



Sociological Study of Suicide Attempt of Kurdish Women in Kurdistan Province

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Abstract

Suicide is estimated as a serious problem among women. The purpose of this study is to understand the circumstances, interactions and outcomes related to women's unsuccessful suicide in Kurdistan province (Iran) using grounded theory. With the help of theoretical and purposeful sampling 31 participants were interviewed in order to gather theoretical saturation. Finally, the data in the form of 642 concepts, 23 sub-categories, seven main categories and a core part were coded and analyzed. Interview results show problems with the factors of social exclusion: Poverty, family problems, lack of legal protection, social deviations, part-time work and the lack of affection were predisposing conditions to women suicide. As well as traditional culture, with subcategories: the stigma of divorce, intolerance with modern trends, breaking down the norms, Anomie, and inadequate economic and cultural capital, with subcategories: the lack of financial independence, lack of awareness and illiteracy, and patriarchal society, with subcategories: male domination and violence against women were

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identified as the causal conditions. The following categories of mental disorders with depression and personality disorders have acted as intervening conditions. Participants have mentioned seeking liberty, silence and threats as strategies against conditions. Social isolation, with sub-categories of loneliness, insecurity and losing life expectancy, were estimated as the consequences of suicidal thought.

Keywords: Suicide attempt, Kurd women, social exclusion, patriarchal system, grounded theory.

Introduction

Sociologists often find a social problem as a stated condition that contradicts with the values of a significant number of people, and believe they need to change that situation (Rubington and Weinberg 1971, 13). Durkheim considers suicide to be a social problem. The similarity between Marx's and Durkheim's attitude toward suicide is relatively clear. Both discuss suicide in modern society on the basis of social conditions rather than internal conditions. Both Durkheim and Marx consider suicide to be a symptom of wider social illness, and both are concerned with empirical data on suicide and not moral or philosophical reflections (Marx 1999, 27). Suicide is a global phenomenon that has been growing and the age of those who commit suicide has been lowered. In the present era, more people are involved in suicidal thoughts and behaviors with the advent of technology and the introduction of imperfect modernity, which Marshall Bremen called "modernity of underdevelopment", rapid changes and more complexity of life. According to the World Health Organization (WHO) report, in 2015, more than 800,000 people die every year of suicide. The suicide attempt rate is several times more than deaths by suicide. It is worth noting that statistics are not trustworthy for various cultural, political, and social reasons, and are less than its real extent.

There are no exact statistics of suicide in the Kurdish community. During the period from 2005 to 2007, the rate of suicide among women was higher than that among men in Kurdistan Province of the East. The rates of suicide among women in comparison with men were 51.1% in 2005, 54% in 2006, and 52.6% in 2007. The more important matter is that in recent years, 70% of women who have committed suicide have used self-immolation in the province (Moeedfar and Hasan Panah 2010). But according to the unofficial statistics compiled by a researcher from a hospital in Sanandaj, an estimated 150 cases, mostly women, were recorded in a month, only in one hospital, which is much higher than the provided statistics.

Due to the shortcomings and weaknesses of statistical methods in deep and complete knowledge of suicide reasons, this study benefits from the viewpoint of the people who are involved in the problem in the form of a qualitative research for a more in-depth study and a more correct understanding of this problem, in order to reduce this damage in the level of society. A lot of research has been done around this issue, but as Ahmad Bukharaei and Ibrahim Mirzaie have done a study entitled "The Meta-analysis Study of Suicide in Ilam Province", it is stated "Cooperative-Qualitative and empathic approaches have had very little contribution to the study of suicide in the society. In most of these studies, researchers have investigated suicide without using direct methods just simply by relying on and referring to the secondary data."

Another considerable issue is that these studies have been very limited around Kurdish women. But relatively more foreign studies have been done on women. A much wider research on attempted suicide and suicide of Kurdish Women in the Kurdistan region has been carried out. The results due to the cultural, linguistic and geographical proximity are of great importance to this study.

