the project

When it comes to ethical considerations of the research at hand, one of the main points might be attributed to is the sensitivities of the topic itself as mental health and suicide are still surrounded by much stigma in Lebanon, where religion and society condemn individuals that die by suicide and consider suicide as a blasphemous act.

Focusing on two cases might be considered as being intrusive to the privacy of particular cases rather than others, but my analysis does not criticize, judge or analyze the actions of the people who died by suicide, but rather focuses on how the media dealt with their suicide in the hope of raising awareness on how the media should report suicide with caution.

7.3. Limitations the project

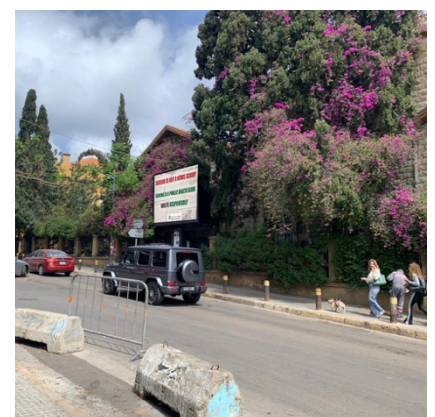
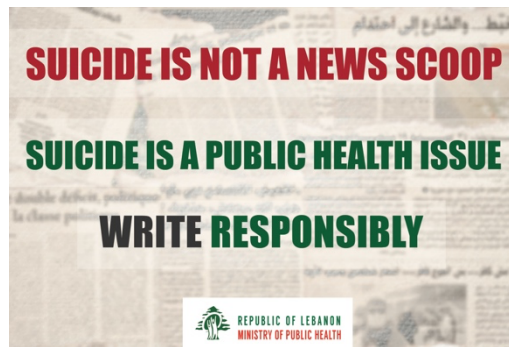
One of the main limitations of this research is the issue of sampling bias, since it focuses on two particular cases rather on others, which resulted in not collecting diverse information on other suicide cases and their portrayals. For the sake of this project, these 2 cases were chosen based on their occurrence and relation to other events and

initiatives that took place around the same time of the suicide. The findings helped create a comparison between the reporting style in the 2 cases keeping in mind the changes and initiatives that took place.

The observation of print newspapers only might give a limited view of the whole media scene in terms of reporting on suicide. However, because of the scope of this project, focusing on one platform was more reasonable in terms of time and space limitations. Observing other media platforms in the future, would give an overarching view of the media scene in Lebanon and how it deals with reporting on sensitive issues, especially with the emergence of digital media and their vast reach among audiences.

APPENDIX 1

CAMPAIGN BILLBOARDS



APPENDIX 2

FINDINGS (NEWSPAPER QUOTES)

DO'S 1, 2 and 3

In the case of Nourhan:

سأل الطبيب والباحث في علم الدماغ السلوكي أنطوان سعد عن موضوع الإقدام على الانتحار فيرجع القرار لأسباب عدّة، ويشرح في اتصال مع "النهار" أنّ "الانتحار لا يرتبط بالأوضاع المعيشية أو ما يمرُّ به لبنان، بل يكمن في عوامل منها غياب الدعم الاجتماعي من الأهل أو الشريك، ما يجعل الشخص ينجح نحو العزلة ليشعر تالياً بعدم أهمية وجوده وغياب أي مستقبل لذاته وما من شيء يرضيه أو يطمح له ليحققه. فيجد أنّ وجوده وغيابه في هذه الحياة سيّان، لا بل إنّ وجوده مزعج أكثر فيقرر إلغاء ذاته". ويضيف: "اليأس ليس أبرز العوامل الدافعة للانتحار، منها مرضية نفسية، كانفصام الشخصية، والاكتئاب، واضطراب في المزاج ذي القطبين. أو حدث خارجي تعرض له الشخص ومدى أهمية الحدث الحاصل مما يشكّل ضغطاً كبيراً عليه يرافقه ضعف على مستوى تكوينه الذاتي. إضافةً إلى مجموعة من الأسئلة تخطر في ذهن المنتحر، منها: هل وجودي مهم في هذه الحياة؟ أو قد يشعر أحياناً بالذنب أو بأن وجوده بات سيئاً ويؤثر سلباً في الآخرين. إلى ذلك، مواجهة المنتحر لأزمة يجد أنه من الصعب التعامل معها". (AL Nahar, 2016)

