Turkey in Minds: Cognitive and Social Representations of "East" and "West"

Feyzan Tuzkaya, Nihan S. Soylu, Çağlar Solak, Hilal Peker, Mehmet Peker, Kemal Özeralp, Ceren Mete, Ezgi Mehmetoğlu, Mehmet Karasu, Cihan Elçi, Ece Akca, Melek Göregenli

Abstract—Perception, evaluation and representation of the environment have been the subject of many disciplines including psychology, geography and architecture. In environmental and social psychology literature there are several evidences which suggest that cognitive representations about a place consisted of not only geographic items but also social and cultural. Mental representations of residence area or a country are influenced and determined by social-demographics, the physical and social context. Thus, all mental representations of a given place are also social representations. Cognitive maps are the main and common instruments that are used to identify spatial images and the difference between physical and subjective environments. The aim of the current study is investigating the mental and social representations of Turkey in university students' minds. Data was collected from 249 university students from different departments (i.e. psychology, geography, history, tourism departments) of Ege University. Participants were requested to reflect Turkey in their mind onto the paper drawing sketch maps. According to the results, cognitive maps showed geographic aspects of Turkey as well as the context of symbolic, cultural and political reality of Turkey. That is to say, these maps had many symbolic and verbal items related to critics on social and cultural problems, ongoing ethnic and political conflicts, and actual political agenda of Turkey. Additionally, one of main differentiations in these representations appeared in terms of the East and West side of the Turkey, and the representations of the East and West was varied correspondingly participants' cultural background, their ethnic values, and where they have born. The results of the study were discussed in environmental and social psychological perspective considering cultural and social values of Turkey and current political circumstances of the country.

Keywords—Cognitive maps, East and West, politics, social representations, Turkey.

I. INTRODUCTION

OVER more than a 30-year span, it has been acknowledged that place, which enables people a behavior setting, involves not only physical aspects but also social, cultural and normative aspects [1], [2]. Then, people observe, perceive and give meaning to the places within the scope of these aspects and organize physical, social, cultural and normative elements of the surrounding environment in their mind. In the meantime, people attribute to places symbolic values that are influenced and shaped by social and contextual resources like historical, cultural and social backgrounds, interactions with the environment and shared meanings. This process, which underlies the way people understand the world and they behave, constructs social representation of the place or, in environmental psychological term, cognitive map of the place [1], [3]. Cognitive maps get diversified with reference to one's background and access to information. In brief, cognitive maps not only function as cognitive tools helping orientation of spatial behavior but also they carry social values including broad range of historical and cultural meanings [4].

In the light of this perspective, studying the social meanings of space and its symbolic cultural aspects justifies the use of social representations and cognitive maps as a suitable theoretical framework. For this reason, this study investigates the social representations of Turkey in university students' minds by cognitive maps in order to reveal how people in Turkey from different cultural backgrounds imagine the country. This is the first study that focus on Turkish people's cognitive representations of the whole country, where east meets west with their own major cultural differences.

Besides, understanding Turkish people's perceptions and images in their mind is of crucial value in today's context of Turkey. Comparison of the representations of East and West part of Turkey has also importance because since foundation of Republic of Turkey in 1923 and even before those times, there have always been ethnic, political and economic conflicts between "East" and "West", i.e., between Kurdish people and Turkish people [5]. These ethnic conflicts have become more prominent since 1980s when the Turkish State and the PKK (Parti Karkerani Kurdistan, or the Kurdistan Workers' Party) were in state of armed conflicts in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia Regions of the country [6]. The reasons behind these conflicts, in other words Kurdish Question, "is not the Kurds' demands form privileges, but the denial, by the dominant state ideology, of differences in general, and the Kurds' existence, problems and rights in particular" [7]. Especially after 1980s, Kurdish people have substantially experienced "poverty, poor housing, joblessness, loss of land and property, limited access to physical and mental health care services, and limited educational opportunities for their children" [8]. It means that Kurdish Question is not only political problem, but also "a regional, class-related, cultural, ethnic, multi-faceted and a multi-dimensional discrimination problem" [9]. After all these period of hot conflicts, Peace Process has been announced by government for democratic reforms and there have been peace talks with Kurdish authorities since the end of 2012. Within the Solution Process, PKK formed truce with Turkish army [10]. This was an important and positive step for improving relations of Turkish and Kurdish people. Considering social

F. Tuzkaya, N. S. Soylu, C. Solak are with the Department of Psychology, Ege University, Izmir, 35400, Turkey (phone: 0090-232-311-1671; e-mail: feyzantuzkaya@gmail.com).

values of cognitive maps, through revealing social relations and social representations of Turkey, this study would give an idea on how the Kurdish Question, Solution Process and intergroup relations between Turks and Kurds are comprehend and perceived.