For example, in a study conducted by Vian Nissan Hannah and Abdul Baghchi Ahmed, "Suicide in Iraqi Kurdistan" in 2008, the following results come out: suicide rates appear to be increasing that was carried out in Erbil province from 2003 to 2006 Suicide has increased by 6.5 times. 76.3 percent of victims were female, most of them aged 20 to 25, and self-immolation was a common practice. Izaddin Abdolsamad Rassoul's research was also conducted in three cities of Hewler (Erbil), Duhok and Sulaimaniyah. He has examined 100 women who have committed or attempted suicide. Rasul's research findings indicate that self-immolation is one of the most common suicide attempts among women between 14 and 30 years of age, of which the youngest was 14 and the oldest was 35 (Rassol 2013). Finally, in this research, we seek to answer the following question: What were the sociological factors affecting the suicide attempt of women in Kurdistan province? Therefore, this study examines the experiences of Kurdish women who have been rescued from suicide and examine the causes and sociological factors.

2. Theory and Method

Grounded theory is one of the ways of conducting qualitative research that is used in this research for data analysis. Grounded theory is extracted directly from the data collected and analyzed in the course of the research. In this way, the researcher does not start with the theory already in her mind, but begins with the work in the realm of reality, and the theory emanates from the data that has been gathered (Strauss and Carbin 1990, 34).

Participants in the study were women who committed suicide in the province of Kurdistan. The data were collected using a deep interview method in which non-structured questions were used. In an in-depth interview, the interviewer attempts to reveal the subjective meanings of the interviewees relying on a number of general issues that are central to the interview (Ahmadi 2013, 112).

In this research, two purposeful and theoretical sampling were used for data collection. In a purposeful sampling, it became clear who should be interviewed. In data collection for research using grounded theory, theoretical sampling is used. Theoretical sampling means that sampling is more than research-based prior to research, and is based on concepts that come out of analysis and appear to be related to emerging theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990, 220). This sampling continues to reach the theoretical saturation. The theoretical saturation means that the researchers must continue the categorical saturation as much as possible (Iman 2009, 349).

2.2. Research environment

Depending on the interviewee's request, interviews took place in a variety of settings. A number of interviewees who were hospitalized were interviewed in the hospital, and a number of interviews were conducted with psychologists in which interviewees were informed. A number of women, who were accessed by people, were not willing to interview at home. These were most commonly found in parks in a quiet environment, and some at the homes of relatives.

3. Findings

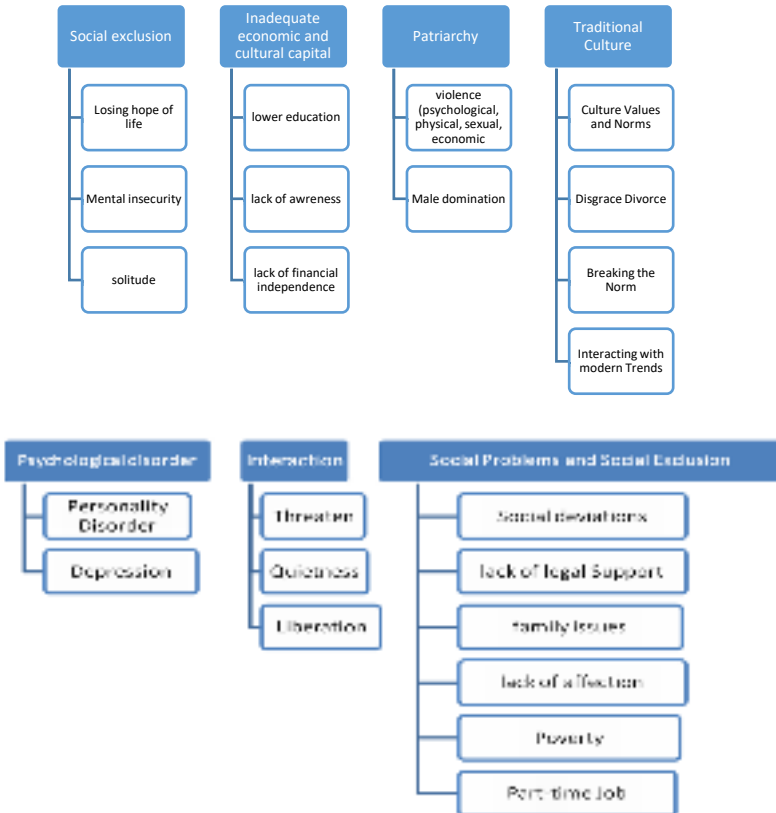
3.1. General characteristics of the interviewees

