3.1 Greek - Turkish Imaginaries in Cyprus

Chair: George Kyris (University of Birmingham)

Bahceci Sergen LSE	From Enmity to Strangerhood
Ktori Panagiota European University Cyprus	The Political Openness of Cypriot Museums in terms of Strengthening Multiple Interpretations and Alternative Narratives
Savaş Çakmakcı Gülşah Marmara University	Collective Memory on the Axis of Remembering and Forgetting



"The political openness of Cypriot museums in terms of strengthening multiple interpretations and alternative narratives"

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Literature Review

The philosophical framework of the postmodernism and museum

Postmodern philosophy is identified with the search for truth, which is not predetermined. It challenges the authority of scientific knowledge and seeks the truth of small narratives.

In this philosophical framework, modern museums admit that there are more than one interpretations for an exhibit. Museum collections should not be presented as a single truth but rather as a version of multiple possible interpretations which can be compared and contrasted. The museum as a polyphonic space can play an essential role by abolishing the one and only voice (the ultimate narrative) and accepting multiple voices and alternative narratives, often conflicting.

"Political open museums"

- This philosophy leads to strategies for approaches where exhibits and content emphasize polyphony, free expression, social dialogue as well as the dignity of every social subset.
- The museum gives the opportunity to different social groups, often ignored by society, to express their own perspective, their own voice and their own interpretive narrative. It tries to shape the space and it's content to strengthen dialogue, respect, diversity and social contribution.
- Listening to the needs of society as a whole, and also its subgroups, museums choose narratives that touch on social issues, silenced stories, daring to highlight issues that the public needs to re-examine and redefine.

(Roberts, 1997, Jenks, 1989, Chynoweth et al., 2020)



The new museum definition

In Prague, on August 24th 2022, ICOM has reached and approved the new museum definition:

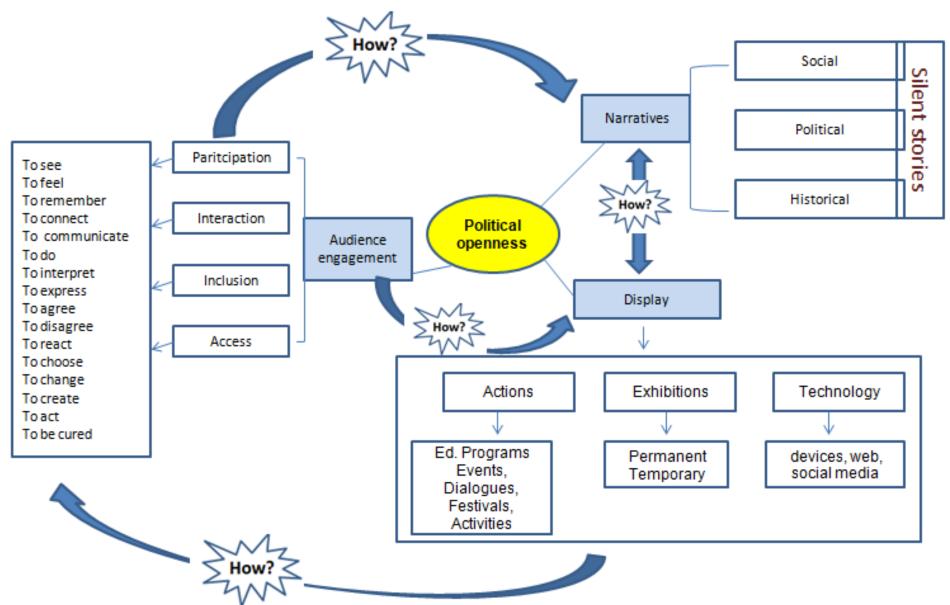
 "A museum is a not-for-profit, permanent institution in the service of society that researches, collects, conserves, interprets and exhibits tangible and intangible heritage. Open to the public, accessible and inclusive, museums foster diversity and sustainability. They operate and communicate ethically, professionally and with the participation of communities, offering varied experiences for education, enjoyment, reflection and knowledge sharing."

How can we create a "political open museum?

- Lynch (2020), notes that it takes courage and commitment to create "politically open museums" in a troubled world, as this "political openness" creates conflicts and challenges the role of museums and the authority of the people who work within them.
- This has the effect of directly influencing the museum's policy, educational approaches and practices that it implements, something that every museum is called upon to reflect on.

Are the museums ready to support their political openness?





Museums in Cyprus

- Previous researches regarding museums in Cyprus and their political role, focus on the two ethnographic museums of Cyprus, The National Struggle Museum/Agonos Museum in Nicosia under Greek Cypriot administration and the Canbulat Museum in Famagusta under Turkish Cypriot administration.
- Both museums focus on specific narratives either in favor of the Greekness of the Greek Cypriots (The National Struggle Museum), or in favor of the Turkish identity of the Turkish Cypriots (The Canbulat Museum) respectively, <u>each</u> <u>silencing the voice of the other.</u>
- Researchers highlight the need of museums to present/display alternative narratives and silenced voices for stories from both sides so as museums become places of negotiation, dialogue and conflict resolution.

(Papadakis, 1994, Bounia, & Stylianou-Lambert, 2011, Farmaki, 2013, Stylianou-Lambert & Bounia, 2016, Farmaki & Antoniou, 2017).

The purpose of my research

To search the strategic plans of the Cypriot museums in terms of the selection and the way of presenting/displaying social, political, historical narratives in order to involve the public in the content of the museum.



Research Questions \Rightarrow **Research tools**

1. What kinds of narratives do museums choose to include in their content?

2.How do museums present narratives related to social issues?

- Semi structure Interviews (Administrators, curators, museums' educators)
- Posts on Facebook
- Observations

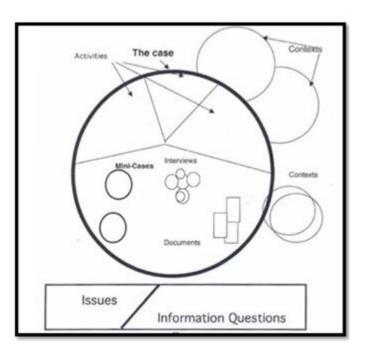
3.In what ways do museums seek public access, participation, inclusion and interaction in their narratives?

Methodology

Each museum investigated was a separate case study. The case studies were developed over the course of a year, and sought a deeper understanding, analysis and interpretation of each case.

For each museum case, various sources of information and different data collection tools were used which combined and mutually supported and converged in a triangulated manner (Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006 Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2008, Stake, 2013, Yin 2014).

Graph for case study



(Stake, 2011:11)



Which museums shall I investigate?

