SUICIDE, SOCIAL TIES AND FACEBOOK: ethnographic analysis with groups on digital social media

SUICÍDIO, LAÇOS SOCIAIS E FACEBOOK: análise etnográfica com grupos na mídia social digital
SUICIDIO, LAZOS SOCIALES Y FACEBOOK: análisis etnográfico con grupos en redes sociales digitales

Aline Amaral Paz
Doutoranda do Programa de Pós-graduação em Comunicação da Universidade Federal de Santa Maria (UFSM). Mestra em Comunicação Midiática e Estratégias comunicacionais, UFSM. alineamaralpaz@gmail.com.

   0000-0002-0888-0781

Sandra Rúbia da Silva
Doutora em Antropologia Social pela Universidade Federal de Santa Maria. Docente do Departamento de Ciências da Comunicação e do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação da UFSM. sandraxrubia@gmail.com.

   0000-0001-7548-5178

Mailing address: Universidade Federal de Santa Maria – UFSM. Avenida Roraima, nº 1000, 97105-900, Cidade Universitária Bairro - Camobi, Santa Maria – RS – Brasil.

ABSTRACT:
Inserted in the field of communication in strong dialogue with socio-anthropology, from the methodological approach of ethnography to the internet, this article identifies the existence of groups on digital social media that create spaces to share content related to suicide. The main results point to three issues: first, suicide is an act of communication on the internet. Second, digital social media enables other ways of creating social bonds. These bonds, perceived as intermediate bonds, can collaborate to prevent and combat self-inflicted death. Third, the absence of institutional organizations that mediate content sharing in groups that, especially, are composed of members considered vulnerable and at risk. Mostly, these groups are occupied by young people.

KEYWORDS: Suicide; Digital cultures; Social ties; Young; Facebook.

Introduction

Based on a methodological approach to ethnography for the internet (HINE, 2015), within a year, ethnographic immersion pointed out groups on Facebook / Brazil composed of individuals who share content, experiences and behaviors related to suicide.

In the same argumentative direction as Marcidemes Silva (1992) who, in his study in the field of social psychology, analyzes letters written and left by individuals who carried out the death by suicide, we suggest that in contemporary times, suicide is an act of communication on the internet.

Under this perspective, the internet works as a field that allows the creation and maintenance of intermediate links through digital social media. The Durkheimian perspective understands the intermediate ties for those created and maintained beyond the family, the school and the State.

Treating this theme in the research field requires addressing the relevance of statistical data. Approximately every forty seconds a person commits suicide in the world. For each individual who carries out self-inflicted death, there are at least twenty people who resort to the attempt. Young people between 15 and 29 years old are considered vulnerable and at risk, since suicide is the second leading cause of death in youth in the world and the fourth leading cause of death in Brazil (UN, 2019).

In addition, of the 193 countries registered with the United Nations (UN), only 60 register information on suicide deaths and of these, less than half promote national prevention practices. The numbers are not exact, generating sub-records (BERTOLOTE, 2012). Many cases are not registered as suicide for cultural, social and religious reasons (TRIGUEIRO, 2015).

Based on the Durkheimian analysis, it can be said that when an individual chooses suicide, there is a universe of material and symbolic meanings to understand much more about society than about the individual itself. This is because suicide is a social phenomenon and not an individual one.

In addition, suicide is not death itself, it is a type of death, as Durkheim (2011, p. 14) points out: "The attempt is the act thus defined but interrupted before death results". In this sense, suicide attempts and suicidal ideations[1], according to Marcidemes Silva (1992) involve the suicide process, composed of all stages, from the planned death to the individual's executed death.

From these conceptions, we point out two profiles of groups on digital social media, in which the first profile forms groups composed of members who express suicidal ideas and, with this, find reciprocal connections and feel linked to other individuals who recognize them in the agendas . On the other hand, the second profile shows the groups that share material related to suicide prevention. However, although the two profiles have appeal to combat suicide, as shown in the analysis, they are not related within the same platform.

In this sense, while some of the groups mentioned in the methodological framework are groups composed of individuals who use digital social media to express suicidal ideas through communicative acts, other groups use the same social media to create content that focuses on prevention.

---

[1] 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 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).

Next, the article is divided into four sequential sections. In the first, we point out the methodological perspective. In the second, we discuss the creation of digital social ties with the internet incorporated in the social daily life to think about the issue of suicide. The third, the elements of the ethnographic field, elucidate the argument that perceives the creation of intermediary social bonds to communicate suicidal ideas. Subsequently, there are groups that show the production of content aimed at preventing suicide.

