

ORGANIZATION OF MEMORY FOR AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL AND
PUBLIC EVENTS ACROSS DIFFERENT SOCIAL IDENTITIES

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Thesis Abstract

Melisa Akan, “The Organization of Memory for Autobiographical and Public Events
Across Different Social Identities”

Previous research carried out in various countries showed that public events that have a dramatic impact on the daily lives of individuals may come to organize memories for autobiographical events by acting as landmarks. The present study explored the association between memories for personal and public events in a majority and a minority sample living in the same country. More specifically, I explored if being a minority group member mediates the role public events play in the content and organization of autobiographical memories (ABM). Additionally, I investigated the content and organization of memories in the two samples, for public events considered as important. In the first phase, Turkish and Armenian participants whose ages ranged from 20 to 84 were asked report personal memories in response to cue words and then to date these events by thinking out loud. In the second phase, the same participants were asked to report public events that took place during their lifetimes which they considered important and then to date these events as well, in the same manner. The references used in date estimations were thought to reveal how memories were organized in individuals' minds. Results revealed that public events rarely served as landmarks organizing memory for autobiographical events, and the two samples did not seem to differ from each other in their frequency of using public event references. However, age-at-retrieval and level of group identification had a dramatic impact on the role public events play in the organization of ABMs. Additionally, it was observed that public events were commonly dated by references to personal events, and the types of personal references used in the datings of personal and public events were very similar. All together, these findings indicate that personal and public memories are associated in the mind and the level of association is mediated by age and identification with group identity.

Tez Özeti

Melisa Akan, “Farklı Sosyal Gruplarda Otobiyografik ve Toplumsal Bellek’in Organizasyonu”

Çeşitli ülkelerde yapılmış araştırmalar insanların günlük yaşamlarını etkilemiş toplumsal olayların otobiyografik bellek (OB) üzerinde organize edici bir rol oynadığını göstermiştir. Bu çalışmada, aynı ülkede yaşayan çoğunluk ve azınlık örneklemeleri üzerinden kişisel ve toplumsal olaylar için oluşturulan anılar arasındaki bağlantı incelenmiştir. Daha spesifik olarak, azınlık grubu üyesi olmanın toplumsal olayların otobiyografik belleğin içeriği ve organizasyonu üzerinde bir etkisi olup olmadığı araştırılmıştır. Bunun yanı sıra, iki örneklem tarafından önemli bulunan toplumsal olayların içeriği ve organizasyonu incelenmiştir. İlk aşamada, yaşları 20 ile 84 arasında değişen Türk ve Ermeni katılımcılardan verilen ipucu kelimelerin çağrıştırdığı kişisel anılarını yazmaları ve sonra bu anıları sesli düşünerek tarihlendirmeleri istenmiştir. İkinci aşamada aynı katılımcılardan, yaşadıkları süre boyunca Türkiye’de gerçekleşmiş ve önemli buldukları toplumsal olayları yazmaları ve aynı yöntemle bu olayları da tarihlendirmeleri istenmiştir. Tarih saptamalarında referans verilen olayların, anıların, bireylerin zihninde nasıl organize edildiğini ortaya çıkaracağı düşünülmüştür. Bulgular, toplumsal olayların nadiren otobiyografik anıları düzenleyen dönüm noktaları olarak rol oynadığını ve iki grup arasında toplumsal olayları referans noktaları olarak alma sıklığı açısından bir fark olmadığını göstermiştir. Ancak, katılımcıların yaşı ve toplumsal kimlikleriyle özdeşleşme düzeylerinin, toplumsal olayların OB’deki rolü üzerinde önemli bir etkisi olduğu gösterilmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra, toplumsal olayların daha çok kişisel referanslar kullanılarak tarihlendirildiği ve kişisel ve toplumsal olayların tarihlendirilmesinde kullanılan referansların büyük bir benzerlik gösterdiği saptanmıştır. Kısaca, bulgular kişisel ve toplumsal anıların zihinde bağlantılandırıldığını ve yaş ve grupta özdeşleşme düzeyinin bu bağlantı üzerinde önemli bir rol oynadığını göstermiştir.

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To the memory of Hrant Dink...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Organization of Memory for Autobiographical and Public Events Across Different Social Identities

There is a two-way relationship between identity and memory. Autobiographical memories make us who we are and determine how we define ourselves and our current identities or self-concepts determine what we remember and how we remember the past (Bluck, 2003; Wilson & Ross, 2003). Similarly, collective memories serve the function of maintaining group identity and cohesion (Assman, 1995) and belonging to a particular group, in turn, determines what we remember and how we remember collective events (Paez, Basabe, & Gonzales, 1997). In Olick (1999, p.342)'s words, "It is not just that we remember as members of groups, but we constitute these groups and their members simultaneously in the act (thus re-member-ing)".

The former type of memories, memory for personal information, is extensively studied by cognitive psychologists whereas the second type of memories, collective memory, is relatively less studied by psychologists compared to social scientists from other fields (e.g. anthropology, sociology, history, political science) (Hirst & Manier, 2008). Therefore, little is known about how public events are stored in the individual mind and whether they serve the function of organizing memory for personal events by acting as reference points or benchmarks in one's personal past. Numerous studies investigated how membership of and level of identification with a group may predict which events are remembered from the historical past and how they are evaluated. However, there is less knowledge on how group membership or

level of identification with a group may have an effect on the organization of one's autobiographical memory by public events.

The primary aim of this study was to explore if such a relationship exists between memory for personal and public events and whether the extent of this relationship is influenced by being a member of a minority versus a majority group. Turks and Armenians living in Turkey constituted the majority and minority group samples. A secondary aim was to explore which events constituted collective memories a Turkish and an Armenian sample and to observe possible similarities and differences among them.

Memory for Public Events

In the literature, there is not a clear and consistent definition of the term “collective memory” and thus, there are contradicting views on whether we can distinguish autobiographical and collective memory as separate systems (see Wilson, 2005; Wertsch, 2007 for reviews). In this study, I use the term in an individualistic sense (Olick, 1999) as the level of analysis was based on individuals' memories rather than on collective memory “out there” (Kuzmanic, 2008, p.7) such as commemorations, statues, museums, language etc. (e.g. Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997). Olick refers to this kind of shared memories elicited from samples of individuals as “collected memories”, while Schuman uses the term “collective memories” as opposed to “collective memory” in singular form.

There have been a few different approaches to studying collective memories. One method used by some sociologists is to merely ask a representative sample of participants using national surveys to report national or world events that they consider important. For instance, Schuman and Scott (1989) asked American participants from different age cohorts, to report from the last 50 years, two national

or world events or social changes that they consider important and why they characterize them as important. With this procedure, the researchers aimed first, to investigate events that constitute collective memories of Americans and second, whether and how age affects retrieval of particular memories. The idea of testing for age effects was stimulated by Mannheim (1950, as cited in Conway, 1997, p.29)'s conceptualization of generation identity which according to him emerged from "shared cultural experiences, shared experiences of a type of event, common ways of responding to the world, common existential problems, and shared conceptual knowledge".

Overall, the most frequently mentioned events were World War II and the Vietnam War. In line with Mannheim's concept of generation identity, World War II was most frequently reported by participants who were in their 50's and 60's, while Vietnam War was most frequently reported by participants who were in their 30's and 40's at the time of the experiment, in 1985. In other words, participants tended to recall events that took place in their late adolescence and early adulthood (approximately between 17-25 years).

Furthermore, effects of age were also observed upon analyzing the reasons for the importance of events. If an event took place during late teens or early adulthood, the reported reasons for the importance of that event referred more to direct personal experiences, the impact of the event on one's personal life or to their vivid memories about how they learned about the event. Whereas, people who were younger or not even born at the time of a public event, referred more to its historical importance and they frequently compared this event with another one that happened in their adolescence or adulthood in order to evaluate it.

Subsequently, numerous studies using the same methodology with samples from different nationalities have found similar generation effects on memory for public memories (Schuman, Akiyama, & Knauper, 2007; Schuman & Rodgers, 2004; Scott & Zac, 1993). Thus, it is possible to argue that events that took place during youth may have a greater psychological impact, are more accessible in memory and despite objective historical importance, there is a tendency to evaluate public events as important which had a personal impact.

Following from this research, Schuman, Belli, and Bischooping (1997) investigated generational effects on the actual knowledge of the participants about public events (event memory). They presented a list of public events (e.g. Marshall Plan, Holocaust etc.) to a probability sample of American participants from various age cohorts and asked whether they heard about these events and if they did, describe what the event was about in a few words. With this procedure, they showed the effect of generational identity on knowledge about public events. For example, individuals were more knowledgeable about Woodstock and the Vietnam War if they were in their adolescence or early adulthood in this period compared to individuals who were older or not yet born at the time of these events.

In summary, those public events that took place during the development of generational identity which takes place between the critical ages 17-to-25 (Mannheim, 1950, as cited in Schuman & Scott, 1989) are considered important and are remembered the best. All together, these findings indicate that it is the intersection of personal and historical past that makes events important and memorable.

Interestingly, a similar increase in memories that belong to adolescence and early adulthood was found by cognitive psychologists, for personal events (see

Rubin, Wetzler, & Nebes, 1986 for a review). Contrary to the expected monotonic decrease in memories with the passage of time, researchers observed a peak in personal memories from the second and third decades of life, which was termed as the “the reminiscence bump”. Furthermore, again in parallel with memories of public events, memories of personal events that took place in the critical age period were remembered better (Rubin, Rahhal, & Poon, 1998). One of the explanations for the increase in memories during one’s youth is that this is the period during which personal identity forms and develops (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000).

Another method used by cognitive psychologists to investigate memory for personal events and their association with memory for public events is to ask participants about their personal memories associated with hearing the news of an important public event such as; where they were, what they were doing, from what source they learned the event etc. (e.g. Brown & Kulik, 1977). These memories of personal circumstances in which one first learned of a very surprising and consequential public or personal event are named by Brown and Kulik as flashbulb memories (FBM). FBMs constitute the most obvious phenomenon where one can observe the link between personal and public events (Brown, Shevell, & Rips, 1986). Neisser (1982, p.48) describes FBMs as “... the places where we line up our own lives with the course of history itself and say ‘I was there’.” However, FBM literature is still not clear about whether FBMs are ordinary personal memories or constitute a special type of memory. Despite discrepant theoretical interpretations, it is well established that they are vivid, detailed and long-lasting (Luminet, 2009).

The Effect of Social Identity on Memory for Public Events

Most of these studies included national, racial or ethnic identity as a factor influencing the retrieval of public or FB memories. Not surprisingly, their results

revealed that both types of memories were better if the event was more consequential for one's group identity (see Bernsten, 2009 for a review).

For example, Brown and Kulik (1977) presented their subjects with nine public events involving deaths of or attempted assassinations to Caucasian American and African American political figures. As predicted, the deaths of leaders who were involved with racial issues in the country (whether for or against African American rights) were more consequential for the African American minority group compared to the White American majority. Importantly, a high correlation was obtained between the degree of consequentiality and amount of detail contained in the memories of personal circumstances at the time of the event (FBMs). In other words, the formation of FBMs depended on consequentiality of the events for the social group that one was a member of. For instance, an African American participant had better contextual/ personal memory associated with, say, the assassination of Martin Luther King compared to that of a majority group participant. Furthermore, Schuman et al. (1997) who tested knowledge about public events rather than their associated personal memories, showed that people were more knowledgeable about events that were more consequential for their identity. For instance, compared to Caucasian Americans, African Americans knew more about the identity of Rosa Parks who was an African American civil rights activist.

Another line of research compared several national groups in terms of their FB and event memories regarding public events that varied in their consequentiality for different nations. A study run by Curci, Luminet, Finkenauer and Gisle (2001) compared event memories and FBMs of French and Belgian participants with regard to the death of the French president Mitterrand. Event memory score was calculated by the answers participants gave to the questions on where, when and why Mitterrand

died. On the other hand, FBM scores were extracted from the amount of information given with regard to personal context at the time of the event. Participants' personal memories associated with the event were investigated by the following questions: the exact time (date, day of week, hour) when they heard about the event, from what source they learned the event, their location, with whom they were with, their ongoing activity at the time of the event, and what they have done after learning about the event. Their results revealed that French participants were better than the Belgian sample in terms of both their event memories and FBMs. Thus, greater concern about a public event leads both to better memory for the original event and to better autobiographical/personal memory associated with that event. This, and similar patterns of memories correlated with individuals having different national identities (e.g. Kvavilashvili, Mirani, Schlagman, & Kornbrot, 2003; Luminet et al., 2004) does not seem to be surprising due to differing national relevance and thus differing media rehearsal of a public event taking place in a particular country.

What would be more interesting is to hypothesize the possibility of differences in the memories of different ethnic groups living in the same country, being exposed to the same media and going through similar formal educational experiences. However, to my knowledge, there is no study that directly assessed public event and FB memories of different ethnic identities from the cognitive psychology perspective. Using a different procedure, Sahdra and Ross (2007) compared historical memories of two ethnic groups living in India.

They directly asked Hindu and Sikh participants to recall 3 events in which their in-group (Hindu/Sikh) was victimized by the out-group (Sikh/Hindu) and to recall 3 events in which their ingroup members perpetrated a violent act against the out-group. They also asked participants their level of identification with their

ingroup. The responses revealed that, in general, subjects were more likely to recall events in which they were the victims rather than the perpetrators. In addition, individuals who were high identifiers of their ingroup recalled even fewer events in which their group was the perpetrator compared to low identifiers. However, there was no difference between high and low identifiers in the recall of events in which their ingroup was victimized. It should be noted that, in this study, ethnic group identity was made salient by directly asking participants, events in which their ingroup was the perpetrator or the victim, thereby biasing the results. Thus, there is need for more work in this area.

It seems plausible that social identity has predictive power over one's memory for public events and his/her personal memories associated with those public events. Therefore, in the present study, I wanted to go one step further in examining memories of individuals belonging to different social identities. Instead of testing event knowledge or amount of autobiographical details associated with a public event, I aimed to explore whether and how social group membership may influence the structure of memory for personal and public events. Brown (1990) and Brown et al. (2009)'s studies suggest a functional method that seems to be good at revealing the content and organization of autobiographical and public memory.

Organization of Memory for Public Events

According to Brown (1990), "historical memory" has three basic levels, namely, the news event, the public narrative and the historical period. News events that have causal relations among them form public narratives which are in turn connected to certain historical periods. A public narrative includes knowledge on specific public events and knowledge about the relations among them. Historical periods constitute the most general level and possess a certain thematic and temporal framework.

Additionally, in his historical memory model, Brown acknowledges the fact that people also encode personal/contextual information together with the public event.

He exemplified his model with the news event that Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North was released from the National Security Council which should be stored together with other events that are causally and/or temporally associated with this event. The reason for North's dismissal from his position was the role he played in the Iran Contra Affair Scandal which involved the sale of guns and other weaponry to Iran in return for the release of American hostages and the disposal of the profit from the gun sales to the Contra rebels in Nicaragua. Thus, all these events are expected to be stored together with Oliver North's dismissal from his position forming a public narrative. These events are further associated with the historical period framed by Ronald Reagan's presidency (Brown, 1990).

In order to test his model, Brown (1990) asked subjects to guess the month and year of some political (governmental/military happenings) and non-political events (not connected with national or foreign affairs; such as, natural disasters, cultural or scientific firsts etc.) that happened 3 years in average before the experiment by thinking out loud. People usually do not store the calendar dates of events. Therefore, in order to come up with a date, rather than directly retrieving the calendar date of an event, one would have to engage in a reconstructive process. The reconstructive process – which will be explained further in the following sections- involves searching memory for information associated with the target event, and making temporal inferences using information that is temporally informative (see Friedman, 1993; Larsen, Thompson, & Hansen, 1995 for reviews). Thus, by asking participants to date public events by thinking out loud, he would be able to observe

the kinds of events that certain public events are associated with in memory, and thereby investigate the organization of public memory.

His results revealed that 48% of the responses in which an explanation was given regarding how the date was found, included references to contextual and autobiographical information which constituted the most frequent inference category. For example, one subject, when was asked when the first space shuttle was launched, responded by remembering that he learned about the news event while he was in a barber shop located in a different district from where he was living at the time of the experiment. Then, he remembered the date he moved away from that district. Then, according to his estimation on how long ago he has gone through that episode in the barber shop before his relocation he was able to come up with a date to the target event.

On the other hand, referrals to related public events constituted 21% of the answers. As predicted, references to related events were more common compared to references to unrelated events. References to presidential periods were more common for the date estimation of political events compared to that for non-political events. Additionally, it was more common for subjects to refer to same-narrative events (related public events) for date estimation of political events, and to refer more to contextual information for date estimation of non-political events. These results were consistent with Brown's model of public memory (1990). From these results, one can see that the type of event (political vs. non-political) determines whether an event is going to be associated more with personal or public memories. A political event is more likely to be embedded in a public narrative whereas, a non-political event tends to be associated more with autobiographical/contextual memories. Most importantly,

this study shows that this method is appropriate for exploring the organization of historical memory and its association with autobiographical memories.

Role of Public Events in the Organization of Autobiographical Memory

In a more recent study, Brown et al. (2009) aimed to explore if public events play a role in the organization of memory for personal events. This time, they analyzed how people assigned dates to their autobiographical memories. According to Conway and Pleydell-Pearce (2000), autobiographical memory is hierarchically organized and life time periods (“When I was at university”) constitute the most general and abstract level. As its name implies, a life time period refers to a distinct period of time with specific boundaries formed by memories that have a common theme. Life time periods are generally bounded by landmark events (Shum, 1998). Shum (1997, as cited in Shum, 1998) directly asked freshman students to list the landmark events from their previous year. The most listed items were high school graduation and acceptance to university which correspond to the end of one life period (i.e. when I was in high school) and the beginning of another (i.e. when I was an undergraduate). When trying to estimate the time of a past event, we generally refer to these life time periods and landmark events.

Brown et al. (2009) predicted that some public events may serve as landmark events forming a boundary to a certain life period. Brown et al. named these periods as H-DAPs (historically-defined autobiographical periods) and termed the frequent use of H-DAPs as the “living-in-history” effect. According to Brown et al., the presence of H-DAPs will imply that certain historical events had a major impact on people’s personal lives causing their personal memories to be entwined with their public memories. In order to explore if and in what conditions H-DAPs exist, Brown et al. conducted their study with participants from 8 different countries and 10

different cities. Participants were required to write their autobiographical memories related with 20 different cue words and then to estimate the times of these events (indicating their month and year) by thinking out loud.

The results varied vastly among different nationalities. While participants from some countries (such as Canada, USA and Denmark) never mentioned any public events, participants from Bosnia and Turkey (Izmit) commonly used public events to date their personal memories. Twenty-three percent of the justified responses (responses that included a reference to at least one temporally informative event) of Bosnians' included references to their civil war. On the other hand, 13% of the justified responses of the Izmit sample included references to the Marmara Earthquake that took place in the year 1999 and had devastating consequences for people living in Izmit and near provinces. More importantly, 49% of their autobiographical memories that took place between 1998 and 2000, were justified with references to the earthquake. However, participants living in Ankara almost never referred to the earthquake or any other public event.

