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MULTIDISCIPLINARNI VIDIKI  
PREUČEVANJA SMRTI  
*MULTIDISCIPLINARY ASPECTS  
OF THE STUDY OF DEATH*

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# O VSEBINI SUICIDALNIH ZAPISOV SLOVENSКИH SAMOMORILCEV IN POSLOVILNIH PISEM RODOLJUBOV, USTRELJENIH MED DRUGO SVETOVNO VOJNO

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**Ključne besede:** smrt, suicidalni zapisi, analiza vsebine, zanikanje, dekonstrukcija

Petdeseta in šestdeseta leta našega stoletja so bila zlata leta sodobne suicidologije. Shneidman, Farberow, Beck, Ringel, kot tudi mnogi drugi raziskovalci, so bili prvi, ki so prinesli nekaj svetlobe v neraziskano temo presuicidalnega dogajanja. Zahvaljujoč njihovim teoretičnim konceptom in empiričnim dosežkom je danes že splošno sprejeto, da čustva in manifestacije suicidalnega posameznika niso naključna. Očitno je, da presuicidalni proces kaže jasna pravila in ima določene vsebinske elemente. Torej lahko zagotovo rečemo, da obstaja določen diskurz suicida, ki se sicer razlikuje od kulture do kulture. Ta suicidni diskurz, v smislu "realnosti, ki se kaže v obliki znakovnega sistema" (Kézdi, 2) pomeni (v določenih okoliščinah) edini možen način govorjenja, razmišljanja ali pisanja o samomoru. Suicidološka tradicija določene kulture se kaže skozi semantične in sintaktične dimenzije tega diskurza. Presuicidalni proces torej ne vključuje le suicidalnega posameznika, ampak tudi vse "signifikatno" okolje, ki ga obkroža.

"Cry for help" fenomen (iskanje pomoči in podpore pred samomorilnim dejanjem) je dokaz za interpersonalno (konverzacijsko) naravo presuicidalnega procesa. Teoretični koncepti, ki sta jih razvila Shneidman in Farberow, so v veliki meri prispevali k razvoju določenih preventivnih in terapevtskih metod, vendar so se ti koncepti pokazali kot neuspešni za pojasnitev nekaterih pomembnih vprašanj suicidologije. Vseeno so raziskave suicidalnih zapisov zelo pomembne del suicidološke tradicije 70-ih let.

Proti koncu 50-ih let sta Shneidman in Farberow konstruirala raziskovalni projekt za primerjanje "pravih" in "simuliranih" suicidalnih zapisov, ki so jih napisali zdravi prostovoljci. Na žalost rezultati teh sicer precej sofisticiranih raziskav niso veliko prispevali k razumevanju pojava samomorilnosti. Drugi avtorji so raziskovali demografske in druge razlike med subpopulacijo samomorilcev, ki so pustili za seboj suicidalne zapise, in tistih, ki tega niso storili. Tudi izsledki teh raziskovalcev so se pokazali nerelevantni.

Še najbolj zanimive so bile tiste raziskave, ki so temeljile na analizi vsebin suicidalnih zapisov. Te študije so namreč nastale pod vplivom teoretičnih konceptov in episte-

moloških značilnosti sodobnih humanističnih znanosti in pomenijo širitev teh paradigem na področje suicidologije. Eden od najbolj kreativnih suicidologov, ki se je posvetil raziskavi suicidalnih zapisov, je vsekakor Antoon Leenaars iz Kanade. Je avtor več pomembnih študij, ki potrjujejo prisotnost določenih kontekstualnih elementov in zrcalijo intrapsihične in medosebne koncepte samomorilnosti. Leenaars je pomemben tudi zato, ker je eden od prvih raziskovalcev, ki so se posvetili transkulturalni analizi dokumentov, ki so povezani s samomorom posameznika. Primerjal je suicidalne zapise iz Kanade, Združenih držav in Madžarske. Suicidologija 80-ih in 90-ih let je prispevala tudi k razvoju kulturnoantropološko utemeljene suicidološke paradigme. Raziskave, ki temeljijo na tovrstni paradigmatski zasnovi, se posvečajo samomorilnim vsebinam, kot se manifestirajo v medijih, v literaturi ter v presuicidalnih fenomenih. Zdi se, da transkulturna primerjava postaja zelo pomembna metoda za razumevanje narave samomorilnosti.

