RESEARCH

BULLYING, RAPE, AND SUICIDE ON TWITTER: SECOND SEASON OF «13 REASONS WHY»

Acoso escolar, violación y suicidio en Twitter: segunda temporada de «Por Trece Razones»

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ABSTRACT

Whether they are fiction or incorporate a documentary format, the teen series can become a reference for teenagers. The series *13 Reasons Why*, in its second season, generated interest among adolescents, families, and the education sector. The general objective of this research is to quantitatively analyze the comments on school bullying, rape, and suicide on Twitter linked to the second season of *13 Reasons Why*. Methodology: It was specified in a content analysis of the tweets that contained the hashtag #13ReasonsWhy and/or the hashtag #PorTreceRazones. Results and discussion: Complex issues such as rape, suicide, the parent-child relationship, bullying, and cyber-bullying were raised around Hannah Baker's suicide. Conclusions: One of the conclusions of the study states that *13 Reasons Why* promotes the debate on school bullying, rape, and suicide being Twitter a channel where such complex issues are exposed for adolescents.

KEYWORDS: 13 Reasons Why - Hannah Baker – Twitter - bullying and teen series - suicide and teen series - rape and teen series – Netflix

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RESUMEN

Tanto si son ficción como si incorporan un formato documental, las series para adolescentes (*teens series*) pueden convertirse en una referencia para los adolescentes. La serie *13 Reasons Why* (*Por trece razones*), en su segunda temporada, generó interés entre los adolescentes, las familias y el sector educativo. El objetivo general de esta investigación es analizar cuantitativamente los comentarios sobre el acoso escolar, las violaciones y los suicidios en Twitter vinculados con la segunda temporada de *13 Reasons Why*. Metodología: se concretó en un análisis de contenido de los tuits que contenían las etiquetas (*hashtag*) #13ReasonsWhy y/o #PorTreceRazones. Resultados y discusión: temas complejos como la violación, el suicidio, la relación padre-hijo, el acoso y el ciberacoso se plantearon en torno al suicidio de Hannah Baker. Conclusiones: Una de las conclusiones del estudio establece que *13 Reasons Why* promovió el debate sobre el acoso escolar, la violación y el suicidio siendo Twitter un canal donde se exponen temas tan complejos para los adolescentes.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Por trece razones - Hannah Baker – Twitter - acoso escolar y series juveniles - suicidio y series juveniles - violación y series juveniles – Netflix -

ASSÉDIO MORAL ESCOLAR, ESTUPRO E SUICÍDIO NO TWITTER: SEGUNDA TEMPORADA DE «13 REASONS WHY»

RESUMO

Tanto se são ficção como se incorporam um formato documental, as séries para adolescentes (*teens series*) tornam-se uma referência para os adolescentes. A série *13 Reasons Why* (*Por trece razões*), na sua segunda temporada, gerou interesse entre os adolescentes, as famílias e o setor educativo. O objetivo geral desta pesquisa é analisar quantitativamente os comentários sobre o assédio moral escolar, os estupros e os suicídios no Twitter vinculados com a segunda temporada de *13 Reasons Why*. Metodología: se concretou em uma análise de conteúdo dos tweets que continham as etiquetas (*hashtag*) #13ReasonsWhy y/o #PorTreceRazones. Resultados e discussão: temas complexos como o estupro, o suicídio, a relação pai-filho, o assédio e o ciberbullying se fizeram ao redor do suicídio de Hannah Baker. Conclusões: Uma das conclusões do estudo estabelece que *13 Reasons Why* promoveu o debate sobre o assédio moral, o estupro e o suicidio sendo Twitter um canal onde se expõe temas tão complexos para os adolescentes.

PALAVRAS CHAVE: Por treze razões - Hannah Baker – Twitter - assédio escolar e séries juvenis - suicídio e séries juvenis - estupro e séries juvenis – Netflix

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1. INTRODUCTION

Academic research on how social media makes it easier for teens and young people to create virtual environments are frequent. In these virtual spaces, youth audiences comment on complex issues based on the visualization of teen series. Some of these studies delve into communication mediated through information technologies and how it contributes to the knowledge of new audiovisual narratives. The use of social networks as sources of information and communication channels in adolescents is also analyzed (Nabawy, Moawad, Gad, and Ebrahem, 2016; Gangopadhyay and Dhar, 2014) or how this participation is linked to vital stages (Sprada Barbosa et al., 2018; Benassini Félix, 2018; Aubrey, Behm-Morawitz, and Kim, 2014a; Damme, 2010).

In this article, the research focuses on the second season of *13 Reasons Why*, in Spain, it was translated *Por trece razones*. A serial fiction, created by and for the Netflix platform, which generated a wide debate about bullying, rape, and suicide. Reflections that were transferred to social networks such as Twitter.

1.1. Teenager and serial fiction

Teen series are a «wide range of global television manifestations considered for adolescents because of their content, their *target*, their programming context, or their reception demographics» (Raya, Sanchez-Labella, & Duran, 2018). They are not new (García-Muñoz and Fedele, 2011; Guarinos, 2009; Morduchowicz, 2008; Pasquier, 1997) and have been studied from different perspectives (Vázquez-Herrero et al., 2019; Escalas, 2017; Tapia Frade and Martín Guerra , 2016; Josefa and Heras, 2016; Rios, 2015; Del Moral Pérez and Villalustre Martínez, 2015; Aubrey, Behm-Morawitz, and Kim, 2014b; Whiteside, Hardin, Decarvalho, Carillo, and Smith, 2013; García García, 2011 ; Damme and Bauwel, 2010; Feasey, 2006).

The novelty is the studies that explore, in *teen series*, how digital and *online* technology, which evolves rapidly, contributes to changes in behaviors or appropriation of these audiences of the audiovisual narrative. Series such as *One Tree Hill* (2003-2012), *Gossip Girl* (2007-2012), *The Vampire Diaries* (2009-2017), *Riverdale* (2017), *90210* (2008-2013), or *Euphoria* (2019) are some of the series that have captured

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the interest of the teen/young public and the academic world (Becattini, 2018; Ryalls, 2016; Fradegradi (2016); Santandreu Aranda, 2015; Langue, 2011; Van Damme, 2010; García-Muñoz and Fedele, 2011; Palin, 2009; Guarinos, 2009).