In addition to Kurdish Question, there is another issue in order to understand the social and political context of Turkey. Turkish Parliament is in power of the Justice and Development Party since 2002 by holding more than half of the seats (in 2002, 363 seats; in 2007, 341 seats; and in 2011, 327 out of 550 seats) [11]. The Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi [AKP] in Turkish) is a conservative democratic party and advocates neoliberal agenda not only in economics but also in education, health, urban politics and so forth and has lead neoliberal transformations in these areas. In power of the AKP, there have also been a wide range of fundamental transformations in areas like military, legal system, internal security, and so on [12]. At the same time, dissentient people resist the rules of current government against the corruption in economic and social life. On 27th of May, 2013, dissentients sparkled a huge protest to protect Gezi Park in Taksim, Istanbul from being demolished with illegal decisions of current government to constructing a shopping mall and a residence under the cover of reconstructing the historic Taksim Military Barracks, which was demolished in 1940 [13]. Lasted approximately 3 months and spread out to the whole country, these protests remarked a cumulative rage towards anti-democratic and oppressive governance and neoliberal policies. Intense participation and support of people having same concerns about the country, Gezi Park became a symbol of hope, an alternative representation of Turkey in minds.

With all that context of Turkey, the cognitive maps are expected to demonstrate that people's reflection about genuine dynamics of represented culture as well as political and economic events of Turkey's agenda.

A. Cognitive Maps

According to The Delaware Education Network, cognitive map is defined as an internalized picture depicting a partial surface of the world [4]. In fact, roots of "cognitive map" concept reach to decades ago. Historically, the term was first mentioned in 1948 by Edward C. Tolman gathering the knowledge from his researches about rats which found their routes on labyrinths [2]. After that, spatial ability of humans were opened to discuss and concept of "cognitive map" cumulatively investigated by interdisciplinary areas such as geography and urban planning.

Cognitive mapping occurs through the process of information collecting, storing and recall [14]. Reactions of people when facing with the reality of different places mostly depend on their perceptions. These perceptions about physical features of the environment will be shaped by cultural and psychological factors on individual basis in order to create cognitive images and representations, which will be further emerged as simplified models of reality [2].

Among various techniques to reach cognitive maps, some of them are verbal descriptions, word association tests, and free drawings –in that case, distances are based on participants' personal decisions [1]. An advanced cognitive map can be an important tool to understand local, national and world issues. They are created by our past and gathered information; it is usually based on personal experiences and memories. Moreover, they reflect the places in our minds and hearts, and shape our spatial decisions through individual differences [15]. It was also mentioned by Pickles that "maps are expressions of power" treating maps as a text could reveal not only the truth but also author's intention and values [16].

Like most of the subjects, cognitive mapping reveals cultural differences. For instance, it was found that Nambian people in South America, with their women better than men were good at determining a point which was not seen as compared with GPS tools. As an explanation, it was suggested that "topographical gossip" which means conversations about an area could be helpful to create a mental image for that place [17]. Similarly, Inuits' and Aborigines' mythological stories and songs carry the road information through generations. Another example of people from Caroline Islands reveal that stars can be another guide for finding the route on the sea. In sum, with its all varying creation techniques, cognitive mapping is a universal phenomenon which is happening in every place where humans live.

Studies about cognitive mapping are not numerous in Turkey, yet there are few examples. One of them is about the representations of Europe which were searched among Turkish university students [18]. Findings revealed that students perceived Europe primarily with constructive features as a system and a political region rather than individual or geographically representing. While positive and negative attributions vary on students' departments (i.e., history, geography, foreign languages and psychology), previous visits to Europe seemed to go along with positive perceptions about it. Another research conducted in Turkey investigated perceptions of Izmir, a coastal city of Turkey, gathered by the students from Faculty of Letters, Ege University [19]. According to results, participants saw Izmir as a city having easy-going people, democratic, providing freedom, easy-to-adapt. Getting together, these researches about cognitive maps informative in a way that they provide qualitatively rich content which makes easier to understand thoughts, and further, behaviors.

B. Social Representation Theory

Serge Moscovici's theoretical system of social representations which is still a valid theory is nearly 40 years old. Diverse social psychological activities surrounding this field were seemed to flourish more than ever; many researches grounded on social representations have been conducted in all over Europe and other continents [20].

Being brought in social psychology literature by Serge Moscovici, the concept of social representations was commonly evaluated as a phenomenon configured by belonging individuals of a society through daily conversations

and actions. These representations fundamentally emerge to satisfy individual's need to understand the world [21].

Social representations are produced by societies based on their own experiences that include common theory, opinions and knowledge. In social representational approach, it was supposed that commonly shared cognitions exist in societies [22]. It is possible to say that social representations were previously created statements, images and models about a specific object. Social representations are cognitive tools to provide understand, recognize and naming the truth, and they includes categories, classifications, and value-judgments. They are conditions and agents of interpersonal relations, since interpersonal relations occur according to references which are suggested by representations. Identification and presentation of self are conducted through social representations [23].

Moscovici explained social representations as:

"...systems of values, ideas, and practices with a two-fold function: first to establish an order which will enable individuals to orient themselves in and master their material world, and second, to facilitate communication among members of a community by providing them with a code for naming and classifying the various aspect of their world and their individual and group history [24]."

According to Moscovici, aim of representations is "make something unfamiliar or unfamiliarity itself, familiar" [25].The theory has two basic socio-cognitive communicative mechanisms for familiarizing: Anchoring and objectifying. The first mechanism, anchoring, is to bring well-known sphere to unknown ideas and reduce it to ordinary categories and images. The second mechanism, objectifying, makes the unknown be known through converting it into something tangible. Moreover, representations are part of certain categories of knowledge and beliefs. Fundamentally, it is included in our daily communication. Besides, construction of this knowledge is claimed to be contained within ordinary communication. Particularly, social representations are related with interested in composition of these discourses, especially through the daily usage [26].

There is another important point about this issue that social representations would change across different groups living in the same country [27]. Because Turkey is a country that includes different cultures in east and west sides, doing research from the perspective of social representation theory would be interesting and meaningful.

In the light of these, current study focused on to investigate cognitive and social representations of Turkish university students about Turkey through cognitive maps drawn by them. The primary aim of the current study was to understand how socio-economic and political differences between east and west of Turkey and actual political agenda were reflected through cognitive maps.

II. METHODS

249 students were participated in the study from various departments of Ege University: Department of Psychology (26,5%), Department of Geography (31,3%), Department of History (20,9%), Department of Tourism Guidance (15,7%) and other departments (5,6%). The sample consists of 121 female (48,6%) and 120 male (48,2%) participants. Eight participants (3,2%) did not state their gender. A blank A3 sized paper sheet was given to the each participant in the classroom and they were asked to reflect Turkey in their mind onto the paper drawing sketch maps. Participants were also requested to write their gender, department and where they have resided the longest onto the other side of the paper. They were given between 20 and 30 minutes to complete the task.

We conducted content and discourse analyses in order to evaluate the written and drawn components of the cognitive maps. Discourse analysis emphasizes the social practices embedded in talk and text [28] and aims to reveal the rhetorical and argumentative organization in them [29]. Since it is crucial to understand the rhetorical meaning and metaphors of maps, the discourse analysis was chosen as means to reveal the symbolic structures in components as the theory and suggestions of it provides insightful guide and flexibility. Content analysis was also used for analyzing the geographical components in the cognitive maps. Even though the two approaches differ about their fundamental assumptions, they both concern with revealing reality in written texts [30]. As a result, both methods were used as a means of analysis in the present study. The maps were categorized based on their drawing styles as suggested by Göregenli [2] and analyzed in terms of their place name (cities, sights, historical and touristic locations) and geographical element (mountains, seas) frequencies [2].

III. RESULTS

Prior to main analysis, sketch maps were classified according to drawing style afterwards items in the maps were analyzed with a quantitative method regarding to item type. Finally, maps were reanalyzed with discourse analysis in order to determine symbolic meanings of the items. Results were respectively presented below.

Symbolic maps include metaphors, shapes and representative items about the relevant phenomena. Whereas geographic maps contain geographical items such as names of the cities, mountains, lakes and main monuments. Maps which included both styles are entitled as geographic-symbolic maps. Also, there are other drawing styles which are used by the participants such as block and sequential (for details see [31]).

All of the 249 maps were classified as symbolic (n = 116), geographic (n = 36), geographic-symbolic (n = 60) and 37 maps classified as other types, such as block and sequential types. Those maps were investigated according to geographic and symbolic components.

A. Geographic Components

Items drawn in the maps were coded one by one and then analyzed according to types of the items. Results were presented in Table I.

Geographic components included total of 1114 items. Those items were names of the cities (e.g. Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Diyarbakir), prominent geographic formations (e.g. Lake Van,

Mount Ararat), main touristic places (e.g. Cappadoccia), monuments (e.g. Ataturk's mausoleum, Izmir Clock Tower), and so on. Ankara, which is the capital city of the country, Istanbul, which is the most crowded city of the country, and Izmir, where the study was conducted were mostly mentioned cities. Connection of Turkey with neighboring countries, inclusion of Cyprus and boundaries of Turkey were also classified as geographical elements that were investigated in every cognitive map. All of the neighboring countries were mentioned with different frequencies from 1 to 10 times and Syria was stated the most. Ninety-two percent of the participants (n = 227) drew Turkey without mentioning neighboring countries, which would indicate that Turkey is perceived as an isolated country. Cyprus was observed on only 10 percent of the maps, although the distinction between Northern and Southern Cyprus is a remarkable political issue in Turkey.

B. Social Representations of Turkey

Symbolic items were investigated to understand and reveal social representations of Turkey through critical discourse analysis. Fifteen percent of the maps included only geographical items, whereas contents of all other maps implied some criticism of Turkey. According to thematic analysis, three main categories were identified; namely (i) critiques toward economic conditions, (ii) critiques toward policies of the government and (iii) critiques toward current conditions of the society.

Unplanned urbanization, unemployment, unfair distribution of the income, financial difficulties due to low subsistence level and allegations of corruption were frequently stated as economical critiques. Excessive number of shopping malls, decline of the green-fields, increase of concretion and continuing constructions were mostly encountered as critiques on unplanned urbanization (see Fig. 1). Unemployment, poverty and insufficient income were also emphasized. Unnecessary expenses of the government were questioned with drawings of newly built prime minister's residence (see Fig. 2). Critiques on policies of the government were represented with "shoeboxes full of money" that were founded during the investigation of corruption. Current political issues

could be easily seen in participants' cognitive maps. One of the issues was the ethnic conflict, in other words Kurdish Question, depicted around the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia Region, where armed conflicts happened more frequently before Solution Process and most of the Kurdish people still live. Both ideas that agree or disagree with policies of government were represented; for example ethnic conflicts were evaluated as "terror", "civil war" and "honor struggle".

Although unproportioned use of force by police towards protester in recent mass protests (such as Gezi Park and Kobane) were frequently mentioned, some participants mentioned "molotov cocktail" and "stone" thrown against police forces.

Referring to violence in representations of Turkey may indicate that violence has become more visible recently in the country. Another issue was the political incompetence such as favoring the supporters, alienation, political disturbance and oppression of ruling party -AKP- about its policies (see Fig. 3). Pressure of government about conservatism could also be seen in the maps.

