Historical and Theoretical Framework of Suicide*

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Abstract

Being one of the most common aberrant behavior of mankind wordlwide, suicide was examined under various disciplines. The subjekt of this paper is the behavior and the behaoviral pattern of "suicide" and "suicide attempts", which is an ongoing phenomenon since the very begining of the humankind. In this paper it was aimed to elucidate this phenomenon by explaning its history and scientific theories propounded so far, regarding pyschological, sociological and genetical background.

1. Introduction

Not as a criminal act but because of its nature as an aberration of the normal way of behavior, suicide made its place also in criminilogical studies. Behavior, which is different or not in an accordance with the expectations of the society, is aberration or an aberrant behavior. Aberration as a social fact is a way of behavior, which is conducted by the associates of the society and more ambigious than the concept of criminal action, while not every aberration is to be concidered as criminal action in scope of criminal codes (Sokullu Akıncı, 2014: 36, 37)

As a result of that, suicide itself conduct any criminal offence, but guiding another person to commit suicide is concidered as a criminal offence in almost every criminal codes among the World (Öntan, 2015: 845 ff.).

According to the recent datas of World Health Organization, every 40 seconds one person and yearly over 800.000 people are ending their lives by commiting suicide. Suicide takes the second place among other causes of death between ages of 15 and 29. Poisining, using fire-arms and hanging appear to be most common methods of suicide. 75% of the suicides occur lower and mid-income countries and 25% in high income countries. According to datas, with a rate of 57%, deaths caused by suicide are higher than wars and genocides both together.[2] According to

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the datas of World Health Organization in 2017, Sri Lanka with a suicide rate of 35,8% takes the first place worldwide. Following it, with the rate of 32,7% Lithuania takes the second place. With rate of 28.3% Mongolia and Republic of Korea shares the third place.[3]

Under global evaluations, Europe is the highest rank holder. And within Europe this ratio is consantrated on eastern European countries like Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia, which have similar historical background and socio-cultural structure (Bertolote & Fleischmann, 2002).

If we would examine the countries according to the adopted religion, we can observe, that the rate of suicide in Muslim countries are much lower compared to the countries where other religions are adopted. For instance, in China, where Atheism is common, the rate is relatively high and following China , Japan, where Budism commonly adopted, comes in the second place. According to the data obtained in 1995, the number of people, who died due to suicide, worldwide was 900,000. Estimates of the future suicide rates suggest that by the year 2020, 1.53 million people will die by suicide, while suicide attempts will be 10-20 times more worldwide (Bertolote et al., 2002). From the data of Turkish Statistical Institute, published on 19. 06. 2015 (TÜİK, 2015: no. 18620), the highest suicide rate is in 2014 that is in the province of Tunceli and the lowest is in Bartın. Crude suicide rate 4,27 in houndred tousend in Turkey (number of suicides per capita population) in 2013, regressed to 3,97 in 2014. According to the revised number of suicides the number of deaths by suicide, regressed to 3065 in 2014, while it was 3252 in 2013 in Turkey. Based on this data, it can be said, that in 2014, 8 people per day commited suiced in Turkey on average.

According to gender percentage, 74.3% of those who commit suicide are males and 25.7% are women. And the highest rate of suicide was seen in the 80-84 age group. It was found that male suicides were higher than female suicides in all age groups except for suicides under 15 years of age. The age group with the highest difference in suicide rates was between 20-24, the age group with the least difference was between 15 and 85 years. 47.7% of those who committed suicide were married and it was detected that 24.9% of them were primary school graduates.

It is seen that suicide has also a relation with timeframe, according to statement, the timings are to be after midnight and prior to dawn, seasons mostly in summer and spring (Dokuz, 1966: 179).

2. Basic Concepts and History

2.1. Definition

Suicide is defined in the dictionary as "the extreme behavior or work that would endanger one's life, the death of one's life with the influence of social and spiritual causes" (Türkçe Sözlük, 2005: 975). The word "suicide"[4] (in English), and "Suizid"

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[3] http://apps.who.int/gho/data/view.main.MHSUICIDEv?lang=en
[4] In 1650's , derived from latin word suicidium. In latin sui mean self and cidium means killing for further information: http:// www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=suicide

(in German) which is used in western languages, is translated into turkish in the late period of Ottoman Empire during reform era with the word "intihar" instead of word "self infliction", which has its origins in Arabic. (Bulut & Küçüker & Bulut, 2012: 129).

World Health Organization defined suicide in 1974 as delibarate self destructive act of someone with concious of the results and aiming the result of death. Recently it is seen that WHO is approaching suicide concept, dividing it into two categories, which are suicide attempt and suicide itself, differing from each other regarding the result of death. While attempting suicide only means actions which have not end in result of death, suicide means when the actions are completed and successfull with the result of death (Harmancı, 2015).

A detailed definition of this phemenonon was made as following (Cliniard & Meier, 1975: 497; Retterstol, 1993:2); "An act with a fatal outcome, that is deliberately initiated and performed by the deceased him- or herself, in the knowledge or expectation of its fatal outcome, the outcome being considered by the actor as instrumental in bringing about desired changes in consciousness and/or social conditions."(Maskill & Hodges- & McClellan & Collings, 2005: 4). A "suicide attempt" is defined as behaviors involving the act of killing one's self, but not causing death and generally harming one's self, including all voluntary attempts by the individual to commit suicide, desruct, or cause harm (Maskill et al., 2005: 4). While suicides in Turkey are seen most among men, suicide attempts are most seen among women (Demirbaş, 2014: 305).

2.2. Historical Background

Although suicide is seen more as a personal behavior, it plays an important role in the underlying causes of social relations. It is also considered as a hostile act against other people in society (Poyraz, 2014: 1). It is stated that, in suicide one does not only kill himself by attacking himself, but also directs his anger against the others to himself by commiting suicide. For this reason, it is also said that when there is a lot of suicide in the society, there will be less human killing (Soyaslan, 2015: 189). In ancient Greece suicide was considered as a disgraceful act and a person who had committed commited suicide, yet did not receive the death, rites accorded common citizens. Life was accepted as a gift bestowed by the gods, therefore life and death was subjected to the will of the gods. As a direct result of this approach, taking one's own life was judged as a rebellion against the will of the gods. Mankind being the property of the gods, as it were, a suicide would be directly, needless to say, to invoke the wrath of the gods. Such ideas could be traced back around 500 BC (Retterstol, 1998: 1-5).

Plato, being generally opposed to suicide, anticipates three exceptions, when this action gains legitimacy, these are, when it is legally ordered by state (as in the case of Sokrates), incurable illness and unbearable pain and when someone is compelled to it due to the occurence of intolarable misfortune.[5] Plato showed a dual attitude towards suicide. According to him, defending the immortality of the

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[5] http://soars.org.uk/index.php/about/2014-06-06-18-57-53

soul in a pythagorean thought, the soul is trapped in the body and earthly life is a task place. Plato even forbids the organization of the funeral of the deceased for the reason that suicide is a disobedience to the state and says that the body should be buried away from the city. Aristotle, who considers human as a social creature, forbids suicide.the fact that one constitutes injustice against himself and the state. Accordingly, suicide is an example of a social irresponsibility and an attack against the state. The most important philosophical doctrine of the Hellenistic age, philosophy of stoicism, which emphasizes individuality, and has accepted the laws of nature as virtue, and death is as natural as life. There is no difference between those two. The person who commits suicide is neither responsible to God nor to the sociecty. The individual who prefers to die, as natural as he chooses to live, is the master of his own fate (Şen, 2008: 193, 194).

In ancient Rome, suicide was not considered to be a criminal or dishonorable act (Ruff, 1974: 5), it was forbidden for the slaves for economic reasons, and for soldiers as a necessity for homeland , whereas it was not forbidden for the citizens. As a matter of fact, soldiers belong to the state and slaves are the property of economic value. Cicero, a Roman statesman and philosopher, tells that death is a condition, that should not be feared and avoided. Since every human being will die one day and a state of existence required priorly for every death, death does not mean a lack. Suicide is, according to Cicero, neither good nor bad, somewhere between those two.[6] In fact, by Stoics suicide was glorified, roman law considered suicide as a crime regarding the violation of property rights, as it is with soldiers and slaves. Therefore, it was also common among the sentenced to commit suicide and die before in order to save the property, before the sentence was passed (Ruff, 1974: 11).

Still being considered as evil among the devout circles, the approach to suicide has begun to change with the Renaissance. The conceptualization of suicide in the Renaissance period is an assessment of the past, in the context of the interrogation of the judicial stance of the Middle ages and the re-emerge of the search for meaning in ancient time. But much differently than religious thought, the mediator of this assessment was then considered to be 'mind' (Şen, 2008: 197). Thomas More wrote his book "Utopia" in 1516, states that the person caught by a disease, which can not be healed, can recover and free himself from this pain, because it is not a person's happiness, which ends by means of death, but death means an end to torture and thus it is a sacred act. In Utopia More has said, that every possible way to alleviate the suffering of untreatable illnesses shall be tried. But if the illness is not untreatable and at the same time has turned into a great torture for the patient and has begun to give him terrible sorrows, the priests and the government officers shall come to the patient, in order to clarify that, he does not have to endure the suffering. Patients will be told that the suffering can be ended by those others visiting and it will be wise to do so, while it will also reflect the will of god represented by the priests and this behavior will carry the patient in a holy level by keeping the advises of priests. Patients, who are convinced to end their lives, either drink and eat nothing or take drugs, which takes them into a sleepy

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[6] http://soars.org.uk/index.php/about/2014-06-06-18-57-53, ŞEN, s. 194, 195.

journey to the death. However, patient can not be forced to do so against his will, the treatment of the patient, who rejects to die, shall continue with the same determination. The patient, who is convinced to choose death, choosed an honorable way. However who kills himself without the approval of the priests and government officers shall be neither buried or burned, but to be throwed into the nerast marsh (More, 2003: 112, 113).

David Hume, in 1777, in his "Essays on Suicide and the Immortality of Life", argued that, suicide happens to be a behavior neither against the prohibitions of god nor against other people or the person himself. According to Hume, god, by setting the rules of both living and lifeless life and providing them physical and mental powers, has given humans the right of self determination over their own lives. Hume states that suicide does not constitute a crime against society. Because the relationship between society and the individuals arises from a mutual exchange. The individual fulfills his responsibilities towards society in order to benefit from it. If the individual kills himself, this mutual relationship will also end and no obligation will remain. Suicide is not a crime against the person himself, if it is commited voluntarily, it is only using the power given by god. Anyone, who is healty and lucky, would choose to end his life by commiting suicide, however it there is despair without any resort, it would be meaningless to turn the life into a burden (Şen, 2008: 198). According to Hume, if the utilization of one's life were allocated to god's private realm, saving or protecting one's life would also mean a violation of god's sovereignty, as ending life would mean so (Hume, 2010: 6, 7). Approximately one year after Hume's work, on February 27, 1789, The Times published an article starting the argument, whether suicide was an example of courage or not. Three years later announced the same newspaper that, this debate became one of the most common daily life topics among all people (The Times, February 27, 1789).

As moving forward to the 19th century, the jury, charged with the axamination of unknown deaths in England, made decisions on the grounds of "non-compos mentis", which indicates someone having no mental stability (Latin Legal Term Glossary 2015). The jury pointed out in those decisions, that the person, who committed suicide, posess no mental balance. The approach of handling suicide as an action subjected to punishment in scope of religion, were abondoned in this century. By signing the "Suicide Act" in 1961, understanding suicide as a criminal act, was completely abandoned in the United Kingdom. This regulation, needless to say, was not recognised in Scotland, where suicide was never considered as a criminal offence (Neeleman, 1996).

2.3. Historical Bacground of Suicide in Turkey and Ottoman Empire

Looking into the history of Turkey, it is stated that suicide rates escalated since 1980 and there were not so many suicides during the era of Ottoman Empire (Doğru, 1998). However, the limitation of recourses reflecting this period and the difficulty to achive these limited recourses hinders to achieve a certain assessment.