Audiences assume implicit reading pacts that transform the worlds of fiction into reality (García-Noblejas, 2017). Fans of a *teen series* are a type of spectator who immerses themselves in fiction and at the same time participates and interacts in *online* environments, contributing their evaluations of what they experience watching the series. Cyberspace becomes an ecosystem shared with others to comment on these experiences: either because of the subject, the euphemistic anonymity, because of the profiles that interact, or because of the fact of expressing an opinion or specific information. Without the need for the person to have to expose their identity on the internet (Gerrad, 2017). The important thing is to be part of the network.

Internet activities "are linked to the creation of meaning" (Tortajada and Willem, 2019, p. 101). In serial fiction (Carrión Domínguez, 2019) it is necessary to incorporate the interpretations and appropriations that audiences make of these contents. Additionally, apart from the changes that technology and the audiovisual industry are bringing to the conception of audiovisual productions and their diffusion and business models, the *online* environment can also be conceived as «a space for the social construction of identities and communities" (Tortajada and Willem, p. 101).

The audience appropriates the narrative, interprets it, contributes meanings, and reconstructs meanings in the context of interactivity that virtual communities facilitate. Another issue is the depth of the debate during the time these communities are active on the network. The topics, sub-topics, characters, or the identification of the audiences' individual realities with fiction will be the argument to visualize specific series (Aubrey et al., 2014b; Navarro-Abal and Climent-Rodríguez, 2014; Navarro-Abal, Climent -Rodríguez, and Fernández-Garrido, 2012; Figuera-Maz, Tortajada, and Araüna, 2008). The existence of a certain degree of *engagement* that the audience can achieve and maintain regarding serial fiction can be considered.

1.2. The audience from the perspective of transmedia narrative

This capacity or potential of the audience to assume an active stance with greater emphasis, frequency, or depth in online environments is one of the ways for the expansion of the stories raised by the *transmedia* narrative (Jenkins, 2010). Taking into account the current *online* context -mobility, social media, hyperconnectivity, or the wide diversity of interactive platforms- the challenge is how the audience manages their opinions and in which virtual communities or channels they are shared.

Depending on the type of fiction, a specific audience profile is configured. Carrión Domínguez (2019) refers to the *Quality TV* series as «a specific typology of series, which began in the 80s and which exploded at the end of the century, until reaching our days turned into a sociocultural phenomenon unimaginable forty years ago» (p.

113). Series like *Hill Street Blues* (1981) or *ER* (1994). Carrión Domínguez updates the criteria that Robert J. Thompson used for the analysis of *Quality TV*. We selected the following contributions related to audiences: a) from a sophisticated and elitist audience, thanks to technology and another vision of the business model, at present, «the audience they are targeting, in general, is much wider» (p. 116); b) of a reduced audience has been reached, in some series, massive audiences due to three factors: audience loyalty (*Fringe*), quality (*The Wire*), and industry recognition (*Mad Men*) (p. 116); c) «their plots seek controversy, they have a social implication» (p. 117).

In the new types of audience in cyberspace, and specifically in *transmedia* proposals such as *El Ministerio del Tiempo*, Scolari and Establés start from Hill's ideas: they focus the analysis on fans, «not only as possible professional creators of media products but also in their role when questioning the measurements of the audiences of series, which can be considered cult TV». That is, "they have a specialized and minority audience" (Scolari and Establés, 2017, p. 1014).

How audiences express themselves evolve and are segmented leaving behind the traditional characteristics of television; In this audiovisual framework of reference, young people assume audiovisual consumption and their participation, as an audience, with other criteria: «They are interested in new transmedia experiences that combine the different prisms in which their routine runs such as social media, the web, or gamification, and that their message-producing capacity is favored »(Vázquez-Herrero, González-Neira, and Quintas-Froufe, 2019, p. 75). In short, they integrate them into their daily lives (Rodríguez Illera, Martínez Olmo, and Galván, 2019; Fuenmayor and García Aranguren, 2018).

Series are not viewed as before. It was usual to have to wait a few days or a few weeks to see the episodes. Access is currently possible to all episodes creating the need, anxiety, or opportunity, to view them as soon as possible to discuss them with other followers of the series. Comments that are transferred to social media or other online spaces.

From the perspective of a multiplatform narrative proposal, in which the viewer produces content from the experience with the audiovisual product, some results value the conception of audiovisual productions as narrative units that transcend the audiovisual discourse, being the audience itself who generates this "*spreadability*" (García Pastor, 2018). In large part because producers and directors consider the fans and the general audience as participants in the stories. The audiovisual narrative takes forms yet to be defined and the limits between *transmedia*, *crossmedia*, multiplatform narratives, or any other that may arise generate methodological problems for their study.

Antonié Vallet (1977) was visionary when he pointed out that in the transformation that society was undergoing there was a fundamental question: «What is the language of man, of today's society? » (Vallet, p. 9). His fundamental

approach to «total language» is that it was a "verb-audio-visual language" (p. 18). The evolution of technology and narratives make this "total language" more complex. Along these lines, the need to train young people in reading and understanding the new codes is evident. Incorporate these topics into teaching (Sáiz Serrano and Parra Monserrat, 2017; Sánchez Escámez and Baena Sánchez, 2016; Aierbe-Barandiaran and Oregui-González, 2016; Llorent and Marín, 2013; Aguaded Gómez, 2005).

Transmedia narrative contributes to a renewed approach to audiovisual narrative and in which the elements of fiction are dispersed, systematically, through multiple channels to "create a unified and coordinated entertainment experience" (Jenkins, 2010, p. 944). Apart from these specific characteristics, *transmedia* experiences are aimed at the audience interested in the story that is being told; "To a very specific figure: the fan" (García Pastor, 2018, p. 71). This way of understanding stories influences other creative contexts by establishing different ways of telling those stories (Trillo-Domínguez, Del Moral, and Sedeño-Valdellós, 2019; Sidorenko Bautista, Calvo Rubio and Cantero de Julián, 2018; Julián Gonzales, 2018).

Henry Jenkins presents evidence of a *transmedia* generation that normally assumes the keys of a participatory culture that contributes its own vision of society in coexistence with its personal culture: «In countries across the globe, they combine the local traditions of popular culture with the forms of digital expression now accessible globally in ways that previous generations could not have imagined» (Jenkins, March 2010). The *transmedia* context requires collaborative and active participation to expand the story among the users who interact in digital spaces, a characteristic that is well received by teens and young people in a society in which interconnectivity is a constant demand.

Literacy is proposed following the multimodal reality of today. Literacy, conceived as the action of 'alphabetizing', 'teach someone to read or write', is out of date: «If traditional literacy was book-centered or, in the case of media literacy, mostly television-centred, then multimodal literacy places digital networks and interactive media experiences at the centre of its analytical and practical experience» (Scolari, 2018, p. 15).

