

MEDICAL UNIVERSITY OF VIENNA

Media & suicide: Roles of the narrative and updates to media guidelines

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ImplementAL
October 19, 2023

Real Stories An initiative of the National Action Alliance for Suicide Prevention

National Recommendations for Depicting Suicide

Guidance to help content creators craft stories about survival, hope, and healing—aimed at saving lives and restoring hope

Preventing suicide: a resource for media professionals
Update 2023

National Action Alliance for Suicide Prevention, 2018
www.who.int
www.reportingonsuicide.org

SOCIAL SCIENCE & MEDICINE

The relationship between media reporting of suicide and actual suicide in Australia

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Available online 4 January 2006

Abstract

This study aimed to determine whether media items about suicide were associated with differential increases in actual suicides. Data were available on 4635 suicide-related items appearing in Australian newspapers and on radio and television news and current affairs shows between March 2000 and February 2001. These data were combined with national data on completed suicides occurring during the same period, by a process that involved identifying the date and geographical reach of the media items and determining the number of suicides occurring in the same location in selected weeks pre- and post-item. Regression analyses were conducted to determine whether the likelihood of an increase in post-item suicides could be explained by particular item characteristics. We found that 39% of media items were followed by an increase in male suicides, and 21% by an increase in female suicides. Media items were more likely to be associated with increases in both male and female suicides if they occurred in the context of multiple other reports on suicide (versus occurring in isolation), if they were broadcast on television (versus other media), and if they were about completed suicide (versus attempted suicide or suicidal ideation). Different item content appeared to be influential for males and females, with an increase in male suicides being associated with items about an individual's experience of suicide and opinion pieces, and an increase in female suicides being associated with items about mass- or multiple-suicide, item presentation and quality score.

Association story contents with suicides

- 4635 suicide-related items appearing in national and regional Australian newspapers and on radio and television news, Mar 2000 to Feb 2001.
- Content analysis: Reporting characteristics as outlined in media guidelines
- Pre / after design:

BJPsych The British Journal of Psychiatry (2019) 197, 234-242. doi: 10.1192/bjp.119.074033

Role of media reports in completed and prevented suicide: Werther v. Papageno effects

Thomas Niederkrotenthaler, Martin Voracek, Arno Herberich, Benedikt Till, Markus Strauss, Elmar Ezendorfer, Brigitta Eisenwort, and Gernot Sonneck

Background
Media reporting of suicide has repeatedly been shown to trigger suicidal behaviour. Few studies have investigated the associations between specific media content and suicide rates. Little is known about the possible preventive effects of suicide-related media content.

Aims
To test the hypothesis that certain media content is associated with an increase in suicide, suggesting a so-called Werther effect, and that other content is associated with a decrease in suicide, conceptualised as a Papageno effect. Further, to identify classes of media articles with similar reporting profiles and to test for associations between these classes and suicide.

Method
Content analysis and latent class analysis (LCA) of 497 suicide-related print media reports published in Austria between 1 January and 30 June 2016. Ecological study to identify associations between media item content and short-term changes in suicide rates.

Results
Repetitive reporting of the same suicide and the reporting of suicide news were positively associated with suicide rates. Coverage of individual suicidal ideation not accompanied by suicidal behaviour was negatively associated with suicide rates. The LCA yielded four classes of media reports, of which the majority of crisis case articles on individuals who adopted coping strategies other than suicidal behaviour in adverse circumstances was negatively associated with suicide, whereas the report content class and the epidemiological facts class were positively associated with suicide.

Conclusions
The impact of suicide reporting may not be restricted to harmful effects; rather, coverage of positive coping in adverse circumstances, as covered in media items about suicidal ideation, may have protective effects.

Declaration of interest
None.

RESEARCH ■ **MENTAL HEALTH**

The association between suicide deaths and putatively harmful and protective factors in media reports

Mark Sinyor MSc MD, Ayal Schaffer MD, Yasunori Nishikawa, Donald A. Redelmeier MD, Thomas Niederkrotenthaler MD PhD, Jitender Sareen MD, Anthony J. Levitt MD, Alex Kiss PhD, Jane Pirakis PhD

■ Cite as: *CMAJ* 2018 July 30;190:E900-7. doi: 10.1503/cmaj.170698

See related article at www.cmaj.ca/lookup/doi/10.1503/cmaj.180900

ABSTRACT

BACKGROUND: Exposure to media reporting on suicide can lead to suicide contagion and, in some circumstances, may also lead to help-seeking behaviour. There is limited evidence for which specific characteristics of media reports mediate these phenomena.

