

# Self-Harm and Suicide Coverage in Sri Lankan Newspapers

## An Analysis of the Compliance With Recommended Guidelines

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**Abstract.** *Background:* Irresponsible media reporting may influence suicidal behavior. Adherence to guidelines for responsible reporting of suicide has not been examined in Sri Lanka in recent times. *Aims:* To examine the quality of reporting on self-harm and suicide in Sri Lankan newspapers and compare the quality between Sinhala and English newspapers. *Method:* From December 1, 2014 to January 31, 2015, 407 editions of newspapers were screened. Reporting quality was measured using the PRINTQUAL tool. *Results:* We identified 68 articles covering an episode of self-harm or suicide (42 Sinhala and 26 English). The majority of articles were noncompliant with guidelines for sensitive reporting. Indicators of noncompliance included that newspaper articles frequently reported method in the headline (53%), included detailed characteristics of the individual (100%), used insensitive language (58% of English articles), and attributed a single-factor cause to the self-harm (52%). No information about help-seeking was included. *Limitations:* The study involved a relatively short period of data collection. Including social media, Tamil language newspapers, and online publications would have provided additional understanding of reporting practices. *Conclusion:* The majority of Sri Lankan newspapers did not follow the principles of good reporting, indicating a need for further training of journalists.

**Keywords:** suicide, self-harm, suicide reporting, media guidelines, Sri Lanka

A number of studies have shown a relationship between practices in media reporting on suicide and subsequent suicidal behavior in vulnerable individuals (Pirkis, Mok, Robinson, & Nordentoft, 2016). There is evidence that reporting can introduce or spread new means of suicide (Chen, Chen, Gunnell, & Yip, 2013) and lead to the so-called Werther effect, where readers imitate the suicides portrayed in the media (Pirkis, Blood, Beautrais, Burgess, & Skehan, 2006). However, responsible coverage of suicide can have a preventive effect, help de-stigmatize and educate, as well as encourage help-seeking – in addition to ensuring decency and respect for the bereaved (Bohanna & Wang, 2012; Niederkrotenthaler et al., 2010; World Health Organization [WHO], 2008).

Several guidelines for responsible reporting on suicide have been developed by governments, nongovernmental

organizations, and media entities at national and global levels, in particular the WHO (Pirkis et al., 2006). In 2000, the WHO produced a set of media guidelines encouraging sensitive reporting of suicide (WHO, 2000) that was updated in 2008 (WHO, 2008) and again in 2017 (WHO, 2017). Recommendations for the media formed part of the WHO guidelines for the development of national suicide prevention strategies (WHO, 2014). The majority of media guidelines for responsible reporting of suicide are similar in their approach and include (a) advice on avoiding sensationalism and explicit descriptions of the method and site associated with the suicide as well as undue repetition of stories about suicide and (b) recommendations to include information about where to seek help.

Over 800,000 people die by suicide annually (WHO, 2014). Low- and middle-income countries bear the high-

est burden and almost 40% of all global suicides occur in such countries in East and South East Asia (WHO, 2014). Sri Lanka – where this study was conducted – recorded one of the highest suicide rates worldwide in 1995 with 51.5/100,000 population (Knipe, Metcalfe, & Gunnell, 2015). This has since decreased to an estimated 14/100,000 population in 2015 (Knipe, Chang et al., 2017). In addition, a considerable number of individuals still self-harm – it was recently estimated that 339/100,000 population self-harmed in the Anuradhapura area of Sri Lanka (Knipe, Gunnell et al., 2017).

In Sri Lanka, a few resources guiding the media in their reporting of suicides exist. The Centre for Policy Alternatives, Sri Lanka, and PressWise Trust, UK, developed the *Suicide Sensitive Journalism Handbook* in 2003. This handbook included an analysis of 84 printed newspaper articles reporting on suicide as well as recommendations for responsible reporting for Sri Lankan media professionals (Deshapriya, Hattotuwa, & Jempson, 2003). The Editor's Guild of Sri Lanka includes one recommendation for reporting on suicide: to avoid presenting excessive details of methods used (The Editors' Guild of Sri Lanka, 2014). To our knowledge, no peer-reviewed analysis has been conducted on the quality of reporting on suicide in Sri Lanka.

This study aims to examine the quality of reporting on episodes of self-harm and suicide in Sri Lankan newspapers. More specifically, objectives were to:

1. Assess how reporting on self-harm and suicide in Sri Lankan newspapers complies with suicide reporting guidelines utilizing the PRINTQUAL tool.
2. Compare the quality of reporting on self-harm and suicide between Sinhala and English newspapers.