Kézdi je bil prvi (madžarski) suicidolog v zgodnjih 80-ih letih, ki se je posvetil raziskavi jezikoslovnih elementov v besedilih, ki so povezani s samomorilnostjo. Njegova metoda analize vsebine temelji na teoretičnih konceptih "jezikovnega vedenja" (language behavior), semiotike in semantike. Vzorec raziskave je vseboval zapise dialogov s samomorilnimi posamezniki, suicidalne zapise in fragmente različnih besedil, ki so relevantni za samomorilnost. Kontrolni vzorec pa je vseboval zapise intervjujev z nesamomorilnimi posamezniki in besedila, nerelevantna za samomorilnost. Kézdi je identificiral zanikanje kot najbolj relevanten element samomorilnega diskurza. Pomemben del njegove raziskovalne dejavnosti je tudi interpretacija diskurzivne vloge zanikanja v kontekstu kulture in tradicije.

Fekete, drugi madžarski suicidolog, je uporabil Kézdijevo metodo za transkulturalno primerjavo suicidalnih zapisov. Analiziral je madžarske, nemške in angleške zapise. Kulturnoantropološko zasnovani suicidološki koncepti (med katere sodi tudi znanstveno delo Kézdi) so se pojavili v 80-ih in 90-ih letih, kot odgovor na pomanjkljivost moderne suicidologije in suicidološko utemeljenih konceptov. Že omenjene sociološke in psihološke teorije, ki so se pojavile v 60-ih in 70-ih letih, so bile nesposobne zadovoljivo pojasniti razlike v suicidalnosti kulturološko različnih populacij. Vsekakor pa so te (moderne) teorije prispevale k razvoju novih, interdisciplinarno zasnovanih paradigem, ki so sposobne odgovoriti na zelo pomembna vprašanja o naravi suicidalnega procesa. Na te koncepte so vplivale lingvistične teorije in hermenevitična znanost. Težišče teh raziskav se je premestilo z značilnosti suicidalnega posameznika na fenomenologijo samomorilnega procesa, ki se pokaže v samomorilnem diskurzu. Takšno razmišljanje je vsekakor interdisciplinarno in multidisciplinarno ter usmerjeno v medosebni prostor. "Opazovalec" ni več neodvisna in objektivna oseba, ampak je v času observacije popolnoma involviran v dogajanja. Hkrati vplivajo nanj jezikovno preneseni elementi "splošnega družbenega diskurza". Kot je namreč razvidno iz sodobnih konceptov kulturne antropologije, pripadniki določene kulture lahko izpeljejo določeno komunikacijsko dejanje o samomorilnosti le v "harmoniji" s splošnim družbenim diskurzom.

Kézdi in Fekete sta potrdila, da je zanikanje značilnost besedil, ki so relevantna za samomorilnost. Zanikanje se lahko kaže kot element vsebine besedila, vendar ima negacija obenem tudi sintaktično vlogo znotraj besedila. Večkratno zanikanje (npr. nikoli

ne, niti ne itd.) je npr. prisotno prav tako v slovenskem kot tudi v madžarskem jeziku, ne le v govorjenju suicidalno ogroženega posameznika. Iz kulturnoantropološkega zornega kota je smiselno predvsem odgovoriti na vprašanje "Kaj je namen pisanja suicidalnega zapisa in kakšen je pomen tovrstnih besedil?" Primerjanje suicidalnih zapisov s poslovilnimi pismi nesamomorilnih posameznikov je metoda, ki se lahko izkaže kot uspešna v razreševanju zgoraj omenjenih ugank.

Slovenska raziskava, namenjena preučevanju suicidalnih zapisov, je primerjala 50 tovrstnih besedil napisanih v slovenskem jeziku, s 45 poslovilnimi pismi slovenskih rodoljubov, ki so bili ustreljeni med drugo svetovno vojno. Suicidalne zapise je zbrala policije v letu 1994, poslovilna pisma pa so bila izbrana po naključju iz javno dosegljive zbirke tovrstnih besedil. Po preliminarnem branju teh besedil je avtor ustvaril sistem kriterijev, ki so se pokazali uporabni za detekcijo in interpretacijo psiholoških, semantičnih in semiotičnih značilnosti obeh vzorcev. Ti kriteriji zrealijo določena intuitivna pričakovanja avtorja glede relevantnosti določenih variabel, vendar obenem zrealijo tudi pozitivno tradicijo več suicidoloških teorij.