METHODS: This observational study examined associations between putatively harmful and protective elements of

deaths in the 7 days after publication, compared with a control window.

RESULTS: From 2011 to 2014, there were 6367 articles with suicide as the major focus and 947 suicide deaths. Elements most strongly and independently associated with increased suicides were a statement about the inevitability of suicide (odds ratio [OR] 1.97, confidence interval [CI] 1.07–3.62), about asphyxia

independently associated with decreased suicides were unfavourable characteristics (negative judgments about the deceased; OR 1.85, CI 1.20–2.84), or mentions of railway (OR 1.61, CI 1.10–2.36) and cutting or stabbing (OR 1.59, CI 1.19–2.13) deaths, and individual murder-suicide (OR 1.50, CI 1.23–1.84).

INTERPRETATION: This large study identified significant associations between sev-

Associations story contents with suicides

- Associations with increases in suicides:
 - Some specific methods such as hanging and jumping
 - Headline about suicide
 - Celebrity suicide reporting
- Associations with decreases in suicides:
 - Homicide-suicide items
 - Reporting on suicidal thoughts as opposed to behaviours
- Some inconsistencies across studies

BJPsych The British Journal of Psychiatry 2010; 197, 238-243. doi: 10.1192/bjp.bp.109.074633

Role of media reports in completed and prevented suicide: Werther v. Papageno effects

Thomas Niederkrotenthaler, Martin Voracek, Arno Herberich, Benoit Till, Markus Strauss, Elmar Etzersdorfer, Brigitte Eisenwort and Gernot Sonneck

Background Media reporting of suicide has repeatedly been shown to trigger suicidal behaviour. Few studies have investigated the associations between specific media content and suicide rates. Even less is known about the possible preventive effects of suicide-related media content.

Alms To test the hypotheses that certain media content is associated with an increase in suicide, suggesting a so-called Werther effect, and that other content is associated with a decrease in suicide, conceptualised as a Papageno effect. Further, to identify classes of media articles with similar reporting profiles and to test for associations between these classes and suicide.

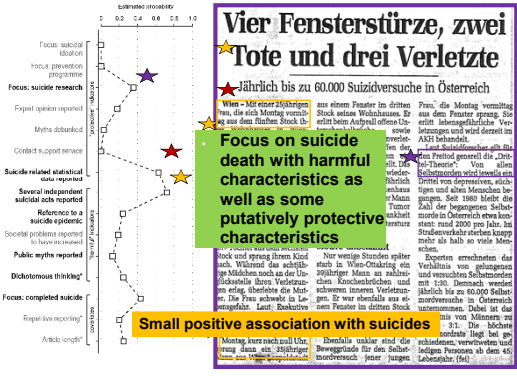
Method Content analysis and latent class analysis (LCA) of 497 suicide-related print media reports published in Austria between 1 January and 30 June 2005. Ecological study to identify associations between media term content and short-term changes in suicide rates.

Results Responsive reporting of the same suicide and the reporting of suicide myths were positively associated with suicide rates. Coverage of individual suicidal ideation not accompanied by suicidal behaviour was negatively associated with suicide rates. The LCA yielded four classes of media reports, of which the mastery of crisis class articles on individuals who adopted coping strategies other than suicidal behaviour in adverse circumstances was negatively associated with suicide, whereas the report section class and the epidemiological facts class were positively associated with suicide.

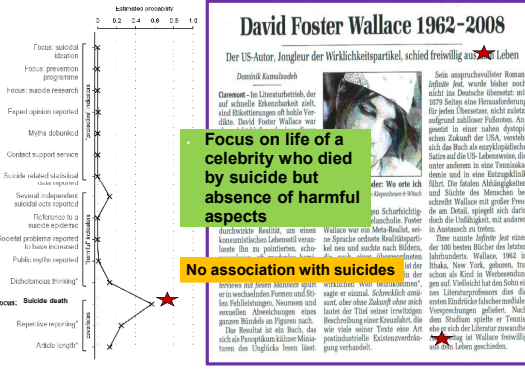
Conclusions The impact of suicide reporting may not be restricted to harmful effects, rather, coverage of positive coping in adverse circumstances, as covered in media terms about suicide ideation, may have protective effects.