Scolari provides evidence of the importance for teens and young people of the ability to produce, exchange, and consume content; and, all this, within the framework of globalized cyberspace accessible through mobile platforms: «The Transmedia Literacy team confirmed the existence of a broad spectrum of situations, skills, strategies, content production/sharing/consumption processes and alternative uses of media. Transmedia skills represent a diverse and uneven topography» (Scolari, 2018, p. 18). In this scenario, social media are channels that contribute to broadening the transmedia experience and to somehow value the participation of young people on the Internet. A «new derived cultural product» even arises from two or more fictional worlds: *crossovers* (Guerrero-Pico and Scolari, 2016, p. 187).

In this line, the data indicates that young people find a space to meet in social media: "The common thread of our social practices is narrative and its predominant form of discourse is what we call transmedia" (Fuente Prieto, Lacasa Díaz, and Martínez-Borda, 2019, p. 176). Social networks are potential spaces for participation as evidenced by research on audience and fan behavior on social media (Cortés Gómez, Martínez Borda, and De la Fuente Prieto, 2016) (Lacalle and Castro, 2018), Facebook (López and Fernández, 2016) (Gómez Rubio and López Vidaldes, 2015) (Tur-Viñes and Rodríguez Ferrándiz, 2014), YouTube (Sánchez-Olmos, 2016) (Feijoo and Pavez, 2019); Twitter (Donstrup, 2019), or other platforms with *online* fan communities (Zhang and Cassany, 2019).

1.3. *13 Reasons Why*

13 Reasons Why generated expectations in teens, families, and educational centers. The original novel by Jay Asher (2007), aimed at a young-adult audience, was adapted by Brian Yorkey to an audiovisual format for Netflix and its first season, released on March 31st, 2017, had repercussions in the media context (Bertolli Filho and Pontalti Monari, 2018; Carmichael and Whitley, 2018), in the blogosphere (Wulandari, Shinta Hapsari, and Bram, 2018), and was a reference among adolescents and young people. The second season, not directly related to Jay Asher's novel, delved into the stories of the characters and the reasons/explanations why they acted in the first season. In the third season, available from August 23rd, 2019, the plot moves away from the common thread of the two previous seasons.

A key component of the success of the series was being an original series designed for Netflix's business and distribution model. A company that provides videos on demand (*video-on-demand services*), with a presence in practically all countries and, on occasions, the platform with the highest internet traffic generated in this digital environment due to its technical characteristics (Böttger, Cuadrado, Tyson, Castro, and Uhlig, 2018). This expertise gained in the distribution of video on demand and the production of television series captured the interest of a significant number of subscribers.

1.3.1. First season

The main plot of the first season is the thirteen reasons that drove Hannah Baker (Katherine Langford) to suicide. This story is told in the first person by Hannah Baker on 13 cassettes (*tape*) that she sent, before her suicide, to one of her classmates, Clay Jensen (Dylan Minnette), to listen and send them to the other people who were mentioned in the cassettes. Two rules raised by Hannah: listen and pass the cassettes to the next person. A warning, if the rules are broken there is a copy of these cassettes, and their contents will be released without regard to the consequences they would have for the people involved. In the suicide episode, the method Hannah used was to cut the veins of her wrists in the bathtub at home: it was a visually explicit

scene. Unlike the version of the novel written by Jay Asher in which the option that Hannah would take would be the consumption of pills.

In this regard, Netflix, given the controversies arising from this season, issued a special episode *Beyond the Reasons Season 1* (later it would broadcast *Beyond the Reasons Season 2*) to discuss with experts from various areas the guidelines to create debates from the episodes of *13 Reasons Why*. Netflix promoted a scientific study that concluded the favorable context that was created once the series was viewed, contributing to face depressive or suicidal feelings more favorably (Lauricella, Cingel & Wartella, 2018). However, not the entire academic community agreed with these conclusions.

Studies, in the context of psychiatry, indicated that the series is related to worsening mood, establishing the association between watching the series and the change in depressed mood among adolescents. They experienced a worsening of their mood after watching the series (Santana da Rosa et al., 2019). Netflix, in 2019, made a new montage of the chapter softening the suicide scene and eliminating the original. This modification arose from the recommendation of experts and the American Foundation for Suicide Prevention that reported: "since the premiere of the series, suicides in the US in the age group from 10 to 17 years old increased by 28.9%" (Netflix softens the suicide sequence of '13 Reasons Why' in a re-montage, 2019); (Bridge, et al., 2019; Zimerman, et al., 2018; Campo and Bridge, 2018).

The studies of the first season of *13 Reasons Why* show «that the transmedia narrative allows a more complete approach to sensitive issues, based on the interaction with the audience» (Atarama-Rojas and Requena Zapata, 2018, p. 193). The producers of the series incorporated social media to promote it and for the followers to interact on the issues it raised. The second season, available from May 18th, 2018, foreshadowed to provide more details to the plot. From a script no longer directly linked to Jay Asher's novel, it delved into other aspects of the story that the first season did not cover.

1.3.2. Second season

In the second season, the framework of this research, the common thread is the trial against Liberty High School of Hanna Baker's parents, Olivia Baker (Kate Walsh) and Andy Baker (Brian d'Arcy James). The accusation focused on: the authorities and the teachers of the institute were aware of the bullying that Hannah Baker was facing, of not taking action in this regard, and, as a consequence, they were responsible for her suicide.

The people mentioned by Hannah Baker in the cassettes are summoned to the trial as witnesses, providing a personal perspective of the events based on the questions of the Baker family's lawyer, Dennis Vásquez (Wilson Cruz), and the defense of the institute, Lainie Jensen (Amy Hargreaves). However, the cassettes are not evidence in

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the case because it is unknown where they are and the essential evidence is the facts, the statements of the witnesses, and other evidence that is provided in the course of the process.

The testimonies of the people who knew Hannah Baker are not unanimous: they coincide, expanding more details, providing another perspective, or contradicting the version exposed by Hannah on the cassettes and that constituted the common thread of the first season. Another plot is incorporated into the season. Clay Jensen is once again the recipient, this time of Polaroid-type photographs, of information that involves several schoolmates, Hannah Baker herself, and the members of the Liberty High School baseball team.

The season progresses until the discovery of key issues such as: a) Hannah Baker was expelled from a school because she was in a group that bullied a girl (for which she regretted); b) the humiliating behavior and raping of girls by some players of the Liberty High School baseball team; c) identifying Bryce Walker as the rapist of Hannah Baker and other high school girls (Jessica Davis and Chloe Rice). The season ended with an open episode in which Tyler Down wishes to take revenge, using a firearm, against a group of colleagues and members of the baseball team for the sexual assault committed by them in the school bathroom.

