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WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED ABOUT SUICIDE? A HARSH CRITIQUE OF THEORY AND RESEARCH

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Abstract: The purpose of this essay is to review the field of what is known as *suicidology* in order to explore what we have learned about why people die by suicide. This review is going to be harsh, not in terms of criticizing what researchers and theorists have written, but rather by omitting citations to those who have become well-known in the field, past and present.

I reviewed the research and theory on suicidal behavior from 1897 to 1997 in four books which I titled *Why People Kill Themselves*. Those books did not, however, critique the papers cited. The aim was to provide for those in the field a convenient reference to what had been published in those years. I did choose the outstanding contributors in the 3rd and 4th editions of the book, but many of those chosen there are not cited here. They did publish a large number of articles on one issue in the field, thereby stimulating others, but their contributions do not necessarily assist our understanding of suicidal behavior.

This review will also focus on why people die by suicide and not people who attempt suicide but survive.

The Societal Suicide Rate

The major questions about the societal suicide rate is what determines the variation over time within a region (time-series theories) and what determines the suicide rate from region to region (ecological theories). In fact, the explanations are typically given for both of these variations.

There have scorers of correlational studies on both of these variations, but the results are typically uninteresting theoretically. For example, suicide rates (over time and region) are positively associated with divorce rates and unemployment rates. This is hardly surprising. Have there been any correlates of societal suicide rates that surprise us? No. What is of use for understanding suicide?

Insight #1: Henry and Short

One of the theories that has been neglected is that provided by Henry and Short (1954). Henry and Short proposed that, when people in a society are miserable or unhappy, if they have an external cause to blame for their misery, then they will be angry, and homicide rates will increase. If, however, there is no external cause to blame for their misery, then they will blame themselves, become depressed and more likely to kill themselves.

This theory explains, for example, why the oppressed in a society have higher homicide rates while the oppressors have higher suicide rates. In line with this, African Americans in the United States have higher homicide rates while whites have higher suicide rates.

Interestingly, Henry and Short also extended their theory and applied it at the individual level and, in addition, proposed child-rearing techniques of punishment that would lead to individual differences in suicidal-homicidal tendencies. They proposed that love-oriented punishment techniques would lead children to suppress their anger and become depressed and suicidal in the long term, while physical punishment would allow anger to be experienced.

Insight #2: Uematsue and the Cohort Effect

Uematsue (1961) in an obscure journal proposed that the number of potential suicides in a cohort is fixed. If that cohort has a high suicide rate at an early age, it will have a low suicide rate later in life, and vice versa. Lester (1984) tested this hypothesis and partially confirmed it. With data available for cohorts only for a maximum of 35 years (rather than lifetime), Lester confirmed Uematsue's hypotheses for female suicide rates in the United States but not male suicide rates.

This raises the possibility that suicide is, at least in part, genetically determined. Such a hypothesis could, of course, be tested using methodologically sound twin studies, that is, comparing identical with non-identical twin pairs. However, the childhood and subsequent experiences of identical and non-identical twins are not similar.

Insight #3: The Natural Suicide Rate

Maris (1981) speculated that the suicide rate could never be zero no matter how ideal the social-economic conditions were. Coming from a economic perspective, Yang and Lester (2004) speculated that, just as the unemployment rate can never be zero, perhaps the suicide rate of a society can never be zero. They tested this by devising regression equations for several countries using divorce and unemployment rates to predict the suicide rate over regions of each country. Setting the divorce and unemployment rates to zero still predicted positive and non-zero suicide rates for each country. For a review of recent research on this issue see Yang and Lester (2021).

Insight #4: Taylor and Moksony and a Broad Social Variable

Both Taylor (1990) and Moksony (1990) argued that social indicators such as divorce rates do not directly affect the suicide rate. Rather, such social indicators are measures of broader social qualities which affect the suicide rate. Evidence for this comes from a study by Lester (1995) who found that the divorce rate of the states of the United States was associated with the suicide rate of divorced people and also the suicide rates of single, married, and widowed people, indicating that the divorce rate was an indicator of general social malaise.

Lester (1994) correlated many variables over the states and found that one set of variables were highly inter-correlated and the factor score (using a factor analysis) was associated with the suicide rate of the states. The set included the crime rate, the divorce rate, inter-state migration, the percent divorced, And alcohol consumptions positively loaded on the factor and the percent born in state and church attendance loaded negatively on the factor. Again, this suggests the presence of a broader social variable such as social malaise or social disintegration.

Insight #5: The Suicide Rate as a Random Walk

The random walk was a concept proposed by Pearson (1905) and refers to a mathematical description of a path that consists of a succession of random steps. It describes such diverse phenomena as the path traced by a molecule as it travels in a liquid or a gas and the price of a fluctuating stock or stock index (Malkiel, 1973). If a stochastic process follows a random walk, then any disturbance to the process will persist over time. If the time series suicide rate was a random walk, then the changes from day to day would be random and yet subject to shocks, that is, societal crises. The randomness might explain, in part, why suicide prevention efforts have failed in the last ten years.

Yang (1994) explored whether the suicide rate in the USA from 1933 to 1987 followed a random walk. (The USA started producing mortality statistics for the whole USA only in 1933.) Using econometric techniques of analysis, she found that the time-series suicide rate fits a random walk process overall, for six age groups and for four sex-by-race groups.

Insight #6: Suggestion

One societal happening that might affect deviations from a random walk is the media coverage of a celebrity suicide. Phillips (1974) and Stack (1987) have documented that celebrity suicides result in an increase in suicides in the society after media coverage of the suicide.

Insight #7: Access to Methods for Suicide

There is more to the suicidal act than the outcome. There is also the staging of the act (Lester & Stack, 2015) which involves choosing the method for suicide, the location, whether to write a suicide note, etc. Access to methods for suicide plays a large role. For example, in the UK, when home gas for heating and cooking was coal gas, coal gas was a popular method for suicide. When the UK switched to natural gas, which is less toxic and so more difficult to use for death, the suicide rate declined. In less industrialized and more rural countries, pesticides are used extensively, as is their use for suicide.

Discussion

There have been other interesting theories of the suicide rate in societies or in subgroups of the society which have received only partial support (that is, support in some studies and a failure to support the theory in other studies).

For example, the *social deviancy theory* of suicide argues that suicide rates will be higher in groups in a society which are deviant in age, sexual orientation, ethnicity, etc. For example, Lester (1987) found that the fewer non-whites in a state, the higher their suicide rate.

Subcultural theories focus on characteristics of the society or part of the society. For example, states with a southern subculture have higher rates of gun ownership and higher rates of suicide using firearms (Lester, 1986-1987).

The Individual Suicide

Insight #8: Psychiatric Disturbance

It is obvious that an understanding of suicide necessitates taking into account psychiatric disturbance. There are, however, grave problems with psychiatry as a science and, therefore, with psychiatric diagnosis.

To introduce you to my major objection, let us assume you have a headache and a fever. You go to your family physician, and he tells you that you have a disease called headache-fever, or HF for short. What would you do? You'd run as fast as you could out of his or her office and look for a good doctor. Medical illnesses are based on causes. What is causing your fever? What is causing your headache? Is it caused by a virus or bacteria? If so, which ones? Lyme's disease or swine flu? Is it because of a brain tumor and, if so, is it malignant or benign?

Psychiatric disorders or mental illnesses are not defined by causes. They are defined by clusters of symptoms. Let us say you are depressed. Maybe it is because you do not have enough serotonin in certain regions of the brain. Maybe you have suppressed and repressed anger felt toward significant others in your life so that you are no longer conscious of the anger (a Freudian, psychoanalytic view). Maybe it is because you have learned from your life's experiences that you cannot get out of the traps in which you find yourself (learned helplessness). Maybe it is because that are not enough rewards (positive reinforcers) in your life, either because you are in unrewarding relationships and employment or because you lack the skills to obtain rewards from others (a learning theory perspective). Maybe it is simply the melancholia that is part of all of our lives (Wilson, 2008)?

Don't be fooled by new revisions of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* (DSM). he criteria for this disease, disorders, or illness (call it what you will) still do not involve *causes*! Part of the motivation for revising the DSM is that psychiatrists cannot agree on which "illness" patients have. Using an older version of the DSM, Beck, et al. (1962) found that four psychiatrists, individually interviewing the same psychiatric patients, agreed only 54% of the time for the specific diagnosis and only 70% for the major category (schizophrenia, affective disorder, anxiety disorder, personality disorder, etcetera). In another study of the older version of the DSM, Sandifer, et al. (1968) had psychiatrists in three cities view tape-recorded interviews of psychiatric patients. In North Carolina, the patients were more often labeled as having neurotic disorders, In Glasgow,

Scotland, the same patients were more often labeled as having personality disorders, and in London (England) the patients were more often labeled as having bipolar affective disorder (manic-depressive disorder)!

There have been three modern critiques of the current psychiatric system. Robert Whitaker's *Anatomy of an epidemic: Magic bullets, psychiatric drugs, and the astonishing rise of mental illness in America*, Irving Kirsch's *The Emperor's new drugs: Exploding the antidepressant myth*, and Daniel Carlat's *Unhinged: The trouble with psychiatry.* These books were favorably reviewed by Marcia Angell, a former editor of *The New England Journal of Medicine,* a prestigious scholarly medical journal, in *The New York Review of Books* (June 23 and July 14, 2012). Loren Mosher, a prominent psychiatrist, resigned from the American Psychiatric Association back in 1998, accusing the association of selling out to the pharmaceutical industry that markets psychiatric medications.[1]

Even allowing for these problems with the psychiatric diagnostic system, I have never come across a methodologically sound study of psychiatric diagnosis of suicides. A sound study must have a control or comparison group, AND the diagnosis *must* be carried blind as to the presence of suicide or not. In all published studies, the diagnoses have been made by psychiatrists knowing that the person was a suicide. This knowledge accounts for some psychiatrists deciding that ALL suicides are psychiatrically disturbed.

Insight #9: Typologies of Suicides

There have been many typologies of suicides proposed, but no one typology seems to be ideal. Van Hoesel (1983) chose typologies proposed by ten scholars and had judges classify 404 suicides from the files of the medical examiners in Baltimore and Maryland into the categories listed in the ten typologies. There were 69 subtypes in these ten typologies. Correlations between the 69 subtypes revealed five clusters of subtypes.

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[1] www.oikos.org/mosher.htm

Escape (90 suicides)
Confusion (52 suicides)
Aggression (77 suicides)
Alienation (23 suicides
Depression/Low Self-Esteem (112 suicides)

It is almost certain that no single theory of suicide can explain *all* suicides, and so a meaningful typology of suicides must be devised. Van Hoesel's appears to be the best currently available. Next, it may be possible to find the causes for suicide that are specific for each type.

Insight #10: The Moods of Suicides

In his book *Turning Points* De Leo (2010) presented moving accounts from nine people who attempted to kill themselves, but who survived. Eight of the nine were happy to have survived. These accounts illustrate several features well-known to suicidologists, such as escape from mental and physical pain (Sergio and Maria), anger (Sandro), hopelessness and a feeling of being a burden (Anna), and suicide soon after discharge from a psychiatric hospital (Fabrizio). It is noteworthy that anxiety is noted by some. Alessa, Lucia and Maria all talk of suffocating and not being able to breathe anymore, and two of them (Lucia and Maria) indicate that the anxiety was long-standing and not simply a result of the decision to kill themselves. In fact, Maria tried to die to get away from the anxiety.

Most commonly, depression and, in particular, the cognitive component of depression now labelled as hopelessness are proposed as present in suicides (Beck, et al. 1974). To this we might now add anxiety. Menninger (1938) classified the motives for suicide as to kill, to be killed and to die. The emotions accompanying these motives are anger, guilt and depression. Lester (1997) suggested that shame (as distinct from guilt) also plays a role in some suicides.

This suggests that a typology based on the emotions experienced by suicides could be of value.

Insight #11: A Two-Self Theory of Suicide

Lester (2022) proposed a two-self theory of suicide which he formally presented as a series of postulates and corollaries. Lester defined a subself is defined as a coherent system of thoughts, desires and emotions, organized by a

system principle. For this theory of suicide, it is assumed that there are two subselves, a suicidal subself and a non-suicidal subself.

Postulate 1: Not every individual has both a suicidal subself and a nonsuicidal subself.
Postulate 2: At any point in time, one subself is in control of the mind. It may be said to have executive power.
Corollary 2a: When one subself has executive power, the other subself is said to be suspended.
Corollary 2b: A subself may appear in many situations, or only on rare special occasions. One subself may be domineering while the others is submissive.
Corollary 2c: A subself may have executive power for anywhere from seconds to hours or even longer periods of time.
Corollary 2d: Selfhood is whichever subself has executive power at the time.
Corollary 2e: The existence of two subselves accounts for the inconsistency in the behavior of individuals.
Postulate 3: Individuals can seek to create new subselves for the future.
Postulate 4: The individual can try to integrate the subselves.
Postulate 5: The suicidal subself may be a regressive subself developed early in life, formed by the introjection of the desires and thoughts of powerful others (in particular, parental figures) and imitation of their personality and behavioral styles.
Postulate 6: The suicidal subself may be formed as a result of early experiences.
Postulate 7: The possibility of attributing negatively valued aspects (thoughts, desires, emotions, or behaviors) of oneself to the suicidal subself may enable the individual to maintain high self-esteem since the negative aspects of the suicidal subself do not color the nonsuicidal subself.
Postulate 8: The two subselves may become enmeshed, and the psychotherapist must help the client create sufficiently impermeable boundaries so that the nonsuicidal subself can withstand pressure from the suicidal subself to take over executive power and resist intrusions from the suicidal subself into the nonsuicidal subself when the nonsuicidal subself has executive power.
Postulate 9: It is possible to create new subselves such as mediators and recording secretaries.

Discussion

Many theories of individual suicide are not theories that are applicable to all suicides, but merely provide one type of suicide and, therefore, should be included in typologies of suicide. For example, Joiner (2005) proposed that suicides have

perceived burdensomeness, thwarted belonging, and the acquired capacity to inflict self-harm. However, Lester and Gunn (2022) found that this theory applied to only 3% of a sample of suicides that they studied. Perceived burdensomeness alone was found in only 15% of the sample.

Another example comes from Transactional Analysis which proposes that suicidal individuals were exposed to desires of their parents that they not exist (Stewart & Joines, 1987). Perhaps the infant is handled with disgust or perhaps the mother wishes that the baby had never been born, a wish that may be expressed directly or consciously transmitted to the baby.

A learning (or social learning) theory of suicide proposes that the individual learned suicide from others. A famous example is that both Ernest Hemingway and his brother Leicester Hemingway died by suicide, following in the footsteps of their father's choice to die by suicide.

Methodology

Insight #12: The Method of Substitute Subjects and Suicidal Intent

The *method of substitute subjects* is the study of attempted suicides in order to learn about suicides. Suicides are deceased and cannot interviewed (of course), while attempted suicides can be interviewed and given psychological inventories. Also, of course, attempted suicides are of interest in their own right.

But, as Lester, et al. (1975) noted, to learn about suicides from a study of attempted suicides, the attempters *must* be classified in terms of suicidal intent (or the lethality of their attempt). For example, a sample of attempted suicides can be divided into three groups, minimal suicidal intent, moderate suicidal intent and high suicidal intent. Then, if some variable increases (or decreases) in a linear fashion over these three groups, then extrapolation can be made to those who died by suicide. (Correlational studies using a suicidal intent score can also be used.)

Insight #13: Comparison Subjects

This Insight is different because no research study has ever appeared on this idea. Palmer (1960) conducted a study of murderers by comparing them with their same sex siblings. Palmer also interviewed the parents of the men – murderer and brother. The use of same sex siblings, controlling for birth order of course, is that

the subjects are matched on many variables, such as family dynamics (especially between the parents) and social and economic factors. Palmer was interested primarily in the physical and psychological frustrations that the men had experienced in the childhoods and adolescence, and he found that the murderers had experienced significantly more frustrations and had developed much less effective coping mechanisms. A study of suicides and their same-sex siblings would be extremely valuable!

Discussion

As mentioned in the beginning of this review of what we know about suicide, the harshness is not in the comments about those cited, but in the omission of scholars whom others may think have contributed greatly to suicidology. What is apparent, however, is how little we know about why people die by suicide.

For example, given an adequate typology of suicides, have we a theory of causation of any type? One might argue that we can list some risk factors. But risk factors and not necessarily causes. For example, a risk factor for coming down with influenza is mingling socially with others during a flue epidemic without taking precautions such as wearing a mask or having a flu shot. But those are not the causes of influenza – a virus is the cause.

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RECONSTRUCTION OF SUICIDE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF DOMINANT IDEOLOGY IN TURKISH CINEMA (1980 - 2015)[2]

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Abstract: This essay discusses how suicide is reconstructed from the perspective of dominant ideology during the period of 1980-2015. Within this aspect, the subject of the study was determined as films which deal with the theme of suicide. In order to explain the relationship between cinema and dominant ideology, the study primarily focuses on the concept of "Hegemony" of Gramsci and the concept of "Ideology" of Althusser. Afterwards, the views on the reconstruction of the "truth" within the perspective of dominant ideology that stem from Comolli and Narboni, who explained the relationship between cinema and dominant ideology with an Althusserian point of view, were discussed, thereby positioning cinema as one of the ideological apparatuses of the state. It is also emphasized that cinema is also a branch of art. From this perspective, the opinion of Burch, one of the theoreticians of new formalism, who mentions that an alternative understanding of cinema faces a developmental stunt, due a global spread of dominant ideology, was also mentioned. The films that form the basis for essay are films with the theme of suicide between the years 1980-2015. Forty-seven films which contained suicide scenes comprised the sample for the study. These films were analyzed using socio-psychological approaches and hermeneutic methods within the framework of categories such as gender, social institutions and social trauma.

Keywords: Turkish Cinema, Dominant Ideology, Suicide.

Introduction

It was asserted by Tarkovsky that the main function of the art was *"..... preparing a man to death and to strike a chord in the innermost part of his*

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psyche" (2008:32). If one were to begin from this point of view, it would be possible to understand the relationship between life and death in the cinema from a technical and semantic level. On a semantic level, life and death are both opposites and complementarities of one another. According to Plato, it is not possible to talk about life or death within a condition which lacks one of them (2001, pp. 33-34). In this context, it is possible to say that death is also constructed in cinema, where life is constructed, through visions, images and discourses. At the technical level, the production of a movie takes place in three stages which are the pre-production, the production and post-production stages. After the truth is recorded via cameras, it is transferred to images and thus digitalized. By using digitalized images, life can be reconstructed in cinema and, thanks to this, cinema can be transformed to re-watchable events which are recorded in the past and are dead in the present.

This study focuses on films which deal with the theme of suicide in Turkish films in the period 1980-2015. The aim of the study is to reveal how the reconstruction of suicide took place within the framework of the dominant ideology in this period. These films were found by conducting a search for the words "suicide", "self-slaughter" and "self-murder" using sources such as *"Türk Sinema Tarihi", "Ansiklopedik Türk Filmleri Sözlüğü 1914-2014", "Türk Sinemasında 100 Yıl (1914-2014), "Türk Sinema Filmleri Ansiklopedisi (1914-2010)"* ve *"Türk Sinemasının 100 Yılı"* (Özgüç, 2014; Scognamillo, 2010; Özgül, 2010; Özgül, n.d.). In addition to this, movies made in the year 2015 which contain the theme of suicide were searched on the Box Office Website[3] and included in the study population. It was determined that there were 180 films which deal with the theme of suicide, and the characters either attempted suicide or died by suicide. [4] Of the 180 films which were identified as the population of the research, 13 films were excluded, for it was not possible to watch those films using any source. The remaining 167 films were watched, and it was determined that characters visibly died by suicide in 97 of these movies.[5] In 47 of these 97 movies, suicide scenes were constructed, while the build-up and the follow-up of the suicides of the characters were also displayed. In accordance with the purpose of the study, these

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[3] See. https://boxofficeturkiye.com/turk-filmleri/?yil=2015&yilop=tum
[4] See. Supplementary-Table 1: List of Films About Suicide in Turkish Cinema Between 1980 and 2015.
[5] See. Supplementary-Table 2: List of Films with Characters Who Have Committed Suicide in Turkish Films Between 1980 and 2015.

47 movies, in which it was determined that the suicide scenes were constructed, were classified as research samples.[6]

The construction of the action of suicide was divided into three common frameworks which are gender, social institutions and social traumas. Based on the view that suicide is a multi-layered action, the boundaries of the categories which were determined in the study were treated as fluid categories. Since the three determined categories could affect each other in a positive or negative way, the films included in the sample were evaluated in more than one category.

In the 47 films in which a suicide scene was constructed, a socio-psychological and hermeneutical approach was used to determine the true meaning underlying the characters' suicides. The hermeneutic method focuses on the meaning behind actions and argues that any phenomenon affecting humanity can be analyzed from different points of view. According to this approach, meaning is multi-layered and is open to interpretation. In this approach, researchers conduct analysis *"while trying to discover meaning, after separately making sense of the whole and the parts, [they] not only discover how the parts are connected to the whole but they also realize that the parts form in the shadow of the whole"* (Kaya, 2019: 272). The present study, therefore, attempted to explain the hidden meanings by using the hermeneutic method when it comes to making sense of the suicide phenomenon constructed in the perspective of dominant ideology in Turkish cinema. The suicides of the characters are analyzed in the context of a relationship between the society and the individual. Thus the meaning that underlies the act of suicide can be explained within a framework of cause and effect within both psychological and sociological axes.

Movies and Dominant Ideology

In order to explain the relationship between cinema and dominant ideology, it is necessary to elaborate on the concepts of "hegemony" of Gramsci and the "ideology" and the "ideological apparatus of the state" of Althusser. Hegemony is *"the worldview of the class which guides the society"*. The worldview of the ruling class is spread to society via organic intellectuals. Gramsci considers mass media within the category of "organic intellectuals". In this direction, it is possible to

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[6]See. Supplementary-Table 3: List of Films Which Contain Scenes of Suicide Between 1980 and 2015.

state that cinema, as a medium of mass communication, uses everyday language and spreads the dominant ideology (Yaylagül, 2016, pp. 113-114).

Althusser, who sets out from the concept of hegemony proposed by Gramsci, approaches the super-structure in two layers, which are named as "political-legal" and "ideological". Althusser defends the position that "*Ideology is a representation of the relationship between the true conditions of existence and imaginary relations of the individuals*". According to Althusser, ideology exists perpetually and is inscribed within the practices of the ideological apparatuses of the state (Althusser, 2011:30-31). Individuals are not free, for the ideology that the individuals think that they are in possession of, is in actuality the reproduction of the dominant ideology by the ideological apparatuses of the state (Yaylagül, 2016: 121). Just as it is impossible for every individual to have their own individual language, it is impossible for them to possess an individual ideology, for ideologies are the production of a common belief that constitutes society. In this direction, it is possible to define ideology as a concept which perpetually moves in a closed circle, reconstructing what is already known, that is, the dominant perspective, instead of producing new information (Özer, 2011, p. 30).

According to Althusser, the individual is not free, but rather he is a culturally produced subject. Film theorists such as Stephen Heath, Colin Mac Cabe and Jean Louis Comolli associate Althusser's cultural subjects who are produced for the continuation of the ideology with Lacan's idea of subject structuring. In this direction, it is possible to address the concept of free subject as "*The dream of the child which perceives itself as a united subject within the mirror stage*". Therefore, the individuals who watch the movies unwittingly accept the identities imposed by the dominant ideology and are fixated in a certain view which seems organic to themselves (Stam, 2014, p. 146).

The misconception that the cinema screen is transparent, as it is a window that opens to real life, is one of the main components of the dominant ideology that stays hidden. Commolli and Narboni, who defend the view that cinema reproduces the dominant ideology, view their work on cinema from an Althusserian perspective (Stam, 2014, p. 151). According to their point of view, cinema "reproduces" reality. Since the camera and the film exist to reproduce reality, all the tools used in the shooting of a film correlate to a part of reality. The camera is not a tool that displays concrete reality. Since, even the location that the camera is positioned addresses reality in a limited way, it is impossible to state that films are produced impartially. From the first scene when the film is shot, the "truth" is

reproduced by passing through the filter of the dominant ideology. Therefore, the dominant ideology is reconstructed in every step of the production process. The dominant ideology is repeated through various stages such as the subjects, styles and the narrative structures of all films (Yılmaz, 2008, p. 65-66).