TABLE I
FREQUENCIES OF GEOGRAPHIC ITEMS

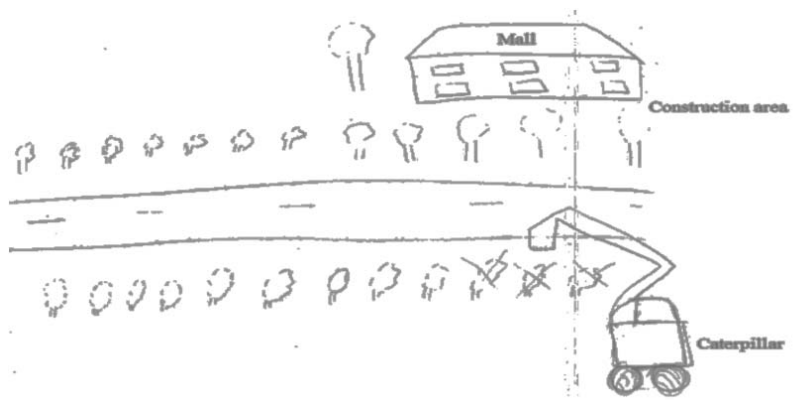| Cities	%
Ankara	45
Istanbul	43
Izmır	38
Van	13
Monuments	
Anitkabir (Ataturk's mausoleum)	10
Izmir Clock Tower	5
Bosphorus Bridge	3
Hagia Sophia	2
Other Countries	
Syria	10
Iraq	6
Iran	5
Natural Formations	
Lake Van	16
Sea	8
Lake Tuz	9
Mount Ararat	4

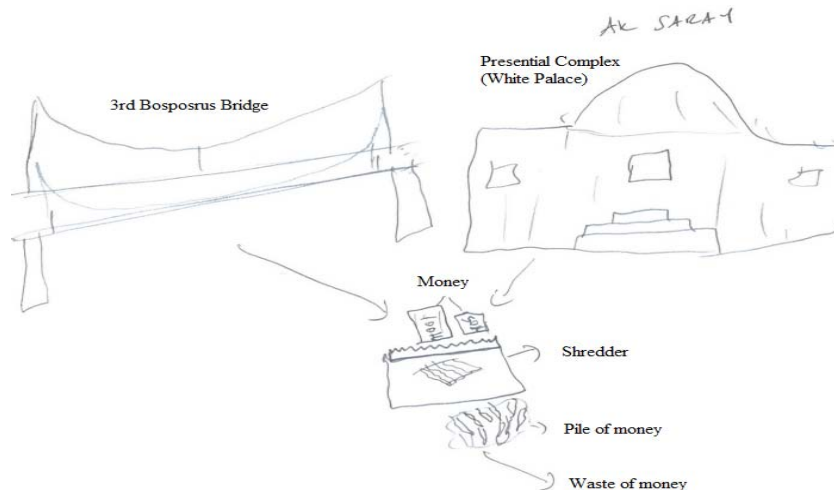Fig. 1 Sample drawing depicting critique of economic conditions

Fig. 2 Sample drawing depicting critique of unnecessary government expenses

This pressure was especially on family and women issues. For example, some participants mentioned "three children" referring to the discourse of ruling party which was "Each family should have at least three children", and some other participants portrayed "women in burqas". Furthermore, participants wrote quotes such as "lack of labor safety", "death of workers", "poor relationships with neighboring countries", "anxiety for future", and "matter of injustice". Besides, insufficiency of health care services and unqualified education were noticed on the maps.

Fig. 3 Sample drawing depicting critique of government policies

The last category emerged from thematic analysis that was critiques on current conditions of the society included religion, social relationships, women and gender issue, discrimination, widespread ignorance, and trivializing individual. About religion, two views became prominent; exploitation of religious values and imposition of religious doctrines. Besides, deteriorated interpersonal relations for instance "loss of trust", "intolerance to different perspectives" and "excessive self-interest" were clearly seen. While violence was considerably remarked in the maps, violence against women was specifically emphasized; particularly the matter of child bride was criticized. Lastly, Istanbul (the most crowded city in Turkey) was described with keywords such as "traffic", "chaos", "overcrowded", and "struggle for life".

In addition to critiques toward Turkey's agenda, manifestation of pan-Turkism, a movement that supports political and cultural unification of all Turkic people, and nationalist ideologies attracted the attention. Turkey was represented within the national borders, and the view that "Turkey belongs to the (pure) Turks" was stressed. Moreover, Turkic republics were represented within the boundaries of Turkey that implied pan-Turkist ideas. On the one hand, existing national borders symbolizes modernism, on the other hand including Turkic republics within the borders falls behind the modernist stance.

IV. Discussion

Our main goal in this study was to investigate the social representations of the East and the West of Turkey. We analyzed the cognitive maps that have drawn by university students and critical discourse analysis revealed that there are three main categories (economic conditions, policies of government and current conditions of the society) criticized by the participants. The whole of these critiques suggested two main axes related to the representations of the East and the West. The first axis was characterized with the notions of modernization and democratization and the second was characterized with the notions of conventionalism and conservatism. The West was represented in participants' minds with modernity, democracy, urbanization and economic welfare, while the East was represented with traditionalism, nationalism, conservatism and economic hassles. These representations gave clues about the perception of Turkey's past and today and about the perception of future of Turkey as well. A dynamic relationship seemed to exist between the representations of East that model Turkey's today and tomorrow as closed, nationalist-conservative structure and the representations of West that model Turkey's current standing as secular and modern. A thing should be anchored to shared meanings in order for people to form its social representation [32], [33]. In our study, it would not be irrational to say that the representations of East took its roots from tradition and

Ottoman culture and the representations of West were anchored to post-republic secular lifestyle and Western modernism.

It is evident that the current cultural and political situation of Turkey had a direct influence over the content and wording of the maps. The current socio-economic issues, the on-going ethnic and political conflicts and Turkey's political agenda appeared in the maps with a critical and sarcastic tone. The associations of economic hassles, ongoing ethnic and political conflicts with Kurds and the prominent poverty, death and war representations of the East were other apparent findings that seemed to be worth of discussion. Conversely, West side of Turkey was represented with themes related to development and urban in the maps. However, the theme concerning the difficulties of urban life such as overcrowding, increased cost of living, decrease in green spaces, unplanned urbanization, increase of concretion, and overbuilding problems were also observed in representations of western regions of Turkey and this theme, which was especially associated with Istanbul, appeared in many of the maps.

All these representations from critical perspective can be essentially divided into three categories, namely, economical, government-related and societal criticisms. The criticisms related to economic state of Turkey included unplanned urbanization, embezzlements, income inequality, unnecessary public expenditure and poverty; the government criticisms were related to the allegations of corruption, objected to the neoliberal policies, government policy of managing ethnic-political conflicts and the way government exerts its power. Lastly, the societal criticisms were expressed as problems related to different oppressed minority groups (such as women, Kurds) and the social problems especially related to everyday relationships. Moreover, the religious tension and religion exploitation were the notions that were expressed in the maps in a satirical way. Women wearing burqas, the distorted Arabic images drawn over mosque sketches were some examples showing the perceived undesired state that Turkey is in or heading. Examples those mentioned are referred to Republic turned to Ottomans concerns. In fact, on the basis of the visible signs of anxiety in the map is not resulting from the increasing individual piety in Turkey, lies the impression of devout Turkey that created by the conservative political power.

We subjected an examination on the basis lifestyles and cultural backgrounds of the participants; it is not difficult to see traces of the dynamic interaction of local and universal elements. Behaviors that are synchronized with urban life like social practice, refers to the relatively more common and universal life style. On the other hand the participants' own cultural background of social practices, which makes it appear similar in different ways, and thus the diversity of culture-specific behavior patterns emerge spontaneously. Uniform perspective towards life style of the people, but we can say that differentiate the contents of the cultural background of the lifestyle. For example, showing the environmental sensitivity, constantly criticizing the police violence and even referring to the holiday with their lifestyle concept maps; eastern dishes,

referring to cases such as custom maps the cultural background is related plans.

Individualism and collectivism can be described as two sides of a continuum. Individualism would be characterized as a tendency to give priority to personal goals of others; on the other hand, collectivism linked to individuals who are primarily motivated by the norms and obligations of their own groups such as family, nation, etc. [34]-[37]. There is an unambiguous differentiation between the East and the West representations of Turkey. Relatively speaking, the East representations include collectivistic attributions such as moral laws, tribes, collective production; the West representations comprise more individualistic attributions including autonomous and independent life. This situation can simply be evaluated as an indicator of the polarization of two sides in people's minds or it may also indirectly signs the progress of modernization process in Turkey. The fact that the West and the East have distinctive representations in terms of geographic and cultural properties can be the outcome of the differing exposure of two sides with the 'modern' cultural values and social institutions. The secularism-conservatism tension can be regarded as a one of the major factors that shapes the today's modernization perceptions and indirectly influences the East and the West representations. The modernization process which takes its roots from The Tanzimat (1839) and reforms declared in early republic period continues to be an influence in today's political agenda [38]. The reciprocal influence between the present modernization concept which have different connotations and applications for the East and the West and emerging polarizations such as seculars-conservatives, Alawis-Sunnis seem to have dynamic and varying effects over the representations of two sides.