MUSEUMS	WEB PAGE	SOCIAL MEDIA	EDUCATIONAL POLICY	SOCIAL ISSUES
Municipality Gallery of Paphos	no	FACEBOOK	Educational programs (ministry)	-
Limassol Public Gallery	no	OXI	Educational programs (ministry)	
Pierides Museum	no	FACEBOOK	No	-
Hambis Printmaking Museum	Yes	FACEBOOK	Workshops	-
Leventis Museum	Yes	FACEBOOK, TWITTER, INSTAGRAM	Educational programs	Actions for visitors
CVAR (Center of Visual Art and Research)	Yes	FACEBOOK, TWITTER, YOUTUBE	Educational programs	Educational programs
Leventis Gallery	Yes	FACEBOOK, TWITTER, YOUTUBE	Educational programs	Educational programs
NiMac (Nicosia Manicipal art center)	Yes	FACEBOOK, INSTGRAM	Educational programs, kids workshops	Educational programs

Data collection for each case study

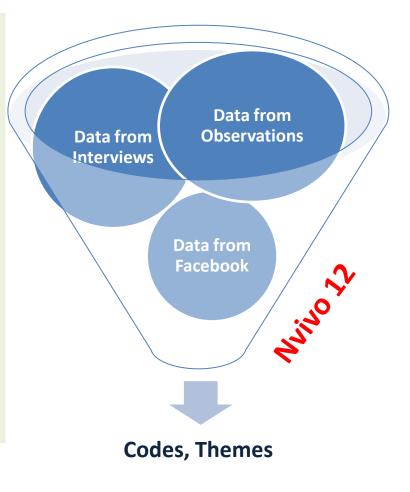
Leventis Gallery									
INTERVIEWS		DATE	DURATION						
DIRECTOR/ADMINISTRATOR		17/5/22	written						
MUSEUM EDUCATOR, CURATO	RS	17/1/22	50 min						
		30/11/22	40						
OBSERVATIONS				ACTIONS	-				
"Οταν οι λέξεις μεταμορφώ	MUS	SEUM OF CO	NTEMBORARY	ART NIMAC					
σε ζωγραφιές»	INTE	RVIEWS			DATE		RATION	TOTAL	
Ημερίδα «Μόδα και Παράδο	DIRE	CTOR/ADMI	NISTRATOR		16/2/22	30			
«Ξηλώματα»					8/7/22	33	' 125 λεπτά		
	MUS	SEUM EDUCA	TOR, CURATO	RS	28/5/22	32			
«Ξηλώματα»					2/7/22	30'			
		ERVATIONS						ΕΙΔΟΣ ΔΡΑΣΗΣ	
Μόδα στην Τέχνη:		(Three opening: ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSE			UM CVAR				
"Αναδημιουργώντας τη συλλ	δ κοινωνία: Συ		INTERVIEW				DATE	DURATION	TOTAL
SYNERGY μέσα από τη μέθοδ			DIRECTOR/	ATOR		4/12/21	L 28 min		
fashion illustration."		ματα της π					15/7/22	2 25 min	95min
Διαλογισμός με την Τέχνη	«Φα	ινταστικοί κ	MUSEUM E	DUCATOR,	CURATORS		4/12/21		1
FACEBOOK POSTS	Fort	ress and the		,			8/7/22	17 min	
POSTS	rora	ress und un	OBSERVATIONS				DATE	DURATION	ACTION
	FAC	EBOOK	"till we me	et again"			12/2/22	2 2 hours	exchibition
	Allp	osts	«Ηισότητα	των φύλων	μέσα από	πς	17/5/22		Online meeting
		τέχνες»			· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				
			"Απόγευμα στο Μουσείο: Η ισότητα των φύλων μέσα από τις τέχνες" «Μπες λίγο στα παπούτσια μου»		18/5/22	2 2 hour and	tour, presentation		
						45'			
						15/7/22	2 90 λεπτά	Educational program	
FACEBOOK									
							1.12.21	- Ayear	340 posts
			All posts				30.11.2	2	

Data Analysis

Thematic analysis

 ✓ All data was transcribed into written text, entered into the program Nvivo 12, coded into 22 codes, correlated and integrated into themes.

✓ The analysis is carried out in a circular process which runs through the entire research effort, is adjusted and continues with the aim of strengthening the results.



Codes

Narratives

Historic	Social	Political	Social Justice				
narratives	narratives	narratives					
Aims	Strategic Plans	Dialogue with visitors	Kind of Actions				
Museum Power	Limitations	Polyphony	Display of narratives				
Interaction	Experiential	Connection with	Educational				
	learning	visitors	programs				
Social Media	Groups of	Adaptability	Access				
	visitors 🛛 📄						
Participation	Inclusion						
Gallery Ethnographic Museum Museum of Contemporary Art							

Workshop "Meditation with Art"

Example in the Gallery

According to a post shared on the Gallery's Facebook page(7.6.22), the Gallery listens to people's social needs for meditation, as a need that has strengthened after the pandemic of corona virus.

The workshop was adapted for immigrants living in Nicosia in collaboration with the Caritas organization.

The museum educator started the program with a presentation of Moralis' painting "Composition" that presents the artist's meditation with himself. The participants were encouraged to do the same and escape from their difficult everyday life, dreaming of a better world.





"Meditation with Art"

"These programs are the most important things that are happening in the museum. For me this action is of great importance for some population groups such as immigrants. Through such programs, the Gallery's goal, which aims to educate individuals through art, is being achieved enabling population groups such as *immigrants to participate in these* actions and be helped."

(Museum curator)

First Findings (1)

This example demonstrates the adaptability of the Gallery to the needs of the society, as a resourceful agent of social change (Sandel, 2007).

Despite that, the gallery seems to use the power to "educate" and "help" the immigrants.

Exhibition "till we meet again"

Example in the Ethnographic Museum (15.12.21- 16.2.22)

- The exhibition presented the works of twelve contemporary artists (6 Turkish Cypriot and 6 Greek Cypriot women).
 During the exhibition, the public had the opportunity to observe their work, listen to the creators analyze the process of creating their work and their personal stories and engage in dialogue with them.
- During the period of the exhibition, 5 interviews from the creators, were uploaded on the Facebook page of the museum.

CVAR - Severis Foundation

.....

Interview with Cypriot artist Melina Shukuroglou who currently exhibits her work within the framework of the bi-communal exhibition: Till we meet again.



"The museum works hard for **reunification**, **reconciliation and understanding between all communities**, especially between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

There is a portion of people in Cyprus who do not accept both communities, have other points of view and are fighting the museum. **Nevertheless, we continue our purpose**."

(Administrator 4.12.21)

First Findings (2)

- The issues of **Identity** and gender stereotypes were the dominant narratives of the exhibition.
- The museum, through the exhibition, became a place of reception for both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot artists and visitors, creating opportunities for people from both ethnicities to meet, to develop acquaintances and discuss common concerns. It thus brought people of the two communities together for dialogue.

Exhibition **Project Room #7:** Frenk Bey, Fortress and the *Thing*

In the Exhibition 7 artists present their work. Hasan Aksaygin's art works examine the (post)memories caused by the Cyprus conflict. The narrative is presented from the position and concerns of the artist, who belongs to the Turkish community. **(Facebook)**

On 25.2.22 Hasan, develops a dialogue with Serkan Karas about his work to his inner conflicts that were influenced by the images he was seeing around him in a city that did not represent him (occupied Famagusta) and influenced his work. **(Observation 25.2.22)**

To the researcher's question to the museum management (8.7.2022), about possible concern regarding the presentation of conflicting views from the prevailing view of Cypriot society, the management replied that *"if there are reactions, reactions are always good and create dialogue".*

Findings (3)

The museum allows alternative narratives to be part of its content that was previously silenced.





First Conclusions

- The issue of **Identity** is a dominant narrative in the three actions that have been mentioned above.
- Both the Museum of Contemporary Art and the Ethnographic museum attempted to strengthen the voice of the Turkish Cypriots. Museums became venues for the negotiation of an issue that is often silenced due to the ongoing conflict that has left the island de facto divided.
- The Gallery attempts to **empower a certain vulnerable social group** of the population.
- The first conclusions show that the **Cypriot museums attempt actions that lead them to their political openness,** empowering alternative voices and narratives for a more democratic world, for different groups of people.

to be continued

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Collective Memory on the Axis of Remembering and Forgetting

Savas Cakmakcı, Gulsah¹

Abstract

In the memory of the individuals living in the society is formed together with the memory of the society and the socialized memory is remembered for generations. At this point, what we remember and forget shows that memory is built in society. How and in what way the society remembers / is remembered or forgotten / made forgotten about the events in the past is important in political decisions and social tendencies. So, why is it important to remember the past and why do societies need to remember their past? In this paper, how and why we remember and the factors that are effective in this remembering process will be discussed. Here, it will be emphasized that remembering is not an individual and apolitical phenomenon, but a collective action and is subject to political interventions. This paper argues that memory is formed in society, it will also be revealed how individual memory is shaped on the axis of collective memory.

Keywords: Remembering and Forgetting, Memory, Collective Memory, Society, Memories.

1. Why And How Do We Remember? The Role Of Remembering And Forgetting In Reconstruction Of Today

The past is undoubtedly seen as the main actor in the formation of the present and an important reference point that shapes our assumptions about the present. As a common belief, it is thought that the events that occurred and happened in the past could can be known in many ways. However, contrary to this general belief, the past is a fiction; It can be said that it is a memory area that is reconstructed according to the time in it and the needs of this time.

Jan Assmann also underlines that the past is shaped by the context and needs of the present, saying that "the past is a structure arising from the context of the current time and the need for meaning" (2018; 40). Assmann also claims that the past can only emerge as long as a relationship is established with it and that the past is "reconstructed by remembering".

Especially with the developments brought by the tradition of nationalism, it has become a dominant in interstate statements, remembering the past - great heroism and victories or shocking great disasters – and the systematic transfer of memories of the past to new generations through commemorations and celebrations has become a very important topic.

Because nationalism claims that every person living in the world is naturally a part of a nation and has a common identity through elements such as common destiny, common past and common memories. This common past and with it a common destiny found the definition of friends and foes. This whole constitutes important parts of national identity.

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National identity becomes the main reference point for the preferences, perceptions and behaviors of states (Smith, 2004: 24). This shows how important the definition of national identity and past is in interpreting what is happening in our political life today.

For example, Turkish and Greek nationalisms and national identities define friend and foe in the common past of their own nations with references to each other. National identities, which define the "Other" while defining themselves, are frequently used politically, as in the Cyprus problem. In this remembering practice, there is a selective remembering according to periodic needs. This leads to the development of different discourses.

In the construction of national identity, memories that were thought to be negative in the past are often not remembered; On the other hand, glorious heroism and great victories are the preferred reference point in this construction.

At this point, the construction of national identity determines a careful and selective method while telling the historical events to the society and tries to construct the identity as pure, clean and especially free from the burden of the past.

"..the essence of the nation is that all individuals have much in common, and at the same time they have forgotten many things...all French citizens celebrate St. Barthelemy's Day² and the XIII. Century South must forget the massacres. " (Renan, 2016: 38).

As it is understood from here, the past is a phenomenon that is purified from historical realities and shaped according to needs, and societies and nation states generally construct a clean and glorious past.

Accordingly, we can define the construction of the past as the construction of memory. As in the construction of nations, the past and history appear as very important figures in the construction of memory.

The selected and desired history is transferred to memory through history books, national textbooks (Sancar, 2016: 18) and various tools.

Even though it is built, the tight bond that memory establishes with the past and historical realities enables it to be shaped according to the conditions and requirements of the moment (Bilgin, 2013: 28-32). When talking about recollections of the past, where the memory of the past is formed or how it is formed also becomes an important issue. In this direction, it is possible to say that memory is formed in society.

So, the memory of the individuals living in the society is formed together with the memory of the society, and the socialized memory is remembered for generations. Hence we can claim that, what we remember and forget shows that memory is built in society.

How and in what way the society remembers / is remembered or forgotten / made forgotten about the events in the past is important in political decisions and social tendencies. Studying how this process works, how and why the past is remembered, and how memory is built is important in understanding the political decisions and movements taking place today.

² The St. Bartalmay Massacre (Massacre de la Saint-Barthélemy) was the great grave massacre of Catholic gangs and the assassinations of Huguenots (French Calvinist Protestants) during the French Wars of Religion in 1572. During the massacre, which lasted about two weeks, between five thousand and thirty thousand, died in France. For detailed discussion, see Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, Frames of Remembrance The Dynamics of Collective Memory (2009)

So, why is it important to remember the past and why do societies need to remember their past? What is the reason for societies to construct a past and memory by filtering them?

In the light of the questions mentioned above, in this paper, how and why we remember as well as the factors that are effective in this remembering process will be discussed. Also, it will be emphasized that remembering is not an individual and apolitical phenomenon, but a collective action and is subject to political interventions. The paper, furthermore, claims that memory is formed in society, it will also be revealed how individual memory is shaped on the axis of collective memory.

In this paper, firstly, the concept of memory will be discussed, and the necessary infrastructure will be provided for the next stage, collective memory; Secondly, the relationship of collective memory with society will be examined and its importance in the formation of this memory will be given in detail³.

1.1.Reasons for the Need to Remember and the Popularization of Memory Studies

The concept of memory has recently become a frequently repeated concept both in social sciences and in society. The notion of memory and collective memory is frequently heard, especially in the media and political debates.

Because, the phenomenon of remembering is used to politically remember events that happened in the past and are thought to be socially important. With this direction, memory studies have developed and how it is remembered and forgotten in the process of remembering, how the events to be remembered are selected, what are the factors that make remembering easier and more difficult, etc. Questions such as these are frequently studied and used to remember events tht are considered political.

The concept of memory has been studied in psychology for many years. However, since the middle of the 20th century, the concept of memory has begun to be intensively studied in various disciplines such as history, anthropology, political science, cultural studies, literature, education and psychology. (Roediger & Wertsch, 2008; Bosch, 2016: 2; Olick & Robbins, 1998: 106). In this respect, it can be said that memory studies are an interdisciplinary field (Roediger & Wertsch, 2008).

The fact that the subject of memory has become a popular subject today and has become a favorite of social scientists does not mean that the subject has just been discovered. The issue of memory has been a constant preoccupation with social thinkers, including the Ancient Greek thinkers, since much earlier times (Olick & Robbins, 1998: 106).

The first and most important reason for memory studies and the issue of remembering to come to the fore is the political, social and cultural developments experienced throughout the world, especially in the middle of the 20th century. The great disasters, genocides and ethnic cleansings that took place in this period led especially to the demands of the societies that were exposed to them to constantly keep their incurable wounds and traumas alive and to remember them.

³ In this study, the concept of collective memory was prepared to create a conceptual framework for a doctoral study on Greek Cypriots. The topic of collective memory is used to understand the role and importance of the collective memories of Greek Cypriots, in perceiving the "Other".

Because the societies that were exposed to these after the great disasters⁴, genocides and ethnic cleansings in the middle of the 20th century want to remember this trauma by keeping it alive and bring it to the political arena. They want to carry it both to politics in local and international levels.

Fussell (1975) argues that memory studies come to the fore especially in examining the shocking and traumatic consequences of wars in individuals and societies. Also, as Leyla Neyzi said, since many of these wars and major disasters are caused by conflicts based on nationalism and identity, the issue of memory does not fall off the agenda (2020: 3).

Oral history studies describing the difficulties and traumas experienced by European soldiers serving in World War I constituted the first concrete steps taken in memory studies (Connerton, 2011: 11). Then, II. World War II and Holocaust studies led to the diversification and further development of memory studies⁵ (Hodgkin & Radstone, 2006: 6; Kitch, 2008; Neyzi, 2020: 2).

Remembrance of these traumas has been associated with the issue of human rights and international law and has formed an important memory element for the construction of the future of the society that has experienced this negative experience. It is possible for societies to remember these heavy traumas and evaluate them as a matter of human rights.

By keeping this traumatic memory alive and not forgetting their past, these societies think that they will have a more solid place in the world order. Because societies cannot get over these painful experiences for a long time; they must face the repercussions of these sufferings.

Memory studies have become more visible, especially in contemporary political debates. Investigating past reckonings and the political, social and psychological effects of past events or situations that extend to the present has almost been the main target of memory studies (Radstone, 2008; Bosch, 2016: 2; Neyzi, 2020: 2-3).

According to Assmann⁶, there are four main reasons why the subject of memory and remembering has become popular: 1. The political and social needs of the society in the current period, 2. The effort to make sense of the past, 3. The disasters are not forgotten and not to be forgotten, 4. The development of technology $(2008)^7$.

⁴ Some of the great disasters that many thinkers consider cautiously and that play a leading role in the interest in memory are as follows: World War I, World War II. World War II, Holocaust, Vietnam War, Pol Pot Cambodia Massacre. (For detailed discussion, see Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, Frames of Remembrance The Dynamics of Collective Memory (2009)

⁵ Eyewitnesses of Nazi concentration and extermination camps such as Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Majdanek and Treblinka, where the greatest crimes against humanity took place, and oral history studies shaped by the narratives of the victims and survivors of the Holocaust also have a very valuable place in increasing the interest in memory. For these theoretical discussions referred to as "witnessing history" in the literature, see. Ed. Katherine Hodgkin & Susannah Radstone Contested Pasts The Politics of Memory (2006).

⁶ Jan Assmann, originally an internationally renowned Egyptologist, wrote the book Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination in 1992. Assmann's book, in which he deals with memory on the axis of cultural studies, has made very valuable contributions to the field of memory studies.

⁷ Jan Assmann thinks that the possibilities offered by technological developments are an important factor in the interest in memory. So much so that Assmann sees these technological developments in his work called Cultural Memory (2018) as important as the Industrial Revolution. According to him, the use of memory in the electronic environment is as valuable as the invention of writing or the emergence of the printing press, and in his own words, it has the quality of a "cultural revolution".

Another reason for the rapid rise of memory studies is modernity⁸ and its' consequences. Connerton establishes a connection between modernity and memory studies as follows; Modernity causes forgetfulness, and therefore, it is necessary to focus on memory in order to prevent this forgetfulness (2011: 11). Because with modern times, the past becomes history, and at this point, the phenomenon of time that cannot be brought back emerges. In order to cope with this process, it is necessary to remember constantly.

1.2. Memory on the Axis of Remembering and Forgetting (Discussions)

Enzo Traverso, a historian, and political scientist, refers to the difficulties and misconceptions of social scientists in defining and making sense of the concept of memory by saying "Words as wasted as memory are rare" (2019: 9).

Memory, with its simplest definition, is "the ability to keep in mind the information that a person has lived or learned in various ways". The storage of the experiences and information acquired by the individual and their recall when necessary are realized through memory.

Memory is seen by many thinkers as the 'brain of the individual'. At this point, Bergson reveals how important memory is for the individual by saying "consciousness means memory first" (Halbwachs, 2019: 12).

Looking at the historical development of the concept of memory, it is seen that it has been evaluated from different perspectives from ancient times to the present. For example, in the Ancient, Medieval and Roman periods, the concept of memory was considered as an individual concept by thinkers. However, memory, which entered the agenda of psychological research with the 20th century, began to be examined in its collective and cultural dimensions at the end of the same century.

From this point of view, contrary to popular belief, simple and monotonous approaches that evaluate memory as merely remembering the past have completely lost their validity. Therefore, almost most of us now accept that memory is a reproduction mechanism.

Based on this idea, it would not be wrong to say that memory is a phenomenon shaped by the conditions of the day and the moment rather than the past. So much so that memory is like a dynamic process that is constantly reshaped according to the conjuncture (Özyürek, 2020: 8).

Memory is a product of construction and comes to life through the continuous filtering of the past. In parallel with these thoughts, Traverso says the following to explain that memory is a product of construction: "Memory is a construction; therefore, it is always filtered by the acquired knowledge, by the thinking processes that follow the event, by other experiences that overlap and change the first memory. ... In short, memory, whether individual or collective, is always an image of the past filtered by the present (2019: 21).

⁸ However, the loss of reputation experienced by modernist ideologies also causes an increase in the interest in nostalgia, and a return to memory with the nostalgia for the past is striking (Özyürek, 2020: 7). For example, young people try to obtain information about their past lives from their elders; many memoirs are on the market and almost out of stock; The things that were taken out of the house in the past without being liked are now being taken back by paying more, etc. Adopting similar approaches, Nora (2006) argues that longing for the past and the search for a nostalgic environment are important pillars in the development of memory studies. According to Nora, who describes memory as the main condition of existence, the loss of tradition makes nostalgia valuable and directs social scientists to memory studies in this direction.

The two most important elements of memory are remembering and forgetting. In the book "How Societies Remember", Paul Connerton⁹ (2012) seeks the answers for the questions of how the memory of human groups is transported and preserved? Where he describes how remembering occurs with the following expressions: "The process of remembering takes place in various ways, overtly, implicitly, and at many levels of experience".

In the light of the studies carried out in the field of memory, the most important result about the functioning of memory is that contrary to popular belief, the remembering process does not work like a mechanical tool, and memory is not a simple storage and preservation area (Neyzi, 2009: 1).

In the remembering process, both the past and the current context as well as the relationship between these two are very vital. From this point of view, Rose points out that in the process of remembering, the individual reconstructs the data in his memory with the moment of remembering (Rose, 2003 as cited in Neyzi, 2009:1).

Therefore, the process of remembering includes both the past and the moment of remembering, as well as the blending, in other words, reproduction of the relations between these two processes.

Assmann describes this task of remembering as follows: "Every memory probe, every reminiscence, no matter how personal, even our recollection of events only we have witnessed, or even our recollection of unspoken thoughts and feelings, is associated with a set of thoughts that many others have as well. happens in a relationship; it happens with things like people, places, dates, words, forms of language; that is, it takes place together with all the material and spiritual lives of the societies that we are a part of or of which we are a part (2011: 14). In other words, according to Assmann, remembering takes place in the social context.

The reflection of remembering and forgetting practices in political life is very important in memory studies. As a matter of fact, what will be remembered and what will be forgotten in nation states is observed in the official historical narrative. Reminder and memory building with common commemorations, official holidays, and celebrations in nation states; It is possible to say that there are practices of making the writers forget by actions such as silencing the writers, imprisoning them, or removing the historians from their duties (Assmann, 2018: 30).

2. Collective Memory

While the discussion on memory continued intensively in the scientific world, the concept of "collective memory" emerged, especially in the nineteenth century, with the belief that memory is a social phenomenon. The concept of collective memory was first used by the Austrian novelist Hugo Von Hofmannsthal in 1902, but the first thing that comes to mind when the concept of collective memory is mentioned has always been the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs¹⁰ (Olick & Robbins, 1998: 106).

⁹ Paul Connerton's works, How Societies Remember (How Societies Remember?) and How Modernity Forgets (How Modernity Forgets?) of Paul Connerton, who has important works in the field of memory studies, are his works in which he examines the remembering and forgetting processes of societies.

¹⁰ French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, who made a great impression with his work The Social Frames of Memory (Les Cadres Sociaux de la Mémoire) published in 1925, is considered the main actor and pioneer of collective memory studies (Olick & Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy, 2020: 27). Halbwachs' theory of collective memory and Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire, published in 1925, and La Topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre

The reason why Halbwachs is the first thinker¹¹ to be referred to in many studies is that he has examined the concept of collective memory sociologically and developed a theory on this subject (Olick, 2008: 153).

Halbwachs' interest in memory is mainly based on Emile Durkheim¹² and Henri Louis Bergson¹³, who were prominent thinkers of the nineteenth century in France and also Halbwachs' teachers (Olick and Robbins, 1998).

Ricoeur states that memory has been seen as an individual phenomenon throughout history, and with Halbwachs' daring approach, collective memory has emerged by assigning a social/collective mission to memory. At this point, Ricoeur mentions that we are indebted to Halbwachs for bringing the concept of collective memory to us (2017: 139). Because before Halbwachs' work, it was never in question for social scientists that memory could be social.

So, what is collective memory, which is located directly opposite the individual memory and points to the collective memory of the society? What are the limits and scope of this memory? How and where is this memory formed? How do collective remembering and forgetting processes work? How are memories formed/constructed in collective memory? Most importantly, how are the memories in this memory transmitted from generation to generation? The above questions are to be answered in this study.

The concept of collective memory is much more complex and difficult to explain than one might think. The point where the concept becomes most complex is where its boundaries are drawn. There is no definite and clear answer to what exactly is meant when talking about collective memory. Many social scientists take the collective memory approach in different ways from their point of view.

In addition to this, another problem experienced by the concept is that it is sometimes used synonymously with other memory types such as historical, cultural, social and social in social sciences or it is used incorrectly in close meanings (Kansteiner, 2002: 181).

Although a sharp distinction cannot be made between them, in fact, all memory types have different dynamics within themselves. Of course, there are areas where these memory types intersect and converge, but they all point to a different memory, and it is a very wrong tendency to use them interchangeably. For example, the concept of collective memory is often seen as synonymous with social memory. However, collective memory is more inclusive than social memory and there is a difference between them.

There is no certainty about the definition and content of the concept of collective memory, both in the discipline of collective memory and in different interdisciplinary approaches. However,

sainte, published in 1941. His two works, Étude de mémoire collective, have become a primary source for historians working in the field of collective memory and have been a theoretical reference point for them (Bosch, 2016: 2; Licata & Klein ve Gely, 2007: 565).

¹¹ Halbwachs' work in the field of memory has led to his being described as the modern father of memory studies by the historian François Hartog (Cited from Hartog, 2013, Halbwachs, 2019: 9).

¹² Between 1898 and 1901, Durkheim taught Halbwachs at the École Normale Supérieure (Higher Education School), one of the most important educational institutions in France, which was world-renowned, and where many philosophers were trained; taught him a lesson.

¹³ While studying at Henry IV High School, Halbwachs met and took lessons from his teacher, H. Louis Bergson. With his admiration for Bergson and his growing interest in philosophy, Halbwachs began to shape his thoughts. Although Halbwachs stands against him on some issues, he states that he owes a lot to Bergson and was inspired by him a lot (Halbwachs, 2018: 19-20).

the only consensus on collective memory is that the concept is a memory that can be shared among other members of a nation or religious group, an institution or society (Wang, 2008).

Collective memory basically refers to how the past is collectively remembered, forgotten, or interpreted (Halbwachs, 2018; Çiftçi, 2019: 1). Collective memory, which is considered as a reconstruction by Halbwachs, has a very valuable and critical place, especially in politics. What is mentioned here is that societies collectively develop a historical and political consciousness (Halbwachs, 2018).

Collective memory is a concept that we encounter frequently, especially in the media. Werth (2009: 17) states that the concept of collective memory is generally used by politicians in times of crisis or when talking about events such as ethnic violence.

Halbwachs argues that memory is a collective phenomenon rather far from individuality, defines collective memory as follows: "collective memory is the memory structured by group identities, the childhood of individuals, their neighborhood and common relationships, common political or commercial lives, i.e. people with possible certain intersections. a type of memory they create" (2018).

Halbwachs also emphasizes that memory is not just an individual phenomenon, but a relational phenomenon in terms of family and friends, and a social and collective phenomenon in the social circles of social groups (Bosch, 2016: 2).

Contrary to popular belief, when the concept of collective memory is mentioned, it is not about a past that individuals live at the same time or in the same place, but rather the common knowledge of the past (Halbwacsh, 2018; Atik, Erdoğan, 2014: 3). While Halbwachs considers memory as a collective phenomenon, he argues that the memory of societies is formed by the individuals who make up society.

According to him, the individual does not remember by himself; remembering is a collective action, not an individual action. Therefore, someone always reminds the individual. At this point, Halbwachs, who says "a witness always gives us ourselves", states that the witnesses are the greatest helpers in the act of remembering (Halbwachs, 2018: 29-38).

Halbwachs's thoughts on the importance of witnesses in remembering can be summarized as follows: "A group's past experiences bring the past to the present with the recollection of the present through the use of witnesses" (Halbwachs, 2018: 33; İlhan, 2015: 1402). At this point, Halbwachs argues that when memories are supported not only by the individual but also by other witnesses, the confidence in the remembered thing will increase (2018: 29).

Emphasizing that remembering is a collective action, Halbwachs states that "we never remember alone" and emphasizes that remembering cannot occur unless it is reminded by another individual (1980). Therefore, just as remembering is collective, memory is not an individual but a collective phenomenon, and according to Halbwachs, it is more accurate to talk about collective memory rather than individual memory.

In the context of collective memory individual memories are not important. What is sought is the items that reflect societies, such as libraries, museums, monuments, place names, and history books, which can be considered as fingerprints depicting societies (Halbwachs, 2018; Atik, Erdoğan, 2014: 3).

Halbwachs explains that collective memory is a generalizable image for society and an element that enables the members of society to act together with the following statements: "Collective memory is the group seen from within... It [collective memory] provides the group with a self-

portrait that emerges over time; because collective memory is an image of the past and allows the group to identify itself with a total set of images" (Halbwachs, 1980: 86; Hasanov, 2016: 1436).

Halbwachs, who established his theory with a social constructionist perspective, argues that the past is reconstructed in the current context (Halbwachs, 2018; Coser, 1992). Based on Halbwachs' present-day approach, Nora emphasized that groups refer to collective memory to interpret the past and that these memories are independent of the past (Nora, 1996).

Collective memory can also be defined as "the past knowledge that individuals have not experienced themselves but learned from cultural artifacts" (Halbwachs, 2018; Atik, Erdoğan, 2014: 3). The political aspect of collective memory should also be mentioned here.

Nora claims that groups specifically chose certain times and people to commemorate; deliberately eliminates some and erases memory; he also claims that these groups support collective memory by inventing tradition. Nora underlines that collective memory is an object of power, emphasizing that collective representations are again chosen by the power (Nora, 1996).

For example, the memories of societies are being rebuilt in line with current needs. Political powers and governments can interfere with the memories of individuals in this sense. Even in identity construction, the reconstruction of this memory has an important role.

Stating that memory cannot be considered separately from a social environment, Halbwachs argues that an individual memory is not possible based on this idea (Halbwachs, 2018). According to him, individual memory is constructed within social institutions and structures.

From this perspective, Michael Schudson expresses that memory is completely social with the following sentences: "Memory is primarily social because it is embedded in institutions in the form of rules, laws, standardized procedures and records rather than individual human minds" (2007: 180).

Social frameworks are of great importance in shaping memories (Dessingué, Winter, 2015: 96). According to Halbwachs, time, space, space and language constitute the social frameworks of memory (2019)

Understanding an individual memory can only be achieved by evaluating it in the context of a group. The group referred to here may include a family, an institution, or nation-states. In summary, it is up to the individual within the group to remember; according to him, the group's share is to build memory (Halbwachs, 2018).

A memory that is tried to be remembered is of critical importance in both time and space. Holidays, commemorations, or special days of societies clearly illustrate the importance of space and time in collective memory. The fact that especially those who have been in power for a long time in Türkiye celebrate the conquest of Istanbul with the big organizations they organize every year is a good example of this situation.

Time and space are very crucial concepts in collective memory. Based on Bergson's understanding of time, Halbwachs evaluates time as a frame of memories. Collective memory is time dependent and cannot be separated from it. The continuation of the collective memory depends on the people who will carry this memory from generation to generation.

The relationship between space and memory is also an issue that Halbwachs insists on. According to him, a place is related to what happens there. So much so that spaces are more active than not thought on collective memory. Spaces are the only places where collective memory is kept alive, sustained and reconstructed.

Christians created places to keep Jesus alive and that they attributed as sacred over time are a good example of this situation. From this point of view, it would not be wrong to say that the memories of groups emerge in a certain temporal and spatial context.

Roudometof underlines those tools such as national holidays, commemorations, documentaries, paintings, sculptures, and current sources in the media play an important role in the reproduction of memory (Roudometof, 2002:7). At this point, individuals cannot access information about the past precisely and completely.

The tools mentioned above enable it to reach the individual by reinterpreting past information. Therefore, the individual's access to the past is only a fiction of this past; is reconstruction.

Halbwachs' theory of collective memory is still valid today and is useful in understanding the dynamics of different societies. However, many of his colleagues criticize Halbwachs' theory from different aspects and see it as inadequate or incomplete.

For instance, Olick criticized this concept beyond the collective memory approach and found the concept of collective memory problematic (Olick, 2014: 177). In these criticisms, the concept of collective memory is sometimes used instead of terms such as political tradition or myth, and it is not seen as sufficient.

It is pointed out that since the concept has an individual content on the basis of memory, there may be a problem in internalizing it in a collective sense. What is meant here is the concern that the thoughts of the individual can be ignored and ignored in the light of social consciousness.

In addition to these concerns about the use of the concept of collective memory, Burke points out that another problem will arise in the use of the concept of collective memory (1989, 98). The point that Burke draws attention to here is that when the use of concepts such as collective memory is avoided, it is not possible to reveal how the thoughts of individuals are shaped or affected in the groups they are related to.