1.3.3. Perception of the seasons

Viewers identified differences between the first and second seasons. The search records of the series in Google reflect this (see Graph 1): April 9th, 2017 (first season), and May 20th, 2018 (second season) are the most representative search peaks. The first season registered a greater number of days of interest since its premiere (March 31st, 2017) compared to the second season and its premiere (May 18th, 2018)

Graph 1: Search records in Google Trends. Search criteria: a) Region: worldwide; b) Dates: 1/3/17 - 18/7/18; c) Category: Art and entertainment; d) Search: on the web; e) Search date: June 19th, 2019.
**Source:** Google Trends

Rotten Tomatoes (see Image 1), gives the first season a 79% critic rating and an 80% audience score; regarding the second season, the difference is significant: 25% (critic), 52% (audience). Metacritic gives the first season a score of 64 out of 100; to the second, 49 out of 100.
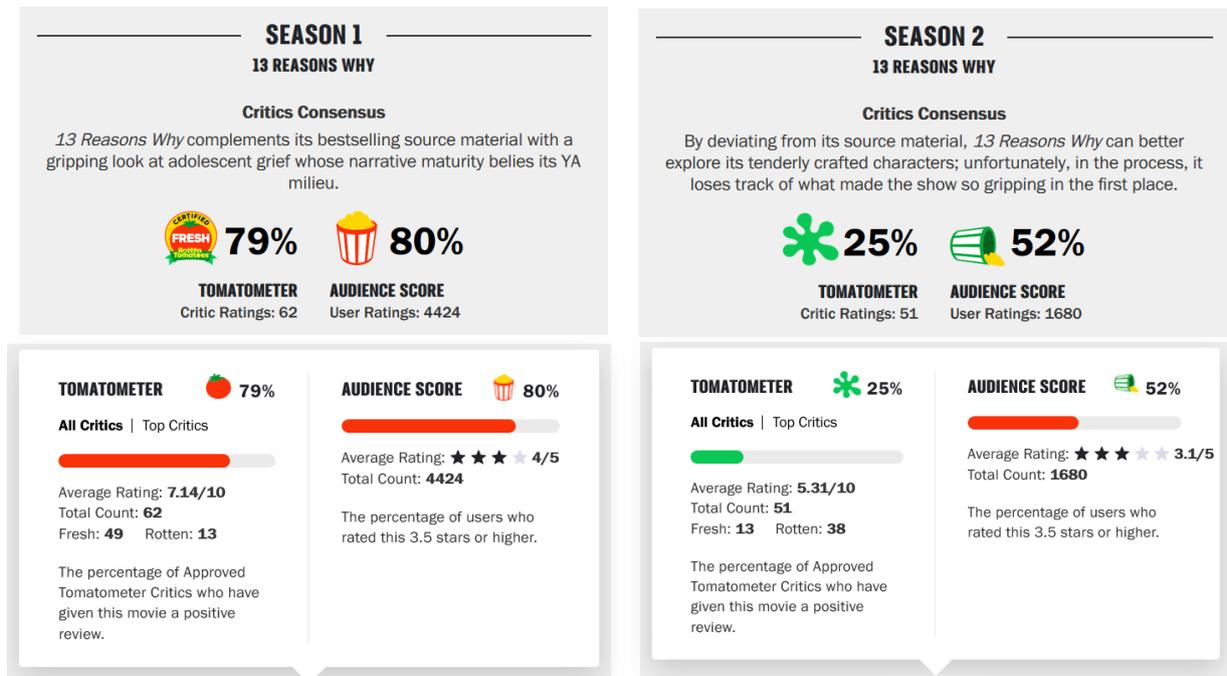
Image 1: Comparative data for the rating of the series in Rotten Tomatoes.
Consultation made: July 10th, 2019
Source: Rotten Tomatoes

In Weighted Average Ratings (IMDb) the general score of the two seasons reached 8.0 (see Graph 2). However, the second season (7.6) did not reach the level of acceptance that the first one had (8.4). The episode (season 1) with the lowest score was the third with 7.9. In the second season, one episode obtained the same score (episode six) and three obtained a higher rating (episodes nine, eleven, and twelve).

In a longitudinal analysis, the following can be considered: both seasons have improved ratings as the episodes progressed. It is pertinent to highlight the ratings of the last episode: a) in the first season, it was the best-rated episode, leaving the series at a high point of expectation regarding the second season; b) in the second season, the last episode obtained the worst score; not only in comparison with the episodes of the second season but also with those of the first season.

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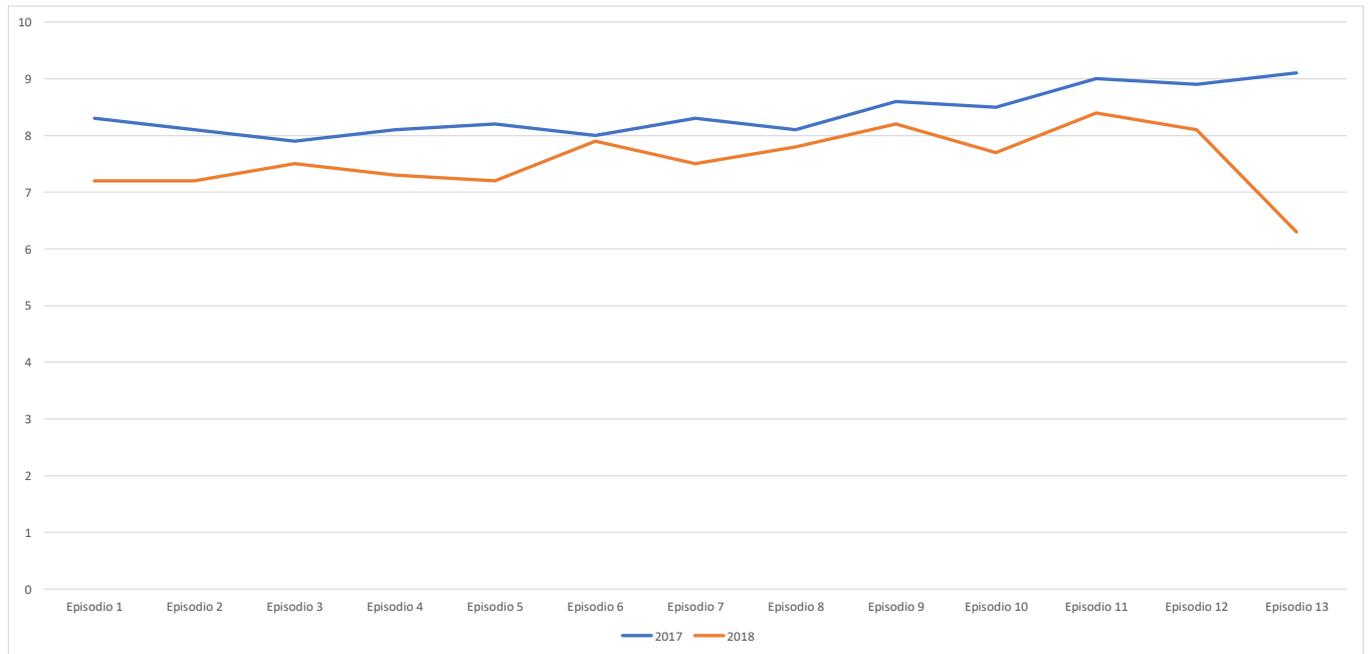
	Episode 1	Episode 2	Episode 3	Episode 4	Episode 5	Episode 6	Episode 7	Episode 8	Episode 9	Episode 10	Episode 11	Episode 12	Episode 13
2017	8.3	8.1	7.9	8.1	8.2	8.0	8.3	8.1	8.6	8.5	9.0	8.9	9.1
2018	7.2	7.2	7.5	7.3	7.2	7.9	7.5	7.8	8.2	7.7	8.4	8.1	6.3