In short, there was frequent referral to H-DAPs only in 2 out of 10 samples, even though important public events have taken place in other countries as well. Thus, Brown et al. (2009) concluded that not all emotionally charged or historically significant events lead to the formation of H-DAPs. What is crucial in H-DAP formation is that the historical event must have somehow changed one's way of living.

Memory for Time: How Do We Date Events?

The reason Brown et al. (2009) used the date estimation method was the fact that people generally refer to life time periods and their defining landmark events when they try to locate events in a temporal framework. Research showed that, generally,

we do not encode events with time-tags (Friedman, 1993). Thus, individuals are rarely able to assign dates to events directly, instead they generate them relying on several different mechanisms.

According to Friedman (1993) there are three types of temporal information we rely on when we try to figure out the exact time of past events: distance, location, and order. Distance information refers to the estimation of the amount of time that has passed between the occurrence of the target event and the present by using state of the memory traces as cues. In the retrieval phase, individuals make judgements about the quality of their memory traces or about the ease of accessibility. Relying on these judgements, they can estimate if an event happened recently or a long time ago (Friedman, 1993). Support for the use of such information comes from Brown, Rips, & Shevell (1985, as cited in Brown et al., 1986)'s study which showed that people underestimate the age of events that they knew much about while overestimating the ages of events that they knew less about.

On the other hand, location-based information refers to the placement of an event in a temporal framework by using information that was registered into that particular memory together with the target event in the encoding phase. Among the theories supporting the use of location-based information in date estimation, reconstructive theory received the most empirical support. According to the reconstructive theory, people encode contextual information such as place, people, activities or own internal state which is associated with the event. Hence, at the time of recall one uses this associated contextual information to infer the time of the target event (Friedman, 1993; Friedman, 2004)

Additionally, without having any distance or location information, one can still have knowledge about the order in which some events occurred. Order code

theories assert that if one event makes us retrieve the memory of another event, immediately an order code is created between these items (Friedman, 1993; Friedman, 2004).

In his review of the date estimation studies, Friedman (1993) found that, out of the three types of temporal information, it is more common for people to rely on location-based information. Since we rarely encode events with their dates (i.e. Wagenaar, 1986, as cited in Burt, 1992), location information is rarely based on time-tags or conventional dates. Time tags exist for a small number of events which are considered to be important so that their date is rehearsed and become a part of semantic memory. For example, most of the Turkish citizens can retrieve the exact date of Atatürk's death who is the founder of Turkish Republic. The anniversary of his death is commemorated every year and is considered to be a landmark event in Turkish history. Since memory of most of the events do not contain such time tags, location information relies on knowledge of social, natural or personal time patterns or the time of an associated salient event or life period (Friedman, 2004). For example, remembering that the weather was hot may lead an individual to infer that some event has occurred in the summer. In date estimation studies, people generally refer to the context of the event or use temporal landmarks which are salient and transitional events whose dates are usually remembered (Shum, 1998).

Temporal landmark events are stored in autobiographical memory just like any other event. However, additionally, they serve the function of organizing personal memories as reference-points in autobiographical memory (Shum, 1998). Other events in memory are localized by the use of these landmarks, and access to these landmarks leads to the infiltration of associated memories (Ribot, 1882; as cited in Shum, 1998).

Loftus and Marburger (1983)'s study is a good demonstration of the role of temporal landmarks on the organization of autobiographical memory. In this study, participants were asked if the failure to rescue the hostages in Iran happened within the last six months; while it had actually happened 8 months before the experiment. After participants gave their answers, they were asked the same question by changing the phrase "within the last 6 months" with "Since Mt. St. Helens erupted" (p. 116). All participants knew the exact date of this event which happened 6 months prior to the experiment since the event took place close to where participants lived and probably had a big impact on their lives. The results revealed that 23% of the participants changed their answers from yes to no while the reverse happened only 5% of the time. In other words, by making the participants rely on location-based rather than on distance-based information, Loftus and Marburger were able to increase the accuracy of their responses. The same pattern was also found for questions involving personal events such as being a victim of a robbery or a crime. Thus, this study showed that a personally important public event may serve as a catalyst for organizing memories for both personal and public events.

Present Study

In the present study, the content and organization of personal and public memories of participants with different social group identities were explored using the date estimation task. Rather than comparing samples from different nationalities, I tested a majority and a minority group who live in the same city, have gone through the same experiences, have been exposed to the same media, and have gotten the same history education. The two groups to be compared included Turks who constitute the majority group and Armenians who constitute the largest non-muslim minority group in Turkey.

The main purpose of this study was to examine the possible association between memory for personal and public events. Furthermore, I investigated whether belonging to a minority as opposed to a majority group would influence the presence or the extent of this relationship. In order to accomplish this goal, the types of references used during date estimation of both personal and public events were examined. Previous research showed that compared to the majority members, minority group members identify more strongly with their group identity (Simon, Aufderheide, & Kampmeir, 2001). Therefore, minority group members might have a higher tendency to organize their personal past using public events that were consequential for their group identity. This could lead minority group members to use public event references more frequently in dating personal events.

In addition, the effect of age-at-retrieval on the tendency to give public event references while thinking about the personal past was examined. One of the reasons why Brown et al. (2009) was not able to observe any public event references in the Ankara sample and no other public event references other than the earthquake in the Izmit sample might be due to the age of the participants. The average age of the participants was approximately 22 which might be too young to have life changing public memories that one is aware of.

Together with the frequency of public event references, I also investigated the content of these events. The public landmark events recited, may differ among the two groups since they may perceive different events to be more consequential for their personal and social identity.

On the other hand, I did not have any clear predictions about whether and how the datings of public memories might have differed among the two samples. The relevance of events to one's social identity might have an influence on the dating

strategy. As previously reviewed, people have more knowledge about events that are more important for their group identity (Schuman et al, 1997). With more knowledge about an event, more coherent public narratives may be formed which could lead to using related public event references. However, it can also be the case that public events that are considered important are more personally relevant and have stronger associations with autobiographical memories. In the present study, as the participants were required to generate public events that they consider important, the consequentiality of events for one's social group may not differ among the two groups. Therefore, the relationship between ratings of personal and social relevance and dating strategy was examined. Finally, a sample of public events that were considered to be important by a Turkish and an Armenian sample were gathered.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

A total of 127 individuals, 60 Turks and 67 Armenians, between the ages 21 and 84 were recruited through convenience and snowball sampling methods. Of all the participants 62 were males and 65 were females and the proportion of males and females were fairly equal in both samples (48.3% of the Turkish sample and 53.7% of the Armenian sample were male).

There were 6 age groups with equivalent numbers of Turkish (T) and Armenian (A) participants (see Table 1). The data of participants aged 70 and above were not included in the analyses since this age group contained too few participants. Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations of age, gender and social identity of participants for each age group.

Table 1. Age and Gender of Turks and Armenians

Age Group	Sample	Age		Gender		Total
		Mean	SD	Male	Female	
20-29	Turkish	26.2	2.8	5	5	10
	Armenian	25.3	2.6	5	7	12
30-39	Turkish	33.4	2.9	6	4	10
	Armenian	35.5	2.8	5	9	14
40-49	Turkish	44.3	3.3	4	8	12
	Armenian	45.8	2.2	3	8	11
50-59	Turkish	54.2	3.6	8	3	11
	Armenian	54.7	3.5	8	6	14
60-69	Turkish	64.9	2.1	5	5	10
	Armenian	62.7	1.4	7	6	13

Interviews took place between August 2010 and April 2011. Almost all of the participants were born in Istanbul and were long time residents of the city. Turkish

and Armenian participants were matched in terms of education and socioeconomic status. Since the requirements of the task were cognitively demanding, the primary consideration of the sampling procedure was to recruit participants who were well-educated and high-functioning. Both samples were fairly well educated. Majority of the participants (76.1%) had college or graduate degree (81.7% of Turks and 71.6% of Armenians), and 22.8% had middle or high school education (18.3% of Turks and 26.9% of Armenians). Regarding socioeconomic status, majority of the participants from both samples (78% of Turks and 82.1% of Armenians) categorized their income level as middle or middle-high. In parallel, majority of both samples (71.4% of Turks and 64.6% of Armenians) reported earning 2500TL or higher per month.

In terms of political view, fairly equal proportions of participants from each sample reported being on the left, right and neither wing. Sixty-two percent of the Turkish sample and 67% of the Armenian sample reported being on the left of the political spectrum, 10% of both samples reported being on the right and 28.3% of Turks and 22.4% of Armenians reported not being close to any political stand.

However, there were differences between the two groups in terms of the political parties they voted for in the most recent general election (2007). As can be seen in Table 2, CHP (Republican People’s Party) was voted by a higher percentage of Turks while AKP (Justice and Development Party) and the independent candidates were voted by a higher percentage of Armenians.

Table 2. Vote Percentages for Turks and Armenians

Party	Overall	Turks	Armenians
AKP	12.6	5.0	19.4
CHP	46.5	66.7	28.4
Independent	16.5	10.0	22.4
Didnot vote	10.2	5.0	14.9
Other	7.1	6.7	7.5
Missing	7.1	6.7	7.5

Participants were also asked how much their social identity was effective in defining their personal identity and then were asked to rate their response on a 7-point Likert Scale (1 = not at all, 4 = moderately effective 7 = very effective). An independent samples t-test showed that there was not a significant difference between the ratings of Turks ($M = 4.98$, $SD = 1.8$) and Armenians ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 1.7$), $t(125) = .92$, $p = .36$. Participants from both samples identified strongly with their social identity such that 63% of the Turkish sample and 67% of the Armenian sample gave ratings that were higher than four.

We wanted to see if and how the two samples differed in their social and political self appraisals. In order to do that, participants were presented with 12 adjectives (see Table 3) and were asked to circle the ones that they interpreted as self-defining (Göksü Özdoğan, Üstel, Karakaşlı, & Kentel, 2009). The percentage of participants from both groups that chose each adjective as self-defining are presented in Table 3. Both samples were presented with the same set of adjectives except the social identity adjective, Turks were presented with the word “Turk” and Armenians with “Armenian”. Interestingly, the highest difference between the proportions of the two groups choosing each adjective was on social identity such that 44% of the Turkish sample defined themselves as “Turkish” while 84% of the Armenian sample defined themselves as “Armenian”.

Table 3. Percentage of Turks and Armenians that Marked the Identity Adjectives as Self-defining

	Turks	Armenians
Secular	71	52
Democrat	61	54
Turkish/Armenian	44	84
Left-winger	22	27
Citizen of TR	61	52
Righ-winger	2	0
Liberal	17	24

Table 3. continued

Nationalist	15	12
World Citizen	53	55
Religious	5	13
Anatolian	3	13
Tied to one's roots	24	55
Other	15	12

Materials and Procedure

All participants were tested individually usually in their home or work place. The task was completed within 1-1.5 hours on average. Participants were told that this study was about remembering events that happened during their lifetimes and that it was not a memory test. They were also told that the experiment included a phase in which they would be voice-recorded.

The experiment consisted of autobiographical memory and public memory testing phases. In the first phase, autobiographical memories were elicited by using the word cueing technique; participants were presented with 11 cue words printed on small cards, one at a time. The participants had to retrieve the first personal memory that each word reminded them of and write a summary of these memories in 1-2 sentences on the cards provided.

Participants were instructed to retrieve memories that happened in a specific time and place and lasted within a matter of seconds, minutes or hours. They were further instructed that their memories could come from any period of their lives except the last one year. The aim of putting such a constraint was to decrease the number of unjustified date estimates. Brown et al. (2009) showed that more than half of the memories that happened within the past one year were directly dated without giving any justifications. During the retrieval phase, participants did not know that they would be required to date their memories later in the test. The participants were

further told that their memories did not have to be important or interesting together with an example event: “If the event that you remember first is about doing the dishes, then you describe this event” (Janssen, Chessa, & Murre, 2005).

The cue words were as follows: *car, piano, radio, stone, street, window, newspaper, cemetery, identity card, shoe and white*. The first six of these cue words were taken from Brown et al. (2009)’s study. The reason for using the words *white, shoe, cemetery, and newspaper* was that they were in some way related with the assassination of an Armenian journalist called Hrant Dink which took place in 2007 and had a huge impact on the Armenian population. Hrant Dink was the founder of the most influential Turkish-Armenian *newspaper* Agos and he was murdered because of his ideas by a seventeen year-old boy wearing a *white* beret which was one of the most distinguishing and frequently discussed aspect of the murderer. The scene of him lying on the floor covered up with newspapers leaving his feet out in the open was continually presented by the media and the fact that there were holes on his *shoes* captured media attention.

We aimed to see if these words would remind some participants of the assassination during an autobiographical memory task, and also whether these words would have differential effects in reminding this incident for participants with different social identities. Finally, the word *national identity card* (nüfus cüzdanı) was presented as one of the cue words to see if it would remind some participants, especially the minority group members, of issues related with their social identity. The presentation of the cue words were randomized each time except that the words *white* and *shoe* were always presented as the very last words since they could bring to mind the previously mentioned assassination affecting the rest of memory retrieval, and the word *car* was always presented as the first cue word.

After all the memories were reported, participants were required to rate each memory in terms of importance (1= not important, 4= moderately important, 7= very important), valence (1= very negative, 4= neutral, 7= very positive) and frequency of rehearsal (1 = never thought/talked about it, 7= an event that I most frequently talked/thought about) on 7-point Likert Scales.

Then, they were asked to assign dates to each memory by stating their day, month, and year. However, if the participants reported their age at the time of the event or how long ago the event took place, they were not forced to come up with the calendar dates. While engaging in this task, participants were required to think out loud and verbalize everything that came to their mind whether important or not and were explicitly asked what they were thinking if they remained silent for a few seconds (Brown, 1990, Brown et al, 2009). The verbal protocols were tape-recorded and transcribed for further analyses.

In the public memory testing phase, participants were given questionnaires and were required to report five national public events that they considered important. Since one of the main purposes of the present study was to examine the types of references people use while dating their public memories, participants were not allowed to report events that happened before they were born. After reporting all five events, they were asked to rate each event on (1) relevance to their personal and (2) social identity, (3) whether they consider it as a landmark or transition event, (4) whether they see connections between their present lives and that particular event and on (5) valence on 7-point Likert Scales. The first, second and fourth questions were adapted from Bernsten and Rubin (2006)'s centrality of event scale and translated into Turkish. Subsequently, participants were asked if they could think of any other public events that they consider important. These events had the same

constraints as the first five such that they had to have happened in Turkey and they could not be from a period before the participant was born. The same dating instructions that were given after the end of the first phase were given after all the public events were reported and rated. The order of the two phases was always the same such that the autobiographical memory test was presented first to all participants (See Appendix B).

Coding

Both word-cued memories and dating protocols were coded in terms of the types of events they contained. In Brown et al. (2009)'s study, only the dating protocols were coded. The coding scheme developed by Brown et al. was used in order to code the word-cued memories as well since it was important to understand the relationship between reported memories and events mentioned during their date estimation.

Coding of Autobiographical Memories

Memories were classified into four categories: personal events, public events, sports events and military service. Indeed, all of the memories consisted of personal events since this was the main requirement of the task. However, personal memories involving the aforementioned events (i.e. public events, sports events, and military service) were coded separately.

Memories that were coded as "public" included: (1) personal involvement in a public event, (2) hearing about a public event, (3) personally witnessing a public event, (4) effects of a public event, (5) name of the public event, and (6) personal events that were related with or that happened during the time of the public event. All economic, political and military events, natural disasters, and deaths or assassinations of political figures and journalists were considered as public events.

The sports event category mainly consisted of memories of soccer matches. Military service code was used by Brown et al. (2009) only for the data collected from the Israeli sample, since it was a part of the Israeli life-script (life story). The same thing is also true for the Turkish sample (Erdoğan, Baran, Avlar, Taş, & Tekcan, 2007) as well, all male citizens are obligated to serve in the military for a duration of 6-18 months. Therefore, military service was included as one of the reference categories.

Coding of Dating Protocols

Dating protocols were coded as unjustified if participants already knew both the month and the year of the reported memory and therefore, did not have to refer to any period or event in order to assign a date. Justified responses were classified into six categories. The same four categories used in memory coding (personal, public, sports event, military service) were also used here. The extra two categories consisted of elections and public events that were mentioned in memories. Date estimations that involved references to elections, military service, public events, and sports events were categorized as such even if they also included references to personal information.

Dating protocols classified as “personal” consisted of references to periods, locations, or events specific to one’s personal life. “Sports event” category mainly consisted of references to soccer events such as general knowledge about the times of league matches or when a particular team won the championship. Datings classified as “military service” consisted of references to the period one was serving in the military. Datings that included references to local or general election times were classified as “elections”. Finally, datings that included public event references were

classified into either “public event” category or “public event in memory” category depending on their relationship with the memories to be dated.

If the reported memory was of an event that had no apparent relationship with the public event referenced in its dating, the dating protocol was classified as a “public event”. However, if the reported memory involved a public event and its date was estimated using knowledge about the process or time course of the public event that was mentioned in the memory, the dating protocol was coded as “public event in memory” (See Table 4, for examples).

This distinction was not made in Brown et al. (2009)’s study, and all of the datings that included public event references were coded as “public” regardless of the content of memories. In my opinion, it is important to understand the relationship between the referenced public events and the corresponding memories if it is going to be claimed that the referenced public events indicate the presence of “historically defined autobiographical periods”. To give an example, one of the participants reported his memory of making a radio program about the situation of people in Bosnia after the end of their civil war. During the date estimation task, he reported that he made this program three months after the Dayton agreement and tried to figure out when the agreement was signed. The fact that the participant used his knowledge of this historical period for date estimation rather than thinking about his personal context, may be a sign of the importance or emotional impact of the event for him. However, it is difficult to conclude that this event acts as a landmark or transition event organizing his ABMs considering its relationship with the reported memory.

Dating protocols of the public events in the second phase of the experiment were assigned into 3 categories: personal, public, and unjustified. Responses were

considered as unjustified when the calendar date of the event was already known. Public responses consisted of references to same-narrative or non-narrative public events or to presidential references (Brown, 1990). Finally, personal responses consisted of references to personal events, periods and context.

All of the dating protocols classified as personal were also coded for the types of events used as temporal cues (e.g. school periods, context, family events etc.). These codes were constructed on the basis of a preliminary analysis of the narratives. The referenced events were not coded for the person (self vs. other) the information related to. For example, “school” code was used both when the participant referred to her/his own school period (e.g. I was in 6th grade) and someone else’s (e.g. My daughter was in 6th grade). See Appendix A for the definitions of the codes and examples from the dating protocols. Estimations of year and month were coded separately and a verbal protocol could be assigned a maximum of six codes (three codes for year and three codes for month).

The coding scheme developed for classifying personal references was taught to a naive coder who coded 10% of the data. There was high agreement between the two coders in the dating protocols of both autobiographical and public events. Cohen’s kappa scores were .80-.86 for year and month codes for the ABM datings and .77-1 for year and month codes for the PM datings.

Table 4. Examples of Reported Memories and Date Estimations

Cue	Memory	Dating Protocol	Memory Type / Dating Type	Sample
Radio	Çocukluğumda anten, bir diyet ve kulaklıkla yapmış olduğum radyodan duyduğum sesin verdiği mutluluğu hatırlıyorum.	10 yaşındaydım bu radyo hikayesini gerçekleştirdiğimde. Benim gibi meraklı bir arkadaşım vardı, onunla beraber konuşurduk. İşte Karaköy'e gittik, biriktirdiğimiz paralarla bu malzemeleri aldık. Ve o radyoyu ilk dinlediğimde kar yağıyordu, herhalde Şubat ayıdır diye düşünüyorum.	Personal/Personal	Armenian
White	Gelinlik giydiğim an. 12.06.1994.	12 Haziran 1994. Benim düğün günüm.	Personal/Unjustified	Armenian
Radio	1950'li yıllarda Cumartesi günleri Ankara Radyosu'nda Arkası Yarım, İstanbul Radyosu'nda, Radyo Çocuk Klubü programı rastlaşırdı. Evde kaos yaşandığı bir gün, annemle çekişirken babam radyonun lambasını sökmüştü. Her ikimiz de istediğimiz programı dinleyememiştik.	Bu da 50'li yıllarda zaten yazdım. 50'li yıllardı ama 53'tür 55 'tir, onu tam net olarak... Şimdi, 49 doğumlu olduğuma göre, daha ciddi düşünürsek, aklım erip dinliyor olmam 8-9 yaşında olmam, yani 59 falan ama 60 kesinlikle değil çünkü ihtilal olmamıştı. Ve Bursa'daydık, demek ki 57 falan. Biz 57'de çünkü Bursa'dan ayrılıp Sivas'a gittik. 57'den önce 56-57 yılları arasında.....	Personal / Public	Turkish
Newspaper	İstanbul depreminden sonra adalar gazetesine depremle ilgili bir yazı yazdım. Gazetenin sahibi her hafta bir yazı yazmam için o kadar ısrar etti ki onun kalbini kırmak zorunda kaldım.	1998'de oldu deprem, hemen onun.. [98de olduğunu nasıl biliyorsunuz] Deprem, deprem olduğu için, İstanbul Depremi oldu, bu olay da, 98'de olduğuna göre, '99 yazında oldu. Depremden bir sene sonra evet, gazetede illa bir yazı yaz, sen mühendissin, bizim ada sağlamdır, diye bir yazı yaz dediler.	Public / Public event in memory	Armenian
Radio	İlk kez ihtilali 27 Mayıs'ta radyoda duymuştum. Çocuk olduğumdan ne olduğunu hiç anlamadım. Sorduğumda da anlayamayacağımı söyleyerek hiçbir cevap alamamıştım.	Bu tarih çok açık burada, 27 Mayıs 1960.	Public / Unjustified	Turkish
Newspaper	Yıl 1980, sabah bankadaki işime gitmek üzere Kadıköy İskelesi'ne geldim. O zamanlar iskele girişinde gazeteciler vardı. Suikast sonucu Abdi İpekçi'nin öldürüldüğü haberi yüzüme tokat gibi indi.	Zannediyorum bir sonbahar kıştı ama ay olarak sana yanlış bir şey söyleyemiyim ama soğuk bir gündü, sabahta nemli bir Kadıköy sabahıydı. Yapış yapış bir hava, çok soğuktu. Aralık olabilir, Ocak olabilir... Kış aylarından biriydi ama şu tarih diyemem.	Public / Personal	Armenian
Window	1. 2003 yılı HSBC bombalanmasında kırılan pencereler ve yoldan geçenlerin panikleri. 2. Aynı gün ve aynı olay neticesinde toplantı yaptığımız pecere camının kırılması	HSBC dediğim gibi 2003, burda da yazmıştım. [onu nasıl bulmuşunuz, demin bir düşündünüz ya..] 2003 şey çünkü 2001'de İkiz Kuleler'e baskın oldu ondan 2 yıl sonrasında olduğunu tahmin ediyorum bir de enteresandır, aynı da söyleyebilirim, gününü de söyleyebilirim, 20 Kasım 2003 çünkü 20 Kasım benim evlilik yıl dönümüm, çok kötü bir espri yapmıştım eşime, evlilik yıl dönümümüzde havai fişekler patlattım demiştim. Çok kötü bir espriydi o yani bombalamayı orada çok net hatırlıyorum.	Public/Public	Armenian

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Autobiographical Memories

Participants of age 70 and above were excluded from the analyses since there were too few participants from this group (7 Turks and 3 Armenians). In addition, the data from 6 participants were excluded from the autobiographical memory analyses since their memories generally consisted of life-time periods or general events. The final sample consisted of 111 participants, 52 Turks and 59 Armenians.

As all participants were given 11 cue words, there were a total of 1221 memories that they could come up with. Out of these memories, 1208 were valid. The distribution of autobiographical memories across the life span was examined in both samples. Previous studies consistently showed that when older adults are asked to recall memories in response to cue words, a higher proportion of these memories come from the period when they were between the ages of 10 and 30, producing a bump in this age period (e.g. Rubin & Schulkind, 1997).

It is also known that the types of cue words may have an effect on which age period memories come from. For example, words that are more imageable and concrete elicit memories from an earlier age (Rubin & Schulkind, 1997). Therefore, prior to investigating the distribution of memories across the life span, I first examined if age-at-event is influenced by the cue words used in this study and whether this relationship would be affected by social group membership.

Cue Word Effects on the Distribution of Autobiographical Memories

A two-way between-subjects ANOVA showed that cue words elicited memories from different age periods, $F(10,1186) = 7.97, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .063$. As expected, the

effect of cue words did not interact with group membership, $F(10, 1186) = .28, p = .98$. Tukey's post-hoc tests showed that in general, memories elicited by the word *radio* came from an earlier age and memories elicited by the words *identity card* and *cemetery* came from an older age compared to the memories elicited by the majority of the remaining words. The mean and standard deviations of age-at-event elicited by each cue word are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Mean and Standard Deviations of Age-at-Event for Each Cue Word

	Overall		Turks		Armenians	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Car	25.22	14.45	25.56	14.85	24.92	14.22
Street	21.44	14.80	20.62	14.42	22.17	15.22
Radio	17.04	11.74	16.46	12.41	17.55	11.19
Window	22.54	14.65	21.65	15.52	23.35	13.89
Cemetery	27.84	15.33	26.52	14.91	29.00	15.73
Stone	21.93	14.66	20.33	14.74	23.36	14.57
Newspaper	24.93	15.49	22.75	15.55	26.84	15.30
Identity Card	30.71	14.15	29.65	14.44	31.68	13.95
Piano	21.45	13.76	21.84	14.50	21.10	13.20
Shoe	19.35	13.13	18.23	14.08	20.34	12.24
White	25.01	13.56	24.52	14.37	25.44	12.91

For further information on the cue word effects, each cue word was examined regarding the proportion of memories they elicited from different periods of the life span: childhood (0-9), bump period (10-29), middle age (30-49) and older age (50-69). It should be noted that the data of participants with an age range of 20 to 70 were included in the cue word analyses. Therefore, the probability of memories falling into each age decade was not equal except the 0-9 age decade. As can be seen in Table 6, the words *radio* and *stone* elicited the highest percentage of memories from childhood, while the words *cemetery* and *identity card* elicited the highest

percentage of memories from older ages. Similar patterns were observed for both samples, except that the word *shoe* produced a higher percentage of childhood memories for Turks compared to Armenians (see Table 7).

Table 6. Proportion of Memories Falling into Each Age Period for Each Cue Word

Cue Words	Age at Event			
	0-9	10-29	30-49	50-69
Car	14.4	53.2	24.3	8.1
Street	22.7	47.3	24.5	5.5
Radio	31.8	55.5	10.9	1.8
Window	18.3	56.9	19.3	5.5
Cemetery	12.6	47.7	27.9	11.7
Stone	28.2	42.7	24.5	4.5
Newspaper	16.5	50.5	23.9	9.2
Identity Card	4.7	49.5	33.6	12.1
Piano	20	53.6	21.8	4.5
Shoe	24.5	55.5	17.3	2.7
White	11.7	62.2	18.9	7.2
Overall	18.7	52.2	22.4	6.6

Table 7. Proportion of Memories Falling into Each Age Period for Each Cue Word for Armenians and Turks

Cue Words	Age at Event							
	0-9		10-29		30-49		50-69	
	Turks	Armenians	Turks	Armenians	Turks	Armenians	Turks	Armenians
Car	11.5	16.9	53.8	52.5	26.9	22	7.7	8.5
Street	21.2	24.1	53.8	41.4	19.2	29.3	5.8	5.2
Radio	36.5	27.6	53.8	56.9	7.7	13.8	1.9	1.7
Window	25	12.3	48.1	64.9	21.2	17.5	5.8	5.3
Cemetery	15.4	10.2	46.2	45.8	19.2	32.2	11.5	11.9
Stone	30.8	25.9	42.7	39.7	24.5	29.3	3.8	5.2
Newspaper	21.6	12.1	50.5	50	23.9	27.6	7.8	10.3
Identity Card	5.9	3.6	49.5	46.4	33.6	37.5	11.8	12.5
Piano	19.6	20.3	53.6	54.2	21.8	22	5.9	3.4
Shoe	32.7	17.2	55.5	60.3	17.3	20.7	3.8	1.7
White	15.4	8.5	62.2	66.1	18.9	18.6	7.7	6.8
Overall	21.4	16.3	51.8	52.6	20.0	24.6	6.7	6.6

Distribution of Autobiographical Memories

I investigated whether the distribution of memories reflect the same pattern found in previous studies. Participants below the age of 40 were excluded from the analyses which would allow for a better evaluation of the bump period in the memory distributions across the life span. The final sample consisted of 67 individuals who reported a total of 730 memories.

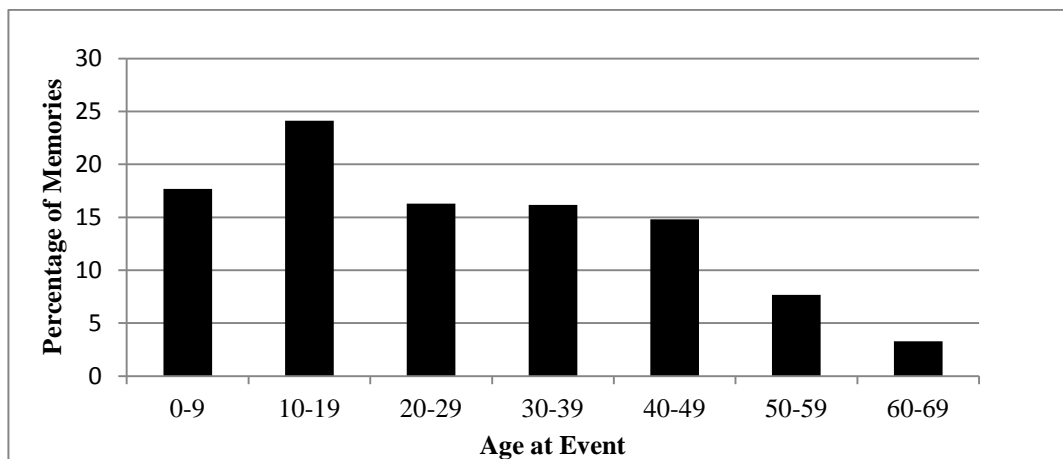


Figure 1. Distribution of autobiographical memories across the life span

For each participant, proportion of memories that fell into each age period was calculated. Then, proportion of memories in the 10-19 and 20-29 decade, 30-39 and 40-49 age decade were averaged so that they would be comparable to the 0-9 age decade. A two-way mixed ANOVA was conducted in order to test the effect of age period and social identity on the distribution of memories across the life span.

Unexpectedly, there was no significant difference among the age periods, $F(2, 130) = 2.06, p = .13$. However, Tukey's post-hoc test revealed that 10-29 age period contained a higher proportion of memories compared to the following period (30-49), $p < .05$. There was not an interaction between the distribution of memories and social identity, $F(2,130) = 1.75, p = .18$. Distribution of memories for each sample can be seen in Figure 2.

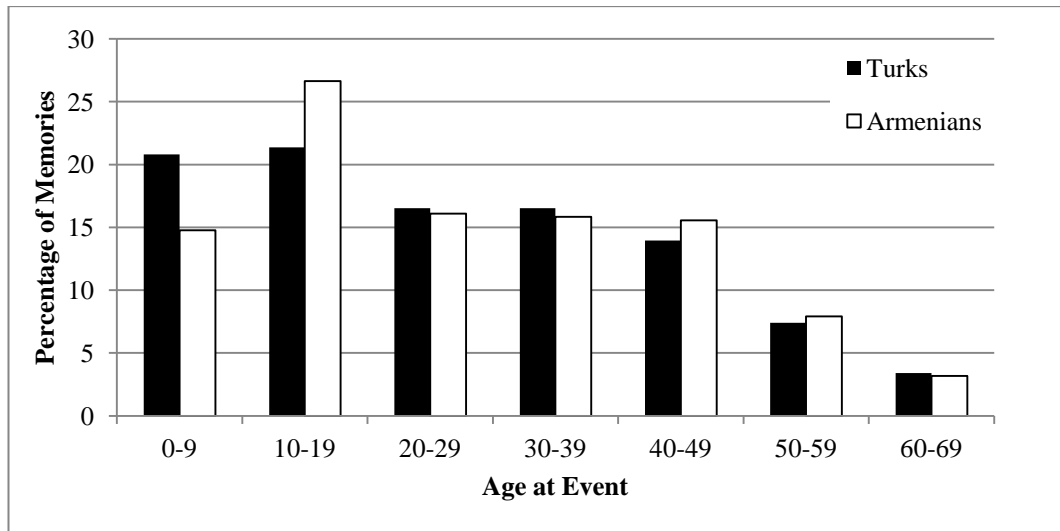


Figure 2. Distribution of autobiographical memories for Turks and Armenians

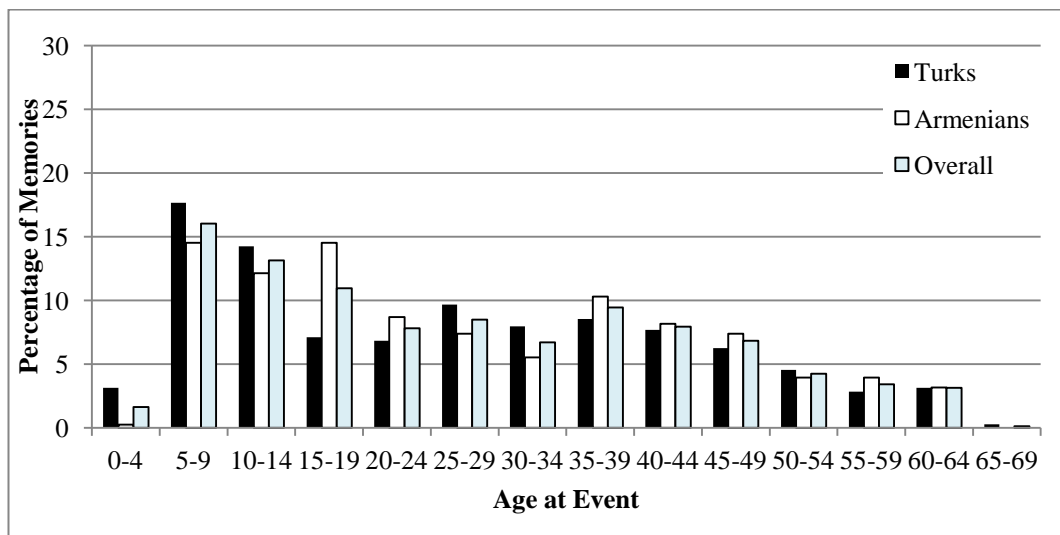


Figure 3. Distribution of autobiographical memories for Turks, Armenians, and both samples

Proportion of memories were also plotted using 5 year bins to better investigate the distribution of memories across the life span. As seen in Figure 3, majority of memories in the 0-9 age period are coming from the latter 5 years between the ages of 5-9. Furthermore, memory distribution of both Turkish and Armenian participants seem to peak at this age period. Armenians had a second peak in the 15-19 age period while Turks recalled very few memories from this period.

Properties of Autobiographical Memories

The effect of age-at-event and social identity on the ratings of importance, valence and frequency of rehearsal was analyzed excluding participants below the age of 40. The mean ratings of memories from each age period (0-9, 10-29, and 30-49) were calculated for each participant. A two-way mixed ANOVA on ratings of importance did not reveal a significant difference among the pre-bump, bump and post-bump periods, $F(2,90) = 2.06, p = .13$. Also, importance ratings of Turks ($M = 3.86, SD = 1.18$), and Armenians ($M = 4.33, SD = 1.17$) did not differ from each other, $F(1, 45) = 1.85, p = .18$.

On the other hand, frequency of rehearsal differed across memories from different life periods, $F(2,90) = 7.80, p < .01, \eta^2_p = .15$. Tukey's post-hoc tests showed that memories from the 30-49 age period were rehearsed the most often ($p < .01$). Frequency of rehearsal did not differ between memories from the 0-9 and 10-29 age periods. Again, Turks ($M = 3.66, SD = .97$) and Armenians ($M = 3.86, SD = .98$) did not differ from each other in terms of frequency of rehearsal, $F(1,45) = .57, p = .45$.

Ratings of valence also differed across memories from different life periods, $F(2,88) = 3.39, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .072$. Memories coming from the 10-29 age period were rated as more positive ($M = 4.30, SD = 1.06$) compared to memories from the 30-49 ($M = 3.61, SD = 1.44$) age period, $p < .01$. The two samples also did not differ on their valence ratings. However, there was an interaction between age period and social identity, $F(2,88) = 3.47, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .07$, such that while the ratings of Turks did not seem to differ across different life periods, Armenians rated their memories that fell in the bump period as more positive compared to the post-bump period.

Content of Autobiographical Memories

One of the main purposes of this study was to investigate the association between memory for personal and public events. In order to understand this possible association, I first examined whether individuals are reminded of memories of public events in an autobiographical memory task. It was observed that this did not happen very frequently. Out of 1208 memories that all participants came up with, only 47 (3.9%) of them involved public event mentions. Most of the memories were about personal events (94.1%) and only 1% of them included memories of sports events (.5%) or military service (.5%).

I also investigated whether public event mentions would be more frequent in the minority group and whether age-at-retrieval had an effect on the frequency of public event mentions. The proportion of memory types generated by the two samples are presented in Table 8.

Table 8. Frequency and Percentage of Memory Types for Each Sample

	Turks		Armenians	
	% ABMs	Frequency	% ABMs	Frequency
Personal Event	96	547	94.4	605
Public Event	3.3	19	4.4	28
Sports Event	0	0	0.9	6
Military Service	0.7	4	0.3	2
Total	100	570	100	641

For statistical analyses, the number of public event mentions generated in response to each cue word were summed up, for each participant. A two-way between-subjects ANOVA revealed that neither group membership, $F(1,101) = .42, p = .52$, nor age, $F(4,101) = 1.06, p = .38$, had an effect on the frequency of public event mentions.

Out of all the cue words, the ones that most frequently elicited memories of public events were *newspaper* and *radio*. Of all the 47 public memories, 27.7% (13)

of them were elicited by the word *newspaper* and 23.4% (11) of them were elicited by the word *radio*. On the other hand, the words that elicited the lowest frequency of public events were *car*, *white* and *cemetery*. The number of public memories generated in response to each cue word by the two groups can be seen in Table 9.

