

DEFENSE MECHANISM AGAINST MORTALITY SALIENCE IN TURKISH MUSLIM POPULATION

Mualla YILDIZ* - F. Zeynep BELEN -
Kübra TÜRKMEN ARSLAN*** - Halil İbrahim ÖZASMA******

Abstract

People who live in Turkey have experienced terrorist attacks for more than thirty years. In the past, the goals of the terrorist organizations were to frighten innocent civilians, but modern attacks are much more malevolent, and they have turned into indiscriminate massacres. In recent years, terrorist organizations have attacked big cities and the general population feels that terrorism is no longer a regional problem and anyone could be in danger. The objective of this study is to determine defense mechanisms against fear of death after terrorist attacks in 2016, Ankara. Therefore, this study used a phenomenological approach as a method of qualitative research. This study applied open-ended questions in a semi-structured interview form on a sample of N = 26 selected by purposive sampling that lived in Ankara during June 2016. End of the study, four different defense mechanisms were determined. These defense mechanisms were religious-active, religious-passive, non-religious-passive, and non-religious active (Figure 1). As a result, the researchers realized that neither classical Islamic philosophers' destiny/qadar

* Yrd. Doç. Dr., Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi.
E-posta: muallayildiz@ankara.edu.tr.

** Yrd. Doç. Dr., Kırıkkale Üniversitesi İslami İlimler Fakültesi.
E-posta: fzbelen@hotmail.com.

*** Doktora Öğrencisi, Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi.
E-posta: kubraaslanturkmen@gmail.com.

**** Doktora Öğrencisi, Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi.
E-posta: halilibrahimozasma@hotmail.com.

approaches nor modern psychologists' fatalism approach could describe the Muslim Turkish population's defense mechanism against mortality salience. Therefore, the authentic measures and concepts should be improved in order to acquire more knowledge about this authentic sample.

Keywords: Mortality Salience, Destiny/Qadar, Terrorist Attacks in Turkey, Fear of Death, Ankara, Terror Management Theory.

Ölümlük Bilinci Karşısında Türkiye'de Müslümanlar Tarafından Kullanılan Savunma Mekanizmaları

Öz

Türkiye'de yaşayan insanlar otuz yıldan uzun bir zamandır terörist saldırıların hedefi olmuşlardır. Geçmişte masum insanları korkutmak amacıyla olan terörist organizasyonların saldırıları günümüzde kitle katliamına dönüşmüştür. Yakın zamana kadar Türkiye'de terör bir bölgenin sorunu iken, büyük şehirlerdeki terör saldırıları sonucunda her yerde olsun herkesi tehdit eden bir unsur olmuştur. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Ankara'da 2016 yılında arka arkaya gelen terör saldırılardan kaynaklanan dehşet karşısında insanların geliştirdikleri farklı savunma mekanizmalarının belirlenmesidir. Çalışma nitel desene göre yapılmıştır. Çalışmada fenomenolojik yaklaşım esas alınmış ve yarı yapılandırılmış görüşme formu kullanılmıştır. Açık uçlu sorular kullanılmış ve 2016 yılında Ankara'da yaşayan kişiler (N = 26) çalışma grubuna alınmıştır. Çalışma sonucunda, dini-aktif, dini-pasif, dini olmayan-aktif ve dini olmayan-pasif olmak üzere dört tip savunma mekanizma belirlenmiştir (Tablo1). Gerek klasik İslam literatüründeki kader anlayışının gerekse modern psikolojide kullanılan fatalistik yaklaşımın Türkiye'deki Müslüman örneklemin ölüm karşısındaki tutumunu aslında tam olarak yansıtmadığı ve bu konuda Türkiye'deki otantik yapıyı tanımak için özgün yeni ölçeklerin ve kavramların geliştirilmesi gerektiği anlaşılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ölümlülük Bilinci, Kader, Türkiye'de Terör Saldırıları, Ölüm Korkusu, Ankara, Dehşet Yönetimi Kuramı.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, the targets of terrorist acts have been civilian people that live in cities in Turkey. Two hundred and ninety-eight people were killed by the terrorist in seventeen terrorist attacks between 5 June 2015 to 28 June 2016 in Ankara, Diyarbakır, Bursa, Mardin, İstanbul and Şanlıurfa. The bloodiest three

attacks happened in Ankara. The first one was on 10 September 2015 at the central train station while people were meeting for a “peace demonstration”. One hundred and three people died and hundreds of people were wounded. In the second one, terrorists attacked five military shuttles on 17 February 2016 and twenty-eight people died. In the third incident, a vehicle exploded in downtown Ankara. Thirty-seven people died and two hundred and twenty-five people were wounded (Çetin 2016).

Because of terrorist activities in urban areas, the urban populace is impacted seriously by the horrors of terrorism (Yeniceri & Dönmez 2008). Such attacks shock people and confuse them as to how they can take precaution against future terrorist attacks and why they are having this experience. It is hard to attribute a meaning to or explain this unexpected death toll. In daily life, people use proximal and distal defense strategies to cope with existential fears such as “I am young,” “I am healthy,” or “everyone has to die” (Lucecke 2015). However, in terrorist attacks, it is hard to use these strategies, because victims’ health or age has no effect on their death.

Like animals, humans have an instinctive drive for self-preservation. The difference is, the human instinct is much more evolved and complicated. Humans have an awareness of the end of life, physical weakness and ultimate mortality. This awareness of the inevitability of death in an animal, instinctively programmed for self-preservation, creates the potential for paralyzing terror. However, some people use their culture and afterlife beliefs to protect themselves from existential terror (Greenberg et. al.1995: 418). Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski were inspired by Becker’s books and ideas about “annihilation anxiety” and created the *Terror Management Theory/TMT* that has been used to explain effects of human awareness of mortality on different areas from political science to religion (Arndt & Vess 2008; Doğulu & Uğurlu 2015). Researchers who focused on TMT discovered two important frameworks to cope with “annihilation anxiety”: culturally-provided worldview and self-esteem (Arndt & Vess 2008).

Naturally, death anxiety is one of the ultimate concerns of human (See Yalom 1980:51) at any time. On the other hand, culturally-provided worldviews are known to be very helpful to cope with death anxiety. There is research that supported this position. However, someone’s worldview may be very helpful, while others’ worldview may be very harmful in coping with existential terror (Henrie & Patrick 2014).