Graph 2: Comparison of the ratings of the episodes of the first and second season. The IMDb Parent Guide rates the following categories: Sex & Nudity (severe), Violence & Gore (severe), Profanity (severe), Alcohol, Drugs & Smoking (moderate), Frightening & Intense Scenes (severe). Consultation made: July 10th, 2019.
Source: IMDb.

2. OBJECTIVES

Twitter is a social network of interest for the study of audiences (Deltell Escolar, Claes, and Osteso López, 2013) or, as in the present case, for its capacity for interactivity among its users (Lis Gindin, Castro Rojas, Coiutti, Cardoso, and Rostagno, 2019). In this study, we strategically opted for Twitter due to its characteristics: microblogging platform, open approach, simple content, spontaneity, the possibility of interaction with other users, use of multimedia resources and, a key element, it provides «mobility» (Blanco and Sueiro, 2014).

The topics of bullying, rape, and suicide are present in all episodes of the first and second season of *13 Reasons Why.* In this research, we focus on the second season. The two starting hypotheses were:

H1. The topics of bullying, rape, and suicide are debated on Twitter by followers of the second season of *13 Reasons Why.* They presented and raised relevant issues about how these topics were presented. They also contributed their perceptions,

creating a virtual environment for debate on these issues. If the presence and its interactivity on Twitter were quantitatively significant, it can be considered that the topics of bullying, rape, and suicide were of interest to the audience of the series.

H2. Social media, and in the case that concerns us Twitter, promote a discursive interaction around specific topics related to television series that contribute to the expansion of the message by providing a new dimension to the transmediality of narratives. This interaction becomes relevant when the user uses tagging (*hashtag*) as a method to retrieve content or participate in the community of users interested in these topics.

From these premises, the general objective was to analyze, from a quantitative perspective, the comments about bullying, rape, and suicide related to the second season of *13 Reasons Why* on Twitter. As specific objectives we set ourselves: 1) to identify, from a quantitative perspective, the characteristics of the published comments; 2) determine how the series addressed the issues from the posted comments. The research questions were:

Q1. On the occasion of the second season of *13 Reasons Why*: in the context of quantitative analysis, what are the characteristics of the comments posted on Twitter about bullying, rape, and suicide?

Q2. Regarding the presence of these topics in the series: quantitative characteristics of the assessments made on the approach to these topics in the second season of *13 Reasons Why*?

3. METHODOLOGY

Teen series have an increasing presence on on-demand video platforms. There are several series that could have been selected in this study between 2017 and 2019: *Élite*, *Sex Education*, *Quicksand*, *The Society*, *Chilling Adventures of Sabrina*, *The End of the F *** ing World*, *Baby*, Insatiable, *Everything Sucks!*, among others.

13 Reasons Why had several characteristics that contributed to its choice: a) the presence of plots and subplots of interest to the teen audience; b) the origin of the series in Jay Asher's novel, *13 Reasons Why*, adapted to be distributed by Netflix; c) the audience success that this series had achieved in its first season (2017); d) the narrative elements that remained unresolved in the first season and which were also unrelated to Jay Asher's novel; e) the active participation of fans in social media regarding the expectations of the second season; f) the proposal for the second season focused on deepening the explanations about the characters that were involved in the rape of Hannah Baker and the accusation against Liberty High School.

The seasons of *13 Reasons Why* have their own narrative thread. They are three seasons. 26 episodes were viewed: the first season (13 episodes) available from

March 31st, 2017, and the second season (13 episodes) from May 18th, 2018. The third season was excluded because it moved away from the plot of the two previous ones.

Some of the features of film analysis were used as an analysis tool. Specifically, the identification of the scenes to obtain their plots and subplots: understanding as a scene «the narrative unit that consists of one or more shots with spatial and/or temporal continuity» (Soto, 2015, p. 30). The review of the episodes concentrated on the plots and subplots. Connections of the episodes of the second season regarding the first were established to have data that would explain some of the content published on Twitter on the occasion of the second season.

Once available for viewing the second season of *13 Reasons Why*, the tweets were retrieved. The sample was not probabilistic; but it was strategic (Igartua Perosanz, 2006). Filters were used to select the tweets adjusted to the research objectives and minimizing bias in their retrieval. The platform for the *stream* and recovery of tweets was Followthehashtag: a tool tested in other studies (Blasco-Duatis, Coenders Gallart, and Sáez, 2018; Piñeiro-Otero and Martínez-Rolán, 2017; Pérez-Martínez, Rodríguez González, and Tobajas Gracia, 2017; Pérez-Martínez, 2016).

3.1. Frame samples and subsamples

The criteria and filters used to select the sample were:
1. Tweets recovery period. Start: May 17th, 2018 (from 03:48 a.m.). End: January 8th, 2019 (until 5:45 p.m.).
2. Tweets with specific hashtags were retrieved. *Hashtags* are a «keyword» (Moreno, 2014), and a way of tagging to organize, retrieve, and specify which questions to write about or create interactions with other users on Twitter. Tweets containing the hashtag #13ReasonsWhy (original title) and/or the hashtag #PorTreceRazones (title with which the series was known in Spain) were selected.
3. Retweets are excluded.
4. In this first recovery, 154,470 tweets were recovered.
5. Duplicated tweets were excluded: those where there was an exact match of the *nickname* and the content of the tweet. Sample frame: N = 151,570 tweets.

