

## Psychology of Popular Culture: A positive approach to adolescent suicidal behaviour

Vatsala Singh

Graduate Student, Department of English, Daulat Ram College, University of Delhi.

### ABSTRACT

According to the latest World Health Organization (WHO) Mortality Database (2016), there are 793,000 suicides worldwide of which the rate for those belonging to the 15-19 age group is 7.4/100000, making suicide the second leading cause for adolescent deaths. 1-5 percent of teen suicides occur in clusters (Gould, 1990; Gould et al, 1990; Hazell, 1993) thus confirming that such behaviour is contagious and can be transmitted directly or indirectly (Gould, 1990).

The transition from childhood to adulthood is marked by an increased consumption of popular culture. This proposed study attempts to trace the effect of popular media culture on the moral and psychological development of recipients through a close study of fictional and non-fictional accounts. To this purpose, the movie *The Breakfast Club*, Jon Krakaur's novel *Into the Wild* and its cinematic adaptation, Jay Asher's teleseries *Thirteen Reasons Why*, and Stephen Chobsky's novel *The Perks of Being a Wallflower* and its cinematic adaptation are analyzed to figure out certain patterns of adolescent behaviour. *The Breakfast Club* provides valuable insights into common dilemmas faced by an average adolescent. The paper focuses on the identity crisis in adolescents that arises along with the need to identify with the media and the society resulting in behavioural tendencies which can be categorized into- detach, sink and conquer.

Detach and sink tendencies are known to set into motion, a copycat effect popularly known as the "Werther effect". This cultural contagion of suicidal behaviour can be reviewed under the umbrella of popular culture through Jon Krakaur's *Into the Wild* and Jay Asher's *Thirteen Reasons Why* respectively. In contrast, a positive psychological analysis of Stephen Chobsky's *The Perks of Being a Wallflower* will lay emphasis on the need to instil hope and self-compassion to sustain well-being.

**KEYWORDS:** *Popular Culture, Werther Effect, Adolescent Suicide, Detach, Sink, Conquer*

### I

Who are we? What are we meant to be? The transition from childhood to adulthood is a period when individuals start shaping their own self-concept by reflecting on their physical, emotional and psychological reality. Throughout this development, an adolescent is torn between the need to identify as a social

entity without compromising his individual identity. The simultaneous fear and desire to be left out/ stood out alone causes the adolescent to project his emotional state on the idea of an other. This other need not necessarily be a living, breathing human being but can even be a product of popular fiction. In this manner, their solitariness is retained without upsetting the need for solidarity. This projection of emotional

identity manifests through the phenomenon of “experience taking” such that a reader’s self-concept, attitude and behaviour are subject to experience, owing to the narrative’s ability to stimulate projection. (Kaufman, 2012) The option of choosing from an array of infinite alternatives gives the recipient an opportunity to foster a sense of quasi-belief which s/he exchanges for the truth as soon as s/he crosses the threshold of perspective which involves examination of the other given that there is a prior recognition of self. This contagion of behavioural imitation becomes dangerous when self-other relationship is forsaken for an identity merger. To this end, the recipient becomes the other and ceases to be of his/her own.

Imitative behavioural progression in popular culture was first accounted in 1774, following the publication of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s *Die Leiden des Jungen Werther* (The Sorrows of Young Werther). The tale of unrequited, unattainable love which lead the protagonist of the story to shoot himself, struck a chord with European youth and Goethe’s work became an international sensation. The Werther fever that spread forthwith accounted for young men dressing in blue suits and yellow waistcoats like the protagonist while women wore the Eau-de- Werther fragrance. Like the character of Werther, this fanatical behaviour had a darker side as well. People started relating the wilderness of Werther’s self and his eventual self-destruction following the loss of self-control to their own quest for identity thereby forging first links of cluster suicides. Christiane von Lassberg, a young courtier threw herself in the river with a copy of Sorrows of Young Werther in her pocket while other men shot themselves in Werther’s garb with a

similar pistol. In response to this suicidal epidemic that razed throughout the continent, the book and Werther’s clothing style were banned in Leipzig, Italy and Denmark. The novel written by Goethe as a medium to relieve pent up emotions soon recognized itself as a trigger point in the minds of the readers. Later in life, Goethe remarked, “My friends...thought that they must transform poetry into reality, imitate a novel like this in real life and, in any case, shoot themselves; and what occurred at first among a few took place later among the general public...” (qtd. in Phillips, 1974).