Declaration of interest None.

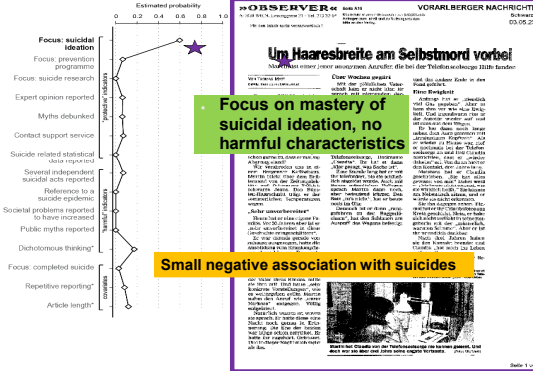
Sensationalist class (20%)



Suicide case class (72%)



Mastery of crisis class (8%)



Werther and Papageno narratives



Chodowiecki, Berlin, 1775

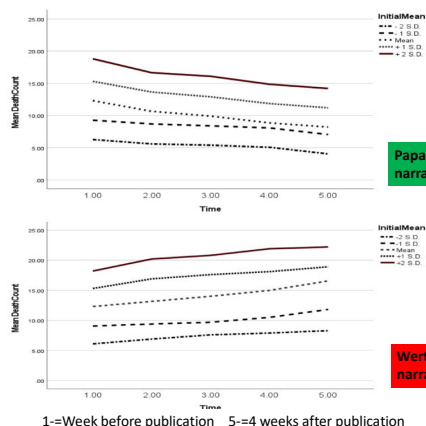


Papageno, Salzburg 2019

Is the narrative the message?

- Hawley et al. (2023): Content analysis of 13 Canadian media outlets 2011 to 2014, n=6367 articles on suicide.
- Potentially **harmful narrative** described suicide in a celebrity or a suicide in a non-celebrity including the suicide method.
- Potentially **protective narrative** included some protective content (e.g. alternatives to suicide) without any information on suicidal behaviour
- Latent difference score longitudinal multigroup analyses
- **Dose-response relationship in which the trajectory of suicides following 'Werther' narratives increased over time, while there was a decline of suicides for protective 'Papageno' narratives.**

Hawley LL, Niederkrotenthaler T, Zaheer R, Schaffer A, Redelmeier DA, Levitt AJ, Sareen J, Pirakis J, Sinyor M. Is the narrative the message? The relationship between suicide-related narratives in media reports and subsequent suicides. *Aust N Z J Psychiatry.* 2023 May;57(5):758-766.



Effects of media stories of hope and recovery on suicidal ideation and help-seeking attitudes and intentions: systematic review and meta-analysis

Thomas Niederkrotenthaler, Benedikt Till, Stefanie Kirchner, Mark Sinyor, Marlies Braun, Jane Pirakis, Ulrich S Tran, Martin Vossen, Florian Arendt, Maria Flanou, Reza Kovacs, Kylie King, Maria Schlichthorst, Steven Stack, Matthew Spittal

Summary

Background: There is strong evidence that suicides increase after media stories about suicides by celebrities, particularly those that highlight the suicide method (the Werther effect). Much less is known about the Papageno effect—the protective effects of media stories of hope and recovery from suicidal crises. A synthesis of the retrievable evidence is lacking. We aim to summarise findings from randomised controlled trials about the effects of stories of hope and recovery on individuals with some degree of vulnerability to suicide.

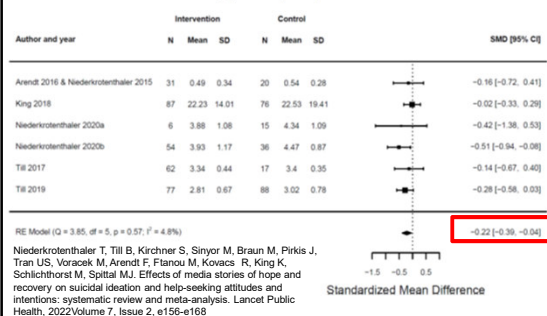
Methods: For this systematic review and individual participant data meta-analysis, we searched PubMed (including MEDLINE), Scopus, Embase, PsycInfo, Web of Science, and Google Scholar published from inception to Sept 6, 2021, without language restrictions. We included trials that reported suicidal ideation (the primary outcome) or help-seeking attitudes or intentions (the secondary outcome) and tested a media narrative of hope and recovery. Studies were excluded if they did not feature a clearly positive story of hope and recovery, or had a control group exposed to suicide-related stimulus material. We contacted the lead or senior authors of all original studies to obtain participant-level data for this study. The primary analysis was restricted to individuals with some vulnerability to suicide. Risk of bias was assessed using the Cochrane risk-of-bias tool for randomised trials. The study is registered with PROSPERO, number CRD4202021341.