Cinema is an ideological device and at the same time an art form. Film theorists who work on neo-formalism argue that cinema as an art form reconstructs reality through aesthetic designs. Films are produced using common codes that are formally determined. Therefore, films are categorized into several genres such as drama, fear and comedy. Noel Burch, one of the proponents of neo-formalist theory, questions whether a new and different approach of cinema is possible against the mentality of dominant cinema. Burch says that, since everything became a part of the dominant ideology today, an alternative understanding of cinema is not present (Erkılıç, 2013, p. 245-262).

Cinema filters reality through the lens of the dominant ideology to reconstruct it, not only via the use of formal codes, but also cultural codes. Cinema-specific codes are usually formal codes such as shutter scales, camera movements, light, decor and color, whereas cultural codes are codes that a director can easily reconstruct in his films (Monaco, 2002, p. 172). For example, in order for a film to be realistic, a director shoots a funeral scene in accordance with the culture of the deceased character. Thus, the cultural codes related to this situation are reconstructed in the cinema thanks to the real-life like depiction of the set of rituals that take place for the funeral. On the other hand, the means of cinematographically filming and conceptualizing the funeral procession with a camera is constructed through codes specific to cinema. It can be said that these codes, be they cultural or cinematic, are reconstructed within the framework of the dominant ideology produced by hegemony.

Suicide in Turkish Cinema

In cinema, where life is reconstructed, the theme of death is also often included. When we examine the world of cinema from past to present, the death of a character is witnessed in almost every movie. Regarding suicide, it is possible to say that films in which the character dies by suicide are quantitatively fewer. According to Aaron, despite the fact that the rates of suicide are statistically higher than murder rates, characters in the world of cinema lose their lives due to murder more often than to suicide. Aaron argues that films which often focus on the theme of suicide are outside the traditions of Hollywood cinema (mainstream cinema), or

they arise as a response to Hollywood cinema. However, he also notes that the act of suicide in movies differs in other countries's in regard to qualitative-quantitative and formal-cultural elements. According to Aaron, the reason behind why the theme of suicide is less prevalent in Hollywood is the construction of movies that have happy endings, which also feature a character with a strong sense of self and that is unlikely to self-harm (Aaron, 2014, p. 40). Aaron categorizes the act of suicide in films roughly in six parts namely "professional suicide", "honorable suicide", "dishonorable suicide", "as avoiding dying", "as avoiding living" and "mass, group or cult suicide". He states that there is no sharp distinction between the categories, and he mentions that the categories are fluid, categorized "roughly" since they overlap with one another (Aaron, 2014, pp. 42-46).

When one considers the fact that American cinema is one of the centers of the cultural industry, the construction of the theme of suicide in American cinema gains tremendous importance. The culture industry conveys reality through the filter of the dominant ideology. Thanks to the reproduction of sound films, which began with the American production of "The Jazz Singer," the sharp distinction between cinema and real life starts to disappear, and life in cinema is reconstructed in its full "reality". Because of this development, viewers are able to perceive the outside world as a continuous extension of the movie, even after the end of the movie (Adorno, 2007, p. 55). Relevant to this, the study of Stack and Bowman (2014) titled "Suicide Movies Social Patterns 1900-2009" examines suicides in American cinema.

Stack and Bowman reported that they had identified more than 1,600 films from the "American Film Institute" which had a theme of suicide, and proposed five criteria to determine which American films that would be included in their study.[7] The table for the classification of the causes of suicide in American cinema and the classification of identified subtypes in the research is as follows. It is emphasized that the categories determined in the table are fluid and there are no sharp distinctions between the categories (Stack & Bowman, 2014, p. 18). These are presented in Table 1.

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[7] The five criteria were: 1. The Films must be American. 2. There must have been at least one suicide that took place. 3. Films have to be about real-life suicides, excluding science fiction and fantastic cinema. 4. Films have to be longer than 60 minutes. 5. Films must have been screened in the cinema. Films shown on television and not screened are excluded (Stack &Bowman, 2011, p/ 14).

Table 1: The taxonomy of motives with selected subtypes

Individual centered motives	External or social motives for suicide
Traditional psychiatric motives (e.g., depression, substance abuse)	Death of a loved one (e.g., child, spouse)
Nontraditionalpsychiatric (e.g., the psychopath)	Strain in social relations (e.g., intimate partner problems, bullying, parent-child conflicts, prejudice, shame)
Biological or "physicality" (physicality, pain, physical disability)	Economic strain (e.g.financial problems; job problems)
	Altruistic suicides (military, civilian)

It is possible to evaluate the act of suicide in films from many perspectives and, therefore, categories do not have sharp boundaries. In both studies (Aarons, 2014; Stack & Bowman, 2011), it is mentioned that there may be cross-national and cross-cultural differences in the meaning of suicide in films (Aaron, 2014, p. 40; Stack & Bowman, 2014). In the present study, I discuss how the theme of suicide is reconstructed in Turkish films from the perspective of ideology, and information about the country's history, culture and social structure of Turkey can be accessed through primary sources. Accordingly, the reasons for the suicides in the films studied are examined through the hermeneutic method of the socio-psychological approach. Three main categories were used: gender roles, social institutions and social trauma:

Table 2: The categorization of acts of suicide in Turkish Cinema during the period 1980–2015.

Gender Roles	Roles of Masculinity, Roles of Femininity
Social Institutions	Family, Religion, Education, Health, Safety, etc.
Social Traumas	Coups, Wars, Famines, Economic Crises etc.

In each category of the study, it is assumed that the situation which forces a character to die by suicide results from a psychological breakdown which is the result of sociological circumstances. For example, in the films sampled in the category of gender roles, the characters' inability to fulfil their gender roles is considered to be a cause, and the deterioration of their psychological state is considered as a consequence. In this way, the cause-effect relationship with regard to the act of suicide is established using the axes of sociology and psychology.

In 68% of the films which were included in the sampling, the main character dies by suicide; in 23%, a minor character dies by suicide; and in 9%, both the minor and main characters die by suicide. In 89% percent of the movies, the mental state of the characters is constructed either as 'healthy' or no information is given regarding their mental state. In these films, it is usually noticeable that the characters who die by suicide suffer from deteriorated mental health after events that they have been exposed to through their day-to-day life. The individual–psychological axis of acts of suicide is usually highlighted. The fact that the sociological reasons behind the suicide act affects the psychology of the character is neglected. The dominant ideology ignores the sociological reasons and implies that a character dies by suicide solely through the deterioration of their psychological state. However, when considered within the framework of a cause-and-effect relationship, it is possible to say that the characters in the films usually die by suicide due to events that affect their psychological state.

In 11% of the films, the characters had specific psychological problems which arose in the past. In films such as "Teyzem", "Anayurt Oteli", "Şah Mat", "Orada" and "Deli Bal", it is made evident to the audience at the beginning of the movie that the characters have psychological problems. In the movies "Teyzem" and "Anayurt Oteli", the characters hallucinate. In the movie "Şah Mat", the character is depressed. In the movie "Orada" it is stated that the character has psychological problems and suffers from periodic attacks. In the movie "Deli Bal", the character suffers from bipolar disorder. These psychological problems developed before the time that the films deal with. Although the dominant ideology constructs the act of suicide in cinema from an individual-psychological level, it is observed that the characters do not usually suffer from psychological problems, but they suffer from these problems due to events which befell them in the past.

Suicide is a multi-layered action which is caused by many reasons and is open to interpretation. For this reason, it is not possible to describe the cause of suicide using one, single category. In the sample of films, it is possible to evaluate the reasons for the suicide of the characters using both categories, i.e., gender roles and social institutions. In most films, it becomes difficult to discuss the suicides of the characters using social traumas due to the lack of information about their past lives or because of the intertwining of the past, future and present during the movie.

Gender Roles

It is possible to define gender roles as the roles assigned to men and women within a social structure. Gender roles are a set of stereotypical roles constructed by the dominant ideology, in which a woman or a man represents tradition by adhering to a certain scenario. The roles assigned to men are masculine, while the roles assigned to women are feminine (Dökmen, 2015, pp. 28-31). Today, mass media tools play an active role in enabling individuals to create their own identities, socialize, and learn the culture of the society in which they live. Individuals imitate the female/male representations constructed by the mass media using the perspective of ideology by using the characters created by ideology as role models (Şener et al., 2020, p. 163). The 47 films sampled were evaluated by gender roles. The impact on the suicides of the inability to fulfill gender roles or an unwillingness to consciously perform the assigned social gender roles of the characters is discussed.

The Role of Masculinity

Although the study is limited to films in the period 1980-2015, it is necessary to refer to Turkish cinema before 1980 in order to indicate that the dominant ideology constantly repeats its own ideological discourses without generating new information. It is possible to summarize Yeşilçam cinema using popular films produced between 1950 and 1980. Hollywood had a great influence on determining the formal characteristics of Yeşilçam cinema, shaping its narrative structure. Yeşilçam films were usually reconstructed by transforming Hollywood films, Egyptian films and local/foreign novels in a way that was appropriate for Turkish culture, that is from the perspective of the dominant ideology. Aaron (2014, p. 40) observed that the theme of suicide rarely occurs in Hollywood cinema, but the theme of suicide was often addressed in Yeşilçam cinema.

In her work entitled *"Türk Sineması Üzerine Yazılar"*, Nilgün Abisel evaluated the reasons for the suicide of male and female characters in Yeşilçam, a cinema that was popular in the 1960s and has been described as a "domestic Hollywood". In Yeşilçam, love is the main reason for the suicide of the characters. The characters die by suicide because they are unable to become the lover or spouse of another character. In this sense, it is possible to consider these suicides of passion under the category of social gender roles. Lovers who can't unite with their lovers in the films die by suicide, taking refuge in the thought that they will be together forever in the afterlife. Those who experience unrequited love, on the other hand, feel worthless because they are not loved back by their beloved, and so end their lives. Male characters who are not loved in return suffer damage to their masculine ego and this leads them to die by suicide. The dominant ideology constructs the role of the masculine as a powerful role that always receives the approval of society and always gets what it wants. In fact, when male characters in Yeşilçam are not preferred by their female counterparts, they are pushed into a position where they are powerless, impotent and unable to get what they want. The dominant ideology stereotypes men as active and women as passive. In Yeşilçam cinema, a male character who is inactive and passive is constructed as a character whose suicide is normalized because he does not represent the ideal masculine image created by the dominant ideology (Abisel, 2005, p. 173).

One of the most important roles assigned to men by the dominant ideology is the possession of financial power. The stronger a man's financial assets, the stronger his financial earnings, and the more respect he gains from society. In Yeşilçam, male characters die by suicide after struggling to lose their assets because they can no longer maintain the strong, masculine role which was assigned

to them by the dominant ideology.[8]

As in Turkish cinema before 1980, one of the reasons why male characters die by suicide in the sample of 47 films covering the period of 1980–2015 is their unwillingness or inability to perform gender roles. The characters die by suicide because they do not fulfill or are unable to fulfill the roles of masculinity constructed by the dominant ideology. When suicide statistics in Turkey are interpreted according to gender, it is observed that the male suicide rate is higher than the female suicide rate.[9] It was noted that in 62% of the 47 films male characters had died by suicide whereas female died by suicide in the 23% of these movies. In 15% of these movies, both male and female characters died by suicide. The reasons regarding the inability to fulfill the gender role regarding the male characters are factors such as: being rejected by their beloved, an inability to unite with their beloved, the fact that their beloved chooses another man, the happiness of their beloved, the role of elder brotherhood/fatherhood, economic problems, cracking up/diseases, alienation and discrimination.

When evaluated in the context of gender roles, it is seen that male characters die by suicide for reasons related to love. Although the dominant ideology builds love-motivated suicides on the axis of love and affinity, the reason behind the suicide of male characters is disapproval by the woman they love and being rejected by the woman they love and, therefore, impotency. The dominant ideology constructs man as the leader of the family, as an honorable and proud individual who can make his presence felt in social life. The reason why a man dies by suicide when his lover commits adultery is a result of this honorable and proud male role assigned to a man by the dominant ideology. The fact that a man, who needs to be approved by the society, is disapproved and rejected by the woman he loves most hurts his masculine pride. In Turkish cinema, a male character does not die by suicide because of the intensity of his love, but rather he dies by suicide due to the fact that he is unable to be the ideal man as defined by the dominant ideology. In suicide-themed films in which the male character dies by suicide due to adultery and where the masculine character kills, threatens with murder or assaults the women character they love before they take their own life, it is seen that the role of masculinity is built on the axis of approval, leadership and

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[8]Sample movies for this instance would be: *"Kumarbazın İntikamı"* (Aram Gülyüz, 1966), *"Aşk Bu Değil"* (Osman Nuri Ergün, 1969) *"Güller ve Dikenler"* (Nejat Saydam, 1970) *"Melek mi Şeytan mı?"* (Mehmet Dinler, 1971) ve *"Kumar"* (Oğuz Gözen, 1979) (Özgüç, n.d.).
[9] See. TUIK Central Distribution System (Online) https://biruni.tuik.gov.tr/medas/?kn=115&locale=3 May 2023.

possession.