Relationship between Death Anxiety and Religious Life

TMT provided an explanation based on the fear of death, and its relational factors. For more than twenty-five years, both theoretical and empirical studies have been conducted to understand the relationship between fear of death and intergroup relations, close relationships, health, and religion (Doğulu & Uğurlu 2015).

TMT claimed that people can overcome fear caused by awareness of death by investing in a belief in immortality. There are a multitude of powerful outcomes to show the correlation between religious affiliation and psychological well-being. This survey finds that there is an important relationship between religious understanding and coping with mortality. Intrinsically, religious people fear death less than others. Again, intrinsically, religious people can cope with fear of death thanks to their religious beliefs (Jonas & Fischer 2006). Religious worldviews are very effective factors for comforting cancer patients. This is found in the relationship between religious worldviews and comfort near the end of life in terminal cancer patients (N=98). Findings reveal that religious struggle makes coping with the concerns of death more difficult, but having a religious worldview makes it easier to cope with concerns of death (Edmondson et. al. 2008).

Studies show that just having a strong religious belief is not enough to deal with concerns on death. Turkish researchers Atabey & Öner Özkan (2011) reported on the relationship between defensive religious orientation versus existential religious orientation, and mortality salience effects in a Muslim Turkish sample. Their dependent variable was conservatism. They expected that within the Muslim sample, both defensively and existentially oriented people would react to reminders of mortality salience. Mortality salience reminders led to greater conservatism in defensive people. However, in contrast to expectations, existential participants did not react to mortality salience reminders.

Henrie & Patrick (2014) pointed out a strong relationship between religious attitude and death anxiety. Religiousness was negatively associated with death anxiety, while religious doubt was positively associated with it. However, Van Tongeren et al. (2017) reported that religions promise a new life after death, the belief of immortality is an unimportant factor in decreasing anxiety of death (N= 1137), but it is only effective for intrinsically religious people.

Several researchers tried to explain the relationship between social factors and mortality salience and collected data from participants from different

religions. Morris & McAdie (2009) compared Christian, Muslim, and non-religious groups considering five personality factors, general wellbeing, and death anxiety. The participants who had a religious affiliation (Christians & Muslims) scored higher for general well-being than non-religious participants. Both non-religious and Muslim groups scored higher than Christians for death anxiety. A different study investigated gender and religious affiliation. Ellis, Wahab, Ratnasingan (2013) reported on the relationship between religiosity and fear of death across cultures. They compared college students' attitudes in Malaysia, Turkey and the United States and found a positive correlation between most religiosity measures and fear of death. Female students were more religious and they feared death more than male students did. Muslim students' fear of death scores were higher than those of other religious people and they had greater belief in God and immortality. Ellis, Wahab & Ratnasingan (2013) claimed that Muslim students had higher scores of fear of death because of the image of God they perceived. They also stated that the demands of Islam are heavier than the other major religions of the world, for instance, Islam ordered praying five times a day. This was believed to increase the fear of death for Muslims.

Views of Muslim Thinkers on Death and Fear of Death

The Old Testament, the New Testament, and the Qur'an have many portrayals of death and afterlife. All three books speak of a hell where the evildoers shall be punished and a heaven where the good ones shall be rewarded (Paçacı 2001). Therefore, for people who believe in these religions, a feeling of fear and anxiety for death and afterlife can be expected. The attitudes and beliefs of the leading names of philosophers, mystics and thinkers in the Islamic world are quite different from each other in terms of moving on to life after death and the fear of death. There are also those who find fear of death unnecessary, even those who see it as a step to liberation, as well as those who see death as painful and necessary for human decency.

Philosophers have seen philosophy as a preparation for death, and never thought of death as a painful end. They tried to find the reasons for the fear of death and to make rational proposals to get rid of this fear (Saruhan 2006: 90). According to Ibn Sina/Avicenna (1959), the reason for fear of death is self-ignorance. This is because people do not know what death is like, and where their souls will go in the afterlife, they think that the world will remain when they die, they will suffer and they will be tortured after death. However,

death is nothing but an inability to use the body. Human soul is immortal. The individual must first overcome self-ignorance in order to overcome the fear of death. The scholars have worked hard to get rid of this fear, and chose the path of giving up on bodily pleasures. What is hard on human beings is not knowing, and when the human soul rids itself from this problem, the individual can truly start tasting flavors. The real fear of a person fearing torture after death is his or her sins. This person can get rid of this fear by staying away from sins. Those who know death are safe, and those who are safe are on the right path and they reach happiness. If we perceive death as a divine grace, it will no longer be bad. What is bad is to fear death. Death is in fact the separation of the soul from the body. The soul is not harmed by this separation. The soul does not need a place (İbn-i Sina 1959). Therefore, fear of death is unnecessary.

Ibn-i Miskeveyh agrees with Ibn-i Sina/Avicenna. According to him, the fears about death are unwarranted and unnecessary. Because death is not a real nothingness. It is necessary to live simply to get rid of the fear of death. When the person dies, the essence will be completed, and the spiritual and immortal side of the person will be cleansed because the person is saved from his or her body (Saruhan 2005: 78-80). Kindi (2015: 154) suggests people not to hate the thing that is bad, but just to hate evil itself. In reality, death is not bad. What is bad is fear of death. Death is just the completion of our nature. If there were no death, there would not be human beings. Because thinking, life and death are the basic structure of human beings. In that case, if there is no death, there is no human. According to this, it is not bad to be in the situation we should be in, what is bad is not to be in the situation we need to be in. Therefore, what is bad is the absence of death. Fear of death also results in the inability of people to use their mind well enough, and occupies both the mind and the heart. Using his mind, man is strong enough to conquer this fear.

Razi (2008) describes the fear of death in *et-Tibbu'r-Rûhânî* as one of the most fundamental problems that prevent happiness, and thinks that the way of getting rid of it is solved by knowing that a better life will be attained after death. What is important is to find evidences to convince human beings (See Aydın 2011). According to Al-Farabî (1987), virtuous people are not afraid of death because death cannot deprive them of goodness; they just like to survive to do more of the actions that increase their happiness. The ignorant fears death while thinking that they will be deprived of bodily pleasures. Because they think they will lose their happiness when they die, and they cannot understand

the happiness after death. According to Al-Farabî, life is beautiful and the way of staying away from the fear of death is caring about life and doing good deeds (Saruhan 2006: 88).

The Sufis have often studied death in their works, and have guided people to endless happiness. But the Khurasan Sufi tradition, which is based on the Classical Eş'ari-centered Sufi tradition, and the Turkestan-based Yasawi Sufi tradition are quite different from each other. Ghazali (2007: 788), a representative of the Khurasan tradition, focuses on death and beyond in the tenth chapter of his work, *Ihyau Ulûmi'd Dîn*. According to him, people are divided into three groups according to their attitudes towards death: the first is those who are immersed in the world, the second is those who have repented and turned to God, and the third is enlightened scholars. Those who are immersed in the world do not remember death. They only worry about the opportunities they will miss when they are dead. For this reason, remembering death will move them away from Allah. Repenters, however, have constant fear in their hearts, and they often remember death to fulfill their repentance. The enlightened scholars always remember death. Because the day they are going to die is the time they will meet with the God they love. Those who love each other very much will never forget the time they will meet. The wise man wants to die and get rid of his sins in the world.

Ghazali (2007: 789, 811) finds it necessary to constantly remember death on the basis of hadiths, and describes death as a gift, and the world as a prison. He depicts the pain of death as three hundred strokes of a sword, as if a three-corner iron barb in the wool is pulled out of the wool.

Al-Muhasibî (2004: 217) sees the fear of death and beyond as a key to salvation, and his recommendation to the Muslims to cope with it is this: "If you want to free yourself of the imprisonment in fire, endure this temporary and mortal difficulty for eternal salvation, if you are going to make an effort, do it today. ... Thinking of punishment is easier than the punishment itself. For eternal salvation from the punishment, it is wise to endure the heartache of the memory of the punishment." Al-Qusayri (2003) translated the h-v-f verb that is written in 16th verse of the Surah-i Secde in the Qur'an as a fear of the people for the future, rather than a fear of the present. He explains fear of Allah as "Do not worry that Allah will punish me in this world and in the afterlife". According to him, Allah made his servants to be afraid of him, and the concerned believers are praised in the Qur'an.

Rûmî one of the most famous representatives of the Yasawi Sufi tradition in Anatolia, regards death as a beginning and a transition for immortal life.

According to him, human beings must mature by restraining their physical desires before experiencing natural death, and wait for the moment of rejoicing with Allah. For this reason, the night that Rûmî lost his life was called Şeb-i Arûs (wedding night). Rûmî thinks of man as the bird in a cage, and the garden in which the cage is located as life in the world. The bird in the cage sees the green in the garden but cannot eat anything. The bird will take its head out of every hole in case the bonds on its foot become loose. In order for the bird to be truly free, the bird must get out of the cage, in other words, the man must leave his body. According to Rûmî what is ugly is not the face of death, but the face of one's own (Yazoğlu & İmamoğlu 2007). According to Yunus Emre, another representative of the Yasawi tradition, with birth, man starts to take his first steps toward death. Death is only the separation of the soul from the body, not a real annihilation. He regards death as "a salvation from prison" by saying, "Why are you afraid of dying? You exist for ever "to people. His proposal to overcome the fear of death is to think of God, and to deeply feel God (Saruhan 2006: 90).

While philosophers made rational explanations to overcome the fear of mind by thinking that this fear was in the mind, Anatolian Sufis who followed the Northern-Islam tradition just like Rûmî and Yunus Emre followed an intuitive method, thinking that the fear of death was in the heart and they tried to overcome this fear by reminding them of their immortality and cleansing their hearts of this fear (Saruhan 2006: 94). But those who represent the Southern Islamic Sufi tradition, followed by Ghazali, Al-Muhasibi and Al-Qusayri, saw the fear of death as a means of attachment to the Creator and the cause of salvation from the torment of afterlife. Although all Muslims thinkers aim to achieve eternal happiness, the paths they follow to do so are quite different.

Fear of death in a Turkish Muslim population

Turkish researchers Ayten (2009) and Yıldız (1998) reported a high level of death anxiety scores in Turkish Muslim university students. Students from Istanbul had a higher death anxiety score than Prishtine/Albania university students. Even though Prishtine university students experienced the last Balkan War in their childhood, Turkish students' scores of fear of World War III were higher than those of students from Pristine (Gashi 2011). In a similar study about fear of war and death, adult Turkish people scored higher than refugees from Bosnia (Yıldız 2009).

There was no report of any effect by religious images on death anxiety in childhood (Yılmaz 2013). For the youth, some studies found that anxiety of death had positive (Yıldız 1998; Erdogdu & Ozkan 2007) and negative (Ayten 2009; Gashi 2011; Karaca 1997) correlations with religiosity. However, senior citizens had a positive correlation between religiosity and fear of death (Dağlı 2010). The correlation between religious tendency and death anxiety is inconsistent, but the Muslim Turkish population has high death anxiety and it is constant.

There is an inconsistency because the Turkish Muslim population follows the Hanafi- Maturidi religious sect. This religious sect is known as very lenient. Imam Maturidi claimed every Muslim will go to heaven, even the greatest sins cannot keep a Muslim from heaven (See. Kutlu 2011). Anatolian spiritual leaders like Rumi and Yunus Emre explained death as reaching eternity. Even though religious and spiritual leaders are very lenient and hopeful for the afterlife, why do Turkish Muslims have a high death anxiety score?

Researchers have explanations and implications about this score. Kökdemir stated (2009) the reason for high death anxiety scores (N=309) in relation to models of religiosity. Death reminds extrinsically religious people only of retribution. They ignore daily prayer, but they have high motivation to join Friday prayers with friends. They are aware of their insufficient prayer and religious responsibility and believe that they may go to hell in afterlife. On the other hand, Yıldız (2001) explained this high score based on the Classical Muslim Sufi tradition. The Sufi thought system accepts death as a bridge to pass into a new life and uses mortality salience for personal development. The concept of “rabita’ul-mevt” (attachment to death) includes some practices like imagining death and a family member’s death. There is an interaction between death anxiety scores and religiosity, they both increase along each other. Some Muslim Sufis like Ghazali made comments about death-affected Muslim populations’ image of death and stated that it is transferred from generation to generation via religious education.

There has been evidence that gender, religious and cultural differences are primary factors to determine death anxiety scores and coping with the fear of death. It is seen that Turkish Muslim population’s attitude is different from their religious and spiritual leaders’ attitude about death. It is needed to clarify how many types of attitudes there are in the Turkish Muslim population about death. For this reason, to understand Turkish-Muslim population defense mechanisms against mortality salience, qualitative research is needed. The

42 • DEFENSE MECHANISM AGAINST MORTALITY SALIENCE IN TURKISH MUSLIM POPULATION

purpose of this study is to determine different defense mechanism patterns. The research question in this study was: “How many different defense mechanisms are there against fear of death in the Turkish Muslim population?”