## Method

### Search Strategy

A media analysis was carried out over a 2-month period from December 1, 2014 to January 31, 2015. Seven national printed newspapers were searched, chosen due to their popularity and wide circulation: three out of seven available Sinhala newspapers (*Lankadeepa*, *Divaina*, and *Ada*) and four out of four available English newspapers (*Daily News*, *Daily Mirror*, *The Island*, and *Ceylon Today*). All newspapers had daily editions, except for *Ada* that was sold 5 days of the week.

All newspaper articles were hand searched for reports on self-harm and suicide. M. W. and M. R. screened the Sinhala newspapers while M. W. A. screened the English newspapers for articles. All Sinhala articles were translated from Sinhala to English by C. R., a graduate student in

English literature and who is fluent in both Sinhala and English. Following translation, J. B. S. screened all articles in accordance with the inclusion and exclusion criteria. Newspaper articles were included when they reported on a specific case of self-harm or suicide and excluded when they did not report on a specific case of self-harm or suicide. Excluded articles comprised reports on suicide bombing or reports where neither *suicide* nor *self-harm* was mentioned. Additionally, reports of deceased under the age of 10 years were excluded owing to the difficulties in assessing intent in line with most official suicide statistics. For an overview of the newspaper article selection process, refer to Figure 1. Each included Sinhala article was independently rated by both C. R. and J. B. S. utilizing the PRINTQUAL tool. Ten of the English articles were rated by F. K. to ensure agreement of the coding.

### Quality Assessment

International studies have found that while strategies in the form of guidelines on suicide reporting are effective, implementation is still lacking in many national contexts (Pirkis et al., 2006). The PRINTQUAL tool was developed to create a common reference system for measuring the quality of suicide reporting and compliance to guidelines (John et al., 2014). It comprises two scales of poor and good reporting on suicides (19 poor-quality and four good-quality items) as well as a weighted scoring system to measure the perceived degree of negative or positive impact each item has on the general population (see Table 1). Following the example of John et al. in their study of cluster suicides in the UK, we in this study only measured the frequency of nonweighted items (John et al., 2017). The weighting for each item is, however, still reflected in Table 1.

Considering the high number of individuals who self-harm in Sri Lanka, we included articles that covered such episodes. Although the PRINTQUAL tool was developed for the reporting of suicide (John et al., 2014), we assessed that the tool was also relevant to use for reporting on episodes of self-harm. In this report it should be noted that we use the term *self-harm* and not *suicide attempt* to reflect the context of suicide in Sri Lanka as it does not necessarily entail an intent to die (Eddleston, Sheriff, & Hawton, 1998).

The PRINTQUAL tool includes recommended phrases to be used or avoided in Items 6 and 20. For the English newspaper articles, we used the list of suggestions from the *Suicide Sensitive Journalism Handbook* (Deshapriya et al., 2003) that are in line with other guidelines, that is, the Samaritans' guidelines also used by the PRINTQUAL authors (Samaritans, 2008; John et al., 2014). No such list of appropriate Sinhala wording was available. Although the translation for this study was thorough, we were con-

cerned that it might not have fully captured how specific words and phrases contain different meanings in the Sinhala and English languages. We therefore decided not to include a rating of the appropriateness of wording for the Sinhala newspaper articles.

For all articles, we recorded: (a) whether the articles reported on a case of self-harm or suicide; (b) the themes explained to cause the self-harm/suicide; and (c) the reporting of personal characteristics (gender, name, place of residence, and occupation). Drawings of the deceased and means were a feature in the articles and we therefore also recorded this.

## Results

### Screening and Selection of Newspaper Articles

The selection process is depicted in Figure 1. In total, 397 editions of seven newspapers were screened; 164 Sinhala and 233 English. Screening revealed 138 articles of which 70 were excluded because they did not report on a specific case of self-harm or suicide. In total, 68 articles were included in the study: 26 were English-language and 42 were Sinhala-language articles.

### Newspaper and Reporting Characteristics

One newspaper had not published any articles on self-harm or suicide within the set time frame. The majority of the included articles were found in the Sinhala newspapers

*Divaina* ( $n = 27$ ) and *Lankadeepa* ( $n = 15$ ) and in the English newspaper *Ceylon Today* ( $n = 16$ ) – all privately owned, independent newspapers (Press Reference, 2017).

Of the 68 newspaper articles, 53 reported on a specific case of self-harm or suicide. In the remaining 15 newspaper articles the words *self-harm* or *suicide* were mentioned as *possible* explanations of an episode that could also be found to be an accident or homicide. Of all 68 newspaper articles, 79% were reports of suicides. In three of the Sinhala-language newspaper articles (7%), more than one episode of self-harm and suicide were mentioned. Five of the English-language newspaper articles (19%) reported on suicides outside of Sri Lanka.

The most common format of newspaper reporting was brief police reports, with 79% of Sinhala ( $n = 33$ ) and 58% of English ( $n = 15$ ) newspaper articles using this presentation. These reports only briefly explained the episode of self-harm or suicide. More in-depth coverage of the events was provided in 25% ( $n = 17$ ) of articles. Of these, seven included hypothetical emotional states and conversations leading up to the case of self-harm or suicide.

### Reporting Quality

Table 1 shows the frequency of the PRINTQUAL poor-quality and good-quality items for each category of articles included. The poor-quality items rated per newspaper article ranged from zero to eight out of the 19 possible items. Of the 68 newspaper articles, 4% had no poor-quality scorings. The range of good-quality items per newspaper article ranged from zero to one out of the four possible items. A total of 85% of newspaper articles had no good-quality scorings.

The method of self-harm and suicide was mentioned in the headline in 53% of newspaper articles and technical

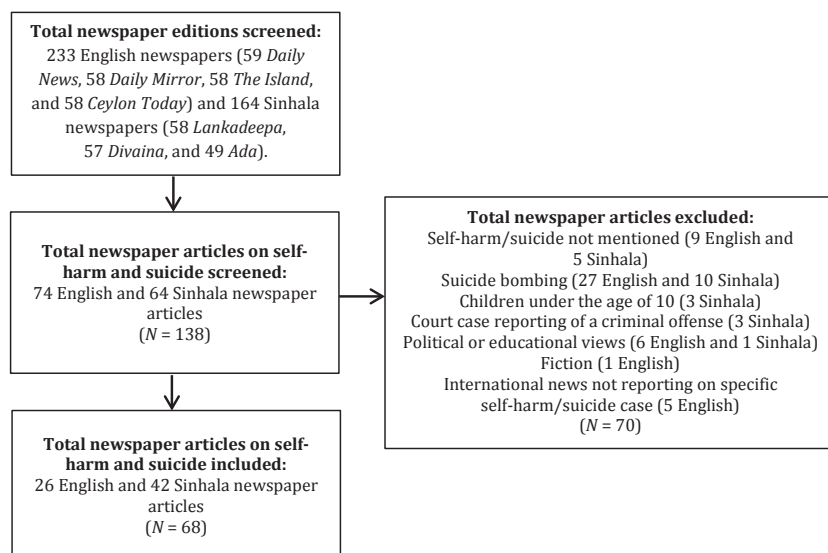


Figure 1. Newspaper article selection process.

**Table 1.** PRINTQUAL: frequency of each item in total and for Sinhala and English articles

|                                                                                                      | Weighting | Frequency present<br>(%), All<br><i>n</i> = 68 | Sinhala articles on<br>suicide/self-harm (%)<br><i>n</i> = 42 | English articles on<br>suicide/self-harm (%)<br><i>n</i> = 26 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------|------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Poor-quality items</b>                                                                            |           |                                                |                                                               |                                                               |
| Is the article on the front page?                                                                    | 60        | 8 (11.8)                                       | 4 (9.5)                                                       | 4 (15.4)                                                      |
| Is the main headline on the front page?                                                              | 78        | 0                                              | 0                                                             | 0                                                             |
| Is the method mentioned in the headline?                                                             | 48        | 36 (52.9)                                      | 26 (61.9)                                                     | 10 (38.5)                                                     |
| Does the article cover over 50% of the page?                                                         | 43        | 7 (10.3)                                       | 5 (11.9)                                                      | 2 (7.7)                                                       |
| Is it on Page 3?                                                                                     | 24        | 14 (20.6)                                      | 13 (31.0)                                                     | 1 (3.8)                                                       |
| Does the article use phrases to be avoided as stated guidelines?                                     | 23        | 15 (57.7)                                      | –                                                             | 15 (57.7)                                                     |
| Are explicit or technical details of the method described?                                           | 70        | 5 (7.4)                                        | 2 (4.8)                                                       | 3 (11.5)                                                      |
| Are technical details of an unusual method for the locality described?                               | 69        | 4 (5.9)                                        | 1 (2.4)                                                       | 3 (11.5)                                                      |
| Are the contents of a suicide note described?                                                        | 31        | 1 (1.5)                                        | 0                                                             | 1 (3.8)                                                       |
| Does it mention or refer to a suicide hotspot?                                                       | 54        | 0                                              | 0                                                             | 0                                                             |
| Does it report positive outcomes from the death?                                                     | 46        | 2 (2.9)                                        | 0                                                             | 2 (7.7)                                                       |
| Is the cause of the suicide attributed to a single factor?                                           | 33        | 35 (51.5)                                      | 22 (52.4)                                                     | 13 (50.0)                                                     |
| Is there repeated reporting of earlier suicides in the article?                                      | 45        | 2 (2.9)                                        | 1 (2.4)                                                       | 1 (3.8)                                                       |
| Does the article report whether the person knew previous suicides or that the timing implies a link? | 42        | 3 (4.4)                                        | 2 (4.8)                                                       | 1 (3.8)                                                       |
| Does the article highlight community expressions of grief?                                           | 38        | 7 (10.3)                                       | 3 (7.1)                                                       | 4 (15.4)                                                      |
| Does the article include interviews with the bereaved?                                               | 30        | 15 (22.1)                                      | 12 (28.6)                                                     | 3 (11.5)                                                      |
| Does the article include photographs of the scene, location, or method?                              | 54        | 4 (5.9)                                        | 3 (7.1)                                                       | 1 (3.8)                                                       |
| Does the article include a photograph of the deceased?                                               | 36        | 14 (20.6)                                      | 10 (23.8)                                                     | 4 (15.4)                                                      |
| Does the article mention a celebrity suicide?                                                        | 66        | 0                                              | 0                                                             | 0                                                             |
| <b>Good-quality items</b>                                                                            |           |                                                |                                                               |                                                               |
| Does the article include recommended language as based on guidelines?                                | 34        | 1 (3.8)                                        | –                                                             | 1 (3.8)                                                       |
| Does the article describe complex or multifactorial causes of death?                                 | 35        | 1 (1.5)                                        | 0                                                             | 1 (3.8)                                                       |
| Does it include sources of information or advice?                                                    | 58        | 0                                              | 0                                                             | 0                                                             |
| Does it take the opportunity to educate the reader?                                                  | 48        | 0                                              | 0                                                             | 0                                                             |

details of the method were provided in 7%. Table 2 presents an overview of the methods used in the headline or text of reported cases of self-harm and suicide as well as the frequency of reporting. In seven newspaper articles, several methods were described. Of all 68 articles, 6% described an unusual method for the area, which included cutting one's throat with a knife and swallowing a number of substances and materials like hair clips and ashes mixed with soap water. In Table 3 the frequency of personal characteristics reported in the newspaper articles is high-

ed. Notably, Sinhala-language newspaper articles more frequently included personal information than did English-language newspaper articles.

Of all the 68 newspaper articles, 21% (*n* = 14) were printed on Page 3, which is considered prominent placement. Further, 12% of articles (*n* = 8) were on the front page; however, the headline was never the main headline on the front page.

A photograph of the deceased or the location of the episode was included in 26% (*n* = 18) of the 68 newspaper

**Table 2.** Method of self-harm or suicide portrayed in articles

|                             | All | Sinhala<br>articles on<br>suicide/self-<br>harm | English<br>articles on<br>suicide/self-<br>harm |
|-----------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Hanging                     | 23  | 15                                              | 8                                               |
| Drowning                    | 8   | 5                                               | 3                                               |
| Self-immolation             | 8   | 4                                               | 4                                               |
| Pesticide poisoning         | 5   | 4                                               | 1                                               |
| Jumping into a well         | 7   | 6                                               | 1                                               |
| Jumping from a height       | 6   | 5                                               | 1                                               |
| Knife wounds                | 6   | 4                                               | 2                                               |
| Firearms                    | 3   | 0                                               | 3                                               |
| Medicine                    | 3   | 2                                               | 1                                               |
| Jumping in front of a train | 1   | 1                                               | 0                                               |
| Unusual events              | 4   | 1                                               | 3                                               |