In films where there are male characters who die by suicide because they are possessed by the thought that they would be unable to make their beloved happy is also constructed on the axis of gender roles. Male characters die by suicide because they think that are unable to make their lovers happy, and they see themselves as an obstacle to the woman, due to the fact that they cannot fulfill masculine roles as a result of elements such as ailments, financial problems, cracking up etc.

It is possible to evaluate the suicides of male characters who die by "suicides of passion" due to rejection by the woman they love, being subjected to adultery, inability to get the woman they love, or for the happiness of the woman they love also within the category of gender roles. Movies such as "Ayrılık Kolay Değil", "Vazgeç Gönlüm", "Göl", "Ömrümün Tek Gecesi", "Alev Alev", "Anayurt Oteli", "Ağır Roman", "Asansör", "Yazı Tura", "Okul", "Gönül Yarası", "Banyo","Beş Şehir", "Süper İncir" and "Delibal", are examples of movies in which the character dies by suicide as a result of love.

Since work life in Turkey is an area around which masculinity is built, one of the most important roles assigned to men is to work. Men usually exist and define themselves through their professions. Men who do not have a regular and prestigious job, on the other hand, face the risk of losing their masculinity at any moment because they do not have a profession through which they cannot self-actualize (Sancar, 2020, pp. 58-59). Films in which male characters who commit suicide due to both love and economic problems are as such: "Üçüncü Sayfa", "Pus", "Gelecekten Bir Gün" and "İtirazım Var". Among the films examined in the study, the films that contain male characters who committed suicide due to an ailment, power loss and impotency are "Beş Şehir", "Dedemin İnsanları", "Şarkı Söyleyen Kadınlar" and "Delibal".

The role of masculinity constructed by the dominant ideology from the perspective of nationalist discourse is patriotism, while women are blessed with the role of motherhood. However, considering that the family is the smallest nucleus of the nation, it is possible to say that it is because of the nationalist ideology that the role assigned to men is to protect and guard the family (Sancar, 2020:157). With the task of protecting the nation/family assigned to him, man assumes a role of savior and hero (Connell, 2019:361). Films in which there are characters who died by suicide because they could not fulfill the role of fatherhood in the study are: "Bize Nasıl Kıydınız?", "Sen Ne Dilersen" and "Av Mevsimi". In families

where the father is absent, the duty of protecting family members is assigned to the oldest man of the family. In the film titled "Bir Damla Ateş", the male character dies by suicide because he could not fulfill the role of the elder brother. He was unable to protect her sister and caused her death.

According to the patriarchal family system, when a woman's family members do not live in harmony with the customs of the family, her honor is tainted. To clean this tainted honor of the woman is the duty of a male family member who is depicted as a hero by the dominant ideology. For example, in the film "Saklı Yüzler", the father. who had to kill his daughter because his honor was tainted, dies by suicide because he was unable to fulfill this role assigned to him. Although "Saklı Yüzler" was constructed as a film that touches on women's issues and criticizes the dominant ideology, this ideology was reconstructed in the film for. in the film, a male character dies by suicide when he was unable to fulfill the masculine role assigned to him.

Another role assigned to men by the dominant ideology is the defense of the homeland. For this very reason, every healthy Turkish teenager who turns 18 in Turkey has to serve in the military. Military service is a patriotic duty. In Islam, it is believed that a soldier who fights for his homeland and religion becomes a martyr when he dies (Yücel, 2007, pp. 130-131). Durkheim evaluated the duty of an individual to protect their homeland, which he perceives as a superior thing to their life and dying for this very aim, as an "altruistic suicide" (Durkheim, 2013, pp. 217-220). Although the Hadith states that suicide is forbidden in Islam, martyrdom is not considered suicide because it is a sacred duty (Jamison, 2004, p. 27). When the history of Turkey is taken as a whole, many wars have taken place and countless soldiers have been martyred in these wars. The dominant ideology does not construct martyrdom as a type of suicide; on the contrary, it glorifies the individual's choice of death for the sake of his homeland and religion if that death is necessary. For this reason, the death of the characters who were martyred in the sources which were examined is not considered to be suicide. Therefore, the films which contained theme of war are considered out of the scope of this study. Nevertheless, war-themed films featuring characters who lost their lives for the sake of their homeland and religion, in other words, died by an "altruistic suicide", are briefly mentioned in the section of this essay on social traumas and social institutions. The film "Kurtlar Vadisi Irak" is an example in which the characters are martyred by disregarding their lives for the sake of their homeland and religion. In the film "Yazı Tura", the character loses one of his legs while serving in the military, and the way his community looks at him after his military service because

of this loss of limb makes him feel like a half-man. This condition of the character causes him to be disregarded by the person he wants to marry.

In all the films examined in this study, male characters suffer from alienation from society and they fail to adapt to society due to their inability or unwillingness to perform their gender roles. Examples of films in which the alienation of male characters from society and their dying by suicide because they do not perform or do not want to perform their gender roles is highlighted are the films "Anayurt Oteli", "Romantik" and "Daire".

The Role of Femininity

According to Mulvey, since a phallocentric ideology dominates in the world we live in, the pleasure of the gaze places men in an active position while it puts women in a passive position. For this reason, he argues that, in films, the camera is positioned according to the male gaze. The importance of female characters in films is usually shaped by a man's feelings for her (Mulvey, 1997, pp. 41- 42). In Yeşilçam films which were produced before 1980, while building the role of femininity, the dominant ideology imprisons women within the family institution. It limits the role of a woman to being a mother, wife, lover and sister. The dominant ideology characterizes women as altruistic individuals who think of their loved ones more than themselves and live only for their relatives. The biggest role for a woman is to be enduring and altruistic for the sake of their relatives. In Yeşilçam, female characters often contemplate suicide when they are abandoned or when the man they love is dead. However, the dominant ideological point-of-view, that bad things can happen to women that do not have a family and live a solitary life can lead to the suicide of a female character, is often used in Yeşilçam. Abisel determines that in 58% of the Yeşilçam movies that she examined, characters have attempted suicide, whereas in 42% the characters died by suicide. (Abisel, 2005:173).

The dominant ideology constructs a patriarchal order in which individuals inherit their identity and gender roles from their parents. For example, without any critical thinking, a daughter internalizes what kind of woman she will be when she grows up by taking her mother as a role model (Özkalp, 2009, p. 115). In cinema where the dominant ideology has been reconstructed, it is also emphasized that the gender roles assigned to women are constructed and constricted within her family and immediate environment, and something bad will definitely happen to a woman if she transgresses these drawn borders. Female characters who lose their virginity

or who are raped want to die by suicide because of the idea that they do not deserve their beloved, that no one would love them anymore, or they would not be able to have a happy domestic life. Abisel states that the female characters in the Yeşilçam movies that she examined use the same phrases such as: *"They have defiled me", "I am not worthy of him", "I no longer have anything to give you", "I am changed, everything is over."* When evaluated within this context, we can also see that the dominant ideology establishes the role of femininity through the concept of "namus". According to the dominant ideology, the ideal woman is a virgin woman who does not have premarital sex. According to the same ideology, a woman who is not a virgin cannot be an ideal wife and mother (Abisel, 2005, p. 173).[10]

The suicide or attempted suicide of female characters resulting from seduction, backsliding and self-sacrifice were considered more often as subjects in the film texts that predate 1980, when compared to the period of 1980-2015. Although there were films featuring female characters who died by suicide due to the influence of the arabesque films of the 1980s which were about seduction, backsliding and self-sacrifice, after 1990, there are few films with female characters who died by suicide for the abovementioned reasons. "Katiller de Ağlar" is an example in which the female character dies by suicide due to backsliding. In the film "Ümmü Sibyan: Zifir", a high-school teenager dies by suicide because she was seduced by the principal.

One of the reasons why the female characters in the movies produced in the period of 1980 - 2015 is their unwillingness or inability to perform roles of femininity. Compared to the construction of the roles of femininity in Turkish cinema pre and post 1980, it is possible to say that movies about females who have lost their "honor" became less prevalent. The fact that the feminist movement started to accelerate in Turkey after 1980 and the discussions of the issues pertaining to women are also reflected in the film industry. The female characters constructed as types in Yeşilçam are replaced by more in-depth and multidimensional female characters (Esen, 2000, pp. 41-43). Yet, although these films produced after 1980 express women's problems, they are limited to reconstructing the dominant ideology, for they fail to offer any concrete solution.

In the 47 films in the present sample, the reason for the suicide of female

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[10]Sample movies are: "Gurbet Kuşları" (Halit Refiğ, 1964), "Bedrana" (Süreyya Duru, 1974) and "Utanç" (Atıf Yılmaz, 1972) (Scognamillo, 2010; Özgüç, 2014).

characters is usually love. Movies that feature female characters who die by suicide for reasons such as separation from the man they love, inability to be loved back, death or the suicide of the man she loves, adultery, sacrificing herself to protect the man she loves and inability to build a happy home can be seen in: "Bir Damla Ateş", "Katiller de Ağlar", "Hayallerim Aşkım ve Sen", "Teyzem", "Nazlı ile Emir", "Şah Mat", "Hasan Boğuldu", "Mem-ü Zin", "Gece Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar", "Ağır Roman","Dabbe", "Veda" and "Bir Don Juan Öldürmek". As opposed to reasons of love, in the film titled "Bütün Kapılar Kapalıydı", the female character dies by suicide in order to get back with her daughter whose existence is in doubt, while in the film titled "Orada", the female character dies by suicide because she is separated from her husband, because she lost her family connections and because her spouse and children does not love her back. In the film titled "Bekle Dedim Gölgeye" the female character dies by suicide because she has lost her old friends.

Social Institutions

As mentioned earlier in this essay, it is possible to say that the categories are connected and intertwined with one another since suicide is an act that needs to be evaluated in a multi-layered context. The film characters actualize their gender roles constructed by the dominant ideology in a sociological sphere, within social institutions. For this reason, it is impossible to evaluate the suicidal actions of film characters who cannot fulfill their gender roles separately from the social institutions themselves. In this context, it is possible to say that the negativity experienced in the category of gender roles also affects the category of social institutions as well.

The family is the first institution in which an individual begins to socialize. For this reason, the family institution is characterized as the most basic building block of society, and it is defined as the institution that ensures the transmission and reproduction of the dominant ideology (Özkalp, 2009, p. 108). It is found that the suicidal characters in the films studied are basically unable to fulfill their familial obligations, the obligations that belong to the first institution in which they will realize their gender roles and socialize in. In the 47 films considered as samples, it is concluded that the suicide of all characters takes place in relation to the family institution within the social institutions. It seems that the pressures and dissociations in the family institution are important factors within the family-based and family institution-based reasons. These reasons include an inability to marry, forced marriage, separation, divorce, infidelity, death of a spouse/loved one and

miscommunication between family members, and they constitute an important factor in the suicide of characters.

In all the films which were studied, although there are suicides of characters caused by family institutions, it was observed that in some films, along with the family institution, other institutions also played a role in the suicides. Apart from the family institution, it can be said that institutions such as education, police/military, health, religion, and if state and administration were also relevant to the suicides.

In films where the educational institution has an influence on the suicides of characters, the characters who die by suicide are high school students. The characters have problematic relationships with their families. The characters die by suicide for reasons such as bullying, the psychological impact of university exams, rape by a teacher and drug abuse. "Kahreden Gençlik", "Bana Şans Dile", "Okul", "Mezuniyet" and "Ümmü Sibyan: Zifir" are movies in which the institution of education has an impact on the suicide of the character.

In the films where the police/military institution has an impact on the suicide of the characters, it was determined that characters who were arrested and acquitted after being in prison for a while, who committed crimes or who work as a police/soldier, do die by suicide. A few of the suicides had been arrested and served some time in prison as a result of an inability to adapt to social life. In the film "Bekle Dedim Gölgeye", the characters go to prison for a political crime, and they suffer from torture in the prison. In the film "Ağır Roman", the character goes to prison because he was slandered. In the film "Eşkiya", the character spends many years in prison because his best friend snitched on him to the police in order to separate him from the woman he loves.