In this study, 31 Kurdish women who attempted suicide are interviewed. The time devoted to each interview was approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour.

67% of the interviewees were aged 20-36 years old (it is not exact due to some of those who attempted suicide several times did not know at which age they had committed suicide, for whom the current age has been taken into account), 12% of these people were illiterate, and 58% had high school dropout degree, 65% of the people were married at the time of committing suicide, 38%

of people have committed suicide more than once. All women were unemployed and only 9.6% of them were Cleaning people at a time.

During the open coding phase, 642 concepts of data emerged and then concepts were classified into 23 sub-categories. In axial coding these sub-categories were categorized in the seven main categories shown in the tree diagram below:



3.2. Backgrounds and contexts of suicide

In answer to this question: What reasons and conditions had been contributed in committing suicide from the perspective of the victim's women? After analyzing the data, the following main and sub-categories were derived:

Type of category	Main categories	Subcategories
Contextual	Traditional culture	Cultural values and norms, shame or stigma of divorce, intolerance to modern tendencies, stereotyping
Contextual	Patriarchy	Male domination, violence (psychological, physical, (sexual, economic
Causal	Inadequate Cultural and economic capital	Lack of awareness, lack of financial independence, lower education
Causal	Social Problems and Social exclusion	Lack of legal protection, part-time work, poverty, family problems, lack of affection, social deviations
Intervening	Mental disorders	Depression, personality disorders

3.2.1. Traditional culture

The term traditional culture means a culture that has elements that are in contrast with modern elements. The elements of traditional culture are rooted in the past of that culture and transmitted from one generation to another (Poladi and Delgoshaii 2014). Cultural beliefs and values have a very decisive place in women's suicide attempt. A very important issue that was expressed by a large number of married women attempted

suicide was the interference and demands of the husband's family, which caused victims' harassment. One of them says: "They misbehave me and always talk behind me and cause my husband to fight me because my husband advocates his family" With the advent of modernity, Kurdistan community has faced a contradiction between the beliefs and values of the people. Women are more inclined to have individual freedom, but the community and the family are opposed to changes in this sector and are not compatible with such modern tendencies. said one of the interviewees, who encountered the family's opposition to modern tendencies: "I wanted to be among the people and the community, like my classmates and friends, wearing a short Manteau or cloak, going to my friend house and having freedom, but when I was going to school, I was forced to wear Headband to my hair. They would not let me go as I wanted, they would say hello and listen to people's words. In a large number of cases, women referred to cases such as forced marriage, people's speeches, and reputation.

In some cases, women have failed to adapt to these norms and have had many consequences, and the family has taken punishment for this non-compliance. In some cases, the fear of the consequences of this breach was the main factor in suicidal attempts of the studied women. Of the above mentioned, one of them was the relationship with the opposite sex. Considering the traditional and religious structure of the family, the relationship with the opposite sex was a kind of taboo, with very high costs, including denial of education, tribal affairs, beating the girl, forced marriage and even honor killing. A 19-year-old girl who attempted suicide 2 years ago says: "My boyfriend told me that I will show your photo to your father. I was dying of fear of my father and I drank dilution liquid, because I did not know what would happen to me."