The effects of the contextual features can be observed directly and strongly in qualitative studies. For example, the finding that the most frequently drawn neighboring country of Turkey was Syria and this fact seems to be related to Syrian refugees seeking asylum in Turkey as a result of the war the country is in currently.

This research has been carried in only one city (i.e., Izmir, Turkey) and with a specific sample (i.e., university students). For further studies, working with different groups and in different locations can be important to provide comparative information.

REFERENCES

[1] S. Milgram, J. Greenwald, S. Kessler, W. McKenna, and J. Waters. "A psychological map of New York City," American Scientists, vol. 60, pp. 194-204, 1972.
[2] M. Göregenli. Çevre Psikolojisi: İnsan-Mekan İlişkileri. Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2010.
[3] S. Milgram and D. Jodelet. "Psychological maps of Paris," in Environmental psychology: People and their physical settings, H.M. Proshansky, W.H. Ittelson & L.G. Rivlin, Eds., New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston, pp. 104-124, 1976.
[4] C. Andressen. "Mental maps of Asia: The geographical knowledge of Australian university students," Asian Studies Review, vol. 21, pp. 115-130, 1997.
[5] M. Yeğen. "Prospective-Turks" or "Pseudo-Citizens" Kurds in Turkey," The Middle East Journal, vol. 63, pp. 597-615, 2009.

[6] D. Kurban, D. Yukseker, A. B. Celik, T. Unalan, and A. T. Aker. "Introduction to the Turkish Edition," in Coming to Terms With Forced Migration: Post-Displacement Restitution of Citizenship Rights in Turkey, D. Kurban, D. Yukseker, A. B. Celik, T. Unalan & A. T. Aker, Eds., İstanbul: TESEV publications, pp. 21-27, 2007.

[7] Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV). A roadmap for a solution to the Kurdish Question: Policy proposals from the region for the government.Istanbul: TESEV Publications, p. 11, 2008.

[8] R. Cohen. "Foreword to the English edition," in Coming to Terms With Forced Migration: Post-Displacement Restitution of Citizenship Rights in Turkey, D. Kurban, D. Yukseker, A. B. Celik, T. Unalan, and A. T. Aker, Eds., Istanbul: TESEV publications, pp. 1-5, 2007.

[9] M. Göregenli. "Psikolojinin Kürt sorunuyla imtihanı," Eleştirel Psikoloji Bülteni 3-4, pp. 3-11, 2010.

[10] H. Pope. "Turkey and the democratic opening for the Kurds," in Understanding Turkey's Kurdish Question, F. Bilgin & A. Sarıhan, Eds., Lexington Books:UK, pp. 117-140, 2013.

[11] Supreme Electoral Council of Turkey. "Archive of general elections of Turkey," (Online), Available http://www.ysk.gov.tr/ysk/faces/GenelSecimler?_afrLoop=7851470143 63920&_afr WindowMode=0&_afrWindowId=19vmii0okj_28#%40%3F_afrWindo wId%3D19vmii0okj_28%26_afrLoop%3D785147014363920%26_afrW indowMode%3D0%26_adf.ctrl-state%3D19vmii0okj_40 (Accessed: Mar. 15, 2015).

[12] C. Boyraz and Ö. Turan. "Silent violence: Neoliberalism, Islamist politics and the AKP years in Turkey," Turkish Studies, vol. 14, pp. 186-192, 2013.

[13] Amnesty International USA."Gezi Park Protests ," (Online), Available https://www.amnestyusa.org/sites/default/files/eur440222013en.pdf (Accessed: Apr. 05, 2015).

[14] I. Sudas and C. Gokten. "Cognitive maps of Europe: Geographical knowledge of Turkish geography students," European Journal of Geography, vol. 3, pp. 41-56, 2012.

[15] A. Medzini. "The war of the maps: The political use of maps and atlases to shape national consciousness – Israel versus the Palestinian authority," European Journal of Geography, vol. 3, pp. 23-40, 2012.

[16] N. Collins-Kreiner, Y. Mansfeld, and N. Kliot. "The reflection of a political conflict in mapping: The case of Israel's borders and frontiers," Middle Eastern Studies, vol. 42, pp. 381-408, 2006.