Internet ethnographic approach

Anthropologist Christine Hine (2016) understands that connected environments produce the phenomenon of embodiment. Staying or being online is no different from other materialized forms of human experience. Daily life happens both online and offline, and the experiences complement and coexist. The author emphasizes that: "An online experience can produce an emotional response, as much as any other form of experience" (2016, p. 16).

In this light, being connected to digital environments becomes an embodied extension of everyday life. The logic of the media has appropriated the emotional aspect of the online experience, creating buttons to express feelings, such as "I love", "happy", "anger", to express how people feel about what they share.

Daniel Miller and co-authors (2016) in collaborative and comparative ethnographic research in nine countries, argue in "Why we post"[2] ("Why we post", in Portuguese) that there is no distinction between offline and online, that is, contemporary digital social media is integrated into people's lives.

In this perspective, initially, we searched on Facebook for the keywords "suicide" and "suicidal". With the keyword "suicide", 91 groups were found. With the keyword "suicidal", 88 groups. With these keywords we obtained results that took us to groups like "Suicide Squad", related to the title of a film and, also, to groups created by members of Latin American countries, like Argentina and Chile. In addition, groups of survivors, bereaved, family members and, especially, mothers who met on the internet were found to report on sons and daughters who committed suicide.

---

[2] Why We Post is a global research project that investigated the uses and consequences of social media. Nine anthropologists spent 15 months living in communities around the world, researching the role of social media in people's daily lives. Available at: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/why-we-post>.

In this context, for this article, which is the cut of a dissertation research[3], we use as a criterion to privilege groups in the geographic scope of Facebook / BR, which have more than 1000 members and, among them, the ten most active[4] with member publications.

It should be noted that for groups with closed privacy mode on Facebook, requests for entry were sent, however, some did not accept the request. In this sense, the researchers were dependent on acceptance of entry into the groups. For these reasons, we emphasize that the selection of the analysis corpus was placed within the limitations of the field.

For this article, we also emphasize that the ethnographic data are pointed out from the stay in the field, which includes participatory observation within the groups, in addition to conversations in the private Facebook Messenger chat with members of the groups.

With these notes, we can observe the demand created by the theme. The number of groups producing material related to suicide leads us to tension the social bonds made possible by digital communication and requires a theoretical view thinking about the formation and maintenance of contemporary social ties.

Social media, suicide and social ties in digital environments

The analytical digital experience with groups in online environments makes it possible to get closer to understanding the bonds created and maintained in digital universes. In this way, we can obtain a greater perception of the components that configure these ties and of the social processes and dynamics that collaborate for the understanding of contemporary life.

Between countries, states, regions and cities in the world, more than four billion people have possibilities of daily connection to the internet (TCMUNDO, 2018). Through hashtags, emoticons, viruses and memes, being in digital environments transforms the modes of interaction and socialization in society. There are millions of computers and smartphones, among other digital artifacts, connected registering global communication.

Within small and mobile technological devices there is a diversity of online environments that support and constitute places to understand cultures and meanings. More than that, the possibility of understanding communities that come together through

---

[3] Dissertation presented to the Graduate Program in Communication, Federal University of Santa Maria (UFSM) under the title: "Suicide around life and death: an ethnography of Facebook consumption by young people" (PAZ, 2019).
[4] Who carry out daily publications or at least every two days.

indemnity and affective ties to share everyday experiences on digital social media (HINE, 2016; MILLER et al, 2016).

In this sense, users of digital social media create and shape groups that prove to be places to express suicidal ideas and to create intermediary social ties by affinity. Thus, suicide is configured in a process of communicative acts on the internet. Suicidal ideations find a place to belong, announce, welcome, give up or effect death. Likewise, social groups come together on the internet to form combative and preventive links to suicide.

For anthropologists Miller and co-authors (2016), scalable sociability is a theoretical perspective that helps to understand relationships in digital social media. In this direction, it becomes relevant to understand the reasons why people choose these or those contents and environments to share in the media.

Scalable sociability is related to the way people use online environments. In this way, the media are organized by scales and hierarchical levels of privacy and publicly available information or not.

To think about the issue of suicide in digital social media, it is thought from Durkheimian sociology as a social fact dependent on contexts and cultures in society, which in contemporary times presents itself as a social practice incorporated in online.

For Durkheim, the elements of social morality, the spirit of discipline and adherence to social groups, are fundamental to the active and captive existence of the individual in society, arguing that "man feels more willing to kill himself the more detached he is. of the collectivity "(2012, p. 80). That is, the more cohesive a social group is, the less likely individuals are to suicidal ideas.

Allied to this discussion, according to sociologist Serge Paugam (2017), it can be considered that the concept of social bond originates from Durkheimian studies. However, it discusses the new configurations of bonds in contemporary society to understand the fundamentals of ties and what produces ruptures between them.

Paugam draws attention to the components of the bonds, highlighting that the social bond is not only in the interpersonal relationship established. The social bond is subject to the minimum sympathy with the interests and social codes of the groups, emphasizing that (2017, p. 147): "The strength of a bond is not measured only in an interpersonal relationship, but in a bond to the system that makes possible or not a set of interpersonal relationships that are part of different normative spheres".

Le Breton (2018), also when discussing social ties today, argues that social bonds are conditioned to ambiences within a context of connected society, suggesting that depression may be the breakdown of significant bonds for the individual. The author 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.

From this perspective, in order to circumvent himself in his life, the individual assumes through a disconnection from himself, through playful exercises that enable the experience of other roles and another "me" that is not the one that has to be the most of time. They are hanging spaces. A modality of existence in which it is not necessary to render accounts of obligations and social representations that you do not want (BRETON, 2018).

In this perspective, the "white" supports other "selves" or subjectivities in the digital world. It also makes possible practices committed to the very rules that the individual or groups create: "and when you are a master in a world reduced to the extent of yourself and modeled by technical support, returning to the subordinate status inflicted by the social bond is not always rewarding "(BRETON, 2018, position 1359). In this context, individuals, especially young people, find it difficult to leave these environments.

Dialogating with the research of Marcimedes Silva (1992), the author argues that the individual who was not heard in life, sees suicide as the last form of communicative manifestation with the intention of moving from one state to another, having previously gone through a ritualistic process that can result in death effected by suicide.

As the data from the field demonstrate[5], having a place to say: "Sometimes it is so difficult to hold back tears" and "Shut up so I scream with silence" are communicative acts of behavior in the suicidal process that seek social bonds that help them to don't die.

In this publication: "Please help me, this is not a meme" there are recurring elements in the publications, which are mostly groups of requests for help. The publication also uses digital language when referring to "this is not a meme" so that the request for help receives the requested amount.

It reaffirms the argument that has been defended that suicide is an act of communication on the internet, which may or may not lead to effective suicide death. The existence of a place to express suicidal behaviors and / or narratives to combat suicide composes a social framework that collaborates to produce an environment that connects common social ties, allowing the feeling of belonging, recognition and acceptance. As a result, there are intermediate links.

---

[5] The citations of research participants are reproductions of records from the ethnographic field during the period of twelve months, through systematic observation and online conversations. All, keeping the native language, however, went through a revision of the Portuguese language for the writing of this article.

What follows are the elements of the field corresponding to the ten groups mapped in the survey. We divided the groups into the two profiles identified: groups mostly with young people who communicate suicidal ideas, named in the subsection by: suicide is an act of communication on the internet. And the groups focused on producing prevention content, composed of organizations and health professionals, named in the subsection by: digital social media is a place for preventing and fighting suicide.

Some ethical precautions were taken in this research. The names of the groups are not revealed, we prefer to name them alphabetically, since the objective is not to expose the groups, which are mostly occupied by young people, including minors. In this sense, we seek to show that there is a digital production of material related to suicide and the creation of social bonds made possible by digital media.

Expositively and for didactic purposes, the table with the two profiles of the researched groups is presented:

Table 1 Composition of groups in the empirical field

Group	Profile 1 Communicates suicidal ideations	Profile 2 Suicide prevention content	Approximate number of members	Privacy Public / Closed
A	X		6.000	Closed
B	X		4.000	Closed
C	X		8.000	Closed
D	X		10.000	Closed
E	X		70.00	Closed
F	X		5.000	Public
G	X		9.000	Closed
H		X	2.000	Closed
I		X	4.000	Public
J		X	1.000	Public