Findings: Our search yielded 7347 records. 3920 records were screened by title and abstract, and 25 full-text records assessed for eligibility. There were eight eligible studies with 2350 participants for which individual participant data were sought. For suicidal ideation, six studies met the inclusion criteria for the primary analysis. Follow-up responses were available for 509 (95%) of 633 participants who were randomised with high vulnerability (345 [55%] allocated to the intervention group and 288 [45%] to the control group). The pooled standardised mean difference (SMD) indicated a small reduction in suicidal ideation of -0.22 (95% CI -0.39 to -0.04, p=0.017; six studies) in the intervention group. For help-seeking attitudes and intentions, four studies met the inclusion criteria and follow-up data were available for 262 (86%) of 420 participants (247 [59%] allocated to the intervention group and 173 [41%] to the control group). The pooled SMD showed no evidence of a difference between the groups (SMD=0.14, 95% CI -0.15 to 0.43, p=0.35; four studies). Low levels of cross-study heterogeneity effects were observed for both analyses (I²=5% [suicidal ideation] and I²=36% [help-seeking attitudes and intentions]). We found no evidence of publication bias.

- We identified six trials for the outcome suicidal ideation (n=569 participants with some vulnerability to suicide).
- Mean age of participants: 32 years (SD:14; range 18-97). 60% were female.
- Interventions included exposure to video messages (1 study); a TV documentary (1 study); newspaper articles (3 studies); a prevention website (1 study).

Suicidal ideation

(A) Primary analysis



Entertainment media: 13 Reasons Why



Netflix, 2017



International Association for Suicide Prevention (IASP)
 1100 Avenue des Nations Unies, Suite 900, Montreal, QC H3T 2A4, Canada
 Tel: +1 514 393 1100 ext. 2000
 Fax: +1 514 393 1100 ext. 2001
 Email: iasp@iasp.info

Breaking connection with the Netflix series '13 Reasons Why'

In response to the recent Netflix series '13 Reasons Why', the International Association for Suicide Prevention (IASP) has prepared a briefing reporting concerns about the risks and negative impact on young people, in particular for those who are vulnerable and currently thinking about suicide.

The Netflix series '13 Reasons Why' was released in the US in March 2017 and is based on the novel by Jay Asher (2015). It shows the fictional story of a teenage girl who has been bullied 13 weeks resulting in her taking her life. She addresses each member of a person who she was angry at in a cassette recorder to end her life, recording a 'suicide note'. The day in which she ends her life is portrayed in great detail.

Internationally, there is consistent evidence of the negative impact of detailed and graphic portrayals of suicide in terms of an increased risk of suicidal thoughts, especially among young people.

IASP, 2017

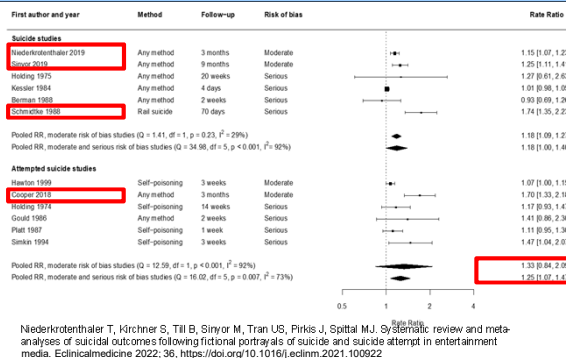
Suicide rates after 13RW

Niederkrötenhaller T, Stack S, Till B, Sinyor M, Pirkis J, Garcia D, Rockett IRH, Tran US. Association of Increased Youth Suicides in the United States With the Release of 13 Reasons Why. JAMA Psychiatry. 2019 May 29.