## Poslovilna pisma rodoljubov

Kot je to razvidno iz predstavljene raziskave, so poslovilna pisma talcev kazala precej homogen vzorec. Vsi ti spisi so približno enako dolgi, vsebujejo iste strukturne in vsebinske elemente, izražajo podobna čustva itd. Večina poslovilnih pisem je dolgih od 60 do 80 besed. Skoraj vsa so naslovljena na eno ali več znanih oseb in se končajo s frazo poslovitve in s podpisom. Prvi stavek pisma po pravilu sporoča dejstvo, da je avtor obsojen na smrt oz. da bo usmrčen. Emocionalna vsebina se deli na izraze ljubezni in krivde. Krivda se večinoma pojavi v kontekstu trpljenja, ki ga je avtor pisma povzročil svojim bližnjim s svojimi preteklimi dejanji. Avtor po tem velikokrat prosi za odpustanje ali se tega odpoveduje z izrazom "kako ni potrebno žalovati za njim". Večina izjav, ki tvorijo poslovilna pisma (kar 60 %), se nanaša na avtorja oz. na naslovnika. Zanimivo je le, da pri tem uporabljajo relativno malo osebnih zaimkov. Kar precej izjav (20 %) se ukvarja z odnosi med avtorji in naslovniki. Ti odnosi se pokažejo tudi skozi naravo avtorefleksij in refleksij. V kar 40 % vseh poslovilnih pisem se avtorji vidijo v negativni luči, vendar naslovnike skoraj vedno pokažejo v pozitivni luči. Zanikanja se po navadi nanašajo na zanikanje trpljenja avtorja ali na zanikanje namernosti v trpljenju, ki ga je domnevno povzročil svojim bližnjim. Več kot 60 % poslovilnih pisem vsebuje eno ali več neposrednih izrazov za smrt ali umiranje. Odgovornost za smrt se omenja zelo redko, če pa že se, potem le v smislu nepredvidljive usode, ki se je "poigrala" z žrtvijo.

Na podlagi opisanih značilnosti se pokaže, da poslovilna pisma rodoljubov enakomerno nosijo informativne izjave (o usmrtitvi, o zapuščini, o prisotnih osebah itd.) kot tudi "vljudnostne" izjave, ki temeljijo na določeni lojalnosti, pripadnosti ali na gestah "dobre volje". S pozitivno in z negativno samorefleksijo avtorji poslovilnih pisem sporočajo, da se zavedajo relevance splošnega družbenega diskurza in da imajo svoje (odporniško) delovanje za deviantno (v smislu greha ali napake). Na ta način se pravzaprav odrekajo pravici do "svoje" resnice. Iz tega lahko sklepamo ne le na to, da so (pred-

vsem mlajši ljudje) svojo konspirativno dejavnost opravljali proti volji svojih družin ali skupnosti, temveč tudi na to, da so se kar precej zavedali gorja, ki so ga povzročali svojim bližnjim.

222 Iz že opisanih značilnosti poslovnih pisem jasno izhaja, da je večina teh spisov namenjena rekonstrukciji odnosov med avtorjem in skupnostjo. Iz podatkov o stopnji negativne avtorefleksije lahko sklepamo, da so se avtorji v precej visokem odstotku zavedali svoje pozicije "outsiderja" glede na diskurz družine, skupnosti oz. družbe. K tem stališčem je zagotovo prispeval tudi proces sankcioniranja odporniškega vedenja. Sankcije, nesorazmerne "krivdi", so spremenile pomen manjših ali večjih odporniških dejanj. Očitno se je večina avtorjev prepoznala kot kršitelji določenih pravil. Poslovilna pisma lahko torej razumemo kot dejanja ponovnega povezovanja s skupnostjo, ki daje gotovost pripadnosti določeni kulturi oz. tradiciji. Tovrstna dejanja verjetno prispevajo k zlivanju individualnega *Selfa* s kolektivnim. Na ta način omogočajo neko vrsto varnosti, ki je potrebna, da bi pogledali smrti v oči, kar se kaže tudi v možnosti verbalizacije teh besed oz. v integraciji ideje minljivosti. K integraciji smrti v diskurz poslovnih pisem je verjetno prispevalo tudi sprejemanje religioznega verovanja v obstoj "onstranskega" življenja. Na ta način se namreč pokaže perspektiva, ki se v nekaterih pismih zrcali v izjavah, češ da smrt pomeni srečanje s sorodniki, znanci.

