THE ROLE OF SOCIAL IDENTITY AND COLLECTIVE MEMORY
IN PREDICTING IN-GROUP BIAS AND COLLECTIVE ACTION
IN TURKEY'S ALEVIS

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this thesis is to examine the relationship between social identity,
collective action participation and in-group bias in the Alevi community in Anatolia.
In doing this, the mediatory role of collective memory is also investigated. In
examining collective memory, one positive event and one negative event that Alevis
had lived through in the past were selected (Namely, the re-opening of Haji Bektash
Veli Dervish Lodge in 1964 which was closed in 1925 was chosen as the positive
event and Madımak Massacre was chosen as the negative event). The cognitive,
affective, and evaluative aspects of cognitive memory regarding these two events
were taken. The sample consists of 348 Alevis living in different cities of Turkey
such as Tunceli, Ankara and Şanlıurfa. The results indicated that different aspect of
collective memory played somewhat different mediating roles between the strength
of Alevi identification and collective action participation or in-group bias regarding
the positive and negative events. The most remarkable result is that while the
cognitive component of collective memory of Madımak event played a mediator role
between the strength of identification and collective action participation or in-group

bias, it showed no such effects in the context of the re-opening of the Haji Bektash Veli dervish lodge. Besides, evaluative aspect of the collective memory of the re-opening of the Haji Bektash Veli dervish lodge played a mediator role between the strength of identification and collective action particion or in-group bias.

Keywords: Social Identity Theory, Collective Memory, Collective Participation, In-group Bias, Alevis in Turkey

ÖZ

TÜRKİYEDE YAŞAYAN ALEVİLERİN İÇ-GRUP YANLILIĞI VE TOPLUMSAL EYLEM EĞİLİMLERİNİN YORDANMASINDA SOSYAL KİMLİĞİN VE TOPLUMSAL BELLEĞİN ROLÜ

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Bu tezin amacı Anadolu'da yaşayan Alevi toplumunun sosyal kimlikleri, toplumsal hareketlere katılımları ve iç-grup yanlılıkları arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektir. Bu ilişkiyi incelemek için toplumsal belleğin aracı rolü ayrıca araştırılmıştır. Toplumsal belleği incelemek için, Alevilerin geçmişte yaşadığı bir olumlu ve bir olumsuz olay seçildi (1925 yılında kapatılan Hacı Bektaş Veli Dergahının 1964 yılında yeniden açılması olumlu olay olarak ve Madımak Katliamı olumsuz olay olarak seçildi). Toplumsal belleğin bilişsel, duygusal ve değerlendirmeci yönleri bu iki olaya göre ele alındı. Çalışmanın örneklemi Tunceli, Ankara ve Şanlıurfa gibi Türkiye'nin farklı şehirlerinde yaşayan 348 Alevi'den oluşmaktadır. Sonuçlar toplumsal belleğin bileşenlerinin Alevi kimliği ile özdeşleşme ve toplumsal eylemlere katılım ile iç-group yanlılığı arasında olumlu ve olumsuz olaya göre farklı aracı rollerinde olduğunu göstermiştir. Madımak olayına göre toplumsal belleğin bilişsel bileşeni kimlik ile özdeşleşme ve toplumsal eylemlere katılım ile iç-group kayırmacılığı

arasında aracı rölündeyken, Hacı Bektaş Veli Dergahının yeniden açılması olayı söz konusu olunca çok fazla aracı rolünde olmaması en dikkat çekici sonuçtur. Aynı zamanda Hacı Bektaş Veli Dergahının yeniden açılması olayına göre toplumsal belleğin değerlendirmeci bileşeni de kimlik ile özdeşleşme ve toplumsal eylemlere katılım ile iç-group kayırmacılığı arasında aracı rolünü göstermiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal Kimlik Teorisi, Toplumsal Bellek, Toplumsal Katılım, İç-grup Yanlılığı, Türkiye'deki Aleviler.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1.   General Introduction

Identity, which is one of the principal subjects of social psychology, is located somewhere between the individuals or groups' perceptions of who they are and their perceptions of how others see them. *Social identity*, which is a definition of identity at intergroup level, conveys to the people the message that each of them belongs to a social group, and it covers our sense of belonging to a specific social group, our feelings towards this social group and the meanings we attribute to it (Tajfel, 1978). Social identities can be also used to define larger communities (e.g., ethnic, religious and national identities) in addition to individuals. Social identity makes it possible to understand how the bonds of individuals with such groups influence their self-definition because this identity can be also expressed as a membership of or belonging to such large communities. Thus, groups provide individuals with the first reference systems and identification models through which they can define themselves (Tajfel, 1978). Social identities enable individuals to define who they are and to evaluate themselves based on this definition, at the same time they also present clues on what their identities require from them to act in specific ways in line with these identities (Hogg & Vaughan, 2007). For example, a member of the Alevi social category, which is the subject of this study, evaluates and defines himself/herself as belonging to this identity; he/she is defined and evaluated in a similar way by others, and he/she owns a reference framework on how he/she should behave, think and act as an Alevi. One of the most important types of information related to the self and the social identity of the person is the history of the group that he/she belongs to. In this context, Alevis learn the religious and cultural dimensions of the Alevi identity on the one hand and what the Alevis have experienced historically, on the other. The identity of the individual, therefore, informs the

cultural and the historical aspects of the group, and is also informed by them at a specific point in time.

In this sense, beside the cultural and religious practices of a given identity, the historical events that are experienced by a certain group become important. The concept of *collective memory* covers this social aspect of memory, proposed first by Halbwachs (1950/1992) in 1925. He stated that all memories were formed in a social context. In order to achieve their goals, the social groups construct and reconstruct their memories. Besides, there is a difference between personal and collective memory. Collective memories are created by nations or communities, but personal memories just remain at the individual level (Coser, 1992).

The subject of collective memory has not been one of the study fields of social psychology for a long period. It is rather studied in sociology and political science disciplines. In memory studies, the relation between memory and identity was examined. In one recent study, however, the relation between collective memory and social identity was addressed from a more social psychological perspective. This study was conducted among Canadian Catholic youth ministers and investigated how both Catholic collective memory and contact with Catholics are related to identification with Catholics (Bellehumeur, Laplante, Lagace, & Rodrigue, 2011). The study found that collective memory was a predictor of Catholic identity and more so regarding positive events in history compared to the negative ones. Likewise, present study investigates the role of identity on collective memory within the Alevi context in Turkey and examines the role of collective memory in collective action and in-group bias.

Alevis are one of the religious groups that have been living in Anatolia for a long time. It is accepted that around 15 million Alevis live in Turkey today. Furthermore, in terms of religious identity, they constitute the second largest group in Turkey after the Sunni population (Zeidan, 1995). Alevis have experienced numerous tragic events since Ottoman Empire periods. They have confronted many massacres and murders during the 20th century as well. They experienced the Dersim Massacre in

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1937 and 1938, events in Maraş (1978), Çorum (1980) and Sivas (1993) provinces and Gazi Mahallesi area of İstanbul (1995). These massacres and conflictsresulted in many deaths (Van Bruinessen, 1996). Tragic events experienced in the past may cause different groups to alienate from each other and to be separated categorically (Messick & Smith, 2002). Especially the existing separation between the Alevis and Sunnis in Turkey may further increase as a result of such conflictual outbursts. In addition to this, especially minority groups may also feel threatened due to the negative occurrences of the past. In such a case, they may distance themselves from the out-group as a result of their distrust (Jones, 2006).Having experienced all these events in their history, the Alevis may defend their values more resolutely, and they may also make their voice heard through social movements and protests in order to protect their rights. Especially after the Madımak Massacre of 2 July 1993, the Alevis have organized various demonstrations and they have also started to gather and act under many organizations (Van Bruinessen, 1996). Therefore the events in the past may lead Alevis to become more strict in terms of their group boundaries, more negative toward the majority outgroup Sunnis (or favor their ingroup more in comparison to Sunnis) and perhaps become more politically active through social movements in order to make their demands be heard by the society.

This study aims to examine the role of Alevi identity in regards to participation in social movements and their in-group bias towards Sunnis. However, in this attempt to understand this relation, the role of Alevi collective memory was considered as a possible mediator. Therefore, I start with a review of the cultural and religious practices of Alevi community in Anatolia. Following this, significant negative events such as massacres that occupy an important place in collective memories of Alevis in Turkey are presented. Then the theoretical framework of the current study, namely social identity theory, is presented and the links between identity, collective memory, collective action and in-group bias is established through this theoretical framework.

1.2. Alevism

1.2.1. Definition

The word Alevism means "to love and respect Ali". Ali was the fourth caliph and the cousin and son-in-law of Islam's prophet Muhammad. The partisanship for Ali within Islam started after the death of the Prophet. Alevi has such meanings as "supporter of Ali", "follower of Ali" and "one that is loyal to Ali". Then it became a religious trend (Bozkurt, 2005). Alevis have an extreme love for Ali, the cousin and son-in-law of Muhammad and they attribute a very different mystical meaning to Ali (Van Bruinessen, 2007).

Alevism, also called as Qizilbash (Kızılbaş) in a historical sense, is accepted as a belief that includes some Sufi and heterodox features of Islam as well as some features of Mesopotamian and Asian beliefs and of the Shiite Islam (Moosa, 1988). Alevism is a doctrine, belief, lifestyle and philosophy collectively created by the folks that both protected their own customs and traditions and were influenced by Islam following the acceptance of Islam by Anatolian folks (Aydın, 2008), and it is a blend of customs and ceremonies carried into Anatolia by the Turkmen communities that migrated from Central Asia and Asia Minor (Birdoğan, 2010; Bozkurt, 2005) and the *murshid-pirocaks* (guide-elder centers) reflecting the beliefs and lifestyles of the local folks living in Mardin, Urfa, Adıyaman and Antep, which compose the area known as Upper Mesopotamia (Aksüt, 2010). Therefore it is a synthesis composed of many beliefs (Aydın, 2008).

It is also believed that Alevis can be related to the Safavid Dynasty in terms of religious identity (Van Bruinessen, 1996). In the period of the Ottoman Empire, Alevis were called Qizilbash (Shindeldecker, 2006). Actually, the word Alevi means the supporter of Ali; however this word is quite new (Özalay, 2006). After the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1920, the name Qizilbash was replaced by Alevi (Çamuroğlu, 2008).

There are Alevi communities that speak many different languages. These languages can be listed as Turkish, Kurdish, Zazaki and Arabic (Van Bruinessen, 2007). Alevis in Turkey mostly live in Central and Eastern Anatolia, in the provinces of Çorum, Yozgat, Amasya, Tokat, Çankırı, Erzincan, Tunceli, Sivas, Elazığ, Malatya, Adıyaman, Bingöl, Muş and Kars. However, Alevis live in many cities of Turkey today (Shindeldecker, 2006).

It is generally accepted that around 15 million Alevis live in Turkey today. Furthermore, in terms of religious identity, they constitute the second largest group in Turkey after the Sunni population (Zeidan, 1995). However, the discussion about the Alevi population in Turkey continues. According to many Alevi writers, 30 or 40 percent of Turkey's population is made up of Alevis (Koçan & Öncü, 2004). However, according to some others, the Alevis constitute a percentage between 10 and 25 percent of Turkey's population (Dressler, 2008; Erdemir, 2007; Erman & Göker, 2000). The reason why we cannot determine it clearly is the exposure of Alevis to assimilation policies, social and political pressures since the Ottoman period. As a result of this, they had to hide their religious identity (Çamuroğlu, 1997).

1.2.2. Rituals, Belief and Life

Alevis carry out their religious ceremonies in *cemevi*s (assembly houses) (Shankland, 2003). *Cem* is a religious ceremony that includes religious rituals. *Cem* ceremony is managed by a *dede,* who is known to descend from Ali. Cem features folk poems with religious content as well as *semah*, which is a religious musical bodily ritual performed by women and men (Van Bruinessen, 2007).

Alevis have their own specific image of God (Güleç, 2012). According to the Alevis' specific perception of God, God intervenes less in the earthly order (Aydın, 2008). *Wahdat al-Wujud* (Unity of Existence) or *Anal Haq* present a conception that envisage the unity of God and human. Alevism has a pantheist perception of God, based on the idea that the nature and the God are actually one, instead of the idea of a

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transcendent God (Aydın, 2008). The purpose in Alevi doctrine is to reach the level of a perfect human being. The way to achieve this purpose is four gates, forty levels (*dörtkapı - kırk makam*) (Korkmaz, 2008). Alevis have their own heroes that reflect their religious identity and values, such as Haji Bektash Veli, Pir Sultan Abdal and Shah Ismail Khatai (Shankland, 2003).

Alevis do not fast in Ramadan and they do not go to Mecca for hajj (Shindeldecker, 2006). They mostly go to the places of holy personalities such as the tomb of Haji Bektash Veli. Instead of fasting in Ramadan, they have 12 days of Muharrem fasting for the purpose of mourning for Hassan and Hussein, sons of Ali. Alevis fulfill the debt of fidelity to them with Muharrem fasting (Shindeldecker, 2006).

1.2.3. History

The history of separation within Islam starts with the discussion on who would be the next caliph after the death of Muhammad in 632. It was alleged that in his speech at Ghadir Khummon his way back from his last hajj, the Prophet had said "After me, Ali is your imam, I have already chosen him as your imam." (Bozkurt, 2005). Depending on this speech, the supporters of Ali believed that he should have been the caliph. However, while Ali and his supporters were dealing with the funeral affairs, some relatives of Mohammad chose Abu Bakr as caliph; this event became the first dissidence in the history of Islam. However, the selection of Omar and then Uthman as the next caliphs caused the already existing dissidence to get deeper. Supporters of Ali were resentful, but Ali played a soothing and conciliatory role in order to prevent disorder and separation among Muslims. After Uthman was killed, Ali was selected as caliph in 656, but like Omar and Uthman, he was also assassinated in 661. Afterwards, Muawiyah's accession to the caliphate and his designation of his son, Yezit, as the next caliph caused the caliphate to turn into a position handed down from father to son. The attempts of the supporters of Ali, who opposed to this situation, to gather around Ali's son, Hussein, yielded no results: Hussein and his supporters were put to the sword by the followers of Muawiyah in Karbala on the way to Kufa. Then, this event went down in history as one of the most

important turning points of the history of Islam (Bozkurt, 2005). The historical event between Ali and Muawiyah, as summarized above, is the history that is used to explain the roots of Alevism. However, this history is true mostly according to the Shiite history. Alevism is a belief and doctrine that bears traces of Shiism, but does not completely match with these traces (Güleç, 2011). There is a common point between Alevism and Shiism in terms of loyalty to the family of Ali and the Prophet, i.e. to the Ahl al Bayt; but there is not much in common apart from this point (Bozkurt, 2005).

The significant event that shaped the Anatolian Alevism is the Babai Revolt which was led by a Turkmen *baba* (one of the various types of religious leaders in Alevism) called Baba Ilyas (Aydın, 2008; Birdoğan, 2010). Baba Ilyas went to Anatolia during the spread of Mongols and he settled in Çat village close to Amasya. Because of the zawiyah (Islamic monastery) he built on the hill of the village, he started to spread his ideas. The people living in the surrounding villages became his followers. He found solutions for various problems of his followers and also healed them. With all these features, he became an extraordinary personality and a typical Shaman *baba* in the eyes of Turkmens. The political disorders and deterioration of economy in Seljuk State caused Baba Ilyas to become an adversary of the Sultanate with his activities and opinions over time. He said that he was assigned by the God to fight against corruption and injustice. He sent those believing in him to the various parts of Anatolia, hence his fame and power spread increasingly. Baba Ilyas and his supporters lost their revolt against the Seljuk administration (Birdoğan, 2010; Bozkurt, 2005). However, Babai Revolt has occupied an important place in Anatolian history in general and in Alevis' history in particular as the most comprehensive and largest revolt of the whole Anatolian-Turkish history (Birdoğan, 2010; Bozkurt, 2005).

Haji Bektash Veli is a saint appreciated very much by today's Alevis. His exact birth date is not known; he was born in 1210 in Nishapur town of Khorasan. He tried to do the same things as Baba Ilyas did; but he attempted to realize and spread these things through his ideas rather than actions (Bozkurt, 2005). When Baba Ilyas Revolt,

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which had political, social and economic aspects, proved to be unsuccessful, the Turkmen Babas around him improved their position again and tried to realize their principles through thought. They tried to disseminate the ideas of Baba İlyas by establishing zawiyahs and monasteries through the dervishes that Haji Bektash Veli sent to the various parts of Anatolia (Birdoğan, 2010; Bozkurt, 2005). Sheikh Bedrettin Revolt of the 15th century, Jelali revolts which appeared with the start of the stagnation of the Ottoman Empire and in which especially the Qizilbashs were in the forefront, and revolts and resistance movements led by Pir Sultan have become both the traumatic elements and the foundation of the identities belonging to heterodox beliefs in Anatolia, the most significant of them being Alevism (Güleç, 2011).

In the early 15th century, a Turkmen dervish named Sheikh Safi established a small religious organization in Iranian Azerbaijan. Then the grandson of Sheikh Safi, Sheikh Junayd went to Anatolia during the period of Murad II. For three years, Junayd stayed in the palace of Akkoyunlu, whose center was Diyarbakır. His son, named Haydar, came into the world here. He ordered that after his death, his followers be organized in Erdebil Association and gather around his son Haydar who was born in Diyarbakır palace. In his first years, Sheikh Haydar tried to increase the number of his supporters. One of the activities of Sheikh Haydar, which would later turn into a historical contempt, was to make a change in the clothes of his followers. He made his soldiers wear a headwear called *tac* (crown). This headwear was red and wrapped over white cheesecloth; it had twelve parts and a sharp top. The twelve-part headwear stood up for the twelve imams while the red color represented martyrdom (Bozkurt, 2005). His followers also started to wear red headwear, to say "Shah" instead of "Salam" and to go to Erdebil for hajj. To those who criticized them for this and told them that they were supposed to go to Medina, they used to say "We go to the alive, not to the dead." (Bozkurt, 2005). These Alevis who wore such headwear were named Qizilbash, which meant "red head", and the word Qizilbash was associated with such meanings as "faithless, infidel, rebel, enemy of the state" over time (Bozkurt, 2005).

After the death of Haydar, his son Ismail established and led the Safavid dynasty in 1501 as a result of various struggles. Over time, Safavids tried to collect the Alevis under their state in the face of the Ottoman Empire and they became significantly successful. On the part of the Ottoman Empire, the one who could well interpret these developments was Selim I (or Yavuz Sultan Selim), who was the governor of Trabzon in that period (Birdoğan, 2010; Bozkurt, 2005). Succeeding to the throne in 1512, Selim I started a policy of intimidation towards the Qizilbashs prior to the Chaldiran campaign. The fatwa and pamphlets published in this period can be considered to serve as evidence showing why the Alevis of today's Anatolia have been exposed to discrimination according to many Alevi-Bektashi organizations, or even if this is not true, why they have had such a perception. In these fatwa and pamphlets, Qizilbashs were accused for various reasons. According to them, Qizilbashs were spoiling the religion of Islam and the Quran, considering the prohibitions of the Sharia as allowable, insulting the practices of the Shariah and Mohammad, disrespecting the holy books, insulting the Ottoman scholars (*ulama*), damaging the mosques, denying the caliphate of Abu Bakr and Omar, and slandering Aisha, the wife of Mohammad. According to the fatwa, they were infidels and nonbelievers; their sympathizers were also infidels and nonbelievers; fighting against them was a basic duty of Muslims, and those dying for this purpose were to be considered as martyrs while those they killed would go to the hell; the animals hunted by them were impure and they were not to be eaten; their marriages could not be deemed valid; they could not bequeath their properties; they were to be killed even if they regretted and repented; those who were determined to be one of them or a supporter of them were to be killed; it was necessary to kill them because they were infidels, faithless and evildoers (Bozkurt, 2005). It was permissible to kill a Qizilbash; seizing their properties was halal, and marriage with them was invalid. War with the Shiite was to be considered as Jihad just like the wars with other enemies of the religion. Those who were Qizilbash were to be recorded and notified to him. In this way, fifty thousand Qizilbashs were hanged or arrested by Selim I (Bozkurt, 2005).

1.2.4. Discrimination Experiences of Alevis in History

Under the administration of the Ottoman Empire, Alevis were considered to be infidel and perverse. Furthermore, various fatwas served as references to accept that Alevis could be killed. Especially in the 16th century, many Alevis had to migrate in order to escape from massacres and they had to hide their identity (Van Bruinessen, 2007).

Ottoman State imposed many policies of assimilation towards Alevis in the 19th century. For example, mosques were built in places which were mainly occupied by Alevis and imams were assigned to such mosques (Özalay, 2006).

Following the proclamation of the Republic, monasteries and zawiyahs were shut down as part of Atatürk's reforms. Haji Bektash Veli's *dergah* (dervish lodge, a type of monastery), which was very important for Alevis, was also shut down as required by law. Dergahs had very important functions for the survival of Alevis' beliefs. Then, the Directorate of Religious Affairs was established in order to centralize the religious activities, but it only covered Orthodox Sunni Islam. However, Alevis supported the reforms as they hoped that there would be also good reforms for them. However, no change occurred in the situation of the Alevis over time (Özalay, 2006).