Bridge JA, Greenhouse JB, Ruch D, Stevens J, Ackerman J, Sheftall AH, Horowitz LM, Kelleher KJ, Campo JV. Association Between the Release of Netflix's 13 Reasons Why and Suicide Rates in the United States: An Interrupted Times Series Analysis. J Am Acad Child Adolesc Psychiatry. 2019 Apr 28. pii: S0890-8567(19)30288-6.

Sinyor M, Williams M, Tran US, Schaffer A, Kurdyak P, Pirkis J, Niederkrötenhaller T. Suicides in Young People in Ontario Following the Release of "13 Reasons Why". Can J Psychiatry. 2019 Aug 21:706743719870507.

Meta-Analysis: Suicide in entertainment media

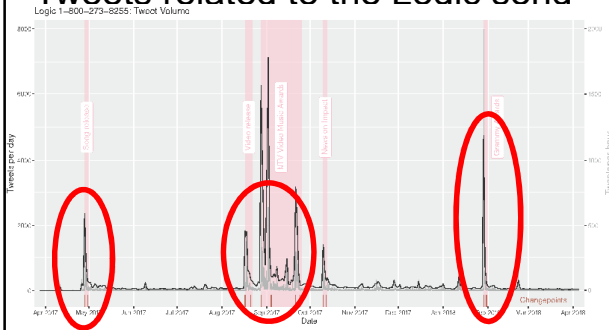


Logic with 50 suicide attempt and loss survivors; MTV Video Music Awards 2018, August 2017, New York

Association of Logic's Hip Hop Song 1-800-273-8255 with Lifeline Calls and Suicides in the United States: A Time-Series Analysis

Niederkrötenhaller T, Tran U, Gould M, Sinyor M, Sumner S, Strauss MJ, Voracek M, Till B, Murphy S, Gonzalez F, Spittal MJ, Draper J. BMJ 2021;375:e067726

Tweets related to the Logic song



Fitted ARIMA time series models to daily calls to the Lifeline

Dummy variable	Raw association		Adjusted for 13RW		Excess calls n (95% CI)	% Increase (95% CI)
	Estimate (SE)	P	Estimate (SE)	p		
Release	191.59 (96.69)	.048	205.84 (94.45)	.029	617.52 (62.15, 1172.89)	5.25 (0.53, 9.97)
MTV Music Awards	373.34 (77.97)	<.001	364.82 (74.76)	<.001	10214.96 (6112.13, 14317.79)	8.46 (5.06, 11.86)
Grammy Awards	263.16 (95.51)	.006	252.88 (95.00)	.008	758.64 (200.04, 1317.24)	6.45 (1.70, 11.22)
Video release	76.29 (92.46)	.41	60.27 (90.51)	.51	301.35 (-585.65, 1188.35)	1.67 (-3.25, 6.60)
News Impact	152.67 (96.33)	.11	158.71 (95.15)	.10	476.13 (-83.35, 1035.61)	3.57 (-0.62, 7.75)
Logic main events	256.65 (51.81)	<.001	291.62 (49.83)	<.001	9915.08 (6594.41, 13235.75)	6.87 (4.57, 9.18)

Fitted ARIMA time series models to daily suicides

	Raw association		Adjusted for 13RW		Excess suicides n (95% CI)	% Decrease (95% CI)
	Estimate (SE)	p	Estimate (SE)	p		
Release	-10.62 (7.53)	.16	-11.02 (7.55)	.15	-33.06 (-77.45, 11.33)	-9.29 (-21.76, 3.18)
MTV Music Awards	-4.12 (3.72)	.27	-5.37 (3.89)	.16	-150.36 (-363.84, 63.12)	-4.03 (-9.75, 1.69)
Grammy Awards	-10.22 (7.54)	.18	-10.12 (7.54)	.18	-30.36 (-74.70, 13.98)	-7.93 (-19.50, 3.65)
Video release	7.90 (6.17)	.20	7.41 (6.19)	.23	37.05 (-23.61, 97.71)	5.23 (-3.33, 13.80)
News Impact	11.29 (7.53)	.13	11.76 (7.54)	.12	35.28 (-9.06, 79.62)	8.07 (-2.07, 18.22)
Logic main events	-6.23 (3.06)	.042	-7.20 (3.13)	.021	-244.80 (-453.38, -36.22)	-5.48 (-10.14, -0.81)



Role of Awareness vs. Prevention Narratives

HEALTH COMMUNICATION
https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2023.2167580



The Role of the Narrative in Educative Suicide Awareness Materials: A Randomized Controlled Trial

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ABSTRACT

There has been a debate about the suitability of different narratives in educative suicide prevention materials. Whereas some suicide prevention experts recommend raising awareness of suicide by highlighting its prevalence, others argue that this approach may normalize suicide and advocate focusing on help resources instead. Unfortunately, empirical evidence regarding this question is lacking. The randomized controlled trial aimed to test the impact of educative news articles that conveyed different narratives of suicide prevention. One article focused on the prevalence of suicide, one article highlighted professional help resources, and one article emphasized on how everyone can help to prevent suicide. We randomized n = 334 participants to read either one of these three articles or an article unrelated to suicide. Data on suicidal ideation, stigmatizing attitudes toward suicidal individuals, attitudes toward suicide prevention, and help-seeking intentions were collected with questionnaires, and implicit measures were used to assess participants' mental accessibility of concepts related to suicide and suicide prevention. Participants exposed to the article highlighting the high prevalence of suicide tended to show a higher accessibility of potentially detrimental cognitive concepts related to suicide. In contrast, the accessibility of the concept of "helping" and that "suicide is preventable" was higher in participants' memory when exposed to materials focusing on help. It seems that the impact of educative suicide awareness materials on readers' access to suicide- and suicide-prevention-related concepts in memory varied depending on the narrative featured in the article.

- Till et al. (2023) did a randomized controlled trial with n=334 adults, reading either an article focused on (I) the prevalence of suicide, (II) professional help resources, (III) how everyone can help to prevent suicide, or a (IV) control article.
- Implicit measures to assess mental accessibility of concepts related to suicide and suicide prevention.
 - Word puzzles:** task to insert common German words. For example: item "s t _ _ _ e n" can be completed with "s t e r b e n" (English: dying), but also with "s t a u n e n" (English: marveling) or "s t i n k e n" (English: stinking). 10 puzzles overall.
 - Open-ended summaries of text**

Till B, Arendt F, Rothauer P, Niederkrotenthaler T. The Role of the Narrative in Educative Suicide Awareness Materials: A Randomized Controlled Trial. Health Communication, 2023. doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2023.2167580

- Participants reading article highlighting the prevalence of suicide tended to show a higher accessibility of concepts related to suicide, as compared to controls.
- Concept of "helping" and that "suicide is preventable" was higher in participants' memory when exposed to materials focusing on help, as compared to controls.
- Prevention messages appear better at triggering thoughts about help-seeking.

Till B, Arendt F, Rothauer P, Niederkrotenthaler T. The Role of the Narrative in Educative Suicide Awareness Materials: A Randomized Controlled Trial. Health Communication, 2023. doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2023.2167580

Journal of Communication, 2023, 73, 85
https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2023.2167580
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Original Article



News for life: improving the quality of journalistic news reporting to prevent suicides

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Abstract

Despite much theorizing on the quality of journalism, there is limited actual empirical evidence for the effects of improved news quality on societal outcomes. This study provides such evidence for suicide reporting. News quality especially matters in this domain, as ideographic reporting can elicit "copycat" suicides (Werther effect). We developed and disseminated a web-based campaign promoting high-quality suicide reporting, targeting newsrooms in Germany. Twenty-two newsrooms participated. A content analysis (n = 4,018) revealed promising supporting evidence for an increase in high-quality reporting (Study 1). Shortlisted news items analyzed in-depth revealed evidence for a reduction in actual suicides (Study 2). Acknowledging limitations in terms of causal inferences, the findings support the claim that high-quality news can save lives. Similar intervention interventions may contribute to preventing suicidal ideation. We discuss the implications, including those of a theoretically meaningful discovery related to the suicide-protective effect's underlying mechanism, termed the dampening-the-epidemic hypothesis.

Keywords: quality in journalism, Werther and Papageno effects, suicide, media guidelines, awareness campaign

Quality in journalism has been the topic of heated debates from the 17th century (Storler, 1693) throughout the 19th century (Wills, 2003) up until today (McChes, 2012). Although it appears that "good journalism" lies somewhat in the eye of the beholder, scholars have identified several quality criteria based on a broader theorizing of journalism's role in society (e.g., Hanusch et al., 2019; Kautzsch, 2006). For example, one avenue of research focuses on the idea that low-quality news may lead to media concern—highest in democracy (Cappella & Jamison, 1997). Similarly, avoiding the reproduction of stereotypes as a criterion for high-quality news is widely agreed (McChes, 1992). Despite such available theorizing, there is limited actual empirical evidence for any beneficial effects of improved news quality at a societal level (see Meier, 2019). Would increasing the quality of journalistic news have beneficial effects on societal outcomes?