## Suicidalni zapisi

Interpretacija poslovnih pisem rodoljubov je zaradi precejšnje homogenosti vzorca dokaj preprosta. Podobne ugotovitve namreč veljajo skoraj za vse. Suicidalne zapise bi bilo precej težko interpretirati na podoben način, že zaradi tega, ker je vzorec poslovnih pisem precej nehomogen. To se izraža tako v strukturnih raznolikostih kot tudi v vsebini zapisov. Suicidalne zapise slovenskih samomorilcev je možno razvrstiti na podlagi več vzorcev. Iz podatkov, ki govorijo za "usmerjenost" besedil lahko razberemo, da kar 60% zapisov vsebuje izjave informativne vsebine, ki izražajo sporočila samomorilca glede pogreba, zapuščine oz. nahajališča posmrtnih ostankov. Suicidalni zapisi torej velikokrat funkcionirajo kot oporoke. Nekatere so podpisale tudi priče, iz česar je mogoče sklepati, da posameznik takrat še ni verbaliziral svojih samomorilnih namenov. Oporoke, sporočila itd. sledijo strukturnim značilnostim in vsebinam tovrstnih besedil nesamomorilnih avtorjev. Ti zapisi kar precej odstopajo od zapisov, ki kažejo večjo relevantnost za presuicidalno dogajanje.

Presuicidalni diskuz se očitno ne manifestira v jasnih skriptih suicidalnih zapisov. Vendar iz nekaterih fragmentov lahko razberemo določene mehanizme, vzorce, kot tudi smisel posameznih besedil. Tovrstno delo namreč ustreza logiki hermenevtične raziskave, ki temelji na razumevanju drobcev, ki potem prispevajo k razumevanju celote, kar pa prispeva k razumevanju delov. V tem kroženju tudi sama interpretacija predstavlja le "štacija" spoznavanja in razumevanja, ki se samoumevno nikoli ne konča. Iz primerjave s poslovnimi pismi je razvidno, da so suicidalni zapisi manj značilno usmerjeni in vezani za določeno osebo (osebe) v vlogi naslovnika. To dejstvo podpira tudi pomanjkanje poslovnih fraz in podpisov vsaj v polovici zapisov. Medtem ko je zgradba poslovnih pisem ro-

doljubov precej "uniformna", pri suicidalnih zapisih ni možno zaslediti določenega vzorca. Manjko naslovnika in podpisa ruši trojno zgradbo besedila, tako značilno za poslovilna pisma. Suicidalni zapisi pogosto dajejo vtis, da so v pisni obliki nadaljevani monologi, vodeni v prisotnosti ali odsotnosti poslušalcev. Pisna oblika suicidalnih zapisov še bolj ustvarja vtis dokončnosti in nespremenljivosti.

Madžarska suicidološka tradicija izpostavlja pomembnost zanikanj kot statistično "trdih" značilnosti suicidalnega diskurza. V slovenskem vzorcu se je potrdila značilnost visoke stopnje zanikanja v suicidalnem "znakovnem sistemu". Pravzaprav se značilni suicidalni zapisi lahko ločijo od manj značilnih (testamenti, sporočila o nahajališču posmrtnih ostankov itd.) po tem, da ti vsebujejo manj zanikanj kot tudi manj osebnih zaimkov, ki se nanašajo na avtorja - samomorilca oz. na "signifikantne" osebe iz okolja, ki niso nujno naslovniki. Kot je razvidno iz podatkov, se zanikanja pojavijo približno v tretjini vseh izjav. Značilno je tudi to, da je razlika med številom izjav, ki se nanašajo na naslovnika oz. avtorja, in številom osebnih zaimkov veliko manjša kot pri poslovilnih pismih talcev. Iz tega lahko sklepamo, da je poudarjena uporaba osebnih zaimkov precej relevantna za suicidalni diskurz in je precej pogosto povezana z zanikanji. V poslovilnih pismih talcev se namreč zanikanja po navadi nanašajo na zanikanje trpljenja avtorja ali na zanikanje namernosti v domnevno povzročenem trpljenju.

Za suicidalne zapise to ni značilno, znotraj-tekstovno funkcijo zanikanj lahko zasledimo na več vzorcih.

Pomen zanikanja je v tem, da:

- zanika dejstva, na katerih sloni mnenje drugih oseb o samomorilecu;
- ugotov nerazumevanje s strani okolja;
- zanika prej preferirana dejstva;
- zanika možnosti sprememb;
- naznani nezmožnost življenja.

Zanikanje ima pogosto namen dekonstruirati realnost, zgrajeno na določenem "sistemu verovanj", ki je interpersonalno in kulturno utemeljen. Zanikanje je torej zelo pomembno orodje samorilnega diskurza. Je način, s pomočjo katerega je mogoče ambivalentnost spremeniti v določeno obliko gotovosti. Ambivalenca namreč pomeni pomembno komponento kriznega in presuicidalnega dogajanja. Koincidence okoliščin in preteklih osebnih izkušenj lahko spremenijo gotovost vsakdanjega življenja v negotovost in rahljanje sistema pomenov, ki "vežejo" posameznika v splet odnosov in realnosti. V tem obdobju je v središču pozornosti problem prihodnost v smislu "Kaj bo z mano" ali "Kako bom živel v prihodnje...?" S časovnim potekom suicidalne krize upanje v prihodnost kopni, s čimer se do neznosnosti povečuje stopnja anksioznosti.

Vsem suicidologom je dobro znano dejstvo, da se samomorilci pred samorilnim dejanjem velikokrat spremenijo. Na dan samomora ali kakšen dan prej postanejo umirjeni, poglobljeni in gotovi vase. Glede na čas nastajanja bi lahko suicidalni zapisi predstavljali pisne odtise tega stanja.

Zanikanje je izredno prirodno sredstvo za hitro in učinkovito dekonstrukcijo realnosti. Izjava v smislu "Mene nikoli nihče ni ljubil" je pravzaprav idealen vzorec, kako

se izogniti dvomu v pomene, ki izhajajo iz aktualnih ali osebno-historičnih povezav s svetom. Na novo odkrita "Realnost" samomorilca, ki temelji na tovrstnih negativnih sklepih, postane zagotovo trdna in nedotakljiva za ves zunanji svet. Vendar na ta način ni mogoče ustvariti realnosti, ki bi prenesla izkušnjo prihodnosti. Tako nastalo stanje se lahko imenuje "stanje odklopljenosti" ali "disconnectedness", referenčne vezi in odnosi s "signifikantnim" okoljem so namreč pretrgani.

Simbolično je mogoče takšen konstrukt primerjati s središčem hurikana, v katerem vladata blažen mir in tišina, vendar brez prihodnosti, "svoboda" in "prihodnost" sta namreč na drugi strani neprehodnega viharnega prstana. Te predstave se precej ujemajo z ugotovitvami Becka (23), ki trdi, da je izguba zaupanja v prihodnost bolj relevantna za samomorilnost kot manifestna depresivnost oz. žalost posameznika.

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# ON THE CONTENTS OF SUICIDE NOTES AND THE FAREWELL LETTERS OF PATRIOTS, EXECUTED DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

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**Keywords:** *death, suicide notes, content analysis, negation, deconstruction*

The 60's and the 70's were the "golden era" of the modern suicidology. Shneidman, Farberow, Beck, Ringel and many others were the first researchers, who brought some light into the darkness of the presuicidal process. According to their theoretical concepts and empirical findings, today it is evident, that the feelings and expressions of the suicidal individuals are not arbitrary. The presuicidal process reflects some important rules and contents. It seems that the existence of a suicide discourse, (which differs from culture to culture), is obvious. The suicide discourse, in a sense of a "reality, expressing in signs" (Kézdi, 2) represents (in some circumstances) the only way of talking, thinking and writing about suicide. The tradition of the suicidogenity of a certain culture is occurring through the semantic, pragmatic and syntactic dimensions of the discourse. The presuicidal process involves the potential suicidal individual, and all the "significant" environment around him.