أرقامٌ إنّ دلّت على شيء تشير إلى أنّ الموت بات الخيار الأنسب لكثيرين في ظل تراكم الصعاب وازدياد الخيبة بين المواطنين خصوصاً من فئة الشباب. (AL Nahar, 2016)

In the case of Ali:

« En répondant à son appel, nous lui procurons l'écoute qui lui manque et l'aidons à ne pas se laisser aller »,

indique-t-elle, soulignant que depuis le début du mouvement de contestation du 17

octobre, « beaucoup de

personnes sujettes à des pensées suicidaires ont été ainsi soutenues ».

Sur les calicots brandis, des slogans de soutien : « Arrêtons de nous taire, mettons fin au suicide », « Ne porte pas seul ton souci », « Le suicide est évitable ».

Sous chaque expression, le numéro de la ligne d'Embrace, 1564, était mis en évidence.

(L'Orient- Le Jour, 2020)

Sahar Who:

A gentle reminder that the suicide hotline is 1564. Call out for help, you are not alone.

Also, I am here if you want to talk. We're in this together

"تذكير بسيط بأن الخط الساخن للانتحار هو 1564. اطلب المساعدة، فأنت لست وحدك. كما أنني هنا إن كنت تريد التحدث. تجمعنا الظروف نفسها".

(Al Nahar, 2020)

تنتج معظم حالات الانتحار بشكل أساسي عن أمراض نفسية مرتبطة بعوامل بيولوجية كال#اكتئاب

والاضطرابات النفسية والقلق، بحسب الاختصاصية في المعالجة النفسية شارلوت خليل...

الدعم النفسي والاجتماعي خاصة من قبل المحيطين بأي شخص يعاني اضطراباً نفسياً، قد تزيد الأعباء الاقتصادية والمعيشية من الخطر عليه.

تشجيع الشخص الذي يعاني اضطراباً على التواصل مع مراكز العلاج والاتصال على الخط الساخن التابع لجمعية

.Embrace

(Al Nahar, 2020)

مع الإشارة إلى ان معدلات الانتحار في لبنان وفق الأرقام الرسمية ارتفعت قبل فترة من اليوم، فشخص

على الأقل يحاول الانتحار كل يومين ونصف اليوم في لبنان، ما يُعتبر رقماً مرتفعاً يظهر مدى خطورة

الوضع الذي يتأزم أكثر فأكثر مع الوقت.

(Al Nahar, 2020)

في الواقع، ثمة خطورة في ما تفعله وسائل التواصل الإجتماعي بتصوير الانتحار وكأنه عمل بطولي يسأط الضوء عليه بشكل خاطئ، ما قد ينعكس على نظرة الآخرين إلى هذا الموضوع ويهدد بذلك كثيرين.

(Al Nahar, 2020)

فالوقاية من الانتحار ممكنة طبعاً ولا بد من تشجيع المحيطين بالشخص اللجوء إلى مراكز المعالجة النفسية للحصول على المساعدة اللازمة، وللحد من الخطر. كما يتوافر في لبنان ضمن البرنامج الوطني للصحة النفسية الخط الساخن الذي يمكن الاتصال عليه على 1564.

(Al Nahar, 2020)

DONT'S 2:

In the case of Nourhan:

عشقت "موسيقى الإنتحار" وتمردت على المجتمع، كانت مثالا للمرأة المنفتحة التي تأبى الخضوع للمجتمع الشرقي، لم تجد نفسها في هذا العالم فقررت ابنة العشرينات أن تحلق بعيداً إلى عالم الأحلام إلى حيث الأمان، ولأنها لم تستطع الإنتظار قررت فجر اليوم أن تنتقل بإرادتها مخافة أن يتأخر القدر في الاستجابة لمطلبها.

اختارت ان تطفئ شعلة حياتها بنفسها اذ اقدمت على الانتحار قرابة الساعة الحادية عشر من مساء يوم امس في منطقة الصنائع في بيروت.

نورهان تلك الفتاة التي أخفت خلف ابتسامتها الكثير من الألم والحزن ودعت الحياة بإرادتها وسافرت الى ذلك العالم المجهول بعد أن فقدت قدرتها على المواجهة .