The professional group with the most prominent suicide ratio in Turkey is the police. The professional mobbing suffered by policemen inside the police institution, the difficulty of their working conditions, their possession of firearms and the violent incidents they face every day are the key factors that assume a role in their suicides (Güçlü, 2001, pp. 41-42). In the film "Beş Şehir", the character who dies by suicide is a police officer. The military institution also bears a resemblance to the former due to the pressures and the mobbings the soldiers face. In the movie "Yazı Tura", the character loses his leg as a result of a mine explosion while serving in the military. Although the character fulfilled his patriotic duty and became a veteran for the sake of his country, he is seen as half a man in society

because he misses a leg. When the woman he wants to marry prefers another man on top of the trauma he has experienced during his military service, he dies by suicide. In the movie "Bana Şans Dile", the character attempts a "suicide by cop". Therefore, it can be said that the institution of police has an indirect effect on the suicide of this character.

In war-themed films, the sacrifice of the lives of characters who serve as soldiers for their homeland is called "martyrdom". However, as mentioned earlier, Durkheim categorizes the fact that soldiers fight and die for their homeland as "altruistic suicide". Since the deaths of the characters are treated as "martyrdom" due to their professions as soldiers, war-themed films do not find a place in the scope of the study. The film "Kurtlar Vadisi Irak" is different from other war-themed films in terms of the way it deals with suicide. In this film, a Turkish officer dies by suicide because he fails in the task which was assigned to him during the war in Iraq. The suicide of the Turkish officer also becomes a subject of discussion in the press because the character dies by suicide in his room by using his own weapon, not by fighting in a war (Akbaş, 2006).

It is possible to address the suicides of the characters who were martyred in war-themed films outside the institution of police/military. These suicides can also be addressed in the context of the institution of religion: In the Islamic religion, the cause of death related to military service is not considered suicide, since those who sacrifice their lives for the sake of their homeland are referred to as martyrs and are rewarded with paradise. Apart from war-themed films, one of the films in which the institution of religion is influential is the film titled "Dabbe". "Dabbe" is about the suicide epidemic spreading from America to the whole world. In the film, Dabbatul Arz, one of the doomsday omens according to Islam, becomes manifest by triggering a suicide epidemic using the spread of the internet in America. In the film "Dabbe", the dominant religious ideology points to the Christian world as the cause of the epidemic to indicate that the danger comes from the outside world/Christian countries because, according to the dominant ideology, the events that will bring about the end of the world and cause Doomsday to take place outside the Islamic world.

In the films in which the institution of medicine has an influence on the suicides of the characters, it can be seen that the characters are either suffering from a fatal illness, have lost strength due to old age, or suffer from psychological problems. In the film "Beş Şehir", a female and a male character die by suicide because they are suffering from a terminal illness. In the films "Şarkı Söyleyen

Kadınlar" and "Dedemin İnsanları", one of the reasons for the suicide of the characters is that they suffer from an ailment, although it is not fatal. In the films titled "Teyzem", "Deli Bal" and "Orada" one of the key reasons for the suicide of the characters is that they suffer from psychological problems. These characters either use psychiatric medications or are kept under observation in the hospital for a while.

One of the reasons why the characters in "Bekle Dedim Gölgeye", "Kâğıt", "Dedemin İnsanları" and "Daire" die by suicide is the dissolution or repression experienced in the institutions of administration of the state, one of the main causes of which is social trauma. As a matter of fact, there is no such thing as the smooth functioning of the administrative institutions of the state in a society where social traumas are experienced. For this reason, the above-mentioned films are also evaluated in further detail under the category of social traumas.

Social Traumas

It is possible to summarize the concept of social trauma as the occurrence of events such as migration, war, natural disaster, concentration camps and economic crisis affecting individuals and relations between subgroups (Çopur & Gençer, 2015, pp. 2-3) In movies, the sequence of events that the characters live through generally takes place in a certain time interval and components that reflect the period in which the events are situated in, such as venues, decors and character costumes, are used in accordance with this interval.

In Turkish cinema, it is possible to evaluate cinematic time in three categories as films that highlight social traumas, as films that reduce the effect of social traumas and as films in which social traumas do not take place. In Turkish cinema, films that address social traumas are usually constructed in a realistic style. By considering the cinematic time and space in the perspective of collective memory, the event or sequence of events experienced within the cinematic time is presented to the audience.

Since war films narrate a certain historical reality, it is possible to say that, in these films, the cinematic time and space are constructed in such a way as to keep the social traumas highlighted. Historical films in Turkey before 1980 are usually war-themed films produced by adapting the Turkish epics, in which the Turkish nationalist discourse is constantly reconstructed. In historical films, side characters help the main character to save his country from the hands of enemies.

They also fight on the side of the main character. One of the key traits of the enemy states is the fact that they are not Muslim. Since the belief prevails in Islam that those who fight for their country and faith will be rewarded with heaven in their martyrdom, the death of side characters who lose their lives in war in historical films is constructed from the perspective of the dominant ideology through a conflict between Muslims and Non-Muslims, establishing a Jihadist point of view (Yücel, 2007.129-130). In the films about the Turkish War of Independence, which were adapted from literary works produced pre-1980, it can be seen that the dominant ideology is repeated in the constructions related to the martyrdom of the side characters. However, when the deaths of these characters who die for their country is evaluated from a Durkheimian perspective, they are included in the category of altruistic suicides (Durkheim, 2013, pp. 217-220).

It is seen that the dominant ideology is repeated in the war-themed films which were produced in the period of 1980-2015. Since the dominant ideology assesses the deaths of the characters who sacrificed their lives for their homeland as acts of martyrdom, the words *‘suicide’*, *‘self-murder’* or ‘*self-slaughter’*, which were used in the determination of the movies in the study, are not used for war-themed films, leaving those films out of the scope of the study. War-themed films produced during this period include “Çanakkale Yolun Sonu”, “Fetih 1453”, “Çanakkale 1915” and “Vatan Sağ Olsun”. As mentioned earlier, the film “Kurtlar Vadisi Irak" is included in the sample of the study because, in this film, a Turkish officer writes a suicide letter and dies by suicide. In the film “Kurtlar Vadisi Irak", a suicide bomber dies by suicide by detonating himself with jihadist intent, a radical understanding of Islam, harming those around him.

In films where cinematic time is highlighted and suppressed, it is observed that social traumas usually affect the life of the main characters of the film rather than affecting the life of society or a segment of society. Since film-based time is shaped only through the lives of the main characters, a misconception that collective traumas are only an individual experience arises. However, in real life, social traumas are usually a collective experience of a society or a segment of the society. In films, the problem experienced by the character is usually individualized by the dominant ideology and therefore becomes separated from social reality, causing the misconception that the suicides are individualistic. The films in the study, which evaluate social traumas as cinematic time, are about important social events that have taken place in Turkish history, such as coups, economic crises, political upheavals, and the Turkish-Greek problem.

It is possible to give examples t in which cinematic time is at the forefront, and the characters are deeply affected by social traumas. Examples would be "Anayurt Oteli", "Bütün Kapılar Kapalıydı", "Bekle Dedim Gölgeye", "Kâğıt" and "Dedemin İnsanları". In the film "Anayurt Oteli", it is evident that the life of the character is shaped by the social traumas experienced in Turkey. The character's mother dies in the year when the "Coup d'état of 27 May 1960" takes place. The character finishes his military service during the period of the "Army Memorandum of March 12, 1971". In the year when the "Coup d'état of 12 September 1980" takes place, the father of the character dies and he starts working as the manager of the hotel. The film "Bütün Kapılar Kapalıydı" also focuses on the aftermath of the "Coup d'état of 12 September 1980". In the film titled "Bekle Dedim Gölgeye", the periods known as "The Student Movement of 1968", "The Army Memorandum of 12 March 1971", "1 May 1977", "the Coup of 12 September 1980" are used in the construction of the cinematic time whereas in the movie "Kâğıt", the political events that took place in the 1970s are conveyed through the cinematic time. In the movie "Dedemin İnsanları", the cinematic time is determined as the "Coup d'état of 12 September 1980" and the "Turkish-Greek Population Exchange Period".

It is possible to give examples of films in which social traumas are built in the background of cinematic time, and in which time is used only as a backstory. The examples of these movies would be: "Teyzem", "Eşkıya", "Ağır Roman", "Üçüncü Sayfa", "Yazı Tura", and "Orada". The film "Teyzem" is introduced with a news story that takes place during the "The Army Memorandum of 12 March 1971" period as cinematic time. The "Army Memorandum of March 12, 1971" causes the main character to meet the narrator of the film. In the later period of the film, the demolition of the old house where the character was born and spent his childhood, and the construction of an apartment building in its place marks the time period extending from the 1970s to the 1980s, a period when urban transformation began in Turkey. The cinematic time of the film "Ağır Roman" is based on the Turkey of the 1990s, when urbanization was intense due to the increase in migration from the villages to the cities and when arabesque culture[11]

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[11] One of the most important dynamics of social change in Turkey has been internal migration. As people moved from rural to urban areas, Arabesque culture became a subculture. Arabesque culture began in Turkey in the 1970s and continued to spread in the 1980s. Individuals who migrated from rural to urban areas could not adapt to urban life and could not fully maintain their own culture, and so they were stuck between rural and urban culture, and Arabesque culture emerged in this situation. According to Şahin (2014, p. 2), it is not possible to define Arabesque culture. This is because the concept of Arabesque culture is vague. For this reason, it is more

became widespread. Another film in which the Turkey of the 1990s is included as the cinematic time is the film "Üçüncü Sayfa". Based on the environment in which the main character lives throughout the film and the television programs and series watched during the period, it is possible to state that arabesque culture was widespread during the film's cinematic time. The economic crisis experienced in Turkey of that period has had a negative impact on the character's life and makes the character contemplate suicide.

Banditry, which became an epidemic in the period of the 1960s and 1970s, is eradicated by the coup d'état that took place in 1980. After the banditry incidents which occurred in southeastern Anatolia, the Kurdish problem arose when the Kurds took refuge in PKK after these incidents (Ahmad, 2012:255). In the film "Eşkıya", it is seen that Turkey of the 1990s is established as the background for cinematic time. The main character of the film was previously imprisoned for banditry, and he is released after being incarcerated for 35 years. In the film "Eşkıya", the transformation of banditry after the 1980 coup, which was one of the social problems of the 1960s and 1970s, is narrated through the character "Eşkıya". The film "Yazı Tura" deals with the Kurdish problem and the civil war in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia (Pösteki, 2012: 110). In "Yazı Tura", the cinematic time covers a period between the 1990s and 2000s. In the film, which touches on the Turkish-Greek problem, one of the main characters loses his friend in the "Earthquake of 17 August 1999". In the film, real-life images of the earthquake are presented through news. In the film "Orada", although the film is set in the time of Turkey during 2000s, social traumas such as the "The Earthquake of 17 August 1999" and the "Economic Crisis of 2001" are included, and these events affect the characters' lives and cause them to experience a breakdown in their lives.

In the films that constitute the sample of the study, the social traumas experienced in Turkey are placed in both the foreground and the background in order to construct the characters' lives in a realistic style and to establish a sense of reality for the audience. Other than political movies, it is possible to say that social traumas in films generally do not have a negative effect on the suicide of characters. Although, some references are made to the time-frame of the film in the other movies considered, it is possible to view those references as constructs which

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accurate to think of Arabesque culture in terms of its connotations rather than its conceptual meaning. Arabesque culture has more pessimistic connotations. It evokes negativity about slums, pain, oppression and poverty. Arabesque culture was first popularized in the field of music and then when musicians took roles in films. This popular influence led to the frequent production of commercial films in the Arabesque genre.

exist only to determine the cinematic time of the film, though no social trauma is addressed. So, it could be said that, even if the period in which the social trauma occurred is highlighted, time is not that important. In these films, cinematic time is constructed in different forms, for example, by the clothing of the characters, the use of the locations where the scenes are shot, the use of setting and technological tools which are present in the movie, and the use of the discourses made by characters. The reason why the movies that do not use social trauma as their chief subject is quantitatively more prevalent is that the dominant ideology desires the individualization of the suicide of the character. It prefers that suicides should be understood from an individualist, psychological perspective. As a matter of fact, social traumas are used to cinematic time in only 26% of the sampled films, whereas, in 74% percent of the films, social traumas are disregarded in the construction of the cinematic time.