It was exactly 200 years later that American sociologist David P Phillips coined the term “Werther Effect” to describe the phenomenon of copying self-destructive behaviour from ideas represented in popular culture. Phillips found that within a month after the death of Marilyn Monroe, suicide rates increased by 12 percent in USA and by 10 percent in the UK, accounting for 363 extra suicides in both countries. Also, it was found that front page publication of such behaviour in newspapers lead to 2000 “excess” suicides (Phillips, 1974). In light of such evidences, further research recognized presence of mass clusters within the cultural dynamics of “copycat suicide”.

It was found that of all age groups, adolescents are most perceptible to the formation of adaptive temporal clusters which exhaust the variable quality of the response emerging subsequently. Studies at UCL Institute of Cognitive Neuroscience have shown that thinking about one’s own attributes and perspectives activates regions in the dorsal MPCF which happens to be one of the latest developing regions undergoing major anatomical development during adolescence.

Therefore, there is a sense of heightened self-consciousness and reception to influence surrounding an individual (Sebastian, Burnett, & Blakemore, 2008).

The consumption of art, music, literature, television and cyber-culture on a mass scale during this period of development provides fodder to the urge of defining a distinct social and psychological identity establishing a dose response relationship. Most of this popular culture focuses on the moral and psychological development of its characters by offering familiar psychological personalities with similar traits in the character of a realistic, unconventional troubled youth. This popular 'other' with an easily adaptable behaviour stimulates projection of the recipient's subjective self thereby producing an adaptive individual.

This paper aims to explore imitative tendencies of adolescents and young adults under the influence of popular culture. Development of self-concept and moral reasoning shall be studied through John Hughes' *The Breakfast Club* (1985) which will further be analyzed to create scope for imitative trajectories followed during this period namely, detach, sink and conquer. The concepts of Detach and Sink tendencies originating as a cultural contagion of suicide ideation from a sense of thwarted belongingness and perceived burdensomeness will be discussed through Jon Krakauer's *Into the Wild* (1996) and Jay Asher's *Thirteen Reasons Why* (2007) respectively. Moving from "What's wrong to what's strong", *Perks of Being a Wallflower* (1999) will provide an alternative positive approach to media representation of troubled youth by embarking on acceptance of self and that of others.

## II

"And these children that you spit on as they try to change their worlds are immune to your consultations, they are quite aware of what they're going through." (Bowie, 1971)

John Hughes' movie *The Breakfast Club* dwells into the psyche of five high school stereotypes who while observing detention on a Saturday realize that despite their social, physical and academic differences they are essentially the same, a unit of resistance against the oppressive adult world. Their struggle is pivotal to the identification of behavioural development as it issues into the rigid social fabric of oppositional dispositions only to deconstruct prevailing structures of expected behaviour. Hierarchical oppositions are placed alongside to emphasize a sense of collective belonging in an adolescent space through demolition of established stereotypes rather than exaggerating societal uniqueness in the realities of an adult world. This personal space allows the characters to develop physically and psychologically thereby enabling them to ascertain their roles and aspirations.

The movie opens to a particularly rebellious epigraph from David Bowie which, when followed by the shattering of glass, sets the tone for events to follow. Till now, the road from teen world to adult world had been a one way journey. The breaking of the glass allows an insight into adolescent space providing a platform for two way communication between the deviant world and its' standard counterpart.

Psychological development begins with altered moral understanding of their individual self within the society. This development can be traced through Kohlberg's stages of moral

development. Brian, the timid nerd belongs to “pre-conventional” stage of morality where moral code is shaped by authority and any activity outside acceptable premise is subject to repercussions. When Bender digs out a stash of marijuana from his locker, Brian startlingly remarks, “The boy has marijuana! Do you approve of this?” For him, moral sanction by authority transcends any and all reasoning. Burdened under the pressure of complying with dominance, Brian decides to shoot himself. He says, “Even if I ace all the semesters, I am only a B”. Here, he is not talking about his academic career but his social life outside of it. By the end of the movie, Brian realizes that when he looks at himself in the mirror, he does not like what he sees. Even if he supersedes all expectations, he will still be ‘average’ in the eyes of the society. It is ironic to see how two social opposites, Claire, the pristine princess and Brian share the same sense of morality. In the beginning she believes that “one guy and one girl” is the way it “should” be. Her idea of intimacy combines cultural and biological elements such that the focus is on socially acceptable romance and not sexual interaction. However, at the end of the movie, by choosing John Bender she unlearns all that she had been taught and identifies her true self.

Claire finds her hierarchal counterpart in Andy. His quest for self is based in getting out of the idea of conventional morality where his reasoning is based on that of his old man. His motive behind taping Larry’s butt was not to amuse his peers but to stand up to the expectations of his father who despises weakness. Bender, the other alpha male is constantly at odds with his fellows as well as the society. Unlike all others, he has reached the stage of post conventional morality where his

sense of self is embossed in ideas of individual rights, justice and rebellion. Very little is known about Allison. The idea is to show that she has been constantly ignored in the adolescent space as well as in the world outside of it. It is only when Claire gives her a makeover and people are able to see her face that they recognize her existence. She finds her identity, but in someone else’s body.

This is where the identity crisis kicks in. Even though they start off as separate entities acting out the scripted existence of – a brain, an athlete, a basket case, a princess and a criminal, they soon realize that they were brainwashed. Role confusion forms an important element of these deviant personalities which adults like Mr. Vernon, the principal of Shermer High School try to settle into simplest terms and convenient definitions. By the end of the movie they realize that these are not the identities they have created for themselves, much less the identities they had wished for. Instead, these are roles assigned to them under careful power dynamics of the adult world. In rebelling against the society, they had only been fulfilling their definitions. This awareness lies in the recognition of a collective adolescent space and repudiation of their distinctiveness as the odd other.

Despite belonging to different backgrounds they share the same social isolation. Here, social isolation refers to seclusion from the group of popular peers, as in case of Brian and Allison or from healthy family relations. Saturday’s detention begins with a glance into the familial life of these characters. It becomes important to note that the parents are essentially faceless, voiceless characters who have no part in their children’s lives other than to drive them

to and from detention (Charney, 1990). Parental compassion is nowhere to be found in this space which is already stocked with criticism and expectations. The alienation from parents can also be seen as an attempt to forge an identity distinct from the codes of social and moral conduct prescribed and imposed by the parents. Conflict arises when these very same issues are perceived as matters concerning personal choice by teenagers (Steinberg, 2001). Exclusion from popular peer groups is also seen as a lack of acceptance in the normative culture. Even those who are within these groups have to fashion their actions in accordance with expectations and cannot not bear to be seen hanging around with weirdos like Brian and Allison.

Social isolation forms the root cause of emerging risk factors present in individuals who attempt and commit suicide. These factors have been recognized as perceived burdensomeness and thwarted belongingness (Orden, Cukrowicz, Witte, & Joiner, 2012). Perceived burdensomeness corresponds to the self-created perception that an individual does not contribute to the society in any meaningful way. This purposelessness belittles their self-esteem as they feel they are a burden to their friends, family and the society in general causing the individual to sink under the pressure.

Similarly, when these individuals fail to partake of social groups they feel that they do not belong to the world where conventions of normalcy hold sway. They are either pushed or push themselves to the margin thus acquiring a detached existence. People who isolate or withdraw themselves owing to a thwarted sense

of belongingness are known to commit suicide more frequently (Trout, 1980).

Together, these two components create a desire to escape emotional and physical hopelessness. One way to conquer these risks is through identity development which provides harmony with one's self-concept as well as leaves space for interactions with others. The self-sameness allows the person to be a part of the larger whole thus reducing the fear of being the only one and at the same time his uniqueness allows him to function independently. Failure to forge this identity leads to the person's fixation on his original stage of psychological development and further progress is impossible.

In absence of a sustainable self-concept, the individual is likely to imbibe experience through the medium of popular culture and mistake his/her identity with that of the popular other. Under the pull of "Werther effect", s/he fails to distinguish her/himself from the figure s/he models her/himself up on and tends to detach and sink along with that figure resulting in a cultural contagion of similar suicidal behaviour.

### III

One fine example of emulative detach tendency in popular culture is Jon Krauker's *Into the Wild*, based on the true story of Christopher McCandless who graduated from Emory University in 1990. For Christopher, who "loved not man the less but nature more", career was a 20th century invention of which he wanted no part so instead he decided to venture alone into the Alaskan wilderness. Having a rocky family life, he always yearned for the love of his mother and father who in turn were obsessed with things. This fostered a

heightened dislike for consumerism in McCandless and he decided to leave everything behind him by giving away some of his money and burning the rest of it. Unfortunately, like the many naïve travellers, Alex Supertramp, the young itinerant spirit in McCandless could not make it out of the wilderness by himself and was forever lost in the wild. In 1992 hunters travelling through the backcountry near Denali National Park found his corpse inside an abandoned school bus.