However, although this concept contains some contradictions, it should be evaluated as a notion that can be used to examine social processes and authority behaviors by considering the contradictions it contains (Çakmak, 2016: 17).

The greatest criticism brought against Durkheim and Halbwachs was that they fell into an organism that ignores distinctions and conflict (Olick, 2014: 178). Here, Durkheim talks about society¹⁴ in his works, while Halbwachs talks about groups. According to his teacher, Halbwachs seems to have tried not to ignore the differences by talking about different collective memories with a more cautious approach (Coser, 1992; cited from Wood, 1994, Olick, 2014: 178).

Wolf Kansteiner also criticizes the studies in the field of collective memory, pointing out that individual memories cannot be separated from social memories with a clear and definite line (2002: 179-197).

Levis Coser also explains the weakness of collective memory with an example from the Soviet Union. Coser mentions that with the end of the Cold War Era, the people of Russia have been forced to shed their collective memories like a skin for the past few years in order to rebuild

¹⁴ Durkheim wrote society in his work with a capital T.

new and quite different collective memories. Coser here emphasizes that Halbwachs fails to understand the societies exposed to radical internal upheavals (Coser, 1992: 365-373).

One of the strongest criticisms leveled at Halbwachs has been made by sociologist Barry Schwartz. Schwartz, like Halbwachs, was interested in what is known in the literature as the Presentist Approach, which basically argues that the past is reconstructed with current issues.

Schwartz states that there is no complete continuity in history if it is taken to the result. However, contrary to this argument, in Halbwachs' theory, it is pointed out that group identity can be preserved for generations (Schwartz, 2003).

Although Hallbwachs' theory of collective memory is sometimes considered suspicious, and although this theory is sometimes found insufficient, incomplete, or unsatisfactory, it is still valid today and is the reference point of many studies.

Based on the works of thinkers such as Emile Durkheim, Henri Bergson, and Sigmund Freud, Halbwachs began to use the term collective memory long before his contemporaries, with his work Les Cadres Sociaux de la Memoire, published in 1925. Thus, Halbwachs provided many thinkers who came after him with the opportunity to approach the concept of memory and collective memory from a different perspective.

Although many different criticisms have been brought to Halbwachs and the collective memory approach, this study considers Halbwachs' theory of collective memory to be explanatory in terms of the political use of memory. In this context, this study also indicates that the relationship of collective memory with history, society, identity and power will provide an important framework for the analysis of a historically selected case study.

2.1. Relationship between Collective Memory and Society

Memory and society are concepts that cannot be considered separately from each other and there is a close connection between them. Assmann states that the society plays an important role in the construction of memory with the following sentences: "Memory (...) makes it possible for us humans to live in groups and communities; Living in groups and communities allows us to build a memory." (2011: 23).

Individuals are like the shadow of the society or groups to which they belong and to which they belong. Individuals who have many common shares about the group they are in also form their memories with other members in this environment (Halbwachs, 2018: 55-56). So much so that we often feel as if the group's thoughts, behaviors, and attitudes were created by ourselves.

We become so attached to the society or group in question that we attribute to ourselves the thoughts generated by the society (Halbwachs, 2018: 55). At this point, Halbwachs underlines that individuals cannot be completely subjective even in their thoughts. This opinion is quite logical because individuals are under the influence of the social group to which they belong without being aware of it. Individuals often fail to realize the impact of society in question.

From this perspective, it can be said that all communities in the world have a collective memory in every period and everywhere and they keep this memory alive with various ceremonies, rituals, symbols and even policies (Traverso, 2019: 13).

For this reason, collective memories are the most vital shapers of society. As a matter of fact, according to Olick, collective memory is used to express "the sum of individual memories,

official commemorations, social symbols and collective identities that are not fully embodied (2014: 181).

Collective memory shapes society in many ways. Sometimes, it builds the political agenda and sometimes ideologies (Çiftçi, 2019: 1; Olick & Robins, 1998). One more issue should be mentioned here. Just as the society affects the collective memory, the individual also affects the collective memory because he remembers with his own spiritual, thoughtful structure and his own point of view. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that collective memory is affected by both individual characteristics and social factors (Başlar, 2018: 147).

Although the individual remembers on his own, he shapes what he remembers with the value judgments and mentality of the society to which he belongs (Halbwachs, 1980). As Halbwachs puts it, "a witness¹⁵ always gives us ourselves". Based on this idea, there is a direct or indirect effect of others other than the individual in the formation of memory. Individuals adopt the perceptions of the society they live in and they can shape and rebuild their memories accordingly (Halbwachs, 1992).

Halbwachs argues that even the individual memory, in which the individual retains only his own events, can come to light with the reminder of others. In addition to this idea, Halbwachs considers collective memory as memories that the individual has not personally experienced, but includes the experiences of other individuals in the society (Halbwachs, 2019: 16-17).

So, how does an individual remember memories that he has not experienced himself? Halbwachs states that an individual can learn these memories from newspapers, books, mass media or from witnesses involved in the event in question (Halbwachs, 1980).

While dealing with the relationship between the individual and social memory, it is possible to say that the individual reconstructs the past within the framework of the society he lives in.

As a matter of fact, for Halbwachs, the act of remembering is portrayed as a social construction and memory is presented as a concept that cannot be separated from social conditions as an act of rebuilding and rebuilding (Halbwachs, 2018).

The relationship that memory establishes with society can actually be explained by another important concept. This concept of "collective consciousness" created by Durkheim, Halbwachs' teacher. Durkheim sees society as a subject to be studied by science. At the same time, he sees the society, including the individuals who make up the society, above and more valuable than anything else (Ritzer, 2013).

While trying to explain the concept of collective consciousness, Durkheim also mentions the social facts that he portrays as a very important phenomenon. In his own words, Durkheim expresses social facts as follows: "Any way of doing that can exert an external pressure on the individual, whether fixed or not, is a social phenomenon; or, anything that has a distinctive existence independent of individual appearances and is general in a particular field of society is a social phenomenon" (1995: 42).

Based on this definition, it can be said that social phenomena have two features that enable them to be distinguished from other phenomena. First, social facts exist outside of individuals

¹⁵ For discussions of witnessing in history, see Paul Ricoeur, Memory, History, Forgetting (2017: 183-188). In his work titled History, Memory and Forgetting, Ricoeur dealt with the phenomena of history, memory and forgetting in detail with three different methods (phenomenology, epistemology, hermeneutics). Ricoeur, II. He survived the concentration camps where he was captured during World War II. As an individual who witnessed one of these disgraceful great disasters of the past, he constantly pondered on what he lived and witnessed and produced this work.

and their consciousness and have a collective character. Secondly, social facts of a collective nature are imposed on individuals, and they limit, suppress, and mold individuals as if they dominate (Suğur, 2011: 90).

Durkheim, who sees society as a biological organism composed of different parts that come together and have various functions, sees society as superior to individuals. According to him, society cannot be reduced to individuals; It is above the individual and is independent. The individual, on the other hand, is an entity that has to comply with the rules set by the society for the good of the society and to ensure the integrity of the society (Suğur, 2011: 91).

Collective consciousness, which is one of the most important social phenomena, points to a phenomenon that is common in society for Durkheim. According to him, the collective consciousness is defined as follows: "The sum of the beliefs and feelings common among the average citizens of the same society constitutes a particular system with its own life; one might call it a collective or collective consciousness".

According to him, the collective consciousness has spread to the whole of society. In this direction, value norms, moral rules, beliefs, customs, symbols, myths, popular legends and traditions that make up collective representations can be transferred from generation to generation thanks to this collective consciousness (Halbwachs, 2018).

From this point of view, it should be noted that the rituals and ceremonies performed depending on the collective representations in the formation of collective consciousness are of great importance in the formation and transfer of this consciousness (Sağlık, 2019: 470).

The collective consciousness, which is far beyond individuality and shared in society, has spread to all areas of society. Collective consciousness directs all individuals in the society to pull in a certain direction and to think and act in that direction.

In addition to collective representations and collective consciousness, social currents are also crucial social phenomena. Emotion-laden phenomena such as great enthusiasm, anger and pity, which occasionally appear and leave traces in the past of societies, can be given as examples of these movements. Religious or official holidays celebrated by societies, concerts and fashion trends that emerged at various times are also social trends. At the same time, these social movements actually form the basis of different collective memories that emerge from time to time in the society and are adopted by different groups.

Today, nostalgic longing for the past and its returns set an example for these social movements. Re-popularization of household items used in the past; reinterpretation of songs that were hits in the past; the re-fashioning of fashion styles in the past; enthusiastic celebration of historical feats of the past; There are social movements such as commemorating the pain with a great emotional explosion.

The state, that is, power, has a vital importance in the production and maintenance of collective consciousness. From this point view, it can be said that collective consciousness is a social situation that is produced and is a property of the society. Individuals carry the social norms they have internalized into the future, and even if they say goodbye to life, these norms continue to live.

It is in question that the collective consciousness is recreated as well as produced every day through education and the media, with history books run in schools, news published in the popular media, TV series and movies. Collective consciousness is maintained in many areas of life, from official and religious holidays celebrated in social life, from marriage ceremonies to sports competitions. This continuity is ensured by the above-mentioned social institutions.

Durkheim argues that collective memory is not dependent on individuals' individual consciousness. According to him, collective memory exists independently. Bergson, on the other hand, does not see memory as belonging to society. According to him, memory is central in both sociology and psychology and cannot be considered as a concept that belongs only to society (Dessingué, 2011: 168-178).

2.2. Memories as a Social Framework

One of the most important elements in remembering and forgetting practices is the role of the remembered phenomenon, namely memories. As a matter of fact, as Halbwachs elaborates on in his work titled Social Frames of Memory, memories created in society are not individual but collective memories belonging to any social group (Halbwachs, 2019; Assmann, 2018: 46).

No matter how individual memories may be, our memory definitely has something in common with thoughts held by more than one person. It is possible to talk about facts such as people, places, history, words, language forms on which every recollection is based (Halbwachs, 2019). The memories created can be transferred from generation to generation as a social tool and social framework (Bosch, 2016: 2).

According to Halbwachs, memory is "a reconstruction of the past, very much prepared with the help of data borrowed from the present, and moreover, other reconstructions made in previous periods and in which images of the past have already emerged in a highly altered form" (2018: 85-86).

It is can be said that most of the memories we have emerge when we are reminded by others (Halbwachs, 2019: 16). Sometimes our memories come to mind when we are reminded by our families, sometimes by our friends or other related people. Halbwachs claims that even individual events that one has experienced or lived alone are collective in nature: "In fact, we are never alone. Others need not be physically present; We always carry with us a different group of people within us" (2018: 30).

In other words, as memories are formed in the society, they are also remembered together with the society and are positioned within and thanks to the society. (Halbwachs, 2019: 16).

Halbwachs takes these thoughts further and bases the reason for the individual's recall on being encouraged or forced (2019: 17). Individuals mutually receive the help of their memories. During remembering, a person sends his/her memory to help the other party and the individual bases his/her own memory on it.

From this point of view, it would be possible to say that memories exist in society and are reconstructed thanks to the social groups associated with them. Individual thoughts also flourish within the social groups to which we belong. Therefore, individuals constantly benefit from collective frameworks at the time of recall (Halbwachs, 2019: 19).

How can an individual (before he was born) have a subjective judgment about an event that took place in the society to which he belongs? Is it possible? While the individual has difficulty in remembering even the events he has personally experienced; How can he come to a conclusion about an event that he did not witness while he was beheaded by his memory?

Memory, and especially collective memory, comes to the rescue of the individual. Even if the individual is not a witness, he creates a repertoire of historical memories from the newspaper or television or from people who witnessed the event.

The historical memories in question here include important events experienced in the society in which the individual lives - such as traumas that have deeply affected the society, great wars and destructions or glorious heroisms. However, the individual's access to these memories is not through his own individual memory, but through the memory he borrowed (Halbwachs, 2018: 64).

On the other hand, Assmann (2018: 46) mentions some requirements for any reality to be ingrained in a group's memory. According to him, he argues that this fact should be determined by an event, person or time. Based on this idea, Assmann mentions three phenomena, which he calls "remembering figures".

Assmann describes these remembering figures he focuses on as follows: "For a fact to be ingrained in the memory of a group, it must be experienced as a certain person, place or event. On the other hand, in order for an event to remain in the memory of a group, it must be enriched with a meaningful reality. Every personality, every historical event conveys a lesson, a concept, a symbol with its entry into this memory; society becomes an element of the system of ideas. From this crossing between concepts and experiences, 'remembering figures' emerge". The three figures of remembrance that Assmann elaborates on are: attachment to time and place, attachment to a group, and the ability to be reconstructed as a unique process (2018: 46-50).

As long as the individual's memory is in contact with the memory of other members of the group, collective recall of memories is possible. In order for a past event to be a memory, it must be reconstructed and this situation must take place both in the mind of the individual and in the minds of the group members (Halbwachs, 2018: 40).

Memories that are no longer in our memory, that we do not remember, can be reconstructed by applying to society (Halbwachs, 2018: 93). Our past, which we thought had disappeared and did not exist in our minds, is actually hidden somewhere in the society. Halbwachs states that this preserved place is the collective memories of the groups themselves (2018: 96).

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