Suicide is an act of communication on the internet

Figure 1 Publication of a member in a group
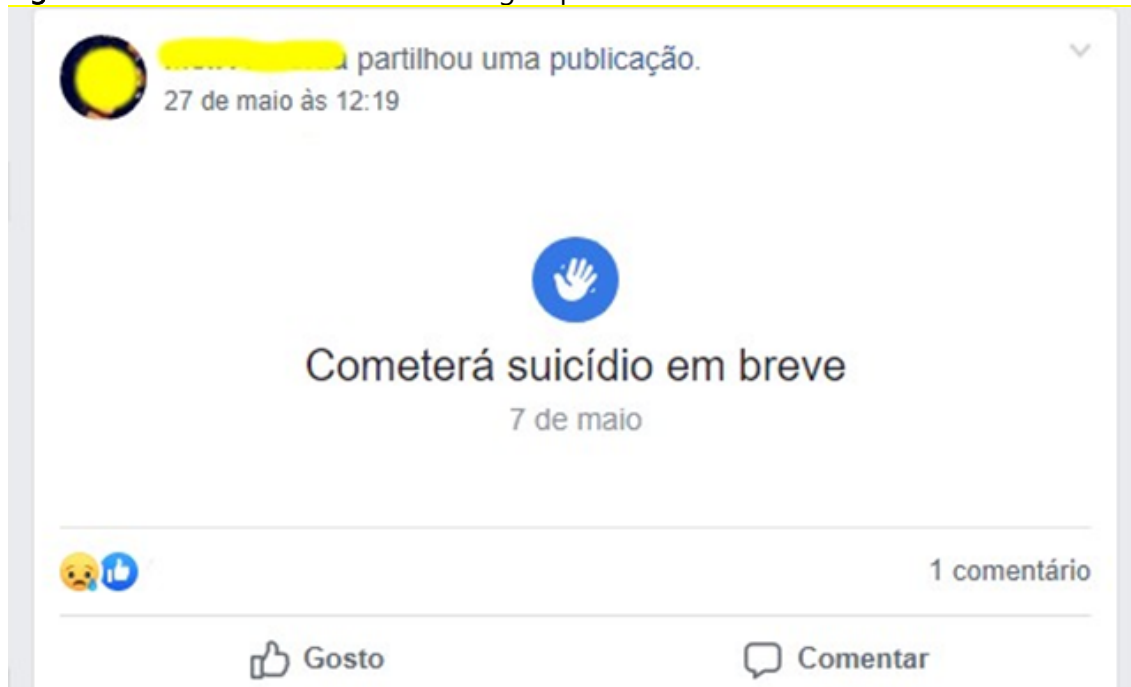
Source: Facebook screenshot

The argument raised considers that being in these digital spaces is a way to create intermediary social bonds. Durkheim in "Moral education" (2012) agrees with the importance of intermediate groups that can be professional, religious, sports groups, among others, which can strengthen social morals, that is, create spaces for discipline, adhesion and cohesion. With this perspective, being linked to social groups decreases the chances of effecting voluntary death, which according to Paugam's guidelines (2017), bonds should seek to share common purposes, interests and sensitivities in common.

If these groups are empathetic as to the reasons why members get together, social ties are strengthened by the compatibility between them. Here the relevance of the intermediary social bond is defined. Being linked to these groups, it has an additional character of groups such as school and family, which, necessarily, among other elements, form bonds by obligation.

However, it should be considered that digital social media also create spaces with needy and unprepared environments to talk about certain issues, making it an aggravating factor for individuals in vulnerable situations. In line with the findings in the research by Ana Almeida (2000) when she states that young people living with other young people at risk, can encourage themselves to carry out the action of suicide.

In this sense, it is extremely important to understand that suicide is multifactorial, it is a phenomenon with multiple and non-generalizable causes, making it a mistake to state that an episode or an exclusive and unique situation was the individual and particular reason for a suicide (FUKUMITSU et al, 2015; NIEDERKROTENTHALER et al, 2010).

In the sequence, the notes are concentrated on data shared by the members of the groups that point out how the spaces are organized in a dynamic that offers welcoming for the communicative acts related to suicide, and with that, enables the interaction that can create, strengthen and maintain social bonds.

Firstly, Group A is in closed privacy mode, composed of more than 6,000 members. The publications are made by young pre-teenagers from 12 years old, with content ranging from personal photos and videos, messages and memes[6].

There is no incentive content for the practice of suicide. The vast majority of them share photos and messages from members. The group describes itself in the profile as a place that provides a space to find "virtual friends" that can result in affective relationships.

In this group, there is an absence of publications related to prevention by institutional or professional organizations linked to the health area. The group members publish daily issues related to personal everyday experiences.

Publications are divided into self-help and requests for help. In this sense, members exchange personal information in the comments of publications, such as telephone and city. With that, they are also related in other environments on the internet and interleaved privacy modes, triggering the perspective of scalable sociability.

Group B, also in closed mode, has almost 4,000 members. His name was inspired by a film that presents the story of a teenager with suicidal tendencies who suffered bulilyng.

The group's objective, according to its description, is to help people with depression through the online approach providing an environment for new friendships. It is observed in the publications as: "you are not alone and you can let off steam with us", the search to activate and maintain intermediary social ties and to produce a welcoming space among members with common purposes.

