

Ethnographic analysis of social media consumption by young people:

Social action to combat suicide on Facebook

Análise etnográfica do consumo da mídia social por jovens:

Ação social de combate ao suicídio no Facebook

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Introduction

As I always say, the Suicida group is a special place for me. Here we have a cause, a huge cause. Make this group the biggest support center. For this to happen we need you to be willing to help those in need, when you are predisposed to be a “diary” you are giving yourself a responsibility to have lives in your hands and that every word you say can save a life (Group Administrator Suicide, 2018)¹.

This article analyzes youth practices and experiences based on the consumption of social media Facebook in the Suicida group² - for ethical reasons the name of the group entitled in the research is fictitious. Consuming social media for the administrators and administrators of this group is to produce a social scene that seeks to promote actions that combat behaviors related to suicide. In this direction, ethnographic data point to an online, collaborative and voluntary environment, producing strategies that reduce the risk of suicide being carried out by young people in Brazil.³

The Suicida group stands out for three main issues: first, the number of young members in the group - more than 50,000. Second, for the production and daily maintenance of a space to

¹ The citations of research participants are reproductions of records from the ethnographic field. All, maintaining the native language, however, went through a revision of the Portuguese language for the writing of this article.

² As Recuero points out, we are concerned with ethical issues in the research: “Although the content of social media channels is perceived as public, in most cases it is necessary to be concerned about the exposure of actors and social network participants. Anonymizing data is one of the fundamental steps taken by researchers to reduce the impact of work on specific individuals” (2016, p. 129).

³ Ethnography pointed to the presence of young people from 19 states in Brazil.

publish behaviors linked to suicidal ideations⁴, observed in publications such as: “I’m dead inside, please help me, this is not a meme” and “I can’t talk to anyone, someone helps me, I can’t take it anymore”. These publications are recurrent and frequent in the group. The third question, which we look at for analysis, refers to the consumption of social media for the development of practices that show the youth autonomy that intends to fight suicide among young people.

Suicide is not a specialized group. In the research, no interference or interaction was found in any suicide prevention agency within the group, such as psychologists, therapists or the CVV - Center for the valorization of life. Our empirical field is formed by a group of young people who perceive the internet as a place for social action. A place for possible protagonisms and practices.

In this sense, it was observed the generational character in which young people organize themselves on social media and promote practices disconnected from specialized institutions. However, they follow rules created, charged and legitimized by the members. There is a reciprocal order of symbolic exchanges in the group, but demanding retribution, as the initial caption points out: “For this to happen, we need them to be willing to help”. In contrast to the classic “Essay on the gift” by Marcel Mauss (1974), the reciprocal exchanges of social relations are founded on spontaneous alliances, however, mandatory.

In the initial title, we also highlight the phrases “Here we have a cause” and “Make this group the biggest support center” to present important elements that will be analyzed based on ethnographic data, divided into two modalities: first, consumption for the creation of social ties that aims to combat the suicide of young people connected. Second, the “diary” system that helps young people with suicidal ideas in “moments of crisis”. Both modalities will be explored in the sequential sections.

Suicida is a closed privacy group on Facebook / Brazil. Coordinated by about seven administrators and eight moderators⁵. Composed of young people alternating between the administrative staff and young people who are only in the group to manifest risky behaviors and suicidal ideas. We emphasize that the central focus of this article focuses on the practices of young people involved in the group's administrative organization systems.

⁴ The term suicidal ideation is understood in the health field as thoughts, planning and the desire for voluntary death. The suicide process can be classified into three categories: ideation, attempt and the consummated suicide. In this sense, suicidal ideations are the first mental, practical and social behaviors that may or may not effect death (ARAÚJO; VIEIRA; COUTINHO, 2010).

⁵ We highlight female writing, considering that most administrators are women. Thus, we call attention to a writing that cannot be made invisible or given as a norm by the male article, guided by female researchers and female interlocutors.

The practices developed in the group indicate social capital valued among the members, such as: collaboration, solidarity and youth protagonism. As a result, an environment is produced that recognizes and authorizes the experience of daily pain experienced by young people who express suicidal ideas. Therefore, social capital, in addition to consumption, becomes a relevant theoretical perspective in this empirical field of study.

From this perspective, to consume is to build a lifestyle that guides systems of meaning. Choosing a food, a book, a place, an idea, an event are not random choices illogical, are ways of consuming that represents who we are or want to be in the world, intertwined with the collective social senses. Therefore, consumption is always social and cultural, effected from the relationship and interaction of individuals with goods, which can be material or touch other senses (DOUGLAS; ISHERWOOD, 2004).

In addition to this perspective, the criticism of historical materialism that Marshall Sahlins (2003) argues about thinking consumption from the utilitarian, objective and only within material capacities. For Sahlins (2003), material social life is organized based on meanings. Meanings make sense of things and the world. Therefore, to consume is to establish a relationship with things and people. When consuming, the individual builds identities, subjectivities and belonging. Consumption is a link that unites people by tastes, desires, characteristics, which cross material and symbolic goods.

