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1. Failing to fulfil religious duties:

Strong theme among conservative groups in the Netherlands and in the UK.

“According to my faith, death is only the beginning. It is the beginning of the real life and what we are experiencing now is only an exam. Committing suicide means failing that exam. The pain God has given you is not more than what you can tolerate” Murat (third generation, male of Turkish descent in the Netherlands)

“ All of us have miserable times. But I cannot think about upsetting things more than 3 hours at most. I ask myself whether this is an exam or reality. When I admit that this is indeed an exam then I stop feeling upset. It always works” Merve (second generation female of Turkish descent in the UK)

“If someone completes suicide then they say the person has sent themselves to Hell” Münevver (first generation Turkish female in the UK)

“I have spoken to some people about this focus group meeting before I arrived here. Their first reaction was ‘Don’t you have other things to do? If someone completes suicide they are not even buried in a Muslim cemetery... if I were you I wouldn’t dare to talk about it’ ” Hatice (first generation, Arabic-Alevi female in the Netherlands)

2. Failing to fulfil strictly defined gender roles- “men’s pride & women’s honour”

“I know a man. He found out that his wife was cheating on him. This was followed by gossip in the community. His “man’s pride” was hurt. He couldn’t tolerate the gossip any longer and he committed suicide” Serra (third generation Turkish female in the Netherlands)

“We usually hear young girls committing suicide to protect the honour of the family. If they lose their virginity before they get married, the society finds their suicide attempt normal” Murat (second generation Turkish male in the Netherlands)

“I had a close friend who disclosed his thoughts about committing suicide to me. He even handed over his suicide letter to me. I spoke to him and asked him the reasons. He said to me that his daughter was engaged to marry a guy and recently they broke up. He was constantly worrying about the gossip in the community and the reputation of his family” Mustafa (first generation Kurdish male in the Netherlands)

3. Suicide as a resentful action

Key informants (3) spoke about it as an aggressive and impulsive reaction to take revenge. Kurdish participants from focus group meeting more often defined suicide as a result of resentment compared to other participants.

Aggressive reaction to take revenge, to manipulate parents and self-directed aggression

“Suicide means taking revenge from your loved ones (family) because you are angry at them. This is a pain for life time.. It cannot be forgiven and cannot be reversed.... The people who are left behind keep on blaming themselves for the rest of their lives” Ali (first generation Turkish male in the UK)

Key informants:

“They usually express it in a very aggressive way, they say things like they will make me kill myself or they will make me end myself ...” Elif (first generation Turkish female in the UK)

“They (homosexual men) want to explain how desperate they are through suicide attempt... Because words don't come easy, they cannot talk about it with their parents. Parents don't understand and will not understand. They are in fact very mad at them... But once they have an attempt and hospitalized, mothers want to reunite with their sons... after all they are their sons... If they cannot talk about it, then they think maybe suicide attempt helps them to get their way... ”. Mert (second generation Turkish male in the Netherlands)

“A young woman completed suicide very recently... From the gossip in the community, it appears that she was against her parents' divorce and she warned them many times about her sensitivity. She even had few suicide attempts... Her suicide was well planned as if she wanted to say *if you break up I will kill myself*”. Ahmet (first generation Kurdish male in the UK)

One psychiatrist from psychoanalytic school of thought associated suicide attempts with a conflict in separation individuation process.

“They are expected to stay as a child in their family so their personality is not developed. They are also very vulnerable and apprehensive during the therapeutic relationship... Once they see their responsibility in their problems, they get very scared because they don't want to get better. They want to stay in that protective therapeutic relationship instead. Getting better means individuation in other words separation from the family... ”. Elif (first generation Turkish female in the UK)

#### **4. Splitting and marginalization “context-diasporic culture”**

Strong theme among 3<sup>rd</sup> generation conservative Dutch community group, 3<sup>rd</sup> generation mixed University students in the Netherlands, Alevis in the Netherlands, a bi-sexual man in London and key informants in the UK and the Netherlands.