لقد قفزت لكي تخفض فورانها، ومن الممكن الإعتقاد بأنها لم تحقق بغيتها سوى بين البلكون والطريق، فما أن وثبت حتى هبّت ريح لطيفة عليها، وما أن ارتطمت بالإسفلت حتى دخلت في صقيعٍ حاد. أوقفته الأرض عن الهبوط، وضعت حداً لنزولها، وأنهت قصة هذه الشابة، التي تآقت إلى القليل من الهواء، وبما أنه يكاد يكون معدوماً في بيروت، رمت بنفسها إليه.

(Al Diyar, 2016)

- لحظة تخلي

- كثير من الاستسلام

-الثورة على نفسها (Al Joumhouria, 2016)

الرحيل إرادة الأقوياء، وهو لقرارٌ صعب وجريء اختارته نورهان حمود ابنة العشرين عاماً، فلم تتمكن من التعايش مع الموجود ولم تنغرّ بالأمل المنشود بغدٍ أفضل. قررت وبملاء إرادتها أن تنتقل إلى عالمٍ من المؤكد أنها وجدته أفضل، يحقق آمالها ويريحها. (Al Nahar, 2020)

In the case of Ali:

شهيد الإبعاد والإفقار/ صاحب المتجر الصغير المتعثر في الضاحية، صار بطلاً تراجيدياً فلمسرح هذا الموت إذاً، فلنستملكه، فلنجعله احتفالاً تراجيدياً... هذا هو احتجاجنا - بل انتقامنا - الأخير

(Al Akhbar, 2020)

شهيد للفقر والآفة

بطولة الهق.

شهيد اللقمة (Al Liwaa, 2020)

الشهيد المسجى بالعلم اللبناني. (Al Nahar, 2020)

Les Libanais qui se suicident sont à comparer à ces moines du Tibet qui défendent la liberté et la dignité de leur pays par le sacrifice suprême. (L'Orient-Le Jour, 2020)

خاصم مواطن لبناني الحياة وقرر مغادرتها بسبب وضعه المعيشي الصعب، لعله أراد ان يثور في هذه الطريقة على الحكم والحكام.

(Al Joumhouria, 2020)

قرر الانسحاب من مواجهة الذل اليومي.

تبدو الخيارات محدودة: فيما أن ننتظره ببرود ولامبالاة، أو بذعر وقلق، وإما أن نذهب نحن إليه، فنختصر عذاب الانتظار. هذا ما فعله، قبل ظهر أمس علي الهق

فلنمسرح هذا الموت إذًا، فلنستملكه، فلنجعل احتفالاً تراجيدياً... هذا هو احتجاجنا - بل انتقامنا - الأخير.

(Al Akhbar, 2020)

أول غيث الجوع والفقر: انتحار مواطنين والآتي أعظم. (Al Liwaa, 2020)

أمس، كان ينبغي لأحد ما، في لبنان، أن ينتحر بسبب الجوع.

لكن ليس أنتَ

حسنًا أنتَ انتحرت، يا صديقي، لأنّ حاكمًا طاغية لن ينتحر، يا عليّ، بسبب الجوع! (Al Nahar, 2020)

كيف لا يدفع انتحار مواطن بسبب الجوع.... (Al Nahar, 2020)

هل يصدق احد ان بلغ اللبنانيون حد لجوع والعوز وانقطاع الكهرباء والهاتف والانترنت في القرن الحادي والعشرين؟

امس صعق اللبنانيون لخبر شاب اقدم على الانتحار في وسط شارع الحمراء بعدما انهكته الحياة في لبنان، والاعباء المتزايدة،

والديون المتراكمة، وربما عدم القدرة على الصمود، والمواجهة، ومثله كثيرون بدأوا يفقدون الأمل بالبلد، وبالغد فيه...

ولم يكن ينقص المشهد المشدود والمأزوم سوى أنباء صادمة عن انتحار مواطنين في بيروت وجدرا بفعل معاناة كل

منهما أوضاعاً حياتية ومادية خانقة... (Al Nahar, 2020)

"أنا مش كافر" ... إته رُعب الوجع الآخذ في التفاقم، كتبها مواطن لبناني أمس قبيل إقدامه على الانتحار في وضح النهار، لتكون شاهدة على آخر أنفاسه.

(Al Nahar, 2020)

لا يا علي أنت لست بكافر، ... ولا الذين سبقوك على الموت اعتراضاً على الجوع...، هم الكفار اللذين صنعوا الجوع. (Al Nahar, 2020)

“Des maux causés par une situation économique qui ne cesse de s'enliser à l'ombre de l'envolée du dollar, de l'explosion du chômage, de la disparition des sources de revenus et de la privation des moyens de subsistance.”

Tous deux ont choisi d'en finir avec leur vie, ayant perdu tout espoir d'un avenir moins noir. (L'Orient-Le Jour, 2020)

Mise en scène, diriez-vous. (L'Orient-Le Jour, 2020)

حققت ميا (إيما ستون) حلمها في أن تصبح ممثلة مشهورة، في الفيلم وفي الحياة الواقعية. وحقق سيب (ريان غوسلينغ) حلمه في أن يصبح مالكا لمقهى جاز. نجح الإثنان في تحقيق ما أرادا، لكنهما لم يعودا معاً، عاشقاً وعاشقة. لم ينته الحب، لكن الواقع كان أقوى. هذا الواقع، الحقيقي والمختلف من حيث المكان والظرف، كان أقوى بكثير في وقعه على علي الهق. نجح الرجل في محاولة الانتحار. لم يتطلب الأمر سوى مسدس وقرار. تدبير المسدس سهل في بلد السلاح المتفقت، واتخاذ القرار يصير سهلاً حين يصبح الموت أسهل من فجيرة الحياة.

(Al Nahar, 2020)

DONT'S 3 and 4:

In the case of Nourhan:

أنها لما أُلقت بجسدها من شرفة منزلها في الصنائع.
وكانت نورهان ابنة قرية كفرملكي الجنوبية أنهت حياتها برمي نفسها من الطابق الثامن من المبنى الذي تقطنه في
منطقة الصنائع في العاصمة بيروت.

(Al Diyar, 2016)

بعدما رمت نورهان حمود بنفسها من شرفة منزلها في الطابق التاسع... (Al Joumhouria, 2016)

Al Nahar:

قررت إنهاء حياتها ورمت نفسها من الطبقة الثامنة من الشقة التي تقطن فيها. (Al Nahar, 2016)

In the case of Ali:

سمع الموجودون صوت الطلقة النارية التي اخترقت رأسه واستقرت في زجاج السلم المؤدي إلى الطبقة الأولى في
المبنى التجاري. «كان يجلس على كرسي، أجلس عليه عادةً عند مدخل المبنى، فيما لحظة الحادثة كنت جالساً في
المقهى المجاور. حين سمعتُ الطلقة، التفتُّ نحو مصدرها، وإذا به يسقط على الأرض، وكان قد غطى وجهه بمنشفة.

اختار علي شارع الحمرا النابض بالحياة مسرحاً لمقتلته، في مدخل مبنى يضمّ مسرحين ومقاهي وشهود عيان كثرًا.

(Al Akhbar, 2020)

في شارع الحمرا البيروتي، ماذا جنت تفعل في شارع الحمرا يا علي، بعدما جهّزت قرائن اتهامنا بعناية؟ المسدس
والعلم اللبناني والسجل العدلي التنظيف وتلك الورقة البيضاء التي كتبت عليها بالأحمر العريض، بخط متوتّر نزق،
السطر الأوّل من أغنية زياد الرحباني «أنا مش كافر».

أطلق النار على نفسه في محل "dunkin donuts" في منطقة الحمرا امام أعين الموجودين في المكان.

هذا وقد عثر على ورقة بحوزته مكتوب عليها "أنا مش كافر بس الجوع كافر".

فأطلق النار على نفسه في الحمرا أمام أحد المقاهي، تاركاً على صدره علم لبنان وسجلاً عدلياً. لا حكم عليه، وورقة كُتبت عليها أنا مش كافر.

(Al Joumhouria, 2020)

"بس الجوع كافر" الذي كتب نهايته في شارع المصارف والثقافة والسينما "والعز إيام زمان" شارع الحمرا، بعدما ارتشف فنجان قهوة في مقهى.

لم يذرف المواطن علي محمد الهق الدمع لدى شروعه في إطلاق النار على نفسه ليرديها شهيداً للفقير والآفة، قبل ظهر امس في شارع الحمرا...

(Al Liwaa, 2020)

أقدم المواطن علي محمد الهق (مواليد 1959) على إطلاق النار على نفسه في شارع [#الحمراء](#) في بيروت، بالقرب "، وسط حالة من الذهول لدى المارة. وبحسب شاهدة عيان لـ"النهار"، فإن "الوضع كان Dunkin من مقهى " طبيعياً قبل أن نسمع صوت [#إطلاق نار](#) ويسقط الشاب أرضاً، من دون معرفة الأسباب". وقد وجدت بالقرب من جثته ورقة كتب عليها "أنا مش كافر"، مرفقة بسجل عدله التنظيف.

لم يذرف المواطن علي محمد الهق الدمع لدى شروعه في إطلاق النار على نفسه ليرديها شهيداً للفقير والآفة، قبل ظهر امس في شارع الحمرا...

"#أنا مش كافر" صرخة أطلقها المواطن علي الهق قبل أن يطلق رصاصة الرحمة على رأسه

أقدم المواطن علي محمد الهق على الانتحار بإطلاق النار على نفسه في شارع الحمرا ببيروت قرب مقهى دانكن
(Al Nahar, 2020)

C'est cette phrase d'une célèbre chanson de Ziad Rahbani qu'a écrite et mise en évidence sur sa poitrine A.

H., 61 ans, avant de se tirer hier une balle dans la tête en pleine rue de Hamra, au milieu de la matinée et des passants.

Vendredi matin 3 juillet, Ali el-Haq, un citoyen anonyme de 60 ans, se suicide devant l'entrée du théâtre al-Madina.

Un sexagénaire s'est suicidé vendredi matin dans le quartier de Hamra, à Beyrouth sur le trottoir près d'un café...

Vendredi, deux suicides ont choqué le pays. A la rue Hamra, à Beyrouth, qui d'habitude grouille de passants, un homme de 61 ans originaire du Hermel, dans la Békaa, s'est tué d'un coup de feu sur un trottoir de la rue. Une copie d'un casier judiciaire vierge, appartenant au sexagénaire, ainsi qu'une note ont été trouvés sur les lieux du drame.

(L'Orient-Le Jour, 2020)

DONT'S 5:

In the case of Nourhan:

بالصور نورهان الجميلة اوقفت حياتها بيدها
بالصورة - مفاجأة.. هذا ما نشرته الشابة اللبنانية نورهان قبل 5 أيام على انتحارها!

خير صادم.. والد نورهان لم يرها قبل دفنها والسبب!

هذا هو السبب الذي دفع الشابة اللبنانية نورهان إلى الانتحار

لم تنتظر نورهان حمود حدثاً آخرأ، ولم تنتظر موسماً آخرأ.. وللأسف لم تتخلص منه سوى عبر موتها! (Al)

(Diyar, 2016)

نورهان... مزّقت الكتب والأحزان (Al Joumhouria, 2016)

In the case of Ali:

علي الهقّ... شهيد الإبعاد والإفقار: أنا مش كافر (Al Akhbar, 2020)

أنا مش كافر... بس الجوع كافر... إنتحار شخصين بسبب الأوضاع (Al Diyar, 2020)

الجوع ينحر اللبنانيين... أي مستقبل يصنعون لهذه البلاد (AL Liwaa, 2020)

أول غيث الجوع والفقر: إنتحار مواطنين والآتي أعظم (AL Liwaa, 2020)

من كأس المصرفي الى بطولة الهقّ (AL Liwaa, 2020)

"أنا مش كافر" رُعب الوجع اللبناني... المواطن علي الهقّ يطلق النار على نفسه في الحمراء (Al Nahar,)

(2020)

انتحار علي الهقّ عزى عجز الدولة و"تويتير" ينتفض: "الجوع كافر كافر (Al Nahar, 2020)

بسبب الجوع لن ينتحر حاكم طاعية، يا علي! (Al Nahar, 2020)

Rassemblement à Mazraat Yachouh : "Le peuple en est au suicide" (L'Orient-Le Jour,

2020)

Troisième suicide en 24h par désespoir face à la crise (L'Orient-Le Jour, 2020)

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