The phenomenon of the "Cry for Help" (looking for help and support before committing suicide) is an evidence for the interpersonal (conversational) nature of the presuicidal process. The theoretical concepts of Shneidman and Farberow contributed to the development of some preventive and therapeutic methods, but they were unable to answer some very important questions of suicidology.

The researches found out that the suicide notes are an important part of the suicidological tradition of the 70's. At the late 50's, Shneidman and Farberow constructed a scientific project to compare genuine suicide notes to the simulated ones, written by healthy volunteers. The result of the research was poorly relevant to the understanding of the suicide phenomenon. Other authors examined the difference between the subpopulations of suicide committing individuals, who left suicide notes behind and those, who did not. Those results were irrelevant also. The most interesting studies were those, based on the content analysis of the suicide notes. They reflect the influence of the theoretical concepts and the epistemology of the contemporary humanistic sciences on the research of the suicide notes.

One of the most creative suicidologists, working in the field of the suicide notes is Antoon Leenaars from Canada. He is the author of many important studies, which consider the presence of some textual elements, reflecting the intra- and interpersonal concepts of the suicide. Leenaars is important also, because he was one of the first researchers, working in the field of the transcultural analysis of the documents, relevant to the suicide. He compared suicide notes from Canada and United States and from Canada and Hungary. The suicidology of the 80's and 90's developed a cultural-anthropologically based paradigm also. This kind of studies discovered the appearance of the suicide-related contents in presuicidal manifestations, in media and in literature. The transcultural comparison seem to be very important method in the understanding of the nature of the suicidal behaviour.

Kézdi was the first (Hungarian) suicidologist in the early 80's, who studied the linguistic elements of the suicide relating texts. He made a content analysis, based on the theoretical concepts of language behaviour, semiotics and semantics. The sample of his research contained transcribed interviews, made with suicidal individuals, suicide notes and fragments of texts, relevant to suicide. The control sample contained interviews with non suicidal people and texts, irrelevant to suicidal manifestations. He identified the negation, (denial) as the most relevant element of the entire suicide discourse. An important part of his work was the interpretation of the discursive role of the denial from the viewpoint of the culture and tradition.

Fekete, another Hungarian suicidologists used the method of Kézdi for transcultural comparison of the suicide notes. He compared Hungarian, German and English notes. The cultural-anthropologically based suicidological concepts increased in the 80's and 90's like the answer to the deficiency of the »modern«, sociologically and psychologically determined concepts. Namely, the above mentioned sociological and psychological concepts of the 60's and 70's were unable to sufficiently interpret the difference in suicidality of culturally different populations. But they supported the development of a new, interdisciplinary based paradigm which is able to answer very important questions about the presuicidal process. Those concepts are influenced by linguistic theories and hermeneutics. The viewpoint of the researchers changed from the suicidal individuals to the phenomenology of the suicidal process which appears in suicide-related discourse. This kind of view is certainly inter- and multidisciplinary based, oriented into the dimension of the interpersonal space. The »observer« is not an outstanding and »objective« person, but he is at the time of the observation completely involved in the situation and influenced by the language transmitted elements of the »main discourse«. According to the theoretical concepts of the contemporary cultural anthropology, the members of a culture are able to constitute a communicative act on suicide just in harmony with the relevant discourse, which contains the elements of »how«, »whom«, »when« and »why«.

Kézdi and Fekete confirmed the role of the denial like a »hard« marker of the texts, relevant to the suicide. The denial (negation) can be imagined like an element of the content, but at the same time the negation has a syntactic function also. For example, the presence of the multiple negation is specific to some Middle-European cultures

with high suicidal rate, like Hungary and Slovenia, not just to some suicidal individuals, belonging to those cultures. From the viewpoint of the cultural anthropology it seems very important to answer the question: »What is the intention of someone writing a suicide note and what is the meaning of those kind of texts?« The comparison of suicide notes and leave – taking notes of some non- suicidal individuals seems to be a successful way to answer this questions.