The youngest person, commiting suicide in Ottoman Empire, is known to be Tiko son of Anastus, who was 19 years old and the oldest is Süleyman Rahanaki at the age of 50. Individuals, commiting suicide, are detected to be generally between the

ages of 20-35 years. From the gender perspective, the majority of the deceased consisted of males. Among the suicide methods firearms and drowning in water were the most common ones. However, while the methods, prefered at most in big cities, occured to be jumping from the roof of a high building, use of chemical substances and fire-arms; hanging and drowning in water were the predominant methods in villages. Needles to say, regarding the methods, differing from urban to rural areas, the facilities and the available equipment were also efficient. The causes of suicides on the other hand, were mainly economic troubles, blind love, illness, honor and desperation. In analysing the phenomenon, different approaches were adopted depending on the religion and race of the deceased. Hereunder it was desired to believe that, the suicides of muslims, unlike other congregations, resulted from insanity or disease. Beside from that there were also sharp differences between the attitutes of muslims and non-muslims against suicide. Although they were not completely open about it and accepted suicide, Muslims still stood for performing the praying at the funeral of the deceased. However, among non Muslims it was thought less of the deceased and his family. While the Muslims believed that the deceased were to be punished in afterlife and were not be able to accepted to heaven, non-muslims considered suicide as shame and therefore were opposed to perform funeral ceremony. When an ordinary person being citizen of the Ottoman Empire commited suicide, the necessary investigation was carried out by the authorities or prominents and experts of the village or the place, where event took place. However, in the suicides of foreigners, both embassies and representatives were informed, and also tenant of the time participated in the interrogation himself. The fact that, the investigation could not be carried out without the presence of the official representatives of the related government, can be interpreted both as evidence of how influential and important the foreigners in Ottoman Empire were (Güller, 2015: 16-27). On the other hand, it was not possible to start with the investigation process both for muslims, non-muslims and foreigners, unless the requirement of complatint coming from the relatives or neighbours of the decased was fulfilled (Güller, 2015: 27).

Suicide cases in Ottoman Empire were not only seen among the ordinary people, but also among the intellectuals, Nobles, Burokrats, the ruling levels of the state and even among the Sultans. As a matter of fact, there was an allegation that, although the death of Sultan Abdulaziz was a murder, it was tried to be legitimized by showing it as a suicide (Güller, 2015: 29; Alagöz, 2012: 1-13). It was also claimed that Yıldırım Bayezid commited suicide by drinking the poison in his ring after his defeat against Timur (Toprak, Cumhuriyette Genç Kız ve Kadın İntiharları 2001). Also, naturalist writer Beşir Fuad committed a suicide and donated his body to the medical faculty for research purposes. About the causes behind his suicide, it was claimed that his belief in genetics and fear of becoming insane like his mother, early death of his beloved son Namık Kemal, his personal problems regarding his family and personellife and the fear of losing his fortune and leaving nothing behind for his children played a role (Özturan, 1991: 12).

Altough the difficulty to reach a generalization about the causes of suicide in Ottoman society is evident, the influence of the economic, social and cultural situations, the state go through over the years, can be guiding in this matter.

At the end of the 17th century in Ottoman Empire, social degradation and dissolution entered a rapid process. The failure of the Vienna Siege in 1683 had great importance for both Ottoman and European history. But the failure of encirclement was not a surprise for the Ottoman, who has been poor since a century ago. The status of the Ottoman treasury in the years of 1686-1687 was not particularly bright. The failure in paying salaries besides the lack of providing the basic needs of the people, were just first signs of a tragic collapse. Also, social and cultural change in Europe since the end of the 16th century had negative effects on the Ottoman Empire (Karabulut, 2010: 126). Increasing westernization efforts together with the reform era, called Tanzimat, had led to a cultural and sociological confusion of the folk at the same time, and the economic situation of the state also contributed to this crisis significantly. Together with Tanzimat, Ottoman society has undergone a rapid change. Whereas the non-Muslim people, or minorities, had been granted many rights, muslims were not able to benefit from those rights. The cultivation of the land and the heavy taxation, military innovations and laws, the economic troubles of the Muslim society had led to a great desperation and frustration. The difficulties, faced in fulfilling the task of livelihood, imposed by the patriarchal society, bringing all these factors together, seem to be a likely reason for suicides among Muslim men (Güller, 2015: 4,5).