Most publications are made by teenagers. The content of the shared publications are reports, requests from "online friends" to talk, polls and discussions about suicide and related topics, such as bulliyng and moral and sexual harassment. In addition to publications with photos of body mutilation.

---

[6] Meme, in this case, refers to a language of the digital universe that mainly contemplates images with humorous and sarcastic content.

This group points to the issue of gender as a central element, with publications by girls and reports of violence suffered due to sexist, sexist and racist practices.

Some publications made up of the suicide victim's process expose photos and personal testimonies of abuse and psychological and physical violence, along with suicide attempts. The interactions almost always alternate between conversations in the comments of the publications, which can be directed to conversations in the Facebook or Whatsapp chat, individually and / or in groups.

In group B, phrases such as: "I look happy, but I am not, I hate my life, I am trash, I am an idiot" and "I have a smile on my face, but my heart asks for help, I am excluded in the group of friends" , I am the family problem ".

It is evident in the publications the search for an online "listener" as a means to vent and share information and experiences related to frustrations and everyday impacts that produce suicidal ideas. There are no publications in the group by members of the health, psychology or institutional organizations that aim to prevent suicide.

Likewise, Group C is closed, with just over 8,000 members. There is a concentration of publications made by young people in the approximate age group between 14 and 20 years. This group also extends to Whatsapp, showing scalable sociability as a way to establish other means of privacy and maintenance of interactions.

Sharing personal messages and testimonials is the foundation of the group. Publications such as: "It hurts to feel rubbish every day", "I don't know how to exist #Alone", "Suicide may not be the best way out, but maybe it is the only way to rest my mind" and "Solitude is me haunting and the weight of the world increasingly difficult to bear "are common and recurring in this space.

There are frequent publications that show risk behaviors and suicidal ideas, such as pictures of pills and body mutilation. In this group there are constant expressions of loneliness, rejection and non-acceptance of the social environment arising from family and school coexistence, as well as publications in which members ask how to commit suicide, what is the best way and how to mutilate, as indicated in the publication to follow: "Has anyone ever attempted suicide? Like? Did you feel what? ".

We resume the research by Almeida (2000) that points out the strong suicidal relationship between young people with friends who have already tried or committed suicide. This detection can work as a risk factor for young people in the coexistence and identification with suicidal ideation behaviors through the bonds they establish between them.

This note lists at least two central concerns: first, exchanges are carried out without interference by professionals and without major problems. Second, the interrelationships in the online universe between young people, can aggravate the situation of suicidal tendencies, where the contact that is proposed to be of combat, turns into an incentive for the realization of death by suicide.

The interactions point to the search among the members who announce the suicide process and at the same time try to establish bonds with each other, expressing how they feel and wanting to be welcomed.

Subsequently, Group D is also in the form of closed privacy, composed of more than 10,000 members. In the description, he explains that the group is a space for venting and expressing what bothers them, but guides the members not to provoke fights and judgments, states that depression is a disease and the group is a place for them to help each other.

Despite a positive description, the publications of this group coincide a lot with those of the previous groups. They share phrases and photos with a strong tendency to suicide and mutilation in the body. This group also meets on Whatsapp. There is no intervention by institutions or even organizations that share prevention information.

The publications are made by members, who are mostly young. There is a significant amount of messages asking a friend, such as: "someone to vent, do I need to talk?" and "someone online to chat with me?". These and other publications make visible the search for creating and maintaining social ties between members.

Group E, the largest group in terms of number of members, is closed and composed of more than 70,000 members. The description points out that it is a group of self-help and without judgments, mainly moral, political and religious. With phrases encouraging young people to ask for help and to vent with testimonials and photos. However, one of the rules of this group stands out from the others, it is prohibited to publish photos of mutilation or any information that encourages suicide.

Publications almost always extol loneliness and sadness. There are many shares in the form of questions, attempts at interaction between members, and also, as in the previous group, there are many publications with requests from someone to talk.

In this group, an interaction mode called "diaries" was developed. With this, the "diaries" are willing to listen to members who request help through publications, the latter are called "pens". The central logic is explained by a member: "pens write in diaries, which listen to them carefully".

It is a group that shares photo publications with descriptions of age, tastes and personal information. Due to the number of members, the posts are constant and daily with a lot of help requests. There is also no interaction between institutions or people in the health field.

Group F, one of the few in open privacy, providing access for any user of digital social media, is made up of just over 5,000 members. There are many publications sharing groups created on Whatsapp in order to exchange information and reports about suicide.

