

Traces of Collective Memory: Exploring the Shared Meanings of the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial


Kolektif Belleğin İzleri: Zeve Şehitleri Anıtı'nın Paylaşılan Anlamlarının İncelenmesi

Mehmet KARASU 

Van Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi, Edebiyat
Fakültesi, Psikoloji Bölümü, Van, Türkiye

Van Yüzüncü Yıl University, Faculty of Letters,
Department of Psychology, Van, Türkiye
karasumehmet@yyu.edu.tr

(Sorumlu Yazar-Corresponding Author)

Uğur BOZKURT 

Van Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi, Edebiyat
Fakültesi, Tarih Bölümü, Van, Türkiye

Van Yüzüncü Yıl University, Faculty of Letters,
Department of History, Van, Türkiye
ugurbozkurt@yyu.edu.tr



Abstract

In this study, we examined the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial as a collective memory builder and shaper, exploring the content and structure of shared meanings surrounding the memorial. A total of 481 university students participated in the study (Female = 341; Male = 140). To explore the content and structure of representations related to the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial, participants were instructed to spontaneously write down the first four words that came to mind when prompted with "the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial." They then ranked these words based on free association, providing hierarchical association data. The word association test data were subjected to prototype analysis and similarity analysis using the IRAMUTEQ program. The results of this mixed-design study reveal that the shared meanings associated with the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial are as follows: a) underscore the endurance of the tragedy through national and religious symbols; b) accentuate negative experiences within the tragedy; and c) exhibit a greater focus on intragroup processes than intergroup processes. Thorough examination of the personal- and group-level functions of these shared meanings is given. Both sets of results contribute to the literature on social representation and collective memory and underscore the importance of recontextualizing the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial to enrich human experience.

Keywords: memorial, collective memory, social representations, Van, Türkiye

Öz

Bu araştırma, Zeve Şehitleri Anıtı'nı kolektif bellek oluşturan ve şekillendiren bir bağlama oturtarak anıtlarla ilgili sosyal temsillerin içeriğini ve yapısını mercek altına almaktadır. Çalışmaya toplam 481 üniversite öğrencisi katılmıştır (Kadın = 341; Erkek = 140). Zeve Şehitleri Anıtı ile ilgili temsillerin içeriğini ve yapısını keşfetmek için katılımcılardan "Zeve Şehitleri Anıtı" denildiğinde kendiliğinden akıllarına gelen ilk dört kelimeyi yazmaları istenmiştir. Daha sonra, katılımcılar bu kelimeleri kendileri için önem derecesine göre sıralayarak hiyerarşik çağrışım verileri elde edilmiştir. Kelime çağrışım testi verileri IRAMUTEQ programı aracılığıyla prototip analizi ve benzerlik analizine tabi tutulmuştur. Bu karma desenli çalışmanın sonuçları, anıtlarla ilgili temsillerin a) ulusal ve dini sembollerin kullanımı yoluyla hayatta kalmayı ve trajediyi anlamlandırıldığını, b) yaşanan trajediyle ilişkili katliam ve üzüntü gibi olumsuz deneyimleri vurguladığını ve c) gruplar arası dinamikler yerine grup içi süreçlere daha fazla odaklandığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bu paylaşılan anlamların kişisel ve grup düzeyindeki işlevleri kapsamlı bir şekilde incelenmiştir. Bu sonuçlar sosyal temsiller ve kolektif bellek literatürüne katkıda bulunmakta ve insan deneyimini zenginleştirmek için Zeve Şehitleri Anıtı'nın yeniden bağlamsallaştırılmasının önemini vurgulamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Anıt, kolektif bellek, sosyal temsiller, Van, Türkiye

Geliş Tarihi/Received 17.05.2024
Kabul Tarihi/Accepted 27.10.2024
Yayın Tarihi/Publication Date 25.03.2025

Cite this article as: Karasu, M. & Bozkurt, U. (2025). Traces of collective memory: exploring the shared meanings of the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial. *Current Perspectives in Social Sciences*, 29(1), 1-15



Content of this journal is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License.

Introduction

Memorials represent spatial imprints and enduring reminders of profound tragedies, sacrifices, and traumas (Duncan, 2009; Okray & Şimşek, 2018; Zittoun, 2004). These memorials serve as collective sites for mourning, fostering opportunities for communities to engage in reflection, healing, and knowledge acquisition (Beckstead et al., 2011; Wasserman, 1998). Functioning as both sacred and public spaces, these sites are consecrated to preserve the honor of victims or the departed (Storeide, 2022). Memorials built to commemorate and honor those who were lost, along with designated “sacred time” dedicated to them, work together to maintain a sense of unity (King, 1998). Conversely, memorials also serve as potent reminders of a group’s resilience, the causative factors behind their losses, and unfulfilled national or religious obligations (Mosse, 1990). These spaces play a central role in consolidating the standing of groups within the public sphere (Duncan, 2009). Memorials shape collective memory by appropriating the symbolic value of survival and embracing victims (Marschall, 2008). Consequently, memorials become catalysts for the formation and perpetuation of group identity and mobilizing group cohesion. This seemingly paradoxical multifunctionality of memorials can be strategically employed to incite intergroup conflict on the one hand while also serving as a platform to comprehend the importance of cultivating peaceful relations and individual rehabilitation on the other (Selimovic, 2013).

Accordingly, this study explores the content and structure of the shared meanings associated with the Zeve Martyrs’ Memorial. Built in 1973, it stands as a symbol representing the tragic loss of lives among the Muslim population in Van, now known as the Zeve region, in May 1915. This research aims to explore the functions of the memorial, as outlined earlier by employing the lens of social representation theory. This theoretical framework is instrumental in elucidating the shared meanings, opinions, and thoughts of individuals and groups regarding the Zeve Martyrs’ Memorial.

Social Representations Theory: Shared Meanings as Traces of Collective Memory

Social representations theory, rooted in the works of Moscovici (1963; 1984), provides a valuable framework for understanding the meanings that emerge and are collectively shared amid the complexity of everyday discussions and communication. These shared meanings or social representations play a crucial role in addressing individuals’ innate need to comprehend and interpret the world. Furthermore, social representations guide our conceptualization of the world, influencing how we perceive and explain it (Moscovici, 1988; 2000). By establishing common communication codes, social representations facilitate effective communication and fosters consensus among members of the same group (Moscovici, 1973; 1984). Importantly, social representation can pertain to contemporary issues or events in the past, providing a comprehensive framework for exploring the multifaceted dimensions of collective understanding.

Social representations of the past include concepts, explanations, and images. These are often formulated and shared during interpersonal communication (Moscovici, 1981; Wagner & Hays, 2005). These representations are ingrained in collective memory through socio-cultural artifacts like memorials, films, and literature, thus becoming transmissible across generations (Bar-Tal, 2014). Memorials, in particular, function as sociocultural products that contribute to the construction of collective memory (Beckstead et al., 2011), shaping selective, meaningful, modified, and comprehensive narratives of historical representations (Bar-Tal, 2007; Viejo-Rose, 2011). This narrative construction, facilitated by memorials, plays a pivotal role in shaping social realities that contribute to group identity. Additionally, these narratives provide insights not only into how groups perceive their past but also illuminate current social dynamics and future orientations (Bar-Tal, 2007; 2014). Consequently, social representations serve as invaluable tools for probing a group’s shared meanings of the past, particularly when examined through the lens of memorials.

The Zeve Martyrs’ Memorial: Historical Background and Present Projection

The current disagreements between Turks and Armenians are rooted in the early 19th century. A comprehensive analysis of the unfolding events reveals that both Ottoman Armenians and Muslims endured tragic and traumatic losses. Among these losses were the massacres of Muslims in Van, now known as the Zeve region, in May 1915 (Süslü, 1990; 2012). These poignant experiences, transmitted predominantly through oral narratives until the 1970s, became ingrained in the collective memory of the limited Muslim community within the region. Subsequently, in 1973, the Republic of Türkiye erected the Zeve Martyrs’ Memorial to commemorate those who died in this tragedy. The primary objective was to pay homage to the lives lost and

foster awareness of this historical event among both Türkiye citizens and the global community. This memorial serves as a tangible representation of the shared historical narrative that depends on collective memory, connecting past traumas to the present, and serves as a locus for reflection on the complexities surrounding the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial.

As the civil unrest in Anatolia intensified during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, significant developments unfolded in Van (Mercan, 2016; Uras, 1976). Among these developments was the Armenian mobilization to gain control of Van City. The Muslim community, who heard about the arrival of the Russians, who supported the Armenians, in Van sought to migrate to other regions. However, in May 1915, groups of people from surrounding villages, including Zeve region, found themselves unable to migrate due to reports of massacres along their route. Consequently, they congregated in the Zeve region, where many Ottoman Muslims tragically lost their lives. (Çelik, 2016; Sargın, 1990; Süslü, 1990; 2012). Substantiating the accounts of these tragic losses, archaeological excavations commenced in 1990, revealing mass graves and various artifacts such as bullets and cutting tools in the Zeve region.¹ Some of these artifacts were displayed in the city museum for a period (Van YYÜ Rectorate, 1990). This concrete evidence further underscores the historical significance of the Zeve region and the profound impact of the events of 1915.

The Zeve Martyrs' Memorial, officially recognized as a historical site by the Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 1986 (Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2022), was inaugurated on October 29, 1973, in the region identified as Zeve and situated approximately 18 km from the center of Van. Covering a vast expanse of 144,600 m² on the Karasu Delta shore, this historical site hosts the site of the martyrdom. The dedicated area for memorial construction occupied approximately 5,000m² (Aşur et al., 2023; Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 2022). Positioned atop a high hill relative to the surrounding topography, the memorial's entrance is marked by a broad road leading directly to the memorial, which is flanked by trees and Turkish flags, forming a square-like configuration. The memorial is a crescent moon-shaped wall featuring inscriptions of the names of individuals who lost their lives during wartime. Standing atop a pedestal of heights of 1m, 1.50m, and 1.70m, the octagonal marble-covered memorial consists of three-level structure. With a total height of 19.15m, symbolizing the year 1915, the memorial is constructed from aluminum composite (Aşur et al., 2023) (see Figure 1).



Figure 1.
The Zeve Martyrs' Memorial: A Visual Representation
Source: These images were taken by the first author

¹ There are several narrative-level explanations that are not based on strong evidence for why the fleeing Muslims gathered at Zeve. One assumption is that Zeve has spiritual significance, as it is rumored to be the entombed saint of Sultan Haji Hamza, allegedly a son or grandson of Sadi Shirazi of Shiraz, Iran (Van'ı Tanıma ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti, 1963). Another assumption is that the historically friendly relations between the Armenians of the region and the Muslims of Zeve led the fleeing Muslims to believe that the Armenians of Zeve would protect them from mortal danger (Çelik, 2016).

The Zeve Martyrs' Memorial serves as a poignant reminder of the profound consequences of war and conflict, encompassing severe destruction, tragedy, and traumatic experiences. Consequently, this study aims to comprehensively examine the content and structure of social representations surrounding the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial. Erected as a symbolic commemoration of those who tragically perished in the Zeve region of Van in 1915, the memorial serves as a tangible expression of remembrance and contemplation of the enduring impact of historical events.

Method

Participants

A total of 481 university students voluntarily participated in the study through convenience sampling at Van Yüzüncü Yıl University. The participants consisted of 341 females and 140 males, with a mean age of 23.14 ($SD = 5.08$).

Materials

Sociodemographic Information Form

This form, developed by the researchers, comprises open, closed, and Likert-type (1-7) questions. This study aims to gather information on participants' age, gender, income status, duration of residence in the city, primary settlement unit (such as city, village) during the longest residency, and participants' levels of political and religious orientation.

Perception and Experience Information Form on the Zeve Martyrs Memorial

Developed by the researchers, this form consists of Likert-type (1-7) and closed-ended questions to explore participants' perceptions and experiences regarding the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial. The questions encompass aspects such as the experience of visiting the memorial, perception of difficulty in accessing the memorial, ability to describe the memorial's location to an unfamiliar person, encounters with narratives about the memorial, and sources of information contributing to these narratives.

Word Association Test

To explore the content and structure of representations related to the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial, participants were instructed to spontaneously write down the first four words that came to mind when prompted with "the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial." Subsequently, they ranked these words based on free association, providing hierarchical association data (Dany et al., 2015; Lo Monaco et al., 2017). Additionally, participants were asked to articulate the emotions or feelings they evoked when mentioning "the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial."

Procedure

Ethics committee approval was obtained from Van Yüzüncü Yıl University (16/03/2023, No: 14826). Data collection occurred through online platforms, given Türkiye's transition to online education following the 2023 Maraş Earthquake (Kahramanmaraş earthquake of 2023, 2024). The link to participate in the study was sent by the researchers to online student groups via email and messaging applications. The participation link contained a short explanatory text about the research. When those who agreed to participate clicked on the link, they were presented with a consent form with more detailed explanations. Volunteer participants then completed the Word Association Test, the Perception and Experience of the Zeve Martyrs Memorial Information Form, and the Socio-Demographic Information Form. On average, it took about 15 minutes to administer the questionnaire to each participant.

Analysis

The data retrieved from the Socio-Demographic Information Form and the Perception and Experience Information Forms on the Memorial underwent analysis using the SPSS 22 package program. Concurrently, the word association test data were subjected to prototype analysis and similarity analysis using the IRAMUTEQ program.

The data set was carefully scrutinized prior to the prototype and similarity analyses. Participant responses such as "I don't know," "have no idea," and "first heard" (40 responses) were eliminated. In addition, responses unrelated to the memorial (10 responses) and instances of multiple responses from the same participant (12 responses) were carefully eliminated,

resulting in 62 responses. Spelling and grammatical errors were then corrected, and words with identical meanings in the plural or singular (e.g., Armenian/Armenians) were merged. In addition, closely related or synonymous words were translated into common usage (e.g., martyrdom/cemetery).

The pre-analysis process was primarily led by the first author. In order to ensure researcher triangulation (Çoksan & Üzümçeker, 2023), the second author also participated. Both authors independently read and took notes on the participants' responses several times to thoroughly understand the data. They then met to establish consistent guidelines for data treatment, such as identifying and handling synonyms or near-synonyms. Uncertainties about specific words were resolved in several routine meetings between the authors. The refined words were transcribed in the Open Office program in order of association, after which prototype analysis and similarity analysis were performed using the IRAMUTEQ program.

Results

The participant demographic profile revealed that a predominant percentage, 70.5%, comprised females, with 53% being students in the Faculty of Letters and 38.1% being first-year students. Notably, a substantial proportion (73.6%) fell into the low-income bracket. Analyzing the duration of participants' residency in Van as a continuous variable, the average duration was calculated as 12.21 years ($SD = 10.94$), with the majority having resided primarily in the city center (53.8%). In terms of political orientation, participants exhibited an inclination close to the average value ($Mean = 3.73$, $Standard Deviation = 1.65$), while religious orientation showed a relatively high level of religiosity ($M = 5.24$, $SD = 1.63$).

Perceptions and Experiences of the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial

Upon examining participants' experiences with the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial, it is evident that most (72.9%) have never visited the site and only 16% have visited it once. Notably, 39% of the participants indicated a lack of knowledge about the transportation route to the memorial, and 69.4% reported an inability to describe the memorial's location to those unfamiliar with it.

Narratives and Short Stories about the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial

Upon analyzing participants' exposure to narratives or stories about the memorial, it is evident that 49.5% had never encountered such narratives, with an additional 18.6% unable to recall whether they had encountered such narratives. Predominantly, narratives about the memorial are available through internet/social media channels (22.1%) and from lectures/teachers (18.4%).

Family Connections to Conflicts with Armenians in Van (1896–1916)

An examination of participants' familial ties to conflicts with Armenians in Van between 1896 and 1916 reveals that only 6.4% had relatives who suffered during this period. In contrast, 56.7% did not have such relatives, and 36.8% lacked information on the matter.

Daily Experiences at the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial

Responses regarding the extent to which the memorial was integrated into participants' daily experiences were subjected to frequency analysis. The findings indicate participants' relative willingness to guide first-time visitors to the memorial ($M = 4.81$, $SD = 1.81$). However, participants exhibited a low level of knowledge about the memorial ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 1.58$), expressed a lack of confidence in explaining the memorial to someone unfamiliar ($M = 2.65$, $SD = 1.53$), reported infrequent discussions about the memorial in daily communication ($M = 1.93$, $SD = 1.34$), and encountered information about the memorial at a limited level ($M = 1.94$, $SD = 1.30$) (Table 1).

Table 1.
Percentage and Mean Values of Participants' Encounters with the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial in Daily Life

	Not at all							Very	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	M	SD
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)		
Would you like to take your guests who are coming to Van for the first time to the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial?	6.1	5.0	10.7	24.1	15.7	11.2	27.3	4.81	1.81
How much do you think you know about the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial?	29.3	16.0	19.2	20.4	9.6	3.9	1.7	2.83	1.58
How competent would you feel if you were to explain the Zeve Martyrs Memorial to someone who did not know about it?	32.0	19.3	19.0	16.2	9.6	2.8	1.1	2.65	1.53
How often do you talk about the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial in your daily conversations?	55.2	19.3	12.0	7.7	3.1	1.1	1.5	1.93	1.34
How often do you encounter information about the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial in your daily life?	51.0	25.8	9.9	8.1	2.9	.7	1.5	1.94	1.30

M = Mean; SS = Standard deviation

The descriptive findings derived from the participants' perceptions and experiences regarding the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial indicate the limited significance of the memorial within their spatial and narrative life contexts. Notably, participants demonstrated a general absence of encounters with information and narratives about the memorial in their daily lives. This lack of engagement is mirrored in the weak recognition and low usage practices associated with the memorial. Consequently, a substantial majority of participants have not visited the memorial, lack knowledge about transportation routes, struggle to describe the memorial's location to the uninformed, possess insufficient knowledge about the memorial, and feel inadequately competent when discussing the memorial with those unfamiliar.

Word Association Test Results

An analysis of word frequencies from the word association test revealed Armenia ($f = 134$), massacre ($f = 133$), and martyrs ($f = 125$) as the most frequently mentioned words (Table 2). These prominent words emphasize the notions of "perpetrator," "action," and "victims" within memorial representations.

Table 2.
Frequency Analysis of Participants' Descriptions of the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial

Word	Frequency	Word	Frequency	Word	Frequency
Armenians	134	flag	36	village	13
massacre	133	pain	34	past	13
martyrs	125	sadness	33	memorial	12
homeland	87	genocide	25	school	12
war	70	nation	22	pride	12
Van	70	campus	19	honor	12
Muslim	62	persecution	18	desperation	11
death	62	struggle	17	sacrifice	11
soldier	61	blood	16	heroism	11
cemetery	49	child	16	human	10
martyrdom	39	country's land	13	massacred Muslims	10

* Words expressed less than 10 times are not included in the table.

Prototype Analysis Results

Prototype analysis serves as a valuable method for evaluating words associated with the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial based on their frequency and order of importance. This analytical approach results in a 2x2 matrix, encompassing four distinct sections: (1) central core representations consist of words that are not only expressed with high frequency and are also accorded high importance. These words represent the central and foundational elements in the discourse. (2) First-periphery representations are words with high frequency but assigned relatively lower importance. These words hold secondary significance in the overall discourse. (3) Second periphery representations include words that are expressed with low frequency and are also considered of low importance. These words form a less emphasized aspect of the discourse. (4) Contrasted elements incorporate words expressed with low frequency but accorded high importance. These words, termed contrasted elements, typically serve to provide counterpoints or distinctive features within the discourse (Demir, 2022). It is noteworthy that the central core and contrasted elements often complement each other, contributing to a nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the representations associated with the memorial.

Within the prototype analysis, the frequency criterion was set at 5. The outcomes of this analysis reveal the presence of 8 words categorized as central core representations. These words, ranked by their frequency of expression, include Massacre ($f = 133$), Martyrs ($f = 125$), Homeland ($f = 87$), Muslim ($f = 62$), Death ($f = 62$), Martyrship (shahada) ($f = 39$), Flag ($f = 36$), and Genocide ($f = 25$). Notably, the central core representations of the memorial encompass elements such as symbols signifying the threat of extinction (massacre, death, genocide), national symbols (homeland, flag), and religious symbols (martyrs, Muslim, martyrdom). In contrasted elements, diverse facets emerge, encompassing notions of struggle, children, women, helplessness, humanity, massacred Muslims, Turkish identity, religious affiliation, family, heavenly aspects, freedom, Armenian rebellion, Ottoman history, prayer, statehood, independence, and salvation. These contrasted elements offer a multifaceted perspective, enriching the discourse surrounding the memorial.

The central core representations associated with the memorial encapsulate elements expressing the peril of erasure (massacre, genocide, death), alongside national (homeland, flag) and religious components (martyrs, Muslim, martyrship).

These interconnected representations form a nuanced narrative that reflects the multifaceted aspects of the memorial. In parallel, the contrasted elements interwoven with these representations delve into subjects related to the threat of extinction (children, women, massacred Muslims, Turks), national elements (struggle, state, independence, salvation), and religious aspects (religion -Islam-, heaven, prayer). Both representational groups primarily focused on the ingroup itself, depicting the threat of erasure, national identity, and religious symbols. The incorporation of national elements and religious symbols serves as a signaling mechanism for survival, unity and the fortification of group identity in response to the imminent threat of extinction.

The first periphery articulated by participants encompasses Armenians ($f = 134$), war ($f = 70$), Van ($f = 70$), soldiers ($f = 61$), cemetery ($f = 49$), pain ($f = 34$), and sadness ($f = 33$). The second periphery includes nation, campus, persecution, blood, soil, village, past, memorial, school, pride, sacrifice, heroism, Zeve region, 1915, tears, police, Armenian gangs, people, torture, injustice, Türkiye, fear, mass graves, and veterans. In the first periphery, the focal point revolves around the perpetrators of the massacre (Armenians), accompanied by military terms (war, soldiers), the city (Van), and the aftermath of the losses (cemetery, pain, sadness). On the contrary, the second periphery spans a spectrum from depictions of tragic past events (such as 1915, Armenian gangs, torture) to representations of the memorial evoked through contemporary developments (such as campus, school, Zeve region) (Table 3).

Table 3.
Results of Prototype Analysis of Participants' Representations of the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial

	Importance < 2.37		Importance > 2.37	
	Central core		First periphery	
Frequency > 24.82	Massacre (133*-2.1**)		Armenians (134-3.1)	
	Martyrs (125-2)		War (70-2.5)	
	Homeland (87-1.6)		Van (70-2.6)	
	Muslim (62-1.6)		Soldier (61-2.5)	
	Death (62-2.3)		Cemetery (49-3)	
	Martyrdom (39-2.2)		Pain (34-2.6)	
	Flag (36-2.2)		Sadness (33-2.4)	
	Genocide (25-2.2)			
	Contrasted elements		Second periphery	
Frequency < 24.82	Struggle (17-2.2)	Family (6-2)	Nation (22-2.8)	Zeve region (9-2.9)
	Child (16-2.2)	Paradise (6-1.7)	Campus (19-2.6)	1915 (8-2.8)
	Woman (12-2.1)	Freedom (6-2)	Cruelty (18-2.4)	Tear (7-2.9)
	Despair (11-2.2)	Armenian rebellion	Blood (16-3.1)	Police (7-2.9)
	Human (10-1.3)	(5-2)	Country land (13-2.5)	Armenian gangs (7-2.6)
	massacred Muslims	Ottoman (5-2)	Village (13-3.4)	People (6-3)
	(10-1.4)	Prayer (5-1.4)	Past (13-3)	Torture (6-2.5)
	Turk (9-1.7)	State (5-2)	Memorial (12-3)	Injustice (5.4)
	Muslims (8-2)	Independence (5-	School (12-3.3)	Türkiye (5-2.4)
	Religion (7-1.1)	2.2)	Honor (12-2.6)	Fear (5-2.6)
		Salvation (5-2.2)	Sacrifice (11-2.7)	Mass graves (5-2.8)
		Heroism (11-2.4)	Veterans (5-2.8)	

*Frequency; **Degree on importance (1-4)

The examination of the first and second peripheries reveals a higher degree of heterogeneity and greater susceptibility to current developments than central core representations and contrasted elements. Notably, contemporary influences manifest in various ways. For instance, the official nomenclature designating the campus of Van Yüzüncü Yıl University as “Zeve Campus,” the acknowledgment of kindergarten, primary, and secondary schools on the campus as “Zeve (kindergarten–primary–secondary) school” and the identification of the area adjacent to the university campus as the Zeve region all constitute representations associated with the memorial within the context of current developments. These representations do not directly trace to the tragic events of 1915.

In exploring the emotions and feelings evoked by participants upon hearing the term “the Zeve Martyrs’ Memorial” the most frequently expressed emotions were sorrow ($f = 150$), sadness ($f = 89$), and pain ($f = 63$). These findings underscore that memorials are predominantly linked to emotions experienced during a profound sense of loss.

Similarity Analysis Results

This study employed similarity analysis to examine the connexity among representations associated with the memorial and to elucidate the frequency with which these elements co-occur. This is a quantitative connexity. The analysis delineated the relational networks of words existing within the central core and peripheral representations, both in isolation and in conjunction with each other, as previously discussed by scholars (Lo Monaco et al., 2017; Maia et al., 2017). Notably, the visual representations in figures feature colored shapes and rings whose sizes correspond to the frequency of word expressions. Larger circles encapsulate words with relatively higher frequencies. Furthermore, the thickness of the lines connecting these words signifies the strength of their co-occurrence. Thicker lines denote a more pronounced degree of co-occurrence between the terms. This analytical approach affords valuable insights into the dynamics of relationships among central core representations, shedding light on both the interplay among these central concepts and the associations between peripheral representations and their core counterparts (Kaşdarma, 2020).

Figure 2 shows that representations of the memorial are organized into three distinct groups that are interconnected thematically. Within the cluster denoted as “MARTYRS,” the representation of “martyrs” prominently emerges, establishing connections with the terms “homeland,” “soldier,” “cemetery,” and “memorial” in a sequential fashion (see the light pink ring at the bottom left). Turning attention to the other clusters, the cluster designated as “ARMENIANS” notably features the representation of “Armenians,” which is interlinked with the terms “Van,” “Muslim,” and “martyrship” (“şehadet” in Turkish) (see the light green ring in the middle). In the light purple circle in the upper right, identified as “MASSACRE,” the representation of “massacre” takes the center stage, accompanied by associated representations such as “war,” “pain,” “sadness” and “genocide.” This delineation provides a comprehensive understanding of the thematic groupings and associations present in the visual representation, offering valuable insights into the intricate interplay of concepts related to the memorial.

Upon comprehensive evaluation of these representations, it becomes apparent that the salient features within the first and third circles occupy positions within the core representations. Conversely, the predominant representation within the second circle is located among peripheral representations. This observation underscores the integration of related elements with those found in both central core and peripheral representations.

Additionally, strong associations are discerned between “Armenians” and “massacre” ($f = 66$), as well as “Armenians” and “martyrdom” ($f = 30$). This noteworthy finding indicates that the memorial is conceptualized with a pronounced emphasis on Armenians, particularly with the outcomes of massacres and martyrdom.

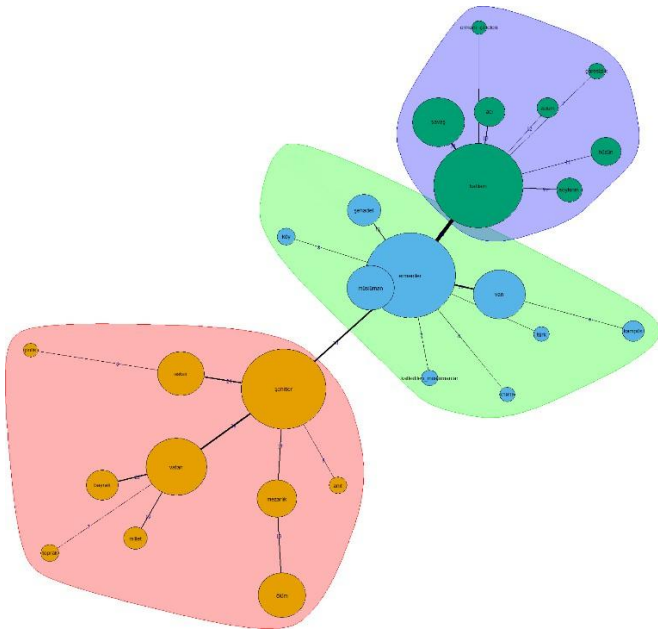


Figure 2.
Results of Similarity Analysis of Participants' Representations of the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial²

Discussion

This research examines the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial as cultural heritage, scrutinizing the content and structure of social representations surrounding the memorial. The analysis reveals that the representations of the memorial: a) underscore the theme of survival through the utilization of national and religious symbols, b) emphasize negative experiences associated with the tragedy, and c) exhibit a greater focus on intragroup processes than intergroup dynamics. This multifaceted exploration contributes to a nuanced understanding of the cultural significance and social perceptions surrounding the memorial.

The shared meanings embedded in the context of the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial elucidate the construction of the survival narrative of a community facing the threat of regional extinction, achieved through the use of national and religious symbols. This constructive process finds material manifestation in the Zeve memorial. Memorials, as tangible artifacts, play a pivotal role in shaping a comprehensive collective memory, bridging the fragmented and hollow spaces of the past within individual memories (Xu & Jin, 2022). Collective memory refers to shared representations of the past held by members and institutions of a group, constituting a central facet of a group's identity (Halbwachs, 1980; Hirst & Manier, 2008; Kansteiner, 2002). These representations contribute to the construction of a collective social reality, enabling the group to craft a selective, meaningful, adapted, and comprehensive narrative of its history (Bar-Tal, 2007; 2014). It may be a bold claim to assert that the memorial uniquely constructs such a narrative. The outcomes of our study, however, reveal a notable absence of memorial in the participants' life experiences and memories, both spatially and narratively. Nevertheless, the transformation of the tragedy, historically transmitted orally within a confined community until the 1970s, into an experience that transcends the boundaries of this community is noteworthy. This transformation is significant, as memorials serve as spaces capable of fostering awareness (Storeide, 2022; Wasserman, 1998). Hence, memorials can enhance the human experience by emphasizing outcomes such as individual rehabilitation and the appreciation of fostering peaceful relationships (Selimovic, 2013). However, the representations within the narrative of the memorial do not include elements that raise awareness regarding the social and political conditions precipitating the tragedy, exemplified by sentiments such as "war is detrimental"

² The words in the light pink ring at the bottom left: martyrs, soldier, homeland, cemetery, memorial, police, flag, nation, land, and death. The words in the light green ring in the middle: Armenians, Van, Muslim, martyrship, village, massacred Muslims, 1915, Turks, and campus. The words in the light purple circle in the upper right: massacre, war, pain, sadness, genocide, persecution, despair, and Armenian gangs.

or calls for peaceful coexistence like “let’s live together,” and an emphasis on well-being. One plausible explanation for this lacuna is the confined nature of the memorial within the predominantly oral culture. Furthermore, the extensive temporal gap between the occurrence of the tragic events in the Zeve region in 1915 and the establishment of the memorial in 1973 may have contributed to the omission of contemporary socio-political reflections. Additionally, various impediments hinder the recognition and utilization of the memorial. These obstacles encompass the memorial’s geographical distance from the central hub of Van, its exclusion from commemorative programs, the absence of visual and spatial designs in the memorial area, and ineffective promotional efforts. Collectively, these factors impede the memorial’s recognition and utilization within the broader social and cultural context.

Symbols representing the threat of extinction (massacre, death, genocide), national symbols (homeland, flag), and religious symbols (martyrs, Muslim, martyrship) coalesce within central core representations to form a comprehensive unity. Beyond signifying group affiliation, national symbols serve as elements capable of evoking individual emotions toward the nation (Billig, 1995). These emotions, in turn, function as a mechanism for fostering a sense of unity in response to perceived threats, as the construction of social cohesion involves collective efforts to mitigate the adverse impacts of such threats (Bar-Tal, 2007). Indeed, psychological attachment to national symbols tends to intensify when confronted with threats (Greenberg et al., 1997). In addition, religious symbols denote affiliation with a particular faith, endowing individuals with a sacred worldview and a sense of group membership that extends into the afterlife (Ysseldyk et al., 2010). This understanding of enduring group membership contributes to a heightened sense of security (Kinnvall, 2004). Consequently, national and religious symbols serve as protective buffers against existential threats, shielding individuals from profound adversities such as helplessness and powerlessness triggered by the perception of threat.

The Zeve Martyrs’ Memorial elicits negative emotions from our participants, such as sorrow, sadness, and pain. These emotional responses typically manifest when individuals experience the loss of something significant, encounter adverse life events, fail to achieve specific goals, or perceive a sense of defeat (Ekman, 1992, 2007; Rivers, 2005). The elicited emotions regarding the memorial appear to align with the understanding that memorials, particularly those commemorating martyrdom, serve as collective mourning sites that facilitate profound contemplation and emotional engagement (Beckstead et al., 2011; Wasserman, 1998). Conversely, emotions like sadness, sorrow, and pain engender unpleasant experiences and are consequently associated with a desire to alter the current situation (Cryder et al., 2008; Lerner et al., 2013). It is of paramount importance for decision-makers and the public to contextualize these emotions triggered by martyrdom in a manner that encourages positive behaviors. Failure to do so may foster discordant intra- and inter-group relations and contribute to the development of prejudiced and discriminatory attitudes and behaviors among various groups.

The central core representations of the Zeve Martyrs’ Memorial exhibit a pronounced focus on intragroup processes, eclipsing attention to intergroup dynamics. This emphasis is unsurprising, as heightened perceptions of the threat of obliteration often prompt a more rational allocation of ingroup resources by prioritizing one group over others. Similarly, the analysis revealed a relative absence of representations concerning intergroup relations within peripheral representations. However, the most prominent element in the first periphery is Armenians. This finding shows that the perpetrator occupies a prominent place in the collective memories associated with the memorial. Intriguingly, this representation is accentuated not within the central core representations but within peripheral representations. One plausible explanation for this discrepancy could be the sensitive nature of the socio-political issue known as the “Armenian Question” in the context of Türkiye, which is often deemed a taboo subject. Armenians are frequently associated with stereotypes that fuel prejudice (Karasu & Göregenli, 2016; Kentel & Poghosyan, 2005; Özdoğan & Kılıçdağı, 2012). Lastly, the outcomes of our study appear incongruent with the anticipated function of martyrdom-type memorials, which typically remind the other group of “uncompleted tasks” (Mosse, 1990). This incongruity may be linked to the anchoring of memorial representations, primarily within ingroup processes.

This study employed convenience sampling to access participants and introduces the inherent limitations of this sampling method. Notably, most participants were female and low-income university students. Participants with lower incomes may prioritize immediate life needs over the abstract topic on the edge of history. While we did not measure attitudes toward gender roles, it is plausible that those who are more accepting of traditional gender roles showed less interest in utilizing public spaces. These factors may have contributed to the low familiarity of the Zeve Martyrs’ Memorial. Further research is required to explore this phenomenon in greater depth. In future studies of a similar nature, mitigating sampling-related

limitations could be achieved by utilizing a quota sampling technique. This approach ensures a more representative and diverse participant pool. Furthermore, data collection for this study occurred during a period marked by the unavailability of face-to-face education, which resulted from significant earthquakes in Türkiye. Evaluating study results using data collected through face-to-face interactions may offer a more comprehensive perspective. A related limitation pertains to the study's focus on investigating representations using the specific term "the Zeve Martyrs' Memorial" in the context of social representation analysis. The term "martyrs' memorial" carries profound connotations, potentially invoking associations with war, death, and religion, even among individuals unfamiliar with the memorial. In future research endeavors, it may be useful to explore this subject using relatively more neutral language or alternative approaches to minimize potential biases inherent in the terminology.

Conclusion

Historical events that give rise to negative experiences hold significance, provided valuable lessons are learned and precautionary measures are implemented to prevent their recurrence. In this regard, the integration of memorials into the daily experiences of both public and official institutions is crucial, taking into consideration the aforementioned functions. For instance, in the promotion of martyrdom and commemoration ceremonies, a comprehensive approach should extend beyond merely commemorating those who have lost their lives and emphasizing these painful events. Instead, it should strive to present an alternative understanding of history, placing less emphasis on assigning blame and instead fostering awareness, respect, and peaceful co-existence. However, this approach must not undermine the gravity of such tragic events and their profound impact.

Concurrently, to enhance the cultural heritage value of the memorial, recommendations include incorporating the tragic events of the Zeve region into social and cultural activities enriched with visual and auditory stimuli. Additionally, placing various miniatures at prominent locations within the city to serve as reminders of the memorial, integrating memorial visits into appropriate official ceremonies, and implementing measures to facilitate access to the memorial site (such as providing transportation and installing informative signs along the route) are suggested. Collectively, these measures contribute to the broad recognition and preservation of the memorial's cultural significance. Additionally, it is recommended that the memorial undergo reconsideration with the integration of design elements that foster nuanced and meaningful communication between visitors and the commemorated individuals. In this context, enhancing the overall visitor experience can be achieved by incorporating introductory panels that provide ample historical and spatial information about the memorial. Moreover, deliberate attention to incorporating engravings, manipulating natural light and shadows, utilizing reflective water surfaces, mirror-coated materials, and leveraging contemporary technological advancements to engage visitors' senses and symbolic realms has been suggested (Aşur et al., 2023; Watkins et al., 2010). Such enhancements can significantly contribute to the efficacy of the memorial as a medium for communication and collective memory.

Etik Komite Onayı: Bu çalışma için etik komite onayı Van Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi'nden (16/03/2023, No: 14826) alınmıştır.

Katılımcı Onamı: Çalışmaya katılan tüm katılımcılardan yazılı onam alınmıştır.

Yazar Katkıları: Fikir-M.K., U.B.; Tasarım- M.K., U.B.; Denetleme- M.K., U.B.; Kaynaklar- M.K., U.B.; Veri Toplanması ve/veya İşlemesi- M.K., U.B.; Analiz ve/veya Yorum- M.K., Literatür Taraması- M.K., U.B.; Yazıyı Yazan- M.K.; Eleştirel İnceleme- U.B.

Hakem Değerlendirmesi: Dış bağımsız.

Çıkar Çatışması: Yazarlar, çıkar çatışması olmadığını beyan etmiştir.

Finansal Destek: Yazarlar, bu çalışmanın Van Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Bilimsel Araştırma Projeleri Koordinasyon Birimi tarafından finanse edilen, "Hatırlama ve Unutmanın Kesişiminde Bir Anıt: Zeve Şehitliği" (Proje No: SYD-2023-1 0607) başlıklı araştırma projesinin bir parçası olarak gerçekleştirildiğini beyan etmişlerdir.

Ethics Committee Approval: Ethics committee approval Van Yüzüncü Yıl University (16/03/2023, No: 14826) was obtained for this study.

Participant Consent: Written informed consent was obtained from all participants who participated in the study.

Author Contributions: Concept - M.K., U.B.; Design- M.K., U.B.; Supervision- M.K., U.B.; Resources- M.K., U.B.; Data Collection and/or Processing- M.K., U.B.; Analysis and/or Interpretation- M.K.; Literature Search- M.K., U.B.; Writing Manuscript- M.K.; Critical Review- U.B.

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.

Conflict of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Financial Support: The authors declared that this study was carried out as part of a research project funded by Van Yüzüncü Yıl University Scientific Research Projects Department, titled "A Memorial on the Border of Remembering and Forgetting: The Zeve Martyrs' Memorial" (Project No: SYD-2023-1 0607).

References

- Aşur, F., Aydın, Ü., & Alp, Ş. (2023). Investigation and development of landscape design proposal for Van Zeve Martyrdom area as a cultural heritage. In K. Günçe, & D. Mısırlısoy (Eds.), *Architectural sciences and cultural heritage—traces of the history* (pp. 106–138). Iksad Publications.
- Bar-Tal, D. (2007). Sociopsychological foundations of intractable conflicts. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 50(11), 1430–1453. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764207302462>
- Bar-Tal, D. (2014). Collective Memory as social representations. *Papers on Social Representations*, 23(1), 5.1–5.26.
- Beckstead, Z., Twose, G., Levesque-Gottlieb, E., & Rizzo, J. (2011). Collective remembering through the materiality and organization of war memorials. *Journal of Material Culture*, 16(2), 193–213. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183511401494>
- Billig, M. (1995). *Banal nationalism*. Sage Publications.
- Cryder, C. E., Lerner, J. S., Gross, J. J., & Dahl, R. E. (2008). Misery is not miserly: Sad and self-focused individuals spend more. *Psychological Science*, 19(6), 525–530. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9280.2008.02118.x>
- Çelik, H. (2016). Acı bir tarihin canlı şahitleri: Mezalimi görenler anlatıyor [Living Witnesses of a Painful History: Eyewitness Accounts of the Massacre]. In *görenlerin gözü ile Van'da Ermeni mezâlimi* (6. ed.) [Eyewitness Accounts: Armenian Atrocities in Van, 6th ed.] (pp. 47–161). Cedit Neşriyat.
- Çoksan, S., & Üzümçeker, E. (2023). Nitel verinin elde edilme sürecinde temel nitelikler [Basic Qualities in the Process of Obtaining Qualitative Data]. In H. Peker-Dural, & M. Karasu (Eds.), *Nitel araştırma yöntemleri: psikoloji uygulama örnekleriyle* [Qualitative Research Methods with Application Examples in Psychology] (pp. 54–86). Nobel.
- Dany, L., Urdapilleta, I., & Lo Monaco, G. (2015). Free associations and social representations: some reflections on rank-frequency and importance-frequency methods. *Quality & Quantity: International Journal of Methodology*, 49(2), 489–507. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11135-014-0005-z>
- Duncan, C. R. (2009). Monuments and Martyrdom: Memorializing the dead in post-conflict North Maluku. *Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia*, 165(4), 429–458. <https://doi.org/10.1163/22134379-90003628>
- Ekman, P. (1992). Are there basic emotions? *Psychological Review*, 99(3), 550–553. <https://doi.org/10.1037//0033-295X.99.3.550>
- Ekman, P. (2007). *Emotions revealed: Recognizing faces and feelings to improve communication and emotional life* (2nd ed.). Macmillan.
- Greenberg, J., Solomon, S., & Pyszczynski, T. (1997). Terror management theory of self-esteem and cultural worldviews: Empirical assessments and conceptual refinements. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology* (Vol 29) (pp. 61–139). Academic Press. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601\(08\)60016-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0065-2601(08)60016-7)
- Halbwachs, M. (1980). *The collective memory* (F. J. Diddler Jr, & V. Y. Ditter, Trans.). Harper & Row.
- Hirst, W., & Manier, D. (2008). Towards a psychology of collective memory. *Memory*, 16(3), 183–200.
- Kahramanmaraş earthquake of 2023 (2024, January 28). In *Britannica*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/event/2023-Turkey-Syria-earthquake>
- Kansteiner, W. (2002). Finding meaning in memory: A methodological critique of collective memory studies. *History and Theory*, 41(2), 179–197. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0018-2656.00198>
- Karasu, M., & Göregenli, M. (2017). *Disclosure of subjectivity in Armenian issue: A Q methodology study*. In D. Kökdemir, & Z. Yeniçeri (Eds.), 1st Social Psychology Congress Proceedings (pp. 355–366). Başkent University.
- Kaşdarma, E. (2020). “*Namıslu Kadın*” ile “*Namıslu Erkek*” Temsillerinin Kalıpyargı İçeriği Modeline Entegre Edilmesi ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kalıpyargılarının Sistemi Meşrulaştırıcı İşlevinin İncelenmesi [The Integration of “Honorable Woman” and “Honorable Man” Representations into the Stereotype Content Model and Examination of the System-Justifying Function of the Gender Stereotypes]. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Bursa Uludağ University.

- Kentel, F., & Poghosyan, G. (2005). *Ermenistan ve Türkiye vatandaşları karşılıklı algılama ve diyalog projesi* [Mutual Perception and Dialogue Project Between Citizens of Armenia and Türkiye]. TESEV Publishing.
- King, A. (1998). Sacred Union. In *Memorials of The Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (pp. 216–245). Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Kinnvall, C. (2004). Globalization and religious nationalism: Self, identity, and the search for ontological security. *Political Psychology, 25*(5), 741–767. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9221.2004.00396.x>
- Lerner, J. S., Li, Y., & Weber, E. U. (2013). The Financial Costs of Sadness. *Psychological Science, 24*(1), 72–79.
- Lo Monaco, G., Piermattéo, A., Rateau, P., & Tavani, J. L. (2017). Methods for studying the Structure of Social Representations: A critical review and agenda for future research. *The Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 47*(3), 306–331. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jtsb.12124>
- Maia, V. L. L. B., Lago, E. C., Ramos, C. V., Fernandes, M. A., Alves, E. L. M., Batista, P. M. S., ... & Cronemberger, G. L. (2017). Similarity analysis about the training of family health strategy professionals for the psychosocial care of the elderly. *International Archives of Medicine, 10*, 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.3823/2501>
- Marschall, S. (2008). Pointing to the dead: Victims, martyrs and public memory in South Africa. *South African Historical Journal, 60*(1), 103–123. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02582470802287745>
- Mercan, S. (2016). *Arşiv belgelerinde Van Ermeni isyanları* [Armenian Rebellions in Van According to Archival Documents]. Gece Kitaplığı.
- Moscovici, S. (1963). Attitudes and Opinions. *Annual Review of Psychology, 14*, 231–260. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.ps.14.020163.001311>
- Moscovici, S. (1973). Foreword. In C. Herzlich (Ed.), *Health and Illness: A Social Psychological Analysis* (pp. ix-xiv). Academic Press.
- Moscovici, S. (1981). On social representation. In J. P. Forgas (Ed.), *Social Cognition: Perspectives on Everyday Understanding* (pp. 181–209). Academic Press.
- Moscovici, S. (1984). The phenomenon of social representations. In R. M. Farr, & S. Moscovici (Ed.), *Social Representations* (pp. 3–69). Cambridge University Press.
- Moscovici, S. (1988). Notes towards a description of social representations. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 18*, 211–250. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.2420180303>
- Moscovici, S. (2000). The phenomenon of social representations. In G. Duveen (Ed.), *Social Representations: Explorations in Social Psychology* (pp. 18–77). Polity Press.
- Mosse, G. L. (1990). *Fallen soldiers: Reshaping the memory of the World Wars*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780195071399.001.0001>
- Okray, Z., & Şimşek, A. H. (2018). Anıtların göstergebilimsel analizi: KKTC öncesi ve sonrası [Semiotic Analysis of Monuments: Before and After TRNC]. *Kıbrıs Araştırmaları ve İncelemeleri Dergisi, 2*(3), 7–20.
- Özdoğan, G. G., & Kılıçdağı, O. (2012). *Türkiye Ermenilerini duymak: Sorunlar, talepler ve çözüm önerileri* [Hearing Armenians of Türkiye: Problems, Demands and Policy Suggestions]. TESEV Publishing.
- Özkan Demir, K. (2022). *Kadın Üniversite öğrencilerinin değer yönelimleri ve sosyal temsillerinin değişim olasılıkları: Barış ve savaş üzerine odak grup tartışmalarına katılımın etkisi* [Possibilities of Change in Value Orientations and Social Representations of Women University Students: The Effect of Participation in Focus Group Discussions on Peace and War]. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Bursa Uludağ University.
- Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Culture and Tourism. (2022). *Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Van Kültür Varlıklarını Koruma Bölge Kurulu Kararı* [Ministry of Culture and Tourism Van Cultural Heritage Conservation Regional Board Decision]. Van, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı. <https://korumakurullari.ktb.gov.tr/Eklenti/96922,12-van-ili-tusba-ilcesi-zeve-sehitligi-tescil-guncellem-.pdf?0>

- Rivers, S. E. (2005). *Discrete emotions in emotion regulation: The case of anger and sadness* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Yale University.
- Sargin, İ. (1990). Zeve katliamından kurtuluşum [My Survival from the Zeve Massacre]. In *Proceedings of Van International Symposium in Our Recent History* (pp. 39–41). Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü Yayınları Nu: 6.
- Selimovic, J. M. (2013). Making peace, making memory: Peacebuilding and politics of remembrance at memorials of mass atrocities. *Peacebuilding*, 1(3), 334–348. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2013.813175>
- Storeide, A. H. (2022). “It no longer is the same place”: Exploring realities in the memorial falstad centre with the “Falstad Digital Reconstruction and V/AR Guide.” In D. I. Popescu (Ed.), *Visitor experience at Holocaust Memorials and Museums* (pp. 119–132). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003220626-11>
- Süslü, A. (1990). Van-Zeve’deki Türk katliamı [Massacre of Turks in Zeve]. In *Proceedings of Van International Symposium in Our Recent History* (pp. 27–35). Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü Yayınları
- Süslü, A. (2012). Diplomaside, tarihte dostluk: Türk–Ermeni ilişkileri [Friendship in Diplomacy and History: Turkish–Armenian Relations]. *Belgi Dergisi*, 4, 458–470.
- Uras, E. (1976). *Tarihte Ermeniler ve Ermeni meselesi* [Armenians in History and the Armenian Issue]. Belge Yayınları.
- Van YYÜ Rectorate. (1990). Neden katliam seksiyonu? [Why the Massacre Section?]. In *Proceedings of Van International Symposium in Our Recent History* (pp. 341–354). Yüzüncü Yıl Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü Yayınları Nu: 6.
- Van’ı Tanıma ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti [The Society for Recognizing and Promoting Van]. (1963). *Zeve*. Van’ı Tanıma ve Tanıtma Cemiyeti Yayınları, No: 2.
- Viejo-Rose, D. (2011). Memorial functions: Intent, impact and the right to remember. *Memory Studies*, 4(4), 465–480. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698011411367>
- Wagner, W., & Hays, N. (2005). *Everyday discourse and common sense: The theory social representations*. Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-137-07263-4>
- Wasserman, J. R. (1998). To trace the shifting sands: Community, ritual, and the memorial landscape. *Landscape Journal*, 17, 42–61. <https://doi.org/10.3368/lj.17.1.42>
- Watkins, N., Cole, F., & Weidemann, S. (2010). The war memorial as healing environment: the psychological effect of the Vietnam veterans memorial on Vietnam war combat veterans’ posttraumatic stress disorder symptoms. *Environment and Behavior*, 42(3), 351–375. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013916510361873>
- Xu, H., & Jin, S. (2022). A Study on the relationship between red memorial landscape perception, collective memory, and identity-take the martyrs monument as an example. *Journal of Innovation and Social Science Research*, 9(1), 107–113. [https://doi.org/10.53469/jissr.2022.09\(01\).18](https://doi.org/10.53469/jissr.2022.09(01).18)
- Ysseldyk, R., Matheson, K., & Anisman, H. (2010). Religiosity as identity: Toward an understanding of religion from a social identity perspective. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 14(1), 60–71. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1088868309349693>
- Zittoun, T. (2004). Memorials and semiotic dynamics. *Culture & Psychology*, 10(4), 477–495. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354067X04045748>