The Slovene study on suicide notes compared the sample of 50 suicide notes and 45 leave-taking notes of patriots, executed at the time of the second world war, written in the Slovene language by members of the Slovene culture. The suicide notes were collected by the police in 1994, and the notes, written in the Slovene language were included in the sample. The leave-taking notes were published in a collection and those, included in the research-sample were chosen randomly. After the preliminary reading of the texts, author created a system of criteria for reflection and interpretation of the psychological, semantic, semiotical significance of both samples. The questionnaire, used in research was developed on the ground of some intuitive expectations to the relevance of certain variables, but they reflect the tradition of many suicidological theories also.

## **The leave-taking notes of patriots**

The leave-taking notes of patriots are a very homogenous sample, according to the length, formal structure and the dominantly expressed feelings. The leave-taking notes contain 60 to 80 words in average. Almost all of the notes were addressed to one or more (identified) persons. At the end of the notes there is a kind of a leave-taking phrase and a signature of the author. Almost all of the notes contain an information about the expected execution of the author. (In a sense of »being killed«.) The emotional content of the notes reflects the expression of »love« and »guilt«. The »guilt« appears in the context of pain, caused by the author to their relatives, (by his illegal activity, seen from the viewpoint of the enemy.) The author very often begs for pardon or denies the need for compassion of the relatives. The leave-taking notes contain a great amount of utterances, (60% of all) relating to the author or to the addressee. Twenty percent of the utterances contain information, relating to the relationship between the authors and their relatives. The nature of the reflections and autoreflections is also indicating the perception of the relation between the author and the »significant other«. The negative autoreflection of the authors is present in 40% of the leave-taking notes. The majority of the authors reflect the “significant other” positively. The negation is very often used to deny pain or fear of the author, or to deny the intention of causing suffering and pain to the significant others. More than 60% of the notes contain one or more direct expressions of death and dying. The responsibility for the early and cruel death of the authors is not often mentioned. If it is, than it is in the sense of a destiny.

The leave-taking notes contain utterances with informative values (about the execution, the testament, the significant others etc.) but many phrases with polite content also. These utterances speak about loyalty and “good will”. Listening to the narratives of the leave-taking notes becomes clear, that the conspirative patriotic activity was not a

value for the majority of the (almost rural) population standing behind the authors of the leave-taking notes. The fear from consequences often divided the members of the same family. To join the patriot movement meant being different in the sense of rejecting the traditional values of the family and community.

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The main characteristics of the notes, for example the positive reflection (of the others) and the negative autoreflection (of the authors) suggest an intent of reaccepting the belief system, relevant to the main population by the authors of the leave-taking notes. That means also rejecting the appurtenance to the discourse of the patriot movement, to which they belonged before. The cause of the rejection are probably the feelings of guilt and the irrelevance of their belief system in the circumstances of expecting the execution. The main reason for writing leave-taking notes is probably an attempt to reconstruct the original relationship between the authors and their families. The act of confession (in the sense of accepting one's own mistake) may be seen like an act of reconciliation. The result of reconciliation is the harmonisation of the individual with the family and community, what is necessary to accept the cruel fact of death. The death was seen by the authors of the leave-taking notes like a chance to join some family or community members expired before. The acts of harmonisation probably cause confluence of the individual and the collective Self, resulting in the feelings of individual safeness and in the possibility to integrate the idea and the experience of transience. The belief into the life after death is an important fact in the process of integrating the death, but not the only one. The harmony, reestablished between the individual and the community gives a feeling of immortality to the authors of leave-taking notes.

## Suicide notes

The interpretation of the suicide notes seems more difficult, because of their structural and content inhomogeneity. The sample of the Slovene suicide notes contains various types of texts, according to the length, structure, expressed emotion etc. More than 60% of all notes contain utterances, expressing information about the funeral, the last will of the author or about the location of the corpse. Some suicide notes are identified like testaments. Some of those texts are irrelevant to the suicide of the individual, because they were sometimes written before the increasing of the presuicidal process. The testaments and messages are structured like the same texts of nonsuicidal individuals and they differ from the suicide notes, because they are more relevant suicide process. From the other hand, it is clear, that the discourse of suicide is not manifested through some clear scripts. The relevant meanings are hidden in some fragments of the suicide notes. The discovery of those fragments is the hermeneutic way of understanding. The hermeneutic circle is built up from the process of comprehension of the partial, which contribute to the understanding of the whole etc. Certain interpretation is just a station in the never ending process of understanding.