In a carefree traveller, Jon Krakauer saw the picture of a troubled youth facing family conflicts and finding a way to isolate himself from the rest of the demanding and materialistic world. In 2007, Sean Penn made a movie of Krakauer's book; what the Alaskans believed to be a wrongful "glorification of recklessness" soon attracted greater followers who started calling themselves "pilgrims." Inspired from the life of a man who went on and did what thousands think of doing every second of their miserable teenage lives, people started trekking to Magic Bus 124, the death site of their idol, Christopher McCandless. Richard Moore, north district ranger for Denali National Park and Preserve said, "We try to give information to people and tell them that they should be prepared and educated about how to travel in the backcountry....Unfortunately, most of the bus-seekers are as unconcerned about backcountry knowledge as McCandless was." (Mowry, 2014)

On 24th August, 2010, the pilgrimage claimed its first victim, a Swiss woman named Claire Jane who lost her footing while trying to cross the stream. By the time she was pulled out, she had already died. While she was the first one to die, officials note that others have had close

escapes. Jon Nierenberg, who owns the EarthSong Lodge used by most visitors to get to the bus informed that in idealizing McCandless, some pilgrims have gone as far as to starve themselves while camping next to the bus. The movie claimed another victim on 27th August 2013, when Jonathan Croom, a super smart teenager from Arizona was found dead 1000 feet away from his car on the Oregon stretch. Later during the investigation, Croom's father revealed that his son was obsessed with Christopher McCandless's journey of self-discovery, identifying it as a probable cause for his son's disappearance. (Hall, 2013)

Billie McCandless, Chris's mother, later told Krakauer, "Many people have told me that they admire Chris for what he was trying to do. If he'd lived, I would agree with them. But he didn't, and there's no way to bring him back . . . . Most things you can fix, but not that." (Krakauer, Epilogue, 2007). Christopher was not a hero but a lost man in denial. His resistance was avoidance and projection of his troubled self on the harshness of the ignorant wild, a place where no one knew him nor his circumstances. Krakauer "haunted by the... unsettling parallels between events in his (Christopher's) life and those in his own" interrupted "McCandless's story with fragments of a narrative drawn from his own," making "a dispassionate rendering of the tragedy impossible" (Krakauer, Author's note, 1996). Thus by romanticizing his own experiences through the figure of McCandless, Krakauer helped the readers identify themselves in McCandless just the way he did. While some were lucky to escape the wild, others lost their self because of the other.

A similar projection of sink tendency was witnessed following the publication of Jay Asher's *Thirteen Reasons Why* in which the protagonist, a teenage girl named Hannah Baker takes her own life. Her story is told through the thirteen tapes she leaves behind as an account of events that pushed her off the edge namely, sexual assault, bullying, body shaming and isolation. These events form a part of the everyday life of an average teenager which is what makes the show relatable to the audience. This is where the audience wrongly start identifying with the character of Hannah Baker and are induced to take the same drastic measures for themselves. The problem with the show lies in the fact that every tape focuses the blame of her suicide on an external issue without providing a way in which her suicide could have been prevented. In emphasizing the blame on the others, the character of Hannah is shown to have been left with no other option but to take her own life. This is most certainly not a good example to set before impressionable young viewers who are quite inept at filtering fiction from reality.

Research published at *JAMA Internal Medicine* shows that Google queries concerning suicide rose by almost 20 percent in 19 days after the release of the show, representing 1.5 million more searches than usual regarding subjects concerning suicide ideation (Althouse, Leas, Ayers, Derdze, & P, 2017). Dan Reidenberg, the executive director of Suicide Awareness Voices of Education strongly disagrees with the producers of the show. He feels that merely broaching the issue through popular culture will not provide any solution for the larger issue. "It has definitely started a conversation about suicide," he said, "but it hasn't been the right one." When approached by Netflix, he had

strictly asked them not to go forward with the show but that "that was not an option" as was made very clear to him. He said he was concerned about "the glamourizing, sensationalizing, memorializing aspects of the series, the violence and brutality, the rape; the failure of reaching out for help; the lack of options and alternatives to Hannah's suicide; the revenge plot"—and that he felt the show could cause an increase in suicide attempts. (Purcell, 2018)