Conclusions

In this study, based on the views of Commoli and Narboni, who argued from an Althusserian point of view that the dominant ideology is behind the misconception that cinema represents reality, it was discussed how suicide was reconstructed from the perspective of the dominant ideology based on certain patterns in Turkish cinema in the period of 1980-2015. The study tried to explain the relationship between cinema and the dominant ideology. Later, by the use of the methods of document analysis and thematic approach, a number of 180 films that use suicide in the plot during the period of 1980-2015 were determined as the study population. In those 180 films, 47 films in which suicide scenes of characters were constructed were considered as the samples of the study. Finally, the films which were sampled were analyzed from a socio-psychological perspective and from the perspective of hermeneutic method in three separate categories which are gender roles, social institutions and social traumas.

It was concluded that the male and female characters who were evaluated under the category of gender roles died by suicide because they could not or did not want to perform their gender roles. Thus, viewers can normalize suicide when they encounter similar situations in real life. The reason behind this is that the dominant ideology draws the boundaries of gender roles in cinema, as in every other field, for the individuals who form society and reconstruct the 'truth' by passing it through its own filter.

While evaluating the category of social institutions, it was found that the family institution had an impact on a character's suicide in all other films except the film "Kurtlar Vadisi Irak". In other films, the characters die by suicide as a result of psychological deterioration they suffer resulting from negativities they experience in relation to the institution of family. If one were to leave the institution of family aside, it is also possible to say that the characters die by suicide as a result of the deterioration of their psychology also due to the negativity and failures experienced within the institutions of police, education, health, religion and other administrative institutions. Although the emphasis is placed on the individual-psychological axis of the act of suicide, due to the fact that the negativity experienced in social institutions affects only certain characters in the sampled films, it is also possible to present a socio-psychological cause for the suicide of the characters when the suicides are evaluated in the context of meronymy[12] and the axis of individual/society.

In all the films sampled, the acts of suicide of the characters are evaluated not only under the category of gender roles, but also under the category of social institutions. In this context, the fact that both categories are effective in the acts of suicide of the characters indicates that an act of suicide cannot be understood from a singular point of view. In the study, it is also concluded that there are no sharp distinctions between the categories, which means that a conclusion that each category includes another can be drawn. A quarter of the films sampled were included in the category of social traumas. In order to determine the social traumas in the films, it is first necessary to create a clear time-frame of the film in question. In films constructed with the perspective of the dominant ideology, time is often ill defined. In films about social traumas, time is used as a background in order to evoke a sense of reality. Even if social traumas are described in these movies, only the negative effects they have on certain individuals are displayed, and thus social traumas are limited to the individual-psychological axis. Due to the fact that social traumas affect a large proportion of the society, it is possible to say that the problem experienced by the individual shown in the films also has a social equivalent, and accordingly, it is possible to evaluate films which were included in the study under the category of social traumas on the axis of the individual/society. The fact that time is not clearly indicated in other films that were not evaluated in this category as well, makes it difficult to identify the films that fall under this category. It is possible to specify the films which coincide with the three categories determined in the study as Üçüncü Sayfa", "Anayurt Oteli", "Eşkıya", "Ağır

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[12] Excessive eating or drinking.

Roman", "Dedemin İnsanları", "Bekle Dedim Gölgeye", "Teyzem", "Kurtlar Vadisi Irak", "Yazı Tura", "Kâğıt", "Bütün Kapılar Kapalıydı" and "Orada".

In conclusion, regarding the films which were sampled, it has been revealed that there is a sociological reality in the act of suicide behind the individual-psychological limitation (which is constructed by the dominant ideology. Thus, it has been determined that the hidden meanings behind the suicidal act have been reconstructed in the perspective of the dominant ideology via the use of the common codes, which are determined by the perspective of a cause-and-effect relationship in the field of sociology-psychology.

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Supplementary Materials

1: List of Films About Suicide in Turkish Cinema Between 1980 and 2015.			
Film Name	**Year**	**Director**	**Suicide /Suicide Attempt /Make It Seem Like a Suicide/ Suicide or Homicide/ The Death Fast/ Death Row Inmates/ Suicide Bomb/ Suicidal/ Suicidal Ideation**
Yazgı	2001	Zeki Demirkubuz	Suicide
İtiraf	2001	Zeki Demirkubuz	Suicide / Suicide Attempt
Masumiyet	1998	Zeki Demirkubuz	Suicide
3. Sayfa	1999	Zeki Demirkubuz	Suicide / Suicide Attempt
Bekleme Odası	2003	Zeki Demirkubuz	Suicide Attempt
Kader	2006	Zeki Demirkubuz	Suicide Attempt
Kırık Bir Aşk Hikayesi	1981	Ömer Kavur	Suicide
Göl	1982	Ömer Kavur	Suicide
Anayurt Oteli	1986	Ömer Kavur	Suicide
Karşılaşma	2003	Ömer Kavur	Suicide
Gece Yolculuğu	1987	Ömer Kavur	Suicide
Ah Güzel İstanbul	1981	Ömer Kavur	Suicide
Eşkıya	1996	Yavuz Turgul	Suicide
Gönül Yarası	2005	Yavuz Turgul	Suicide
Av Mevsimi	2009	Yavuz Turgul	Suicide
Muhsin Bey	1987	Yavuz Turgul	Suicide Attempt
Aşk Filmlerinin Unutulmaz Yönetmeni	1990	Yavuz Turgul	Suicide Attempt
Gölge Oyunu	1992	Yavuz Turgul	Suicide Attempt
Ağır Roman	1996	Mustafa Altıoklar	Suicide
Banyo	2005	Mustafa Altıoklar	Suicide
Beyza'nın Kadınları	2006	Mustafa Altıoklar	Suicide Attempt
Asansör	1999	Mustafa Altıoklar	Suicide
Ara	2008	Ümit Ünal	Suicide
Gölgesizler	2008	Ümit Ünal	Suicide / Make It Seem Like a Suicide
Dokuz	2002	Ümit Ünal	Suicide Attempt
Ses	2010	Ümit Ünal	Suicide Attempt

Nar	2011	Ümit Ünal	Suicide Attempt
Polis	2007	Onur Ünlü	Suicide / Suicide Attempt/ Make It Seem Like a Suicide
Beş Şehir	2009	Onur Ünlü	Suicide / Suicide Attempt
Celal Tan ve Ailesinin Aşırı Acıklı Hikayesi	2011	Onur Ünlü	Suicide / Suicide Attempt
Sen Aydınlatırsın Geceyi	2013	Onur Ünlü	Suicide / Suicide Attempt
İtirazım Var	2014	Onur Ünlü	Suicide
Dedemin İnsanları	2011	Çağan Irmak	Suicide
Bana Şans Dile	2001	Çağan Irmak	Suicide / Suicide Attempt
Tamam Mıyız	2013	Çağan Irmak	Suicide Attempt
Prensesin Uykusu	2010	Çağan Irmak	Suicidal
A Ay	1989	Reha Erdem	Suicide / Suicide Attempt
Kaç Para Kaç	1999	Reha Erdem	Suicide
Şarkı Söyleyen Kadınlar	2013	Reha Erdem	Suicide
Korkuyorum Anne	2006	Reha Erdem	Suicide Attempt
Gece Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar	1993	Atıf Yılmaz	Suicide
Hayallerim Aşkım ve Sen	1986	Atıf Yılmaz	Suicide
Bekle Dedim Gölgeye	1991	Atıf Yılmaz	Suicide
Alev Alev	1984	Halit Refiğ	Suicide
Teyzem	1986	Halit Refiğ	Suicide
Kızım ve Ben "Gurbet Kadını"	1988	Halit Refiğ	Suicide Attempt
Karılar Koğuşu	1989	Halit Refiğ	Suicide Attempt
O Kadın	1982	Halit Refiğ	Suicide Attempt
Paramparça	1985	Halit Refiğ	Suicide Attempt
Bir Damla Ateş	1981	Osman Seden	Suicide
Vazgeç Gönlüm	1981	Osman Seden	Suicide / Suicide Attempt
Hasret Sancısı	1982	Osman Seden	Suicide
Ömrümün Tek Gecesi	1984	Osman Seden	Suicide
Tele Kızlar	1985	Osman Seden	Suicide
Ayrılık Kolay Değil	1980	Temel Gürsu	Suicide
Yaşamak Bu Değil	1981	Temel Gürsu	Suicide
Vurun Öldürün Beni	1981	Temel Gürsu	Suicide

Boynu Bükük	1980	Temel Gürsu	Suicide Attempt
Katiller De Ağlar	1985	Orhan Elmas	Suicide
Kahreden Gençlik	1985	Orhan Elmas	Suicide
Nazlı ile Emir	1988	Orhan Elmas	Suicide
Sözde Kızlar	1990	Orhan Elmas	Suicide
Sapık Kadın	1988	Orhan Elmas	Suicide Attempt
Kız Kulesi Aşıkları	1993	İrfan Tözüm	Suicide
Mum Kokulu Kadınlar	1996	İrfan Tözüm	Suicide
Cazibe Hanımın Gündüz Düşleri	1992	İrfan Tözüm	Suicide Attempt
Kurtlar Vadisi Irak	2006	Serdar Akar	Suicide
Behzat Ç. Seni Kalbime Gömdüm	2011	Serdar Akar	Suicide
Behzat Ç. Ankara Yanıyor	2013	Serdar Akar	Suicide Attempt
Gecenin Kanatları	2009	Serdar Akar	Suicide Attempt
Hasan Boğuldu	1990	Orhan Aksoy	Suicide
Kiracı	1987	Orhan Aksoy	Suicide Attempt
Pandoranın Kutusu	2009	Yeşim Ustaoğlu	Suicide
İz	1994	Yeşim Ustaoğlu	Suicide
Yazı Tura	2004	Uğur Yücel	Suicide
Ejder Kapanı	2010	Uğur Yücel	Suicide
Daire	2013	Atıl İnaç	Suicide
Büyük Oyun	2009	Atıl İnaç	Suicide Attempt
Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da	2011	Nuri Bilge Ceylan	Suicide
Üç Maymun	2008	Nuri Bilge Ceylan	Suicide Attempt
Romantik	2007	Sinan Çetin	Suicide
Bay E	1995	Sinan Çetin	Suicide
Kağıt	2010	Sinan Çetin	Suicide
Baş Belası	1982	Kartal Tibet	Suicide Attempt
İffet	1982	Kartal Tibet	Suicide Attempt
Japon İşi	1987	Kartal Tibet	Suicide Attempt
Kaderin Suçu	1984	Oğuz Gözen	Suicide Attempt
Ağlama Sevgilim	1993	Oğuz Gözen	Suicide Attempt

Güneş Ağlıyor	1997	Oğuz Gözen	Suicide Attempt
Züğürt Ağa	1985	Nesli Çölgeçen	Suicide Attempt
Denizden Gelen	2010	Nesli Çölgeçen	Suicide Attempt
Sevgili Bayan (Ulaşılamadı)	1988	Erdoğan Tokatlı	Suicide
Menekşeler Mavidir (Ulaşılamadı)	1987	Erdoğan Tokatlı	Suicide
Acı (Ulaşılamadı)	1984	Ümit Efekan	Suicide
Kalbimdeki Düşman (Ulaşılamadı)	1987	Ümit Efekan	Suicide
Bütün Kapılar Kapalıydı	1990	Memduh Ün	Suicide
Sinema Bir Mucizedir	2005	Memduh Ün	Suicide Attempt
Sevdim Seni	1987	Gökhan Güney	Suicide Attempt
Mem-ü Zin	1991	Ümit Elçi	Suicide
Şah Mat	1989	Yılmaz Atadeniz	Suicide / Suicide Attempt
Bize Nasıl Kıydınız	1994	Metin Çamurcu	Suicide
Bir Yanımız Bahar Bahçe	1994	Bilge Olgaç	Suicide
Zümrüt	2000	Ömer Kızıltan	Suicide
Okul	2004	Yağmur Taylan, Durul Taylan	Suicide
Sen Ne Dilersen	2005	Cem Başeskioğlu	Suicide
Dabbe	2005	Hasan Karacadağ	Suicide
Saklı Yüzler	2007	Handan İpekçi	Suicide
Gen	2006	Togan Gökbakar	Suicide
Gölge	2007	Mehmet Güreli	Suicide
İncir Çekirdeği	2008	Selda Çiçek	Suicide
Mezuniyet	2009	Doğa Can Anafarta	Suicide
Orada	2009	Melik Saraçoğlu ve Hakkı Kurtuluş	Suicide
Gelecekten Bir Gün	2009	Boğaçhan Dündar	Suicide
Havar	2009	Mehmet Güleryüz	Suicide / Suicide Attempt
Pus	2009	Tayfun Pirselimoğlu	Suicide
Ben O Değilim	2013	Tayfun Pirselimoğlu	Suicide
Veda	2010	Zülfü Livaneli	Suicide
Siyah Beyaz	2010	Ahmet Boyacıoğlu	Suicide
Karadedeler Olayı	2011	Erdoğan Bağbakan	Suicide
Süper İncir	2013	Kerem Sarı	Suicide
Yarım Kalan Mucize	2013	Biket İlhan	Suicide