METHOD

Research Design

The phenomenological approach was used in this study. The phenomenological approach is a qualitative research technique. Phenomenology is inspired by studies of Schutz and Husserl (See Husserl 1970). Phenomenological design is based on human experience and attribution to their life (Cresswell 2013: 52). A qualitative researcher aims to describe the essence of an experience. The researcher focuses on participants’ explanations and expressions in different situations. A qualitative researcher uses semi-structured interview forms and does not determine variables or frequency (Arkonaç 2014: 30).

Sample

This research used open-ended questions on the sample (N = 26) which included people who were living in Ankara, Turkey in June 2016. The ages of the sample ranged from 18 to 50 and the mean age was 37.5. The group consisted of 15 female and 11 male participants. The sample was selected via purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is the key to qualitative inquiry. Random and representative sampling methods are not very convenient because a qualitative researcher’s major objective is not to generalize their findings of research to the broad population but they want “to maximize discovery of a heterogeneous pattern and problems that occur in the context of their study” (Erlandson et. al. 1993: 82). Participants of purposive sampling are chosen with a purpose to represent a key criterion. In purposive sampling, two points are very important. The first point is that the sample should cover key constituencies. The second point is that it must have diversity of the characters that want to be explored (Ritchie et. al. : 79). In this study, to ensure that the sample was heterogeneous, the participants were chosen from different social classes.

Data Collection/Process

While gathering qualitative data and conducting analyses, a researcher should provide a comprehensive and holistic framework about the concept.

Because of this, the interviewer should go beyond asking the determined questions and have the purpose of a conversation. Interviews make it easier to understand a larger context of the field (Erlandson et. al. 1993: 85). Considering the phenomenological technique, this study carried out in depth-interviews. The researchers asked the participants questions about individual experiences after the terrorist attacks in Ankara.

Data Analysis

In the data analysis process, the researcher derives order, structure and meaning from raw data. It is a creative and troublesome process. The objective of the process is to discover the pattern about the relationships among data and categories (Erlandson et. al. 1993: 111). A phenomenological report facilitates understanding of the essence of an experience (Creswell 2013: 55). In this study, the experiences of the participants were categorized by defense mechanism against mortality salience as religious/non-religious or active/passive.

The Role of the Researcher

In qualitative analysis, the key element is the role of the researcher's point of view on the participants' statements. For this reason, the data depend on the researcher's interpretation of the field. "The generated data may be further interpreted by the researcher, but the participant's own interpretation is critically important, at least in broadly realistic research paradigms" (Ritchie et. al. 2003: 57). The researcher should be neutral and keep his or her own attitude hidden from the participant. In this study, even though all the researchers lived in Ankara, they did not share their feelings and attitudes about the explosions. The researchers did not remind or stress any religious subject or idea. Since the researchers in this study could have fears and anxieties of death because they were also affected from the explosions in Ankara, several meetings were held with a specialist in this field in order for the researchers to explore these prejudgments and biases. After these meetings and studies, the researchers participated in the field study by being fully aware of their own prejudgments and biases.

Validity and Reliability

In this study, the researchers follow the steps of quantitative research techniques (See. Erlandson et. al. 1993; Sever et al. 2016). Firstly, to ensure the credibility of this study, the researchers met victims of terrorist attacks

44 • DEFENSE MECHANISM AGAINST MORTALITY SALIENCE IN TURKISH MUSLIM POPULATION

and collected all the data objectively. Secondly, to ensure triangulation, the researchers interviewed the participants face to face on different locations, sometimes the participant's home as they felt more comfortable at home than outside. Before commencing, the researchers informed all participants about the details of the study and gave the participants the option to leave whenever they want. To ensure transferability, the researchers explained the process clearly. To ensure dependability, the researchers received help from another researcher for supervision. The researchers checked the codes to ensure that they were relevant to the context. Lastly, to ensure confirmability, the researchers kept the raw data and wrote down each step of the study. Before starting the study, the researchers obtained approval from Kırıkkale University Ethics Committee.

Findings

Due to terrorist attacks, mortality salience in people is increasing. The latest explosions reminded them that terrorism is “no longer a regional problem and anyone can be a victim of a terrorist attack” no matter where they live. It causes prevention of proximal and distal defense strategies to cope with fear of death.

- I am unhappy and hopeless because these events are terrible things to happen in three or four months in Ankara (H1, 38, male).
- I felt so helpless and very concerned with a sense of terror coming through me (H2, 38, female).
- I realize once again that we are very close to death at any time (H3, 20, male).

After the explosions, people used different defense mechanisms. In this study, the data were divided into four groups depending on views about death. The researchers considered religious or non-religious and active or passive attitudes.

Religious and Passive Mechanism: The first group was fatalistic and they expressed that the time of death is not changeable and avoidable because it is God's desire. However, not everybody in this group is sure that death is absolute fate or not.

- The concept of destiny/qadar gets me to relax. When I feel anxiety, I turn toward God and I know God will not impose a burden on me harder than I can overcome (H4, 36, female).

- The latest events did not affect me. Whatever God's desire is, it will happen. I thought God is the strongest planner in the universe. The aim of terrorist activities is to frighten people. So, to say, I go to the shopping mall despitefully. But my husband and my family disagree with me. They do not want to go out. We talk about it for many hours. We discuss whether the latest events are God's desire or not. They think I ignore precautions. But I think I trust in God by myself (H5, 34, female).
- The goal of these events is to damage people's trust. For example, despite all my concern about my kids, I try not to reflect it on them. I tell them to recite the Quran, trust in God and not be afraid. But maybe, I make them afraid without being aware of it (H6, 41, female).
- I say to my students that Allah will protect us but especially my young students ask me some questions, I answer those using classical theological approaches. However, my answer does not convince them. Sometimes I ask myself those questions. I realize that I internalize my answers to their questions but it does not give me relief, it only sedates me. Afterwards, I think about what I can do when I feel desperate, and so sad (H7, 34, female).

Within the first group, there are individuals like H4 and H5 who place the responsibility in God and take comfort with that feeling, while there are also individuals like H7 who have internal conflicts. The submissive attitude relieves H4 and H5 to a great extent. H7 is a graduate from the faculty of theology, and a religious educator. H7's students are also students of a high school where religious education is given. But the submissive manner in which H7 responds to the terrorist attacks and the explanations on destiny are both causing anxiety and concern in himself and his students. This mechanism confirms Yıldız's (2001) claim that the images of different cultures related to death are entering our culture through religious education.