Alevis confronted many massacres and deaths during the 20th century. These deaths started with the Dersim massacre starting in 1937 and ending in 1938. In Tunceli (formerly known as Dersim), the Dersim tribes objected to Turkey's Resettlement Law of 1934 and hence the central government intervened in this rebellion using military methods. As a result of military operation, more than thirteen thousand living in the area and one hundred ten soldiers were killed. Close to twelve thousand people also were forced to migration. Policies of discrimination such as in the matter of religious freedom continued in different forms and ways later in the republic period. Alevis had to migrate to places with dominantly Sunni populations due to various reasons since 1960s and 1970s. This situation caused them to face frequent violence. However, the most tragic examples were the massacres by ultranationalist

and radical Islamic groups in Maraş (1978), Çorum (1980) and Sivas (1993) and the events that started with the attack of the police and resulted in deaths in Gazi Mahallesi in Istanbul (1995) (Van Bruinessen, 1996). Especially the burning to death of 37 artists, writers and musicians in Madımak hotel on 2 July 1993 had a deep impact on Alevis. They carried out huge demonstrations in many provinces in this period. Following this event, Alevis started to establish many associations and foundations in order to support each other and get organized (Van Bruinessen, 1996).

Alevis are confronted with many discriminatory behaviors in their daily lives as well. They are sometimes insulted because of their identity (Toprak, 2006). Furthermore, according to a recent report, 3 out of 4 Alevis reported that they faced discrimination at least once a year while they were out, at work or looking for a flat (Türker, 2010). The problems related to the political and religious representation of Alevis continue. In the political area, Alevis state that it is difficult for them to be promoted to higher positions in public sector. It is stated that there is no Alevi citizen especially at senior executive positions (Özalay, 2006). As for religious representation, Alevis complain that the Directorate of Religious Affairs only represents the Sunni Orthodox Islam belief. Alevis also desire to be represented by the Directorate of Religious Affairs (Shankland, 2003). Alevis want the c*emevi*s (a house of gathering for religious rituals) to be given the status of prayer places like the mosques. They express that they also pay taxes just like the Sunnis do and that for this reason, the needs of *cemevi*s for water and electricity must be met as in the case of mosques, and they demand that *dede*s be paid a salary (Shindeldecker, 2006). For these demands to be satisfied, the Directorate of Religious Affairs should accept Alevism as a different belief of Islam. Moreover, Alevis complain that only the Sunni belief is mentioned in the mandatory religious lessons and Alevism is not covered (Özalay, 2006).

Within the last 20 years, Alevis started to be more visible in the society with their own identities. They have also started to make their voice heard and get organized in social and political areas in order to gain their religious rights (Verkuyten & Yıldız, 2009). They have established lots of associations and foundations and built *cemevi*s. They have also organized many conferences and published journals and books

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(Vorhoff, 2003). They have started to remember the painful events of the past through ceremonies; this has been making their existence more visible (Shankland, 2003).

As stated so far, many negative memories and experiences of victimization occupy Alevi collective identity. They experienced violence, discrimination and massacres in the past because of their differences. As mentioned above these significant events are closely related to Alevi identity. Therefore, it is important to investigate Alevi identity in relation to the collective memory in order to understand their intergroup attitudes and behaviors better. To do so, the concept of collective memory, what it entails and how it relates to identity is reviewed next.

1.3. Collective Memory

1.3.1. Definition of Collective Memory

Memory always has been the interesting subject, but from the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, various perspectives have been developed in relation to the concept of memory (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Freud, Bergson, and Halbwachs are among the most outstanding thinkers in the study of memory. While Freud suggested that the memory was individual, Bergson alleged that the memory was transferred through images. As well as these, Halbwachs opposed to both of these ways of thinking. He stated that memory was based on concrete social experiences and memory was not individual, but social or collective (Halbwachs, 1992).

In cognitive psychology, memory is defined as the cognitive process described as perceiving, organizing, coding, storing and recalling/recognizing information; as the place where such information is assumed to be stored, and as the so-stored information itself (Budak, 2000).

Halbwachs (1992) brought the social aspect of the memory to the forefront. *On Collective Memory*, published by Halbwachs in 1925, is basically an opposition to the perception of memory that had been confined only to the area of cognitive science; hence it is somehow a project of *socializing* memory. According to Halbwachs (1992), memory is not the knowledge of the past that can only be accessed individually and that is located in a corner of the mind. Recalling is not personal, but it is an external and social performance; the social groups we belong to provide us with the necessary frameworks for the construction and reconstruction of memory (Halbwachs, 1992). In other words, Halbwachs's perception of memory is an objection to the idea that memory is independent and neutral (Misztal, 2003). One of the two main contributions of Halbwachs' conceptualization in relation to the understanding of memory is his emphasis on social frameworks. According to this, social frameworks constitute the basis for the act of recalling of the individuals living in a society (Halbwachs, 1992). The other significant contribution is his conception that the present plays a determinant role in recalling the past. According to Halbwachs, the act of recalling is almost completely governed by the context and needs of today. Therefore, memory is not a representation of the past or a mirror reflecting the past; in other words, it is not a direct reflection of the past experience. Memory is the construction and reconstruction of the past in line with the needs and beliefs of the present (Halbwachs, 1992).

It is also necessary to mention the difference between personal memory and social memory. According to Halbwachs, the separation between personal and social memory corresponds to the separation between the conceptualizations of autobiographic and historical memory. Autobiographic memory, which corresponds to individual (personal) memory, is the past experience and it is to be totally forgotten unless called back during the relationships with the persons we have shared the same past. On the other side, historical memory is a type of recalling in which people do not remember past experience if unmediated and the act of recalling is conducted through social institutions (Coser, 1992). According to Halbwachs (1992), even if the recalling is performed individually, the thing that is recalled and even the way it is recalled is determined by the group in which the individual lives. For an individual, recalling means re-establishing the past based on the current social

frameworks of the group he/she belongs to. Thus, personal memory exists only within the social frameworks of the group and it joins the collective memory.

1.3.2. The Construction of Collective Memory

Collective memory is constituted by negative and positive events. These events are mostly the ones that interest many people. This group of people can be as large as a nation or it can be just a small community. The event that creates the collective memory can be a very specific event such as the assassination of John F. Kennedy or Great Depression that interests large communities (Gaskell & Wright, 1997).

Studies on collective memory within a psychology context focused on three components of collective memory. These are the cognitive, evaluative and affective aspects of collective memory (Halbwachs, 1925/1994, 1950/1997; Pennebaker et al., 1997; Wertsch, 2002). The cognitive component of collective memory is defined as the frequency of recalling the past events which are also accepted and discussed by the individual's own group (Pennebaker et al., 1997). The second component of the collective memory is evaluative. This component measures how important and effective the specific events are for the individual's group (Schuman, Akiyama, & Knauper, 1998). The way groups evaluate the events can be different and pluralistic because individuals may evaluate the same event in different ways (Halbwachs, 1950/1997, Werstch, 2002). However, the individuals tend to evaluate collective past in accordance with how their groups see the events. Such evaluation may appear as positive or negative (Laurens & Roussiau, 2002). Lastly, the affective component of collective memory expresses the emotional reaction regarding the past events (Finkenauer et al., 1998). Individuals often have intense emotional experience during the recall of the past events. The individual experiences such intensity when he/she talks with the members of his/her group about an event, even if he/she has not witnessed this event. The intense emotions experienced in this situation show how much influence these past events have on the individuals today (Pennebaker et al., 1997).

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The information about the past events is transferred to the future both through persons and through institutions. The transfer of the past events provides several benefits for individuals. Firstly, it enables them to protect and maintain the positive image of their groups coming from the past (Paez et al., 2008). Secondly, it enables them to ensure the sustainability of their groups (Bellelli, Barkhurst, & Rosa, 2000). Thirdly, it ensures the protection of the values, norms and characteristics of the group and provides the individuals of the group with information concerning how the group character should be in the future (Olick & Robbins, 1998). Fourthly, collective memories include symbolic resources, too. These symbols help a group to get mobilized for social and political purposes now and also in the future (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

The transfer of information on the past events experienced by a community is performed both formally and informally. Formal transfer voicing of collective memory is made through official history books or official memorial days. On the other side, newspapers, films, journals, letters and diaries play an important role as informal ways of transfer (Olick & Levy, 1997). In addition, oral transmission is another method of informal transfer and it has an important function in the transfer of the past events (Vansina, 1985). Oral transmission can be in the form of oral stories, narratives and myths (Halbwachs, 1950/1992).

The communities create their collective memory and they also evaluate events that constitute the collective memory with respect to their current aims. Communities transmit these historical events from generation to generation. Therefore, the next part aims to clarify the effect of collective memories on some of these community related variables.

1.3.3. The Consequences of Collective Memories

Voicing and maintaining the events that create social memories have several potential results. Firstly, collective memory has the power to influence and even increase the intergroup conflicts. The conflicts experienced between groups in the

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past may cause the groups to be alienated toward each other and be divided categorically. In this case, groups may see themselves superior than and different from each other due to intergroup competition. As a result of this, a group may start to emphasize the differences between itself and the out-group (Messick & Smith, 2002).

Secondly, the memory created by the past events and conflicts may affect the approach, intention and perception of the groups in regard to each other (Bar-Tal, 2007). Especially the perceived threats and the real threats have an important role in conflicts. When groups recall negative situations and conflicts in their past, they may perceive that they are under threat today. They may experience the fear of facing a situation of violence or conflict. Inevitably, such fears cause a group to feel distrust toward an out-group (Jones, 2006).

Thirdly, the conflicts transmitted to today by social memory have a motivational function for social movements. Because of this motivation, a group may give a social reaction to the experienced injustices. This motivation also causes an in-group to tend to justify its behaviors against an out-group (Liu & Hilton, 2005). With this motivational function, a group may have a feeling of fear and threat upon thinking about the painful and dramatic events in its past. As a result, it may consider the actions and attacks against an out-group as justifiable and righteous (Wohl & Branscombe, 2008). Such social movements can be also nonviolent political demonstrations or commemoration services (De Rivera & Paez, 2007). They may also include elements of cultural memory such as museum exhibitions and various artistic activities. In addition, institutional or informal actions have an important function in making the groups recall the past conflicts and performing social movements (Schuman, Akiyama, & Knaüper, 1998).

Studies have emphasized the importance of collective memory in ensuring that the psychological problems arising from intergroup conflicts are not transferred to the future and are rehabilitated (Barkan, 2000; Cairns & Lewis, 1999; Wohl & Branscombe, 2005; Yehuda et al., 2000). However, even if the psychological

problems coming from the past are solved for today, the pains are still expressed and recalled through various commemorations (Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997). Through such activities, societies can keep such pains alive in their memories (Hein & Selde, 2000; Novick, 1999).

According to social identity theory, individuals may try to bear the past successes of their groups in their minds. Similarly, groups and nations may also celebrate past successes and victories for the reinforcement of their identities. However, considering the above explanations, why do the groups try to recall and keep the past tragedies and painful events instead of forgetting about them? Various answers have been given to this question. The most important of these is that pain and tragedy in the collective memory can be important for the identities of the groups. Some events and the rituals required by them are important for the sustainability of the groups, for cultural unity and for ensuring partnership (Bar-Tal, 2003; Frijda, 1997; Jacobs, 2004; Staal, 1990). Such events may increase ingroup solidarity (Devine-Wright, 2003; Irwin-Zarecka, 1994; Novick, 1999; Roe, 2003). These tragedies are also the shared history of the group. In addition, they bring individuals closer to each other (Novick, 1999). A study on this subject to Alevis examined the relationship between collective trauma (the role of Madımak Massacre) and creating a coherent Alevi identity. The study indicated that the consequences of tragic events might create solidarity between Alevis (Yıldız & Verkuyten, 2011).

1.3.4. The Relationship between Social Identity and Collective Memory

In memory studies, it is important to study the relation between memory and identity in depth. While examining the relation between memory and identity, it is necessary to consider their constructive effect upon each other. However, as opposed to the popular belief, it is not an easy task to examine this relation. One of the dominant tendencies in memory studies is to perceive and study this relation as a one-way relation. A one-way memory-identity relation can be said to be one of the contributions of Halbwachs' intellectual legacy. Actually, in Halbwachs' (1992) *On*

Collective Memory, there is no direct discussion on the relation between memory and identity. The relation between memory and identity according to Halbwachs is dominated by the point of view that prioritizes the determinant role of identity on the memory. In other words, Halbwachs suggests that memory is constructed through an identity that has already been strongly established (as cited in Megill, 2011). The present study also gives the priority to identity, taking it as the basis on which collective memory is later built on.

Studies have shown that people better recall the events that are related to their own social identity. For example, in terms of perceived historical importance, while 54% of African Americans recalled civil rights movements and 4% of them recalled the World War II, 10% of the white people recalled civil rights movements and 23% of them recalled the World War II. Similarly, while the attack on Martin Luther King was recalled more among African Americans while it was observed that it had less importance among European Americans (Gaskell & Wright, 1997).

There is almost no social psychology study addressing the relation between group identity and collective memory. Indeed, social psychologists have focused on how individuals evaluate their own group identity and how groups can make a biased evaluation of the past in order to show their own identity images as positive (Blight, 2001).

However, one recent study addressed the relation between identity and memory in the context of Catholic identity. In this study, the role of in-group contact in the relation between identity and memory was examined (Bellehumeur et al., 2011). The study found that collective memory was a predictor of Catholic identity and more so regarding positive events compared to the negative ones.

Accordingly, the current study also examines the role of social identity on intergroup attitudes (favoring the in-group) as well as collective action tendencies. In contrast to the Bellehumeur et. al. (2011) study mentioned above, collective memory is taken as

following from identity and identification; rather than taken as a precursor to it. In other words,, it examines the mediatory role that is played by collective memory of Alevis in Turkey between their social identities and their group related attitudes. At this point, social identity theory is presented in more detail as it forms the theoretical framework of this study.

1.4. Social Identity Theory

Social Identity Theory developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner in the mid-1970s is a social psychology theory dealing with group membership, group processes and intergroup relations (Argyle, 1992; Brehm & Kassin, 1993; Hogg, 1996). Tajfel (1982) defined social identity concept as the fact that self-perception of the individual arises from individual's information about the membership to a group or groups and the value and emotional significance that this individual attributed to this membership.

People have tendency to divide themselves into groups and consider their own group superior to others. People's motivation to make a positive self-evaluation is thought to be the reason behind this. People reach this positive self-evaluation by considering their own group superior to others and identifying with the group strictly. Social identity concept arises at this point. The most comprehensive effort to define this concept and explain the relevant processes manifests itself as Social Identity Theory (Brehm & Kassin, 1993; Hogg & Abrams, 1988).

Social Identity Theory focuses on social identity concept rather personal identity. Theorists argue that social identity is completely different from personal identity associated with personal traits and the private relationship that the person has with others (Turner, 1982; Tajfel, 1982). Social identity is a part of self-concept associated with group membership (Hogg &Vaughan, 1995; Hogg & Abrams, 1996).

Social Identity Theory puts a central role on "social categorization" process (Anastasio et al., 1997; Wilder, 1986). Categorization is the process of dividing people or objects into groups or classes taking certain common features into account (Tajfel & Forgas, 1981). Based on this, Turner (1982) developed "Self-Categorization Theory". Turner states that people can categorize themselves as they categorize others into various classes. However, the first and foremost categorization made is the in-group and out-group categorization. People's categorizing themselves and others as in-group and out-group implies that people tend to assess the features of their own group or the other groups in a stereotypical manner (Hogg &Abrams, 1988).

Social categorization emerges when people begin to perceive themselves not as individuals but as part of a social group. Individuals are called "men", "women", "whites", "Japans" rather than "people". Gender, ethnical features and age are basic components of social categorization. When two or more people are considered as a group, this group is perceived different from the others and approached "differently" (Bilgin, 1995; Mackie et al., 1996).

We assume that the group of which we are members bears a wide variety of features under the influence of other groups, our stereotypical judgments and ourselves. Stereotypical judgment can be defined as a "cognitive structure encompassing perceiver's information about the social groups, beliefs and expectations" (Mackie et al., 1996). People categorize the world into numerous different social groups through classification process and develop a cognitive structure, which includes the individual's information about the social groups, beliefs and expectations. This cognitive structure is called as "stereotype".

According to Turner (1982) social categorization process has two results: 1) Social categorization leads individuals to exaggerate the similarities within their groups and the differences between their group and the others. 2) The individuals in pursuit of positive identity make a social comparison between their own group and other groups at the end of the social categorization process. They want to take positive

credit for themselves from this comparison. To this end, while making this comparison they favor their own group and underrate the others (in group bias) (Arkonaç, 1999; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Tajfel, 1978). Actually, categorization is considered as the first-step function for social comparison. People compare their own group (in-group) with other groups (out-groups) and assess the position of their own group accordingly. In this way, they aim to reach a positive identification (Tajfel, 1982).

What are the necessary and sufficient conditions for individuals to display intergroup behavior, in other words to favor their own group and underrate other groups and to be involved in intergroup conflicts? Tajfel et al. (1971) answer this question with the minimal group paradigm studies. In a study conducted by these researchers with high school students, students were told that they would participate in a decision making study. Later, the participants were classified into two groups randomly, however, they were told that they were classified based on their choices regarding the works by painters like Kandinsky and Klee. Each subject was taken to a room alone and was asked to distribute a certain amount of money to couple subjects in which distributing subject was not included (one from their own group, one from the other group). Various matrixes were used in a paper-pen test in order to determine the decision-making strategies of the individual. The results indicated that participants overwhelmingly favored their own groups. The results revealed that most commonly used strategy is "bias". Inter-group bias was observed within these groups in spite of the fact that they were formed based on a very insignificant criteria, that they do not have any mutual past, that the subjects did not see each other and know each other and that they were not a part of the rewarded team while the presents were distributed. In other words they did not have any personal interest.

The explanations related to this process are based on the "ethnocentrism" concept proposed by William G. Sumner (as cited in Michener et al., 1990) as a result of the anthropological observations. William G. Sumner stated that in-group is a cognitive class that has an emotional significance. We make a distinction between our own group and the rest of the groups. We are connected with the individuals in our group

based on peace, order, law, economy and emotions. According to him, "ethnocentrism is a concept illustrating that the individual is the center of their own group and all the others groups are evaluated by taking the in-group as the basis" (as cited in Brewer & Miller, 1996). According to Sumner the discrimination between in-group and out-group leads to in-group favoring and results in quite strict and lasting stereotypes and misperceiving the out-group and intergroup conflicts (as cited in Michener et al., 1990). For example, ethnocentric approach of the individuals towards in-group and out-group are as follows. The attitudes of the members towards their in-group (own group) include perceiving themselves as perfect, finding their own values totally correct and universal, perceiving themselves as powerful, establishing cooperative relations with the other in-group members, being submissive to the authorities within the group, displaying eagerness for maintaining the group membership, trusting the in-group members, developing positive attitudes towards the other group members, taking credit for themselves from the success of the in-group (Michener, DeLamater & Schwartz, 1990).

The attitudes of the members towards the out-group (others) include regarding the others as second class, their values as weak and insufficient, rejecting the values of the others, considering the others weak, rejecting the cooperation with the out-group, challenging the authorities in the out-group, rejecting the membership of the out-group, not trusting the out-group members, making out-group members understand the negative feelings and hatred, holding out-group members responsible for the troubles and failures of the in-group (Michener, DeLamater, & Schwartz, 1990).

Intergroup bias is people's favoring their own group and assessing in-group members more positively compared to out-group members (Tajfel, 1982). Intergroup bias actually emerges in two ways: in-group favoritism and out-group derogation. In these two types, people may discriminate out-groups, exhibit prejudiced attitudes and generate stereotypical thoughts about out-group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Furthermore, as stated before, even when we separate people into groups, we can see that people may exhibit discriminating behaviors (Tajfel et al., 1971).

According to the present study, religion constitutes a basic difference between Alevi and Sunni people. In addition, it was already explained in previous chapters that these groups have been in conflict for a very long time. At this point, Alevis that strongly identify with their in-groups are expected to exhibit in-group favoritism to a greater extent. In other words, they will positively evaluate their in-groups in contrast to the Sunni out-group.

Until now, it was emphasized that in-group identification has a significant function to explain intergroup relationships. Therefore, identification can still shoulder a significant role to explain intergroup conflict. In other words; the strength of identification has a very important function to explain discriminating attitudes of groups. Especially people with strong group identification are more inclined to act like other members of their own group. At this point, as the group identity is a psychological part of a person, internalization of group values by people is observed more. As a result, people accept the common attitudes and behaviors of the group more easily and act in this line. Therefore, their tendency to think, feel and act like other group members is higher (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). For example, people with strong group identification have more tendencies to discriminate out-group members compared to those with low group identification (Tzeng & Jackson, 1994). Based on the literature, we can see that strong in-group identification is related to prejudice and discrtimination against members of an out-group. Another consequence of strong identification is participation in collective movements. This link will be explored next.

1.5. Social Identity and Collective Action

Collective action is studied within a variety of disciplines like sociology, political sciences, economy, history and psychology (Blumer, 1939; Davies, 1962; Davis, 1959; Gurr, 1968, 1970; McAdam, 1982; M. Olson, 1968; Smelser, 1962; Tarrow, 1998; R. H. Turner &Kilian, 1972). However, socio-psychological reasons and basis of the collective actions have begun to spark more interest lately (Klandermans, 1997) and the studies have revealed that having a sense of social identity stimulates

and motivates individuals to be involved in social actions (Gamson, 1992; Klandermans, 1997, 2004). As well as this, different studies indicated that social identity mobilized individuals to participate into social actions (Drury &Reicher, 1999, 2000, 2005; Reicher, 1996, 2001). Social identity functions like a center for collective action and it serves as a bridge between different variables (Van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008). Considering this framework, social identity was accepted as the starting point for collective action in this study. Based on the demands made as a result of Alevi identity and the past injustices in history, it is thought that Alevis who have a stronger sense of identity would be more involved in collective movements and demonstrations. For example Alevis organize collective protests and marches to demand the recognition of Cemevis as the houses of worship by the state.

When social identity is concerned, the motivational power that is prioritized is the desire to have a positive self-view (Hogg & Abrams, 1993). In the event that membership causes negative social identity perception, the individuals would exert efforts in order to achieve positive identities (Tajfel, 1978; Turner & Brown, 1978). Individuals use three strategies, which are called as "identity management strategies" (Blanz, Mummendey, Mielke, & Klink, 1998) and aim at changing their negative social identities in order to realize this.

While the individual action refers to leaving the group which cause negative identity perception physically or psychologically (Turner & Brown, 1978; Tajfel, 1978), collective effort requires the common and direct struggle of the group members in order to change the social-structural relationship between their own group and other groups (Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Turner & Brown, 1978; Tajfel, 1978). Social creativity is re-interpretation of comparison context without making a real improvement in the position of the in-group (Mummendey, Mielke, Wenzel, & Kanning, 1996; Tajfel, 1978; Turner & Brown, 1978). Within this context, it is not possible for the Alevis to leave their own groups since Alevi identity is accepted as an innate identity. Therefore, Alevis are expected to be involved in a collective effort with the aim of changing the position of their own group. In order to act together,

they found several institutions. They go to European Court of Human Rights to obtaining demands related to beliefs and rights.

Simon and colleagues (1998) defined identity as a space or social dimension existing within the society. They listed social dimensions like nation, ethnicity, gender and age. This study was conducted from the Alevi identity perspective as a religious identity. However, it is necessary to note that the identity can be personal or social and an individual can have more than one identity at the same time. While the personality traits come to the forefront in personal identity, different categorical group features of the individual become apparent in social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Particularly if the individuals regard the group identity as more significant than personal identity, they begin to think, feel and behave like their own group members (Turner, 1999). Therefore, since Alevi identity refers to a group identity, Alevis attaching more importance to group identity are expected to participate in collective actions with their groups.

The question of why people are more eager or would be more eager to take part in collective actions especially in case that group identity is underlined more has sparked interest for a long time. Group perception emerges when the individuals believe and acknowledge that they have the same identity with the others. This shows that many people can display similar behaviors and have similar features. Therefore individuals become aware that they share the same fate with others in such a case (Ellemers, 1993). As a result, individual connections develop between individuals and a group consciousness arises. In this case the more the individuals feel connected to the group, the more they struggle for the group (Yzerbyt et al., 2003).

Especially individuals with politicized social identities are more eager to participate into or support collective actions. This identity literally serves as the engine to support and participate into collective actions. Individuals with politicized identity have a good command of their past more compared to the other group members. They have higher level of awareness regarding the pain and the problems they their

group experienced. Also, they are more aware of the situation in which their group exists and they know better against whom or what they should fight. They reflect more on what they should do in order to change this situation (Polletta, 2009). Alevis are organized under the roof of different institutions like foundations and associations and this facilitates achieving political consciousness among them. As a result, the individuals who are involved in the social organization are expected to take part in the collective actions more.

Another factor motivating individuals to participate in collective actions is that individuals compare their situations with the members of other groups. If they see that they do not enjoy the rights that are supposed to be granted, they grow tendency to protest it as a result of this comparison (Folger, 1986). Especially experiencing the sense of being deprived of some rights creates motive for them to take part in the protests or collective actions (Klandermans, 1997). Alevis believe that they are deprived of some rights that they should enjoy due to their religious beliefs. To illustrate, they do not have legally recognized house of worship and accordingly government does not cover the expenses of their houses worship.

The emotions of the individuals play an important role in motivating the individuals to participate into the collective actions. Especially anger is regarded as the most prototypical sense of the protests (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007). Anger includes challenging the authorities and raising objections against the current situations. Individuals begin to think that acting is better than being hopeless (Taylor, 2009; Klandermans et al., 2008). Alevis are expected to feel great anger due to the Madımak event that took place in the past. Therefore they organize annual demonstrations and marches on July 2, the anniversary of the Madımak event.

Accordingly, in this study, Alevis' political participation such as sign a petition or participate in a protest will be investigated considering the role of social identity and collective memory.

1.6. The Present Study

This thesis investigates the extent of connection Alevis built with their in-group (their strength of in-group identification) and their in-group favoritism and collective action tendencies. In doing this, it focuses on the mediatory roles played by collective memory regarding events from Alevi history in Turkey.

This psychological study aims at investigating the collective memory concept, which has been studied for a long time by different disciplines and have had a place in sociology literature (Halbwachs, 1925/1994, 1950/1997; Wertsch, 2002). Three important components of collective memory, which are cognitive, evaluative and affective, have been underlined in the studies conducted on collective memory (Halbwachs, 1925/1994, 1950/1997; Pennebaker et al., 1997; Wertsch, 2002). Similarly, this study takes notices of three components of collective memory.

The subject of collective memory has not been one of the study fields of social psychology for a long period. However, in a recent study, the relation between collective memory and social identity was addressed. In this study identification with Catholics was assigned as dependent variable. The study investigated whether collective memory is predictor of Catholic identity when controlling for participants' level of Catholic contact. Collective memory included negative and positive events. It was found that Catholic collective memory is significant predictor of Catholics identity. Positive events also were more effective than negative events on the identity (Bellehumeur et al., 2011). A study showed that the consequences of tragic events might create solidarity between Alevis (Yıldız & Verkuyten, 2011). In this point, this thesis also recognizes that negative events should also be significant in terms of behaviors and attitudes of the groups today. Moreover, it is expected that the negative events that Alevis, the subjects of this study, experienced and their collective memories will have an important effect on their mobilization and how they view the Sunnis, with whom they had many conflicts in the past.

One positive and negative event was chosen to assessing Alevis' collective memory. The Madımak Event, which took place on July 2, 1993 and effects of which still linger and is still remembered by all Alevis was selected for this study from the other traumatic experiences of Alevi community. Re-opening of Haji Bektash Veli dervish lodge in which the tomb of Hajı Bektash Veli, a very significant religious and historical figure for Alevis, is located after long while was used as the positive event in Alevi history for the purposes of this study.

As a result, this study aims to investigate attitudes of people who identify themselves as Alevis towards Sunnis. Besides this study also examines the relationship of Alevi identification to their collective memory of past events that are considered to be important in shaping this identity. Consequently, the extent to which Alevis identify with their religious identity is expected to predict the extent to which they will remember, the extent to which they will attribute importance to and feel about two specific significant events (negative and positive) from Alevi history, and these collective memory aspects will ultimately predict Alevis' participation into and support for the collective action and their intergroup attitudes towards Sunnis. Following from this, the two hypotheses of the study, broadly stated, are:

Hypothesis 1:

Collective memory will mediate the relationship between strength of Alevi identification and their collective action participation or support.

Hypothesis 2:

Collective memory will mediate the relationship between Alevi identification and in-group favoritism

CHAPTER II

METHOD

2.1. Participants

The sample consisted of 233 Alevis (67%) men and 114 (32.8%) women. Three women and four men did not report their ages. The mean age of the remaining 341 participants was 38.78 ($SD = 14.45$). The mean age of females was 34.96 ($SD = 12.65$) and the mean age of males was 40.65 ($SD = 14.96$).

Participants were from different cities of Turkey; 43.7% from Tunceli, 15.2% from Ankara, 13.2% from Şanlıurfa, 12.9% from Diyarbakır, 6.6% from İstanbul, 2% from Elazığ, 1.4% from Nevşehir and 5% from various cities (see Table 1).

Table 1

Cities that the Participants Lived in

Cities the participants live in	n	%
Tunceli	152	43.7
Ankara	53	15.2
Şanlıurfa	46	13.2
Diyarbakır	45	12.9
Istanbul	23	6.6
Elazığ	7	2
Nevşehir	5	1.4
Other	17	5
Total	348	100

Note. The other category included Adana, Antalya, Batman, Gaziantep, İzmir, Mardin, Mersin, Muş, Trabzon with not more than 3 participants.

In terms of education levels of the participants (see Table 2), 93 (26.7%) graduated from high school, 88 (25.3%) graduated from university, 45 (12.9%) graduated from primary school, 44 (12.6%) reported that they were university students, 39(11.2%) graduated from secondary school, 15 (4.3%) reported that they were high school students and 24 (7%) reported other levels (see Table 2).

Table 2

Education Levels of the Participants

Education level	n	%
Illiterate	6	1.7
Literate	6	1.7
Primary school	45	12.9
Secondary school	39	11.2
High school student	15	4.3
High school	93	26.7
College	4	1.1
University student	44	12.6
University	88	25.3
Master's student	1	0.3
Master's/Doctoral degree	6	1.7
Missing	1	0.3
Total	348	99.8

Regarding the location where participants spent most of their lives, 5.2% reported to be in a metropolis, 16.7% in a big city, 37.4% in a city, 17.8% in a town, 8.6% in a small town, 14.4% in a village (see Table 3).

Tablo 3

Place Lived the Longest

Place	n	%
Metropolis	18	5.2
Big City	58	16.7
City	130	37.4
Town	62	17.8
Small Town	30	8.6
Village	50	14.4
Total	348	100

A total of 23 (6.6%) of the participants did not report their income. Of the remaining participants, 44 (12.6%) reported 500 and under 500 TL, 62 (17.8%) reported between 500 and 1000 TL, 69 (19.8%) reported their family income between 1000 and 1500 TL, 60 (17.2%) reported between 1500 and 2000 TL, 55 (15.8%) reported between 2000 and 3000 TL, 25 (7.2%) reported between 3000 and 5000 TL,10 (2.9%) 5000 and above 5000 TL (see Table 4).

According to their religious identification, 339 (97.4%) participants reported only as Alevis, but 9 (2.5%) reported complex identities such as Alevis and atheist, Alevis and Bektashi, Alevis of Dersim, Alevis and humanist, Kizilbash, Alevis and nihilist.

Regarding ethnic identity, 21 (6%) participants did not report their identities, 129 (37.1%) participants reported their identities as Turkish, 128 (36.8%) participants reported their identities as Kurdish, 33 (9.5%) participants reported as Alevis, 10 (2.9%) reported as Turkman, 6 (1.7%) reported as Zaza and 4 (1.1%) reported as

Human. The rest of the participants (4.9%) reported various identities such as Arab, Dersimce, Kızılbash, all or none of them (see in Table 5).

Regarding the political identities of participants, 6 (1.7%) participants did not respond to this question. Majority of the participants, 259 (74.4%) of them, reported that they had left political identities in high degree, 45 (12.9%) participants were mainly left, 36 (10.3%) participants were neither left nor right, one person (.3%) was more right and also one person (.3%) participants reported that they had completely right political identities. In terms of left (from 1) right (to 5) distinction, the average position was towards left ($M = 1.36$, $SD = .70$).

Moreover, 9 (2.6%) participants did not answer to the question that included the importance of political thoughts. 179 (51.4%) participants reported that they concerned about politics in very high degree, but 30 (8.6%) participants reported that they by no means considered the importance of their politics thoughts and the rest of participants (37.4%) reported that they considered neither completely yes nor completely no. In terms of the importance of political thoughts distinction from 5 (very important) to 1 (not important), the average position was towards 5 ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 1.29$).

The distribution of the political parties that the participants would vote for if there was an election today is presented in Table 6. 9 participants (2.6%) did not report their parties options. Nearly half of the participants, 148 (42.5%), reported that they voted for CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi; the Republican People's Party), another majority, 68 (19.5%) voted for BDP (Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi; Peace and Democracy Party), 68 (19.5%) participants reported that they did not vote for any parties and other participants (15.9%) distributed in other parties.

Table 4

Family Income of theParticipnats

Income	n	%
500-under 500	44	12.6
500-1000	62	17.8
1000-1500	69	19.8
1500-2000	60	17.2
2000-3000	55	15.8
3000-5000	25	7.2
5000-above 5000	10	2.9
Missing	23	6.6
Total	448	100

Table 5

Ethnic Identities the of Participants

Identity	n	%
Turkish	129	37.1
Kurdish	128	36.8
Alevi	33	9.5
Turkman	10	2.9
Zaza	6	1.7
Human	4	1.1
Other	17	4.9
Missing	21	6
Total	348	100

Note. The other category included Arap, Dersimce,
Kizilbash, Turk/Kurd, Kurd/Zaza, Kurd/Turkman Alevis;
none of them with more than three participants.

Table 6

Political Parties the Participants would Vote for if Elections were Held Today

Party	n	%
CHP	148	42.5
BDP	68	19.5
None	68	19.5
Independents	20	5.7
TKP	10	2.9
ÖDP	8	2.3
AK Party	5	1.4
Indecisive	4	1.1
EMEP	3	0.9
DSP	1	0.3
HDP	1	0.3
İP	1	0.3
Other	2	0.6
Missing	9	2.6
Total	348	100

Note. CHP = Republican People's Party (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi); BDP = Peace and Democracy Party (Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi); TKP = Communist Party of Turkey (Türkiye Komünist Partisi); ÖDP = Freedom and Solidarity Party (Özgürlük ve Dayanışma Partisi); AK Party = Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve KalkınmaPartisi); EMEP = Labour Party (Emek Partisi); DSP = Democratic Left Party (Demokratik Sol Parti); HDP = the Peoples' Democratic Party (Halkların Demokratik Partisi); İP = Workers' Party (İşçi Partisi); Other category included any socialist party that was in real terms and all except the AK party government.

2.2. Instruments, Scale Constructions and Factor Analysis

Participants filled out a set of measures as well as demographic questions. The current study consists of two groups of scales. The first group of scales includes Alevi Identification Scale and Alevi Collective Memory Scale (for both positive and negative events) and these measure the independent variables and also Alevi Collective Scale was used as the mediator variable. The second group represents dependent variables consisting of *attitudes towards Alevis and Sunnis*, the Importance of Collective Action Scale and the Support for Collective Action Scale. The reliability of all study variables are presented in Table 8.

Principal Components Analysis was employed for the individual factor analyses of each scale. The missing values were excluded from the analysis in a list-wise way, so the factor analysis was conducted with the participants who answered all the items. Number of iterations was assigned as 25 and the cut-off for loading was kept at .30. The rotation method was used as direct oblimin, so the reported loadings are taken from the pattern matrices.

2.2.1. Demographic Information Form

Participants filled out the questions which cover their ages, sexes, the city they lived in, their hometown in register, occupations, education levels, the longest period of time where they lived, incomes, religious and ethnic identities, political orientations and their personal importance, and which political party they will vote if elections are held today (for the demographic information form see Appendix B).

2.2.2. Alevi Identification Scale

Tajfel (1982) defined social identity concept as the fact that self-perception of the individual arises from individual's information about the membership to a group or groups and the value and emotional significance that this individual attributed to this membership. Alevi Identification was measured by Cameron's (2004) social identity

scale that was adapted to Turkish by Cingöz-Ulu (2008) (for Alevi identification scale see Appendix C). The scale included 12 items, half of which were reverse items. The scale was made up of three subscales. In-group ties refer to psychological ties of social identity which bond the self to the group. It is measured with four items. The example item for in-group ties is "*I have a lot in common with other (in-group members)*". Centrality measures cognitive component of identity with four items. The example item for centrality is "*I often think about the fact that I am a(n) (in-group member)*". The last subscale is in-group affect that measures emotional valence of identity with four items. The example item for in-group affect is "*In general, I'm glad to be a (n) (in-group member).*The response format was a 5 point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). High scores show that individuals identify with their social grup in the high degree. The reliability of the scale was acceptable, though somewhat low ($\alpha = .67$, $n = 339$). The reliability of all study variables are presented in Table 8.

2.2.3. Alevi Collective Memory Scale

The components of collective memory of Alevis were measured by using an adapted version of the "Catholic Collective Memory Scale", developed by Bellehumeur and his colleagues (2011) (for Alevi collective memory scale see Appendix G).Two significant historical events were used to evaluate the different components of collective memory for Alevis. Firstly, the scholars of Alevi History were consulted about selecting one positive (the case of Hacı Bektaş Veli Dervish Convent) and one negative event (the Sivas massacre). Especially, these events were selected as regards their historical significance and participants are expected to hear about previously. Besides, these events were presented in minimal detail just as a reminder because further details should not be necessary for participants who already know, i.e. have collective memory regarding these events. In addition, further details might have misdirected the answer of those who have minimal information about these events.

In order to be sure about what extent participants have heard of these events, a control question was asked. Therefore, the participants who have not previously

heard about the event were excluded from the analysis. The scale aimed to measure three components of collective memory (evaluative, cognitive and affective). The evaluative component measures how important and effective the specific events are for the individual's group (Schuman, Akiyama, & Knauper, 1998). An example item for evaluative component is *"In your opinion, how historically important is this event for Alevis today?"*. The response format for this component was a 5 point scale from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much). Cronbach's alpha for the evaluative component was $\alpha = .43$ ($n = 384$) for the negative event and $\alpha = .79$ ($n = 328$) for the positive event.

The cognitive component of collective memory is defined as the frequency of recalling the past events which are also accepted and discussed by the individual's own group (Pennebaker et al., 1997). An example item for cognitive component is *"How often do you think about this event?"*. Similarly, the response format for cognitive component was a 5 point scale from 1 (never) to 5 (very much). Cronbach's alpha for the cognitive component was ($\alpha = .75$, $n = 384$) for the negative event and ($\alpha = .82$, $n = 331$) for the positive event.

Lastly, the affective component of the collective memory expresses the emotional reaction regarding the past events (Finkenauer et al., 1998). Individuals often have intense emotional experience during the recall of the past events. The affective aspect was measured through 5 emotion pairs given with the instruction *"When you think of this event, evaluate the extent to which you feel…?"*(including 5 items). The emotion pairs were happy – unhappy, angry – calm, satisfied – dissatisfied, secure-insecure and hopeful-hopeless. The response was rated on a 5 point scale. The Cronbach's alpha for the affective component was ($\alpha = .62$, $n = 370$) for the negative event and ($\alpha = .85$, $n = 321$) for the positive event. The reliability of the evaluative component for the Sivas Massacre was very low. Therefore, this variable was removed from further analyses. The reliability of all study variables are presented in Table 8.

2.2.4. In-group Bias Scale

Intergroup bias is people's favoring their own group and assessing in-group members more positively compared to out-group members (Tajfel, 1982) and people may discriminate out-groups, exhibit prejudiced attitudes and generate stereotypical thoughts about out-group members (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). A Generalized Group Evaluation Scale (Duckitt, Callaghan &Wagner, 2005) was used to evaluate in-group and out-group attitudes (for the scale measuring *attitudes towards Alevis and Sunnis* see in Appendix D). The scale was made up of two sections, each of which was filled out by all participants. Each section referred to evaluation of positive or negative traits for describing Alevis and Sunnis. Four of the traits were positive (good, kind, honest and trustworthy) and four of them were negative (bad mannered, unpleasant, dishonest and bad). The scale items were rated using 5 point scales with 1 (*does not describe at all*) and 5 (*completely describes*).

Two parts (Alevi and Sunni) was evaluated together in order to measure in-group bias. That is, Alevi positive item scores were subtracted from Sunni positive item scores to formed positive in-bias item for each trait. Besides, in order to formed negative in-group bias, Sunni negative score subtract from Alevi negative score. Finally, these two scores (Alevi-Sunni and Sunni-Alevi ratings) were computed for each adjectives. As described in the method section, 8 difference scores were obtained by subtracting Alevi evaluations from Sunni evaluations for negative traits, and doing the opposite for positive traits. These eight difference scores were subjected to Principal Components Analysis for 348 participants that provided all the scores. Both the KMO statistic (*KMO* = .85) and the Barlett's statistic ($\chi2$ (28) = 1575.525, *p* <.001) were satisfactory. The analysis revealed two factors. The first factor, positive traits, had an eigenvalue of 4.49 and explained the 56.12% of the total variance. The loading on the factor ranged from .81 to .90. Internal reliability of the factor was satisfactory (*α* = .88, *n* = 352). The second factor, negative traits, had an eigenvalue of 1.35 and explained the 16.86 of the total variance. The loading on this factor ranged from .78 to .90. Internal reliability of this factor was *α* = .85, *n* = 351. However, the positive and negative trait scales were averaged into a single scale

in order to measure in-group bias. The Cronbach alpha measure of internal reliability of the in-group bias scale was satisfactory (α = .89, n = 341). The reliability of all study variables are presented in Table 8.

2.2.5. The Importance of Collective Action

Factor motivating individuals to participate in collective actions are that individuals compare their situations with the members of other groups. If they see that they do not enjoy the rights that are supposed to be granted, they grow tendency to protest it as a result of this comparison (Folger, 1986). Especially experiencing the sense of being deprived of some rights creates motive for them to take part in the protests or collective actions (Klandermans, 1997). Alevis believe that they are deprived of some rights that they should enjoy due to their religious beliefs, so this scale consisted of Alevis' demands. The scale intended to measure how Alevis evaluate the importance of collective action with 10 items on a 5 point scale from 1 (*Not at all important*) to 5 (V*ery important*). The items of this scale were formed via consulting some Alevis foundations such as Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association, Headquarters of Alevis Cultural Associations, Headquarters of Haji Bektash Veli Anatolian Cultural Foundation, the Association of Ankara Dersimliler, Ankara Bureau of Cem Foundation. Besides, some academicians and specialists who study Alevis were consulted while forming this scale's items. An example item from the scale is "*How important is cemevi to be accepted as places of worship for Alevis*".

Both the KMO statistic (*KMO* = .82) and the Barlett's statistic ($\chi 2$ (45) = 908.024, *p* < .001) were satisfactory, so the sample was adequate for factor analysis. The analysis revealed a model with two factors, explaining 48.71% of the variance. On the scree plot, the curve also inflected after two factors. The eigenvalues of the study fell under the random eigenvalues calculated by Monte Carlo parallel analysis program after the second factor, meaning that there should be two factors in the model. The communalities of the items in the scale ranged from .06 to .75. Communalities of some variables were quite low.

One item ("How important is that Alevis go to European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in order to taking their rights when they cannot obtain their rights in national law?") was excluded from scale because its loading on any of the factors was below the .30 cutoff level.

Three items (the converting of Madımak Hotel into a museum, the abolishing of compulsory religion class, the Presidency of Religious Affairs) loaded on the same factor. However, item that includes Madımak Hotel separated from other two items in terms of their meaning. Because the case of Madımak Hotel is related to cultural rights, but other two items refer to religious rights. Besides, the internal reliability of this factor was not satisfactory ($\alpha = .47$, $n = 381$). Therefore, these three items together with the factor was excluded from the scale. After this process, the analyses were conducted with the remaining items. The analysis revealed one factor and it was labeled as the importance of collective action. The factor had an eigenvalue of 3.18 and explained 52.94% of the variance. The communalities of the items ranged from .32 to .73. The scale has good internal reliability ($\alpha = .82$, $n = 382$). The reliability of all study variables are presented in Table 8. (see Appendix E for the importance of collective action).

2.2.6. Support for Collective Action Scale

This scale aimed to measure collective support of participants with a list of actions derived from Liss, Crawford and Popp (2004).The scale had 5items on a 5 point scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). An example item for collective action support is "Would you sign a petition in order to achieve Alevi rights in Turkey (See Appendix F for a copy of the collective action support scale).

Both the KMO statistic ($KMO = .82$) and the Barlett's statistic ($\chi2$ (10) = 907.726, $p<.001$) were satisfactory. Total of five items loaded on one factor with an eigenvalue of 3.23 and explaining 64.57% of the total variance. The communalities of the items ranged from .50 to 70. The scale was also reliable ($\alpha = .86$, $n = 387$). The reliability of all study variables are presented in Table 8.

Table 7

Reliability Statistics of the Study Variables

Variables	Cronbach's alpha	N
Collective Memory-Negative Event		
1. Evaluative (2 items)	.43	384
2. Cognitive (2 items)	.75	384
3. Affective(5 items)	.62	370
Collective Memory-Positive Event		
1. Evaluative (2 items)	.79	328
2. Cognitive (2 items)	.82	331
3. Affective (5 items)	.85	321
Alevi Identity	.67	339
In-group Bias[1]	.89	341
Importance of Collective Action	.82	382
Support for Collective Action	.86	387

2.3.   Procedure

The ethic committee approval was taken from the METU UEAM (Human Participants Ethic Committee) prior to data collection (See Appendix H for a copy of the approval). The data was only collected from people who identified themselves as Alevis. Therefore, places where Alevis live were selected as study areas. In order to variation of demographic characteristics, various residential areas were selected such as Ankara , İstanbul, Tunceli, and Elazığ as cities; towns of Hozat (Tunceli), Kısas (Şanlıurfa), and Hacıbektaş (Nevşehir) and Türkmenacı village in Diyarbakır. Moreover, the data was collected from people who were members of Alevi foundations or associations. These foundations were Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association, Headquarters of Haji Bektash Veli Anatolian Cultural Foundation and

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[1]In-group bias was calculated by subtracting attitudes towards Sunnis from attitudes towards Alevis, as will be clear in the following section

the Association of Ankara Dersimliler. Besides of all these ways, people who attended in the festival of HajiBektashVelialso filled out the questionnaires. . I collected most of the data personally, but there were others who assisted in data collection as well. Prior to collecting data, I summarized the research to these assistants. I also left some of the questionnaires in various places such as coffeehouses, cultural centers and then I collected all surveys from the places I left. Participants voluntarily filled out the questionnaires. Prior to starting filled out questionnaire, they were asked to read the consent form (see Appendix A). Researcher answered and clarified when participants filled them out. Participants were not asked to write their names, they were informed about their responses will be used for research purposes. The survey lasted approximately 20 minutes. At the end of the survey, participants were thanked for their contributions.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Prior to analysis, the missing data, outliers (univariate and multivariate) and multiple regression assumptions were checked on the variables via IBM SPSS version 22. The variable scores were calculated by averaging responses to items. From the total of 392 participants, 25 participants did not answer any item from the scale measuring *attitudes towards Alevis and Sunnis*, so they were not included in the analyses. Three participants lived abroad, hence were excluded from the analyses. Because 5% of the cases were missing on other variables, corresponding mean scores were substituted for the missing scores. Later, 13 univariate outliers in the importance of collective action, support for collective action, Alevi collective memory (for the negative event) scales were detected by using the critical z value of ±3.29. Having deleted them, Mahalanobis distances with $p<.001$ were calculated for detecting multivariate outliers. 3 multivariate outliers were detected as regards critical value of chi square (x^2 (10, .001) = 29.588). After deleting these cases, 348 participants remained for the analyses.

The data was examined related to normality, linearity and homoscedasticity. All variables did not represent normal distribution. These variables were support for collective action (*skewness* = -1.034), cognitive component for negative event (*kurtosis* = -1.072), evaluative component for positive event (*skewness* = -1.193), the importance of collective action (*skewness* = -1.532, kurtosis = 1.848). Linearity and homoscedasticity assumptions were not met by each variable pair, but these assumptions were met considerably.

Table 8

Gender Differences for the Study Variables

Variables	General		Men (*n* = 233)		Women (*n* = 114)			
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*t*	*p*
1. Alevi Identity	3.99	0.56	3.98	0.58	4.01	0.51	-0.41	0.68
2. In-group Bias	1.04	0.98	1.12	1.01	0.88	0.93	2.19	0.03*
3. Importance of Collective Action	4.77	0.32	4.77	0.33	4.77	0.32	0.00	1.00
4. Support for Collective Action	4.25	0.76	4.26	0.75	4.22	0.80	0.48	0.63
5. CM-Evaluative for Negative Event	4.87	0.32	4.87	0.34	4.87	0.30	0.09	0.93
6. CM-Cognitive for Negative Event	3.98	0.81	4.03	0.79	3.88	0.84	1.60	0.11
7. CM-Affective for Negative Event	3.16	0.73	3.23	0.73	3.02	0.70	2.57	0.01*
8. CM-Evaluative for Positive Event	4.43	0.73	4.48	0.70	4.33	0.77	1.80	0.07
9. CM-Cognitive for Positive Event	3.12	1.05	3.25	1.01	2.86	1.07	3.36	0.00**
10. CM-Affective for Positive Event	4.40	1.04	4.49	1.06	4.21	0.99	3.36	0.00**

* p < .05. ** p < .01.

3.1. Correlations between Variables

Table 9

Bivariate Correlations of the Study Variables

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Alevis Identity	1	.24**	.16**	.28**	.11*	.22**	-.05	.18**	.28**	.14**
2. In-group Bias		1	.17**	.27**	.14**	.20**	-.09	.31**	.29**	.20**
3. Importance of Collective Action			1	.34**	.22**	.21**	-.09	.27**	.11*	-.02
4. Support for Collective Action				1	.30**	.43**	-.17**	.30**	.29**	-.03
5. CM-Evaluative for Negative Event					1	.23**	-.22**	.26**	.12*	-.03
6. CM-Cognitive for Negative Event						1	-.22**	.28**	.44**	.05
7. CM-Affective for Negative Event							1	-.10	,02	.18**
8. CM-Evaluative for Positive Event								1	.49**	.07
9. CM-Cognitive for Positive Event									1	.27**
10. CM-Affective for Positive Event										1

Note. CM = Collective Memory

N = 348.　　　　* p < .05. ** p < .01.

3.2. Mediational Analyses

The hypotheses of the study were tested by conducting a bootstrapping multiple mediator model with 5,000 resamples (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) regressed on in-group bias, importance of collective action and support for collective action. In each multiple model, Alevi identity entered the analysis as the independent variable and collective memory with its three dimension is entered as the mediator. The SPSS macro "INDIRECT" was conducted to evaluate multiple mediational model for each dependent variable. The macro also calculates confidence intervals of the indirect effects of independent variables on dependent variables through mediators by a 95% bootstrap confidence interval based on 5000 bootstrap samples (Preacher & Hayes, 2008).

3.2.1. Mediating Role of Collective Memory Regarding a Negative Event in Predicting Importance of Collective Action

In order to examine whether the association between Alevi identity and importance of collective action was mediated by collective memory of negative event, the cognitive and affective dimensions of collective memory were simultaneously used in the model. As mentioned in method section, the evaluative dimension had to be removed from the analyses due to its rather low and unsatisfactory internal reliability. The total effect of Alevi identity on importance of collective action was significant; (path c) $B = .09$, $SE = .031$, $p = .003$ and the direct effect was also significant; (path c') $B = .06$, $SE = .031$, $p = .041$. The direct effect of Alevi identity on cognitive component of collective memory (path a_1) ($B = .32$, $SE = .076$, $p < .001$) was significant while on the affective of collective memory (path a_2) ($B = -.06$, $SE = .070$, $p = .374$) was not significant. In addition, the direct effect of cognitive aspect of collective memory on the importance of collective action (path b_1) ($B = .06$, $SE = .022$, $p = .012$) was significant, but the direct effect of affective aspect of collective memory (path b_2) ($B = -.01$, $SE = .024$, $p = .801$) was not significant. Confidence interval for the indirect effect of cognitive dimension excluded zero; and hence indicated that indirect effect of Alevi identification on importance of collective

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action through the cognitive aspect of collective memory (mediator) was statistically significant; $B = .02$, $SE = .009$, 95 % CI [.004, .039]. However, the confidence interval for the indirect effect of Alevi identity on the importance of collective action through the affective aspect of collective memory (mediator) was not statistically significant; $B = .00$, $SE = .002$, 95 % CI [-.003, .008]. The model explained 8% of the variance; adjusted $R^2 = .08$, $F(4, 343) = 8.04$, $p < .001$.

* p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p < .001

Figure 1. Mediational Model Predicting Importance of Collective Action from Strength of Alevi Identification through Cognitive and Affective Components of Collective Memory of a Negative Event

3.2.2. Mediating Role of Collective Memory Regarding a Positive Event in Predicting Importance of Collective Action

The role of collective memory aspects regarding the positive event between Alevi identity and importance of collective action was analyzed in the same manner above. Both the total and the direct effects of Alevi identity on the importance of collective action was significant; (path c) $B = .09$, $SE = .031$, $p = .003$; (path c')$B = .07$, $SE = .031$, $p = .016$ respectively. The direct effect of Alevi identity on all components of collective memory namely the evaluative aspect (path a_1) ($B = .24$, $SE = .069$, $p < .001$), the cognitive aspect (path a_2) ($B = .52$, $SE = .096$, $p < .001$) and the affective aspect (path a_3) ($B = .26$, $SE = .099$, $p = .007$) were significant as well.

The direct effect of the evaluative aspect of collective memory (path b_1) ($B = .12$, $SE = .026$, $p < .001$) on importance of collective action was significant; however, the direct effects of cognitive (path b_2) ($B = -.02$, $SE = .019$, $p = .405$) or the affective aspect of collective memory (path b_3) ($B = -.02$, $SE = .017$, $p = .368$) on the importance of collective action were not significant. Confidence interval for the indirect effect of evaluative component ($B = .03$, $SE = .010$, 95 % CI [.013, .052] did not include zero, hence the indirect effect through evaluative component was significant. The model explained 8% of the variance; adjusted $R^2 = .08$, $F(4, 343) = 8.48$, $p < .001$. However, the indirect effect of cognitive (95 % CI [-.029, .010]) and affective (95 % CI [-.015, .002]) components were not significant.
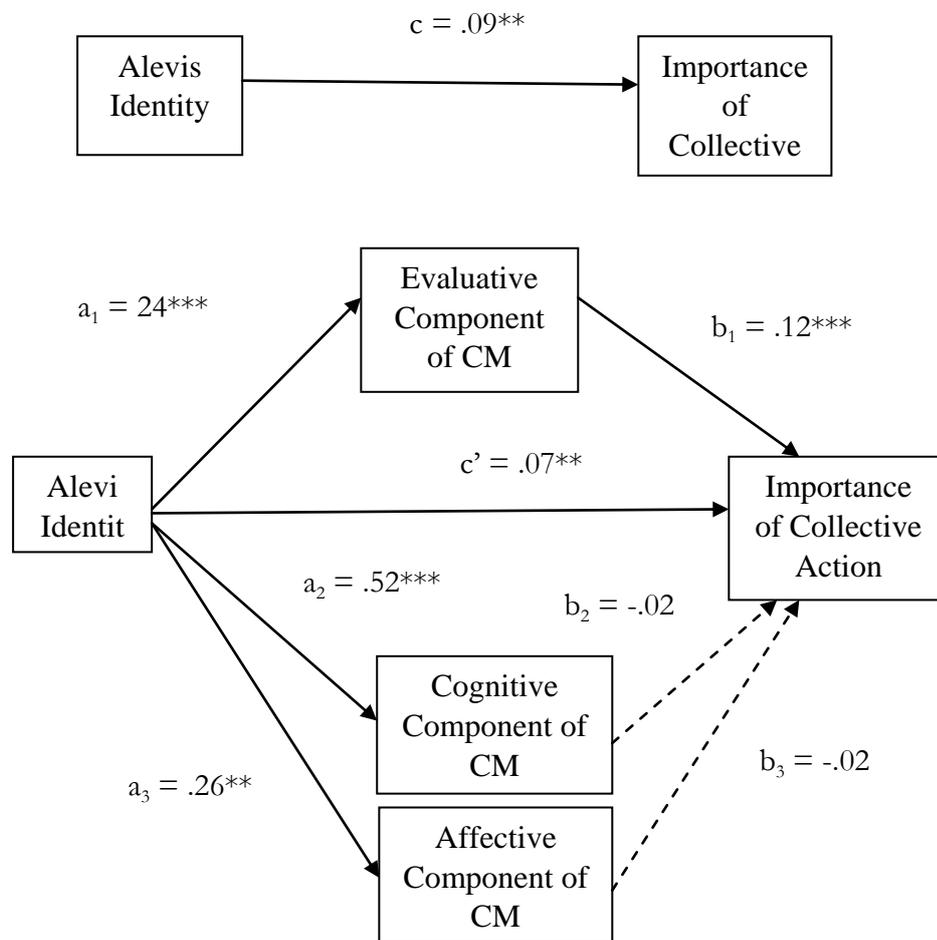
$* \ p < .05 \ ** \ p < .01 \ ***p < .001$

Figure 2. Mediational Model Predicting Importance of Collective Action from Strength of Alevi Identification through Evaluative, Cognitive and Affective Components of Collective Memory of a Positive Event

3.2.3. Mediating Role of Collective Memory Regarding a Negative Event in Predicting Support for Collective Action

The same SPSS macro and analytical procedures were carried out to investigate whether the relationship between Alevi identity and support for collective action was mediated by the components of collective memory of the negative event. Total effect (path c) ($B = .38$, $SE = .070$, $p < .001$) and indirect effect (path c') ($B = .25$, $SE = .065$, $p < .001$) of Alevi identity on support for collective action were both significant. In addition, Alevi identity (path a_1) ($B = .32$, $SE = .076$, $p < .001$) was found to be a significant predictor of the cognitive component, but Alevi identity (path a_2) ($B = -.06$, $SE = .070$, $p = .374$) was not a significant predictor of the affective component of collective memory. Similarly, while direct effect of cognitive component (path b_1) ($B = .31$, $SE = .047$, $p < .001$) on support for collective action was significant, that of affective component (path b_2) ($B = -.05$, $SE = .051$, $p = .343$) on support for collective action was not significant. The same results were found about the indirect effects. The indirect effect of Alevi identity through the cognitive component was significant since confidence interval excluded zero; $B = .10$, $SE = .028$, 95 % CI [.05, .16]. On the other hand, the indirect effect of Alevi identity on support for collective action through the affective component of collective action was not significant because confidence interval included zero; $B = .003$, $SE = .006$, 95 % CI [-.003, .026]. The model explained 25% of the variance; adjusted $R^2 = .25$, $F(4, 343) = 29.53$, $p < .001$.

$c = .38***$

$a_1 = .32***$
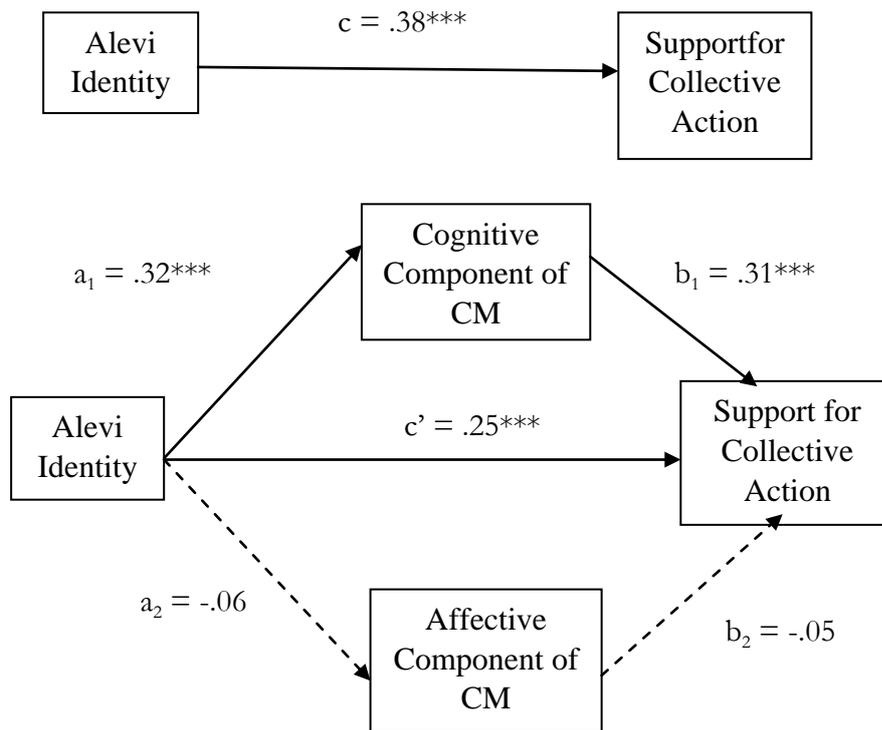
$b_1 = .31***$

$c' = .25***$

$a_2 = -.06$

$b_2 = -.05$

* p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p < .001

Figure 3. Mediational Model Predicting Support for Collective Action from Strength of Alevi Identification through Cognitive and Affective Components of Collective Memory of a Negative Event

3.2.4. Mediating Role of Collective Memory Regarding a Positive Event in Predicting Support for Collective Action

The total effect (path c) ($B = .38$, $SE = .070$, $p < .001$) and the direct effect (path c') ($B = .29$, $SE = .070$, $p < .001$) of Alevi identity on support for collective action were significant. Besides, Alevi identity was found to be a significant predictor of the evaluative (path a_1) ($B = .24$, $SE = .069$, $p < .001$), the cognitive (path a_2) ($B = .52$, $SE = .096$, $p < .001$) and the affective components (path a_3) ($B = .26$, $SE = .099$, $p = .007$). The effects of the mediators on support for collective action was significant for the evaluative (path b_1) ($B = .19$, $SE = .060$, $p = .001$), the cognitive (path b_2) ($B = .13$, $SE = .044$, $p = .004$) and the affective components as well (path b_3) ($B = -.08$, SE

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= .038, p = .026). Confidence intervals for the indirect effects of all the three aspects of collective memory excluded zero, thereby indicating the indirect effect of Alevi identity on support for collective action was statistically significant with all mediators. The indirect effect for the evaluative component was $(B = .04, SE = .019,$ 95 % CI [.015, .094]), for the cognitive component it was $(B = .07, SE = .025,$ 95 % CI [.024, .122]) and for the affective component the effect was $(B = -.02, SE = .011,$ 95 % CI [-.052, -.005]). The model explained 15% of the variance; adjusted $R^2 = .15,$ $F(4, 343) = 16.89, p< .001.$
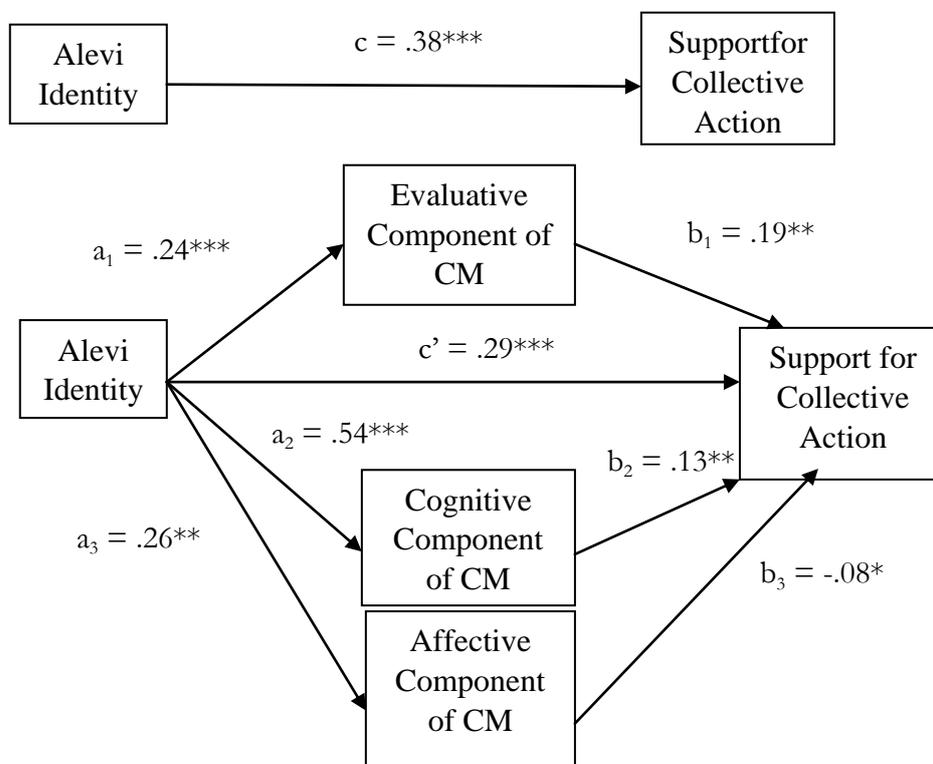

* p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p < .001

Figure 4. Mediational Model Predicting Support for Collective Action from Strength of Alevi Identification through Evaluative, Cognitive and Affective Components of Collective Memory of a Positive Event

3.2.5. Mediating Role of Collective Memory Regarding a Negative Event in Predicting In-group Bias

When we examine the indirect effect of Alevi identity on in-group bias through the two components of collective memory, the total effect (path c) was ($B = .42$, $SE = .091$, $p < .001$) and the direct effect (path c') was ($B = .35$, $SE = .093$, $p < .001$). Alevi identity predicted the cognitive aspect of collective memory (path a_1) ($B = .32$, $SE = .075$, $p < .001$), however it did not directly predict the affective component (path a_2) ($B = -.06$, $SE = .069$, $p = .374$). The direct effect of the cognitive aspect of collective memory (path b_1) ($B = .16$, $SE = .066$, $p = .016$) significantly predicted in-group bias, but the affective aspect of collective memory (path b_2) ($B = -.04$, $SE = .072$, $p = .550$) was not significant. Confidence intervals for the indirect effect only cognitive component excluded zero, therefore we can conclude that the indirect effect of Alevi identity on in-group bias was statistically significant only through the cognitive aspect of collective memory; $B = .05$, $SE = .023,95$ % CI [.015, .110]. Regarding the affective component, the confidence interval included zero; and indicated that indirect effect of Alevi identity on in-group bias was not statistically significant; $B = .01$ .05, $SE = .008,95$ % CI [-.006, .036]. The model explained 8% of the variance; adjusted $R^2 = .08$, $F(4, 343) = 8.35$, $p < .001$.
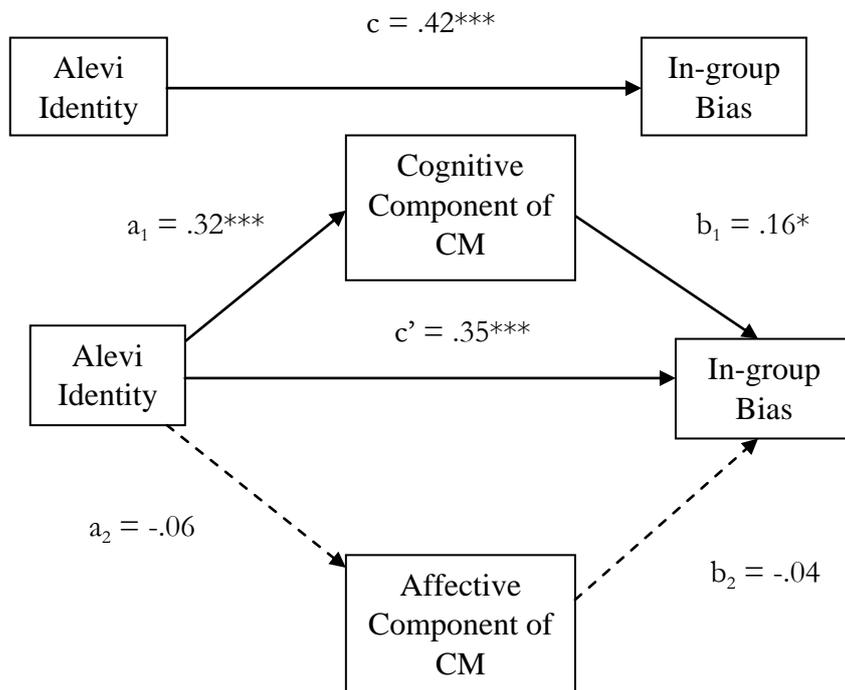
$$c = .42^{***}$$

| Alevi Identity | | In-group Bias |

$$a_1 = .32^{***} \qquad \text{Cognitive Component of CM} \qquad b_1 = .16^*$$

$$c' = .35^{***}$$

Alevi Identity → In-group Bias

$$a_2 = -.06 \qquad \text{Affective Component of CM} \qquad b_2 = -.04$$

* p < .05 ** p < .01 ***p < .001

Figure 5. Mediational Model Predicting In-group Bias from Strength of Alevi Identification through Cognitive and Affective Components of Collective Memory of a Negative Event

3.2.6. Mediating Role of Collective Memory Regarding a Positive Event in Predicting In-group Bias

Both the total effect (path c) ($B = .42$, $SE = .091$, $p < .001$) and the direct effect (path c') ($B = .27$, $SE = .091$, $p = .003$) of Alevi identity on in-group bias were significant. Alevi identity was found to be a significant predictor of all components of collective memory for the positive event; the evaluative component (path a_1) ($B = .24$, $SE = .068$, $p < .001$), the cognitive component (path a_2) ($B = .52$, $SE = .096$, $p < .001$) as well as the affective component (path a_3) ($B = .26$, $SE = .098$, $p = .007$). Regarding the direct effects of collective memory components (mediators) on in-group bias, the

evaluative (path b_1) ($B = .30$, $SE = .077$, $p < .001$) and the affective aspects of collective memory (path b_3) ($B = .12$, $SE = .048$, $p = .011$) significantly predicted in-group bias, but the cognitive aspect did not (path b_2) ($B = .09$, $SE = .056$, $p = .093$). The indirect effects of Alevi identity on in-group bias through the evaluative ($B = .07$, $SE = .026$, 95 % CI [.027, .131]) and affective components ($B = .03$, $SE = .020$, 95 % CI [.005, .088]) were significant; however, the indirect effect through the cognitive component ($B = .05$, $SE = .033$, 95 % CI [-.008, .123]) was not. The model explained 15% of variance in in-group bias; adjusted $R^2 = .15$, $F(4, 343) = 16.14$, $p < .001$.
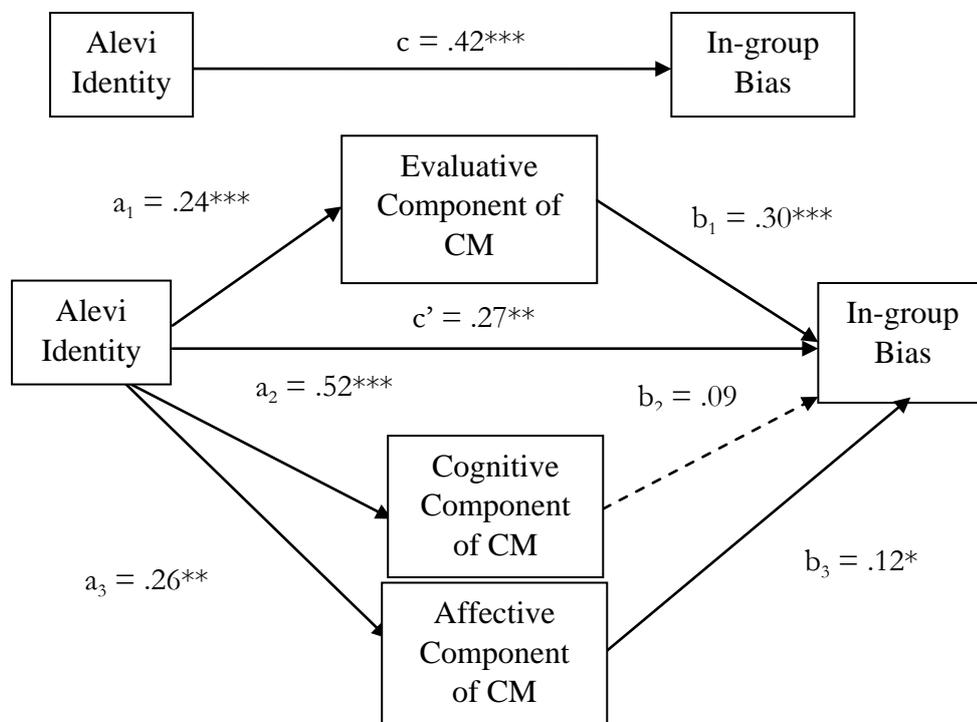

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ***$p < .001$

Figure 6. Mediational Model Predicting In-group Bias Strength of Alevi Identification through Evaluative, Cognitive and Affective Components of Collective Memory of a Positive Event

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CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

In this study, the relationship between the strength of social identity and collective participation or in-group bias was investigated through the mediatory role of collective memory of Alevis in Anatolia. The hypothesis was that individuals who strongly identified as Alevi would remember and would want to know about their own history and this would be reflected in the manners and behaviours related to both the Alevi rights and their attitudes towards Sunnis. The results of the study confirmed some of the hypotheses but not all of them.

Collective memory was measured in terms of different components such as cognitive, evaluative, and affective aspects. These different aspects played somewhat different mediating roles between the strength of Alevi identification and collective action participation or in-group bias regarding the positive and the negative events in this study. The cognitive component of collective memory was expressed as the frequency with which individuals remembered and talked about the event in question (Pennebaker et al., 1997). The cognitive component of collective memory of Madımak massacre played a mediator role between the strength of identification and collective action participation or in-group bias; it showed no such effects in the context of the positive event, namely the re-opening of the Haji Bektash Veli dervish lodge. Accordingly, the more frequently the participants thought and talked about the Madımak event, and the more likely they were to engage in collective action regarding Alevi rights or look at their in-groups more positively compared to the Sunni out-group. Yet thinking and talking about the Haji Bektash Veli lodge's opening did not mediate the same relationship.

The affective component, on the other hand, referred to how positively one felt toward the event in question and it is generally expressed as the emotional reaction

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regarding the past event (Finkenauer et al., 1998). The positivity of affect regarding Madımak (i.e., feeling positive or negative about this event) did not mediate the relationship between social identity and the dependent measures; yet it did so for the re-opening of the dervish lodge. Participants who strongly identify with Alevi identity express more emotionally reaction about the re-opening of the dervish lodge and they give a lot of support for collective action or make more in-group bias.

The evaluative component, which was operationalized as the degree to which the participants thought the event in question was important and influential on today's Alevis, could only be measured for the positive event where it showed some minimal internal consistency. It did mediate the relationship between the strength of Alevi identity and the dependent measures for the positive event. In the literature, the evaluative component of collective memory has been defined as how effective and how important the events are regarded by individuals for their own groups (Schuman, Akiyama &Knauper, 1998). As a result of a mediatory role of evaluative component of collective memory regarding dervish lodge, participants who strongly identify with Alevi identity thought this event to be of importance were more likely to participate in collective action participation or show in-group bias.

Collective memory plays different mediator roles between identity and other variables, in accordance with negative and positive events. In other words, differences are observed in Alevis' collective participation and in-group bias in relation to collective memory's being positive and negative. The fact that different components of collective memory played different mediatory roles for Madımak and Hajı Bektash Veli, may not be necessarily related to the valence of these two events, because we cannot assume that these two events are equivalent. These events took place at different times, that is, Madımak Massacre occurred much later than the re-opening of the Hajı Bektash Veli Dervish Lodge. And it had much more place in the media and perhaps even in the construction of Alevi identity. It is probably recalled much better than the other. In support of this idea, Madımak was significantly recalled to a greater extent ($M = 4.6$, that is, approximately *very much*) compared to the re-opening of the dervish lodge ($M = 3.2$ is refer to *somewhat*). That is, because

Madımak was well remembered, the cognitive component of collective memory played a mediatory role between study's variables regarding negative event. The cognitive component of collective memory also is defined as the frequency of recalling the past events (Pennebaker et al., 1997).

One of the most important findings in this study is the role played by collective memory in terms mediating the relationship between the strength of Alevi identification and the tendency to engage in collective action to claim Alevi rights. In line with the literature, there was a positive relationship between the strength of Alevi identification and collective action participation. Different studies demonstrated that social identification triggered individuals to participate into collective participation (Drury &Reicher, 1999, 2000, 2005; Reicher, 1996, 2001).The mediatory role played by collective memory was, however, mainly through the cognitive component rather than the affective one. In other words, participants who strongly identified as Alevi wanted to frequently think and talk about the Madımak event, and so they were likely to engage in collective action regarding Alevi rights. On the other hand, the indirect effect of identification through the affective component was not significant. In other words, the greater negative feelings that the participants reported about the Madımak Massacre did not lead to greater collective action participation. The finding that not emotions but the frequency of remembering played a mediatory role between identity and collective action is important to discuss. However, according to literature, the emotions of the individuals play an important role in motivating the individuals to participate into the collective actions. Especially anger is regarded as the most prototypical sense of the protests (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007). Emotions like anger include challenging and raising objections against the current situations, so individuals with these feeling begin to think that acting is better than being hopeless (Klandermans et al., 2008, Taylor, 2009). Most of the participants gave close answers including quite negative feelings, so the variance of answers remained low ($SD = .73$). Perhaps, a restriction of range could have been a problem. It is also seenhere that the participants have extremely negative feelings towards this event without being in any way dependent on differences in their strength of identification. There is not also

significant relationship between the strength of identification and affective component of collective memory regarding Madımak Massacre.

I also found that attributing importance to the re-opening of the dervish lodge (the evaluative component of collective memory) mediated the relationship between strength of Alevi identification and collective action participation. In other words, individuals who strongly identify themselves as Alevi tend to feelings think that the re-opening of Hajı Bektash Veli Dervish Lodge was important and influential and consequently, they were more likely to participate in collective action regarding Alevi rights. In collective memory studies, the events are selected carefully so that, the participants have already heard about them before (Bellehumeur et al., 2011). Thus, the first question in the collective memory scales of the study was "How well do you know of this event?" Strictly speaking, 21.8% of the participants reported that they heard about the re-opening of the lodge as in the form they were presented. However, they stated that they were aware of the existence of Haji Bektash Dervish Lodge and that they knew that it is in Hacıbektaş district of Nevşehir. Even if the participants did not know the whole history regarding the re-opening of the dervish lodge as they were reminded by the scale, they may have answered the questions that followed in line with the value that Haji Bektash Veli carries for them. At this point, it can be said that the personality of Haji Bektash Veli and his dervish lodge are perhaps important parts of the collective memory of the Alevis and not necessarily the historical event of the re-opening of the lodge itself. As it is expected in this model, people who strongly identify as an Alevi have knowledge about Haji Bektash Veli, an important figure according to their beliefs. Objections are constantly raised especially among Alevis about the status of Haji Bektash Veli Dervish Lodge. The Dervish Lodge is currently in a state of a museum under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. However, Alevis demand that the Dervish lodge be given to them and be used as a *cemevi* (Alevi Çalıştayı, 2009). Consequently this importance attributed to Haji Bektash Veli Dervish lodge perhaps plays this mediatory role to support Alevi rights through collective action.

Another interesting outcome of this study was that affective component of collective memory regarding the dervish lodge's opening played a mediator role between the

strength of identification and support for collective action, but the effect was a negative one. In other words, people who strongly identify as Alevi feel more positively about the re-opening dervish lodge. Yet at the same time, these positive feelings lead to decreased support for collective action. That is, the positive event that originally brings an emotional advantage to Alevis, somewhat prevents them from seeking their rights in the long term. Emotions play an important role in motivating the individuals to participate in collective action, and especially negative feelings like anger, but positive and avoidance emotions like fear keep them away from taking action (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007). In line with this finding, feeling hopeful, calm, and positive in general led these people to decrease their support for collective action.

When the role of the Alevis' collective memory in the relationship between in-group bias and Alevis' social identity is considered, first, results which include the relationship between the strength of identification and in-group bias support the findings in the literature of in-group bias. Alevis who strongly identify their in-group assess in-group members more positively compared to Sunnis. The frequency of thinking and talking about Madımak (cognitive component) mediated the relationship between the strength of Alevi identification and in-group bias, but the feelings regarding Madımak (the affective component) did not. On the other hand, participants mostly choose negative adjectives to define Sunnis, such as ill tempered, rude, and unreliable, they mostly choose positive adjectives to define Alevis, such as good, kind, and honest, so the variance of answers remained low ($SD = .97$) and the average score of participants' in-group bias was very low ($M = 1.04$). Therefore, restriction of range could have been a problem. For the positive event, however, the evaluative and affective components both mediated the relationship, but the cognitive component did not. That is to say, participants who strongly identify with Alevi identity are aware of Haji Bektash Veli Dervish Lodge's opening's importance and have positive feelings for the dervish lodge's opening and after that they evaluate Alevis and Sunnis as different. They have negative attitudes towards Sunnis, but they have positive thoughts for Alevis.

A new scale composed of Alevis' demands, called "importance of collective action" is developed within the scope of this study. These demands have been spoken out by Alevis for a long time and the items were brought together through discussions and consultations with various Alevi associations, foundations, institutions, academicians, and writers working on this subject. The role of the collective memory in the relationship between the strength of social identity and importance of collective action differ in negative and positive events. As expected, a positive relationship between the strength of identification and importance of collective action is found. Beside this, it is recognized that Alevis, who think about Madımak event, support the realization of their demands more. It is found out that Alevis who attribute importance to the re-opening of Haji Bektash Veli Dervish Lodge tend to assert and give voice to their rights. According to results, the explained variance is low despite the fact that some components of the collective memory have indirect effects. It is thought that the reason why such a low variance was obtained in this model is related to the scale of the importance of collective action. Because the participants answered at the rate of ($SD = .43$, $M = 4.77$) on a 5 point Likert scale. As can be observed, most of the participants give close answers. So, the restriction of range problem may have emerged.

In addition, the scale that intended to measure the degree of importance attributed to evaluate the Madımak Massacre had a very high mean score ($M = 4.87$) on a 5 point Likert scale. This was labelled as the evaluative component of collective memory When the items in this scale are examined separately, 94.3 percent of the answers given to the question of "Historically, how important is this event for today's Alevis according to you?" were "very important". In terms of the answer to the question "How effective are the results of this event on today's Alevis?", 85.3% of the participants responded as "very important". When these percentages are considered, it is actually seen that the Madımak Massacre is a very important event both historically and as for the effects it has on today for the Alevis. In literature, the view that groups' style for the evaluation of the past events may be different and pluralist because individuals may evaluate the event in a different way (Halbwachs, 1950/1997, Werstch, 2002) was brought forward. At the same time, however, while individuals evaluate their own past events, they generally consider their groups'

evaluation of these events (Laurens & Roussiau, 2002). In these results, it is observed that Alevis have an almost consensual position in Madımak, they find this event to be of extreme importance and influential. In addition, Alevis interpret this event as the beginning of many other things for themselves. Alevis accepted that this event is a motivator factor in awaking the Alevis especially in terms of gathering as a community. Because they voice that they see this event as a life-threatening event for not only the Alevis who have lost their lives there but also for themselves. It was set forth in a study that this event increased the solidarity among Alevis (Yıldız & Verkuyten, 2011). It was revealed that this event had many effects on Alevis in many aspects.

4.1. Contributions, Limitations and Conclusions

This study contributes to various fields. One of the most important contributions of this study, in my opinion, is that it uses the concept of collective memory which has been used in sociology, history, politics, and science so far, in a social psychology study. Especially, within the scope of this study, a collective memory scale is adapted to Turkish. Some limitations with respect to measurement are mentioned already. However, this study presents us significant data about how the term collective memory should be handled to get more reliable results. I think, for this reason, it provides an important perspective for the following studies about collective memory. It opens an area in social psychology, which will undoubtedly need more research and better measurements. The conflicts of the past between Alevis and Sunnis in Anatolia are reflected in today's people's lives through their identities and collective memories. Especially, groups harbor various attitudes towards one another and they reflect these in their daily lives. For example, these can be reflected in trade, shopping, marriages and finding jobs or homes. At this point, today's people may indeed be shaping their lives according to the events of the past. For example, while Alevis call Sunnis as Devils, Sunnis see Alevis as a people who create problems, rebels and deviants (Engin, 1999). At this point, one of the most important contributions of this study is analyzing the socio-psychological effects of collective memory, especially with respect to collective identity. For example, the frequency of

thinking and talking about Madımak mediated the relationship between the strength of Alevi identification and in-group bias, so Alevis are affected the past tragic events and then this reflects their behavior and attitudes towards Sunnis.

This study also has theoretical contributions to the literature on collective memory which is a rarely studied field in social psychology. I hope that looking at events that occurred in the past which are constantly seen in our geography from a social psychological point of view would bring about a new point of view. In the literature, the relationship between social identity and collective memory was investigated (Bellehumeur et al., 2011), but the mediator role of collective memory was not handled. The present study contributes to literature about this. Besides, the relationship between collective memory and collective action participation or in-group bias was examined with this study.

Another important contribution lies in the more applied area regarding the well-being of Alevis and Alevi rights in Turkey. Especially the discussion of Madımak Massacre is importantbecause, various discriminatory acts by the public towards Alevis were observed even more recent than this event. It is known that Alevis were threatened by putting marks on their doors in different cities such as in Adıyaman in 2012 (Bianet, 2012, February 29). At this point, their especially sentimental reactions to the Madımak Massacre make them feel insecure today. This study will help put forward these points of view. At this point, it is hoped that understanding the past will prevent new conflicts from happening again today or in the future. The frequency of thinking and talking about Madımak and the aware of Haji Bektash Veli Dervish Lodge's opening's importance and have positive feelings for the dervish lodge's opening mediated the relationship between the strength of Alevi identification and in-group bias. Accordingly, they have negative attitudes towards Sunnis. It is especially known that facing the past is very important and will function in terms of understanding today's conflicts (Paez & Liu, 2011).

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Within the scope of this study, it is previously mentioned that a scale called as the importance of collective action is constructed through considering Alevis' joint demands. From this point of view, it is especially crucial to ask the demands of the Alevis which are frequently voiced by consulting various Alevi associations, foundations, and institutions and to create this list in this study. Because, congresses related to the Alevi rights are being organized in our day. There are criticisms as to that Alevis cannot reach a consensus on their own demands as they consist of many different groups. However, as it can be seen from this study, majority of individuals who participated in the study from different parts of Turkey reported that they think that these demands are very important. At this point, it is expected that this study will contribute to the well-being of Alevis in Turkey as well. In addition, another important point is dervish lodges which are very important in Alevi belief. These dervish lodges are known as places in which educational activities are conducted and prayers are made as in cemevis. However, this study puts forth the complaints about the current status of Haji Bektash Veli who takes a great place in the belief of Alevis and his dervish lodge. As mentioned before, Alevis perform their pilgrimage duties not by going to Mecca but visiting important places such as these dervish lodges based on their beliefs. At this point, the demands of Alevis for changing the status of cemevis and dervish lodges were voiced by majority of the participants in this study, too.

As for the limitations, the first thing that attracts attention is the sample. Since participants of the study are not randomly selected, most of the participants (%43.7) are from Tunceli. The majority of people living in that region already have politicized identities. At this point, they are expected to be already sensitive about the subjects related to this study. This limits the diversity in sampling. On the other hand, it was ensured that the representation power of the working sample was high because the diversity of participants was ensured, so this enabled to easily minimize the limits of the study's results. The data of the study was collected by having regard to especially city, district and village demographics. In addition, some of the Alevis identify themselves based on their ethnic identities and others based on their religious identities. Therefore, data was collected from Turkish and Kurdish ethnicities and from different Alevi groups in Anatolia. Moreover, we need to

consider the fact that the individuals organized under associations, foundations or institutions tend to be more active politically. This is true for the current sample as well. Therefore, participants were selected from among people who do not have a connection with, are working in or are members of these sort of foundations. The majority of the participants consisted of people who were not members of any association.

With respect to measurement issues, Alevi Social Identification Scale is also somewhat problematic. Especially, half of the items of this scale are composed of reverse items. This situation makes it hard for the participants from lower education levels to understand these reverse items. Consequently, it may have obstructed collecting valid and reliable answers. Again, another limitation about scales is recognized in scales' rating system. The formed questionnaires were formed as 5-point Likert scales. However, the fact that they are 5-point scales prevents the participants from reflecting their feelings, opinions and attitudes completely. Especially, in the scale formed as the Alevi-Sunni Attitude Scale, the participants told that they did not agree with any of the options they were offered. The fact that there was no such option made it difficult for them to answer the question. Lastly, especially as it is not a commonly studied field in social psychology, while measuring the collective memory, not enough scales were found. The fact that even the adaptation created for this study does not have a high reliability requires collective memory to perhaps be measured in different ways. It is thought that especially increasing the number of questions and measuring each one of the components of the collective memory with more questions can increase reliability. It is also important how the target group know of the chosen event. The event of re-opening the Haji Bektash Veli Dervish Lodge which was chosen as the positive event at this point is not known by many Alevis. However, almost everyone knows of the existence of Haji Bektash Veli Dervish Lodge. It is also seen important in which context the event is asked about. Lastly, only one positive and negative event was used in the current study. More events would give an opportunity to compare between positive and negative events.

In conclusion, a positive relationship between the strength of Alevis identification and their collective memory is found. Also, as a result of this relationship, depending on the components of collective memory, different results are observed in Alevis' collective participation, and attitudes towards their own group and towards Sunnis. There are very few studies that use the relationship between a group's collective memory and identity in social psychology literature. Therefore, the results, revealed by the relationship between collective memory and social identity, have importance; and, it is thought that it will provide a perspective for the next studies. To sum up, it is found out that Alevis who strongly identify themselves with their identity also have information about their group's past positive and negative experiences. When the results are analyzed, it is recognized that Alevis who think and talk about Madımak Massacre will also support collective actions organized to acquire Alevi rights, and they are aware of their rights. In addition, it is observed that these people have mostly negative feelings about Sunnis when they think about this negative event. Besides, it is observed that the re-opening of Hajı Bektash Veli Dervish Lodge, which is used as the positive event in this study, has an impact on Alevis. It is found out that especially Alevis who strongly identify themselves with their identity are also aware of the importance of the dervish lodge's opening. Of course, it attracts attention that this situation is reflected in Alevis' attitudes and behaviors. It plays an important role, especially, in collective participation and in-group favoritism with respect to Sunnis. Surely, as it was expected, the opening of the dervish lodge has brought positive feelings to Alevis. However, this led to no change in Alevis' perspective on Sunnis. Both the present status of the dervish lodge, and the mosque in the dervish lodge, used actively for a long time, show that Alevis are not completely in a better place.Alevis frequently give voice to the problem of dervish lodge; the problem is that although people can enter into the mosque in the dervish lodge without payment, Alevis should pay a fee to enter into the dervish lodge, which is a very important place for them.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Informed Consent Form

Sayın Katılımcı,

Bu araştırma Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü'nde, Yard. Doç. Dr. Banu Cingöz Ulu'nun danışmanlığında yürütülen, M. Fatih Bükün'ün yüksek lisans tezi çalışmasıdır. Bu tez kapsamında Alevilerin sosyal kimlikleri ve toplumsal bellekleri arasındaki ilişki ve olası sonuçları sosyal psikolojik bakımdan incelenmektedir. Bu çalışmada her soruya vereceğiniz yanıt son derece önemlidir. Lütfen anketin başındaki bütün açıklamaları dikkatlice okuyarak size en uygun gelen cevabı işaretleyiniz. Ankette yer alan soruların doğru veya yanlış bir cevabı yoktur, önemli olan sizin ne düşündüğünüz ve ne hissettiğinizdir. Sizden kimliğinizle ilgili hiçbir bilgi istenmemektedir. Vereceğiniz bilgiler kimlik bilgileriniz alınmadan tamamıyla gizli tutularak, yalnızca araştırmacılar tarafından, grup düzeyinde değerlendirilecektir. Çalışmadan elde edilecek sonuçlar sadece bilimsel amaçlı olarak kullanılacaktır. Ankete katılım tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Çalışmada sizi rahatsız eden herhangi bir soruyla karşılaşırsanız ya da ankete devam etmek istemezseniz anketi yarıda bırakabilirsiniz. Veri toplama ve analiz sürecinin sonunda elde edilen bulgularla ilgili tüm sorularınız cevaplandırılacaktır.

Yardımlarınız ve katılımınız için teşekkür ederiz.

Çalışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü'nden Arş. Gör. M. Fatih Bükün (email: fbukun@metu.edu.tr) ve Yard. Doç. Dr. Banu Cingöz Ulu (email: cingoz@metu.edu.tr) ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz.

Bu çalışmaya tamamen gönüllü olarak katılıyorum ve istediğim zaman yarıda kesip çıkabileceğimi biliyorum. Verdiğim bilgilerin bilimsel amaçlı yayımlarda kullanılmasını kabul ediyorum. (Formu doldurup imzaladıktan sonra uygulayıcıya geri veriniz).

Tarih   İmza

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Appendix B: Demographic Information Form

1- Doğum yılınız: _____

2- Cinsiyetiniz: ☐ Erkek   ☐ Kadın

3- İkamet ettiğiniz şehir: _____

4- Kütüğünüz nerededir?

İl: _____   İlçe_____   Köy/kasaba/mahalle: _____

5- Mesleğiniz-işiniz nedir? _____

Lütfen, aşağıda yer alan soruları cevaplandırırken, size en uygun gelen cevabın yanındaki kutucuğa, çarpı (X) işareti koyunuz.

6- Eğitim Düzeyiniz:

☐ Okuma-Yazma Biliyor   ☐ İlkokul mezunu   ☐ Ortaokul mezunu
☐ Lise mezunu   ☐ Üniversite mezunu   ☐ Yüksek
Lisans/Doktora mezunu
☐ Hiçbiri / Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz): _____

7- En uzun süre yaşadığınız yer:
☐ Köy   ☐ Kasaba/Belde   ☐ İlçe   ☐ İl   ☐Büyükşehir   ☐ Metropol

8- Evinize giren ortalama aylık gelir miktarını belirtiniz. Yaklaşık olarak:

☐ 500 TL ve altı   ☐ 500-1000 TL   ☐ 1000-1500
TL
☐ 1500-2000 TL   ☐ 2000-3000 TL   ☐ 3000-5000
TL
☐ 5000 TL ve üzeri

9- Dini mezhep bakımdan sizi en iyi tanımlayan grubu aşağıya yazınız (Sünni, Alevi gibi).
_____

10- Etnik kimlik bakımından sizi en iyi tanımlayan grubu aşağıya yazınız (Türk, Kürt, Arap, Çerkez, vb.) _____

11- Siyasi görüşlerden bahsederken insanlar genellikle "sol" ve "sağ"dan bahsederler. Siz bu anlamda kendinizi genel olarak nerede görürsünüz?

    1   2   3   4   5
   Sol   Sağ

12- Siyasi görüşleriniz sizin için ne kadar önemlidir?

     1   2   3   4   5
 Hiç değil   Çok

13-Bugün seçim olsa hangi partiye oy verirdiniz?
❑ AK Parti   ❑ CHP   ❑ MHP
❑ BDP   ❑ Bağımsız   ❑ DP
❑ ÖDP   ❑ TKP   ❑ Hiçbiri
❑ Diğer (Lütfen belirtiniz): _____

14- Eğer kendinizi Alevi grubuna ait görmüyorsanız lütfen yandaki kutucuğu işaretleyiniz: ❑

Appendix C: Alevi Identification Scale

1) Diğer Alevilerle pek çok ortak yönüm var.

2) Alevi olmamın kendim hakkında nasıl hissettiğim üzerinde çok az etkisi vardır.*

3) Alevi olduğum gerçeği üzerinde sık sık düşünürüm.

4) Alevi olduğum için sık sık pişmanlık duyarım.*

5) Alevi olduğum için genel olarak memnunum.

6) Diğer Alevilerle ilişki kurmayı zor buluyorum.*

7) Diğer Alevilerle güçlü bağlarım olduğunu hissediyorum

8) Alevi olduğum gerçeği hakkında çok sık düşünmem.*

9) Alevi olduğum gerçeği genellikle kendimi nasıl gördüğümün önemli bir parçasıdır.

10) Alevi olmak konusunda iyi hissetmiyorum.*

11) Genellikle, Alevi olduğumu düşündüğümde kendimi iyi hissederim.

12) Diğer Alevilerle bağım olduğunu hissetmiyorum.*

* Items were reverse-coded prior to the analyses.

Appendix D: Alevis and Sunnis Attitude Scale

Aşağıda Alevi ve Sünni gruplarla ilgili bir takım sıfatlar yer almaktadır. Alevi ve Sünni grupları ayrı ayrı düşünerek, her sıfatın her grubu ne kadar iyi tanımladığını belirtiniz. Soruların doğru veya yanlış cevabı yoktur, bizim için önemli olan sizin ne düşündüğünüzdür. Lütfen 1'den (Hiç tanımlamıyor) 5'e (Tamamen tanımlıyor) kadar derecelendirilmiş ölçek üzerinde her bir sıfatın, Alevi ve Sünni grubu sizce ne kadar iyi tanımladığını, uygun rakamı daire içine alarak belirtiniz.

1	2	3	4	5
Hiç tanımlamıyor	Tanımlamıyor	Kararsızım	Tanımlıyor	Tamamen tanımlıyor

	Aleviler					Sünniler				
1. İyi	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
2. Nazik	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
3. Dürüst	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
4. Güvenilir	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
5. Aksi*	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
6. Kaba*	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
7. Güvenilmez*	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
8. Kötü*	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5

* Items were reverse-coded prior to the analyses.

Appendix E: The Importance of Collective Action Scale

1) Türkiye'de Alevi haklarının elde edilmesi için, yapılmış olan toplumsal eylemler (yürüyüşler, imza kampanyaları vb.) Aleviler için ne kadar önemlidir?*

2) Madımak otelinin müze yapılması, Aleviler için ne kadar önemlidir?

3) Cem evlerinin ibadethane olarak kabul edilmesi Aleviler için ne kadar önemlidir?*

4) Zorunlu din dersinin kaldırılması Aleviler için ne kadar önemlidir?

5) Alevi kültür derneklerinin, vakıflarının ve federasyonlarının sayısının artması Aleviler için ne kadar önemlidir?*

6) Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı'nın kaldırılması Aleviler için ne kadar önemlidir?

7) Alevilerin düzenledikleri festival, şenlik ve törenler, Alevi kimliğini yüceltme konusunda ne kadar önemlidir?*

8) Alevilerin iç-hukukta elde edemedikleri haklarını, AİHM ve diğer uluslararası hukuk yollarını kullanarak aramaları ne kadar önemlidir?

9) Alevilere ait gazete, dergi, radyo ve TV sayısının artması Alevi kimliği için ne kadar önemlidir?*

10) Yeni cem evlerinin açılması Aleviler için ne kadar önemlidir?*

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* Items were used in this thesis

Appendix F: Support for Collective Action Scale

Türkiye'de Alevi haklarının elde edilmesi için…

1) …bir imza kampanyasına katılır mıydınız?

2) …bir siyasi toplantıya katılır mıydınız?

3) …bir yürüyüş veya protesto eylemine katılır mıydınız?

4) …konuyla ilgili resmi kurumlara başvuruda bulunur muydunuz?

5) …bir gazeteye veya internet sitesine görüşlerinizi bildiren bir yazı gönderir miydiniz?

Olay1: Sivas Katliamı, 2 Temmuz 1993 tarihinde Sivas'ta Pir Sultan Abdal Kültür Derneği tarafından organize edilmiş olan Pir Sultan Abdal Şenlikleri sırasında Madımak Oteli'nin yakılması ve çoğunluğu Alevi 33 yazar, ozan, düşünür ile 2 otel çalışanının yanarak ya da dumandan boğularak hayatlarını kaybetmesi ile sonuçlanan olaydır.

Olay 2: Hacı Bektaşi Veli Dergâhı 30 Kasım 1925 tarihinde yürürlüğe giren Tekke ve Zaviyelerin kapatılmasına dair yasa ile kapatılmıştır. Ancak daha sonra külliye 1958 yılında başlanan geniş kapsamlı bir onarımdan sonra ve büyük ölçüde aslına uygun biçimde tamir edilerek16 Ağustos 1964 tarihinde müze olarak ziyarete açılmıştır.

Soru 1: Bu olaydan ne kadar haberdarsınız?

1	2	3	4	5
Hiç		Biraz		Çok

Soru 2: Size göre, bu olay tarihsel olarak bugünkü Aleviler için ne kadar önemlidir?

1	2	3	4	5
Hiç		Biraz		Çok

Soru 3: Bu olayın sonuçları bugünkü Aleviler üzerinde ne kadar etkilidir?

1	2	3	4	5
Hiç		Biraz		Çok

Soru 4: Hangi sıklıkla bu olayı düşünürsünüz?

1	2	3	4	5
Asla		Bazen		Çok Sık

Soru 5: Bu olayı hangi sıklıkla tartışırsınız?

1	2	3	4	5
Asla		Bazen		Çok Sık

Soru 6: Bu olayı düşündüğünüz zaman, aşağıdakileri ne derecede hissedersiniz?

1	2	3	4	5
Güvenli		Ne Güvenli		Güvensiz*
		Ne Güvensiz		

1	2	3	4	5
Öfkeli		Ne Öfkeli		Sakin
		Ne Sakin		

1	2	3	4	5
Gelecekten		Ne Umutlu		Gelecekten*
Umutlu		Ne Umutsuz		Umutsuz

1	2	3	4	5
Endişeli		Ne Endişeli		Huzurlu
		Ne Huzurlu		

1	2	3	4	5
Hoşnut		Ne Hoşnut		Hoşnutsuz*
(Memnun)		Ne Hoşnutsuz		(Gayri Memnun)

Soru 7: Bu olayı nasıl duymuştunuz? Ne şekilde haberdar olmuştunuz? Kısaca anlatınız.

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* Items were reverse-coded prior to the analyses.

Appendix H: Ethics Committee Approval

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

Sayı: 28620816/228 -976

25 Temmuz 2013

Gönderilen: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Banu CİNGÖZ ULU
                Psikoloji Bölümü

Gönderen :   Prof. Dr. Canan Sümer

                IAK Başkan Vekili

İlgi   :   Etik Onayı

Danışmanlığını yapmış olduğunuz Psikoloji Bölümü Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Fatih Bükün'ün "Türkiye'de Yaşayan Alevilerin Sosyal Kimlikleri ve Toplumsal Bellekleri Arasındaki İlişki: Geçmişte Yaşanan Olayların Hatırlanmasının Önemi" isimli araştırması "İnsan Araştırmaları Komitesi" tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Etik Komite Onayı

Uygundur

25/07/2013

Prof.Dr. Canan SÜMER
Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi
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1. GİRİŞ

1.1. Genel Giriş

Kimlik konusu sosyal psikolojinin en başat çalışma konularından biri olarak bireylerin ya da grupların kim olduklarına ilişkin algıları ile başkalarının kendilerini nasıl gördüklerine ilişkin algıları arasındaki "gerilimli" alanda ortaya çıkar. Ayrıca gruplar arası düzeyde bir kimlik tanımlaması olarak sosyal kimlikler, bireylere birer sosyal gruba ait oldukları mesajını iletir ve bu sosyal gruplara aidiyetimizi, o gruba karşı hissettiğimiz duyguları ve yüklediğimiz anlamları kapsar (Tajfel, 1978).

Halbwachs ilk olarak toplumsal bellek kavramını öneren kişidir ve toplumsal belleğin sosyal çevre içinde şekillendiğini vurgulamıştır. Amaçlarına ulaşmak için toplumların toplumsal belleği tekrar ve tekrar inşa ettiğini vurgulamıştır (Halbwachs, 1992).

Aleviler uzun zamandan beridir Anadolu'da yaşayan dini gruplardan biridirler. Bugün için de Türkiye'de yaklaşık olarak 15 milyon Alevinin yaşadığı kabul edilmektedir. Türkiye'de dini kimlik açısından Sünni nüfustan sonra ikinci en büyük grubu oluşturmaktadırlar (Zeidan, 1995). Aleviler Osmanlı İmparatorluğu zamanında ve 20. yüzyılda da Aleviler birçok katliam ve ölümle karşı karşıya kalmışlardır. Dersim (1937-1938), Maraş (1978), Çorum (1980), Sivas (1993) illerinde ve İstanbul'un Gazi Mahallesinde (1995) çok acı olaylar yaşamışlardır ve bu olaylar birçok ölümle sonuçlanmıştır (Van Bruinessen, 1996).

Bu çalışmanın amacı Alevi kimliğinin toplumsal hareketlere katılım ve Sünnilere karşı olan önyargılardaki rolünü anlamaya çalışmaktır. Bununla birlikte bu ilişki

anlaşılmaya çalışılırken Alevi toplumsal belleğin aracı değişken olarak rolü de dikkate alınacaktır.

1.2. Alevilik

Alevilik sözcüğü, "Ali'yi sevmek ve saymak" anlamındadır. Ali, İslam peygamberi Muhammet'in amcasının oğlu, damadı ve dördüncü halifedir. İslam içinde Ali yandaşlığı, Peygamberin ölümünden sonra başlar. Daha sonra, bir inanç akımı niteliği kazanır (Bozkurt, 2005). Aleviler dini ritüellerini cem evinde yaparlar (Shankland, 2003). Cem, içerisinde semah olarak adlandırılan dinsel ritüelleri barındıran dinsel seremonilerdir. Cem, Hz. Ali soyundan geldiği kabul edilen dede tarafından yönetilir (Van Bruinessen, 2007). Aleviler hac için Mekke yerine genellikle kutsal saydıkları şahsiyetlerin mekânlarına giderler, örneğin Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli onlardan biridir. Ramazan orucu yerine Hz. Hasan ve Hüseyin'in yasını tutmak için 12 gün Muharrem orucu tutarlar (Shindeldecker, 2006).

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu yönetimi altında, Aleviler kâfir ve sapkın olarak görülürlerdi. Ayrıca Alevilerin öldürülebilir olarak kabul edilmesi çeşitli fetvalara dayandırılmıştır (Van Bruinessen, 2007). Cumhuriyetin ilanından sonra, Atatürk devrimleri gereği tekke ve zaviyeler kapatılmıştır. Aleviler için çok önemli bir dergâh olan Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli dergahı da yasa gereği kapatılmıştır. Dergâhlar Alevilerin kendi inançlarının yaşamları için çok önemli işlevlere sahiptirler (Özalay, 2006). 20. yüzyılda da Aleviler birçok katliam ve ölümle karşı karşıya kalmışlardır. Bu ölümler 1937 den 1938 yılına kadar süren Dersim katliamı ile başlamıştır. Daha sonra acı örnekler aşırı milliyetçi ve radikal İslami gruplar tarafından Maraş (1978), Çorum (1980), Sivas (1993) illerinde Alevilere karşı yapılan katliamlar ve İstanbul'un Gazi Mahallesinde (1995) polisin saldırıları sonucu başlayan ve ölümlerle sonuçlanan olaylar ile devam etmiştir (Van Bruinessen, 1996). Özellikle 2 Temmuz 1993 yılında Madımak otelinde 37 sanatçı, yazar ve müzisyenin yanarak hayatını kaybetmesi Aleviler üzerinde büyük etki bırakmıştır (Van Bruinessen, 1996). Alevilerin Anadolu'daki bu tarihi göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, yaşanan bu acı olayların toplumsal bellek kapsamında ele alınması mümkündür.

1.3. Toplumsal Bellek

Halbwachs'ın 1925 gibi erken bir tarihte yayınladığı *On Collective Memory* temelde o güne kadar sadece bilişsel bilimin alanına hapsolmuş olan bellek anlayışına yönelik bir itiraz ve bir nevi belleği sosyalleştirme projesidir (Halbwachs, 1992). Halbwachs'ın kavramsallaştırmasının bellek kavrayışına dair iki büyük katkısından biri, toplumsal çerçevelere yaptığı vurgudur. Buna göre toplumsal çerçeveler bir toplumda yaşayan bireylerin hatırlama uğraşlarında temel teşkil eder (Halbwachs, 1992). Bir diğer büyük katkısı ise geçmişi hatırlama işinde bugüne, şimdiki zamana yüklediği belirleyici roldür. Halbwachs'a göre hatırlama edimi neredeyse tamamıyla bugünün bağlamı ve ihtiyaçları dolayımıyla belirlenir. Bellek, geçmişin seçici biçimde, bugünün ihtiyaçları doğrultusunda inşası ve yeniden inşasıdır (Halbwachs, 1992).

Geçmişten bugüne toplumsal bellek ile ilgili yapılan çalışmalarda, toplumsal bellek üç boyutta incelenmiştir. Bunlar bilişssel *(cognitive),* değerlendirmeci *(evaluative)*, duygusal *(affective)* boyutlardır (Halbwachs, 1925/1994, 1950/1997; Pennebaker et al., 1997; Wertsch, 2002). Toplumsal belleğin bilişsel boyutu bireylerin kendi grupları tarafından da kabul edilen ve tartışılan geçmişte yaşanmış olayları hatırlama sıklığı olarak ifade edilir (Pennebaker et al., 1997). Toplumsal belleğin ikinci boyutu olan değerlendirme boyutu ise bireylerin belirli olayların kendi grupları için ne kadar önemli ve ne kadar etkili olduğunu ölçen boyutu olarak tanımlanmıştır (Schuman, Akiyama, & Knauper, 1998). Son olarak, toplumsal belleğin duygusal boyutu geçmişte yaşanmış olan olaylara ilişkin olumlu veya olumsuz duygusal tepkiyi ifade etmektedir (Finkenauer et al., 1998).

Geçmişte yaşanan olayların aktarılması insanlara birkaç nedenle fayda sağlar. İlk olarak bireyler ait oldukları gruplarının geçmişten gelen olumlu imgelerini koruma ve devam etme olanağı elde ederler (Paez et al., 2008). İkinci olarak kendi gruplarının devamını sağlarlar (Bellelli, Barkhurst & Rosa, 2000). Üçüncü olarak, bir gruba ait değerlerin, normların ve özelliklerin korunmasını sağlayarak, gelecekte de grup karakterinin nasıl olması gerektiği konusunda grup bireylerine bilgi sağlar

(Olick & Robbins, 1998). Dördüncü olarak, toplumsal bellekler aynı zamanda sembolik kaynaklar içerirler. Bu semboller şu an ve aynı zamanda gelecekte de bir grubun sosyal ve politik amaçlar için mobilize olmasında yardımcı olurlar (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Toplumsal belleği oluşturan olayları dile getirmenin ve yaşatmanın birtakım olası sonuçları vardır. İlk olarak, toplumsal belleğin bugün devam eden gruplar arası çatışmaları etkileme ve hatta artırma gücü vardır (Messick & Smith, 2002). İkinci olarak, geçmişte yaşanan çatışmaların getirdiği bellek grupların birbirine karşı yaklaşım, niyet ve algılarını etkileyebilir (Bar-Tal, 2007). Gruplar geçmişteki olumsuz durumları hatırladıkları zaman, bugün için de tehdit altında olduklarını hissedebilirler (Jones, 2006).Üçüncü olarak ise, toplumsal belleğin bugüne taşıdığı çatışmaların toplumsal hareketler için güdüleyici bir işlevi vardır. Bu motivasyon sayesinde bir grup yaşanan haksızlıklar karşısında toplumsal düzeyde (grup temelli) tepki verebilir (Liu & Hilton, 2005).

Sosyal kimlik kuramına göre bireyler ait hissettikleri grupların geçmişteki başarılarını belleklerinde tutarlar. Ancak gruplar aynı zamanda geçmişteki trajedileri ve acı olayları unutmak yerine hatırlamaya ve yaşatmaya çalışırlar. Çünkü acı ve trajedi ile dolu olaylarda grupların kimlikleri için önemli olabilmektedir. Bazı olaylar ve onların gerektirdiği ritüeller grupların devamı anlamında ve kültürel birliktelik, ortaklık sağlama anlamında önemli işlev görürler (Bar-Tal, 2003; Frijda, 1997; Jacobs, 2004; Staal, 1990). Bu olaylar grup-içi dayanışmayı artırabilmektedir (Devine-Wright, 2003; Irwin-Zarecka, 1994; Novick, 1999; Roe, 2003). Bellek ve kimlik arasındaki ilişkiyi derinlemesine incelemek bellek çalışmaları açısından önemlidir. Halbwachs'ta kimlik ve bellek arasındaki ilişkide, kimliğin bellek üzerindeki belirleyici rolüne öncelik veren bir bakış açısı hakimdir (Megill, 2011). Bu çalışmada da kimliğin bellek üzerindeki belirleyici özelliğinden hareketle yol alınmaya çalışılmaktadır. Sosyal psikolojiye baktığımız zaman, hemen hemen neredeyse grup kimliği ve toplumsal bellek arasındaki ilişkiyi ele alan bir sosyal psikoloji çalışması bulunmamaktadır (Blight, 2001). Ancak son zamanlarda yapılan bir çalışmada Katolik kimliği üzerinden kimlik ve bellek arasındaki ilişki ele

alınmıştır. Bu çalışmada gruplar arası temasın kimlik ve bellek arasındaki ilişkideki rolü ayrıca incelenmiştir (Bellehumeur, Laplante, Lagace & Rodrigue, 2011). Bu tezin de sosyal psikoloji literatüründeki bu kıtlığa katkı sunması beklenmektedir. iyi hoş güzel de fatih, yine paragraflar arası geçiş sorunu. bellehemurların çalışmayı anlatmamışsın. onu geçip bu tez de katkı sağlayacak demişsin (ki onun da niteliği tam belli değil). sonra da bir anda dank diye sosyal kimlik kuramı geliyor? nasıl bağlıyoruz bu fikirleri kafada, açık açık ve tane tane yazman gerekiyor. tıpkı tezin kendisindeki gibi.

1.4. Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı

1970'lerin ortalarında Henri Tajfel ve John Turner tarafından geliştirilmiş olan Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı, grup üyeliğini, grup süreçlerini ve gruplar arası ilişkileri ele alan bir sosyal psikoloji kuramıdır (Argyle, 1992; Brehm ve Kassin, 1993; Hogg, 1996).Tajfel (1982), sosyal kimlik kavramını bireyin benlik algısının, bir sosyal gruba ya da gruplara üyeliğine ilişkin bilgisinden ve bu üyeliğe yüklediği değerden ve duygusal anlamlılıktan kaynaklanan bir durum olarak açıklamıştır. Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı, kişisel kimlikten çok sosyal kimlik kavramı üzerinde durur. Kuramcılar, sosyal kimliğin, kişilik özelliklerinden ve bireyin diğerleriyle kurduğu özel ilişkilerden doğan kişisel kimlikten tümüyle farklı olduğunu savunurlar (Turner, 1982; Tajfel, 1982).

Sosyal Kimlik Kuramı, "sosyal sınıflandırma" sürecine merkezi bir rol yükler (Anastasio et al., 1997; Wilder, 1986). Sınıflandırma, nesneleri ya da insanları belirli bir takım ortak niteliklerini temel alarak gruplara ya da sınıflara ayırma sürecidir (Tajfel & Forgas, 1981).Kendimizin ve diğer insanların, sınıflandırma süreci sonucunda oluşturduğumuz kalıpyargıların etkisiyle, üyesi olunan grubun birçok niteliğini taşıdığını varsayarız. Kalıpyargı, "algılayıcının, toplumsal gruplara ilişkin bilgilerini, inançlarını ve beklentilerini içeren bilişsel bir yapı" olarak tanımlanmıştır (Mackie et al., 1996). Turner'a göre (1982), sosyal sınıflandırma sürecinin iki temel doğurgusu vardır; 1)Sosyal sınıflandırma, bireylerin, kendi grupları içindeki benzerlikleri ve kendi gruplarıyla diğer gruplar arasındaki farklılıkları olduğundan

daha fazlaymış gibi algılamalarına, yani abartmalarına yol açar (abartma etkisi). 2) Sosyal sınıflandırma süreci sonucunda, olumlu bir kimlik arayışı içinde olan bireyler, kendi gruplarıyla diğer gruplar arasında bir sosyal karşılaştırma yaparlar. Bu karşılaştırmadan, kendilerine olumlu bir pay çıkarmak isterler. Bunun için de, bu karşılaştırmayı gerçekleştirirken, kendi gruplarını kayırıp, diğer grupları küçümserler (iç-grup kayırmacılığı).

İç-grup kayırmacılığı bireylerin ait oldukları grubu olumlu görmesi ve ayrıca kendi grubunun üyelerini diğer grupların üyelerine göre daha olumlu değerlendirmesidir (Tajfel, 1982). İç-grup kayırmacılığı aslında iki şekilde ortaya çıkmaktadır: iç-grup taraftarlığı *(in-group favoritism)* ve dış-grup düşmanlığı *(outgroup derogation)* olarak. Bunlarda bireylerin başka gruplara karşı ayırıcı davranmaları, önyargılı tutumlar içerisinde olmaları ve onlar hakkında kalıpyargısal düşünceler üretmeleri olarak ortaya çıkabilmektedir (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Bu noktada bu araştırmanın öznesi olan Alevilerin kendi grupları ile kurdukları ilişkinin gücüne göre Sünnilere karşı olumsuz tutumlar içerisinde olmaları beklenirken kendi gruplarına karşı daha olumlu olmaları beklenmektedir. Ancak iç-grup kayırmacılığı sadece bununla kalmamaktadır. Ayrıca diğer gruba karşı ayırımcı davranış ve tutumlar içerisinde bulunmakta iç-grup kayırmacılığı olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

Kendi grubu ile güçlü bir ilişki içinde olma aynı zamanda grubun ortak özelliklerini kendi benlik konsepti içinde daha güçlü şekilde taşımayı getirir. Sonuç olarak kendi grubu ile güçlü bir kimlik özdeşimi kuran bireylerin dış-gruba karşı algıları daha çok kendi grubunun ileri sürdüğü yargılar olmaktadır (Smith et al., 1999; Smith & Henry, 1996). Kendi grubu ile güçlü bir şekilde özdeşim kuran bireyler kendi gruplarına yönelik kalıpyargısal tutumların ve ayrımcı davranışların daha çok farkında olurlar. Yani, iç-grup ile güçlü bir özdeşim kuran bireyler zayıf özdeşim kuran bireylere göre dış-grup tarafından kendilerine söylenen tutumları önyargı ve ayrımcılık olarak değerlendirmeleri daha olasıdır (Branscombe et al., 1999; Operario & Fiske, 2001).Bu çalışmada ise Alevilerin Sünnilere karşı olan tutumları anlaşılmaya çalışılmaktadır. Özellikle kendi kimliği ile güçlü bir özdeşim kuran Alevilerin kendi gruplarını Sünni gruba kıyasla daha olumlu görmeleri, yani iç-grup yanlılığı

göstermeleri beklenmektedir. Bu süreçte özellikle toplumsal bellek bileşenlerinin de bir etkisi olması beklenmekte ve toplumsal belleğin aracı etkisi incelenmektedir..

1.5. Sosyal Kimlik ve Toplumsal Hareket

Toplumsal hareket çalışmaları uzun zamandan beridir sosyoloji, politik bilimler, ekonomi, tarih ve psikoloji gibi farklı disiplinler altında ele alınmaktadır (Blumer, 1939;Davies, 1962; Davis, 1959; Gurr, 1968, 1970;McAdam, 1982; M. Olson, 1968; Smelser, 1962; Tarrow, 1998; R. H. Turner & Kilian, 1972). Ancak son zamanlarda toplumsal hareketlerin sosyo-psikolojik nedenleri ve temelleri daha çok ilgi uyandırmaya başlamıştır (Klandermans, 1997). Araştırmacılar, özellikle belli bir kimlik bilincine sahip olmanın toplumsal hareketlere katılım konusunda bireyleri uyardığını ve motive ettiğini ortaya koymuşlardır (Gamson, 1992; Klandermans, 1997, 2004). Bu çerçeve göz önünde bulundurularak Alevi kimliğinin getirdiği taleplerden hareketle ve özellikle de toplumsal bellekte yer etmiş olayların da etkisiyle Alevilerin protesto gösterilerinde bulundukları ve toplumsal hareketlere katıldıkları düşünülmektedir. Örneğin, cem evlerinin ibadethane olarak kabul edilmesi gibi kimliğe ilişkin talepler Aleviler tarafından dile getirilmektedir ve bu hakkı elde etmek için toplumsal eylemler ve yürüyüşler düzenlemektedirler.

1.6. Şimdiki Çalışma

Bu tezin amacı Alevilerin kendi iç-grupları ile kurdukları ilişki ve iç-grup yanlılığı ile toplumsal eylemlere eğilimleri arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektir. Bunu gerçekleştirirken, Alevilerin Türkiye'de yaşadıkları olaylara yönelik olarak toplumsal belleğin farklı boyutlarının aracı rolü de araştırılmıştır. Toplumsal belleğin üç boyutu, yani değerlendirmeci, bilişsel ve duygusal boyutları (Halbwachs, 1925/1994, 1950/1997; Pennebaker et al., 1997; Wertsch, 2002) ayrı ayrı olarak ele alınmıştır. Toplumsal belleği ölçmek için Alevi tarihinde etkisi olan bir olumsuz ve bir olumlu olay seçilmiştir. 2 Temmuz 1993 yılında meydana gelen Madımak Katliamı olumsuz olay olarak, Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli Dergahının yeniden açılması ise olumlu olay olarak seçilmiştir. Kendisini Alevi kimliği ile yüksek düzeyde özdeşleştiren kişilerin bu olayları daha sık konuşacakları ve düşünecekleri, daha

önemli görecekleri ve konuya dair daha yoğun duygular hissedecekleri tahmin edilmektedir. Daha sonra bu anımsama sıklığı, atfedilen önem ve hissedilen duygulara göre, kişilerin toplumsal hareketlere katılımının ve iç-grup yanlılıklarının etkileneceği beklenmektedir. Çalışmanın genel hipotezleri,,

Hipotez 1: Toplumsal bellek Alevi kimliği ile özdeşleşme ile toplumsal hareketlere katılım ve destek arasında aracılık edecektir.

Hipotez 2: Toplumsal bellek Alevi kimliği ile özdeşleşme ile iç-grup kayırmacılığı arasında aracılık edecektir.

2. YÖNTEM

2.1. Katılımcılar

Bu çalışmaya toplam 348 kişi katılmıştır. Katılımcıların % 67'si erkek, % 33'ü ise kadındır. 7 kişi cinsiyetini belirtmemiştir. Geriye kalan 341 kişinin cinsiyet ortalaması 38.78 olarak tespit edilmiştir. Katılımcılar Tunceli, Ankara, Şanlıufa, Diyarbakır, İstanbul, Elazığ ve Nevşehir gibi farklı illerden gelmektedir. Katılımcılar eğitim seviyelerine göre oldukça farklılık göstermektedir. Çoğunluk olarak sırasıyla % 28 lise mezunu, % 25 üniversite mezunu, % 13 ilkokul mezunu ve % 12 üniversite öğrencilerinden oluşmaktadırlar. Katılımcıların yaşadıkları yerlere bakıldığı zaman çoğunluk açısından sırasıyla % 37 şehir, % 18 ilçe, % 17 büyükşehir ve % 14 köylerde yaşadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Gelir açısından sırasıyla % 37 orta-alt, % 23 orta-üst, % 17.2 orta ve % 12.6'sı ise düşük gelir seviyesine sahip olduklarını rapor etmişlerdir. Etnik olarak katılımcıların % 37'si Türk, % 36'sı Kürt ve % 9 kadarı ise kendini Alevi olarak tanımlamaktadır. Siyasi eğilim olarak ise, katılımcıların % 74'ü kendisini yüksek derecede solda görürken, %13'ü solda ve %10'u ise ne sağ ve ne solda görmektedir. Siyasi görüşlerine verdikleri önem açısından ise, %51'i çok önemli görürken % 37'si ise ne önemli ve ne önemsiz gördüğünü belirtmiştir.

2.2. Ölçüm Araçları

Katılımcılara verilen ölçek paketi Demografik Bilgi Formu, Alevi Kimlik Ölçeği (Cingöz-Ulu, 2008), Alevi Toplumsal Bellek Ölçeği (2011), İç-grup Kayırmacılığı Ölçeği (Duckitt, Callaghan & Wagner, 2005), Toplumsal Hareketlerin Önemi, Toplumsal Hareketlere Destek Ölçeği (Liss, Crawford & Popp, 2004) ölçeklerini içermektedir.

2.2.1. Demografik Bilgi Formu

Katılımcıların yaş, cinsiyet, eğitim, en uzun süre yaşadıkları yer, dini mezhep ve etnik kimlik, siyasi eğilim olarak kendilerini nerede gördükleri ve siyasi görüşlerinin kendileri için ne kadar önemli olduğu ile ilgili soruları içermektedir.

2.2.2. Alevi Kimlik Ölçeği

Alevi kimliği Cameron (2004) sosyal kimlik ölçeği olarak bilinen ve türkçeye Cingöz-Ulu (2008) tarafından adaptasyonu yapılan ölçek ile ölçülmüştür. Ölçek 12 maddeden oluşmaktadır ve bunların yarısı ters maddelerdir. 5 puanlı Likert tipi ölçek olarak 1 'den (kesinlikle katılmıyorum) 5'e (kesinlikle katılıyorum) şeklinde kullanılmıştır. Mevcut çalışmada ölçeğin Cronbach alpha güvenirlik puanıysa .67 olarak bulunmuştur.

2.2.3. Alevi Toplumsal Bellek Ölçeği

Bu ölçek, Bellehumeur ve arkadaşları tarafından (2011) geliştirilen Katolik Toplumsal Bellek Ölçeği'nden adapte edilerek oluşturulmuştur. Ölçek değerlendirmeci (evaluative), bilişsel (cognitive) ve duygusal (affective) olarak üç alt bileşenden oluşmaktadır. Bu alt bileşenleri ölçmek için bir olumsuz (Madımak

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Katliamı) ve bir olumlu (Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli Dergahının yeniden açılması) olay seçilmiştir. Bu olaylar özellikle tarihsel önemlerine ve katılımcıların daha önce bu olayları işitmiş olabileceği ihtimali dikkate alınarak seçilmiştir. Katılımcıların bu olayları daha önce duyup duymadıklarını kontrol etmek için ilk soru bunu öğrenmeye yönelik olarak hazırlanmıştır. Herhangi bir şekilde bu olayları daha önce duymamış katılımcılar çalışmaya dahil edilmemektedir. Değerlendirmeci ve bilişsel bileşen 2 maddeden ancak duygusal kısım ise güvenli-güvensiz, öfkeli-sakin, gelecekten umutlu-gelecekten umutsuz, endişeli-huzurlu ve hoşnut-hoşnutsuz olacak şekilde 5 duygu çiftinden oluşmaktadır. Cronbach alpha güvenirlik puanı olumsuz olay için değerlendirmeci boyutta .43, bilişsel boyutta .75 ve duygusal boyutta ise .62 olarak tespit edilmiştir. Ayrıca değerlendirmeci boyutun güvenirliği düşük olduğu için çalışmanın analizine dahil edilmemiştir. Olumlu olayda ise değerlendirmeci .79, bilişsel .82 ve duygusal boyut ise .85 olarak bulunmuştur.

2.2.4. İç- grup Kayırmacılığı Ölçeği

İç-grup ve dış-grup tutumlarını ölçmek için Genelleştirilmiş Grup Değerlendirme Ölçeği (Duckitt, Callaghan & Wagner, 2005) kullanılmıştır. Ölçek Alevileri ve Sünnileri tanımlamak için sekiz tanımlayıcı sıfat içermektedir. İyi, nazik, dürüst ve güvenilir olumlu sıfatlar olarak aksi, kaba, güvenilmez, kötü ise olumsuz sıfatlar olarak kullanılmıştır. Sünniler için pozitif maddelerden elde edilen puanlar Aleviler için pozitif maddelerden elde edilen puanlardan çıkarılmıştır. Benzer şekilde, Aleviler için negatif maddelerden elde edilen puanlar Sünniler için negatif maddelerden elde edilen puanlardan çıkarılmıştır. Son olarak bu sekiz farklı puanların ortalamaları toplanarak iç-grup kayırmacılığı ölçülmüştür. 5 dereceli Likert tipi ölçek kullanılmıştır ve ölçeğin güvenirliği alfa = .89 olarak tespit edilmiştir.

2.2.5. Toplumsal Hareketin Önemi

Ölçek Alevilerin taleplerini içeren 10 maddeden oluşmaktadır. Bu talepler çeşitli Alevi kurumlarına, akademisyen ve uzmanlara danışılarak oluşturulmuştur. 5 puanlı Likert tipi ölçek olarak 1'den (Hiç önemli değil) 5'e (Çok önemli) şeklinde

sıralanmıştır. Bir madde düşük yüklü olduğundan ve diğer üç madde ise bir faktörde toplanmasın rağmen güvenirliği (alfa = .47) düşük olduğundan dolayı çalışmadan çıkarılmıştır. Sonuç olarak dört madde faktör analizinden sonra çıkarılmıştır. Ölçeğin güvenirliği alfa = . 82 olarak bulunmuştur.

2.2.6. Toplumsal Hareket için Destek Ölçeği

Çalışmanın maddeleri Liss, Crawford ve Popp (2004) tarafından oluşturulan toplumsal hareketlere destek ölçeğinden hareketle oluşturulmuştur. Ölçek 5 maddeden oluşmuştur ve 5 ölçekli Likert tipi olarak 1'den (Kesinlikle hayır) 5'e (Kesinlikle evet) şeklinde tasarlanmıştır. Ölçeğin güvenirliği alfa = .86 olarak bulunmuştur.

2.3. Prosedür

İlk olarak ODTÜ Etik Komitesi'nden gerekli izinler alındı. Çalışmaya sadece kendisini Alevi olarak tanımlayan kişiler çalışmaya dahil edildi. İlk olarak katılımcıların geneli temsil etmesi ve Alevilerin sahip oldukları çeşitliliği yansıtması için farklı il (Tunceli, Ankara, vb), ilçe (Hozat-Tunceli, Kısas-Şanlıurfa) ve köy (Türkmenacı-Diyarbakır) olarak çalışma alanları belirlendi. Bunun yanı sıra çeşitli Alevi kurumlarından ve Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli anma etkinliklerine katılan kişilerin çalışmaya katılması sağlandı. Çalışmaya katılan katılımcılar önce bilgilendirme yazısını okumuşlar ardından ölçekleri tamamlamışlardır. Son olarak çalışmaya katılan kişilere teşekkür edilmiştir.

3. SONUÇLAR

Bu çalışmanın hipotezleri "bootstrapping" çoklu aracılı model (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) kullanılarak test edilmiştir. Her çoklu aracılı modelde, Alevi kimliği bağımsız değişken, toplumsal bellek ise üç boyutuyla beraber aracı değişken olarak ve ayrıca

iç-grup kayırmacılığı, toplumsal hareketin önemi ve toplumsal hareket için destek ise bağımlı değişkenler olarak analize dahil edilmişlerdir.

Toplumsal hareketin önemini yordarken, olumsuz bir olaya dair toplumsal bellek boyutlarının etkisini incelerken, toplumsal belleğin değerlendirmeci bileşeni düşük bir güvenirlik katsayısına sahip olduğu için analize dahil edilmemiştir. Alevi kimliği ile toplumsal hareketin önemi değişkenleri arasındaki doğrudan ve toplam etki anlamlı bulunmuştur. Bunun yanında Alevi kimliği ile özdeşleşme toplumsal belleğin bilişsel boyutunu anlamlı olarak yordarken, duygusal boyutu ile arasında anlamlı bir ilişki bulunmamaktadır. Ayrıca bilişsel boyut ile toplumsal hareketin önemi arasında anlamlı bir ilişki bulunurken, duygusal boyut ise anlamlı olarak yordamamaktadır. Son olarak Alevi kimliğinin toplumsal hareketin önemi üzerindeki dolaylı etkisi bilişsel boyut aracılığında pozitif yönde anlamlı iken ($B = .02$, $SE = .009$, 95 % CI [.004, .039]), duygusal boyut söz konusu olunca anlamlı bir dolaylı etki tespit edilmemiştir ($B = .00$, $SE = .002$, 95 % CI [-.003, .008]). Modelin sınanması sonucunda çıkan değerler için Şekil 1'i inceleyebilirsiniz.

Öte yandan, olumlu olayı ele aldığımızda, Alevi aidiyet derecesi toplumsal belleğin bütün bileşenlerini anlamlı olarak yordamaktadır. Aynı zamanda Alevi kimliği ile toplumsal hareketin önemi arasındaki doğrudan ve toplam etki de anlamlı çıkmıştır. Ancak toplumsal belleğin bileşenleri ile toplumsal hareketin önemi arasındaki ilişkide ise sadece değerlendirmeci bileşen istatistiksel olarak anlamlı çıkmıştır. Alevi kimliğinin toplumsal hareketin önemi üzerindeki dolaylı etkisi de, yine sadece değerlendirmeci boyut aracılığında pozitif yönde anlamlı olarak bulunmuştur ($B = .03$, $SE = .010$, 95 % CI [.013, .052]). Modelin sınanması sonucunda çıkan değerler için Şekil 2'yi inceleyebilirsiniz.

Toplumsal hareketlere destek değişkeni söz konusu olduğunda ise, olumsuz olay yani Madımak Katliamı söz konusu olduğunda, Alevi kimliği ile toplumsal hareketlere destek arasındaki doğrudan ve toplam etki anlamlı olarak bulunmuştur. Tıpkı toplumsal hareketlerin önemi bağımlı değişkeninde söz konusu olduğu gibi burada da Alevi kimliği ile toplumsal belleğin bilişsel bileşeni arasındaki ilişki anlamlı

olmasına rağmen duygusal bileşen söz konusu olunca ilişki anlamlı olarak tespit edilmemiştir. Aynı durum toplumsal belleğin bileşenleri ile toplumsal hareketlere destek arasındaki ilişkide de gözlenmiştir. Bilişsel boyut ile toplumsal hareketlere destek arasında anlamlı bir ilişki görülürken, duygusal değişken söz konusu olunca anlamlı bir ilişki görülmemiştir. Son olarak Alevi aidiyetinin toplumsal hareketlere destek üzerindeki dolaylı etkisi bilişsel boyut aracılığında pozitif yönde anlamlı iken *(B = .10, SE = .028, 95 % CI [.05, .16])*, duygusal boyut söz konusu olunca anlamlı bir dolaylı etki tespit edilmemiştir. Modelin sınanması sonucunda çıkan değerler için Şekil 3'ü inceleyebilirsiniz.

Toplumsal hareketlere destekte, olumlu bir olaya yönelik toplumsal bellek bileşenlerinin aracı etkisi incelendiğinde ise, Alevi kimliği ile özdeşleşmenin toplumsal belleğin bütün boyutlarını anlamlı olarak yordadığı, benzer bir şekilde toplumsal belleğin bütün bileşenleri ile toplumsal hareketlere destek arasındaki ilişkinin de anlamlı olduğu bulunmuştur. Şekil 4'te bu yol analizi modelinin regresyon katsayılarını bulabilirsiniz. Alevi kimliğinin toplumsal hareketlere destek üzerindeki dolaylı etkisi toplumsal belleğin bütün boyutları üzerinden anlamlı çıkmıştır. Ancak toplumsal belleğin duygusal boyutu ile toplumsal hareketlere destek arasında negatif bir ilişki bulunmuştur. Çünkü kişiler Hacı Bektaş Veli Dergahının açılması olayından dolayı olumlu bir duygu hissetmektedirler ve bu duygu da kişilerin toplumsal hareketlere katılımlarını azaltmaktadır.

Son bağımlı değişken olan Alevilerin Sünnilere kıyasla iç-grup kayırmacılığı derecesini incelediğimizde, olumsuz olaya dair toplumsal bellek bileşenlerinin dolaylı etkisini incelediğimizde, yine önceki bağımlı değişkenlerle kurulan modellerle benzer sonuçlar elde edilmiştir. Alevi kimliğiyle özdeşleşmenin iç-grup kayırmacılığı üzerindeki dolaylı etkisi bilişsel boyut aracılığında anlamlı iken *(B = .05, SE = .023, 95 % CI [.015, .110])*, duygusal boyut üzerinden olan dolaylı etkisi anlamlı çıkmamıştır. Modelin sınanması sonucunda çıkan değerler için Şekil 5'i inceleyebilirsiniz.

Öte yandan, iç-grup kayırmacılığında olumlu olaya dair toplumsal bellek bileşenlerinin aracı rolünü incelediğimizde, Alevi kimliği ile özdeşleşmenin iç-grup kayırmacılığı üzerindeki dolaylı etkisi değerlendirmeci ($B = .07$, $SE = .026$, 95 % CI [.027, .131]) ve duygusal ($B = .03$, $SE = .020$, 95 % CI [.005, .088]) boyutlar aracılığı ile anlamlı çıkmıştır. Öte yandan bilişsel boyut aracılığıyla anlamlı bir dolaylı etki görülmemiştir. Modelin sınanması sonucunda çıkan değerler için Şekil 6'yı inceleyebilirsiniz.

4. TARTIŞMA

Bu çalışmada sosyal kimlik ile özdeşleşmenin ve toplumsal hareketlere destek/katılım ile iç-grup yanlılığında oynadığı rol, ve bu ilişkide toplumsal belleğin aracı etkisi, Anadolu'da yaşayan Aleviler bağlamında çalışılmıştır. Kendini Alevi kimliği ile güçlü şekilde özdeşleştiren kişilerin, Alevilerin geçmişte yaşadığı olayları daha sık hatırlayacakları, daha önemli görecekleri ve bu olaylara dair daha fazla duygu hissedecekleri öngörülmüş ve bu yolla da Alevilerin taleplerine dair toplumsal hareketlere verecekleri desteği ve Sünnilere kıyasla kendi gruplarını daha olumlu görmelerine yol açacağı öne sürülmüştür. .

Kişilerin Alevi kimliği ile özdeşleşme düzeyi arttıkça bellekte Madımak olayı ile ilgili düşünme artmakta ve bu da toplumsal eylemlere katılımdaki eğilimi ve iç-gruba ilişkin yanlılığı artırmaktadır. Ayrıca Madımak olayına ilişkin duygusal tepkilerin artması kişilerin toplumsal eylemlere destek/katılım ile kendi grubuna yönelik davranışlarında bir değişmeye yol açmazken, Hacı Bektaş Veli Dergahının açılmasına ilişkin duygusal tepkiler ise bireylerin tutumlarında değişmeye yol açmaktadır. Son olarak bireylerin kendi kimlikleri ile kurdukları yüksek düzeydeki özdeşim onların Madımak olayına ilişkin belleklerinde atfedikleri önem artmakta ve bu durumda toplumsal hareketlere verilen önemi ve kendi grubuna yönelik olumlu tutumları artırmaktadır.

Öncelikle toplumsal belleğin farklı bileşenlerinin Madımak ve Hacı Bektaş Veli Dergahının yeniden açılması olaylarında farklı aracı rollerinde bulunmaları, bizim bu

iki olayı karşılaştırmamızı getirmez. Çünkü bu iki olayı eşdeğer kabul edemeyiz. Bu iki olay farklı zamanlarda meydana gelmiştir. Özellikle Madımak olayı dergahın yeniden açılmasından çok daha yakın zamanda meydana gelmiştir. Dolayısıyla Madımak olayının hem yakın zamanda olması, hem de olayın travmatik olabilecek boyutu nedeniyle daha iyi hatırlanması olasıdır. Sonuçlara bakıldığı zamanda Madımak olayının hatırlanması (5 üzerinden $M = 4.6$) ancak dergahın yeniden açılması (5 üzerinden $M = 3.2$) olarak bulunmuştur.

Bu çalışmanın en önemli bulgularından biri toplumsal belleğin Alevi kimliği ile özdeşleşme ve toplumsal eylemlere eğilim arasındaki aracı rolüdür. Yazın ile uyumlu olarak kimlik ile özdeşleşme ve toplumsal eylemlere katılım arasında pozitif bir ilişki bulunmuştur. Toplumsal belleğin aracı rolü duygusal bileşenden ziyade bilişsel bileşen söz konusu olunca gözlenmiştir. Diğer bir deyişle, kendisini Alevi kimliği ile güçlü bir şekilde özdeşleştiren kişiler Madımak olayı hakkında düşünmek ve konuşmak isteyecekleri, ve bu durumunda onların Alevi hakları ile ilgili toplumsal eylemlere katılma ve destek konusunda etkileyebileceğidir. Diğer yandan, kimlik ile özdeşleşmenin duygusal bileşen üzerinden dolaylı etkisi anlamlı değildir. Her ne kadar Alevi kimliği ile aidiyet Madımak olayı hakkında olumsuz duygular hissetmeye yol açsa da bu duygular beraberinde toplumsal eylemlere daha fazla katılmaya yol açmaz. Bununla birlikte duyguların kişilerin toplumsal eylemlere katılmalarında önemli bir role sahip olduğu bulgusu yazında yer almaktadır. Özellikle kızgınlık protestolara katılma konusunda prototip bir duygudur (Van Stekelenburg & Klandermans, 2007). Katılımcıların büyük çoğunluğu Madımak ile ilgili olarak çok fazla olumsuz duygu hissettiğini bildirmiştir (SS = 0.73) Toplumsal bellekte yer alan duyguların bu ilişkide aracı rol oynamamasında bir sebep ranj kısıtlığı olabilir.

Ayrıca dergahın yeniden açılmasına atfedilen önemin Alevi kimliği ile özdeşleşme ve toplumsal eylemlere katılım arasında aracı rolü oynadığı da ortaya çıkmıştır. Diğer bir deyişle, kendisini Alevi kimliği ile güçlü bir şekilde özdeşleştiren bireyler aynı zamanda Hacı Bektaş Veli Dergahının yeniden açılmasının önemli sonuçlar doğurduğunu düşünmekteler ve bu durumunda onların Alevi hakları ile ilgili

toplumsal eylemlere katılma ihtimallerini arttırmaktadır. Örneğin Hacı Bektaş Veli Dergahının statüsü ile ilgili talepler sürekli dile getirilmektedir. Dergah şu an Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığına bağlı müze statüsündedir. Fakat Aleviler dergahın kendilerine verilmesini ve cem evi olarak kullanmak istediklerini belirtmektedirler (Alevi Çalıştayı, 2009).

Bu çalışmanın bir diğer ilginç sonucu, dergahın yeniden açılmasına dair toplumsal belleğin duygusal bileşeni kimlik ile özdeşleşme ve toplumsal eylemlere destek arasında aracı rolü oynamasında tespit edilmiştir. Kendini Alevi kimliği ile güçlü bir şekilde özdeşleştiren kişiler dergahın yeniden açılmasından dolayı pozitif duygular hissediyorlar. Fakat aynı zamanda, bu pozitif duygular kişilerin toplumsal eylemlere desteklerini azaltmaktadır. Yani umutlu, sakin ve pozitif duygular içerinde olan kişiler toplumsal eylemlere katılmaktan uzak durmaktadırlar.

Son olarak iç-grup yanlılığı ve Alevilerin sosyal kimlikleri arasındaki ilişkide toplumsal belleğin aracı rolü dikkate alındığında, ilk olarak kimlik ile özdeşleşme ve iç-grup yanlılığı arasındaki ilişkinin ortaya çıkardığı bulgular yazındaki bulguları desteklemektedir. Kendi grubu ile güçlü şekilde özdeşleşen Aleviler kendi gruplarını Sünnilere göre daha pozitif olarak değerlendirmişlerdir. Ayrıca Madımak hakkında düşünme ve konuşma sıklığı, kimlik ile özdeşleşme ve iç-grup yanlılığı arasında aracı rolündeyken Madımak ile ilgili duygular besleme aracı rolünde bulunmamaktadır. Olumlu olayı dikkate aldığımızda ise hem değerlendirmeci ve hem duygusal bileşen değişkenler arasında aracı rolündeyken, bilişsel bileşen ise bulunmamaktadır. Yani, Alevi kimliği ile güçlü bir şekilde özdeşleşen kişiler Hacı Bektaş Veli Dergahının yeniden açılmasının öneminin farkında olmaktadırlar ve dergahın yeniden açılmasından dolayı olumlu duygular beslemektedirler. Bu ilişkinin sonunda ise onlar Alevileri Sünnilere kıyasla biraz daha olumlu olarak değerlendirmektedirler.

4.1. Katkılar ve Sınırlılıklar

Bu çalışmanın en önemli katkılarından biri şimdiye kadar daha çok sosyoloji, tarih, siyaset bilimi altında çalışılmış olan toplumsal bellek kavramının sosyal psikolojik

bir bağlamda kullanılmış olmasıdır. Özellikle bu çalışma kapsamında bir toplumsal bellek ölçeği Türkçeye uyarlanmıştır. Bu çalışma, toplumsal bellek kavramının nasıl ele alınırsa daha sağlıklı sonuçlar vereceği ile ilgili olarak bizlere önemli veriler sunmuştur. Örneğin toplumsal belleğin boyutları, bunu ele alırken seçilecek olayların nitelikleri ve ölçeğin geliştirilmesinde dikkat edilecek hususlarla ilgili olarak bu araştırma yön gösterici olmuştur.

Çalışma örnekleminin temsil gücünün yüksek olması için çaba sarfedilmiştir. Özellikle şehir, ilçe ve köy demografigi göz önünde tutularak çalışmanın verisi toplanmıştır. Ancak örneklem konusunda olumlu noktalara rağmen, katılımcıların önemli bir kısmının (% 43.7) Tunceli merkez ve çevresinden gelmesi bir dezavantaj olarak görülebilir. Çünkü zaten o bölgede yaşayan insanların büyük çoğunluğunun daha politize olmuş bir kimliğe sahip oldukları söylenebilir.. Bu noktada zaten bu çalışmanın ilgili olduğu konulara duyarlı olmaları beklenir. Bu da örneklem çeşitliliğini kısıtlayan bir etkendir.

Oluşturulan anketler 5 dereceli Likert tipi olarak oluşturuldu. Ancak bu 5 kademeli ölçek, katılımcıların kendi duygu, düşünce ve tutumlarını olduğu haliyle ve tüm netliğiyle yansıtamamaları sorununa yol açmaktadır. Özellikle Alevi-Sünni Tutum Ölçeği olarak oluşturulan ölçekte katılımcıların bir kısmı kendilerine sunulan seçeneklerden hiçbirine katılmadıklarını dile getirmişlerdir. Ancak böyle bir seçeneğin olmamasından dolayı cevaplamakta sıkıntı yaşadıklarını aktarmışlardır.

Özellikle toplumsal bellek daha önce sosyal psikolojide çok fazla araştırılan bir alan olmadığı için ölçülmesi konusunda da yeterli ölçek bulunmamaktadır. Bu çalışma için yapılan uyarlamanın bile yüksek bir güvenirliliğe sahip olmaması, toplumsal belleğin farklı bir şekilde ölçülmesini gerektirmektedir. Özellikle soru sayısının daha çok yapılması ve toplumsal belleğin bileşenlerinin her birinin daha fazla soru ile ölçülmesi güvenirliliği artırabileceği düşünülmektedir.

Appendix J: Thesis Photocopying Permission Form

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

<u>**ENSTİTÜ**</u>

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☒ X

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

<u>**YAZARIN**</u>

Soyadı : BÜKÜN
Adı : MEHMET FATİH
Bölümü : PSİKOLOJİ

<u>**TEZİN ADI**</u> (İngilizce): The Relationship between Social Identity and

Collective Memory of Turkeys Alevıs: The Importance of Remembering Past

Events

<u>**TEZİN TÜRÜ**</u> : YüksekLisans ☒ X   Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐

3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☒ X

<u>**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ**</u>:

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