Among other issues mentioned by some women, the problem was the disgrace of divorce in society and their families, and even to their own, and women because of their consequences, such as economic problems, lack of custody of the child, fear of family reputation, future and life in a society that They reject these women ... they did not want to divorce. A 36-year-old woman says, "I did not want to get divorced. I did not have a place where the new people would say about a divorced woman? My mother told me you wore a white wedding dress from this house, and you will return with white shroud, what would happen to my daughter? "A woman who smoke crystal meth for two years with her husband says," I will not forsake my dad. My father is guilty because he didn't let me separate from him. My father was concerned about his reputation."

Findings of the research showed that traditional culture and its implications were the basis for increasing the vulnerability of women attempting suicide. Women faced hardship as a result of the traditional culture of society, which resulted, in some cases, in compromise and, in some cases, breaking the norms, both of which led to suicide.

3.2.2. Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a system of male authority that oppresses women through their social, political, and economic institutions. Male patriarchy comes from the fact that men have more resources and privilege of power structures inside and outside the house, and are mediated by their division into society (Abbott and Wallace 1991, 324). For radical feminists, the most fundamental structure of oppression is gender-based, and it is the patriarchal system that is the most important structure of social inequality (Ritzer 2011, 489).

In this study, two sub-categories of male domination and violence were identified, which most women referred to as

exerted by husbands, fathers, and brothers. One of the interviewees says, "He does not let me hang out anywhere, he does not let me go to anywhere by myself. Even he tells me if I'm not happy, God is not happy with us. He wants to have absolute authority over me. He is a complete dictator. "

On the other hand, the traditional and patriarchal society provides for all men to exert power and to take personal freedom from women in the names of reputation, people, honor, and men's fanaticism ... "With the accident of my father, our uncles made decisions for our family. Even all men of the clan interfered in all our work, and even forced my sister to marry my cousin" (22 years old girl).

The issue of domination was a very prominent category among categories that gave women a sense of sub-consciousness and passivity, and took power, confidence, and ability to fight. Women in dominated system experience suppression and oppression.

In most cases, women were suffering from a form of violence (physical, psychological, economic, and sexual). From beating to creating fear and anxiety, abuse and humiliation, disrespect, giving up money and rehearsing them, and even in some cases, the sense of invasion of the partner... was abundantly seen, and had very bad consequences. Many including borderline personality disorder, feelings of humiliation, low self-esteem, depression, anxiety, fear and lack of self-esteem, anger and so on, which has led to the suicide of women. In most cases, all types of violence were applied together and it was hard to separate. But the greatest violence that was seen was the psychological violence expressed by the victims. A 30-year-old woman states, "Her pessimism was plaguing me, like a prisoner, always at home. He did not allow me to make up and color my hair. All these minor wishes were a wish of my life. I did not have time to go

out, I went out several times a year, but after infinite returning, he beat me why men looked at you. "

Another kind of violence which was pointed out by interviewees was the economic violence. The man has increased the power of his family by leveraging his powers and thereby increasing his domination. "I do not have money. I do not even have to pay for a charger. I have to take from my son. I asked for my sister's wedding of 1,000,000 RLS, and he picked a big fight and told me to go from home."

The categories of the patriarchal system and the structure of traditional culture have been continuously intertwined, and they are the main context of women's suicide.

3.2.3. Social problems and deprivations

With the industrialization and the twentieth century, the availability of more facilities, the demands and requirements of mankind increased, but on the other hand, they faced social deprivation which caused a lot of problems in people's lives. Women surveyed referred to many problems, such as poverty, social deviations and family problems and lack of legal protection, part-time work and lack of affection.

Women who survived suicide felt lonely in their family problems, and they believe that the law did not provide any support for them to separate from their husbands and take custody. "My husband was addicted. I wanted to get away from him, but my husband did not give up my daughter. . We spent three years in court. The late one took my daughter from me.