Religious and Active Mechanism: The second group believed that taking precaution and asking help from God is very useful to solve problems. This both realistic and religious attitude was stressed by the participants more than other attitudes.

- I do not think that we face a calamity and that I should give to a charity to get rid of this calamity. This is because there is some routine charity in my daily life. I believe we solve these problems by taking precautions, not through extra praying. Praying is important, but taking

46 • DEFENSE MECHANISM AGAINST MORTALITY SALIENCE IN
TURKISH MUSLIM POPULATION

precaution is a part of active praying. I think taking precautions is essential. Because of this, I do not think if a bomb explodes, we should pray to Allah asking him to solve it by himself (H8, 26, male).

- I think the last experience is not a problem only in Turkey. It is caused because of the location of Turkey and the activities of both internal and external enemies. It is not because of soldiers and police (ignoring precautions), apart from losing trust. In these days, we should be alert and work together to overcome troubles and keep our unity. I think we can get rid of the challenges to support the security forces, pray to Allah, and keep state unity (H9, 30 age female).

Individuals in the second group trust in God, but at the same time are willing to assume their responsibilities to ensure their personal security. Because they assume their responsibilities personally, they do not need to accuse anyone else and they are very hopeful that Turkey will be able to deal with terrorist attacks. The attitude that H8 expresses as "active praying" is actually a concept known as trust and reliance. It is a subject that religious men often talk about in their sermons. It is recommended in these sermons to take precautionary measures first and then to trust in God.

Non-Religious and Passive Mechanism: The third group explained the reason for death of people as a security gap. It is not qadar, it could be avoided. They believed that someone has to do something to stop the attacks.

- I believe that there is a big security gap in Turkey. Especially after the explosion in Belgium, I believe it is even stronger. This is because, after the explosion in Belgium, security precautions were taken immediately following the attacks. They stopped everything immediately to investigate (H10, 30 age male).
- I do not think like "I am not there, I will not die". I will not say it is destiny/qadar, but I think deaths of people there should tell something to someone. I cry... (H11, 30 age male).
- I convince myself by thinking about the concept of justice. I believe that justice is universal and whoever is responsible for this situation in my country, they will be brought to justice. However, this is not making me feel any better. I think it is meaningless to search for relief after such events. Indeed, people are killed (H12, 28 age male).
- I am not anxious. I do not focus on it (the terrorist attack). I am accepting what is meant to be. I do not want to waste my time with negative thoughts (H13, 26 age female).

- I accepted that any anxiety and nervousness will not change the possibility of me becoming a victim (H14, 36 age male).

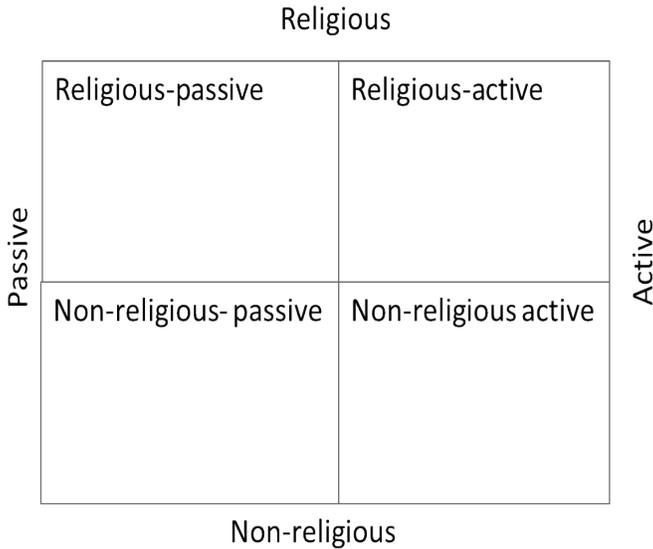
Among individuals in the third group, H11 and H12, blame others for what has happened to themselves, they cry, and they show a rather helpless attitude towards the fact that they themselves may be the victims. On the other hand, H13 and H14 are thinking that they cannot avoid the reality of death, and they try to ensure their personal comfort without dealing with the terrorist attacks. The common feature of the individuals in this group is that they have accepted that they will not be able to change the events that happen to them with personal initiative or efforts.

Non-Religious and Active Mechanism: The Last mechanism was non-religious but very realistic in how people can deal with problems caused by terrorism. They did not accuse anyone, and they were willing to take responsibility.

- I realize that I should work harder than before. I think my country is under attack. It led me more to a sense of association with the country. The bombs will not blast every time. I believe if we fight against them, they will give up (H15, 40 age female).
- I am always beside my state. I believe we should support each other in these days (H17, 34 age male).
- I do not feel insecure, but I do not blame the police either. I try to consider safety by myself. I ask if there is anything the police could do (H18, 30 age male).
- I think our state should improve security precautions more and more. I appreciate soldiers and the police who left their homes and families and sacrificed their lives for us to keep our homeland (H 19, 24 age female).

In the fourth group, H15, H17 and H19 explained that their loyalty to their country increased due to the events that occurred. Instead of accusing people or organizations, individuals in this group are aware that there are shortcomings about safety and security, and they strive to address these shortcomings. Their difference with the third group is that they do not see themselves as ineffective and passive, they make an effort to ensure their personal security.

Figure 1: Defense Mechanisms against Mortality Salience



Discussion

Terrorist attacks cause two painful dreads. One is fear of death, another is fear of being killed by someone. It is hard to cope with existential anxiety and know everyone will die one day. However, realizing that someone may attack and kill you is more dreadful than the first one. Having the awareness that anyone can be a victim of a terrorist attack increases the stress related to death. After traumatic life events, people need an approach to understand things and environments. A well-structured cognitive processing may satisfy the need and simplify complex information. Somebody who wants to maintain internal stability and improve efficiency of cognitive manipulation needs an uncomplicated way to understand his/her environment (Liu & Liu 2016).

Some people who use the religious and passive mechanism may be satisfied with this mechanism. They stress the classical “qadar” concept. This is because they believe have no chance to change their life. They do not want to contemplate details. However, this mechanism is very confusing for those who are religious school trainers and trainees.

The first challenge is to answer the question “how can someone change the length of my life?” This question has initiated an old dilemma about the approaches regarding destiny (qadar). Turkish Religious Affair Institutions' Encyclopedia of Islam explains that life is determined by God for every living creature, including human beings (Tunç 1994: 380). It appears as if the length

of life is unchangeable for humanity. However, Düzgün (2013) states that there are two types of length of life for humans. First of these is the potential length of life. It is determined by God, and it is not changeable. The second one, actual length of life, is dependent on different circumstances and is changeable. This point is not clear for people who have a religious inclination because there is an inconsistency between religious institutions.