Köksüz	2014	Deniz Akçay	Suicide
Bir Don Juan Öldürmek	2014	Sabahattin Sakman	Suicide
Ümmü Sibyan: Zifir	2014	Efe Hızır Serhat Hasanoğlu	Suicide
Sarmaşık	2015	Tolga Karaçelik	Suicide Attempt
Delibal	2015	Ali Bilgin	Suicide
Kara Bela	2015	Burak Aksak	Suicide / Suicide Attempt
İçimdeki İnsan	2015	Aydın Sayman	Suicide
Kan Çiçeği	1989	Şahin Gök	Suicide
Alinin Sekiz Günü	2008	Cemal Şan	Suicide
İki Damla Gözyaşı (Ulaşılamadı)	1980	Kemal Kan	Suicide
Kır Gönlünün Zincirini	1980	Şerif Gören	Suicide
Yeşil Işık (Ulaşılamadı)	2002	Faruk Aksoy	Suicide / Suicide Attempt
Derin Düşün-ce (Ulaşılamadı)	2013	Çağatay Tosun	Suicide
Cumhuriyet (Ulaşılamadı)	1998	Ziya Öztan	Suicide
Ölümsüz Aşk (Ulaşılamadı)	1995	Mehmet Samsa	Suicide
Beni Bırakma (Ulaşılamadı)	1986	Mehmet Bozkuş	Suicide
Yasak Cennet (Ulaşılamadı)	1987	Mehmet Aydın	Suicide
Kobay (Ulaşılamadı)	1986	Müjdat Gezen	Suicide
Üç Yol	2013	Faysal Soysal	Suicide Attempt
Salkım Hanımın Taneleri	1999	Tomris Giritlioğlu	Suicide
Huzurum Kalmadı	1980	Haluk Baylan	Suicide
Takip	1981	Remzi Jöntürk	Suicide
Bir Düğün Masalı (Ulaşılamadı)	1993	Ragıp Taranç, Faik Kartelli	Suicide
İstiyorum	1989	Samim Değer Ayşe Akıllıoğlu	Suicide
Organize İşler	2005	Yılmaz Erdoğan	Suicide Attempt
Çekmeceler	2015	M. Caner Alper, Mehmet Binay	Suicide Attempt
Güldürme Beni	1986	Ertem Göreç	Suicide Attempt
Yalnız Kadın	1987	Samim Utku	Suicide Attempt
Yaşamak	1988	Aram Gülyüz	Suicide Attempt
Sahte Cennete Veda	1988	Tevfik Başer	Suicide Attempt
Saklambaç	1994	Avni Kütükoğlu	Suicide Attempt
Eski Fotoğraflar	1998	Necef Uğırlu – Julide Övür	Suicide Attempt

Renkli	1999	Ahmet Çadırcı	Suicide Attempt
8. Saat	1994	Cemal Gözütok	Suicide Attempt
Sarı Tebessüm	1992	Seçkin Yaşar	Suicidal Ideation
Hoşçakal Yarın	1998	Reis Çelik	Death Row Inmates
Her Şey Çok Güzel Olacak	1998	Ömer Vargı	Make It Seem Like a Suicide
Dava / Doz	2001	Gani Rüzgar Şavata	Suicide Attempt
Son	2001	Levent Kırca	Suicide Attempt
Neredesin Firuze	2004	Ezel Akay	Suicide Attempt
Girdap	2008	Talip Karamahmutoğlu	Suicide Bomb
Kurtuluş Son Durak	2012	Yusuf Pirhasan	Suicide Attempt
8 Saniye	2015	Ömer Faruk Sorak	Suicide Attempt
Mavi Ring	2013	Ömer Leventoğlu	The Death Fast
Usta Beni Öldürsene	1997	Barış Pirhasan	Suicide or Homicide
Bin Kere Ölmek	1983	Celal Mehreban	Death Row Inmates
Yağmur Kaçakları	1987	Yavuz Özkan	Death Row Inmates/Suicidal
Yara	1997	Yılmaz Arslan	Suicide Attempt
Gökten Üç Elma Düştü	2008	Raşit Çeliker	Suicide Attempt
Balalayka	2000	Ali Özgentürk	Suicide Attempt
Hayat Sana Güzel		Murat Şeker	Suicide Attempt
Çalınan Hayat	1985	Sırrı Gültekin	Suicidal
Adını Sen Koy	2009	Tuna Kiremitçi	Suicide Attempt
Dünya Boştur	1990	Oğuz Gözen	Suicide Attempt
Sümela'nın Şifresi Temel	2011	Adem Kılıç	Suicide Attempt
Kara Kentin Çocukları	2000	Orhan Oğuz	Suicide
Mutluluk	2007	Abdullah Oğuz	Suicide Attempt
Polis Dosyası	1989	Tevfik Polam	Suicide Attempt

Table 2: List of Films with Characters Who Have Committed Suicide in Turkish Films Between 1980 and 2015.			
Film Name	**Year**	**Director**	**Movie Characters Who Commit Suicide Male/Female, Character Name, Main Character/Side Character**
Yazgı	2001	Zeki Demirkubuz	Male - Nail - Side Character
İtiraf	2001	Zeki Demirkubuz	Male - Taylan - Side Character Male - Harun - Main Character Female - Nilgün - Main Character
Masumiyet	1998	Zeki Demirkubuz	Male - Bekir - Main Character
3. Sayfa	1999	Zeki Demirkubuz	Male - Musa - Main Character
Kırık Bir Aşk Hikayesi	1981	Ömer Kavur	Male - Bedri -Side Character
Göl	1982	Ömer Kavur	Male - Murat - Main Character Female - Murat's wife - Side Character
Anayurt Oteli	1986	Ömer Kavur	Male - Zebercet - Main Character Male - Zebercet's Relative - Side Character
Karşılaşma	2003	Ömer Kavur	Male - Mahmut - Main Character
Gece Yolculuğu	1987	Ömer Kavur	Male - Ali - Main Character
Ah Güzel İstanbul	1981	Ömer Kavur	Female - Cevahir's Mother - Side Character Female - Cevahir - Main Character
Eşkıya	1996	Yavuz Turgul	Male - Baran - Main Character Male - Kemal - Side Character
Gönül Yarası	2005	Yavuz Turgul	Male - Halil - Main Character
Av Mevsimi	2009	Yavuz Turgul	Male - Battal - Side Character Male - Doctor/No name - Side Character
Asansör	1999	Mustafa Altıoklar	Male - Nurcan's Husband -Side Character
Ağır Roman	1996	Mustafa Altıoklar	Male - Salih - Main Character Female - Tina - Main Character
Banyo	2005	Mustafa Altıoklar	Male - Necmi - Side Character
Ara	2008	Ümit Ünal	Male - Ender - Main Character
Gölgesizler	2008	Ümit Ünal	Male - Neighborhood Representative - Main Character
Polis	2007	Onur Ünlü	Male - Musa - Main Character Female - Musa's Daughter -Side Character
Beş Şehir	2009	Onur Ünlü	Male - Şevket / Osman / Tevfik / Aydın - Main Characters Female - Dilek - Main Character
Celal Tan ve Ailesinin Aşırı Acıklı Hikayesi	2011	Onur Ünlü	Male - Julide's Husband - Side Character Female - Kamuran - Main Character Female - Özge - Main Character
Sen Aydınlatırsın Geceyi	2013	Onur Ünlü	Male - Cemal - Main Character Male - Yasemin's relative - Side Character Female - Yasemin - Main Character
İtirazım Var	2014	Onur Ünlü	Male - Ferdi - Side Character
Dedemin İnsanları	2011	Çağan Irmak	Male - Mehmet - Main Character
Bana Şans Dile	2001	Çağan Irmak	Male - Bahadır Yurtsever - Main Character
A Ay	1989	Reha Erdem	Female - Yekta's Mother - Side Character Kid - Yekta - Main Character
Kaç Para Kaç	1999	Reha Erdem	Male - Bank Employee/No name - Side Character

Şarkı Söyleyen Kadınlar	2013	Reha Erdem	Male - Adem - Main Character
Gece Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar	1993	Atıf Yılmaz	Female - Melek - Main Character
Hayallerim Aşkım ve Sen	1986	Atıf Yılmaz	Female - Derya - Main Character
Bekle Dedim Gölgeye	1991	Atıf Yılmaz	Male - Ersin/ Erdal - Main Character Female - Esra - Main Character
Alev Alev	1984	Halit Refiğ	Male - Şahin - Main Character
Teyzem	1986	Halit Refiğ	Female - Üftade - Main Character
Bir Damla Ateş	1981	Osman Seden	Female - Pınar - Main Character Male - Fikret - Main Character
Vazgeç Gönlüm	1981	Osman Seden	Male - Orhan - Main Character
Hasret Sancısı	1982	Osman Seden	Female - Mine -Side Character
Ömrümün Tek Gecesi	1984	Osman Seden	Male - Rıza - Main Character
Tele Kızlar	1985	Osman Seden	Female - Sema - Side Character
Ayrılık Kolay Değil	1980	Temel Gürsu	Male - İbrahim - Main Character
Yaşamak Bu Değil	1981	Temel Gürsu	Female - Gülbahar - Main Character
Vurun Öldürün Beni	1981	Temel Gürsu	Male - Gökhan - Main Character
Katiller De Ağlar	1985	Orhan Elmas	Female - Leyla - Side Character
Kahreden Gençlik	1985	Orhan Elmas	Male - Cengiz - Main Character Female - Sevil - Main Character
Nazlı ile Emir	1988	Orhan Elmas	Male - Emir - Main Character Female - Nazlı - Main Character
Sözde Kızlar	1990	Orhan Elmas	Female - Hatice - Side Character
Kız Kulesi Aşıkları	1993	İrfan Tözüm	Male - Old Lighthouse Keeper - Side Character Male - Lighthouse Keeper - Main Character
Mum Kokulu Kadınlar	1996	İrfan Tözüm	Female - Natalie - Side Character
Kurtlar Vadisi Irak	2006	Serdar Akar	Male - Süleyman / Suicide Bomb/ Martyrs - Side Character
Behzat Ç. Seni Kalbime Gömdüm	2011	Serdar Akar	Female - Berna - Side Character
Hasan Boğuldu	1990	Orhan Aksoy	Female - Emine - Main Character
Pandoranın Kutusu	2009	Yeşim Ustaoğlu	Female - Nusret - Main Character
İz	1994	Yeşim Ustaoğlu	Male - Kemal - Main Character
Yazı Tura	2004	Uğur Yücel	Male - Rıdvan - Main Character
Ejder Kapanı	2010	Uğur Yücel	Female - Nazan - Side Character
Daire	2013	Atıl İnaç	Male - Feramus - Main Character
Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da	2011	Nuri Bilge Ceylan	Female - Nusret's Wife - Side Character
Romantik	2007	Sinan Çetin	Male - Gökhan - Main Character
Bay E	1995	Sinan Çetin	Male - Ömer - Side Character
Kağıt	2010	Sinan Çetin	Male - Mehdi - Side Character Male - Emrah - Main Character
Bütün Kapılar Kapalıydı	1990	Memduh Ün	Female - Nil - Main Character