Family issues were identified as one of the most important issues. Most women were in tense families. Fights and unrest among the members of the family were permanent. Some of the main factors behind this can be unemployment, addiction and poverty. Poverty, unemployment and husband's addiction caused some women temporarily to work. A 54-year-old woman

says, "We had a bad financial situation, we had no bread to eat at night. I've worked for people for 10 years now, but now I cannot." One of the social deviations was addiction, which played a very prominent role among categories, which caused a variety of domestic violence and family affairs, and increased poverty. One of the women activists says, "My husband has been addicted to crystal meth for 7 years. We have a very bad financial situation. I had to prostitute to supply his materials. I borrowed money from all for him. But my husband was getting worst day by day. Sometimes I was beaten up by the morning, and in the end I took the material."

Some actors named the lack of affection by their parents and their husbands as grounds for the existence of a tense relationship in the family. "I want my husband to love me, but my husband says a woman is a man of a sort. I cannot say how you want me to love you, I work out and make money and spend your money."

3.2.4. Inadequate cultural and economic capital

Three sources cultural capital are family, education, and job culture are among the factors whose impact on lifestyle can be studied (Fazeli 2003, 39). As Bourdieu described education as a cultural capital, the women studied had lower education.

It was also found that women's awareness of their existence and their abilities and the world around them was very low. One of the actors has been plagued by extreme labor and stigma, allowing his wife to have a new marriage because he says that I cannot do my job well.

Women were also dependent on their families because of the lack of special skills, due to low education, low cultural capital, low awareness of their abilities, poverty - without considering the underlying factors - economically dependent on their families,

and increasing violence against women "I wish I had money and I would go to a detached house" (36 years old woman).

3.2.5. Mental disorders

Mental disorders were identified as the involved conditions. Mental disorders mean deep disorganization in the personality system. A person with this complication can be difficult to reconcile with the social environment. Problems such as sadness, anxiety, irritability, anti-socialization, addiction, alcoholism, depression, etc. fall into this category (Mohseni 2011, 155).

As a result of the great pressure from the community and the family and the people around them, women suffer from depression and sadness throughout their lives: "I'm depressed. I do not like to go anywhere. I do not like being happy. I just like to go to "Ta'zieh" or passion play or condolence theatre and I will not even love my baby."

One of the interviewees who has a personality disorder says, "My dad calls me psychic. I also get on this sensible word for the same aggression and cry. Some nights I did not go home. I once sold my gold and I went to Tehran for a week. "

3.3. Suicide strategies and reactions

Answering the question, what reaction did the respondents take against the problems, and what strategies did they use? The main categories are:

Type of category	Main categories	Subcategories
action\reaction	Interaction	Liberation, Threat, Quietness

The women studied have reacted to the conditions. Some of them acknowledged that they were silent in most cases, and in some cases (which were few) they committed suicide to fulfill

their desires. "My dad had decided to remarry and nobody could discourage him and I decided to cut my vessel to discourage him" (19 years old woman).

Actresses are under great pressure to take action to get rid of the situation. One of the actresses says, "I'm tired of life, I am overwhelmed by my son. I depend on them for all my personal tasks. I also destroyed their lives. I want to save this life again " (61 years old woman).

3.4. The effects and consequences of suicide

How could victims see their lives and the world around them? The following categories were extracted:

Type of category	Main categories	Subcategories
Consequences	Social isolation	Loneliness, Losing hope of life, Psychological insecurity