[17] H. Heft. "Environment, cognition, and culture: Reconsidering the cognitive map," Journal of Environmental Psychology, vol. 33, pp. 14-25, 2013.

[18] I. Sudas and M. Göregenli. "Türkiye'nin Modernleşme Macerasında Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Avrupa Temsilleri," presented at the Ege University 12th International Cultural Studies Symposium: Redefining Modernism & Postmodernism,Izmir, Turkey, 2009.

[19] A. Karadag and H. Turut. "Üniversite öğrencilerinin kentsel çevre algısı üzerine bir araştırma: İzmir örneği," Coğrafi Bilimler Dergisi, vol. 11, pp. 31-51, 2013.

[20] S. Moscovici and I. Markova. "Presenting social representation: A conversation," Culture & Psychology, vol. 4, pp. 371-410, 1998.

[21] F. G. Cirhinoğlu, V. Aktas, and B. Öner Özkan. "Sosyal temsil kuramına genel bir bakış,"C.Ü. Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, vol. 30, pp. 163-174, 2006.

[22] B. Öner. "Sosyal temsiller," Kriz Dergisi, vol. 10, pp. 29-35, 2002.

[23] N. Bilgin. "Sosyal Temsiller Açısından Ermeni Soykırım İddiaları ve Tarihin İnşası," presented at the Turkey Armenian Researches Congress, Ankara, 2002.

[24] S. Moscovici. "Foreword," in Health and Illness: A Social Psychological Analysis, C. Herzlich, Ed., London: Academic Press, pp. x-xiv, 1973.

[25] B. Höijer. "Social representations theory: A new theory for media research," Nordicom Review, vol. 32, pp. 3-16, 2011.

[26] I. Sudas and M. Göregenli. "Europe in mind: Social representations of Turkey-Europe relations in case of Turkish university students," European Journal of Geography, vol. 4, pp. 36-47, 2013.

[27] R. M. Farr. "Social Representations: Their role in the design and execution of laboratory experiments," in Social Representations, R.M. Farr and S. Moscovici, Eds., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.125-147, 1984.

[28] J. Potter. "Discourse analysis and constructionist approaches: Theoretical background," in Handbook of Qualitative Research Methods for Psychology and the Social Sciences, J. T. E. Richardson, Ed., Leicester: British Psychological Society, pp.125-140, 1996.

[29] J. Potter. "Discourse analysis as a way of analyzing naturally occurring talk," in Qualitative research: Theory, method and practice, D. Silverman, Ed., London: Sage, pp. 144-160, 1997.

[30] C. Hardy, B. Harley, and N. Phillips. "Discourse analysis and content analysis: Two solitudes?" Qualitative methods, vol. 2, pp. 19-22, 2004.

[31] M. Göregenli. "Kentsel Alanların Algılanması ve Kentsel İmajlar," M. S. thesis, Ege University, Izmir, Turkey, 1985.

[32] S. Moscovici. "The phenomenon of social representations," in Social Representations, R. M. Farr and S. Moscovici, Eds., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-35, 1984.

[33] N. Bilgin. Sosyal psikoloji, 6sted. Izmir: Ege University Press, 2014.

[34] Ç. Kağıtçıbaşı and J. W. Berry. "Cross-cultural psychology: Current research and trends," Annual Review of Psychology, vol. 40, pp. 493-531, 1989.

[35] M. Göregenli. "Kültürümüz açısından bireycilik-topluluçuluk eğilimleri: Bir başlangıç çalışması," Türk Psikoloji Dergisi, vol. 10, pp. 1-14, 1994.

[36] H. C. Triandis. Individualism & collectivism. USA: Western Press, 1995.

[37] N. Bilgin. Sosyal psikoloji sözlüğü. Istanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık, 2003.

[38] H. Yavuz. "Batılılaşma değil, oryantalistleşme," Doğu Batı, vol. 1, pp. 100-103, 1998.

Feyzan Tuzkaya was born in Ankara, Turkey in 1989. She graduated from Psychology Department at Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey in 2012. She is doing her doctorate in Psychology Department at Ege University, Izmir, Turkey since 2013. Her major field of study is on social psychology.

She is Research Assistant at Ege University. Her research interest includes intergroup relations, political psychology, cross-cultural psychology, and environmental psychology.