The publications are made by young people, following the same pattern as the last groups. In addition, they also have no interference from social organizations to combat suicide. Group G returns to the closed standard that comprises just over 9,000 members. The description contains group rules that include not sharing mutilation photos, not leaking group information to the general Facebook audience, not judging other members, and not sharing nude photos. The publications that express the suicidal ideations make it evident that suicide is an act of communication on the internet, as observed in publications such as: "I will not post a photo crying, but 1 week before my death, I have recorded videos for almost 2 months counting ".

Without publications from institutional or professional bodies, the contents of this group are shared by young people who use the environment for daily publications of experiences related to suicidal behavior and with many requests to talk to other members, such as: "hi, let's talk?" and "any online friends awake?"

As noted, most mapping groups are comprised of members who seek to create and maintain social ties through digital social media with other members who also seek host and a place to belong with minimal judgment. They are social relationships on the internet that produce intermediary groups to share suicidal ideas that may or may not effect death.

According to the theoretical perspectives of scalable sociability (MILLER et al, 2016), members seek ways to share personal information at different levels of privacy and the exchange of information in other spaces, such as Whatsapp.

In publications such as "let's talk" and "I really need to talk to someone" or the expressions presented in group four as "I am excluded from the group, the problem" referring to social ties outside the online link, check the question of the media digital social function as an element of adhesion and cohesion among members looking in groups for a place to feel included.

The seven groups presented in this section point to environments mostly inhabited by young people. In these, publications are connected by risky behaviors and suicidal

ideas. As a result, there is a mismatch between the groups in which members ask for help, the groups that offer help, as will be noted below.

Digital social media is a place to prevent and combat suicide

The idea of anthropologist David Le Breton (2018) is summarized when he affirms that reflecting the implications of a connected society and its production of other means for the creation of social bonds, becomes a central element to understand the contemporary cultural moment.

In 2019, Facebook launched in Brazil the campaign "Together we are more" (MEIO E MENSAGEM, 2019), with the objective of encouraging users to form groups on social media according to common interests, emphasizing the idea that for each user, there is a group made for him, in which he can make meaningful connections based on his experiences.

These notes show how digital social media moves according to the trends in practices developed by users, as well as, the users themselves create and look for groups in which they can identify themselves. Digital social media ends up becoming an important place for people with affinities to meet, and with that, the production of related content, diverse and with multiple purposes.

In this context, we trigger groups created on Facebook that produce specific content for the prevention and combat of suicide. For this article, the three groups with this purpose appear in the analysis as important spaces for the production of material related to the theme.

Group H is in closed mode and is made up of just over 2,000 members. According to the group's description, it was created with the aim of sharing information about actions, studies and research on suicide prevention. In this sense, publications are made with content about work done and the dissemination of events to prevent and combat risky behaviors.

It is possible to find information such as: campaigns to combat suicide, development of the tool on digital social media designed exclusively to help in prevention, in addition to videos, books and seminars that deal with the topic. They also publicize the work of the CVV[7] (Center for the Valuation of Life), an institution that offers 24-hour service for those who need help and talk in secrecy.

---

[7] Available at: <https://www.cvv.org.br/>. Accessed in June 2020.

In addition, according to the scalable sociability, the group members disclose other groups such as CVV GASS (Support group that aims to exchange experiences and emotional support for survivors of suicide, friends and family), using the space to publicize days, meeting locations and times.

The material shared in this group is dedicated to informing about various areas that deal with the subject, from the area of medicine, communication, combat organs, specific congresses, articulating important information with professionals in the area of health, education and psychology.

The interactions are between people who are exclusively dedicated to instructing and helping others on the topic. In this case, people with suicidal ideations do not share publications in this group.

Group I is in the public privacy modality, with just over 4,000 members. The publications have religious and spiritualist appeals and focus on publishing messages that range from thanks for life, prayers and encouraging phrases.

Publications related to CVV and the CVV GASS group were also identified, in addition to publications by a help and assistance group via Whatsapp. The group basically has a self-help profile with messages to encourage life. However, as identified in the previous group, group I focuses on the exchange of information related to the prevention and combat of voluntary death, but there are no publications with requests for help and manifestations with suicidal ideas.

Grupo J is also public, with just over 1,000 members. According to his description, it aims to offer and disseminate material for further studies on the themes of suicide, prevention and post-intervention (post-intervention is any act that helps survivors of suicide attempts).

The group is convinced that talking openly about the subject helps to reduce the taboo and prejudice around the topic, with relevant publications on the service of CVV and CVV GASS and on campaigns and actions for prevention. The publications are made with content from books, documentaries and research.