The second challenge is to answer the question “why does God let bad people kill innocent people?” The religious-passive mechanism can be very dangerous when it comes to explaining why God decides on a particular qadar (destiny) containing negative painful life experiences. Generally, people tend to use religious explanations and make religious attributions after extraordinary life events (Kula 2002; Küçükcan & Köse 2001; Kaplan 2012).

The third challenge is to address the issue where someone can misuse legitimization of crime and ignore individual responsibility in a criminal event. This can make it harder to correct criminal behavior (Kenevir 2015). In his study, Katırcı (2011) asked prisoners (N=307) “why do some people attribute their destiny to their mistakes?” The answers of the participants included, “ignoring their responsibility” (31.3%), “laziness” (14.7%), and “misbelief about destiny” (30.0%). The question “Do you believe that the collection of events that brought you here is your destiny?” was responded with “yes” by 47.9%, with “partially” by 14.3%, and with “perhaps” by 16.0%. As it can be seen, people can have different attributions to similar events based on their propensity for making mistakes.

People’s reactions to extraordinary life events are different than natural life events’ coping styles. Their reactions depend on their religious inclinations about whether the event is inevitable or not (Kula 2002). Fatalistic, realistic or optimistic tendencies cause different reactions (Beyaz 2001). After Turkey experienced a destructive earthquake on 17 August 1999, the vast majority of those affected used a religious coping style (76%). 63% of the victims used a negative religious coping style and believed it was a punishment by God. They believed it was because of moral corruption in the society (Kula 2002).

The study by Küçükcan and Köse (2001) determined that the victims of the earthquake on 17 August 1999 (N=72) attributed the event a metaphysical meaning (38 %) and assumed the earthquake to be God’s punishment or warning. According to Kaplan (2012), accepting some life events as a punishment from God is a psychological attitude and not a religious attitude. This belief is based on emotional, cultural and mental factors, not religious

factors. People who believe life events to be punishment from God have a tendency to accuse other people of being victims and deserving punishment because of their sin. Aydın (2011) reported the relationship between image of God and psychological health (N=799). The results showed that the image of God as a punisher has a positive relationship with negative religious coping and depression. People who trust in God for forgiveness have more reasons to live than people who see God only as a punisher. As it is seen in these studies, there is a strong relationship between the sense of destiny/qadar and ability of coping with life events and attribution styles.

The second defense mechanism was the religious-active mechanism and people who used this mechanism trusted in God, but they did not ignore their responsibility. This was compatible with the sample's religious sect statements. İmam Maturîdî (2008: 289) and majority of Ehl-i Sunna imams stressed that humans have the talent to realize which is good and which is bad. Because of this talent, humans have responsibility for all their actions. The Turkish Muslim population follows the Ehl-i Sunna school.

Karaca (2006) determined that university students (N=204) used three different approaches on destiny in life events. He categorized the data according to Classical Islamic Philosophic Schools. These schools were Jabriyya, Mu'tazila, and Ehl-i Sunna. He explained that Jabriyya stressed God's desire in all human acts, Mu'tazila accepted all human acts navigated by humans and Ehl-i Sunna attested that God creates all acts potentially but humans have the desire to choose and have responsibility for their behavior. This study found that a substantial portion of the population had an Ehl-i Sunna way of interpreting the concept of destining (85.3%). The researcher asked them "does your success depend on you?" They said, "It usually depends on me" (64.7%) (Karaca 2006). The majority of the high school students in Turkey explained the belief in destiny as "I can change my qadar somewhat" (64.9%) in terms of academic success. Many participants stressed that individual effort is more important than other factors (43.00%). However, the same participants' understanding of qadar was very different in a natural disaster like an earthquake. They stated that God's desire is the major factor in an earthquake (65.4%) (Kartopu 2003). Different studies on destiny/qadar show us the religious-active mechanism is very popular in Turkey (Kartopu 2003, Karaca 2006) in academic success and daily life events, but not death (Kula 2002; Küçükcan & Köse 2001).

Locus of control is the distinctive factor between the non-religious active and non-religious passive mechanisms. People who used the non-religious

passive mechanism were exhausted, frustrated, and they blamed the security forces. However, people who used the non-religious active mechanism realized that there was a security flaw in Turkey, but instead of accusing or blaming others, these people were making an effort to find a solution for these flaws and shortcomings. It was also found that this tragic event caused these people to feel more patriotic, and loyal to their country. They were very hopeful. These two groups of people have experienced the same event, and realize the same problem, but their reactions are quite different from each other. This is because the same event can differently affect the psychology of people.

Eight months after the 17 August 1999 the earthquake, Beyaz (2001) reported (N=200, aged=16-44) coping mechanisms of people who experienced the earthquake. According to the data, the participants used different approaches like the fatalistic approach and problem-focused/optimistic approach. The study found a negative correlation between external locus of control and problem-focused/optimistic approach. While there was a positive correlation between internal locus of control and problem-focused/optimistic approach, there was a strong positive correlation between the fatalistic approach and feelings of desperation. In this study, highly hopeless expressions were used by people who used religious-passive and non-religious passive mechanisms. The findings were compatible with the results of other researchers.

Henrie & Patrick (2014) pointed out that culturally provided worldviews can be very helpful or harmful when coping with death anxiety. The results of this study suggest that the religious-active mechanism and non-religious active mechanism can provide a very beneficial worldview. However, non-religious passive mechanism appears to be harmful for individuals and it increases the fear of death. On the other hand, religious passive mechanism has two side effects on people who use it. While it can be very calming for someone who doesn't want to contemplate on a disturbing topic and have a worldview like Jabriyya, it can also be very confusing and harmful to someone who contemplates on human responsibility.

Conclusion

Four different defense mechanisms have been revealed in this study: religious-active, religious-passive, non-religious-passive, and non-religious active. Religious-passive and non-religious-passive are highly fatalistic mechanisms. Both mechanisms include external attributions for calming down. People who use these mechanisms don't know how they can

solve the problem. People who use the religious-passive mechanism believe God navigates all human activities and they always need God's help. On the other hand, non-religious-passive mechanism is used by people who believe that others should be helped to overcome their problem. The religious-active mechanism is compatible with Turkish religious and spiritual leaders' understanding of life events. This approach accepts internal and external attribution as well as religious and non-religious reasons. Lastly, the non-religious active mechanism is very realistic and individualistic. It encourages people to assume responsibility and overcome the problem individually.