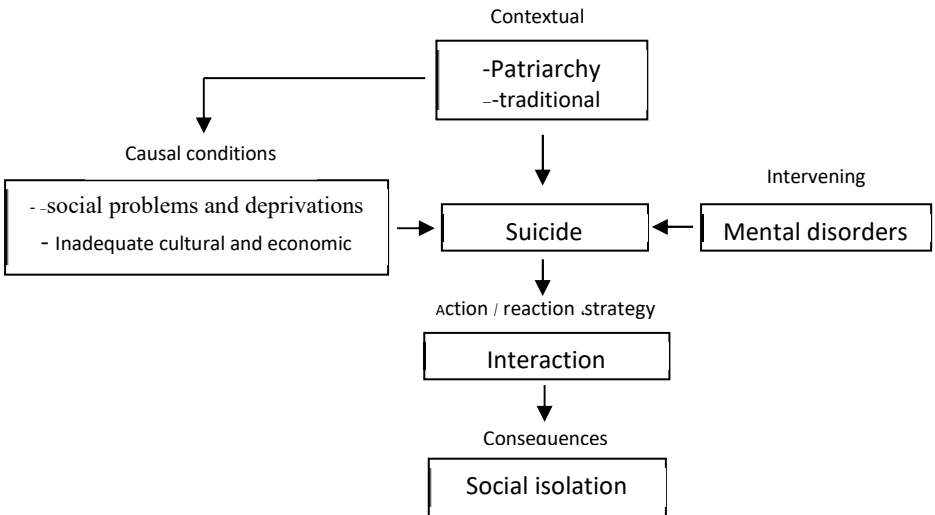
Women as a result of social isolation are faced with a sense of loneliness and frustration, which has led to frequent suicides. Loneliness was a fatal code. As a result of the many problems in life, actors felt themselves alone and felt helpless. Also, women were very disappointed with life and they did not see any solutions to their problems: "I do not like the world I'm disappointed with, I have so many problems and I'm not happy with anything" (36 years old woman).

If a person feels insecure in the family, she becomes anxious, fearful, lonely, and angry, giving way to hatred of her place. A number of women at home did not feel safe and fleeing from this place: "I do not want to go home at all. I want to be with someone that likes me. I always have to sleep. Do you ever know why I got

a pill? I'm far away from that house for a few days now, I'm back in my hospital a week and I do not want to go back."

4. Expression of the theory

The status of women in each society reflects the characteristics and extent of progress of that society, and the frequency of suicide represents the extent of the issues and problems. The survivors of suicide have interpreted their lives and the world around them, based on which interpretations have acted and responded, and the world around them has come up with other interpretations of the reaction of these women. The general view of the society about superficial suicide is considered to be low due to lack of self-esteem or faith, but the result of the analysis of the data of this research (Model 1) shows the reality in another way and many factors. In Kurdish women committing suicide, it is involved in cultural, social, political and economic conditions. The impact of these systems is evident in the main categories: traditional culture, patriarchy, inadequate cultural and economic capital, social problems and deprivations, mental disorders, interactions and social isolation. It also confirms with core category "social exclusion with the context of the system of patriarchy."



Theoretical Model 1: Understanding women's suicide situations, strategies and outcomes

5. Conclusion

In this research, Grounded theory was used to identify the factors and conditions of attempted suicide among women in Kurdistan province, in which the categories of traditional culture, patriarchal system, social problems and deprivations, inadequate cultural and economic capital, and psychological disorders as conditions for suicide attempt and interactions as action/reactions and social isolation as consequences of the phenomenon of suicide appeared.

As mentioned, close to 65% of these people were married when they attempted suicide, which is in contrast with Durkheim's investigation that suicide in married people is lower. But Taylor states that married women with children have more immunity

from suicide. Of course, immunity is not solely due to marriage, but also from the effects of the coherence of the family and children (Taylor 1988, 26). The results of the research showed that coherence in these families was very low.

Each of these categories contributed to women's suicide attempts, but most contributed to the patriarchal system. Rosemarie Tong considers the element that constitutes patriarchy to be a control of men in public and private fields (Tong 1989, 158). The data showed that women have always been dominated by husbands, fathers, brothers and women with men's thoughts. and their actions and behaviors such as going out, talking, laughing, commenting, dressing, arranging Continuing education, getting married, choosing a place of residence, having children, social relationships, even with the parents' family, spending money, etc were under the control of men.

The majority of women experienced violence in some way. The root of the types of violence exerted against women is the result of the domination of the existing structures based on the patriarchal system that emerged as the dominant social discourse. Yazdkhasti and Rashidi in a research paper titled Paternal and Violence against Women state that male attitudes and beliefs and patterns of patriarchal's culture are one of the most important structural factors for strengthening the cycle of violence against women (Yazdkhasti and Shirani 2009).