The words, *newspaper*, *shoe*, and *white* were presented in order to see if they would remind participants of the assassination of Hrant Dink. *Newspaper* cued this event for 3 participants, *shoe* for 2 participants and *white* for 1 participant, all from the Armenian sample. Finally, *national identity card* was included as one of the cue words to see if it would remind participants of their issues related to identity. In response to this word, eight participants, all from the Armenian sample, retrieved memories of seeing a mistake in their religion or name typed on their national identity card. Also, five participants recalled the times when they thought about their ethnic identity and religion as being different and being discriminated on the basis of their name or religion.

Table 9. Number of Public Memories Elicited by Each Cue Word

	Overall	Turks	Armenians
Car	1	0	1
Street	7	2	5
Radio	11	7	4
Window	5	1	4
Cemetery	1	0	1
Stone	3	1	2
Newspaper	13	5	8
National Identity Card	2	2	0
Piano	0	0	0
Shoe	3	1	2
White	1	0	1
Total	47	19	28

Date Estimations of Autobiographical Memories

Referenced Events

Events that were referred to estimate the year and the month of the memories together with their frequencies are shown in Table 10. A memory could be assigned a total of six codes (three for year and three for month). However, participants gave a maximum of two references to estimate the months. The proportion of using each reference event was calculated by dividing the frequency of each referenced event by the total number of references discarding the unjustified responses. The proportion of unjustified responses were calculated by dividing the total number of unjustified responses by the total number of references plus the number of unjustified responses.

In order to estimate the year of their memories, participants most frequently referred to school periods, age at the time of event, and location. School term and location also constituted two of the most frequently referenced events in the estimation of month, however, participants most frequently referred to cues about the weather at the time of the event while estimating the months.

Table 10. Frequency and Proportion of Referenced Events in the Estimation of Year and Month

Reference	Year		Month	
	Frequency	Proportion	Frequency	Proportion
School	363	31.5	145	16.0
Age	257	22.3	0	0.0
Location	179	15.5	138	15.3
Family Events	97	8.4	35	3.9
Work	63	5.5	16	1.8
Public Event	50	4.3	14	1.5
Memory Strength	35	3.0	0	0.0
Publicly Shared Events	17	1.5	3	0.3
Military	16	1.4	5	0.6
Activity	12	1.0	40	4.4
Physical State/Illness	10	0.9	7	0.8
Thinking back serially	6	0.5	0	0.0

Table 10. continued

Sports Event	4	0.3	4	0.4
Elections	3	0.3	1	0.1
Psychological State	3	0.3	2	0.2
Holidays/Special Days	0	0.0	74	8.2
Weather	0	0.0	391	43.3
Event Periods	0	0.0	19	2.1
Other	43	3.7	10	1.1
Unjustified	271	18.2	233	20.2

Dating Types

Dating protocols were classified into larger categories such that all of the datings, except the ones that included elections, public, sports, or military events, were categorized as personal.

As expected, participants usually reconstructed the dates of events by using temporal references rather than retrieving them directly from memory. Only, 14.3% of the responses were unjustified. Furthermore, nearly half (43.9%) of the unjustified date estimates were reported in response to memories that were elicited by the words *cemetery* and *white*. These words frequently brought to mind memories of death of a significant other and marriage, respectively. Both of these events usually act as landmark or transition events in one's life and their dates are regularly rehearsed.

Majority of the justified responses involved references to personal information (92.5%) such as life-time periods, relationships with other people, location etc. The full list of personal references with their frequency of mentions is presented in Table 9. Referrals to sports events (.5%), elections (.3%) and military service (1.6%) were not very frequent.

Out of all the justified responses, 5.1% of them included public event references. However, not all of these references indicated the presence of what

Brown et al. (2009) calls, historically defined autobiographical periods (H-DAPs). Some of the memories already involved the public event which was used as a temporal reference in date estimation. These types of public references were not thought to be organizing memory by acting as landmark events and therefore were coded separately. As mentioned before, this reference type was named as “public event in memory”. When “public event in memory” references were discarded, the proportion of public event references constituted 3.9% of the justified responses.

Effect of Social Identity and Age

The main purpose of the present study was to observe if minority group members had a higher tendency to use public events as temporal cues while assigning dates to their ABMs. Overall, Armenians referred to public events in 5.9% of their justified responses and Turks in 4.2% of their justified responses. The proportion of each reference type endorsed by the two samples are presented in Table 11.

For each participant, the number of datings that included public event or “public event in memory” references was calculated. A two-way between subjects ANOVA with social identity and age cohort entered as independent variables was conducted on these scores. There was not a main effect of social identity; the Turkish majority ($M = .39$, $SD = .72$) and the Armenian minority ($M = .56$, $SD = .93$) groups did not differ in terms of frequency of using public event references, $F(1,101) = 1.85$, $p = .28$.

Table 11. Frequency and Percentage of Dating Types for Each Sample

Dating Type	Turks		Armenians	
	%Protocols	Frequency	%Protocols	Frequency
Personal Event	93.5	449	91.5	508
Public Event	3.3	16	4.3	24
Public Event in Memory	.8	4	1.6	9
Sports Event	.2	1	.7	2
Elections	.4	2	.2	1
Military Service	1.7	8	1.6	9
Total		480		555

Secondly, the effect of age on the tendency to use public event references in date estimations was investigated. As expected, there was a main effect of age, $F(4,101) = 2.71, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .10$. Tukey's post-hoc tests revealed that participants of age 60 to 69 gave more public event references compared to participants below the age of 50 (contrasting 60-69; with 20-29, $p < .05$, with 30-39, $p < .01$, and with 40-49, $p < .05$). Figure 4 shows the percentage of responses that include public event references for each age cohort. Even though not all the differences were significant, Figure 3 shows that there is an increase in the frequency of public event references with age.

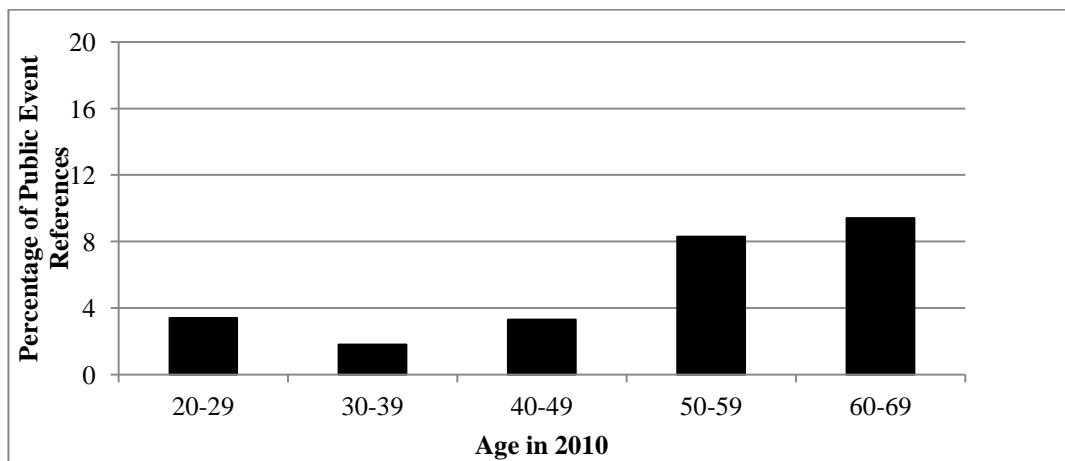


Figure 4. Proportion of public event references according to age group

Furthermore, there was no interaction between social identity and age, $F(4, 101) = 2.71, p = .47$. The frequency of public responses given by different age cohorts and social groups are presented in Figure 5.

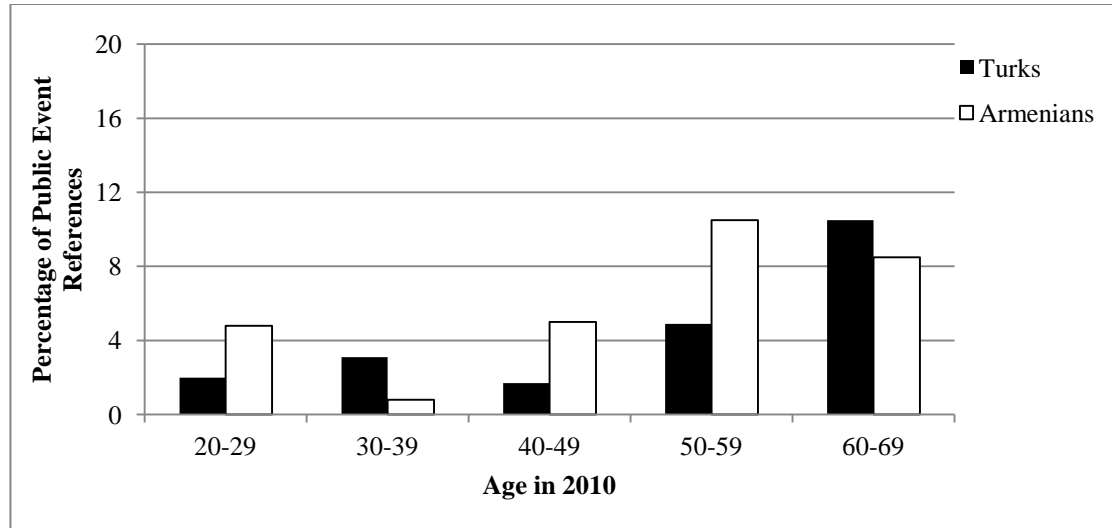


Figure 5. Proportion of public event references according to social identity and age group

Effect of Group Identification

Participants were classified into three groups according to their ratings on the degree to which they identify with their group. Participants that gave ratings of 1-3, 4, and 5-7 were categorized as low- ($n=15$), moderate- ($n=22$), and high identifiers ($n=74$), respectively. The percentage of public responses constituted 2.9% of the protocols for the low-identifiers, 6.5% for the moderate identifiers, and 5.2% for the high identifiers. When the “public event in memory” responses were excluded, public responses constituted 0.7%, 6.5% and 3.7% of the dating protocols of low-, moderate-, and high identifiers, respectively. Thus, it seems that there is a relationship between the level of group identification and using public events to organize memory for personal events. Public events do not seem to play an organizing role in ABM for the low-identifiers as much as they do for moderate- and high identifiers.

Cue Word Effects

I investigated whether memories elicited by particular cue words would have a higher probability of being dated by public event references. Table 12 shows the frequency and proportion of public event references (other than “public event in memory” references) used to date memories related with each cue word.

Interestingly, for the Turkish group the highest percentage of public responses were elicited by the cue word *newspaper*, whereas for Armenians, it was the only word for which there was no public responses. For the Armenians, the highest percentage of public responses were given to memories elicited by the cue *radio*.

Table 12. Frequency and Percentage of Public Event References (PER) for Each Cue Word

	Overall		Turks		Armenians	
	Frequency	% PER	Frequency	% PER	Frequency	% PER
Car	4	10	1	6.3	3	12.5
Street	3	7.5	0	0	3	12.5
Radio	7	17.5	2	12.5	5	20.8
Window	4	10	2	12.5	2	8.3
Cemetery	5	12.5	3	18.8	2	8.3
Stone	3	7.5	0	0	3	12.5
Newspaper	4	10	4	25	0	0
Identity Card	4	10	2	12.5	2	8.3
Piano	3	7.5	1	6.3	2	8.3
Shoe	2	5	1	6.3	1	4.2
White	1	2.5	0	0	1	4.2
Total	40	100	16	100.0	24	100.0

Content of Public Event References

As well as the frequency of using public event references by the two samples, it is important to know the content of these public memories and how much they overlap between the two groups. Public events that were mentioned either in the reported

memories or during their datings can be seen in Table 13. The data of participants aged 70 and above were included in the table.

Table 13. Number of Turkish and Armenian Participants that Mentioned Each Public Event Either in Memories or Dating Protocols. *

Public Events	Armenians	Turks
1999 Earthquake	7 (+1)	6
Coup d'etat 1980	8 (+1)	4
Assassination of Hrant Dink 2007	8 (+1)	
Hrant Dink's Funeral 2007		1
Coup d'etat 1960	3 (+2)	5
Sinagog bombing 2003	3	1
World War II 1939-45	1	2
Cyprus 1974	2	1
1970's conflict	1	2
May 1, 2008 Worker's day	1	2
Protests for the legalization of private radios 1990's	1	2
September 6-7, 1955	1 (+1)	
Yassıada trials 1960-61	1	
Death of Atatürk 1938		1
Executions 1940's		1
Mesrob Mutafyan elected as patriarch 1998	1	
Korean War 1950-53		1
Intifada 2000	1	
Death of Sedat Semavi 1953		1
Assassination of Uğur Mumcu 1993		1
Assassination of Abdi İpekçi 1979		1
Iraq War 2003		1
Bosnian War 1992-95		1
September 11, 2001	1	
Abdullah Öcalan being called Armenian seed by the minister of internal affairs 1997	1	
Opening of 1st bosphrous bridge 1973	1	
May 1, 1977	1	
Moon landing 1969	1	
Economic Crisis 2001	1	
Economic Crisis 1993		1
Turgut Özal's death 1993		1
Dumlupınar Submarine Disaster 1953		1
Fall down of the Berlin Wall 1989		1
Coup d'etat 1971	1	

**The (+) sign indicates that an event was mentioned more than once by the same participant.*

Since the number of public memories and references were too few to warrant analysis, it is hard to reach firm conclusions from this data. However, there seems to

be an overlap between the public mentions and references of Turks and Armenians. The events that were mentioned by a greater number of participants (e.g. 1999 Earthquake, Coup d'Etats of 1960 and 1980) were approximately the same among the two groups. However, some differences emerged as well. For example, while the assassination of the Armenian journalist, Hrant Dink, is one of the most frequently mentioned events in the Armenian sample, no one in the Turkish sample mentioned this event.

Public Memories

Data from 117 participants (53 Turks and 64 Armenians) between the ages of 20 and 70 were included in the analyses. Participants were asked to report at least five public events from their life times that they considered important. There was only one participant who reported less than five events. Other than that, all participants reported between a minimum of five and a maximum of 12 public events. Overall, a total of 686 events were reported.

The events were categorized into three classes in terms of their specificity. Events with a duration of days upto a month were classified as specific (e.g. assassination of Uğur Mumcu, 1999 Earthquake etc.), events with a duration of months upto a year were classified as general-specific (e.g. Protest of TEKEL workers in 2009, Head scarf entering schools etc.) and events with a duration of years or decades were classified as general (e.g. The development of technology, Ergenekon trials, terror, etc.). Note that some of the events in the general-specific category also spanned a duration of more than a year (e.g. protest of TEKEL workers) however, the participants were reminded of a specific period in the process of the event. Of all the events, 80.6% were specific, 2.8% general-specific and 16.6% were general.

Distribution of Public Memories

Previous studies that investigated the effect of age on the recall of public events showed that people tend to recall events that happened during their adolescence and early youth. The distribution of public events was investigated to see if similar age effects would be observed with the present sample and then, the distributions of word-cued autobiographical memories and free recalled public events were compared.

Participants below the age of 40 were excluded from the analyses so that all participants would have lived beyond the bump period. Some of the general events (e.g. development of technology) could not be dated and therefore were discarded from the analyses. The final sample consisted of 69 participants (32 Turks and 37 Armenians) and a total of 388 events. The distribution of these events across the life span is presented in Figure 6.

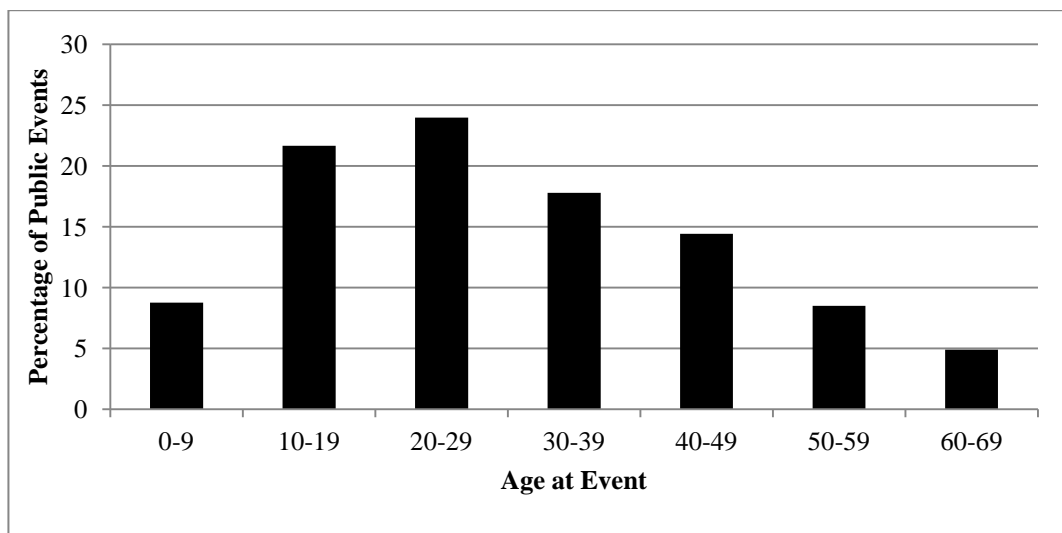


Figure 6. Distribution of public events across the life span

As can be clearly seen, there was a tendency to recall more events from the period where one was between the ages of 10 and 30. Almost half of the events were recalled from this period. For statistical analyses, the proportion of events that fell

into each decade of life was calculated for each participant. These scores were entered into a two-way mixed ANOVA with social identity as a between-subjects and age-at-event as a within-subjects variable. Age-at-event had three levels (0-9, 10-29, 30-49), the proportion of memories recalled from 10-19 and 20-29, and 30-39 and 40-49 age decades were averaged so that they could be comparable to the 0-9 age decade. As expected, there was a main effect of age-at-event, $F(2,134) = 20.92$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .24$. Tukey's post-hoc tests showed that participants tended to recall a higher proportion of memories from the 10-29 age period compared to the 30-49 age period ($p < .01$).

Furthermore, there was an interaction between social identity and age-at-event, $F(2, 134) = 3.24$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2_p = .05$. Turkish participants reported a higher proportion of events from the 30-49 age period compared to the Armenian sample, $t(67) = 2.20$, $p < .05$. There was not a significant difference between the two samples in the proportion of memories recalled from other periods of life. The distribution of public events in each sample are presented in Figure 7.

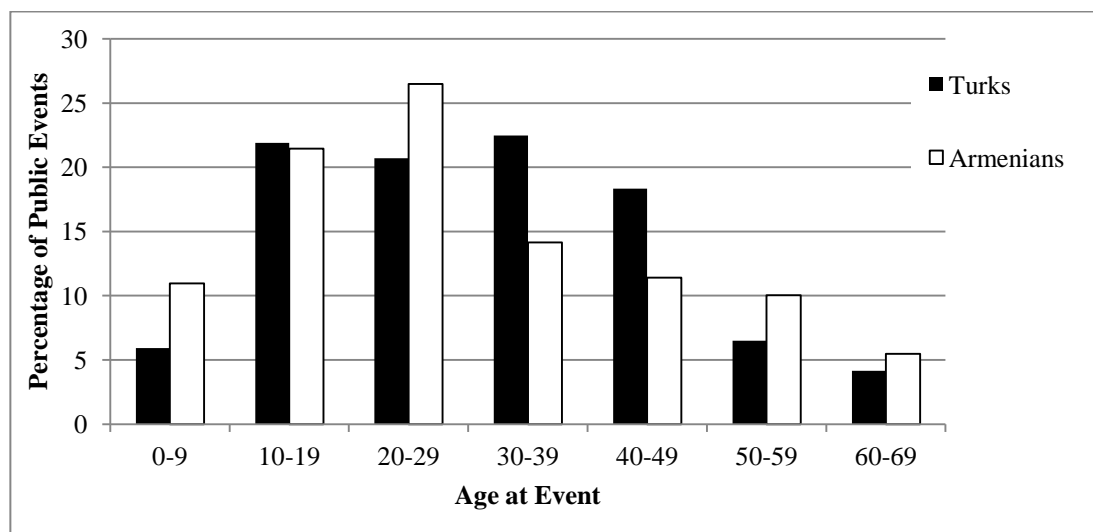


Figure 7. Distribution of public events across the life span for each sample

Comparison of Autobiographical and Public Memory Distributions

The distribution of memories for personal and public events across the life span were compared (see Figure 8). A three-way ANOVA was conducted on the proportion of memories recalled from each age period with social identity as a between-subjects variable, and event type (personal vs. public) and age-at-event (0-9, 10-29, and 30-49) as within-subject variables. There was an interaction between event type and age-at-event indicating that the distributions differed for personal and public events, $F(2,124) = 8.6, p < .001, \eta^2_p = .12$. Within subjects t-tests revealed that a higher proportion of personal events were recalled from the 0-9 age decade as opposed to public events, $t(63) = 4.0, p < .001$, and a higher proportion of public events were recalled from the 20-29 age decade as opposed to personal events, $t(63) = 3.08, p < .01$.

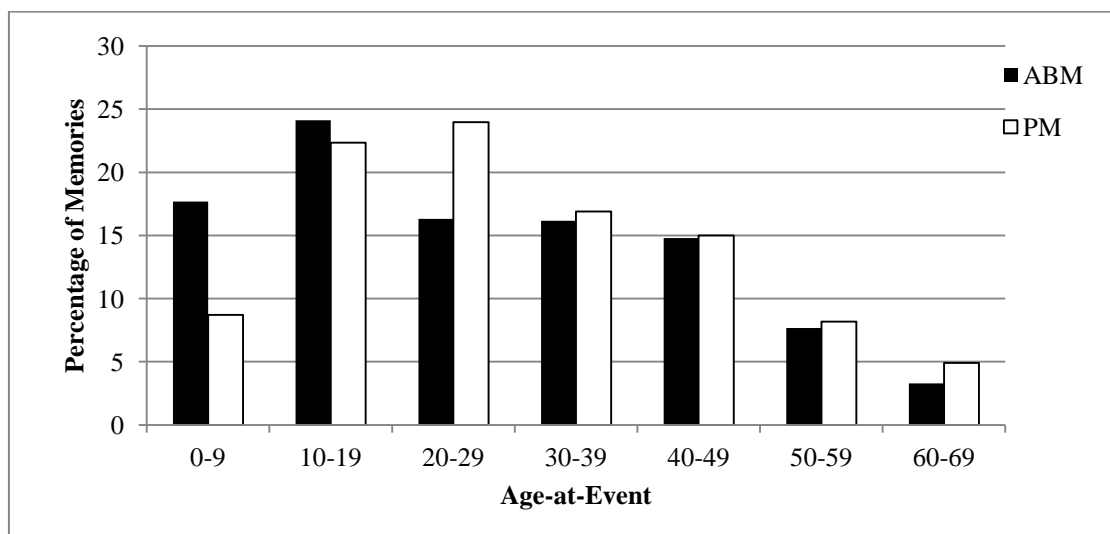


Figure 8. Distribution of autobiographical memories (ABM) and public memories (PM) across the life span

Furthermore, there was a three way interaction between event type, age-at-event, and social group, $F(2,124) = 4.31, p < .05, \eta^2_p = .07$, revealing that the relationship between distribution of personal and public events across the lifespan differed

between the two samples. More specifically, Turks recalled a higher proportion of personal events as opposed to public events from the 0-9 age decade, $t(30) = 4.83, p < .001$, while there was no such difference in the Armenian data. Armenians recalled a higher proportion of public events as opposed to personal events from the 20-29 age decade, $t(32)=2.92, p < .01$, while there was no such difference in the Turkish data. See Figure 9.

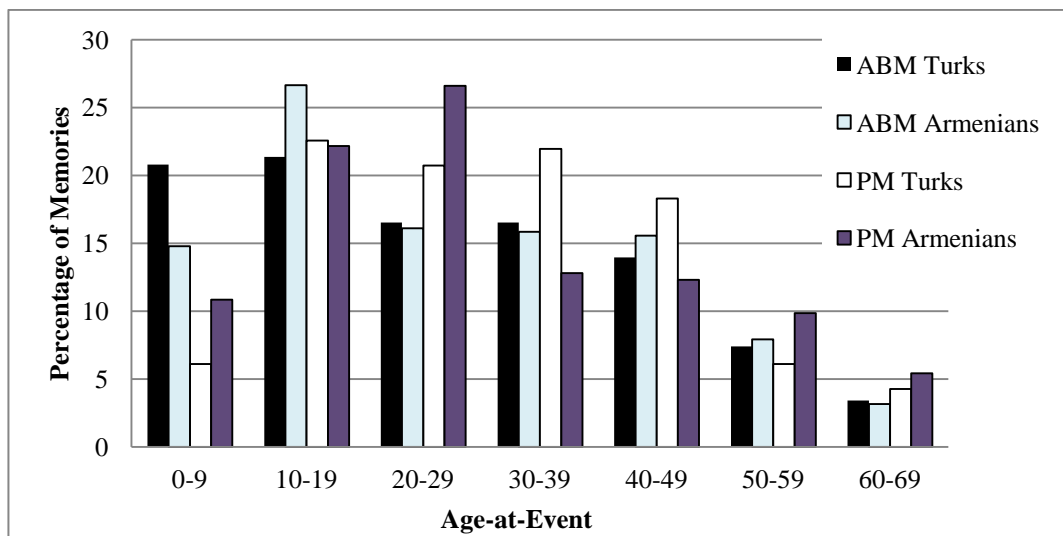


Figure 9. Distribution of autobiographical memories (ABM) and public memories (PM) across the life span for each sample

Date Estimations of Public Memories

Reference Events

The same coding scheme was used to classify dating protocols for the reported public events. There was one extra code used only for the datings of the public events which was for references to media news and memorial ceremonies. The percentage of each reference category was calculated by discarding the unjustified responses. See Table 14 for the list of events that were referred to estimate the year and month of the public events.

In the estimations of the year of public events, the most frequently used temporal cues consisted of school periods, public events, location (i.e. where one

was when s/he heard of the event), and age at the time of the event. In the estimations of the months of public events, the most frequently used temporal cue was weather at the time of the event followed by location, and school term.

Table 14. Frequency and Proportion of Referenced Events in the Estimation of Year and Month

Reference	Year		Month	
	Frequency	Proportion	Frequency	Proportion
School	70	21.4	17	9.2
Public Events	69	21.1	7	3.8
Location	32	9.8	32	17.3
Age	31	9.5	0	0.0
Family Events	28	8.6	9	4.9
Work	26	8.0	7	3.8
Military	14	4.3	3	1.6
Death	14	4.3	0	0.0
Other people	10	3.1	4	2.2
Media Rehearsal	13	4.0	8	4.3
Thinking back serially	7	2.1	6	3.2
Memory Strength	3	0.9	1	0.5
Event Periods	1	0.3	16	8.6
Physical State/Illness	1	0.3	1	0.5
Holidays/Special Days	0	0.0	9	4.9
Weather	0	0.0	59	31.9
Publicly shared events	0	0.0	2	1.1
Other	8	2.4	4	2.2
Unjustified	408	55.5	344	64.3

Dating Types

Dating protocols were classified into larger categories: personal, public and unjustified. The protocols that included public event references or both public and personal references were coded as public. The remaining protocols were coded as personal. When only the justified responses were taken into account, personal responses constituted 79.1% and public responses constituted 20.9% of the date estimations.

The proportions of each dating type for each sample can be seen in Table 15. There was no significant difference between the two samples in the degree of using each dating type, $X^2 = (2, N=677) = .74, p = .69$.

Table 15. Proportion of Dating Types for Each Sample

Dating Type	Turks		Armenians	
	Frequency	Proportion	Frequency	Proportion
Personal	128	42.1	145	38.9
Public	31	10.2	41	11.0
Unjustified	145	47.7	187	50.1

I also investigated whether the centrality and importance of an event to one's identity would have an effect on the reference types used to date the event. For each event, the ratings given to the first four questions on the public event questionnaire were averaged and grouped into two. The events that received an average score between 1 and 3.5 were grouped as being low-, and the ones that had an average score above 3.5 were grouped as being high in consequentiality. The dating strategies differed according to the consequentiality of the event to one's identity, $X^2 = (2, N=554) = 8.62, p < .05$. The dates of events reported to be high in consequentiality were directly known by the participants and thus were dated without the use of any temporal cues more often than events low in consequentiality.

Table 16. Dating Types According to Consequentiality of the Events

Dating Type	Low Consequentiality		High Consequentiality	
	Frequency	Proportion	Frequency	Proportion
Personal	107	46.5	124	38.3
Public	23	10.0	20	6.2
Unjustified	100	43.5	180	55.6

Frequently Mentioned Public Events

Public events that were mentioned by more than 10% of both samples are presented in Table 17. The events that were most frequently mentioned by the Turkish sample were coup d'Etat of 1980 and the Izmit Earthquake and Armenian responses were dominated by the assassination of Hrant Dink and the coup d'Etat of 1980. These events were mentioned by more than half of the samples.

Overall, there was a high degree of overlap between the events most frequently mentioned by the two samples, with some events differing in their frequency of mentions. Assassination of Hrant Dink was reported three times more frequently by the Armenian sample. On the other hand, the election of AKP in 2002 was reported three times more frequently by the Turkish sample. Furthermore, this event was evaluated as more negative by the Turkish sample ($M = 2$, $SD = 1.67$), compared to the Armenian sample ($M = 4.14$, $SD = 1.21$), $t(25) = 3.08$, $p < .01$.

Events that were reported by at least 10% of the two samples were the same except three: the economic crisis of 1994, Özal's death, and the events of September 6-7. The first two were reported more frequently by Turks, while the latter was reported more frequently by Armenians.

Table 17. Most Frequently Mentioned Events by the Two Samples

Turks (n= 53, 321 Events)			Armenians (n= 64, 398 events)		
Events	% N	% Mentions	Events	% N	% Mentions
Coup d'Etat 1980	66.0	10.9	Assassination of Hrant Dink (2007)	67.2	10.8
1999 Earthquake	50.9	8.4	Coup d'Etat 1980	65.6	10.6
AKP becoming the ruling party (2002)	39.6	6.5	1999 Earthquake	35.9	5.8
Assassination of Hrant Dink (2007)	22.6	3.7	Coup d'Etat 1960	28.1	4.5
Coup d'Etat 1960	22.6	3.7	Sep 6-7, 1955	18.8	3.0
Ergenekon Trials	22.6	3.7	Invasion of Cyprus (1974)	17.2	2.8
Bloody May Day, 1977	17.0	2.8	Assassination of Uğur Mumcu	15.6	2.5

Table 17. continued

Invasion of Cyprus (1974)	15.1	2.5	Sivas Massacre 1993	15.6	2.5
Assassination of Uğur Mumcu (1993)	13.2	2.2	Bloody May Day, 1977	15.6	2.5
Economic Crisis of 1994	13.2	2.2	Coup d'Etat 1971	15.6	2.5
Death of Turgut Özal (1993)	13.2	2.2	AKP becoming the ruling party (2002)	14.1	2.3
Sivas Massacre 1993	11.3	1.9	Ergenekon Trials	10.9	1.8
Coup d'Etat 1971	11.3	1.9			

Effects of Age

The most frequently mentioned events reported by participants from different age periods are presented in Table 18, 19, and 20 which include events reported by at least 20% of the samples. The data of participants who were above the age of 70 were not included in any of the tables except in Table 20.

Table 18. Most Frequently Mentioned Events by Turks and Armenians aged 20-to-39

Younger group (20-39)					
Turks, n= 20, 130 events			Armenians, n= 26, 144 Events		
Events	% N	% Mentions	Events	% N	% Mentions
1999 Earthquake	60.0	9.2	Assassination of Hrant Dink	73.1	13.2
AKP becoming the ruling party (2002)	55.0	8.5	1999 Earthquake	50.0	9.0
Coup d'Etat 1980	35.0	5.4	Coup d'Etat 1980	38.5	6.9
Assassination of Hrant Dink	30.0	4.6	Assassination of Uğur Mumcu	23.1	4.2
Assassination of Uğur Mumcu	25.0	3.8			
Sivas Massacre	25.0	3.8			
Economic Crisis of 1994	25.0	3.8			
Ergenekon Trials	20.0	3.1			

Table 19. Most Frequently Mentioned Events by Turks and Armenians aged 40-to-59

Turks, n= 23, 129 events Events	Middle aged group (40-59)				
	% N	% Mentions	Armenians, n= 25, 169 Events Events	% N	% Mentions
Coup d'Etat 1980	95.7	17.1	Coup d'Etat 1980	88.0	13.0
1999 Earthquake	56.5	10.1	Assassination of Hrant Dink (2007)	60.0	8.9
Bloody May Day, 1977	30.4	5.4	Bloody May Day, 1977	32.0	4.7
AKP becoming the ruling party (2002)	26.1	4.7	1999 Earthquake	28.0	4.1
Assassination of Hrant Dink (2007)	21.7	3.9	Coup d'Etat 1960	28.0	4.1
Coup d'Etat 1960	21.7	3.9	Coup d'Etat 1971	28.0	4.1
Invasion of Cyprus (1974)	21.7	3.9	Invasion of Cyprus (1974)	24.0	3.6
			Sivas Massacre	20.0	3.0
			Özal's liberal economic policies (1980's)	20.0	3.0
			1978 Massacre of Alevis in Maraş	20.0	3.0

Table 20. Most Frequently Mentioned Events by Turks and Armenians aged 60 and over

Turks, n= 17, 99 Events Events	Older group (60-over)				
	% N	% Mentions	Armenians, n= 16, 105 Events Events	% N	% Mentions
Coup d'Etat 1960	76.5	13.1	Coup d'Etat 1960	75.0	11.4
Coup d'etat 1980	52.9	9.1	Sep 6-7, 1955	75.0	11.4
AKP becoming the ruling party (2002)	47.1	8.1	Assassination of Hrant Dink (2007)	68.8	10.5
Sep 6-7, 1955	35.3	6.1	Coup d'etat 1980	68.8	10.5
Earthquake 1999	29.4	5.1	Earthquake 1999	25.0	3.8
Invasion of Cyprus 1974	29.4	5.1	Invasion of Cyprus 1974	25.0	3.8
Ergenekon Trials	23.5	4.0			

Note that participants were not allowed to report events that happened before the time of their birth. Therefore, the effect of age on the recall of public events was investigated by using the data of participants born after the events. Figures 10-14 show the percentage of participants from each age group who reported the following events: Assassination of Hrant Dink, 1999 Earthquake, Coup d'Etat of 1960 and 1980, and the election of AKP in 2002 which were the five most frequently mentioned events by both samples.

The assassination of Hrant Dink was reported fairly equally by various age groups, however in both Turkish and Armenian samples, participants who were between 20 and 29 years of age reported this event most often. They were between the ages of 16 and 25 when the event took place. A similar pattern is observed for the 1999 Earthquake, in both of the samples, the highest percentage of mentions came from participants between the ages of 18 and 27 during the time of the event. Similarly, for the coup d'état of 1980, almost all participants who were between the ages of 19 and 28 at the time of the event recalled this event.

The coup d'état of 1960 and the events of September 6-7 (1955) were older events therefore, it was not possible to compare the frequency of recall from different age periods. However, there was an increase in the frequency of mentions from the childhood years to adolescence and early adulthood.

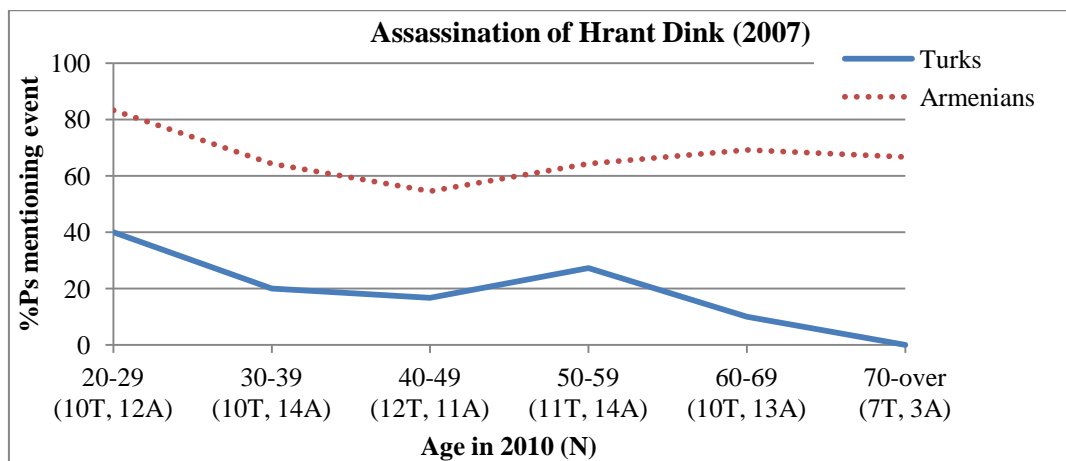


Figure 10. Percentage of participants from each age group who reported the assassination of Hrant Dink.

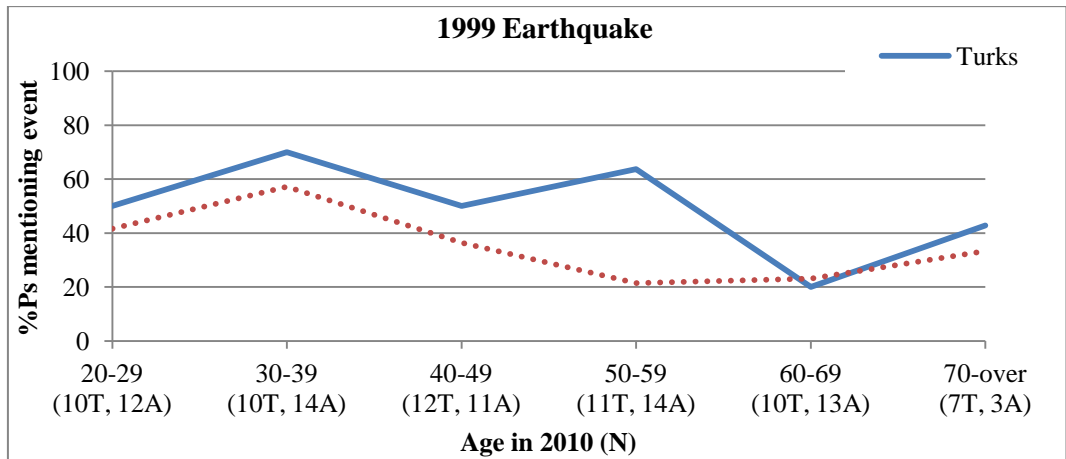


Figure 11. Percentage of participants from each age group who reported the 1999 Earthquake.