The present study contributes to this line of research and provides rare, empirical evidence for the beneficial effects of improved news quality in an important thematic context: suicide—a threat to global public health (World Health Organization [WHO], 2019). Debates about the quality of journalistic suicide reporting have long emphasized that low-quality suicide reporting—that is, sensationalist suicide

Consequently, high-quality reporting media guidelines have been developed (see Pirks et al., 2006) and promoted by organizations such as the WHO (WHO, 2019). In some countries, suicide reporting aspects are even emphasized in national press codes as a distinct journalistic quality dimension (e.g., Deutscher Pressrat [German Press Council], 2021; Österreichischer Pressrat [Austrian Press Council], 2019). Against this background, it seems reasonable to promote the quality of suicide news reporting for the greater societal good. Unfortunately, knowledge is lacking on effective ways to do so. In the present article, we report on a nationwide intervention in Germany that we conducted in mid-2019. We offered web-based training on high-quality reporting—aiming to raise awareness about how to reduce detrimental Werther effects and increase beneficial Papageno effects through responsible, high-quality suicide reporting. We invited newsrooms to participate and investigated whether there was (1) a change in the quality of the suicide news and (2) an impact from the newsroom intervention on actual suicide numbers. Study 1 used a large-scale content analysis of suicide reporting, and Study 2 tested the consequences of the newsroom intervention on actual suicide numbers using an interrupted

Promoting good-quality reporting

Arendt et al (2023) developed a web-based campaign promoting good quality suicide reporting, targeting newsrooms in Germany.

Intervention: Short video message about Werther and Papageno effects and how to minimize risk, developed with feedback from journalists.

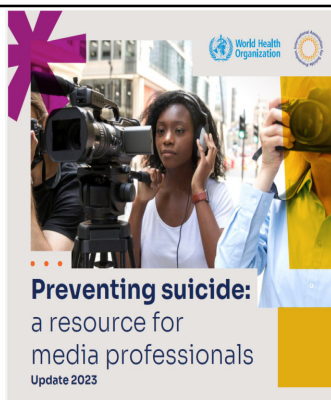
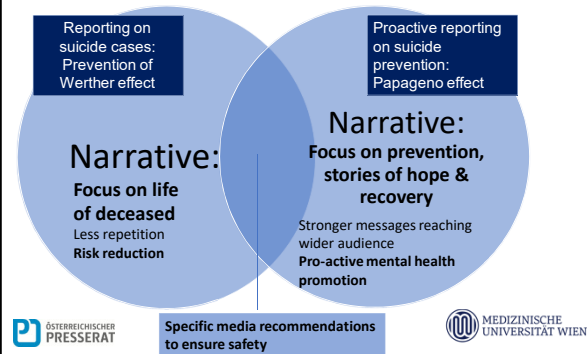
Twenty-two newsrooms participated.

Arendt F, Markiewitz A, Scherr S. News for life: improving the quality of journalistic news reporting to prevent suicides, Journal of Communication, 73 (1): 73–85.

Promoting good-quality reporting

- Content analysis (N = 4,015 articles; from December 2018 to March 2020); comparison of items from participating newsrooms and other newsrooms.
- Interrupted time series analysis to investigate effect on suicide rates in areas served by participating newsrooms vs. other areas.
- Evidence for an **increase in good-quality reporting** in intervention newsrooms.
- Tentative evidence for a **reduction in suicides** in intervention regions.
- **Change in narrative was scarce** (Papageno stories made up only 3% of stories overall).

Suicide reporting guidelines revisited:



<https://www.who.int/publications/i/item/9789240076846>

Leitfaden zur Berichterstattung über Suizid

Mag. Gerald Tomandl
 Prim. Dr. Thomas Kapitany
 Dr. Claudius Stein
 em. o. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Gernot Sonneck
Kriseninterventionszentrum Wien
 unter Mitarbeit von
 Assoc. Prof. Dr. Thomas Niederkrotenthaler
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Austrian media guidelines, 2023



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