Researchers indicated how religious people construct a framework to cope with the salience of mortality. Researchers used the concepts of defensive religious orientation, existential religious orientation, (Atabay & Öner Özkan 2011), religious doubt, (Henrie & Patrick, 2014), intrinsic or extrinsic religiosity (Van Tongeren et al. 2017), religious affiliation, (Ellis et al. 2013) and fatalism (Beyaz). It is apparent that account that all of these concepts emerge from non-Muslim western societies, therefore they may not reveal sufficiently the inner workings of a Muslim society. For future studies, researchers should consider neither classical Islamic philosophers' destiny/qadar approaches nor modern psychologists' fatalism approach- as they could not describe the Muslim Turkish population's defense mechanisms against mortality salience. Therefore, this authentic sample needs authentic scales and concepts.

References

- Al-Farabî, Abu Nasr (1987) *Fusul'ül Medeni*. Trs. Hanefi Özcan, DEÜY: İzmir.
- Al-Kindî, İshak (2015) "Risale fi'l-Hile Li-Def'il-Ahzan". in *Üzüntüyü Yenmenin Çareleri*, Ed. Elif Akyol, Ankara: Araştırma Pub.
- Al-Qusayri, Abu'l Qasim (2003). *Al-Risala al-Qusayri Risalesi*, Trs. Süleyman Uludağ, İstanbul: Dergâh Pub.
- Al Muhasibi, Haris (2004). *Er-Riâye*. Trs. Şahin Filiz, Hülya Küçük, İstanbul: İnsan Pub.
- Ayten, Ali (2009). "Death Anxiety among University Students: A Comparison Study on Turkish and Jordanian Students". *Dinbilimleri Akademik Araştırma Dergisi*. V.9, N. 4: 85-108.
- Aydın, Hasan (2011). "Ölüm Korkusu Karşısında Felsefenin Tesellisi: Marcus Tullius Cicero ve Ebû Bekr Er-Râzî". *Felsefe Dünyası*, Vol.2, N.54: 27-52.
- Aydın, Özlem (2011). *Yaşami Sürdürmede Dini İnançın Rolü*. Doctoral Thesis Submitted to the University of Ankara.
- Beyaz, Nasır (2001). *17 Ağustos 1999 Marmara Depremine Yaşayanların Stresle Başa Çıkma Yolları ile Denetim Odakları Arasındaki İlişki*. Doctoral Thesis Submitted to the University of Kocaeli.

- Creswell, John (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*. Third Edition, Washington DC: Sage Publication.
- Dağlı, Emel Nuriye (2010). *Death Anxiety and Piety in the Elderly*. Master Thesis Submitted to the University of Selcuk, Konya.
- Doğulu, Canay; Sakallı Uğurlu, Nuray (2015). "A Review of Terror Management Theory". *Turkish Psychological Articles*, V.18, N. 35: 48-50.
- Düzgün, Şaban Ali (2013). "The Possibility of Handling the Issue of Predestination within Different Categories". *Kelam Araştırmaları*, V. 11, N. 2: 1-10.
- Edmondson Donald, Park, Crystal L. Chaudoir, Stephenie R. and Wortmann, Jennifer H. (2008). "Death without God: Religious Struggle, Death Concerns, and Depression in the Terminally Ill". *Psychol Sci*. V. 19, N. 8:754-8.
- Ellis, Lee; Wahab, Eshah A.; Ratnasingan Malini (2013). "Religiosity and fear of death: a three-nation comparison". *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*. V. 16, N. 2: 179–199.
- Erdoğan M. Yüksel; Özkan Mustafa. "The Relationships between Death Anxiety with Dispositional Symptoms and Socio-Demographic Variables of Individuals from Different Religions". *İnönü Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi Dergisi*. V. 14, N.3: 171-179.
- Erlanson, David.A; Harris, Edward L.; Skipper, Barbara L.; Allen, Steve D. (1993). *Doing Naturalistic Inquiry- A Guide to Methods*. Newbury Park: Sage Publication.
- Gashi, Fehim (2011). "Türk ve Kosovalı Öğrencilerin Ölüm Kaygısı Üzerine Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırma". *Balkan Araştırmaları Dergisi*, C.2, S.1: 45-55.
- Ghazali, Imam (2007). *İhyâu Ulumi'd Din*. Vol.4, Ed. Hüseyin Kader, İstanbul: Vefa Pub.
- Greenberg, Jeff; Pyszczynski, Tom; Solomon, Sheldon (1986). "The Causes and Consequences of a Need for Self-Esteem: A Terror Management Theory". In R. E Baumeister (Ed.), *Public Self and Private Self*.pp. 189-212. New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Greenberg, Jeff; Simon, Linda; Solomon, Sheldon; Harmon-Jones, Eddie; Pyszczynski, Tom; Lyon, Deborah. (1995). "Testing Alternative Explanations for Mortality Salience Effects: Terror Management, Value Accessibility, or Worrisome Thoughts?" *European Journal of Social Psychology* 25: 417-433.
- Henrie, James; Patrick, Julie Hicks (2014). "Religiousness, Religious Doubt, and Death Anxiety". *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*. V. 78, N. 3: 203-227.
- Husserl, Edmund (1970). *Logical Investigation*. New York: Humanities Press.
- Ibn Sina, Abu 'Ali al-Husayn /Avicenna (1959). *Fi'l-Havf mine'l Mevt/Ölüm Korkusundan Kurtuluş Risalesi* Trs. M.Hazmi Tura, İstanbul: Orhan Mete ve Ortağı Kollektif Şirketi Matbaası.
- Jonas, Eva; Fischer, Peter (2006). "Terror Management and Religion: Evidence That Intrinsic Religiousness Mitigates Worldview Defense Following Mortality Salience". *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. V. 9, N. 13: 553-567.
- Juhl, Jacop; Routledge, Clay (2010). "Structured Terror: Further Exploring the Effects of Mortality Salience and Personal Need for Structure on Worldview Defense" *Journal of Personality* V. 78, N. 3:969-90.
- Katırcı Yusuf. (2011). *The Sense of Fate of all Prisoners (The instance of Ferizli L-Type Prison)*. Master Thesis Submitted University of Sakarya.
- Kaplan, Hasan (2012). "Beliefs in a Justice World Religiosity and Victim Blaming". *Archive for*

**54 • DEFENSE MECHANISM AGAINST MORTALITY SALIENCE IN
TURKISH MUSLIM POPULATION**

the Psychology of Religion. N.34: 397-409.