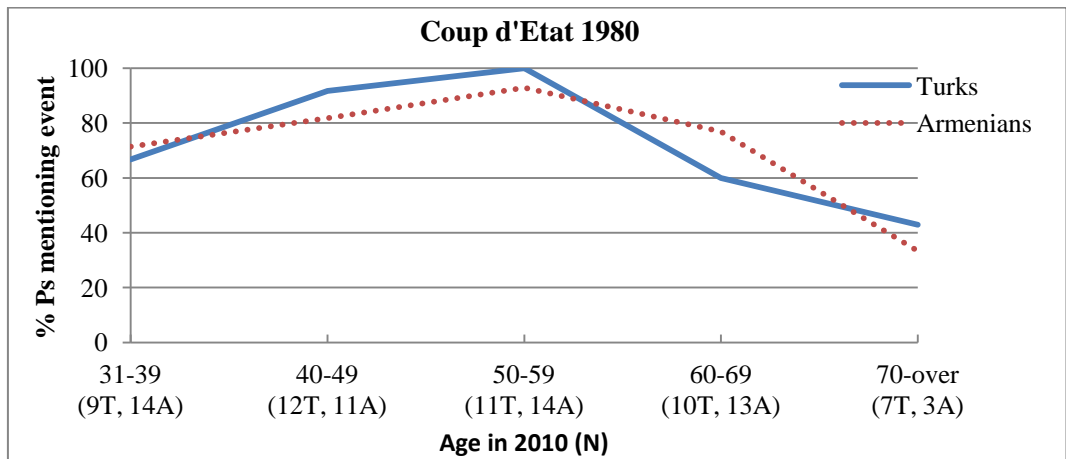


Figure 12. Percentage of participants from each age group who reported Coup d'Etat of 1980.

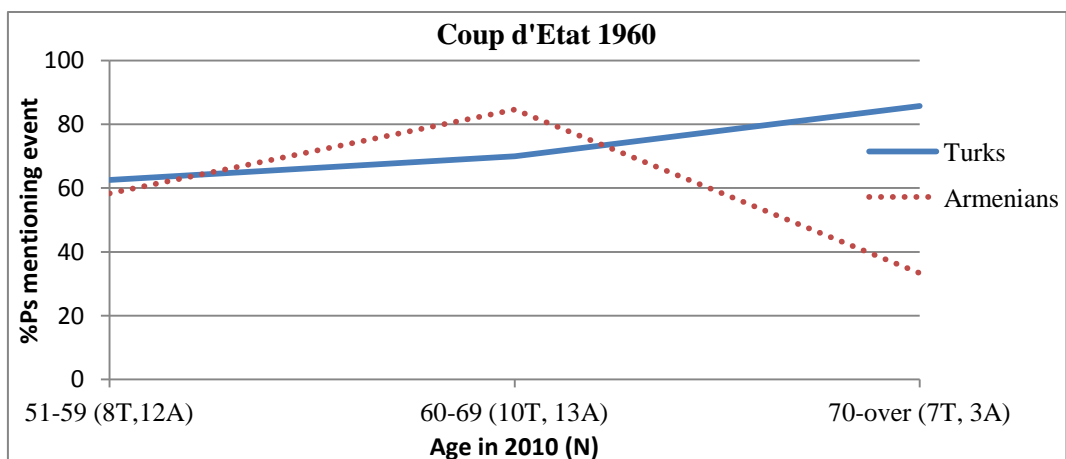


Figure 13. Percentage of participants from each age group who reported the Coup d'Etat of 1960.

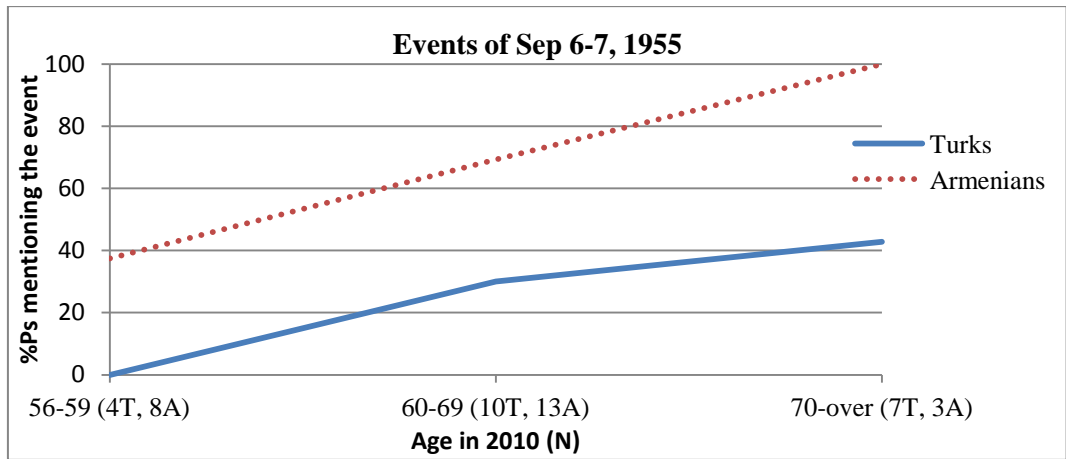


Figure 14. Percentage of participants from each age group who reported the events of September, 6-7.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The main objectives of this study were (1) to investigate the association between memories of personal and public events, (2) to see if the strength of this association is mediated by being a minority versus a majority group member, and (3) to obtain a set of public events that are considered important by a Turkish and an Armenian sample.

Content of Autobiographical Memories

I first examined if participants would spontaneously be reminded of public events when they were asked to report personal events that they themselves have experienced. Out of all the reported memories, 3.9% of them included references to public events. Even though the number of memories that included a historical context was few, it was still quite high when the nature of the task is taken into account.

In a cross-cultural study, Wang and Conway (2004) compared European-American and Chinese participants with regard to the content of their autobiographical memories. They hypothesized that memories of Chinese participants, being members of a culture that emphasizes social connectedness and group belonging over individual autonomy and agency, would frequently involve references to historical events compared to the memories of European-American participants. They found that 3.19% of memories reported by the Chinese included references to historical events (e.g. assassination of Kennedy) compared with .28% of European-American memories.

In terms of situating one's memories in historical context, the Turkish and Armenian participants interviewed in the present study were more similar to the Chinese participants in the aforementioned study. I hypothesized that the minority

sample would be even more inclined to recount memories that were situated in historical context since minority members usually identify more strongly with their group identity (Simon et al., 2001). The Armenian minority group mentioned public events in 4.4% of their memories compared to 3.3% of the Turkish majority group's memories. However, this difference was not statistically significant. Age at the time of the experiment also did not have an effect on the frequency of public event mentions.

Unlike in the present study, Wang and Conway (2004)'s participants were not required to report memories related with particular cue words, rather, they were free to recall any memory that came to mind. It is possible that this procedure might have a higher likelihood of revealing any possible differences between the two groups by letting participants engage in an unconstrained memory retrieval process.

Date Estimations of Autobiographical Memories

Public Event References

Secondly, I analyzed the content of the protocols to investigate the types of references people use in order to estimate the dates of their personal memories. The primary aim was to see if people organize their memories using public events as temporal landmarks and whether being a minority group member influences the role public events play in organizing memory for personal events.

Overall, participants gave references to public events in 5.1% of their justified estimates. Furthermore, older participants were more likely to refer to public events in their date estimations. Participants of age 60-to-69 referred to public events in 9.4% of their justified estimates, while this proportion was 8.3% for those aged 50-to-59, 3.3% for those aged 40-to-49, 1.8% for those aged 30-to-39 and 3.4% for those aged 20-to-29. There seems to be a linear increase in the frequency of using

public events as temporal landmarks with increasing age. However, relatively higher percentage of public event references in the 20-29 age group seems to disrupt this linearity. This may be due to the development of generational identity in this life period where people start to gain social-historical consciousness and locate themselves in a historical timeline on the basis of shared memories and experiences with a particular cohort (Mannheim, 1952, cited from Conway, 2007; Hirst & Manier, 2008). Furthermore, there seems to be a dramatic increase in using public events as temporal landmarks after the age of 50. Older people have the chance to compare the political and social climate during their youth with the present circumstances. Therefore, they may have a better understanding of how their lives were shaped by certain public events or historical periods which could lead to a higher tendency to use public events as temporal landmarks.

Contrary to my hypothesis, there was not a significant difference in the likelihood of using public events as temporal cues between the Turkish majority (4.2%) and the Armenian minority group (5.9%). I was expecting a difference among the two groups on the basis of the assumption that the minority sample would identify more strongly with their collective identity. This assumption might be true when we only take ethnic identity into consideration, as the proportion of Armenian participants (84%) who defined themselves as “Armenian” were much higher compared to the proportion of Turkish participants (44%) who defined themselves as “Turkish”. However, individuals have various social identities other than their ethnic or racial identity such as the gender they belong to, their political stance, religion etc.

Despite the difference in their self-definitions in terms of ethnic identity, there was not a significant difference between the ratings of the two samples in terms of the degree to which they identified with their social identity. Majority of both

samples reported identifying strongly with their social identities (in whatever way they conceptualized it). The participants who reported to identify less strongly with their social identity were quite few to warrant statistical analysis however, participants with a higher level of identification seemed to be more likely to use public event references (5.2%) than the participants with a lower level of identification (2.9%). This might indicate that level of identification with one's social identity determines the degree to which one uses public events to organize memories of personal events. Therefore, the lack of any difference between the two samples in their frequency of public event references is comprehensible.

The public events that were mentioned most frequently during memory retrieval and date estimation phases by both of the samples were, 1999 Earthquake and coups of 1960 and 1980. The most striking difference between the two samples in terms of the public events they mentioned was the assassination of Hrant Dink which was not mentioned at all by the Turkish sample (except one participant who mentioned his funeral) but constituted one of the most frequently mentioned events for the Armenian sample. Dink was killed because he was an Armenian and because he had the courage to politically emphasize his identity unlike the majority of Armenians who had been hiding silently for years. Therefore, his assassination should have been more consequential and personally more relevant for participants with Armenian identity.

Brown et al. (2009) asserted that public events could serve as a landmarks only if they cause a change in the "fabric of daily life" such as natural disasters and wars. They further claimed that public events that are "emotionally charged" should be considered differently from the ones that are "epoch-defining". In other words, only the events that have altered external circumstances may act as landmark events

in one's life while the events that have more of a psychological impact, even if they changed how one understands and interprets the world do not seem create the "living-in-history" effect. They supported this argument by the lack of any public event references such as the September 11 attacks, in the New York sample, which according to the researchers did not cause a change in the "fabric of daily life".

Even though small sample size does not allow for firm conclusions, the present study constitutes a preliminary attempt indicating the presence of factors other than the external impact of a public event that determine the living-in-history effect. Age-at-retrieval and the inclusion of social identity in one's self-definition are two such factors. These results may suggest that the lack of public event references in the American sample tested by Brown et al. (2009) might have been due to the young age of the participants together with their level of identification rather than to the nature of the event.

Other Referenced Events

Participants most frequently referred to information specific to their personal lives during the date estimation task (92.5%). The most frequently referred categories in year estimation were school periods (e.g. My daughter was in 6th grade), age at the time of the event, and contextual information (e.g. I was living in Switzerland). Other frequently referred categories constituted information related with family life (e.g. I had my first child) and working life (e.g. I was workin in company X).

On the other hand, in the estimations of months of personal memories the most frequently referred category was information about weather (e.g. I had an umbrella, I was wearing a tank top, It was hot etc.) followed by school periods (e.g. 2nd semester, finals period) and contextual information (e.g. We were in the summer house).

The comparison of theories developed to explain how people assign dates to their memories is beyond the scope of this study. However, frequent referrals to life time periods, contextual information and landmark events supports reconstructive theory. According to the reconstructive theory, in addition to the event itself, people store information about the environment, their internal states, percepts and activities at the time of encoding a particular event. When they are later asked to date this event, they use this contextual information together with their knowledge of social, natural, and personal time patterns (Friedman, 2004; Friedman, 1993). In the present study, participants most frequently followed this strategy. On the other hand, distance-based information (coded as “memory strength”) was used much less frequently.

Content of Public Memories

The most frequently mentioned events by both of the samples regardless of age were coups of 1960 and 1980, assassination of Hrant Dink, and 1999 Earthquake. These events should have had similar impacts on both of the samples except the assassination of Hrant Dink which should have affected Armenians more. Unlike the other events most frequently mentioned by both samples the latter was reported three times more frequently by the Armenians. Similarly, the events of September 6-7 which had a major impact on the minority groups was among the first 5 most frequently reported events by Armenians while the Turks rarely mentioned this event.

Even though the sample sizes were too small to allow for statistical analyses, the percentage of participants from each age group that reported each of the aforementioned events were plotted. These events were reported more frequently by

the participants who were in their late adolescence and early adulthood at the time of the events.

Date Estimations of Public Memories

Unlike in autobiographical memories most of which were dated using temporal cues of some sort, nearly half of the datings for public events were unjustified. Public events are frequently coded into memory with their time-tags and are distinguished from similar events by their calendar dates. For example, Izmit Earthquake is usually named “1999 Earthquake” or “Earthquake of 08/17”. Furthermore, the more consequential the event was, the greater was the likelihood of directly retrieving its date without the need of any temporally relevant information. This is not surprising given the fact that the more consequential an event is, the more it is rehearsed especially during the anniversaries.

Public references were used as temporal cues more frequently in the date estimations of public events compared to that for personal events. However, still, personal responses outnumbered public responses. Public events were dated by giving references to information that was specific to one’s life four times more frequently compared to public references. The propensity to refer to personal information rather than using temporally informative knowledge about presidential periods or public landmark events associated with the target public event may be indicative of the connection we make between our personal and national history. As Schuman and Scott (1989)’s puts it, “it is the intersection of personal and national history that provides the most vital and remembered connection to the times we have lived through” (p.380).

In the estimations of the year of public events, the most frequently used temporal cues consisted of school periods, public events, location (e.g. where one

was when s/he heard of the event), and age at the time of the event. In the estimations of the months of public events, the most frequently used temporal cue was weather at the time of the event followed by location, and school term. Interestingly, the most frequently used references in the date estimations of autobiographical and public events were very similar. The only difference was that public references were used more often in the date estimations of public events.

Distribution of Autobiographical and Public Events Across the Life Span

Consistent with the previous literature (see Rubin et al., 1986 for a review), a higher percentage of autobiographical memories were recalled from the second and third decades of life compared to the following more recent decades (i.e. 30-49 age period). A closer examination of the data revealed a peak in the number of memories between the ages of 10-19 consistent with the distribution of word-cued autobiographical memories in other autobiographical memory studies (e.g. Janssen, Chessa, & Murre, 2005; Rubin & Schulkind, 2007).

Jansari and Parkin (1996) suggested the use of 5 year bins in order to get a clearer picture of the memory distribution and found an earlier peak in the ages 6-to-15. Furthermore, they found a sharp peak between the ages of 6-to-10 when participants were constrained from recalling memories from the last 2.5 years. In parallel with Jansari and Parkin's study, participants in the present study were not allowed to recall memories from the last one year, and using 5-year bins revealed a peak in memories from the ages between 5-to-9. Rubin and Schulkind (1997) also observed a broader and flatter distribution of memories between the ages of 5-34 using the 5-year bins and suggested an extension of the reminiscence bump to earlier age periods.

However, overall, taking the previous literature into consideration, memories tended to come from earlier periods. This might have been due to the cue words used in this study together with the retrieval constraint. It was stastically shown that different cue words used in this study elicited events from different periods in life. Even though, a detailed content analysis of memories was not done, it was observed that, in general, the cue word *radio* was represented as a nostalgic object in the minds of participants which led them to be reminded of their childhood years. Also, the words *stone* and *street* were very frequently represented as a plaything and playground of childhood years. Many participants asserted that it was difficult to retrieve specific memories that were related with such common concepts (e.g. “I walk in the *street* everyday”, “*Shoes* always hurt my feet”). As specific memories related with such words might have had a higher likelihood of coming from the most recent year, not being allowed to recall memories from this period might have led the participants to think of their first experiences with these objects.

On the other hand, there was shift to later years in the recall of public events across the life span. Consistent with the literature, there was a higher tendency to recall events from the ages 10-30. Unlike autobiographical memories that peaked in the earlier decades, for memories of public events, the peak appeared to be in the 20-29 age period. Additionally, the proportion of public events recalled from the 0-9 age period were much lower than the proportion of autobiographical memories recalled from this period.

The pattern of personal and public memory distributions, observed in the present study, was exactly the opposite of the pattern observed by Holmes and Conway (1999). Their results revealed a peak for autobiographical memories in the 20-29 age decade and a peak in the recall of public events in the 10-19 age decade.

This led to them to propose that generational identity develops prior to the development of the individual self. However, the results of the present study, together with Aydın (2004)'s results that revealed a later peak for flashbulb memories of public events compared to word-cued autobiographical memories suggests otherwise, at least for Turkish participants.

However, in Holmes and Conway (1999)'s study both autobiographical memories and public events were freely recalled unlike in Aydın (2004)'s and in the present study in which autobiographical memories were elicited by cue words. As previously discussed, the particular cue words used in this study might have resulted in the retrieval of earlier memories. It would be beneficial to compare the distribution of personal and public memories of a Turkish sample using a free recall procedure in order to better understand the relationship between the two distributions.

Limitations

Firstly, due to the sampling methods used in this study neither of the samples can be thought of as being representative of their corresponding populations. The level of education attained and socioeconomic status was above average in both of the samples. Furthermore, some sects of the society was not represented at all. For example, there were very few people who defined themselves as religious or as right-winger. Additionally, even though an effort was made to recruit participants from different environments, the two samples were quite similar in the way they defined their social identity. The similarity among the two samples might have disguised the possible differences that could have emerged among them.

Secondly, there was only one interviewer, the author of the study, who was of Armenian descent. Majority of the Turkish participants and all of the Armenian participants knew about the ethnic identity of the interviewer which might have had

an effect on their responses especially in the public event questionnaire. The Turkish participants might have been primed to think of minority issues in the country which could also have overshadowed the possible differences among the two samples.

Finally, the sample size was too small to reach firm conclusions about which events constituted collective memories of Turks and Armenians and which events, if any, constitute public landmark events.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

The present study looked at the association between memories of personal and public events with a majority and a minority sample living in Turkey. First, I questioned whether public events serve as temporal cues organizing autobiographical memories by constituting landmark events in personal lives. Overall, referrals to public events were not common in neither of the samples and there was no significant difference among the two samples. However, the public events that were mentioned by the two groups differed from each other and the most dramatic difference appeared for the assassination of Hrant Dink. This event was frequently mentioned during the autobiographical memory task by the Armenian sample while no one in the Turkish sample mentioned it.

Furthermore, age-at-retrieval had a dramatic impact on the use temporally informative public events in dating personal memories. Older aged adults had a higher tendency to organize their memories using public events as benchmarks. The reason for this might be a developed understanding of the personal and national history and how the two are linked. It would be beneficial to run this study with a larger sample of older adults to better understand if, and in what conditions public events constitute landmark events.

Secondly, I investigated the temporal cues that were used to assign dates to public memories. Interestingly, the referenced events were very similar to the ones used in the datings of personal memories. I argued that this might be indicative of the interface that we create between our personal and national histories.

Finally, I sampled a set of public events that are considered important by a Turkish and an Armenian sample. The most frequently mentioned events together with their frequency of mentions were quite similar across the two samples except for the events that were more consequential for the minority Armenians (e.g. assassination of Hrant Dink, and events of September, 6-7).

Overall, the present study can be considered as the first valuable attempt to understand the organization of autobiographical memories and how they are associated with memories for public events in the minds of two samples with different ethnic identities across a wide age range.

APPENDIX A: CODING OF DATING PROTOCOLS

Reference Types

- | | |
|---------------------------|---|
| 1. School | 13. Holy days & Special days |
| 2. Family Events | 14. Weather |
| 3. Other people | 15. Memory Strength |
| 4. Public Event | 16. Publicly shared events |
| 5. Thinking back serially | 17. Location |
| 6. Age | 18. Event periods |
| 7. Death | 19. Unjustified |
| 8. Psychological state | 20. Sports events |
| 9. Activity | 21. Elections |
| 10. Physical state | 22. Media Rehearsal & Memorial Ceremonies |
| 11. Work | 23. Other |
| 12. Military | |

Note 1: Codes were assigned to the corresponding references without taking into account whether the reference referred to the participant directly. For example, the code “school” was used both when the participant gave reference to his/her own school term and to someone else’s.

Note 2: Codes were defined so that a particular reference could only have one code.

Note 3: Estimations of year and month were coded separately.

Note 4: A particular dating protocol could be assigned a total of 6 codes (3 year codes (YC) & 3 month codes (MC))

Definitions and Examples

1. School

Reference to any kind of information related to education such as what school a person attends (primary school, middle school, highschool or college), what grade one is in, the event periods in the school curriculum like the exam times and holidays.

Examples: 2nd grade, middle school, second term, semester break, exam times, graduation

Memory:

Bu yaşa kadar çok kaybım olmadı fakat 1980'de babamın babası dedemi kaybettiğimde ilk defa mezarlığa gittim.

Dating:

Çok net hatırlıyorum ben 1. sınıfa giderken öldü dedem. İlkokul 1'e giderken. 74'lüyüm, 80'de. Okullar açık olduğuna göre de kıştı, yaz değildi herhalde çünkü şey okullar vardı, okuldan geldiğimde öğrenmişim dedemin öldüğünü. (YC:1 & MC:1)

2. Family/ Personal Events

Reference to events related to family and romantic relationships.

Examples: marriage, divorce, pregnancy, romantic relationship, child birth, sibling birth, presence/absence of a child or sibling, circumcision

Memory:

Annemin Karaköy'de bir kilisenin sokağına girdiğini sanıp ilerlerken, aslında buranın yanlış ve uygunsuz bir sokak olduğu konusunda uyanıp geri dönmesi.

Dating:

“Bu da annemin iyi olup, yani tek başına sokağa çıktı seneler..

Kayınvalidemin sağ olduğu seneler.. Demek ki, yine 90'lı yıllar olması lazım çünkü kayınvalidemi 93'te kaybettik, kayınvalidem vardı. Oğlumun olup..

Oğlum da vardı zannediyorum, çünkü annemin bu kiliseyi öğrenmesi için yani eşimin ailesiyle falan tanışık olduğumuz senelere denk geliyor, Toni'den öğrendik biz böyle bir kilise var, işte senede bir kere paskalyada ayin yapılıyor Merelots günü diye falan... Oradan.. 90'lı bir yıllar olması lazım ama tam 91 mi 92 mi, 89 olabilir, öyle bir şey. [Ay] Tabi çünkü o büyük ihtimalle bahar ayı, paskalya, ya Mart'tır ya Nisan'dır.” (YC: 2, 7 & MC: 13)

3. Other people

Reference to the memory of a person or a relationship.

Examples: meeting a person, level of intimacy with a person

Memory:

Mezarlığa çok gitmişimdir, her bayram öncesi de ölülerimizi ziyaret ederiz zaten. Spesifik anım ise, İstanbul'da üniversiteden bir arkadaşımın babasının vefatı için gittiğim mezarlık olsa gerek. İzmir'den sonra gittiğim ilk başka mezarlık olduğundan anı bende çok belirgin.

Dating:

Mezarlıkla ilgili olarak, İstanbul'da arkadaşımın babası vefat ettiğinde gittik. Üniversite yılları, 94-95. Muhtemelen ikinci yada üçüncü sınıftaydık. 94-95 Hazırlıktaydım, 95-99 arasında o sınıftaydım, o sınıf arkadaşım. Samimiyet derecemize baktığında birinci sınıf değildir muhtemelen. İki ya da üçüncü sınıftır. 95 Eylül'de 1. sınıf, 96 Eylül ikinci sınıf, 97 Eylül falandır muhtemelen. 97 Eylül'den başladığında, sanırsam 97 Ekim falan diye tahmin ediyorum. Ekim-kasım falan, okul başladığı zamanlar diye hatırlıyorum. Tam kış da değildi ama hava çok sıcak da değildi, bahar gibiydi yani öyle.” (YC: 1,3 & MC: 14)

4. Public event

Reference to political, historical or social public events including natural disasters.

Examples: İzmit Earthquake, Cyprus Operation, Hrant Dink's assassination, Coup d'états, construction of the bosphorus bridge etc.

Memory:

Eski soyadımı geri almak için başvurduğum ama bana bunun neredeyse imkansız olduğunu söylediler.

Dating:

Bunu çok net hatırlıyorum. Bizim eski soyadımız Zeytunyan, ben onu geri almak için bir ara bayağı uğraşmışım, çok istiyordum geri almayı. Ama gitmişim öğrenmeye, 4 yıl önce bir gündü. Ekim olmalı sanıyorum. Yani sonbahardı, okuldan çıkıp gitmişim çünkü. Ve çok üzülmişim çünkü bayağı zor olduğunu, neredeyse imkansız olduğunu öğrenmişim, bir sürü mahkeme, bilmem ne falan filan- çok sinir olmuşum o zaman. Sonra vazgeçmek zorunda kalmışım, ve benim için bayağı kötü bir anı. [4 yıl önce olduğunu nereden biliyorsun?] Şeydi çünkü ya.. Tam şey zamanıydı.. Bir dakika yanlış mı söylüyorum.. Şeyden sonra takmışım çünkü, Hrant'ın ölümünden hemen sonra takmışım, ben geri almalıyım soyadımı falan gibi bir şey gelmişti üstüme. Milliyetçi mi diyeyim, artık ya da öyle bir şey. Nefret diyebilirim belki öyle bir şeydi bilmiyorum ama.. O zaman çok uğraşmışım, babamla falan da çok konuşmuşum ama o da söylemişti bayağı zor olduğunu çünkü eğer bütün aile değiştirmezse falan böyle bir şeyler. Çok üzülerek vazgeçmişim. Ama yanlış mı söylüyorum, ne zamandı yani.. 2010.. 2007.. Üç sene önce, doğru üç yıl önceydi. (YC:4, MC:1)

Memory

12 yaşındayken ilk mezara gidişim dedemin ölümü dolayısıyla gerçekleşmişti, bunu her zaman hatırlarım.

Dating

12 yaşındayken mezara gitmem, çok iyi hatırlıyorum, 12 Eylül'den sonra dedem Eylül, Ekim falan vefat etti. 1980 Ekim ayı falan olması lazım bunun. [Bunu 12 Eylül'den mi buluyorsunuz?] 12 Eylül'den dolayı buluyorum, dedem çünkü 12 Eylül'den sonra vefat ettiği için çok iyi hatırlıyorum. (YC: 4, MC: 4)

Note that in some cases, a memory may have involved a public event or itself been a public event. In some of these memories, the date could only be reached using personal event references, in such cases the public event code was not used.

Memory:

İlk kez ihtilali 27 Mayıs'ta radyoda duymuştum. Çocuk olduğumdan ne olduğunu hiç anlamadım. Sorduğumda da anlayamayacağımı söyleyerek hiçbir cevap alamamışım.

Dating

Bu tarih çok açık burada, 27 Mayıs 1960. (YC:19 & MC:19)

Memory:

Radyo dinlerken (Kore Savaşı döneminde) bir yakınımın ölüm haberini duyduğum zaman çok üzülmişim.

Dating:

Herhalde ben 11-12 yaş, işte 42 doğumluyum, 12 yaşında olduğuma göre herhalde 55 yılları olsa gerek. Belki daha da şey. 54, 53'te Kore Savaşının olduğu dönemlerde. O zaman da işte okullar tatil olurdu çiftliğe çıkardık, çiftlikte dinlerdik onu hatırlıyorum. Yazın belki Haziran olabilir, Temmuz

olabilir, o zaman daha uzun kalırdık.. Yıl da 53 ile 55 arası olabilir. [Onu nereden çıkarıyorsunuz?] Onu yaşımdan çıkarıyorum, işte 42 doğumluyum, 52'de 10 yaşındayım 54'te 12 yaşındayım. (YC: 6, MC: 1,19)

5. Thinking back serially

Traveling back in time, considering every year sequentially, that has passed between the present and the time of event.

Memory:

Fazıl Say konserine gittiğim gün, inanılmazdı.

Dating:

Bu seneki değil, ondan önceki sene hiç gidemedim, ondan önceki sene. Ama tarih söyleyemem ama Cemal Reşit Rey'de. [Yani 3 sene önce mi oluyor] Evet bu sene değil, bu sene İş Sanat'ta bir tane gittim, geçen sene değil, hiç gitmedim, ondan önceki sene. Kışa yakın bir süre yani, oldukça soğuk bir tarihte böyle üşüyerek gidip geldiğim bir zaman. [Yani sonbahar mı?] Olabilir, sonbahar olabilir, yani soğukça bir sonbahar, baya bir üşüyerek gittim geldim çünkü. (YC:5, MC:14)

6. Age

Reference to one's age at the time of the event.

Memory:

Yazlıktayız, en büyük yeğenimle yüzüyoruz ve kulaklığım kayaların altına kaçıyor. Bir yengecin koluna takılıyor ve yeğenim küçük, çok heyecanlanıyor yengeci görünce.

Dating:

Bu.. Senesini düşünüyem, şimdi yeğenimle yüzüyoruz biz. Kulaklığım suya düştü falan, onu yengeç kaptı, ona çok güldük, çok da yıllarca söyledim. Nerdeyiz? Şimdi yeğenim o zaman 3 yaşında falan ancak var, şimdi 8 yaşında demek ki tam 5 sene önce. 2005'te olması lazım, yaz, yaz olması lazım, Ağustos ayıydı yanılmıyorsa." (YC: 6 & MC: 17)

In some datings, the age at the time of the event was indicated just for the sake of calculating the year of the event. In such cases, the age code was not used.

Memory:

İlkokulun kaçınıcı sınıfında olduğunu hatırlamıyorum ama Şeker Bayramı'nda gazetenin hediye ettiği şekeri almak için ilk defa harçlığımla gazete alıp şekeri evde saklamam.

Dating:

İlkokuldaydım yine. Ramazan ne zamana denk gelir ki? Okul sonrasıydı, okul çıkışı aldığımı hatırlıyorum. Ama ne zaman? Sonbahardı... 90-kaç? 97? Aaa ilkokuldaysam.. 95 diyim. Bir dakika, ikinci sınıftaydım. Babam kalp krizi geçirmişti, hastanedeydi. 2. sınıfta 8 yaşında oluyorum, 8 yaşında olmam için 93. Ramazan Bayramı. [Peki sonbahar olduğunu nereden çıkardın?] Sonbahar olamaz, attım çünkü babam Aralık'ta kalp krizi geçirdi. İşte Aralık ya da Ocak'tır o zaman. (YC: 1, 10 & MC: 10)

7. Death

Reference to the death of a person in one's life or the act of recalling if a particular person was alive at the time of the event.

Memory:

İlk defa aldığım yeşil renkli arabam aklıma geldi. Satın alma sırasında Altan Erbulak ile karşılaştım ve kendisiyle sohbet ettik.

Dating:

Tarihini tam hatırlayamayacağım ama şöyle yıl olarak hatırlarım. 1981'in sonuna doğru, sonbahar. [nereden biliyorsunuz] O sene babam ölmüştü, ondan sonra aldım, ihtisası bitirmiştım, uzman olmuşum, oradan hatırlıyorum. (YC: 7 & MC: 1)

8. Psychological State

Reference to the psychological state during the period in which the event takes place.

Memory:

Brüksel'de eve yürüyorum. Kulaklıkla Mor ve Ötesi dinliyorum, "Uzundur sokaklar yürümek istersin". Buranın sokakları uzun ve hep yürümek istiyorum diye düşünüyorum.

Dating:

Bu da, Brüksel'deyim zaten o da tam 2007'nin Mart, Nisan.. Mayıs ama bu yürüdüğüm zaman. Yanılmıyorsam Mayıs-Haziran gibi olması lazım biraz çünkü canım sıkındı o zamanlar sürekli yürüyordum. (YC:17, MC: 8)

9. Activity

Reference to the sports, event, or process that one's memory surrounds.

Memory

Küçükken taşlarla oyun oynarken bir arkadaşın annesi kızmıştı, şaşırmıştım.

Dating:

Şöyle düşünüyorum, 99 yılında biz en son adaya gittik, depremden sonra bir daha gitmedik dolayısıyla 99'dan.... 99'da 14 yaşındaydım, ondan en azından bir 5 sene önce olmak zorunda çünkü herhalde 10 yaşından sonra taşlarla oynamamışımdır. Hatta daha da eskidir bu bence, herhalde 7-8 yaşındayım dolayısıyla 93 diyelim. 93 yılının yaz ayı, yani adada olduğumuza göre, sokakta olduğumuza göre, 93 Temmuz- Ağustos, ikisinden biri yani Eylül ya da Haziran değil. (YC: 9, 6, 4 & MC: 17)

10. Physical State

Reference to the general health of one's body.

Memory:

Önceleri nüfus cüzdanı defter şeklinde idi. Ben o nüfus cüzdanımı saklıyordum (hatıra olarak). Bir gün yolda giderken çantamı kapıp kaçtılar içinde de o nüfus cüzdanım bulunuyordu.

Dating:

Yeşilyurt'ta yürürken gene ilkbahar gibi, Nisan gibiydi. Hatta onun tarihini biliyorum, 24 Nisan. 23 Nisan'da annemi ameliyat etmişim, içinde para vardı, vakit bulup çıkaramadım, o servisin parasıydı, o para da birlikte gitti. Onun tarihi 24 Nisan, onu hatırlıyorum. [Yıl?] Yıl 1993. [Onu nereden biliyorsunuz?] O sene yazın sonra hastalanmışım, oradan biliyorum. (YC: 10, MC: 10)

11. Work

Reference to any kind of information related to profession.

Examples: work place, the company one works in, off days, retirement, unemployment, internship

Memory:

Bana ilk satın aldığım otomobili ve anıları hatırlatıyor.

Dating:

Hatırlayamıyorum. Evet herhalde, 1980.. 1983 yılıydı öyle hatırlıyorum.

(Neden, yani nereden buldunuz tarihi?) O ara işsizdim, onu hatırlıyorum, ondan dolayı böyle düşünüyorum. Bir de, bir araba alma fırsatı çıkmıştı, teşvik etmişlerdi beni. İkinci el bir Murat 124 araba almıştık. Mevsim bahardı. (YC: 11, MC: 14)

12. Military

Reference to mandatory military service for male citizens.

Memory:

Yerel bir gazetede kayıp ilanımın çıktığı gün.

Dating:

Bu Son Gazetesi idi, o zaman 15 kuruşa satılırdı, babam bana araba almadı diye evden kaçmışım diye bir ilan okudum gazetede. Arkadaşlarımın şakası. Ve bu da yaz günüydü çünkü derneğe gidip top oynardık akşamları. Bunun da 65'li senelere, 65-70 arası diye iddaa edebilirim çünkü evli değildim, 72'de evlendim. 69'da askere gittim, daha askere gitmemişim. Yani 65-70 arasına denk gelir bu da, Son Gazetesi, hiç unutmam. (YC: 12, 2 & MC: 9)

13. Holy days & Special days

Reference to religiously, nationally, or personally significant days.

Examples: new year's day, christmas, easter, ramadan, the feast of sacrifice, national holidays, birthdays

Memory:

Ölen kuşumu gömmem.

Dating:

O zaman Lise 2'ye gidiyordum yani 97 yılıydı. 97 yılında, okula gidiyordum, sabah kalktığımda kuşum ölmüştü o günde mamam beni okula yollamamıştı. Ay olarak, kıştı. Mamamlar da o Pazar mezarlığa gideceklerdi, ben de gittim, kuşumu gömdüm. Herhalde yılbaşından sonraydı, tabii yılbaşından sonra olması lazım. Ocak-Şubat ayları olabilir. (YC: 1, MC: 13)

14. Weather

Reference to any kind of information about the weather or reactions to it at the time of the event. In some narratives, the participant tries to remember how the weather was, however can not retrieve any information, such cases are also coded as weather. Examples: clothes, weather, radiator on/off, windows open/closed

Memory:

Annemin çantasını sokakta çalmaya çalıştıkları an

Dating:

6 yaşında yani, 2006. Kızlar okuldaydı, haftaiçiydi, Çarşamba mı Perşembe mi, öyle bir şeydi. [Kızların 6 yaşında olduğunu nereden biliyorsunuz?]

Çünkü kızlar o zaman kreşe gidiyorlardı, 5 yaşındalardı kreşe gidiyorlardı, kreşe bıraktıktan sonra dönüşte oldu çünkü. O gün yaşadık. [Ay?] Ayını...

Yani bahardı, Arçelik'teki adamlar falan çıkmıştı. Bayağı ben sinirlenmişim.

[Bahar olduğunu nasıl biliyorsunuz?] Çünkü yani gündüz, Arçelik'e doğru, Nişantaşı'na doğru yürüyordum. Elimde şemsiye bir şey yoktu, yoksa geçirirdim kafasına kesin bir şey yapardım yakalandığında, yağmurlu bir hava değildi. (YC: 6 & MC: 14)

Memory:

Yatılıyken cüzdanım çalınmıştı. Cüzdanı alaturka tuvaletin içinde, nüfus cüzdanı ile beraber bulmuştum. Cüzdan kullanılamayacak şekilde kokuyordu.

Dating:

Ne zamandı? Orta 2. 88, 89, 90, 89-90 senesi. Yine herhalde sonbahar filan, kapalı mekan olduğu için dışarıyla ilgili bir referansım olmuyo ama muhtemelen sonbahar filan yani. Ayını hatırlamıyorum. (YC:1 & MC: 14)

15. Memory strength

Trying to guess the age of memory by evaluating the strength of memory trace or trying to guess how much time must have passed after the event relying on various information.

Memory:

Her gece uyumadan önce gazetenin ön yüzü ve 3. sayfasını okurum. Nedeni hayatın ne kadar önemli olduğunu anlamaktır. Birgün yine gazeteyi okurken orada yazan bir konu çok ilgimi çekti ve ürküttü. Bir tutuklunun aynı koğuştaki olan bir arkadaşını yemesiydi.

Dating:

Bundan 3 yıl önceydi ve yatak odasında ablamla beraber okuyorum, yüksek sesle okuduğum için hiç unutmuyorum. [3 yıl önce olduğunu nereden biliyorsunuz?] Aşağı yukarı 3 yıl önceydi çünkü yeni tarih değil. Ben hep o şakayı yaptığımdan dolayı biliyorum, hep aynı şakayı yapıyorum ona.

Diyorum beni kızdırırsan seni yiyeceğim diye. [Peki ayını hatırlar mısınız?]

Aralık olabilir ya da pek o tarihi aklımda kalmaz ama tahmini olarak üstüme yorgan koyduğum için ilkbahar olabilir çünkü yazın hiç üstüme yorgan koymuyorum, hep pikeyle yatıyorum. Yorgan olduğu için otomatikman kış olması lazım. (YC: 15 & MC: 14)

Memory:

Bizim sokağın ara sıra ortaya çıkan bir delisi var. Bu deliye sokakta rastladığım bir gün gelip boynuma sarılıp, "Anneciğim, beni bırakma", dedi. Çok korktum.

Dating:

Ne biliyim ben, şimdi kaçtayız 2010'dayız. Herhalde 4 sene falan önce oldu. Bu bizim sokakta. [4 sene önce olduğunu nasıl çıkarıyorsunuz? Benim için hep yöntem önemli.] Yöntem olarak, düşündüğüm zaman hesap ediyorum aşağı yukarı 4 sene falan. [Neye göre hesap ediyorsunuz?] Onu... kafama göre. [Öyle bir his yani 4 sene önce olmuş diye?] E öyle olması lazım yani çok eski de değil, çok yeni de değil, 4 sene, 5 sene bilemedik, öyle bir şey. [Ayını hatırlar mısınız?] Yok, onu hatırlayamayacağım. [Düşünerek bulabilir misiniz?] Valla bulamam yani kışın da olabilir yazın da olabilir, o bir, yani o kadar kafamda yer edecek bir şey değil. (YC: 15, MC: -)

16. Publicly shared events

Reference to publicly shared events of social, natural or cultural type.

Examples: release date of a movie, album, newspaper, online newspapers , extraordinary weather, when a particular type of shoe was popular

Memory:

1968... TRT III... 21:00-22:00. Radyoda "Georges Moustaki" albümü çalınıyor.

Dating:

1968 hatırlıyorum çünkü ben müzmin astım hastasıydım 18-20 yaşlarına kadar ve geceleri uyku tutmazdı. TRT 3 veya Teknik Üniversite'nin stereo yayınları vardı o zaman, çok güzel bir müzik dolabı almıştı babam, abim için almıştı başka şeylere heveslenmesin diye, abim evlenince o müzik dolabı bizde kaldı. Gece ben ilaçlarımı alıp arka odaya giderdim soğukta, sobalıydı evimiz, kiracıydık, Bilgi Sokak'ında o zaman oturuyorduk. ... [68 olduğunu nasıl buldunuz] 68 olduğunu, çünkü bu babino kaydı, Georges Moustaki'nin 68'deki bir albüm kaydıydı ve 68'de çıkmıştı o ve 68'de TRT 3 G. Moustaki albümü dedi ve ben 68'de başladım yavaş yavaş temalı şeyler izlemeye, dinlemeye, okumaya.. Yani 68'de demek ki ben 14 yaşındayım, yavaş yavaş artık bir Sefiller'in tam metnini okumuşum, yavaş yavaş da Chekhov okumaya başlıyorum vs. Yavaş yavaş da işte Fransız müziğini daha kulak vererek dinliyorum. O ezgisi beni çok rahatlatmıştı, çok güzeldi ve bir sahne çekimi bir kayıttı o bobino kaydı, hala da dinlerim, ben de kaydı vardır, kaseti. Ha gün.. [ay] Ocak, Şubat, belki de kar yağıyordu, soğuktu, soba çünkü ön tarafta oturma odasında yanıyordu, gaz sobamız vardı, Ocak-Şubat, saat 9-10, kış günü, ayın kaçını bilemeyeceğim. (YC: 10, 16, 17 & MC: 14)

17. Location

Reference to one's location such as where one was living during the time of the memory or the the location where the event took place.

Examples: house, district, city, country

Memory:

Erkek arkadaşımın bulduğumuz pastanede beni beklerken gazete okuduğunu hatırlıyorum.

Dating:

O zaman ben 20 yaşındaydım. Belki de 19 yaşındaydım. Yaz ayıydı çünkü bulduğumuz yer Büyükada'da bir pastaneydi, öğle vaktiydi. (YC: 6 & MC: 17)

Memory:

Balıkesir'deki evimizde Radyo 5'te Cenk ile Erdem dinlerken, o evin mutfağında çıkan fare.

Dating:

Lise.. Tabii biz Balıkesir'e ben Lise 1'deyken taşındığımızı göre. Lise 1, Lise 2. Demek ki 98 ya da 97 yılında olması lazım. Kış ya da bahar gibi olması lazım. Bahar bahar tabii. Çünkü güneş, aydınlık gökyüzü falan öyle hatırlıyorum. 98 demek ki baharında. (YC:17,1 & MC: 14)

18. Event periods

Reference to certain time periods that the event in memory takes place.

Memory:

Bu kadar uğraştan sonra gazete ilanında boşanma ilanını görünce çok sevindim.

Dating:

Bu da Mayıs aylarındaydı. Yani çok, eşim yurtdışındaydı, bir türlü boşanmak istemiyordu tabii en sonunda gazete ilanını verdik. Dolayısıyla bu benim ayrılmama yardımcı olacaktı, o ilanı görünce işimin neticeleneceğini anlayınca sevinmiştim yani. [Mayıs ayı olduğunu nasıl buldunuz] Çünkü ya Mayıs ya Haziran diyeceğim çünkü adli şey tatile girecekti Temmuz ayında, onun için hemen yetiştirmem gerekiyordu. [yıl] Yıl olarak, 93, pardon 94 çünkü ondan sonra boşanma ilamımı alabildim. (YC: 19, MC: 18)

Memory:

Cumhuriyet Gazetesi koleksiyonumu sonunda elden çıkarıyorum. Toplumsal Araştırmalar Vakfı'ndan bir kamyonet dayanıyor kapımıza.

Dating:

.....Ya eylüldür ya ekimdir, yine böyle çok sıcak olmayan artık piyasanın canlanmaya başladığı, bu tarz kültür hareketlerinin, galerilerin, sinemaların, tiyatroların mevsimi açmaya başladığı bir dönemdir. ... Henüz hava kararmamıştı, böyle bir havaydı, Eylül-Ekim olması lazım hemen akşamın bastırmadığı bir dönem olması lazım, 5-6 dediğime göre, 1996, en çok 97, ondan öteye gitmez ama. (MC: 18, 14)

19. Unjustified

The date of the event is already known, no reference is needed to find the date.

Memory:

Babamın vefat ettiği gün

Dating:

Babamın vefat ettiği günü zaten unutmam mümkün değil o yüzden Nisan 1, 96 yılı". (YC: 19, MC: 19)

Memory:

Hala yaşamakta olduğum evin bir odasını üç günde boyayabilmemiz.

Dating:

Herhalde 2005 çünkü evi boyamıştım, evi boyamakla ilgili bir şey bu. Küçük bir alanı üç günde boyayınca hani çok spesifik olarak hatırlıyorum onu. Ama yazdı, Mayıs veya Haziran, boya yapmaya kalktığım için ancak öyle olabilir". (YC: 19, MC:9)

Note that in some cases, the memory could be a part of the landmark event (buying a wedding dress- marriage), in such cases, dating is coded as unjustified.

Memory:

Kızım doğduğunda verilen nüfus cüzdanında din hanesine İslam yazıldığında bunun düzeltilip düzeltilmemesi hakkında bir an tereddüt ettiğimi hatırlıyorum.

Dating:

Senin doğum tarihin, 1980?? 5 mi? Senin doğduğun sene.. Temmuz ayı.. Tabi doğduğun günde olmadı bu, daha sonra gittik nüfusunu aldık falan. Demek ki.. Sen daha 1 yaşını doldurmadan..Temmuz ayında doğdun, zaten bir hafta içinde de nüfusunu aldık. (YC: 19, MC: 19)

20. Sports Event

Reference to periods when sports games are played.

Memory:

Bir keresinde arkadaşlarımla BJK maçına gitmiştik. BJK 10-0 kazanmıştı. Kupa maçıydı.

Dating:

Bu, gittiğim bir maç, buna ne zaman gittiğimi hatırlamam lazım. Muhtemelen arasam bileti bile çıkabilir evde ama. Beşiktaş maçına gitmiştik Beşiktaşlı olmamama rağmen ama Beşiktaş da o gün 10-0 yenmişti. Bir kış günü gitmiştik, hava soğuktu, bir hayli soğuktu. Bere, şapkam vardı hatırlıyorum o zaman. Kupa maçı, kış dönemi deyince, Şubat ya da Mart olması gerekiyor çünkü orda hep öyle oynanıyordu, ligin 2. yarısı başlar kupa maçları. Şubat-Mart dönemi. Ama seneyi nasıl bulacağız? Lisede miydik? Yok, ortaokulda mıydık? Evden izin alarak gittiğimi hatırlıyorum öyleyse daha ufak, ortaokul döneminde olmam lazım. 97'den sonra 98-99-2000 gibi bir şey. Bir düşünelim. Beşiktaşın o sene birkaç maçına daha gitmiştim. Kimler vardı, oyuncularından belki aklıma gelir. O dönem gol atanlardan falan ama...Çünkü o sene 4 maça gittim, 3ünü kazanmıştı, 4.'de berabere kalmıştı. Sakaryaspor vardı, onlar 99-2000 sezonunda vardı galiba, öyle bir şey. Ya 99 ya 2000. (YC: 20, 1 & MC: 20, 14)

21. Elections

Reference to local or general elections

Memory:

Ankara'daki evimizi temizlemeden önce bakkala gidip en ucuz ve en kalın gazeteyi (Star) seçip almamız.

Dating:

Ankara'da eve çıktık, 2002'nin yazında çıktığımızı göre, başında çıktık.. Yani 2002'nin sonunda daha doğrusu- çıktığımızı göre 2003'ün... Tam seçim vardı o dönemde, Cem Uzan hayvan gibi, 100 sayfalık gazete veriyordu, Star gazetesi. Hatta elimizde posterleri falan vardı böyle. Seçim ne zamandı? 2002'deydi galiba seçim, yok 2003'te miydi? 2003'teydi galiba seçim ya, neyse çok hatırlamıyorum. Seçimden önceydi işte bu olayda. Ama... 2003 olabilir. (YC: 21, MC: 19)

22. Media Rehearsal

Referring to news and memorial ceremonies (only used in public event datings).

Public Event

Hrant Dink Cinayeti

Dating

3.5 sene oldu onu da geçen gün haberlerde izlediğim için 3.5 sene oldu demişti. 2010'dayız demek ki 2006'nın sonlarına doğru olmuş. Kışın olduğunu hatırlıyorum, Ocak ayıydı galiba çünkü derse gidiyordum bir öğrencime derse gidiyordum, bir Cuma günüydü çok fazla kar yağıyordu oradan ulaştım. (YC: 22, MC: 14, 9)

Public Event:

Taksim'de 1 Mayıs olayları sırasında çıkan panik.

Dating:

Onun senesini hatırlayamıyorum. 30 sene mi oldu? [Düşünerek bulabilir misiniz?] Şöyle bir şey, değil mi ki gazetelerde bu gibi olayların şeyleri tekrar ediyor, şu kadar sene önce, bu kadar sene önce diye.. Bu 1980 ihtilalinden önce olmuştur, 30 seneden fazladır, 30 sene 33 sene belki.” (YC: 25,4 & MC: 19)

23. Other

References that could not be categorized using the available codes. The references coded as “other” usually refer to some feature of the memory that gives a temporal cue.

Memory:

Babam ilk arabamızı aldığı gün kafasını bagaja çarpmış ve kafasına dikiş atılmıştı. O gün yeni arabayla eve geldiğinde babamı o halde görünce çok şaşırılmışım.

Dating:

Babam ilk arabasını aldığı gün kafasını bagaja çarpmıştı. 82 Mart. [Nasıl düşündün?] Babam arabasını aldığı gün dedem de araba aldı, dedem arabasını değiştirdi, arabası vardı. Babamın arabası yoktu, beraber gidip almışlardı. Babam ikinci el araba aldı, parası ona yetiyordu, dedemin parası daha fazlaydı, o birinci el araba almıştı ve onun arabası 82 model. Çok düşük ihtimalle 81 Ekim-Kasım da olabilir ama sanki 82 Mart gibi geliyor bana. 82 model arabayı, 81'den almaya başlıyorsun aslında, o dönem de olabilir ama hani biraz daha baharımı bir şey hatırlıyorum. 82 Mart gibi geliyor. Günü bir haftaiçiydi, hangi gün olduğunu hatırlamıyorum, Cuma falan olabilir ama. (YC: 23, MC: 23)

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRES

Autobiographical Memory Phase

Bu bölümde size 11 tane kelime verilecek. Sizden, bu kelimelerin çağrıştırdığı, belirli, kişisel olaylara dair, aklınıza gelen ilk anılarınızı yazmanızı istiyoruz. Çağrışım süreci genellikle 10-20 saniye sürer ancak, bazen daha çok zaman gerekebilir.

Hatırlayacağınız anılar,

- Son bir yıl dışında hayatınızın herhangi bir dönemine ait,
- Belli bir zamanda ve yerde gerçekleşmiş,
- Bir günü aşmayan, birkaç saat, dakika veya saniye sürmüş, olaylar içermelidir.

Anılarınızın ilginç ya da önemli olup olmaması önemli değildir. Örneğin, aklınıza gelen ilk anı bulaşıkları yıkamanız ile ilgili ise, lütfen bu olayı anlatın. Eğer aklınıza iki anı birden gelirse, aralarından en canlı/net olanını seçin. Eğer aklınıza ilk gelen anı paylaşmak istemediğiniz, özel bir olaya dair ise, lütfen kelime ile bağlantılı başka bir anınızı anlatın. Lütfen aklınıza gelen anıları en kısa şekilde, 1-2 cümle ile özetleyin.

İpucu kelimeler: Araba, Sokak, Radyo, Pencere, Mezarlık, Taş, Gazete, Nüfus cüzdanı, Piyano, Ayakkabı, Beyaz

Lütfen hatırladığınız anıların sizin için ne kadar önemli olduğunu aşağıdaki ölçeği kullanarak belirtiniz.

	Önemsiz			Orta derecede önemli			Çok önemli
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anı 1							
Anı 2							
Anı 3							
Anı 4							
Anı 5							
Anı 6							
Anı 7							
Anı 8							
Anı 9							
Anı 10							
Anı 11							

Lütfen hatırladığınız anıların sizde ne kadar olumlu/olumsuz duygular uyandırdığını aşağıdaki ölçeği kullanarak belirtiniz.

	Çok olumsuz			Nötr			Çok olumlu
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anı 1							
Anı 2							
Anı 3							
Anı 4							
Anı 5							
Anı 6							
Anı 7							
Anı 8							
Anı 9							
Anı 10							
Anı 11							

Lütfen hatırladığınız anılar hakkında ne sıklıkta düşünüp konuştuğunuzu aşağıdaki ölçeği kullanarak belirtiniz.

	Hiç düşünmedim / konuşmadım.						Yaşadığım olaylar arasında en sık düşündüğüm / konuştuğum oldu.
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Anı 1							
Anı 2							
Anı 3							
Anı 4							
Anı 5							
Anı 6							
Anı 7							
Anı 8							
Anı 9							
Anı 10							
Anı 11							

Public Memory Testing Phase

Hayatınız boyunca, Türkiye’de gerçekleşmiş ya da bu ülkede yaşayanları etkileyen, en önemli bulduğunuz 5 toplumsal olayı aklınıza geldiği sırayla yazınız.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____

Yazdığımız ilk beş olay için birkaç değerlendirme yapmanızı istiyoruz.

Lütfen yazdığımız birinci olayı düşünerek, aşağıdaki değerlendirmeleri yapın.

1. Bu olay kimliğimin ve kendimi anlamamın önemli bir parçasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

2. Bu olay toplumsal/etnik kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

3. Bu olay hayatımda önemli bir mihenk taşı veya bir dönüm noktasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

4. Zaman zaman bu olayın anısı ile şu anki hayatım arasında bağlantılar olduğumu hissediyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

5. Bu olay sizce ne kadar olumludur?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Çok olumsuz			Nötr			Çok olumlu

Lütfen yazdığımız ikinci olayı düşünerek, aşağıdaki değerlendirmeleri yapın.

1. Bu olay kimliğimin ve kendimi anlamamın önemli bir parçasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

2. Bu olay toplumsal/etnik kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

3. Bu olay hayatımda önemli bir mihenk taşı veya bir dönüm noktasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

4. Zaman zaman bu olayın anısı ile şu anki hayatım arasında bağlantılar olduğumu hissediyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

5. Bu olay sizce ne kadar olumludur?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Çok olumsuz			Nötr			Çok olumlu

Lütfen yazdığımız üçüncü olayı düşünerek, aşağıdaki değerlendirmeleri yapın.

1. Bu olay kimliğimin ve kendimi anlamamın önemli bir parçasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

2. Bu olay toplumsal/etnik kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

3. Bu olay hayatımda önemli bir mihenk taşı veya bir dönüm noktasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

4. Zaman zaman bu olayın anısı ile şu anki hayatım arasında bağlantılar olduğumu hissediyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

5. Bu olay sizce ne kadar olumludur?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Çok olumsuz			Nötr			Çok olumlu

Lütfen yazdığımız dördüncü olayı düşünerek, aşağıdaki değerlendirmeleri yapın.

1. Bu olay kimliğimin ve kendimi anlamamın önemli bir parçasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

2. Bu olay toplumsal/etnik kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

3. Bu olay hayatımda önemli bir mihenk taşı veya bir dönüm noktasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

4. Zaman zaman bu olayın anısı ile şu anki hayatım arasında bağlantılar olduğumu hissediyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

5. Bu olay sizce ne kadar olumludur?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Çok olumsuz			Nötr			Çok olumlu

Lütfen yazdığımız beşinci olayı düşünerek, aşağıdaki değerlendirmeleri yapın.

1. Bu olay kimliğimin ve kendimi anlamamın önemli bir parçasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

2. Bu olay toplumsal/etnik kimliğimin önemli bir parçasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

3. Bu olay hayatımda önemli bir mihenk taşı veya bir dönüm noktasıdır.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

4. Zaman zaman bu olayın anısı ile şu anki hayatım arasında bağlantılar olduğumu hissediyorum.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Kesinlikle						Kesinlikle
Hayır						Evet

5. Bu olay sizce ne kadar olumludur?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Çok olumsuz			Nötr			Çok olumlu

Hayatınız boyunca, Türkiye’de gerekleşmiş ya da bu lkede yaşayanları etkileyen, önemli bulduğunuz başka toplumsal olaylar var ise, ltfen ařađıya yazınız.

1.

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