They also share a lot of information about depression and emotional intelligence, including academic papers in the field of health and psychology. As in the previous two groups, there are no publications of requests for help, suicidal ideas and risky behaviors in this group. Only members sharing and exchanging information about the phenomenon.

Of the ten groups analyzed in the empirical field, the latter three share information on how to seek professional help and indicate related bodies and institutions. As well as

disseminating material, courses, meeting schedules and events to deal exclusively with prevention and combat.

In those groups that have a reserved character to produce content to help fight suicide, the generational focus is evident in the observation of publications made by approximate profiles of professional categories in the health field. Therefore, they are usually groups occupied by users in their adult life.

As the data points out, contemporary digital social media has a great impact on formats and means of creating and maintaining relationships. Reflecting the new possibilities of encounters and creating bonds through digital environments is to understand values, cultures and meanings that circulate in parallel universes and incorporated into social daily life.

As suggested by Le Breton (2018), digital social media are very relevant for disconnection or "white" spaces, to move away from routines that are impossible to change, and at the same time, connect to other routines that can be autonomous and creation.

Connected environments become places for the expression of other roles trapped in human subjectivity, which sometimes has no space in their physical daily lives, as can be seen in this partial report: "I hide everything that hurts me all the time, I feel that I don't know myself it looks like I'm gone". In these spaces, they temporarily assume part of themselves, which they could not do if not there.

Final considerations

According to the data presented in this article, suicide is an act of communication on the internet. From this perspective, digital social media functions as an everyday element to articulate issues between life and death, enabling alternative ways to create and maintain bonds. In addition, social media brings together empathetic individuals for a common cause who seek to produce material to prevent and combat suicide.

We retake the Durkheimian theory when stating that suicide is a phenomenon highly driven by the emptying of social ties from the inexistence or insufficiency of the elements of social morality, which are mainly: the spirit of discipline and adherence to social groups.

The argument, in this light, points out that the more cohesive a society is, the less likely the individuals who compose it to commit suicide. Otherwise, the looser the ties between people, the greater their social disconnection.

In this sense, the formation of groups collaborates for the creation and maintenance of social ties in contemporary times. Although these ties do not guarantee that the actual act of death by suicide is not consummated, they do enable the individual to find a way to remain socially linked. In this way, digital social media becomes places where emotional problems are shared with connected social groups.

In this direction, the empirical field shows the contrast between the profiles of the groups surveyed. While three of the groups promote sharing of life values and direct combat against suicide through information about institutional prevention organizations, the other seven groups present expressions and expressions of members with suicidal tendencies and ideas. There is no interaction between the two profiles.

The shares about the work of the CVV, information from the field of health, psychology and psychiatry, are limited to groups that apparently are better educated about information related to suicide, also pointing out the generational aspect.

The disparity in the number of members is evident in the two profiles of the groups. Those who are made up of members who use the online space to express suicidal ideas have a significantly larger number of members than groups that are made up of members who seek to produce prevention material.

With that, we return to the issue of intermediate ties. Having agreed that the intermediate ties are bonds that establish the individual's connection with society and through them reduce the chances of carrying out self-inflicted death, we reiterate that these ties need to operate with the minimum of reciprocity between members. This reciprocity is activated by the binding elements that keep individuals in groups.

For this, it is necessary that the groups dialogue through elements such as welcoming and belonging, in addition to seeking to reduce the judgments related to themes such as religion and politics.

We reinforce the attention directed to online groups, especially with young people who express suicidal ideas, due to the possibility of identification between them being activated, when they correspond through exchanges carried out in groups, a factor that can trigger triggers that trigger the suicidal act.

Although the absence of institutional organizations mediating the sharing of content in groups that, especially, are composed of members classified as at-risk group, the Facebook groups are part of the daily lives of many young Brazilians gathered to speak and express interdicted subjectivities, it is the "white" space being produced and occupied in digital social media.

References

ALMEIDA, Ana Filipa. Werther Effect: Psychological Analysis. 1 (XVIII). Psychology Service of the Miguel Bombarda Hospital, 2000, pages: 37-51.

ARAÚJO, L.C .; VIEIRA, K .; COUTINHO, M. 2010. Suicidal ideation in adolescence: a psychosociological approach in the context of high school. Psycho-USF, 15 (1): 47-57. http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S1413-82712010000100006.

BERTOLOTE, José Manoel. Suicide and its prevention. São Paulo: Unesp, 2012.

BRETON, LE David. Disappear from yourself: a contemporary temptation; translation by Francisco Marás.- Petrópolis, RJ: Vozes, 2018.

