DISTRIBUTION OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL MEMORIES: CULTURAL LIFE SCRIPT ACCOUNT EXAMINED

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Thesis Abstract

Elif Eda Tartar, “Distribution of Autobiographical Memories: Cultural Life Script Account Examined”

The life script account of the distribution of autobiographical memories suggests that the culturally shared cognitive life scripts influence the encoding and retrieval of memories. Life scripts are argued to include positive events, mostly from late adolescence and early adulthood. The purpose of the present study was to investigate Turkish life scripts with different methodologies and to compare the cultural life script with the actual distribution of autobiographical memories. In Experiment 1, 247 participants estimated how old a hypothetical person was when s/he had been happiest, saddest, most fearful, most in love, most important and most traumatic experiences. In Experiment 2, 135 participants listed and evaluated seven important events that were likely to occur in the life of a newborn. In Experiment 3, 115 participants recalled autobiographical memories from different cue-words, their happiest, saddest, most fearful, most in love and most important and most traumatic autobiographical memories and their memories of three public events from their lifetime. Results revealed that there was a life script for Turkish culture which includes mostly positive transitional events from late adolescence and early adulthood, with a peak in early adulthood. However, although this script explains the recall of most important, most in love and happiest autobiographical memories, the distribution of cued-recall memories were not predicted by the cultural life script.

Tez Özeti

Elif Eda Tartar, “Otobiyografik Anıların Dağılımı: Kültürel Yaşam Akışı Yaklaşımı Değerlendirmesi”

Otobiyografik anı dağılımını açıklamaya çalışan yaşam akışı yaklaşımı bir kültürce benimsenmiş ve zihinsel olarak paylaşılan yaşam akışı kalıplarının anıların depolanma ve geri çağrılma aşamasında belirleyici bir etkisi olduğunu savunur. Yaşam akışı kalıplarının, çoğunluğu geç ergenlik ve erken erişkinlik döneminde geçen olumlu olayları içerdiği iddia edilmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı Türk kültürüne ait yaşam akışı kalıplarını farklı yöntemlerle araştırıp elde edilen bulguları otobiyografik anı dağılımlarıyla karşılaştırmaktır. Deney 1’de 247 katılımcı, farazi bir şahsın en mutlu, en üzücü, en korkutucu, en büyük aşkıyla ilgili, en önemli ve en travmatik deneyimlerini kaç yaşında yaşamış olabileceğine dair tahminlerde bulundular. Deney 2’de, 135 katılımcı, yeni doğmuş bir bebeğin ömrü boyunca yaşaması en muhtemel 7 önemli olayı listeleyip bu olayları değerlendirdiler. Deney 3te, 115 katılımcı, farklı kelimelerin kendilerine anımsattığı otobiyografik anılarıyla en mutlu, en üzücü, en korkutucu, en büyük aşklarıyla ilgili, en önemli ve en travmatik anılarını ve yaşadıkları sure içerisinde gerçekleşen üç toplumsal olayı bildirdiler. Bulgular gösterdi ki Türk kültürü için çoğu geç ergenlik ve erken erişkinlik dönemine ait olumlu geçiş evresi olaylarından oluşan bir yaşam akışı kalıbı mevcuttur. Fakat, bu yaşam akışı kalıbı en önemli, en büyük aşkla ilgili ve en mutlu anıların dağılımını açıklayabilirken, farklı kelimelerin anımsattığı otobiyografik anıların dağılımını açıklayamamaktadır.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"When we are old, we are drawn back,

both within and from without, to memories of youth."

(C. G. Jung, Memories Dreams and Reflections)

Although memory has been an area of empirical inquiry within psychology for more than a hundred years (eg. Ebbinghaus, 1885), personal life events or autobiographical memories have been neglected for a long while (Pillemer, 1998). However, autobiographical memory is seen as one of the most unique and important characteristics of human beings (Rybash, 1999). For the last twenty years, autobiographical memory has been receiving greater attention from cognitive psychologists (Barsalou, 1988).

Autobiographical Memory and Levels of Autobiographical Memories

Brewer (1986) defines autobiographical memory as "memory for information relating to the self" (p. 33) and covering personal memory, autobiographical facts, generic personal memory and the self-schema. Rybash (1999) suggests that autobiographical memory "(…) allows us to weave a coherent life story, to develop a sense of self, to establish social-emotional bond with other and to project ourselves into the future" (p. 1).

According to Conway (1995) autobiographical memories are not discrete units in long-term memory, but rather they are "temporary mental representations constructed and maintained by a set of central processes" (p. 67). It is noted that

autobiographical memories contain knowledge at different levels of specificity (Conway, 1996; Conway & Rubin, 1994; Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000). These levels refer to hierarchically organized autobiographical knowledge (Conway & Rubin, 1993). Conway and Rubin (1993) named the first level of knowledge as lifetime periods, which is the most abstract and general level of knowledge. Lifetime periods- such as when I was a little child, when I worked for the CIA- include thematic and temporal knowledge of the period in question (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000) and they are measured in units of years (Conway & Rubin, 1993). The second level of knowledge that autobiographical memories contain is general events, which is the relatively specific level of event knowledge. These types of memories are stated to be more heterogeneous than lifetime periods and the most significant feature of these memories is that they are mostly related to events of attainment or failure to attain personal goals (see Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000, for a review). Memories containing general event knowledge – such as the summer I studied for the college entrance exam- are measured in units of months, weeks and days (Conway & Rubin, 1993). The last level is specific knowledge, which is the highly specific level of knowledge unique to a single event – such as, the first time I met with a favorite writer-. Conway and Pleydell-Pearce (2000) named this level event-specific knowledge and noted it as not being "subject to detailed prestored organization and instead comes to mind in response to internally elaborated cues that by the process of encoding specificity" (p. 263). Memories containing this level of autobiographical knowledge are measured in units of seconds, minutes or hours (Conway & Rubin, 1993). As noted by Conway and Pleydell-Pearce (2000), although people can access autobiographical memories at any one of these levels, recall of event-specific knowledge, more generally, is at the center of autobiographical remembering.

Distribution of Autobiographical Memories and the Reminiscence Bump

In their study, Fitzgerald and Lawrence (1984) gave cue words to subjects from four age groups and asked them to report the first autobiographical memory that came to their mind when the cue word was first heard. The autobiographical memories, in question, were the specific events that Conway and Rubin (1993) pointed as being measured in seconds, minutes or hours. It was concluded that: "(…) the older and younger memory systems are acquiring new memories at a similar rate and retaining them for similar periods of time" (Fitzgerald & Lawrence, 1984, p. 697). This comment points to the retention function, which means a decline of the memory strength as a function of time passed since the event (Fitzgerald, 1988). However, when Rubin, Wetzler, and Nebes (1986) analyzed Fitzgerald and Lawrence's (1984) study in addition to three more cue-word autobiographical studies, one of which was from their laboratory, an interesting result, conflicting with the retention function, came up: the autobiographical memory distributions of subjects over forty years old in each study showed a bump between the age of ten and thirty. In other words, in contrast to the expected monotonically decreasing function, there occurs an increase in memories from when older adults were between ten and thirty years old. They called this bump, which was demonstrated in four different laboratories, the reminiscence bump, and this phenomenon is still called the reminiscence bump, because there has not been a strong theoretical position postulated yet (Rubin, 2002).

There are more cue-word studies in which the same pattern was shown for the distribution of autobiographical memories of the people above forty-years-old (such as Hyland & Ackerman, 1988; Janisari & Parking, 1996; Rubin & Schulkind, 1997a,

1997b; Scharuf & Rubin, 1998). In addition, several different studies were conducted with different methods other than cue-word (Fitzgerald, 1988; Fitzgerald, 1996; Holmes & Conway, 1999; Rubin & Schulkind, 1997b) and indicated the same pattern for the autobiographical memory distribution of people above the age of forty. These techniques include asking participants' about their most vivid memories (Fitzgerald, 1988), their most important memories (Fitzgerald, 1996; