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RESEARCH ARTICLE



## Muslim experiences and Islamic perspectives on suicide: a qualitative analysis of fatwa inquiries

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### ABSTRACT

Suicide is a rising global public health challenge. Yet, the determinants and magnitude of the problem are understudied in both Muslim-majority countries and Muslim diaspora communities. The overall rarity of suicide events compounded by poor reporting complicates the study of suicide among Muslims. Results across studies are inconsistent and data remains limited due to a myriad of factors. Against this backdrop, this study takes a novel approach to examining the relationship between suicide, Islam, and Muslim cultures through a qualitative analysis of Muslim scholarly responses to suicide-related inquiries (*fatwas*). The study includes 122 fatwas extracted from Arabic and English fatwa databases based in the Middle East and North America. Through a general inductive approach, both the questions and the answers of each fatwa were analyzed for recurring themes. The analysis yielded four main themes: (1) risk and protective factors; (2) post-suicide matters; (3) prevention; and (4) worldview and conceptualization. The significance and implications of each of these themes are explored in order to advance the understanding of lived experiences, risk factors, and prevention of suicidality in Muslim populations.

### ARTICLE HISTORY

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Suicide; Islam; Muslims; spirituality; religion; fatwa

### Introduction

The 'Arab Spring' is generally known as the series of major socio-political events that took place in the Middle East and North Africa beginning in 2010 and leading to massive changes that continue to unfold. The first wave of political turmoil that took place in Tunisia in 2010 was set off after a street vendor had set himself on fire in an act of suicide prompted by psychological distress that was fueled by a sense of perceived injustice. Resultingly, alongside the socio-political repercussions of this event, heated community debates were evoked about the relationship between Islam, mental health, and suicide. Social media significantly contributed to the publicity of the event and the ensuing public responses. To provide guidance on the matter and prevent copycat suicides, Muslim scholarly figures and institutions responded to the debate by releasing statements and opinion pieces (Hasanin, 2011).

Although the significance of this solitary suicide was due to its socio-political impact, the issue of suicide has become a major public health concern in

recent decades (WHO, 2018). In Muslim-majority countries, determining the prevalence of suicidal behaviors remains challenging, as official data on suicide is frequently undocumented, unreported, or misreported. The strong prohibitive stance on suicide in the Islamic tradition, as well as social taboos, may be contributing to gaps in data. Additionally, nationally representative demographic studies that can inform national public policy and practice remain largely absent. Alluding to the potential protective role of certain Islamic attitudes and practices, previous cross-national analyses generally pointed to lower rates of suicide in Muslim populations (Pritchard et al., 2020; WHO 2014; Shah & Chandia, 2010; Pritchard & Amanullah, 2007). In contrast, a recent big-data analysis revealed how suicide rates in certain Muslim-majority regions and countries, such as Sub-Saharan Africa, Pakistan, and Kazakhstan, were above the global average (Lew et al., 2022). While global trends of suicide showed an overall decline from 2000 to 2019, seven Muslim-majority countries recorded a significant increase (Lew et al., 2022). The variance in research outcomes points to a number of

unanswered and understudied questions at the interface of suicide, Islam, and Muslim cultures. These questions encompass various domains, including but not limited to: incidence and prevalence rates; risk and protective factors; the mechanisms and processes through which religious experiences and suicidality interact with or mediate each other; the role of religious leaders in suicide prevention; the Muslim community's response to suicide; and grief experiences and postvention needs of the Muslim community.

This study aims to contribute to bridging this gap in the literature through a novel approach. The 'fatwa' literature is utilized to shed light on the relationship between suicide and religion in the Muslim community. A fatwa (pl. fatwas or fatawa) is an Islamic legal term used to denote an ethico-legal scholarly opinion offered by either an independent qualified Islamic scholar (called Mufti) or a scholarly committee in response to a specific inquiry or case posed by a member of the Muslim community (inquirer '*mus-tafti*'). After the advent of the internet, digital fatwa platforms emerged where individuals may submit their de-identified questions anonymously to a scholar or a committee, and the response is later published publicly on the platform.

A fatwa inquiry includes, to a variable degree, details about the psycho-social context of the inquirer leading up to the question. Consequently, the scholar or committee typically considers that context when issuing the fatwa. Fatwa literature is unique in that it presents dynamic real-life perspectives on a given topic. They portray the interaction between the inquirer's psycho-social-spiritual realities with the scholar's religious realities. Additionally, fatwas reflect the social significance of a given matter and portray common perceptions and misconceptions among both lay and scholarly communities.

Therefore, analyzing fatwa literature has been used as a scholarly approach to examining various topics and disciplines where a strong intersection between religion, science, and culture exists, including organ donation, euthanasia, end-of-life care, reproductive health, and the COVID-19 pandemic (Skovguard-Peterson, 1995; Padela et al., 2011; Van den Branden & Broeckart, 2011; Ghaly, 2012; Mohiuddin et al., 2020; Yusli et al., 2021; Almusrati et al., 2022). A number of previous studies examined fatwas on suicide bombings in the context of military and political resistance, however, these fall beyond the scope of health and mental health which is the focus of this study. To our knowledge, this is the first study to examine the fatwa literature in relation to suicide, Islam, and mental health.

## Methodology

### Search strategy

The study included fatwas in two languages: Arabic and English. Websites of major fatwa committees in the Arab world as well as in Europe and North America were searched for fatwas related to suicide. The search query included various iterations of the term suicide in both nominal and verbal forms in the Arabic and English languages. It is noteworthy that fatwa databases did not have advanced search features that could allow for a more systematic search strategy. The resulting fatwas were screened to ensure relevance to the topic of the study.

The rationale for utilizing nationally and internationally recognized fatwa entities was to ensure that fatwas are conforming to acceptable standards and are offered by trained scholars. Scholars serving on fatwa platforms go through rigorous training in Islamic studies typically followed by further training in the art of conducting fatwas.

### Data Analysis

Each fatwa entry in the databases is composed of two main sections: the inquiry proposed by an anonymous questioner, and the answer offered by the scholars (i.e. the fatwa). Both the inquiry and the answer were thematically analyzed using a general inductive approach (Thomas, 2006). A sample of the transcripts was read by KE, TE, and HE to identify themes and categories. After discussion, a coding framework was developed and the transcripts were coded by HE. If new codes emerged, the coding framework was updated and the transcripts were reread according to the new structure. The emerging categories were then conceptualized into broad themes. A final review was conducted by KE.

### Sample fatwa

Given the large number of fatwas included in this study and the wide range of themes and sub-themes that emerged in the analysis, the authors opted not to include direct quotes from the fatwas. However, to provide familiarity with how a fatwa reads, a sample fatwa from the dataset is shown in Table 1.

## Results

Our search yielded 122 fatwas; 115 of which were in Arabic with only seven fatwas in English. The fatwa platform containing the largest number of fatwas

**Table 1.** A sample fatwa from Islamweb (Islamweb, 2003) (translated from Arabic to English).**Inquiry**

What is the ruling regarding a woman who took her own life to avoid falling victim to rape?

**Fatwa**

Praise be to God, and peace and blessings be upon the Messenger of God, his family, and his companions. To proceed: The act of suicide is a major sin that is not permissible for a Muslim to commit, regardless of the circumstances and motives.

This is because it involves the unjustified taking of a life. God has commanded to preserve life and prohibited killing. God Almighty says: 'And do not kill yourselves, for God is Merciful towards you. Whoever does that, out of hostility and wrongdoing, We will cast him into a Fire. And that would be easy for God'. (Quran, 4:29-30). In the authentic Prophetic report, the Messenger of God, peace be upon him, said: 'Whoever commits suicide using a sharp object will be punished with it in the Fire'. For further information, refer to the fatwa number: 22853.

In light of this, what this woman did, despite being an attempt to preserve her honor, is a grave sin. However, we ask God Almighty to grant her forgiveness and have mercy on her.

For more information, refer to the fatwa number: 21282.

God knows best.

**Table 2.** Total number of included fatwas resulting from selected international databases.

Fatwa Council	Country	Number of fatwas included in the analysis
Islamweb	Qatar	106
Assembly of Muslim Jurists of America (AMJA)	USA	7
Permanent Committee for Scholarly Research and Issuing Fatwas	Saudi Arabia	5
Egyptian Fatwa Council (Dar al-Ifta al-Misriyya)	Egypt	2
Palestinian Fatwa Council (al-Majlis al-Islami li-l-ifta')	Palestine	1
Jordanian Fatwa Council	Jordan	1

related to suicide, per our search, was Islamweb (islamweb.net) (See Table 2 for the various databases and corresponding number of fatwas included in this study).

Islamweb was founded in 1998 and is one of the earliest, largest, and most visited Islamic content websites on the internet. It is affiliated with the Ministry of Endowments and Islamic Affairs in the state of Qatar (Salhein, 2018). The website contains more than 250,000 fatwas and operates in five languages. The English fatwas included in our analysis were issued by the Assembly of Muslim Jurists of America (AMJA). Other entities that issued fatwas on suicide that were included in our analysis are the Egyptian Fatwa Council (Dar al-Ifta al-Misriyya), the Jordanian Fatwa Council, and the Palestinian Fatwa Council (al-Majlis al-Islami li-l-ifta').

Our thematic analysis yielded four main themes, namely: 1) risk factors; 2) prevention; 3) post-suicide matters; and 4) worldview and conceptualization.

**Risk and protective factors**

The questions presented to scholars were frequently posed by individuals who were contemplating suicide, or on behalf of others who engaged in suicidal behaviors. In such questions, the inquirers described the factors leading them to contemplate suicide including spiritual, religious, psychological, social, and physical stressors.

Spiritual and religious struggles were commonly invoked by inquirers as the precipitating factor for suicidal thoughts. Some questions attributed suicidality to an overwhelming sense of despair and loss of hope in God's mercy, while others referenced religious guilt specifically related to sinful sexual behaviors and same-sex attractions. In some of their responses, scholars stated that psychological distress and suicidal thoughts are the result of sinful lifestyles and signs of spiritual weakness. On the other hand, multiple inquiries featured individuals invoking their fear of punishment in the afterlife as a protective factor against suicide. Next, inquiries highlighted the complex and nuanced role of religiosity in relation to suicide. For example, the notion of being 'suicidal despite religious' appeared numerous times where the individual experiencing suicidal thoughts, or who died by suicide, was described as very religious, practicing, virtuous, and morally upright. Further, individuals asked for recommendations of actions they could do prior to taking their own lives to attain God's forgiveness. This demonstrated a degree of God-consciousness and awareness of the religious prohibition, despite a strong suicidal intent. Finally, suicidal thoughts were at times either directly or indirectly attributed by both inquirers and Muftis to supernatural factors, including satanic whispers, black magic, evil eye, or spirit (jinn) possession.

Psychological risk factors were frequently documented in fatwas. Individuals reported suicidality in the context of symptoms strongly suggestive of various psychiatric disorders including major depression, postpartum depression, psychosis, and obsessive-compulsive disorder. Some inquirers also stated they have been diagnosed with some of these conditions. Some individuals attributed their suicidal thoughts to sexual traumas, shame, bullying, fear of torture, fear of manipulation and blackmailing, fear of rape, fear of impending threats, hopelessness, helplessness, worthlessness, identity crisis, and a sense of burdensomeness. Numerous inquirers perceived suicide as the only way to relieve their emotional and psychological suffering.

Social factors were reported by inquirers as contributing to suicidality, including family and marital conflicts, domestic violence, infertility, social isolation,

academic and economic difficulties, loss of loved ones, and unemployment challenges. Finally, a small number of inquiries featured medical and physical ailments underpinning suicidal thoughts.

### *Post-suicide matters*

Several theological, juristic, spiritual, and social challenges and dilemmas were evident in the inquiries asked by suicide survivors and other community members on behalf of their loved ones in the aftermath of suicide. Such dilemmas included questions about the fate and the theological status of the deceased, funeral rites, and the social, spiritual, and moral responsibility of the survivors towards the deceased and their families.

Regarding the theological and moral status and fate of the deceased, multiple inquirers wondered whether the suicide victim would remain within the fold of Islam, or be damned to eternal punishment. Fatwas unanimously emphasized that a Muslim suicide victim remains within the fold of Islam and is not destined for eternal punishment in the Hellfire. This discussion on the moral status of the deceased was crucial as it had ramifications on all other post-suicide matters such as funeral rites and communal response.

Some inquirers wondered about the permissibility of offering funeral rites to suicide victims and extending condolences as well as other forms of support to suicide survivors. Responses unanimously agreed upon the community's obligation to offer funeral rites and prayers to every deceased Muslim including suicide victims. Depending on the scholar's orientation along the spectrum of the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence, there was variability in terms of certain exemptions from conducting funeral prayers. Community responses noted in some inquiries, however, highlighted contrasting responses such as assuming the suicide victim to be outside of the fold of Islam, dishonoring the body of the deceased, and abandoning his/her family.

Suicide survivors inquired about their moral and spiritual responsibility towards the deceased and about revealing the cause of death to the community. Some scholars encouraged survivors to think positively of the deceased and not to assume they died by suicide even in the presence of evidence possibly indicating such. Survivors were encouraged not to share the cause of death with the community in order to protect both the community and the deceased. Survivors were also encouraged to stay spiritually connected to the deceased by offering prayers, supplicating for their forgiveness, offering charity on their behalf, and paying off their debts.

Finally, scholars reflected on and warned against some of the communal repercussions of suicide such as copycat suicides, and leaving behind widows, orphans, and other dependents. On an individual level, they encouraged survivors of suicide attempts to repent and seek Divine forgiveness.

### *Prevention*

The majority of fatwas offered some guidance and advice in order to deter individuals from acting on suicidal thoughts. This guidance took many forms depending on the nature of the inquiry. The vast majority of Muftis utilized and recommended spiritual and religious approaches, while some offered social, medical, and psychological advice.

The religious and spiritual approaches and recommendations focused mainly on two domains. First, scholars emphasized the prohibition of suicide by providing explicit scriptural warnings. Second, they suggested spiritual strategies that could counter suicidal thoughts and mitigate risk factors. For example, they reframed suffering from a spiritual lens, instilled hope in God's mercy, and reminded about Divine wisdom and destiny. They encouraged patience, reliance on God, submitting to God's will, forgiveness, gratitude, repentance, and benevolence. They also recommended engaging in prayers, contemplation, Divine remembrance, supplication, seeking religious knowledge, staying away from temptations, and remaining in the company of righteous people. Some fatwas addressed the symptoms of obsessive-compulsive disorder from a religious perspective. Finally, a number of scholars recommended seeking faith healing (*ruqya*) which involves the recitation of verses from the Quran by a religious scholar.

In addition to spiritual approaches, a minority of scholars suggested seeking professional help including medical and mental health services. When relevant, scholars offered brief psycho-social guidance such as improving family relationships, finding a job, seeking lawful entertainment, seeking marriage, developing personal skills, changing one's career, changing one's environment, and improving one's financial situation. Some also suggested offering direct supervision and support for someone who is actively suicidal.

### *Worldview and conceptualization*

Scholars frequently prefaced or concluded their answers with an emphasis on the Islamic worldview on life and death, trials and tribulations, and the sanctity of human life. They also attempted to offer

spiritual reframing of trials and tribulations. Speaking from this worldview, scholars emphasized the gravity of transgressing against human life whether by homicide or suicide. Many scholars emphasized that suicide is 'never the answer', regardless of the circumstances. Finally, a few scholars briefly addressed the impact of mental illnesses and extenuating circumstances on mental capacity, and consequently on the legal and moral consequences of the actions of a suicide victim.

## Discussion

Overall, the results demonstrate how anonymous online fatwa platforms were used as spaces for individuals to share their stories; emphasize the role of the Islamic faith in navigating and responding to suicide, shed light on the concerns of Muslim suicide survivors looking for support following their loss, and highlight the role of religious leaders (in this case, Muftis) as first responders to Muslims with suicidal ideations.

Posting personal content on online platforms in relation to suicide is not a new phenomenon, or specific to the Muslim community. Research on online mental health-seeking behavior highlights how the internet is utilized for exploring and understanding symptomology, connecting with mental health professionals, and an alternative to traditional mental health services (Pretorius et al., 2019). Finding support online for suicidal ideation is increasingly common (Naslund et al., 2016; Perry et al., 2021). Entire forums and online communities are dedicated to suicide intervention and prevention (Aladağ et al., 2018). Opportunities to personally chat anonymously are available; facilitating both social connection and privacy (Bell, 2014). While fatwa websites are primarily seen as a method for obtaining legal rulings regarding personal matters, the results indicate how individuals may have been exhibiting help-seeking behaviors. The 'life narrative' questioning style mirrors the content found on online forums where people share their suicidal thoughts and motives (Horne & Wiggins, 2009). Additionally, a significant number of questioners specified wanting to manage their suicidal ideations and asked for help on how to do so.