The economic situation in the state during the reform era, the negative effects of westernization initiatives on the public and the suicide rates have also shown itself in the literature of the era. As a matter of fact, in most of the works written during this period, characters committing suicide can be found. Between the period from the end of the 19th century until the end of the 1930s, suicide can be observed as one of the main themes in the Turkish novels, especially in the context of love. Giving the name of one of the writers in this era Nabizâde Nazım's famous roman, as a result of the plans of character Zehra, Sırrıcemal commits suicide, for whom Zehra's husband left her. Zehra's husband Suphi on the other hand can not dare to commit suicide, even though he came to the brink of it. In Ahmet Mithat Efendi's Dürdâne Hanım, the main charakter of the novel commits suicide to punish the person who impregnated her but did not married with her. In Şemseddin Sami's novel Taaşşuk-i Talat ve Fitnat, Fitnat, who could not marry his loved one, commits suicide. Suicides are also seen in works such as Hussein Fellah (Ahmet Mithat Efendi), Aşk-ı Memnu (Halid Ziya Uşaklıgil), Zavallı Çocuk (Namık Kemal). In the Novels, the reasons of suicides of the charakters seem to be predominanlty love, jealousy, not being able to be with the loved one and illness (Kılıç, 2013: 43-70).

Coming to the repuclican era, unlike today, the weight of suicide rates were among women. As a matter of fact, this situation seems to be a reflection of the economic and social situation of the time. The radical changes have always had an impact on the psychology of society (Toprak, Genç Kız ve Kadın İntiharları II 2002: 15-19). In the first stages of this process in Ottoman Empire, there was a process, in which there were considerable reforms were carried regarding gender. Along with the reforms in the Civil Code, opening of the doors of many educational institutions to the women, the promotion of women to the professional life, the right to be elected and elect, and the other achivements in the public were the main ones of these changes. Therefore, it would not be wrong to claim, that these radical changes in

the Republican period affected women significantly. On the one hand, it is unlikely to claim that along with those reforms there were also an important change of the perception of society towards women. The role of women in the sanctity of building a healthy generation and in the holliness of the family continued to be imposed on the woman, and the existence of the women still can only be legitimized by gaining a meaing in the constitution of a sacred family. Moreover, this perception also manifests itself in the aim of medical science, as correcting the "spiritual disorder" of the woman. The most obvious manifestation of this disorder was considered to be suicide. According to the doctors of the time, young girls in puberty were different from boys, they were under different effects and therefore should be under constant supervision and directed to the right path. Young girls involved in sociecty for educational purpose were belived to cause many "frenzies". These and similar dominant perceptions of the time, the transmision of the values of the society, triggered by the climate of republic, metamorphosis in urban calture, livelihood problems, intergenerational conflicts and the reactions of the individuals to this irritation showed itself clearer in the result of suicide (Toprak, Cumhuriyette Genç Kız ve Kadın İntiharları 2002: 25-28).

Unemployment was a major problem in Turkey in the 1930s. The influence of the 1929 World Economic Crisis was great. In the suicide cases, seen in these years, a significant part of the deceased consisted of the minorities. As a matter of fact, applying 160 persons for the bureaucratic staff position for only three persons vacancies and the decision of the Municipality of Istanbul in 1931, that the people who do not speak Turkish, could not be a porter, shows that a part of the society was more exposed to the problem of unemployment. Until 1955 after the effects of World Economic Cris, it was observed, that the usual suicide incidents did not change much until 1955, however after the year 1955 there was a sudden increase of suicides of students, workers and intellectuals observed. Coming to the 1980's, because of the increases occuring, the year was named as "Turkey's gregorian history of suicides". As a matter of fact, compared to 1978 and 1984, suicides reached a increase exceeding 100%. The martial law commands, warning the journalists in order to prevent publication of suicide cases, was a fact, indicating the increasing rates of suicide cases. In this context, the year 1980 with the military action of 12th September and the economic decisions of January 24th was a turning point both in the economic and political field. The economic decisions of January 24, 1980 were the whole set of decisions that led to the rise of unemployment, the sharp decrease in wages, and the peak of social unrest. After September 12, 1980 police suicides gained an epidemic outlook, although it barely occured before this date. According to the statement made by the Chief of Police Forces (1984), the number of police officers who committed suicide reached 77 from 1977 until 1986, while only 10 police officers had committed suicide in 1984. This number reached 4002 by the end of 1999. According to available data, including the Seljuks, the sum of the Ottoman Empire in all periods, including the Republic of Turkey from the begining until 1980, the number of all the suicide cases together were even less than the rates of suicides incidents from 1980 onwards up to 2000 (Güçlü, 2001: 7-12).