Subsamples were formed from the sampling frame (N = 151,570 tweets). The first subsample (n_1) was configured using keywords that were organized by categories (see Table 1). Tweets retrieved: n_1 = 4,053.

Table 1. Selection of tweets with keywords: suicidio, suicide, suicidio.

Bullying	Rape	Suicide
harassment, bullying, intimidation, bullying, bullismo	rape, raped, le viol, violazione estupr(ada)	suicidio, suicide, suicide, suicidio, suicidio

Note. The keywords were considered taking into account the following languages: Spanish, English, French, Portuguese, and Italian.

From n_1 onwards, the tweets were recovered by grouping them into three categories. The criteria were: retrieve the 100 tweets with the greatest impact (impact = favorites + retweets) for each of the categories. "Sampling with replacement" was used: a recording unit (tweet) could be linked to more than one category and the analysis had to be carried out in the reference frame of those categories. At the end of this process, some categories exceeded 100 tweets and the number of analysis units was expanded. The sub-samples by categories were: bullying (n_2 = 122), rape (n_3 = 124) and suicide (n_4 = 330).

3.2. Analysis of tweets

The analysis of the tweets was specified in: a) basic and identification data of the tweets; b) interactivity and impact; c) content of the tweets. The codebook included the definition of the categories and variables (see Table 2). Initial coding and analysis were carried out using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software.

Table 2. Codebook for the analysis of tweets

Tweet identification data	Publication date	The date the tweet was published.
	Publication time	Hour the tweet was published.
	User (*username*)	Corresponds to the name used in the profile of the Twitter account to which the tweet belongs
	Account (*nickname or nick*)	Name that identifies the user preceded by "@" (*)
	Account type.	1) Yes, it is verified by Twitter. 2) Is not verified by Twitter. 3) Suspended account. 4) Protected account. 5) Change in *nickname* was identified
	Country	Country included in the Twitter profile.
	Accounts´ profiles	1) *13ReasonsWhy*: profiles directly related to the series (they are verified by Twitter). 2) Netflix: company profile (verified by Twitter) 3) Personal: Twitter accounts identified with names or images of people. Professionals in the field of social communication are excluded. 4) Media. 5) Government / public. 6) Not identified 7) Fans. 8) NGOs, associations. 9) Companies (not media)
Interactivity and impact	Favorites	Number of favorites (*like)* of the tweet.
	Retweets	Number of retweets made to the tweet.
	Favorites and retweets	Sum of the number of favorites and retweets (Favs+RTs)
Content of tweets.	Tweet	Tweet content. The tweet is considered as a unit: it includes multimedia and interactive elements.

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Positioning	1) The comment is limited to the series. 2) The series does NOT adequately address the issue. 3) The positioning is not identified. 4) The series DOES contribute to the debate on the subject. 5) It is NOT related to the series.
(*) In this research, we will maintain the confidentiality of the profiles and the texts of the tweets. The results of the research will be attached and will not include any "personal" or "sensitive" data that could provide «information related to an identified or identifiable natural person» (Pano Alamán, 2015).	

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Twitter as an area of debate on *13 Reasons Why*

The registration units obtained in the recovery phase of the published tweets allow us to positively assess the interest of the followers of the series to share content about it. The outreach potential of the 154,470 recovered tweets is a reflection of that interest. The metric shows it (see Table 3). Also highlighting, regarding the country of origin of the tweets that provide this information (n=60,719), the interest in the series and the issues raised in it. However, 73.1% of the tweets are located in ten countries.

It was foreseeable, due to the origin of the series and the presence of Netflix, that the United States would be the country with the highest percentage of published tweets (27.7%), then it would follow: France (11.5%), United Kingdom (8.2%), Brazil (8.1%), Spain (6.4%), Mexico (3.2%), Italy (3.0%), Canada (3.0), Philippines (2.0). The other percentage (26.9%) is made up of 91 countries.

Table 3. Summary of the metrics of the tweets retrieved on *13 Reasons Why.*

Search criteria (*keyword*)	#13ReasonsWhy OR #PorTreceRazones -filter:nativeretweets -filter:retweets
Begining of measurement (*measured data from*)	2018-05-17 03:48
End of measurement (*measured data to*)	2019-01-08 17:45
Total audience	448,952,578
Total tweets	154,470
Total potential impressions	2,279,896,468
Average tweets per hour (*tweets per hour*)	27.20
Average tweets per day (*tweets per day*)	652.93
Accounts indicating gender (*total gender detections*)	61,210
% Accounts indicating gender (*% of detections*)	39.63%
Accounts indicating male (*total male*)	25,863
Accounts indicating female (*total female*)	35,347
% Accounts indicating male (*% Male*)	43%
% Accounts indicating female (*% Female*)	57%

4.2. Bullying, rape, and suicide

The number of tweets recovered for this phase was 4,053 tweets: 66.25% (N=6,117 tweets) published from 3,568 Twitter accounts. The highest publication frequency of

tweets was in May. An expected result as the days following the premiere of all the episodes of the series is the period of greatest interest for viewing.

The distribution by categories was made up of 4,626 tweets. 521 tweets were added to the initial sample (N=4,053): the presence of *keywords* from different categories in the same tweet was identified and they were considered as record units. The distribution of tweets, according to the frequency of the category, allowed identifying the subject of suicide (57.8%) as the preferred one: followed by rape (32.9%) and bullying (23.4%).

Regarding the countries of origin of the tweets, among the accounts or profiles that provided this information (N=1,806), the number of countries was large (80 countries). However, 10 countries concentrated 81.95% of the tweets: United States (40.09%), United Kingdom (13.79%), Spain (6.04%), Canada (4.71%), Australia (4.37%), France (4.26%), India (2.55%), Brazil (2.38%), Mexico (2.27%), South Africa (1.50%), and the other 70 countries as a whole (18.05%). The distribution by categories (see Table 4) allows assessing the preference of the topics in the tweets.

Suicide was the topic that had the highest preference compared to the other categories. The United States and the United Kingdom occupied the first two places respectively in the three categories. Spain ranked fifth on the subject of suicide; but, in bullying and rape, it ranked third. Canada ranked third in the suicide category.

Table 4. Distribution of the registration units according to categories and country of the Twitter account.