“The Turkish community in the Netherlands live in 2 cultures. On the one hand, there is liberal, individualistic Dutch culture and on the other hand there is Turkish culture teaching us the rules, boundaries and expectations... I sometimes feel stacked between this two” Ayse (third generation female of Turkish descent in the Netherlands)

“The disadvantage of living in 2 cultures is not feeling belong to anywhere. You are not completely Dutch here but you are also not completely Turkish in Turkey. We are a nation which is stacked between the 2 cultures. We don't have a place anywhere” Fatma (third generation female of Turkish descent in the Netherlands)

“ I don't see this as a disadvantage. In fact it is an advantage. For example we learn to take many responsibilities from a young age and because of it we are much more mature than our Dutch peers” Murat (third generation male of Turkish descent in the Netherlands)

**\*Whether you see it as an advantage or a disadvantage depends on your parents' acculturation attitude-are they are settled here or are they planning to go back to Turkey once they have saved enough money for their children and for the rest of their lives**

**\*\*Murat (third generation male of Turkish descent in the Netherlands)**

Gender differences appeared in views regarding gender roles. Some participants spoke about greater distress on Turkish women in relation to their different roles in 2 cultures (they are more family oriented and took more responsibilities not only for parents but also for their neighbours). Men from third generation often spoke more about participating in activities and not having too much obligations as much as young women. Splitting was emphasised as a distressing strategy among homosexual young people in the Turkish-speaking community in the Netherlands.

“From what I know suicide happens much more among young Kurdish people in London. Parents work for 24 hours every day. Every hour brings more money. Kids grew up without seeing their parents and when they turn 16/17 then they assume the life will be this way. This sort of life has no meaning for them” Ali (first generation male of Kurdish descent)

#### Key informants:

You are expected to choose a group. In my experience 90% of them choose Turkish culture, hence their parents. When it comes to choosing ... I find it very difficult. Why do you have to choose? Once you choose then you have less space for personal development. I never identified myself with being Turkish. That made it easy to improve myself in terms of religion and culture. Once you don't have this comfort, I think you are more likely to experience conflicts with your friends and with your family. Eventually if there is no development and no communication then psychological problems start and suicide is part of this picture. Murat (second generation male in the UK).

“ Young people try to integrate and spent every single day fighting for it... They play a different role at home with their parents, a different role at school and a different one with their peers in their neighbourhood. This exhausts them as far as I can see. *They play three theatres every single day*” Ahmet (first generation Kurdish male in the UK)

“They don't know who they are, are they an extension of their family or are they British? *They feel stacked in the middle....*” Elif (first generation Turkish female in the UK)

“ You know gang culture exists... Suicide is common among people belonging to those gangs. Once they are asked whether they are coward or *chicken* by their peers then they are provoked to prove the opposite and they become a member of a gang... Then mafias take them in. People who want to escape end up committing suicide” Ahmet (first generation Kurdish male in the UK)

“ Finding balance is not always easy... It is like trying to putting hot and cold or black and white together.... This can of course cause stress... Turkish language and Dutch language are very different and when you try to combine them or when you try to translate from Turkish to Dutch it does not make any sense....You could be misunderstood easily and you could hurt someone easily...” Mert (second generation Turkish male in the Netherlands)

## 5. Polarization and “black and white thinking”

Black & white thinking was commonly spoken. It was often contextualised in a family atmosphere. Over-protective parenting was often spoken among 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>nd</sup> generation women and this type of parenting was associated with failure to protect the younger generation which would result in suicide

### Key informants:

“*All or nothing thinking* exists.... Sometimes they cannot find alternatives easily and because they don’t know what to do, suicide becomes an available alternative”. Mert (second generation Turkish male in the Netherlands)

“They don’t have strong role models...Aaam.. They don’t have a state of mind encouraging them to grow or to cope with problems or to be confident with themselves. They are always sensitive and the way they cope with this apprehensiveness is ‘I will do it’. This is a fake confidence.... They think either they can do everything or they cannot do anything” Elif (first generation Turkish female in the UK)

“Some parents are over-protective. They do everything for their children and children never have the chance to learn how to handle the problems. They don’t feel confident and even a small set back is very distractive for them.... Sometimes parents don’t have enough time to spend with their children because of family related problems, irregular working hours or unemployment. Then children grow up with the idea that they have to do everything by themselves and so they don’t know what asking for help means or how to do that...” Elif (first generation Turkish female in the UK)

“Children grow up in a different world until they turn to 6. They experience lack of affection from their father who is almost absent.... The mother, who is constantly oppressed, shows ‘*chicken-type*’ protection to her children. Instead of showing affection, she tries to take them under her wings like a chicken. Then a sort of relationship based on interests starts.... ‘*If you don’t do this we will buy this for you*’. Then children, growing up in this world, believe that life is based on this give and take principle. But once they go to school, they realize that life outside the house is completely different” Ahmet (first generation Kurdish male in the UK)