3. Theorical Framework of Suicide

To explain the theories about suicide, it is very important to mention the conception which originates from pessimism and leads to the emerge of existentialism. Since the existentialism adressing the phenomenon of death will be helpful in comprehending the suicide. Heidegger happened to be the one bringing the argument of death into focus, thus the argumentation of existentialism and death began with him. Later, Satre, in his work "Being and Nothingness" discussed the theme of death in a chapter and critisized Heidegger. Camus discussed the phenomenon of suicide and murder in two of his works, which can be described as philosophical (Myth of Sisyphus, 1942; The Rebel, 1951) (Kaufmann, 1959: 73-93).

Arthur Schopenhauer (1788-1860, German philosopher), one of the most important advocates of pessimism, has said, that the desire for existence and living is the cause world's sorrow, misery and all the strugle. According to him, people live in a world where the big fish devour the small one. It is not a good world but the worst among the possible worlds. Human life is not worth living because of pain and suffering, this is also a result of human's being the cause of pain and suffering itself. In fact, fighting against the waves is just a battle destined to be lost and the only winner of this battle is the death itself at the end. Mankind is selfish and jealous on the basis and that's why the history is full of murders, rooberies, intrigues and lies. Another German philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), represented the gloomy picture of the human world. Partially naturalist and irrationalist, Nietzsche propounded the "superior human" philosophy, who is to survive and rule over the weak. For him, man's desire for power is his basic urge, and at the same time it's his birth right to rule over the weak and the lower, to establish sovereignty. Morality is only, what the superior man prescribes and to be followed by the others. According to Nietzsche, the objective world is an appearance, an illusion. Only the strongest ego is the real subjectivity, which does represent the real world or the society. Both Schopenhauer and Nietzsche are well known philosopher for extrem pessimism, however they also managed to influence the philosophy of existentialism, based on mankind's subjectivity, atheism and individuality. This philosophy of existentialism, believing that mankind has free will, still emphasizes, that he is condemned and living in this world without any meaning or aim. That's why, it is believed that, man is what he makes of himself. Camus, one of the representatives of existentialism, says that, outside world is a state of the individual and the only philosophical problem is the problem of suicide. For him, man is always in an absurd state, confronts always with the absurd situations like jealousy, ambition and selfishness and he is condemned to act meaningles and aimless; he constantly faces the fear of death. And the only solution for his anxieties, fears and ambitions is to commit suicide. For suicide is inherent in human nature, giving the proper situation man will jump into the well of suicide for ending his life (Javata, 2010: 1-5).

3.1. Psychological Theories

First explanations for the basic pscyhological reasons of suicide were made by austrian scientist Sigmund Freund (Masango & Rataemane & Motojesi, 2008: 25-29). He strictly refused to explain the mental activity with materialist approaches.

He has propounded a subjectivist theory, in which distorted human relationships indicate the reason for extraordinary behavior, such as suicide. According to him underneath this disordered relations, along with all other extraordinary factors sexuality lies. And also the main reason for suicide is the sexual insticts, which are not adequately satisfied. Mental activity is something, that goes side by side with the independent, intellectual process, and is governed by unknown, inner psychic forces, that lie beyond consciousness. Like destiny, it dominates the soul of man; especially the mental conflict between the unconscious war for sexual pleasure, aggression and the principle of reality, that the mind has embraced. According to Freud, all mental states, including every act of humankind, historical events, and social phenomenon, including suicide, are subjective psychological-analysis. This theory of Freud has been criticized for identifying the sole cause of suicide as sexual instincts. On the other hand, the idea of irrational powers being influential in the mental process has contributed to reducing conflicts and positively guiding individuals with mental illness (Javata, 2010: 114-118).