In this direction, we seek to understand the social meanings shared by young people who aim to combat suicide in the exercise of practices carried out through the consumption of social media. As ethnography presents, we argue that there are too many young people to consider this gathering of connected individuals as mere coincidence. With this, it is intended to understand which ties unite them through this consumption and which dynamics are being moved through these links.

Our current communication and sociability are structured in a connected life. Therefore, the need to discuss social issues, such as suicide and its expressions in digital environments, based on the understanding that the consumption of social media represents places that make contemporary processes and practices visible and materialized.

Next, the article is divided into four sections. In the first, we are briefly concerned with pointing out the methodological approach of ethnography to the internet. In the second, we propose the debate that understands consumption by creating bonds to fight suicide, enabling environments for youth social action. Then, the prospect of social capital mobilized by social practices among young

people. Finally, the fourth section is aligned with the theoretical perspectives triggered, presenting more densely the practices produced by young people in the Suicide group.

The digital experience from the ethnographic approach: “The Suicide group is a special place for me”

To research the consumption of social media in a context of connected society is to understand processes, affects and social relations. Inserted in the field of Communication from the socio-anthropological perspective of consumption, this article focuses on practices and experiences around suicide produced by young people on social media Facebook, through the methodological approach of ethnography for the internet (HINE, 2015).

The internet is a place (MILLER et al, 2016). In online environments, people do many things that transcend time and space. In addition, everyday life is being incorporated and embodied in social life through network connections. As anthropologist Christine Hine advises (2015, p. 29) the role of the ethnographer is to observe the different and different meanings attributed to these actions, and, moreover, “Internet ethnography does not need to assume that there is a single knowable Internet out there - on the contrary, it seeks to understand the particularity and specificity of the commitments to the internet, as a component of everyday life ”.

It is important to highlight the ethical care that was taken in this research with young people, including minors and at risk behaviors. For this, the real names have been replaced and images of faces and personal references have been deleted. However, the ethnographic observations were all with the consent of the privileged interlocutors, as well as, with the agreement to report the practices of the young women, making the researchers' digital experience possible.

The empirical material detailed below focuses on organizational practices related to the daily processes of young people who use the internet in a voluntary, proactive and protagonist way. However, it is part of a larger research that analyzed the practices of young people connected for twelve months, consuming digital social media to express risky behaviors and suicidal ideas. As a result, the research field has become a special place for researchers, in the same direction indicated by a young woman in the initial title “The Suicide group is a special place for me”.

It is necessary to study and research changes based on the consumption of online contact networks. As well as, trying to keep up with the variations that occur in society through internet access, making the boundaries between online and offline increasingly invisible. In this context, new

forms of social bonds emerge, while the idea of a bond itself is transformed, as suggested in the following section.

Consuming is creating social bonds: youthful experiences on social media that fight suicide

It is assumed that to consume is to create bonds. Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood (2004) guide us to understand consumption beyond its functionality and utility, in this way, we will start to understand it through the intertwined and fluid logics in social relations. Consuming is communicating and communicating if it builds meanings.

Consumption is a cultural phenomenon that reveals who we are, which group we belong to and what beliefs we defend (DOUGLAS; ISHERWOOD, 2004). From this perspective, consumption is understood in addition to the acquisition of material goods. Choosing an environment, whether online or offline, is choosing which space to consume.

According to Sahlins (2003), only the materiality and functionality of things, objects and subjects of consumption are not sufficient to understand this phenomenon. The culture that constitutes the utility effected in consumption. With this, consumption goes beyond objective characteristics, composing a universe of meanings linked to human relations with matter. Against this perspective, anthropologist Daniel Miller (2013) argues that material and immaterial culture is about our humanity.

Miller presents the perspective of consumption by the theory of material culture, which he considers to be a set of inclusive disciplines that study the “stuff”, a term that the author does not determine by a closed concept, but suggests that a stuff can be from an email, a kiss or a paper. The stuff is all the things that touch the daily existence of individuals, constituting them as such, in this sense: “things make people, as much as people do things” (2013, p. 131).

In a subsequent survey conducted with nine anthropologists on social media, with the central question - “why do we post?” Miller and coauthors (2016) consider that consuming social media is a culture-specific practice and cannot be thought of with generalist approaches, considering the particularities and specificities of the place and context.

With this perception, we come to understand consumption as a key phenomenon to understand social and cultural differences. Consumption is an instrument of social understanding, which includes singularities and reveals expressions and ways of life.

Therefore, it is in the analysis of social media consumption that an understanding of the

circulating meanings linked to many practices indicative of social and cultural logics and meanings is sought. Thus, consumption is about making, carrying out, communicating and belonging. It is through consumption practices that individuals create bonds, join social groups, as well as, break bonds and abandon bonds.

It is around this theoretical conception of consumption that this article seeks to observe a particular social world. The consumption of an online place created for the meeting of young people who are in communicative acts revealed in shared practices and experiences, aiming to prevent and combat the suicide of young people in Brazil.

Suicide is a type of death. This statement is more comprehensive from the Durkheimian conception that understands suicide as an act that intends the individual's anticipated and voluntary death, performed by himself. Suicide is not defined only by death itself, emphasizes the author: "The attempt is the act thus defined but interrupted before death results" (2011, p. 14).