Mem-ü Zin	1991	Ümit Elçi	Female - Zin - Main Character
Şah Mat	1989	Yılmaz Atadeniz	Female - Sevda - Main Character
Bize Nasıl Kıydınız	1994	Metin Çamurcu	Male - Rabia's Father - Main Character
Bir Yanımız Bahar Bahçe	1994	Bilge Olgaç	Male - Melih - Main Character
Zümrüt	2000	Ömer Kızıltan	Male - Fuat - Main Character Female - Feride - Main Character
Okul	2004	Yağmur Taylan, Durul Taylan	Male - Gökalp - Main Character
Sen Ne Dilersen	2005	Cem Başeskioğlu	Male - Stavro - Side Character
Dabbe	2005	Hasan Karacadağ	Male - Tarık - Main Character Male - Cem - Side Character Female - Sultan - Side Character
Saklı Yüzler	2007	Handan İpekçi	Male - Zöhre's Father - Side Character
Gen	2006	Togan Gökbakar	Male - Mentally ill/No name - Side Character
Gölge	2007	Mehmet Güreli	Male - Selma's Father - Side Character
İncir Çekirdeği	2008	Selda Çiçek	Female - Cemile - Main Character Female - Delal - Side Character
Mezuniyet	2009	Doğa Can Anafarta	Male - Polat - Side Character
Orada	2009	Melik Saraçoğlu ve Hakkı Kurtuluş	Female - Hümeyra - Main Character
Gelecekten Bir Gün	2009	Boğaçhan Dündar	Male - Tolga - Main Character
Havar	2009	Mehmet Güleryüz	Female - Havar - Main Character Female - Ayşe - Side Character
Pus	2009	Tayfun Pirselimoğlu	Male - Emin - Side Character
Ben O Değilim	2013	Tayfun Pirselimoğlu	Female - Ayşe - Side Character
Veda	2010	Zülfü Livaneli	Female - Fikriye - Side Character
Siyah Beyaz	2010	Ahmet Boyacıoğlu	Male - Murat - Side Character
Karadedeler Olayı	2011	Erdoğan Bağbakan	Male - Asım - Side Character
Süper İncir	2013	Kerem Sarı	Male - Seikilos - Side Character
Yarım Kalan Mucize	2013	Biket İlhan	Female - Elif - Side Character
Köksüz	2014	Deniz Akçay	Female - Nurcan -Main Character
Bir Don Juan Öldürmek	2014	Sabahattin Sakman	Female - Melis - Side Character
Ümmü Sibyan: Zifir	2014	Efe Hızır Serhat Hasanoğlu	Female - Kevser - Main Character
Delibal	2015	Ali Bilgin	Male - Barış - Main Character
Kara Bela	2015	Burak Aksak	Male - Kudret - Main Character Male - Efkan - Main Character Male - No name - Side Character
İçimdeki İnsan	2015	Aydın Sayman	Male - Sabri - Main Character
Kan Çiçeği	1989	Şahin Gök	Female - Orhan'ın Kız Kardeşi - Side Character
Alinin Sekiz Günü	2008	Cemal Şan	Male - Ali's Customer - Side Character

Kır Gönlünün Zincirini	1980	Şerif Gören	Female - Gülcan - Side Character
Salkım Hanımın Taneleri	1999	Tomris Giritlioğlu	Female - Nora - Main Character
Huzurum Kalmadı	1980	Haluk Baylan	Male - Turgut - Side Character
Takip	1981	Remzi Jöntürk	Male - Mahsar - Side Character
Kara Kentin Çocukları	2000	Orhan Oğuz	Male - Özgür - Main Character
İstiyorum	1989	Samim Değer Ayşe Akıllıoğlu	Male - Turgut - Main Character

Table 3: List of Films Which Contain Scenes of Suicide Between 1980 and 2015

Film Name	Year	Director	Movie Characters Who Commit Suicide: Male/Female, Character Name, Main Character/Side Character	Social Role	Social Institution	Social Traumas	Suicide Scene
3. Sayfa	1999	Zeki Demirkubuz	Male - Musa - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love and Finance	Institution of Family	Financial Crisis	01:30:00
Göl	1982	Ömer Kavur	Male - Murat - Main Character Female - Murat's wife - Side Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love Female Character - Suicides With Unknown Cause	Institution of Family		01:23:22
Anayurt Oteli	1986	Ömer Kavur	Male - Zebercet - Main Character Male - Zebercet's Relative - Side Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love, Lonliness and Alienation	Institution of Family	Korean War/Coup d'etat of 27 May 1960/ Army Memorandum of 12 March 1971/ Coup d'etat of 12 September 1980	01:35:30
Eşkıya	1996	Yavuz Turgul	Male - Baran - Main Character Male - Kemal - Side Character	Role of Masculinity/Alienation Role of Masculinity/Finance and Ailment	Institution of Family/ Institution of Safety	Turkish-Kurdish Problem	01:59:30
Gönül Yarası	2005	Yavuz Turgul	Male - Halil - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love	Institution of Family		02:07:55
Asansör	1999	Mustafa Altıoklar	Male - Nurcan's Husband -Side Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love	Institution of Family		00:02:26 01:11:30
Ağır Roman	1996	Mustafa Altıoklar	Male - Salih - Main Character Female - Tina - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love Role of Femininity/ Love	Institution of Family / Institution of Safety	Unplanned Urbanization	01:43:35 01:45:40
Banyo	2005	Mustafa Altıoklar	Male - Necmi - Side Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love	Institution of Family		01:26:10
Beş Şehir	2009	Onur Ünlü	Male - Şevket / Osman / Tevfik / Aydın - Main Characters Female - Dilek - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Ailment/Love/Impotency/Patriotism Role of Femininity/ Ailment	Institution of Family /Health Institution/ Institution of Safety		01:27:00
İtirazım Var	2014	Onur Ünlü	Male - Ferdi - Side Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love and Finance	Institution of Family		01:19:00

Film	Year	Director	Character	Role	Institution	Historical Context	Duration
Dedemin İnsanları	2011	Çağan Irmak	Male - Mehmet - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Ailment	Institution of Family /Administrative Institutions /Health Institution	Turkish-Greek Population Exchange Period/ Cyprus War/ Coup d'etat of 12 September 1980	01:37:25
Bana Şans Dile	2001	Çağan Irmak	Male - Bahadır Yurtsever - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Alienation	Educational Institution /Institution of Family / Institution of Safety		01:21:30
Şarkı Söyleyen Kadınlar	2013	Reha Erdem	Male - Adem - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Ailment	Institution of Family / Health Institution		01:49:40
Gece Melek ve Bizim Çocuklar	1993	Atıf Yılmaz	Female - Melek - Main Character	Role of Femininity/ Love	Institution of Family		01:35:05
Hayallerim Aşkım ve Sen	1986	Atıf Yılmaz	Female - Derya - Main Character	Role of Femininity/ Love			00:57:35
Bekle Dedim Gölgeye	1991	Atıf Yılmaz	Male - Ersin/Erdal - Main Character; Female - Esra - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Depression and Alienation; Role of Femininity /Death of Love Ones- Alienation and Depression	Institution of Safety/ Institution of Family /Administrative Institutions	Coup d'etat of 12 September 1980 /1 May 1977/ The Student Movement of 1968	01:23:00
Alev Alev	1984	Halit Refiğ	Male - Şahin - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love	Institution of Family		01:53:15
Teyzem	1986	Halit Refiğ	Female - Üftade - Main Character	Role of Femininity/ Love	Institution of Family	Army Memorandum of 12 March 1971/ Urbanization	01:20:00
Bir Damla Ateş	1981	Osman Seden	Female - Pınar - Main Character; Male - Fikret - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Role of Elder Brotherhood - Restore One's Honour; Role of Femininity/ Die for Beloved	Institution of Family		01:17:20 / 01:24:00
Vazgeç Gönlüm	1981	Osman Seden	Male - Orhan - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love	Institution of Family		01:33:00
Ömrümün Tek Gecesi	1984	Osman Seden	Male - Rıza - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love	Institution of Family		01:08:00
Ayrılık Kolay Değil	1980	Temel Gürsu	Male - İbrahim - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love	Institution of Family		01:15:15

Film	Year	Director	Character	Role	Institution	Historical Event	Duration
Katiller de Ağlar	1985	Orhan Elmas	Female - Leyla - Side Character	Role of Femininity/ Love and Backslider	Institution of Family		0:31:50
Kahreden Gençlik	1985	Orhan Elmas	Male - Cengiz - Main Character / Female - Sevil - Main Character	Role of Masculinity / Love and Use Drugs / Role of Femininity/ Love and Use Drugs	Educational Institution /Institution of Family		01:18:50 01:27:20
Nazlı ile Emir	1988	Orhan Elmas	Male - Emir - Main Character / Female - Nazlı - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love / Role of Femininity/ Love	Institution of Family		01:20:00
Kurtlar Vadisi Irak	2006	Serdar Akar	Male - Süleyman - Side Character / Suicide Bomb - Side Character / Martyrs - Side Character	Role of Masculinity / Defense of Homeland	Institution of Safety	Iraq War	00:07
Hasan Boğuldu	1990	Orhan Aksoy	Female - Emine - Main Character	Role of Femininity/ Love	Institution of Family		01:21:30
Yazı Tura	2004	Uğur Yücel	Male - Rıdvan - Main Character	Role of Masculinity / Love and Defense of Homeland	Institution of Family / Institution of Safety	Turkish-Kurdish Problem/ Turkish-Greek Problem/ The Earthquake of 17 August 1999	00:49:00
Daire	2013	Atıl İnaç	Male - Feramus - Main Character	Role of Masculinity /Alienation	Institution of Family /Administrative Institutions		01:22:00
Romantik	2007	Sinan Çetin	Male - Gökhan - Main Character	Role of Masculinity /Alienation	Institution of Family		1:30:00
Kağıt	2010	Sinan Çetin	Male - Mehdi - Side Character / Male - Emrah - Main Character	Role of Masculinity / Finance and Impotency / Role of Masculinity / Finance	Institution of Family/Administrative Institutions	The Army Memorandum of 12 March 1971/ 1 May 1977/ The Coup of 12 September 1980	00:55:45 01:24:05
Bütün Kapılar Kapalıydı	1990	Memduh Ün	Female - Nil - Main Character	Role of Femininity/ Inability to Become a Good Mother	Institution of Family	Coup d'etat of 12 September 1980/ Torture	01:24:33
Mem-ü Zin	1991	Ümit Elçi	Female - Zin - Main Character	Role of Femininity/ Love	Institution of Family		01:43:30
Şah Mat	1989	Yılmaz Atadeniz	Female - Sevda - Main Character	Role of Femininity/ Love	Institution of Family		0:28:00

Title	Year	Director	Character	Theme	Institution	Notes	Time
Bize Nasıl Kıydınız	1994	Metin Çamurcu	Male - Rabia's Father - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Infanticide and Adultery	Institution of Family		0:58:20
Okul	2004	Yağmur Taylan & Durul Taylan	Male - Gökalp - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love and Loneliness	Educational Institution		00:04
Sen Ne Dilersen	2005	Cem Başeskioğlu	Male - Stavro - Side Character	Role of Masculinity/ Inability to Become a Good Father	Institution of Family		01:02:02
Dabbe	2005	Hasan Karacadağ	Male - Tarık - Main Character / Male - Cem - Side Character / Female - Sultan - Side Character	Male Characters / Suicide Epidemic / Role of Femininity / Adultery	Institution of Family/ Din		00:19:40 / 01:09:00
Saklı Yüzler	2007	Handan İpekçi	Male - Zöhre's Father - Side Character	Role of Masculinity/ Role of Father - Restore One's Honour	Institution of Family		00:20:00 / 01:17:40
Mezuniyet	2009	Doğa Can Anafarta	Male - Polat - Side Character	Role of Masculinity/ Sexual Abuse of a Child and Loneliness	Institution of Family / Educational Institution		00:04
Orada	2009	Melik Saraçoğlu & Hakkı Kurtuluş	Female - Hümeyra - Main Character	Role of Femininity/ Inability to Become a Good Wife and Mother	Institution of Family	The Earthquake of 17 August 1999/ Financial Crisis	00:00
Gelecekten Bir Gün	2009	Boğaçhan Dündar	Male - Tolga - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love and Finance	Institution of Family		00:11
Pus	2009	Tayfun Pirselimoğlu	Male - Emin - Side Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love and Finance	Institution of Family		01:21:10
Veda	2010	Zülfü Livaneli	Female - Fikriye - Side Character	Role of Femininity/ Love	Institution of Family		01:33:10
Süper İncir	2013	Kerem Sarı	Male - Seikilos - Side Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love	Institution of Family		01:19:40
Ümmü Sıbyan: Zifir	2014	Efe Hızır & Serhat Hasanoğlu	Female - Kevser - Main Character	Role of Femininity/ Loneliness and Rape	Institution of Family/Educational Institution		00:01:00 / 00:53:00
Delibal	2015	Ali Bilgin	Male - Barış - Main Character	Role of Masculinity/ Love and Ailment	Institution of Family/Health Institution		00:00