Freud also said that, if the abandoned person, who is left, can not direct his anger to the one he loves, this negative energy will return to him. In his work "jenseits des Lustprinzips" (beyond the pleasure principle) in 1920, the stated that two instincts of life (eros) and agression or death (thanatos) come up against each other (Fledman, 2010: 179). As he in his work in 1917 in "Trauer und Mancholie" (mourning and melancholia) indicated, for him suicide means the agression of the one, that he could not be able to direct to one another (Plitz, 2013: 25, 26).

Another psychological approach to suicide is Baumeister's "escape theory", which hypothesizes, that suicide is the reaction of the one feeling trapped in a situation, from which the person believes there is no escape. Baumeister, indicating that a proposal of a single psychological process to explain all suicides would be naive, says that, failures and setbacks with also producing internal attributions, can lead to suicide. He suggests that, suicidal individuals experience mostly exceptional high standars, which lead them eventually to evaluate themselves worthless (Baumeister, 1990: 90, 104). By some authors this theory found similar to Durkheim's fatalistic suicide theory (Holmes & Holmes, 2006: 35). However, both theories seem to considerably differ from another, particularly with regards to motives of the person. While in escape theory suicidal behavior arises from desperation, in Durkheim's fatalistic suicide, the motive is to sacrifice oneself for a higher cause.

For the founder of modern suicidiology, Schneidman, suicide is not a disease of the brain. He wrote in his book "Book of Death" that, there is a great deal of mental pain and suffering without suicide, however there is no suicide without a great deal of pain behind it. The basic formula for suicide is for him rather straightforward; it is introsprective torture with the idea of death as a release (Leenaars, 2010: 5-18).

3.2. Durkheim's Sociological Theories

The suicide analysis of Emile Durkheim's in his mogoraph "suicide", written in 1897, is still the most praised, discussed, and utilized sociological theory of suicide. He classified the types of suicides in this work as egoistic, altruistic, anomic and

fatalistic. Also, his classification of suicide like this is considered as the first sociological theory about suicide (Kathriarachchi & Perera & Dharmasena & Sivayogan, 2004: 115-126; Durkheim, 2005: 105-201). According to this classification;

Egoistic Suicide: It is seen if the individual can not participate in social life enough (Durkheim, 2005: 168, 169). The lack of family relationships is the reason, why unmarried people are more open to suicide than married people. In rural areas, compared to the cities, social integration is more common among people, so the rate of suicide is lower. Another example is seen among Catholics and Protestants. The Catholic sect is more of a holding together than the Protestant, and as a result, the suicide rates are higher among the members of the Protestant church (Masango et al., 2008: 26). Political integrations, such as war situations, revolutions and other cases, where political crises are seen, also result in a decrease in suicide rates. Such situations raise common sensitivity in individuals and encourage them to work together against the enemy (Kathriarachchi et al., 2004: 119).

Altruistic Suicide: What Kant once called as "heroic suicide" is, what Durkheim later called altruistic suicide (Leenaars & Wenckstern, 2004: 134). As extreme individualization can lead to suicide, inadequate individuality can have the same effect. Just as egoism is a state, that the ego lives its own life and serves only itself, altruism is exactly the opposite. In alturism ego does not have ownership, it is blended with something, that is not itself but foreign to it. When aim of the behavior belongs to the outside group, intense altruism and related altruistic suicides will take place (Durkheim, 2005: 175, 180). In this type of suicide, invidiuality of the person, is rather under inputs and directions coming from the group or society. In situations, where such suicide is the case, the bond between the individual and society is much stronger than it should be, and it is the issue of one sacrificing oneself for a purpose of the society. According the data obtained from those countries, altruistic suicide is very rare in high-welfare countries. On the other hand, these types of suicides are seen in the armies of modern societies and assault communities. Suicide attacks are examples of altruistic suicide cases (Kathriarachchi et al., 2004: 118, 119). As various researches approved, suicide attacks in Palestinian exhibit a clear example of altruistic suicides; in this case, decisive factor of suicide bombers is their strong belongingness to a group (e.g. Hamas) (Abu Lughod R. A. & Montonya L, 2016: 30, 31).