The existence of alternative communities and means to share anonymous stories online, particularly using fatwa platforms, illustrates the importance of faith to inquirers in their most painful and difficult moments. While the level of religiosity is difficult to determine, inquiries clearly highlighted a level of God-consciousness, as faith-based advice would not be otherwise sought. A large number of studies on

the association between religion and suicide suggested that religion plays a protective role against suicidality (Chen & VanderWeele, 2020; Noriko et al., 2017). Social integration and network theory point toward the communal aspects of religion as an explanation (Durkheim, 1976; Pescosolido, 1990), while religious commitment theory emphasizes the role of core religious beliefs opposing suicide as being protective (Stark et al., 1983). Compared to other faith groups, studies reveal that Muslims show the least accepting attitudes toward suicide (Eskin et al., 2019; Kohler & Preston, 2011; Kamal & Loewenthal, 2002). Such is attributed to the strong condemnation of suicide in Islam (Al-Harrasi et al., 2016), which is referenced by inquirers as a preventative factor holding them back. However, inquiries examined also reveal a skewed idea of the Islamic faith, where God is thought of as scrutinizing, and punishment for sins is emphasized. Holding such beliefs may limit the protective role of religion, and is associated with higher psychological distress, and an increased risk for suicidality and attempts, as observed empirically in individuals across faiths, including Muslims (Eskin et al., 2020; Teo et al., 2021). Additionally, questions point to how individuals were facing breaking points where their stressors overpowered their religious coping capacity.

Muftis were observed to respond accordingly in their answers, as they did not simply provide a legal ruling pertaining to questions asked; but appeared to have the underlying aim of preventing suicide. Positive religious coping through rituals and positive religious beliefs, including belief in Divine decree and in a loving God, is suggested as protective against suicidal ideations (De Berardis et al., 2020; Eskin et al., 2020). Muftis recommended spiritual strategies tailored to inquirers' concerns, including specific prayers. Greater research is required to assess the effectiveness of Islamic practices particularly in this regard, but studies highlight the relationship between engaging in spiritual practice and emotional wellbeing and mental resilience (Lavretsky, 2010; Weathers, 2018; Yaden et al., 2022). Muftis also attempted to change views around God being punitive by emphasizing His forgiving nature in response to inquirers presenting with hopelessness in relation to their perceived sinfulness. Doing so was not only to support those with suicidal ideations but also to comfort suicide survivors who showed concern about the fate of their loved ones.

The analysis revealed significant questions related to the well-being of suicide survivors. Suicide survivors refer to those left behind, such as family members, friends, and colleagues of the individual who died by suicide (Survivors of Suicide Loss Task Force,

2015). As illustrated in the results, survivors expressed anxieties over the fate of their lost loved ones and reported struggling with managing in the aftermath. Grief following the loss of someone to suicide invokes unique responses generally attributed to the perceived intentionality of the death (Jordan & McIntosh, 2011). Suicide is usually viewed as a voluntary act by survivors, leaving them looking for answers regarding the deceased's intention, and explanations of what occurred (Jordan, 2020). Such points are salient in both questions and answers analyzed, as the deceased's fate in the afterlife was frequently referenced as connected with their intentions and mental competence at the time of the action; a view in line with the dominant Islamic tradition (Elzamzamy, 2022). Inquirers attempted to provide explanations to experiences they were still grappling with understanding themselves and appeared to require both legal and moral support. Muftis provided legal rulings around funerals and clarified common misconceptions regarding rites of the deceased, such as around permissibility of the funeral prayer. Additionally, they recommended avoiding sharing the cause of death with the community to prevent negative reactions and assumptions. Doing so gives insight into how suicide may be responded to in the Muslim community. Research is greatly lacking in this area, but recently published case studies highlight how families experience shame and fear the spread of gossip and misinformation about the deceased, which can interrupt the grieving process and pose additional distress (Suleiman et al., 2023).