**Table 3.** Personal characteristics of individuals portrayed in articles

|                    | Frequency<br>present (%),<br>All<br><br><i>n</i> = 68 | Sinhala<br>articles on<br>suicide/<br>self-harm<br><br><i>n</i> = 42 | English<br>articles on<br>suicide/<br>self-harm<br><br><i>n</i> = 26 |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Gender             | 68 (100.0)                                            | 42 (100.0)                                                           | 26 (100.0)                                                           |
| Age                | 52 (76.5)                                             | 34 (81.0)                                                            | 18 (69.2)                                                            |
| Place of residence | 54 (79.4)                                             | 34 (81.0)                                                            | 20 (76.9)                                                            |
| Name               | 51 (75.0)                                             | 35 (83.3)                                                            | 16 (61.5)                                                            |
| Occupation         | 31 (45.6)                                             | 21 (50.0)                                                            | 10 (38.5)                                                            |

articles; the deceased was pictured in 21% ( $n = 14$ ) of newspaper articles – primarily in the Sinhala articles. The English articles frequently used drawings of the deceased and/or method used – this was the case in 42% of English newspaper articles ( $n = 11$ ). In 58% ( $n = 15$ ) of the English newspaper articles, phrases were used that should be avoided when reporting on suicide. Phrases recommended when describing suicide were used in one English newspaper article.

No newspaper articles included information about where to seek help or educated the reader about suicide. In 22% ( $n = 15$ ) of the 68 articles an interview with a bereaved person was included – the large majority of which were in Sinhala-language articles. The underlying causes of self-harm or suicide were attributed to a single factor in 52% of all the 68 articles; only one English-language newspaper article described a multifactorial cause of death. Where a motive was reported, the main explanations were a family fight, a failed love affair, financial difficulties, and/or diseases.

## Discussion

This study reveals that the majority of Sri Lankan printed newspaper articles reporting suicides and self-harm in a 2-month period during 2014–2015 were noncompliant with guidelines for sensitive reporting. Recommendations especially likely to be violated comprised: reporting of detailed information about the individual and method used and lack of information about help-seeking or the complexities of suicide. Conversely, recommendations likely to be followed included: not publishing an article about self-harm or suicide on the front page and not mentioning a suicide hotspot or earlier suicides. Although the Sinhala and English articles scored differently on selected items in the PRINTQUAL tool, they were equally noncompliant with guidelines.

## Visual and Written Reporting of Personal Characteristics and Methods

Suicide reporting is known to be explicit in some Asian countries (Beautrais et al., 2008). We found frequent presentation of personal characteristics and methods involved in cases of self-harm or suicide. This is concerning and might provide vulnerable individuals with models to imitate. In 26% of newspaper articles a photograph of the deceased or the location was shown – primarily in Sinhala-language articles. By comparison, a study carried out in India found that 19% of 341 newspaper articles included photographs (Chandra, Doraiswamy, Padmanabh, & Philip, 2014), whereas a Chinese study found a much higher use of photographs (58% of 2,279 articles; Fu, Chan, & Yip, 2011). Although English newspapers more commonly made use of drawings instead of photographs, they were still explicit and clearly illustrated the method used in the episode of self-harm or suicide.

Including the method of suicide in the headline is discouraged to avoid promoting and perpetuating methods of suicide (Samaritans, 2008), but this was done in 53% of the articles in this study – especially those in Sinhala – a proportion that is higher than in the study from India (23%; Chandra et al., 2014), but considerably lower than what was found in the study from China (81%; Fu et al., 2011). Furthermore, 7% of all articles included technical details of the method. This is in contrast to the study from India where 19% of articles gave step-by-step guides to the method used (Chandra et al., 2014) as well as the study on Sri Lankan media coverage explained in the *Suicide Sensitive Journalism Handbook* from 2003, where all 84 articles clearly specified in-depth details of the methods used (Deshapriya et al., 2003).



Ingestion of pesticides and hanging are the most common methods of suicide in Sri Lanka (Knipe et al., 2014), but while hanging was the means most frequently mentioned in the included newspaper articles, pesticide ingestion rarely featured. Others have noted overreporting of suicides involving more dramatic methods (Pirkis, Burgess, Blood, & Francis, 2007) and it can be argued that hanging is visually quite dramatic. Although pesticide ingestion might also appear dramatic, the pervasive use of it in the Sri Lankan context might have normalized its occurrence.

## Language Use

We decided to exclude the PRINTQUAL items pertaining to appropriate language use for the Sinhala newspaper articles included in this study, because we were concerned that the translation could not fully capture the necessary nuances. However, the English newspaper articles included in this study did use phrases that should be avoided (58%). In particular, the term *to commit suicide* was frequently used. Only one English article included recommended language as based on guidelines (Deshapriya et al., 2003; Samaritans, 2008).