Bullying			Rape			Suicide		
Country	n	%	Country	n	%	Country	n	%
USA	135	29.8	USA	221	41.1	USA	469	43.7
United Kingdom	50	11.0	United Kingdom	101	18.8	United Kingdom	145	13.5
Spain	48	10.6	Spain	26	4.8	Canada	63	5.9
Brazil	33	7.3	Canada	25	4.6	France	59	5.5
Australia	21	4.6	Australia	22	4.1	Spain	49	4.6
Mexico	20	4.4	Iran	12	2.2	Australia	47	4.4
Canada	13	2.9	India	11	2.0	India	26	2.4
Chile	12	2.6	South Africa	11	2.0	Mexico	19	1.8
India	12	2.6	France	10	1.9	South Africa	14	1.3
France	11	2.4	Mexico	9	1.7	Argentina	13	1.2
Top 10	355	78.4	*Top 10*	448	83.3	*Top 10*	904	84.2
Other countries	*98*	*21.6*	*Other countries*	90	16.7	*Other countries*	170	15.8
Total	453	100	*Total*	538	100	*Total*	1074	100
The number of countries according to each category was: 45 countries (bullying), rape (52 countries), suicide (65 countries). The most frequent language in the tweets was English (78.29%) followed by Spanish (13.87%). Also French (4.00%), Portuguese (2.79%), Italian (0.96%), and other languages (0.10%).								

The content published in the tweets were not always limited to a specific category. Tweets that incorporated other topics were identified (see Table 5). It is complex to establish a relationship between user participation with these tags or keywords and statistical data on bullying, rape, and suicide. On the other hand, regarding these categories, tweets cannot be pigeonholed as belonging exclusively to a single topic.

Table 5. Distribution and percentages of tweets according to their belonging to two categories.

	Bullying	Suicide	Rape	Bullying	Rape	Suicide
fr Tweets per category	949	2343	1334	949	1334	2343
% (N=4053)	23.41%	57.81%	32.91%	23.41%	32.91%	57.81%
fr Tweets sum of the two categories	3292		2283		3677	
fr Tweets with the two categories	129		129		304	
% (N=4053)	3.18%		3.18%		7.50%	
% regarding categories	13.59%	5.51%	9.67%	13.59%	22.79%	12.97%
% Tweets sum of the two categories	3.92%		5.65%		8.27%	

The presence of more than one category in the tweets establishes, at least in a first approximation, some kind of relationship between them. In this framework, the rape-suicide relationship is the most significant due to the absolute frequency (304) and the relative frequency in each of the categories and the general sample. The other relationships are also relevant and, specifically, the relationship established between rape-bullying. It is also relevant that 77 of the tweets (N=4053) incorporated the three categories in their content.

4.3. The debate in the tweets with the greatest impact

The sub-sample with the highest impact tweets was made up of 761 tweets belonging to 682 Twitter accounts (see Table 6). Together, these accounts allow us to establish the potential impact of the published tweets. Accounts preferably from «personal» profiles are the ones that generated the most impactful tweets: bullying (77.1%), rape (78.8%), and suicide (69.9%).

The accounts linked to tweets about suicide add up the highest number of followers (66.4%) and can be considered the topic with the greatest impact capacity. However, the issue of rape is also significant, which occupied the second group of tweets belonging to tweets that included this category (20.7%).

Table 6. Distribution of tweets with the greatest impact by categories.

Category	Accounts	*Followers*	*Following*	*Listed*
Bullying	194	8 909 603	207 784	47 457

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Rape	191	14 313 599	230 541	91 630
Suicide	405	45 963 364	1 515 848	326 147
Total:	790 (*)	69 186 566	1 954 173	465 234

(*) The Twitter account number is based on their presence in the categories according to the content of the sent tweet. An account may be present in more than one category.

Regarding the *engagement* generated with the tweets, a greater interest in the «bullying» category is identified both by the numbers of favorites and the retweets (see Table 7). It is reflected in the sum of both (12.6%). The subject of suicide continues to be the category with the highest *engagement* (83.8%).

Table 7. Distribution of tweets with the greatest impact by categories.

Category	N° of tweets	Favorites	Retweets	Fav + Ret
Bullying	205	1080	251	1331
Rape	203	288	88	376
Suicide	438	6934	1898	8832
Total:	846	8302	2237	10539

The origin of the accounts (see Table 8), those that have identified them (40), indicate that Spain and the United States are the countries with the highest number of tweets sent. Relevant, the majority of tweets from Spain top the list regarding bullying. It also coincides in the first place with the United States on the issue of rape.

Table 8. Distribution of tweets by countries of Twitter accounts and categories

	Bullying		Rape		Rape	
	fr	%	fr	%	fr	%
Spain	30	30.3	20	20.2	22	9.69
United States	17	17.2	20	20.2	78	34.36
United Kingdom	10	10.1	14	14.1	28	12.33
Mexico	7	7.1	8	8.1	11	4.85
Chile	4	4.0	6	6.1	6	2.64
Argentina	4	4.0	5	5.1	5	2.20
Colombia	1	1.0	5	5.1	3	1.32
Venezuela	8	8.1	4	4.0	4	1.76
Peru	-	-	3	3.0	-	-
Australia	3	3.0	2	2.0	7	3.08
Canada	-	-	1	1.0	12	5.29
Germany	-	-	1	1.0	3	1.32
Ecuador	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	0.44
France	2	2.0	1	1.0	11	4.85
Guatemala	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	0.44
India	-	-	1	1.0	2	0.88
Italy	-	-	1	1.0	3	1.32
Panama	1	1.0	1	1.0	1	0.44
Pakistan	-	-	1	1.0	1	0.44
Uruguay	2	2.0	1	1.0	2	0.88

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Brazil	4	4.0	-	-	3	1.32
South Africa	1	1.0	-	-	8	3.52
Finland	-	-	-	-	2	0.88
New Zeland	-	-	-	-	2	0.88
Other countries (*)	3	3.0	2	2.0	11	4.84
	99	100	99	100	227	100

(*) The «other countries» corresponding exclusively to each category (one tweet) have been: a) «bullying» (Costa Rica, Liberia, Philippines); b) «rape» (Nigeria, Greece); c) «suicide» (Bolivia, Switzerland, Indonesia, Ireland, Jersey, Lebanon, Martinique, Nicaragua, Netherlands, Paraguay, El Salvador).

The use of English (see Table 9) is preferred in the categories of «rape» and «suicide». However, regarding the issue of bullying, and perhaps due to the higher number of tweets sent from profiles in Spain, Spanish has a wide presence in tweets (55.6%).