The show's release sparked a suicidal epidemic as expected among the vulnerable youth. Anna Bright, a cheerleader at Alabama High School, committed suicide two weeks after binge-watching the network's controversial series *13 Reasons Why* by slitting her wrists in the same manner as Hannah. She also left seven letters to specific people, whom she considered as responsible for her death. The blame game continued further as another teenage girl from Florida took her life by imitating everything Hannah does except for the blade. Later the mother uncovered texts sent by her daughter referring to the show. School officials noted that the young girl had agreed to kill herself as part of a suicide pact with four other kids. (Zaimov, 2018)

The issue was not the voice given to these characters but the manner in which their pathetic states were portrayed and romanticized. The constant emphasis on negative emotions induced similar emotions in the audience. One way of broaching the subject in order to start a healthy discussion about it is to focus on the grey areas and simultaneously offer a way out of the situation. By denying a character the agency to alter his/her situation they also denied thousands of people who

identify with these figures an opportunity to break free.

#### IV

One of the best positive actualizations of teen life has been by Stephen Chbosky in *Perks of Being a Wallflower*. It is through the central character Charlie that Chbosky instills hope and self-acceptance as measures to sustain oneself. The necessity of belonging to a popular peer group, the requirement to fit into social roles, assertion of parental autonomy, and self-identification are tiring maneuvers which leave an individual exposed to stress. Under such pressure, self-compassion plays an important role in preventing long term emotional and psychological damage. This allows adolescents to accept their failures through a supportive and balanced perspective without engaging in self-criticism and unfavorable comparisons. Dr. Kristin D Neff structured the model of self-compassion as a composite of three opposing roles, “self-kindness v/s critical self-judgment”, “common humanity v/s isolation” and “mindfulness v/s own identification.” (2006)

Self-kindness allows an individual to treat themselves with warmth proving an opportunity for their injured self to heal without burdening it with further negative strokes and criticism. This forms one of the central concerns of the novel where the characters of Sam and Charlie “accept the love they think they deserve” (p. 17). They try to let each other know that they deserve better but at the same time keep reducing themselves till they finally confess their feelings. We see that Charlie wishes to turn things around and divert his attention from the history he had with his best friend Michael, and his aunt Helen. In the beginning, we see that he punishes himself for being unable to

save his aunt or his sister from a physically abusive relationship. Despite his initial ineptitude, he does not lose hope and fights to rescue Patrick from a brawl with his boyfriend Brad. Only then do we see that he forgives himself for years of inaction. In saving Patrick he has liberated himself from the meshes of self-criticism. He has forgiven himself.

Common humanity allows the characters to recognize and share the agony of similar internal experiences. It is only when Charlie makes an effort to approach Sam and Patrick that he realizes that his troubles are not unique. Like Charlie, every other person on the “island of misfit toys” has a history and a reputation. His understanding of the people around him as a collective unity becomes clear when he confesses to his doctor, “There is so much pain and I don’t know how to notice it....not me, it’s them, it’s everyone. It never stops” (2012). On one hand, where Patrick is involved in a secret same sex relationship with Brad, Sam has her own history of child sexual abuse. Their undefeated spirit lies in the fact that despite such scarred experiences they are able to enjoy in the moment. They save themselves by helping each other out. Self-compassion lies in acceptance of self and that of others by seeing, understanding and thus being a wallflower. It is only when Charlie attains the virtue of mindfulness; to identify his experiences as distant from his present that he is able to defeat his burden and lack of belongingness. The moment he disassociates himself from his past experiences releasing himself from the self-other merger, he realizes that “It’s a new world. It gets better”. His final act of identification lies in the realization that, “We can’t choose where we come from but we can choose where we go from there” (p. 118).



In an interview to The Guardian, Chbosky talks about millions of phone calls, emails and tweets he received from his readers. The overwhelming response by young people “facing every possible mental health and emotional challenge you can think of” inspired him to turn the novel into a movie. The movie, he believes provides a “communal experience” as opposed to reading in isolation (The Guardian, 2014).