## Sources of Help and Information About Suicide

A common recommendation of guidelines is to provide information about options for help-seeking at the end of an article covering suicide (WHO, 2008). This was not included in any of the articles in the current study, which is similar to the findings from a study carried out in Bangalore, India, where only 1% of articles included information about help-seeking (Chandra et al., 2014). Although the level of basic mental health support services is limited in Sri Lanka, especially in rural areas, a number of nongovernmental-driven suicide hotlines do exist – for example, Sumithrayo (Sri Lanka Sumithrayo, 2013) and CCCLine (CCC Foundation, 2009). Sri Lankan newspapers could play an important role in creating awareness about the existence of these services and other relevant institutions offering help to suicidal individuals.

Guidelines further recommend that newspaper outlets educate the reader about the complexities of self-harm and suicide (WHO, 2008) – an item that was included in only one article. By contrast, articles typically reported mono-causality behind the self-harm or suicide (52%). Self-harm in Sri Lanka has been described as a sudden, impulsive action (Pearson et al., 2014), which also explains why no suicide note was mentioned in any of the newspaper articles. At the same time, it has also been found

that Sri Lankan individuals who previously self-harmed explained a range of seemingly unresolvable daily life stressors, appearing as accumulating, deeper causes of the self-harm (Sørensen et al., 2017). Sri Lankan newspaper outlets could play a role in dispelling myths and highlighting the series of events and personal circumstances behind suicide and self-harm, while respecting the privacy of the deceased and bereaved.

## Policy Considerations

Guidelines for sensitive reporting of suicide do exist in Sri Lanka (Deshapriya et al., 2003); however, they could be refined, for instance, by including a list of appropriate Sinhala and Tamil phrases to use for sensitive reporting. Further training of Sri Lankan media professionals would be relevant, bearing in mind the specific gaps for Sinhala- and English-language newspaper reporting. The *Suicide Sensitive Journalism Handbook* includes a report of a training activity (Deshapriya et al., 2003), but whether this routinely occurs was not possible to ascertain. Media professionals should be closely involved in a process of refining guidelines and training of journalists, since adherence has been found to be closely linked to the degree of involvement and ownership (Bohanna & Wang, 2012). Additionally, schools of journalism should further emphasize responsible media reporting on suicide. Qualitative research examining awareness, use, and perception of the guidelines by Sri Lankan media professionals would also be useful (Bohanna & Wang, 2012; Cheng, Fu, Caine, & Yip, 2014).

## Limitations

The study has several limitations including the brief monitoring period that resulted in a relatively low number of articles for further analysis. Furthermore, the months selected for the media analysis were leading up to the presidential election – an event that was covered in depth leaving less room for other types of news. The item of whether a celebrity suicide was reported was not relevant for this time period. Hence, under other circumstances there might have been more and other types of articles on self-harm and suicide. It is, however, the authors' opinion that the period of analysis still provides a relevant data set to shed light on compliance to guidelines in print newspapers in Sri Lanka.

The PRINTQUAL tool was developed in a Western setting and has, to the best of our knowledge, not been used in a middle-income country. In general, we found it to be ap-

appropriate to the Sri Lankan context, although we measured additional items not captured in PRINTQUAL. The item pertaining to a suicide note was not relevant for the articles included in this study. There is no consensus of language use in Sinhala and thus it was not possible to include the items pertaining to appropriate language use in the Sinhala newspaper articles. PRINTQUAL was developed to measure the quality of suicide reporting; however, we found it to also be a useful instrument to capture cases of nonfatal self-harm.

A more comprehensive explanation of suicide might have been present in articles excluded from this study. We only included articles from printed newspapers; however, more Sri Lankan news outlets are shifting from print to digital publications. Further, only English- and Sinhala-language newspapers were included – the languages of the majority of the population. Including Tamil newspaper articles in the search strategy would likely have provided an additional understanding of the portrayal of self-harm and suicide in Sri Lanka. Future research could also benefit from an online analysis; social media is extremely popular in Sri Lanka and how suicide is portrayed on, for example, Facebook would be relevant to explore. Although traditional media outlets are losing ground to new online alternatives, regulation of social media can be supported by already existing quality assessment tools, such as PRINTQUAL.

## Conclusion

This analysis of self-harm and suicide reporting practices found that Sri Lankan newspapers might expose vulnerable readers to harmful influences. Dialogue with and training of Sri Lankan media professionals would be relevant to improve the portrayal of self-harm and suicide in Sri Lankan printed newspapers. We furthermore call for more research on reporting practices in other media outlets.

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