Those exposed to suicide may be at an increased risk of suicidality (Molina et al., 2019; Pitman et al., 2014), which has promoted the development of postvention interventions aiming to support suicide survivors (Jordan, 2017). Factors underlying the relationship between vulnerability to suicide and its exposure, also known as suicide contagion, remain understudied, therefore, limiting the efficacy of postvention strategies (Miklin et al., 2019). Greater qualitative research is required to understand the lived experience of survivors (Hanschmidt et al., 2016). Current work highlights the significance of meaning-making during bereavement, which is explained as coming to a personal and subjective understanding of losing someone to suicide (Lynn Gall et al., 2015; Suleiman et al., 2023). The results add to this by demonstrating the significance of faith in Muslim suicide survivors' experiences of meaning-making, and the role of faith leaders in facilitating the process. As observed in the literature, Muslims tend to first engage with religious clergy, including Imams and Muftis, rather than mental health professionals when seeking support for their

mental and spiritual health (Ali et al., 2005). Consequently, religious leaders end up acting as trusted first responders, as illustrated by survivors reaching out to Muftis in the above analysis. Muftis and other local religious leaders would be among the ideal candidates to facilitate community-based postvention interventions to support the individuals affected by suicide, as well as promote broader destigmatization of the bereavement process. Support could be in the form of organizing the local funeral prayer, delivering tailored sermons, and providing spiritual care (Awaad et al., 2023).

Finally, considering the vulnerability of the inquirers during times of crisis and grief, the overall demonstration of help-seeking behaviors, and the sheer number of suicide-related fatwas, it is of utmost importance that Muftis become trained in crisis management and referrals. Our findings suggest that Muftis are an example of community gatekeepers; a term referring to individuals who are not mental health professionals, but face at-risk populations as a part of their work in the community (Burnette et al., 2015; Hawgood et al., 2022). In their fatwas, Muftis infrequently recommended seeking mental health or medical support, and sometimes suggested visiting the 'counseling' page of the fatwa website. In some cases, Muftis suggested that suicidal thoughts and mental health concerns were due to supernatural factors. Such responses indicate the need for gatekeeper training – a widely recommended suicide prevention strategy (Isaac et al., 2009). Effective training equips gatekeepers with relevant competencies to recognize and respond to suicidal concerns (Hawgood et al., 2022). The context of an anonymous platform makes it difficult to provide tailored referrals, but general resources could be provided, such as numbers to crisis helplines, links to mental health and suicide prevention websites, and information on psychotherapy services available in the countries where most inquiries are coming from. Mental health and suicide response services that operate in a culturally-sensitive and faith-based manner are required in order to accommodate the unique needs of the Muslim community (Suleiman et al., 2023). Growth in the field of Muslim mental health, such as through the development of Islamically Integrated Psychotherapy (Keshavarzi et al., 2020) and a model for Muslim Postvention Community Healing sessions (M-PCHs) (Awaad et al., 2023), is beginning to address these needs. This research suggests bolstering such efforts in both Muslim-majority countries and Muslim minorities through implementing trainings for religious leaders and community-based suicide prevention and postvention interventions.

## Limitations

The reader should bear in mind that the study is based on fatwa literature issued in Arabic and English. Although the dataset included a large number of fatwas in these two languages, there are vast Muslim populations that do not speak either of those languages. In fact, the majority of Muslims are non-Arabic speaking. Potential sources of fatwas for future analyses could include those issued in Turkish, Persian, Urdu, Malay, and Indonesian. Different geographic areas adopt differing juristic orientations, which may influence religious interpretations and approaches to fatwas. This, in addition to the qualitative nature of the study, limits the generalizability of the results. Another limitation is the anonymous, de-identified nature of the fatwas which did not allow for analyzing the demographic characteristics of the inquirers.

## Conclusion

In light of the omnipresent nature of the Islamic worldview and Islamic teachings which influence every aspect of life for Muslims, there are numerous layers and mechanisms of interactions between suicidality and Islam. This study analyzed a unique type of literature and yielded a myriad of intersections and relationships that could be further studied through qualitative (e.g. grounded theory) or quantitative approaches. Fatwa inquiries, similar to suicide notes, can also be further examined from the perspective of various theories of suicide such as the interpersonal theory (Van Orden et al., 2010) or the cultural theory (Chu et al., 2010). The findings of this study can inform the development of Muslim-specific measurement tools related to suicidality. The findings also point to the need for gatekeeper trainings specifically designed for Muslim Imams and scholars. Overall, this study provided some indicators for the relationship between religious strengths and struggles on one side, and suicidality on the other side.

## Disclosure statement

The authors have no relevant financial or non-financial interests to disclose.

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