It becomes significant to note that all the fictional and non-fictional accounts known to have triggered suicidal contagion have been adapted into major motion movies and television series allowing adolescents to visualize their invisible sense of thwarted belongingness and perceived burdensomeness through the figure of the popular other. Popular media provides a medium to these susceptible adolescents to witness death from a distance. This distance is that of perspective, where people are aware of their own identity as a separate entity. When the development of this concept is incomplete, such that the readers’ own personality is not grounded in substantial recognition, there is a high possibility that they may transcend perspective and start identifying themselves entirely on the basis of the event they are witnessing. This removes the space between the preceptor and death itself. The adolescent is now capable of performing the exact same events that s/he has been witnessing thus forming the epicentre of a cultural contagion.

This however, can be prevented by allowing scope for implementable solutions while simultaneously addressing the issue in such a manner that the recipient feels understood through the other satisfying his/her need to belong as a social entity without being overwhelmed by hopelessness of a solitary existence. Charlie writes the same epistolary notes that Goethe’s Werther did. He is sexually harassed and bullied like Hannah Baker and suffers the same social isolation as McCandless but he does not give up. Instead, he speaks up and tries, he conquers. He provides a platform for discussion on suicide along with solutions without killing people in the non-fictional world. He looks up at Sam, he sees hope and for the first time in his life it feels that he belongs there.

Who are we then? What are we meant to be? We are no definite identity but the moment we live in and the ever transient world we live with. We are meant to be the infinite possibilities the future has in store for us. What we are not is the experiences of the other frozen in time and action on a static screen.

“I started crying and smiling at the same time.... I was crying because I was suddenly very aware of the fact that it was me standing up in that tunnel with the wind over my face. Not caring if I saw downtown. Not even thinking about it. Because I was standing in the tunnel. And I was really there. And that was enough to make me feel infinite.” (p. 120).

## REFERENCES

Bowie, D. (1971). *Changes* [Recorded by D. Bowie]. London, United Kingdoms.

- Charney, M. J. (1990). It's cold out there. In L. K. Paul Loukides, *Beyond the Stars: Themes and ideologies in American popular film* (p. 30). Popular Press.
- Chbosky, S. (1999). *Perks of Being a Wallflower*. New York: Pocket Books.
- Chbosky, S. (Director). (2012). *Perks of Being a Wallflower* [Motion Picture].
- Hall, J. (2013). Johnathan Croom suicide: Teenage boy obsessed with Into the Wild film found dead after disappearing in Oregon wilderness. The Independent US.
- Kasperkevic, J. (2014, December 17). The cost of mental health: How one author advises kids on depression. The Guardian. Retrieved February 02, 2019, from <https://www.theguardian.com/money/2014/dec/17/holidays-and-the-cost-of-mental-health-author-of-the-perks-of-being-a-wallflower-says-you-are-not-alone>
- Kaufman, L. (2012). Changing beliefs and behavior through experience-taking. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 2.
- Krakauer, J. (1996). Author's note. In J. Krakauer, *Into the Wild* (p. 1). Villard.
- Krakauer, J. (2007). Epilogue. In J. Krakauer, *Into the Wild* (p. 139). Villard.
- Mowry, T. (2014). Into the Wild Has Lead To Many Inexperienced Hikers Visiting The Alaskan Wilderness. In N. Merino, *Coming of Age in Jon Krakauer's Into the Wild* (p. 135). Greenhaven Publishing LLC.
- Neff, K. (2006). An examination of self-compassion in relation. *Journal of Research in Personality*, 908-909.
- Orden, V., Cukrowicz, K. C., Witte, T. K., & Joiner, T. E. (2012). Thwarted Belongingness and Perceived Burdensomeness: Construct Validity and Psychometric Properties of the Interpersonal Needs Questionnaire. *Psychological Assessment*, 195-215.
- Phillips, D. P. (1974). The Influence of Suggestion on Suicide: Substantive and Theoretical Implications of the Werther Effect. *American Sociological Association*, 340.
- Purcell, C. (2018, March 21). Study: Controversial Content In '13 Reasons Why' Sparks Conversations And Inspires Empathy.
- Sebastian, C., Burnett, S., & Blakemore, S. J. (2008). Development of the self-concept during adolescence. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 441-442.
- Steinberg, L. (2001). We Know Some Things: Parent-Adolescent Relationship in Retrospect and Prospect. *Journal for Research on Adolescence*, 6.
- Trout, D. (1980). The role of social isolation in suicide. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior*, 10-23.
- Zaimov, S. (2018, April 13). *Christian Post*. Retrieved from Christian Post: <https://www.christianpost.com/news/14-year-old-daughter-kills-herself-parents-want-netflix-pull-13-reasons-why-222881/>