Comparing the leave-taking and the suicide notes, it becomes evident, that the suicide texts are less oriented toward the addressee. The lack of leave-taking phrase and the signature supports this statement. The structure of the leave-taking notes is

more “uniform”, the suicide notes do not contain specific structural elements. The lack of utterances, introducing the addressee and the lack of the signature at the end of the text destroys the trisequent structure, characteristic of the structure of the leave-taking notes. The suicide notes often look like a monologue, written in the absence of the audience. The written form of the suicide notes gives an impression of termination and unchangeability.

The Hungarian suicidological tradition often accentuate the role of the denial as very important and statistically “hard” determinant of the suicide discourse. The research, made on the Slovene sample of the suicide notes confirms the highly significant presence of the utterances, containing denials. The less relevant suicide texts (testaments, last wills, notes of funerals etc) contains less utterances, expressing denial. Among the sample of suicide notes, the denial is present in the one third of all utterances. The narrative function of the negation (denial) is different from those, described in leave-taking notes.

The role of denial is multiple:

- denial of facts, which are important for the opinion of the significant others about the author
- denial of facts, preferred before
- denial of the possibility of changes
- declaring the absurdity of life
- declaring the rejectedness from the significant others.

The main role of denial seems to be the deconstruction of reality, which is culturally and interpersonally determined. The deconstruction of reality is a process, strongly connected with the presuicidal crisis.

The coincidence of the destructive and stressful circumstances and the personal experiences of the individual can initiate the process, which leads to the destruction of everyday feelings of safety, based on harmony of the meanings. The ambivalence is in some way the expression of the distorted harmony of the meanings between the individual and the environment, resulting in the indecisiveness of the suicidal person. The ambivalence is strongly connected to the changed, foreshortened perception of the future in a way of “what will happen with me in the future”? When the crisis is deepening, the negative perception of the possible future is even more dominant and the anxiety of the individual is increasing.

The denial is an important weapon of the suicide discourse. Namely, the denial is a way to change the ambivalence into a special kind of “safetiness”. An utterance, for example: “Nobody, ever loved me,” seem to be the perfect model for the understanding the process of reality deconstruction. Ambivalence suggests the hesitation between the “loves me or loves me not” – for example. This kind of hesitation is sometimes the source of the anxiety of suicidal individuals. Solving the ambivalence in the above-mentioned way, the individual might construct a new reality, which reduces anxiety and makes him virtually safe in front of doubt regarding the interpersonally based feelings. The process of deconstruction causes the tearing of the referential connections between the individual and the social discourse, producing the state of disconnectedness.

Sometimes, several hours or days before the act of suicide, the potentially suicidal persons changed the behaviour. They often became relaxed and more communicative than before. The suicide notes are probably the written impressions of those periods. The problem with the deconstruction of the interpersonally and culturally based reality is the elimination of the future. Namely, the deconstructed reality can not give a positive perception of the future. The disconnected individual is virtually safe and relaxed, but the freedom and the future is unattainable to him. Metaphorically, the position of the individual is just like at the "eye" of the hurricane. Safe, but without future.

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#### BESEDA O AVTORJU

Robert Oravec, dr. med., rojen v Vojvodini kot pripadnik madžarske manjšine. Medicinsko fakulteto je končal na Madžarskem. Od leta 1988 živi v Sloveniji. Študiral je filozofijo in diskurzivne znanosti, dokončal je specializacijo psihiatrije. Od 1995 živi v Ormožu, sicer pa je na doktorskem študiju na Medicinski fakulteti v Budimpešti. Ukvarja se s problematiko travme, žrtev in beguncev kot tudi z adiktologijo in suicidologijo. Objavil je več člankov iz omenjenih tem in sodeluje na nacionalnih in mednarodnih znanstvenih srečanjih.

#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Robert Oravec, M.D., was born in Voivodina as a Hungarian minority member. He graduated from Med. School in Hungary. Since 1988 he has been living in Slovenia, where he has been studying philosophy, discourse studies and has got a certificate in psychiatry also. Since 1995 he has been living in Ormož. He is also a Ph.D. student at Medical University of Budapest. Robert Oravec is interested in the field of psychotrauma, victimhood and refugees, also in addictology and suicidology. He has many publications on related topics and he has participated at many national and international scientific congresses.