DURKHEIM, Émile. Suicide: sociology study. São Paulo: Editora WMF Martins Fontes, 2011.

_____. Moral education. São Paulo: Editora WMF Martins Fontes, 2012.

Facebook brings the first global campaign to Brazil. Medium and Message, 2019. Available at: <https://www.meioemensagem.com.br/home/midia/2019/09/23/facebook-traz-primeira-campanha-global-ao-brasil.html>. Accessed in June 2020.

FUKUMITSU, Karina Okajima. PROVEDEL, Attilio. KOVÁCS, Maria Julia. LOUREIRO, Ana Catarina Tavares. Suicide: an analysis of Brazilian scientific production from 2004 to 2013. Revista Brasileira de Psicologia. Salvador, 2015, p. 05-14.

HINE, Christine. Ethnography for the Internet: Embedded, Embodied and Everyday. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015

_____. Strategies for internet ethnography in media studies. In: Ethnography and media consumption: new trends and methodological challenges / organization Bruno Campanella, Carla Barros. - 1. ed. - Rio de Janeiro: E-papers, 2016.

More than 4 billion people use the internet around the world. Tcmundo. 2018. Available at: https://www.tecmundo.com.br/internet/126654-4-bilhoes-pessoas-usam-internet-no-mundo.htm. Last accessed in August 2020.

MILLER, Daniel; COSTA, Elisabetta; HAYNES, Nell; MCDONALD, Tom; NICOLESCU, Razvan; SINANAN, Jolynna; SPYER, Juliano; VENKATRAMAN, Shriram; WANG, Xinyuan. How the World Changed Social Media. London, 2016.

NIEDERKROTENTHALER, Thomas. VORACEK, Martin. HERBERTH, Arno. TILL, Benedikt. STRAUSS, Markus. ETZERSDORFER, Elmar. EISENWORT, Brigitte. SONNECK, Gernot. Role of media reports in completed and prevented suicide: Werther v. Papageno effects. The British Journal of Psychiatry, ed 197, 2010. DOI: 10.1192 / bjp.bp.109.074633.

ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED NATIONS BRAZIL (UN). Suicide occurs every 40 seconds in the world. 2019. Available at: https://nacoesunidas.org/oms-suicidio-e-responsavel- for-a-death-every-40-seconds-in-the-world / & gt. Last accessed in August 2020.

PAUGAM, Serge. Durkheim and the bond to groups: an unfinished social theory. Sociologies, Porto Alegre, year 19, nº 44, Jan / Apr 2017, p. 128-160. (http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/15174522-019004405)

SILVA, Marcimedes Martins. Suicide - Communication plot. 1992. Dissertation (Master) - Faculty of Psychology, Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo. São Paulo, 1992.

RESUMO:
Inserido no campo da comunicação em forte diálogo com a socioantropologia, a partir da abordagem metodológica de etnografia para a internet, este artigo identifica a existência de grupos na mídia social digital que criam espaços para compartilhar conteúdos relacionados ao suicídio. Os principais resultados apontam para três questões: primeiro, o suicídio é um ato de comunicação na internet. Segundo, a mídia social digital possibilita outras formas de criação de laços sociais. Esses laços, percebidos como laços intermediários, podem colaborar para a prevenção e combate da morte autoprovocada. Terceiro, a ausência de organizações institucionais mediadoras do compartilhamento de conteúdos nos grupos que, especialmente, são compostos por membros considerados vulneráveis e de risco. Majoritariamente, esses grupos são ocupados por jovens.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Suicídio; Culturas digitais; Laços sociais; Jovens; Facebook.

RESUMEN:
Insertado en el campo de la comunicación en fuerte diálogo con la socioantropología, desde el abordaje metodológico de la etnografía hasta internet, este artículo identifica la existencia de grupos en las redes sociales digitales que crean espacios para compartir contenidos relacionados con el suicidio. Los principales resultados apuntan a tres cuestiones: en primer lugar, el suicidio es un acto de comunicación en Internet. En segundo lugar, las redes sociales digitales permiten otras formas de crear vínculos sociales. Estos vínculos, percibidos como vínculos intermedios, pueden colaborar para prevenir y combatir la muerte autoinfligida. En tercer lugar, la ausencia de organizaciones institucionales que medien en el intercambio de contenido en grupos que, especialmente, están compuestos por miembros considerados vulnerables y en riesgo. En su mayoría, estos grupos están ocupados por jóvenes.

PALABRAS-CLAVES: suicidio; Culturas digitales; Vínculos sociales; Joven; Facebook.