- Karaca, Faruk (1997). *Psikolojik Açıdan Ölüm ve Dini İnanc İlişkisi*. Doctoral Thesis Submitted to the University of Atatürk, Erzurum.
- Karaca, Faruk (2006). "An Experimental Study on Relation between Destiny and Mental Health" *Journal of Islamic Research*. V. 19, N. 3:479-489, ISSN 1300-0373 TEK-DAV.
- Kartopu, Saffet (2013). "Relation between Anxiety and the Perception of Predestination (A Case Study in the Town of Kahramanmaraş)" *Gümüşhane Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, V. 2, N.3: 238-260.
- Kastenmuller, Andreas; Greitemeyer, Tobias; Ai, Amy L.; Winter, Gabriele; Fischer, Peter (2011). "In The Face Of Terrorism: Evidence That Belief in Literal Immortality Reduces Prejudice under Terrorism Threat" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. 50(3): 604-616.
- Kenevir, Fatma (2015). "Crime, Social Deviance and Religion: Religious Affiliation Levels of Female Prisoners" *Religious Studies*. V. 18, N. 46: 233- 249.
- Koca-Atabey, Müjde; Öner Özkan Bengü. (2011). "Defensive or Existential Religious Orientations and Mortality Salience Hypothesis: Using Conservatism as a Dependent Measure". *Death Studies*. N. 35: 852-865, DOI: 10.1080/07481187.2011.553319.
- Kökdemir, Doğan. (2009). "Dayanılmaz Dehşet Kaçınılmaz Son: Ölüm (Presentation)", Atılım Üniversitesi Seyhan Cengiz Turhan Konferans Salonu, http://kurumsal.data.atilim.edu.tr/pdfs/090317_02.pdf (17.03.2009).
- Kutlu, Sönmez, (2011). *Türkler ve İslam Tasavvuru*. İstanbul: ISAM.
- Küçükcan Talip; Köse Ali. (2000). *Natural Disaster and Religion. A Psych-Social Search on Marmara Earthquake*, İstanbul: TDV Islamic Research Center.
- Liu Yanli,Lu; Guizhi,Liu Yong. (2016). "Personal Need for Structure: Concept, Measurements and Relationships to Related Variables". *Advances in Psychological Science*. V. 24, N. 2: 228-241.
- Lüdecke, Christina (2015). *Affect and Self-Regulation under Mortality Salience*. Doctoral Thesis Submitted to the University of Trier Department of Psychology.
- Maturîdî, Abu Mansur (2009). *Kitab Al-Tawhid* Trs. Bekir Topaloğlu, Ankara: ISAM Pub.
- Miller, Dale T.; Ross, Michael (1975). "Self-Serving Biases in the Attribution of Causality: Fact or Fiction?" *Psychological Bulletin*. N. 82: 213-225.
- Paçacı, Mehmet (2001). *Kutsal Kitaplarda Ölümötesi*. Ankara: Ankara Okulu Yayınları.
- Razi, Abu Bakr (2008) *et-Tıbbu'r-Ruhanî*. Trs. Hüseyin Kahraman, İstanbul: İz Pub.
- Ritchie, Jane. Lewis, Jane; El am, Gillian (2003). "Designing and Selecting Samples". In *Qualitative Research Practice*. Ed. Jane Ritchie & Jane Lewis. London: Sage Publication.
- Routledge, Clay D; Arndt, Jamie. (2009). "Creative Terror Management: Creativity as a Facilitator of Cultural Exploration after Mortality Salience". *J.Pers Soc Psychol Bull*. V. 35, N. 4: 493-505.
- Saruhan, M. Selim (2005). *İbn-i Miskeveyh Düşüncesinde Tanrı ve İnsan*. Ankara: İlahiyât yayınları.
- Saruhan, M. Selim (2006). "İslam Filozof ve Düşünürlerinde Ölüm Korkusu ve Tedavisi". *AÜİFD*, N.47.87-105.

- Sever, Mustafa; Soğuksu, A. Fulya; Türe, Ersin; Koçmar, Yonca; Olgun, Muge; Üçüncü, Nergiz & Öztürk, İnci (2016). "What Does It Mean To Be A Student In Different Types Of High Schools In Turkey Through The Eyes Of Students?" *Educational Sciences: Theory & Practice*. N.16:231-259.
- Şentürk, Mucahidin (2013). "The Conception of Predestination of Sakarya People". *Kelam Arastirmalari*, V. 11, N.2: 209-224.
- Tunç, Cihat (1994). "Ecel". *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.10: 380.
- Van Tongeren, Daryl R; Pennington, Amanda R; McIntosh, Daniel N; Newton, Taylor; Green, Jeffrey D; Davis, Don E; Hook, Joshua N. (2017). "Where, O Death, Is Thy Sting? The Meaning-Providing Function of Beliefs in Literal Immortality". *Mental Health, Religion & Culture*.
- Yalom, Irvin (1980). *Existential Psychotherapy*. USA: Basic Books Pub.
- Yazoğlu, Ruhattin & İmamoğlu, Tuncay (2007). "Voluntary and Natural Death as Experience of Immortality in the Thought of Mevlânâ" *TAED*, N. 34: 9-19.
- Yeniçeri, Zuhâl & Dönmez, Ali (2008). "Perception of Terrorism & Terrorist". *Turkish Journal of Psychology*. V. 23, N. 62: 93-103.
- Yıldız, Murat. (1998). *Dinî Hayat İle Ölüm Kaygısı Arasındaki İlişki Üzerine Bir Araştırma*. Doctoral Thesis Submitted to the University of Dokuz Eylül, İzmir.
- Yıldız, Murat (1999). "Savaş Tecrübesi Yaşayan Boşnaklar Arasında Ölüm Kaygısı-Türk Örnekleme Karşılaştırmalı Bir Çalışma". *D.E.Ü. İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*. N. 12; 147-162.
- Yıldız, Murat (2001). "Dindarlık ve Ölüm Kaygısı: Tasavvufi Yaklaşım ve Günümüz Üniversite Öğrencileri". *Journal of Religious Culture*. N. 43: 1-7.
- Yılmaz, Sema (2013). "Death Concept in 8-13 Years Children's Cognitive Development". *Bilimname*. V. 25, N. 2: 169-189.