Though the traditional beliefs and attitudes are against women, but in some cases women are based on these beliefs and behave in the form of these norms. With the advent of modern society, Kurdish society has changed the family structure and created contradictions in people's minds. Women faced questions in the face of modernity. But on the other hand, they encountered a very powerful barrier called the Sunnah. This dichotomy leads to

a difference in the attitudes of the new and old generation, which is referred to as the generation gap.

The two categories of patriarchy and traditional culture have a dialectical relationship, each of which reinforces the other, causing social problems and deprivations and insufficient cultural and economic capital.

The inadequate cultural and economic capital was identified as a causal condition that is directly related to the patriarchal and traditionalist Kurdish community. As it was seen, women had very little education. They were from families with low cultural capital. The majority of these people absorbed their own habits. Poverty, violence, marginalization, lack of education, inability to cultivate individual abilities, and repeat habits² of the past generation. Lower education has had the following major consequences for these women: early marriage, lack of awareness, unemployment.

The socialization process of these women in a society where sexism dominates, low-level education and the social class of women reproduce women without consciousness, which was another component of the suicide attempt in women. In this category, lack of awareness of their being as a woman and the lack of recognition of their abilities to have independent life, lack of understanding of their present situation, lack of awareness of the ability to change in the status quo, the lack of knowledge of the world around them, lack of gender awareness, the lack of awareness of their citizenship and legal rights and, finally, the lack of recognition of individual freedom were considered to be the main causes of undercover women in the study.

Other issues that were considered as causal were social problems and deprivations whose subcategories contained a close relationship. Poverty and social deviations have a

2 .The word Bourdieu uses in this regard.

dialectical relationship that both escalate family problems and lack of affection. In the meantime, the lack of protection of the law of women plays an essential role in the subjugation of women.

Among the factors that exacerbated women's hard conditions were the psychological problems of women who had a very influential role in suicide attempts of interviewees. Personality disorder and depression were among the cases seen. Findings by Mehran and his colleagues suggest that depression was a psychological disorder in suicide attempters (Mehran et al. 2004).

Holmes, in his book, describes the characteristics of women attempting suicide in the Tadini Prison, conducted by Motiouk and Wichman (2002) in their research. The characteristics of these women are: common behavior, self-harm, many problems with unemployment having little education, have been harassed and mistreated in various forms by their families or spouses, incompatibility with each community, having severe psychological problems, a significant lack of cognitive skills (Holmes and Holmes 2006, 20). The results of Motiuk and Wicham's research are in line with the research done. Kurdish women have these characteristics: low-educated, experienced a variety of types of violence, some had psychiatric problems, a special skill to manage their lives they were not unemployed.

The results also came with a number of results from Ezuddin Abdul Samad Rassoul, who has been involved in the Kurdish region, including family quarrel and marriage cases, forced marriage, conflict with family members, domestic violence, love affairs, social isolation, gender discrimination, women's liberation, continuous education, and culture and traditions.

Finally, the most important issue in the suicide of women studied was social problems and deprivations in the male-dominated system. On the other hand, Durkheim's theory suggests that

suicide comes from the extreme order of consistency (Durkheim 1897). Durkheim did not pay much attention to this type of suicide, because he thought that contemporary society is not important, but it is consistent with Kurdish society. As it was seen, women were suffering from the rule and order that was applied to their lives, so that they would commit suicide to get rid of it. In the system of patriarchy and traditional culture, moral and physical tyranny dominates women, which has made life very difficult for women. The result of this tyranny is social isolation that has led to suicide.

The pressure from the family on women, the traditional family culture, women's rights of Kurdistan, the influence of radical Islamic groups, the norms and values of the society (which are changing) and the patriarchal atmosphere of this issue are the causes to differentiate suicide of men from women.

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