Anomic Suicide: This type of suicides arises when the rules of society's are imposed very weakly on the individual. In this case, the behavior of the individuals is distorted by the common order, and the individual's integrity to society is damaged. When serious rearrangements arise in society, regardless of whether they are tied to major catastrophes, people will tend to commit more suicides (Kathriarachchi et al., 2004: 118, 119; Masango et al., 2008: 26). Dramatic or unexpected disastrous social changes will set the stage for such suicides (Javata, 2010: 120). As an important example for anomic suicides, it was indicated, that as a result of The Great Recession suicide rates escalated in response of the 2008 crisis. Moreover, it was found out, that different factors such as employment and

marital status played role in suicides of males and females and affected them differently (Hodwitz & Frey, 2016: 252).

Fatalistic suicide: Fatalistic suicides will arise when society imposes rules strictly on individuals. In this case, the individual will suffer and suffer under oppressive social order and law (Kathriarachchi et al., 2004: 118, 119). Resulting from overregulation, this type of suicide distinguishes from anomic suidice, which results from underregulation (Lester, 1990: 129). The suicides, commited by slaves, prisinors or others, living in an enviroment where their every action is observed, can be examples of this type of suicides (Maris, 1997). As the connetion between totalitarianism was pointed out, suicide rates are confirmed to be higher in nations, where the government imposes strict sanctions on population (Stack, 1979). In Iran, where suicide rates are observably low, compared to western countries, researches conducted in Tehran since 1961 show that suicide rates are much higher among females compared to males. Being considered to have a fatalistic outlook, factors behind these suicides are believed to be patriarchal sturucture of society, polygamy, being forced into marriage at young ages. Compared to the regions with overregulation for women, it is stated that in Iranian regions, where more freedom from the overregulation for women is exhibited, suicide rates are much lower (Aliverdinia & Pridemore 2009: 309, 310, 317).

3.3. Genetical Theories

Beside from the ongoing theories focusing on social or psyhological background of the phenomenon, some scientists have also took different appoaches on the matter and conducted studies and researches to find out, whether genetic factors also play role in one's tendency to suicide. Regarding genetical way of explaining this phenomenon, as a result of facts of genetics, there must be suicide cases in the lineage of the one, who commited suicide. In other words, basic principle of genetics is the idea of passing certain charakteristics on generations by birth. Hence in context of suicide, the reason of this type of behaviour shall be genes, which are passed on from lineal ancestors (Javata, 2010: 125). According to studies of John Mann, chief neuroschientist at the New York State Psychiatric Institute, the results of his genetic tests on 412 Caucasians with major depression, 154 of whom had attempted suicide, revealed, that a variant of gene called RGS2 appeared more often in those, attempting suicide (Sample, 2011). Although this study reveals a connetion between depression and suicidal behaviour based on the genetic factors, it is also stated that, even though most of the people, attempting or commiting suidice are diagnosed to have psychological disorders, not everyone having psychological disorder, commits suicide. Therefore, it is still not accurate to establish a direct relation between these two (Van Orden & Cukrowicz & White & Braithwaite & Selby & Joiner, 2010: 575-578). On the other hand, it is also stated that, with the basich principle of evolution, saying that the behavior generated by a gene should maximise the frequency in population and implying individuals tries to survive and use as much as reproductive resources as possible, it is difficult to make sense of suicide from an evolutionary perspective (Szentes & Thomas, 2013: 426 ff.).

4. Conclusion

Suicide with a history as old as humankind itself, is an extremely complex phenomenon and difficult to understand. And although it is impossible for the subjectivity of suicidal behavior to be able to say, that suicidal consequences are inevitable in the case of solid proposals, it was aimed to point on in this paper, that also its sociological and psychological background sheds light on understanding the phenomenon and will be helful to create prevential solutions, in order to decrease the rates of suidices worldwide. Additionaly the economic situation, psychological and psychiatric states of the individual (whether or not they have an existing discomfort) and the negative developments experienced in social areas such as family and friends are important in understanding the etiology of behavior. Fundamentally, the history of the country is also determinant for the prevention policies, that are desired to be developed.

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