In this sense, the study in the field of social psychology "Suicide: the plot of communication" Marcidemes Silva (1992) analyzes suicide letters and proposes to think of suicide not as a unique phenomenon and given by a particular act, but as communicative acts that they are generated from a process and can take days, months or years. This process is composed of risky behaviors and suicidal ideas.

As noted in ethnography, for young women who make up the analytical framework for this research, being online goes far beyond scrolling the timeline. To be online is to be linked to networks of action, solidarity, belonging and welcoming, through movements that create spaces for listening and speaking, for the expression of suffering. Consuming social media for members of the Suicide group is to create social bonds that help to fight suicide among young people who are in the process, whether or not they can carry out death by suicide.

The high rates of suicide point to this phenomenon as a public health problem. The average is one suicide every 40 seconds in the world and one suicide every 40 minutes in Brazil. For every person who commits suicide there are at least 20 people who try. It is the second leading cause of death among young people aged 15 to 29 in the world, and the fourth leading cause of death among young people of the same age in Brazil. This age group is considered a vulnerable and at-risk group⁶.

⁶ Official Website ONU- BR- Available at: <https://nacoesunidas.org/oms-suicidio-e-responsavel-por-uma-morte-a-cada-40-segundos-no-mundo/>. Last accessed in June 2019.

In this scenario, the internet has become the stage for these incidences. There is the creation of pro-suicide groups and pages, survivors and support networks. Digital social networks function as a great sociability environment for life and death trajectories, as authors Ieda Tucherman and Erickson Clair (2009) well point out when sharing the story of the 16-year-old Yönlü boy, who in 2006 committed suicide at home. The boy recorded the entire process online, while practicing the action, was assisted and encouraged by "virtual friends". For this article, the practices produced within the Suicide group by young people who assume functions and assign tasks to maintain the group are of interest.

In the Durkheimian perspective, the individual is a social being dependent on relationships, that is, social ties are the basis for sustaining life in society. For Durkheim (2012), bonds are established and maintained in interactions by elements of morals, which are mainly what he called: spirit of discipline and adherence to social groups. For the author (2012) the weakening of the elements of morality propitiates the increase of voluntary deaths.

In this sense, social ties are configured in the interrelationships established between individuals in different social contacts that can be weak or strong bonds. In this logic, for the individual to want to live in society, it is necessary to socially connect with people, projects, institutions and activities that represent them.

According to sociologist Serge Paugam (2017), conceptions of social bond originate in Durkheim's theory, however, he recognizes that there are new and diverse configurations of bonds in contemporary times. If, for Durkheim, social ties sustain morality, the fragility of the elements of morality weakens the individual's bond with society. Paugam argues that (2017, p. 147): "The strength of a bond is not measured only in an interpersonal relationship, but rather in a link to the social system that makes possible or not a set of interpersonal relationships that fall within normative spheres different".

In addition to this thought, the perspective on social ties in the contemporary anthropologist David Le Breton (2018). Social ties are conditioned by digital environments. Le Breton (2018) suggests that depression may be the collapse of significant bonds for the individual in society, which can be reestablished by the state of the "white" through binding contact in the networks. In this sense, the digital network can function as a place to belong to groups for compatibility or a place to isolate themselves from the incompatibilities of physical and digital ties.

Le

Breton (2018) calls “white” the state of the individual in which he reappropriates his own existence to account for the burden that is the contemporary daily life. In order to circumvent himself, the individual detaches himself from a trapped “me”, through playful exercises that enable the experience of other roles than the one that has to be most of the time. They are hanging spaces.

The individual is defined by his social ties. When he begins to idealize his own death, he gives up the bond and no longer wants to be what he represents for these bonds. Searches through processes of disappearing oneself, ways of not being as one sees or by what one represents, divesting oneself of identity layers or reducing them to the minimum of representation. It goes off quietly, according to Breton (2018, position 239): “There are people who, when they die, only lack burial, since they disappeared a long time ago. For them, death is just a formality”.

According to our analysis, we see the consumption of digital social media as a link between young people who have common goals and purposes. The network makes it possible to exercise binding practices that produce environments in which young people perceive themselves as useful, necessary and important. In the Suicida group there is a meeting of precarious compatibilities that are linked and express their daily suffering and, with this, try to make each other live in the midst of suicidal ideas.

In the next section, the theoretical perspective of social capital is articulated to illuminate the practices produced by young people who seek to legitimize the Suicide group as a safe place for speech and listening to self-destructive behaviors. With that, they consume the online space to maintain social ties. Through voluntary actions and organized by members of the group, they contribute to combat suicide among young people who adhere to these environments.

Practices that mobilize social capital: actions that produce networked value

Our argument suggests, based on the ethnographic immersion in the Suicide group, that the consumption of digital social media tends to contribute socially to practices developed by young people. Such practices convert knowledge, culture and information into social action, and thereby contribute to combating suicide among young people connected.

In the search to follow the dynamics adopted in the group, starting from observation in the field, we resort to the understanding of social capital. Social capital for this research is mobilized by networked social dynamics that generate processes based on trust relationships between members

of the Suicide group. Young people are willing to voluntarily develop practices that have proved to be supportive and collaborative.

Robert Putnam (2006) proposes the theoretical perspective of social capital that dialogues with James Coleman. For Putnam and Coleman, the construction of social capital comprises voluntary cooperation actions based on rules of reciprocity and participation systems: “social capital facilitates spontaneous cooperation” (PUTNAM, 2006, p. 177). In this sense, social capital are exchange values that can be material or symbolic goods formed from relationships of trust and mutual help.

Social capital is a way of increasing credit among people, based on the dynamics of reliability and reputation of social relationships. Therefore, it is a public good that produces associations with solidarity processes and practices. Supported from the perspective of economist Albert Hirschman, Putnam argues that social capital based on trust relationships are “moral resources” that increase as they are used and decrease if they are no longer used, considering that (2006, p. 180): “The more the higher the level of trust in a community the greater the likelihood of cooperation. And cooperation itself creates trust”.

Allied to these perceptions regarding the consumption of digital media and the production of social capital, the contributions of the author José Van Dijck. The media are configured in a public communication arena, a place where rules and standards of sociability are created and established. These practices that establish how individuals should behave, are pierced and mixed with offline life: “In less than a decade, the rules of online sociability have changed drastically, and they are still floating” (VAN DIJCK, 2012 , p. 23).

Van Dijck calls attention to the importance of the social network Facebook, especially for young people, in the construction and maintenance of sociability, as well as for the production of social capital that the network imposes, as a way of keeping the user inserted in social groups. The author points out that the sociability made possible and conditioned by social networks becomes a privileged means of interaction and bonding among young people, arguing that (2012, p. 54):

"Getting in touch" and "staying in touch" are currently activities totally focused on social networking sites: the services make it easier to bridge the gaps in space and time and help people stay informed about their friends' lives. Facebook's design makes the log look similar to connecting to a utility. Once someone has registered as a member, the social pressure to stay connected is enormous, especially among young people, as not being on Facebook means not being invited to parties or not receiving information about important events; In short, being disconnected from a dynamic of public life that

seems very attractive. Social networking sites, as confirmed by the survey, have become a fundamental space for the accumulation of social capital.

Raquel Recuero (2009) understands social capital as a varied and non-consensual concept among authors. It can be said that it is a value that is built and negotiated in the relationships between social actors, fundamental to understand social networks in contemporary times. The author considers that as important as studying social capital in networks, it is necessary to go beyond the established relationships and research the content of the messages exchanged in them, inferring that (2009, p. 50):

From the discussion on the concept, we will consider social capital as a set of resources of a certain group (varied resources and dependent on its function, as Coleman states) that can be enjoyed by all members of the group, even if individually, and which is based on reciprocity (according to Putnam). It is embedded in social relations (as Bourdieu explains) and is determined by their content (Gyarmati & Kyte, 2004; Bertolini & Bravo, 2001).

Recuero (2009) argues with Robert Putnam that the construction of social value starts from two conceptions: the individual and the collective. The first concerns the search for social actors to appropriate a social network for their own benefit. The second is when the individual social capital reflects on the collective, which may have costs or benefits.

Also, social capital differs in two types: the connector, focused on weak ties, more fragile and with less intimacy and the strengthening that is related to groups of strong ties, more cohesive and with closer relations.

In this perspective, social capital is based on the social value of morals, norms and trust, promoting a civic practice. Groups of social actors create values that integrate and support one another. The concept determined by Putnam is quite positive, in the sense that it leaves out issues such as conflict and actors who mobilize against laws. Recuero (2009) adds that social capital is an essential element in the studies of social networks, but little researched on how it appears on the internet.

In this direction, our ethnography points to social capital mobilized in a network, exploring the cut of youth practices and experiences in the Suicide group that promote actions and values supported by rules and norms that constitute the group, forming bonds of mutual aid.

Social capital is presented interconnecting relationships of fragile ties and strong ties that produce benefits both for young people who are in the administrative organization of the group, and for young people who make publications with requests for help in “times of crisis”. As pointed out in

the comment by young Tacy, moderator of the group, who went through suicidal situations in which she needed help and is currently in the function of “diary”: “I think we all went through difficult times, nothing more fair than giving a hope to others”.

The consumption of social media: place for action to combat suicide

To better outline the analysis that we have already pointed out with ethnographic data throughout the article, we divided youth practices and experiences that aim to combat suicide in two ways: first, we analyze the maintenance of the Suicide group that works based on rules, meetings and administrative publications, creating bonds between members. Second, we analyzed the “diary” system that works as the main method to help young people in “times of crisis”.

In order to maintain the Suicida group, a set of specific actions is needed, coordinated by several young people who are mostly between 13 and 24 years old. The shares are divided by positions that serve the main functions: administrator (a), moderator (a) and diaries. According to Durkheim (2012), functions manage to establish and strengthen the bond between members through activities that require a certain discipline and adherence to the group of individuals who share a space that represents them. In addition, as Paugam (2017) argues, the strength of the bond is in the link to the social system organized by individuals, who connect them through compatibilities.

According to the theoretical perspective of consumption undertaken in this research, young people are creating and maintaining bonds, as observed in the following report: “I help the group because it is a noble cause and I also went through it, I also wanted help, however I never had or at least not the proper one. I never had help from my parents, I needed friends, a place, a region, a refuge, here it is. Suicide, even after all, is still my home”. In other words, as our argument suggests, the group is a place to belong. In addition, it is a place to develop possible social action practices.

In this quote, as well as Recuero argues about the relationships in network and social capital, it is possible to notice the construction of the value that starts from the individual, where the actors establish bonds for their own benefit, and soon, reflects on the collective. The young woman who now sought help, now seeks help. In this, we saw a process of solidarity and reciprocity, as noted by Putnam (2006). This process makes mutual and symbolic exchanges in the group emerging.

However, the social capital that produces value of solidarity and reciprocity, hides an exchange that seems disinterested. The “giving” asks for a “receiving” to maintain the bonds. As Mauss (1974) already drew attention, these are actions that maintain organized systems of

reciprocal obligations, also observed in the requirements for compliance with the rules established in the group.

This account above, by the 17-year-old Sany, the group's administrator, is configured in consumption that effect social ties by affinities, tastes and identities, becoming a place to belong. Consuming this environment means building intermediary social ties between the family and the state. These intermediate groups for Durkheim (2012) function as supporters of the desire for life in society. In addition, Sany finds in the Suicida group the “refuge”, the space to assume parts and actions of oneself and the possibility of connecting to routines that provide greater autonomy (BRETON, 2018).

In order to maintain order and cohesion in the group, rules are established that need to be followed under the risk of being excluded. Some rules limit practices that are expressly prohibited, such as: not posting photos of cuts to the body and not sharing forms of suicide attempts. The rules help to maintain discipline in the group, so that the central focus is on valuing life and combating suicide.

In addition, sharing WhatsApp number is not allowed. This observation was made possible by analyzing publications that ask group members not to share personal information, such as: specific geographic location, school or place of work. These publications made by administrative members indicate that if someone asks for this type of information pointedly, the established rule is to call an administrator or moderator of the group to exclude the member who is impertinent.

The rules are instituted with the aim of producing a safe group for exposure and emotional vulnerability. Precisely for this reason, as it deals with young people in vulnerable states, it is not allowed to exchange information that does not follow the care of the group coordinators, perceived in reports such as: “We never know who is behind a small PC or cell phone screen, so we have to have greater responsibility and security to not say personal information, which can be dangerous ”.

Following this comment, we point out the following publication:

On the issue of Whatsapp, which many ask why this rule exists, it also exists for security reasons, there have been many cases of diaries sending their Whatsapp to pens / patients. I only say one thing, that even if you send it and say it to your dear pen / patient and don't tell the administrators and the counselors you sent (personal numbers), we'll still know. I leave here some prints of diaries that did that and went wrong, luckily. So would you risk breaking the rules? Rules are made to be followed (Suicide group administrator, 2018).

With this publication, we come to understand the second type of practice: the “diary” system. The “diaries” are the members who are available to help other members who request for publications or comments on publications. The help takes the form of conversations on Facebook Messenger between “daily” members and young people who ask for help to chat. Young people who make publications with a request for help are called “pens”.

These nomenclatures, diary and pen, reinforce that there is a system of meaning shared in the group that unifies and strengthens exchanges and solidarity between members. The exercise of being a diary can be performed by a pen, making the social capital of mutual aid and reciprocal relationships evident.

The observed logic is that “pens” write in the “diaries” that listen to them. Members who are willing to be a “diary” undergo an orientation that is coordinated by the moderators. Guidance teaches you to assume this role. There are frequent publications in the group, made by administrators, who ask the members if they want to participate in the “diaries” system, so that they can be properly oriented.

This action points out that the “diaries” can reverse the roles in the group. With this, they help other young people in times of crisis, as they may also need help and move from the “diary” position to the “pen” position, and vice versa. It is observed that the bonds can be cyclical, reciprocal and interested in retribution.

This mode of consumption of social media points in the diary system, the social capital activated by relationships of trust. The young person who seeks help establishes mutual trust with the young person who offers help. These values are pre-arranged among the members so that the dynamics of the journaling system work.

To occupy the function of “diary”, one of the requirements is to be an active member. The main method for being a “diary” is to listen to young people who ask for help through publications. The listening method is the first and the main orientation for those who want to be “daily” in the group, followed by indications such as: “do not talk about politics or religion with your pen” and “we are a self-help group, we are not here to judge”.

Any member of the group can ask for help at any time. It is called “moments of crisis” when a young man shares a publication making any reference to suicide, like the following publications: “I can’t take it anymore” and “someone help me, please”. In times of crisis, the diaries should comment on the publication, calling the young person to talk. They should also add comments like:

"you are not alone" and "I am here for you".

This logic that seeks to intervene in times of crisis, avoiding judgments and expressing the presence of someone who, even digitally, is there to help, recognizes the importance of young people feeling belonging and welcomed, strengthening the bond between them and creating a safe space to communicate suicidal ideations, regardless of the decision for the actual act of death or not. The central issue is to combat suicide through active listening.

From the guidance that the “diary” receives to listen to the “pen”, the young person is responsible for the function of “taking care” of his pen (of the young person who asked for help). Journals should send messages that encourage the pen to talk. Also, young people establish contact that varies between months or years, and can be configured in more fragile connecting bonds or strengthening bonds, promoting more lasting bonds.

Meetings are held in a separate group with only the “diaries” and the diary advisers. As noted in the figure below, there are also general orientation meetings, through publications accessible to all group members. This practice helps to maintain a consensus on how to act and maintain contact with the “pens” and, as has been pointed out, to strengthen the cohesion and discipline of the group.

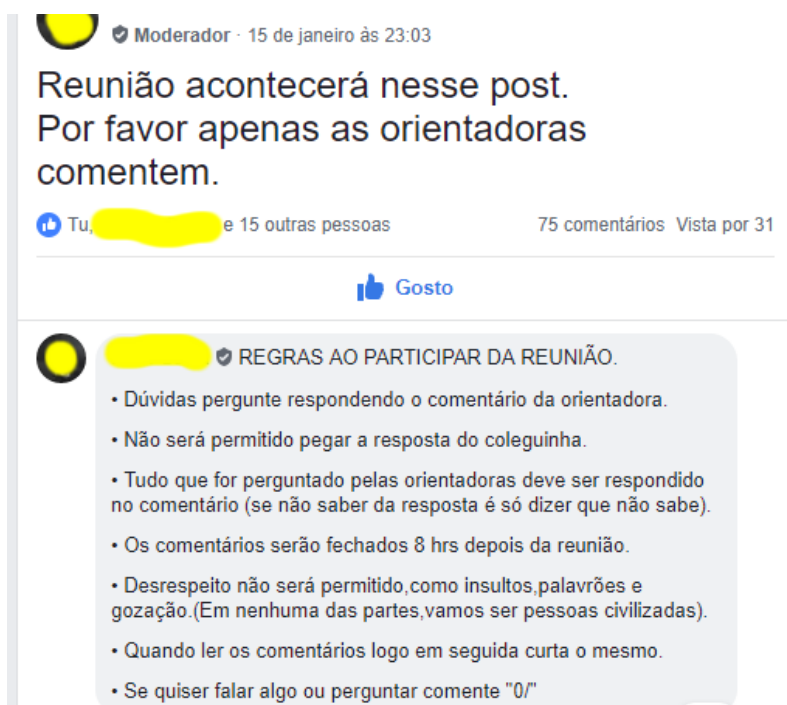


Figure 1 - Publication in the Suicide group
Source: Facebook screenshot.

There is also a private group on Messenger with "diaries" and advisors, where they exchange information from "pens" and messages that help in the practice of the activity. In this sense, comments such as: "Here is the Suicidal and non-suicidal group and preach the Lord's word" reiterates that they do not use the group to make mainly moral and religious judgments. These are observations that are always remembered in conversations, with the intention of promoting an exchange among young people, which according to them, is a way to make conversations healthier.

Emphasizing that there is no room in the group for judgments, but rather, for respect, empathy and listening, it allows social media, also understood by the members as a "refuge" or "home", to be configured in the space for the expression of the "white" exist through expressions that are only exposed by some members, within the group.

The following is a publication by one of the group's moderators, sharing the "practical coexistence manual" with suggestions on how to help each other. It stands out in the manual, the issue of not judging, not being ashamed of suffering and above all, that the group is a place to listen. The first sentence of the publication poses the question: "Do you want to be a diary, but don't know how to act or start conversations? Well, your problems are over".

Practical coexistence manual:

- a)** Show that you are interested in actually listening. Don't do it just because you have nothing to do or out of curiosity;
- b)** Be open to learning, because whoever helps often also learns something from the person being helped;
- c)** Under no circumstances judge anyone, no matter the size of your problem, pain is pain and we must respect it;
- d)** Whenever possible, be present in the life of the person you help, encourage. Support and celebrate the victories and growth always showing the best of the person;
- e)** The human being will not be strong 24 hours, work and address possible defeats and relapses. Showing that it is a natural part of life and the person is no less special for having fallen;
- f)** Whenever you can help the person. Aiming at your potential and increasing your self-esteem. Show that starting over is important and the person is not alone, as they can trust you;
- g)** Do it with an open heart without expecting something in return. The best things in life are simple and small things, but with tremendous value;
- h)** Believe that if you want you can conquer the world in addition to improving. For the sky is the limit;
- i)** Never be ashamed of your battles (scars or problems). There is nothing wrong with crying at times;
- j)** Never say that you can't or you can't. For I assure you if you have come this far you should be proud of the warrior you are and how important it is not to have given up;
- l)** You are enough. It is necessary and your life is precious. Our problems are temporary (from the moment we act). Suicide is permanent (and it may seem like the solution now, but unfortunately, it is not). Don't choose to give up just because it's the "easy" way, give up and it's over. It's not like this. Certain changes are necessary, change the negative of your mind to positive. You are not a goner. I'm with you.