Table 9. Distribution of tweets by category and language used in the tweets.

Language	Bullying		Rape		Suicide	
	fr	%	fr	%	fr	%
English	77	37.6	106	52.2	288	65.8
Spanish	114	55.6	96	47.3	108	24.7
Portuguese	13	6.3	-	-	8	1.8
Turkish	1	0.5	-	-	-	-
French	-	-	1	0.5	21	4.8
Italian	-	-	-	-	13	3
Total:	205	100%	203	100%	438	100%

4.4. Positioning

Most of the tweets indicate, after analysis, that the series «does contribute to the debate» on bullying, rape, and suicide (see Table 10). This appreciation was greater in the content related to bullying (72.2%).

In the topics of rape or suicide, the majority also maintained a positive view towards the possibilities of the series to create debates; but those who argue that the series «does not address it adequately» are significant.

If we recalculate the percentages of the data, leaving only the variables «it does contribute» and "it does not address it adequately", the tweets that expressed that "it does not address it adequately" reflect that there is no conclusive perception about how the series approaches these issues: bullying (23.7%), rape (41.3%), and suicide (37.9%).

Table 10. Distribution of the tweets by positioning on the convenience or not of the series.

	Bullying		Rape		Suicide	
	fr	%	fr	%	fr	%
The series does contribute to debate on the subject	148	72.2	108	53.2	229	52.3
The series does not adequately address the subject	46	22.4	76	37.4	140	32.0
The comment is limited to the series	6	2.9	16	7.9	46	10.5
Positioning not identified	-	-	3	1.5	18	4.1
Not related to the series	5	2.4	-	-	5	1.1
Total	205	100	203	100	438	100.0

5. CONCLUSIONS

Teen series are an audiovisual format of interest for teens and young people. Their narrative proposal with the integration of other platforms and the expansion through social media constitute a strength/opportunity for these productions. The audience, and among them the fans of the series, use digital channels to share and express their perceptions, feelings, and experiences about the stories, the raised plots, and the characters. *13 Reasons Why* was no exception; But, if it is feasible that the subject of suicide, in a social context such as the United States, with such significant indicators of bullying and suicides would constitute a focus of special attention in a teen audience eager to know and express their perceptions on these issues.

The «total language», proposed by Vallet (1977), was specified in that it was a «verb-audio-visual language» (p. 18). The evolution of technology and narratives have made this «total language» more complex: language - verb - audio - visual - interactive - mobile - multiplatform - others. The results of the research allow us to maintain this idea. It is visualized how Twitter was valid as a space for debate on the issues exposed in *13 Reasons Why*. We have to decode a greater range of codes, which, depending on the intention of the sender or senders, can have a tangled diversity of combinations.

In this line, the need to train young people in reading and understanding the new codes is evident. Although, this is not new. It has been insisted on the incorporation in teaching, from the earliest age, of topics related to audiovisual narratives. This research also corroborates this need from the broader perspective of the use of multiple digital and *online* channels by young people.

Regarding the first two seasons of *13 Reasons Why*. They did not have the same acceptance from their fans. The data indicates that the second season did not reach the level of acceptance of the first season and even its last episode was the worst rated by a sector of its audience. The incoherence of the plot, subplots, and characters of the series is significant between the first and second seasons, leaving the audience dislodged by the contradictions in the story, the questioning of the causes that motivated Hannah Baker's suicide, the absence of an effective justice for rape cases, and the responsibilities of the people involved diluted by false testimonies or the

incorporation of a second plot - the behavior of the high school baseball players - that did not fit into a coherent and better-structured story that was present in the first season.

Another cause of the difference between the two seasons points to the strengths of the first season: the novelty of the series, its relationship with Jay Asher's novel, the controversies caused by the approach to complex issues, how Hannah Baker´s suicide was exposed. However, the forecast indicated that the interest in the second season was guaranteed; but, its development did not meet the expectations of the audience.

The split hypothesis is corroborated. The issues of bullying, rape, and suicide are debated on Twitter by followers of the second season of *13 Reasons Why*. In this regard, the authors of the tweets presented and raised relevant issues, also contributing their perceptions on how these issues were presented in the series.

13 Reason Why joins other series (*Everybody Hates Chris, Glee, The Simpsons, American Crime, Buffy the Vampire Slayer, Stranger Things, Big Little Lies, Degrassi, One Tree Hill*, among others) that have addressed directly or indirectly the issues that affect teens in a vital and complex moment from their personal vision and which must fit into an adolescent and youth environment. The second season of *13 Reasons Why* generated information exchange on those central topics of the series. Topics such as rape, suicide, and bullying were present in the content published by its audience on Twitter, tagging the tweets to expressly comment on the series and have their messages retrieved by other users of this social network.

The interactivity between users was potentially important due to the level of *engagement* registered by the accounts of the studied sample. As can also be seen in other studies, Twitter continues to be a valid channel for interacting and exchanging the experience of fans about their television series. In the exchange of tweets about the second season, conversation threads were created on Twitter with criticisms of the series, some of them valid, but the central issues of the content exposed in the stories of the characters had a significant presence: rape, suicide, and bullying.

The United States is the environment in which the *13 Reasons Why* stories take place and as a consequence, they are the Twitter accounts that most frequently generated content. Now, apart from being the Netflix platform the one that distributes the series in other countries and the advertising strategy carried out, the Twitter accounts of other countries in America and Europe also joined the debate on the issues exposed in the series. It is the reflection of the potential of a social network such as Twitter to establish communication channels and debates of content of interest in those common problems in societies or specific groups.

The study aimed to quantitatively identify how the *13 Reasons Why* audience posed content related to bullying, rape, and suicide on Twitter. Indeed, the results

confirm that presence. The chosen sample, in general, and after reorganizing it applying different criteria, exposes the interest of the followers of the series in debating the issues of bullying, rape, and suicide. Sometimes with content that established relationships between these topics. The debate was present in different countries generating significant *engagement*. Interest in bullying, rape, and suicide was above the audience's assessment of the series as an audiovisual proposal.

Regarding how the series exposes the issues of bullying, rape, and suicide, the results are not conclusive. Although the majority state that the series adequately focused on the issues, there is a significant percentage who indicates that it did not; with greater emphasis on the issue of rape and suicide. We cannot provide more consolidated conclusions in this regard. However, Twitter is a valid channel to express support or disagreements about productions such as *13 Reasons Why* and generate debates of interest for fans and society.

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Bullying, rape and suicide on Twitter: second season of 13 Reasons Why

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