In addition to this manual created by the group coordinators, the rules passed on by the moderators in the orientation with the diaries are shared. As well as the activity report model. Moderators suggest that the report be shared in the journal group, at least once a month. As explained in the following publication:

- Next I will pass the RULES FOR THE DIARIES, how to acquire / act with the pens / patients and teach how to make reports.

- a) Do not pass on your information. personal details such as whats number, photos, ID and the like.
- b) Forbidden love relationships between pens and diaries.
- c) Forbidden to mistreat pens, be patient with them.
- d) If an individual asks for nudity or comes wanting a relationship, call a mod (moderator) or adm (administrator) immediately.
- e) If you see a problem in the group do the same procedure as the rule above.
- f) In case of inactivity you can be removed from the function or banned from the group, but if you have a plausible reason for doing so, call a responsible person.
- g) Forbidden to take responsibility, we are dealing with people's lives so take responsibility for everything we ask for and with the pens obviously.
- h) Add all Mod's and Adm's in the group.
- i) No fighting between newspapers and / or members of the Administration is prohibited. In case of recurrence, those involved will be removed from 1 to 7 days and removed from all their functions, if they are a moderator they will be suspended and without their "mod" from 15 to 30 days.
- j) Frequent Quit's (exits) from chat's diaries, Adm (administration), edition and members are prohibited. If the individual insists on repeating this action, he may be suspended from 7 to 15 days and thus removed from ALL his functions, but if he repeats this action, he may be banned from the group until further notice.
- l) Relationships between Diaries and pens is totally prohibited. The diary involved will be permanently banned and will have a chance to earn extra punishment.
- m) Forbidden Moralism
- n) Any relationship between the newspapers that may hinder your function and / or cause disagreement will be strictly prohibited.

TEMPLATE OF DAILY REPORT:

- a) (name of your profile) Date: (last day of conversation) Ex: 13-20 October 2017. (Name of patient profile) ex: So-and-so.
- b) (Depressive characteristic 1) eg self-mutilation, (Depressive characteristics2), (Depressive characteristic3).
- c) Problems1 • Problems2 • Problems3
- d) Has it improved ???? - To purchase patients / pens you need to comment on the publications and call. Any questions ask.

As perceived in ethnography, the consumption of social media is effective in a strategy in everyday life, used by different social groups to arrange lifestyles and express identity subjectivities, linked to social processes (DOUGLAS; ISHERWOOD, 2004). The consumption of social media is

more complex and reveals practices that involve youth protagonism, producing social bonds in the search to prevent suicide.

It is observed in practices organized by young people that social capital is mainly supported by relationships of trust and reciprocity. However, it is not blind trust, it is based on behavioral predictions, where the rules are supported through regulation and socialization (PUTNAM, 2006).

Cooperation processes are presented in the negotiation of permitted or prohibited practices, in the construction and inculcation of rules and actions that provide for the maintenance of social ties among group members. The established rules are respected and followed by the members at the price of being excluded. These are rules that strengthen trust and facilitate cooperation and reciprocity (PUTNAM, 2006).

In this sense, the practices developed in the Suicide group are forms of social action that contribute to combat suicide among connected young people who manifest their ideas in times of crisis. The practices created and managed by this group of young people show the youth autonomy that shares social values, configured in solidarity and welcoming capitals.

The consumption of social media by young people who express suicidal ideas is a strategic way of creating a space of belonging. Through social ties that make compatible with a social system that allows self-destructive manifestations, they produce a disciplined and solidary social scene. As researcher Van Dijck (2012) points out, social media overcomes some distances and connects young people who share common feelings.

In this sense, being connected to this network means that young people, from 19 states in Brazil, maintain social ties through an intermediary group. As the durkheimian perspective suggests, these intermediary groups function as links that keep the individual connected to society. In addition, it is also a space for the creation of white people, as pointed out by Le Breton (2018), where young people can create ways of existing and express expressions that are not possible in their daily lives offline.

A group of more than 50,000 young people, who want to connect to express common feelings, through the consumption of social media, reveals how necessary it is to create spaces of belonging and welcoming for individuals who are in vulnerable situations of ideation suicidal. Thus, it is also observed that these spaces must be willing to reduce the levels of moral, political and religious judgments. In this way, it is possible to enable a preventive and combat social scene in offline environments, which includes suicide risk groups.

Final considerations

In the analysis of social media consumption, ethnographic data presents various practices produced by young people who are connected to the issue of suicide. Such practices are perceived in two main aspects: first, they promote listening spaces for the suicidal expression of pain and suffering, called by the native field “moments of crisis”. Second, they promote spaces for carrying out actions that develop a sense of responsibility, group work and bonds of trust. Thus, we highlight that this research fulfills the function of observing appropriate online environments in different and unforeseen ways for the development of practices by young people around suicide. They consume these spaces to speak, report, create affective bonds, develop and execute actions. There is a constant production of experiences involving individuals, collaboration and mediation by volunteers.

Consuming social media is creating bonds that mobilize social capital among young people, supported mainly by values of reciprocity. The researched group is configured in an intermediate place between the family and the State for the creation and maintenance of social bonds in contemporary times. In addition, Suicida is composed of practices that support the elements of morality: adherence to the group and discipline, consolidating itself through solidarity dynamics in the network.

Being part of the group is a means of achieving social value in interactions and practices. In other words, the social capital established in the processes that permeate the structures of sociability and forms of organization in the group, support practices, rules, duties and obligations, based on relationships of trust.

The young people in this research create and value the bonds made possible on the Internet, which can vary in levels of proximity, such as connecting bonds and strengthening bonds. Relationships are established by affinities, tastes and empathy. They seek in this group to socialize with people who have purposes and values that converge, avoiding moral, political and religious judgments.

The autonomy of action made possible by the group contributes to the creation of experiences that guarantee the right to speak and listen. In this sense, social media becomes an important consumption element for the existence and maintenance of social bonds based on the production of practices that build the place for youth protagonist action. In an effective way, in the researched

group, they fight suicide, helping in the “moments of crisis” of young people who choose to consume social media to share suicidal behaviors.

Whoever suffers from suicidal ideations wants a place to belong. This place is not necessarily death. In this ethnographic foray into online environments, the importance of researching this field of consumption is observed, where so many individual and collective practices are produced.

We emphasize that the analyzed group has elements considered positive for preventive action and combating suicide among young people connected in Brazil, however, we also draw attention to the existence of pro-suicide groups on social media, which, likewise, can be observed ethnographically.

This analysis attributes the importance of the consumption of social media by the group of young people surveyed. In these environments, youth experiences are shared through communicational processes that express suicidal ideas and also help each other with practices of valuing speech and listening, consequently, they seek to reduce risk promoters, preventing and combating suicide elements.

Finally, we suggest that, analyzing the consumption of parallel digital universes and at the same time incorporated into social daily life, in addition to observing specific themes, opens paths for the understanding of social meanings and particular cultures of contemporary societies.

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Abstract

This article seeks to understand the consumption of social media by young people who develop practices to combat suicide on Facebook. The analysis is performed through an ethnographic experience on the internet that conducted the research for twelve months. From the immersion in the Suicide group, it was observed the production of a social scene that creates and values spaces of belonging. In this sense, consumption in the socio-anthropological lens is understood as a producer of places, experiences, and a strategy, used by different social groups, that defines everyday situations. It starts from the sociological conception of suicide that understands this phenomenon as an act of communication incorporated in the internet. Youth practices organized in collaborative actions were analyzed, promoting an authorized environment to express suicidal ideations. With this, we argue that the consumption of social media becomes a privileged element for maintaining social ties, helping to combat suicide among young people who manifest suicidal behaviors in online environments.

Keywords: Consumption. Suicide. Youths Digital cultures. Facebook.

Resumo

Este artigo busca compreender o consumo da mídia social por jovens que desenvolvem práticas de combate ao suicídio no *Facebook*. A análise é realizada através de uma experiência etnográfica na internet que conduziu a pesquisa por doze meses. A partir da imersão no grupo *Suicida*, observou-se a produção de uma cena social que cria e valoriza espaços de pertencimento. Nesse sentido, entende-se o consumo na lente socioantropológica como produtor de lugares, experiências, e uma estratégia, utilizada por diferentes grupos sociais, definidora de situações cotidianas. Parte-se da concepção sociológica do suicídio que entende esse fenômeno como um ato de comunicação incorporado na internet. Foram analisadas práticas juvenis organizadas em ações colaborativas, promovendo um ambiente autorizado para expressar ideias suicidas. Com isso, argumentamos que, o consumo da mídia social torna-se elemento privilegiado para a manutenção de laços sociais, ajudando a combater o suicídio entre jovens que manifestam comportamentos suicidas em ambientes *online*.

Palavras-Chave: Consumo. Suicídio. Juventudes. Culturas digitais. Facebook.

Resumen

Este artículo busca comprender el consumo de redes sociales por parte de los jóvenes que desarrollan prácticas para combatir el suicidio en Facebook. El análisis se lleva a cabo a través de una experiencia etnográfica en Internet que llevó a cabo la investigación durante doce meses. Desde la inmersión en el grupo Suicidio, se observó la producción de una escena social que crea y valora espacios de pertenencia. En este sentido, el consumo se entiende en la lente socioantropológica como un productor de lugares, experiencias y una estrategia, utilizada por diferentes grupos sociales, que define las situaciones cotidianas. Comienza con la concepción sociológica del suicidio que entiende este fenómeno como un acto de comunicación incorporado en internet. Se analizaron las prácticas juveniles organizadas en acciones de colaboración, promoviendo un ambiente autorizado para expresar ideas suicidas. Con esto, argumentamos que el consumo de las redes sociales se convierte en un elemento privilegiado para mantener los lazos sociales, ayudando a combatir el suicidio entre los jóvenes que manifiestan comportamientos suicidas en entornos en línea.

Palabras clave: Consumo. Suicidio. Juventudes Culturas digitales. Facebook.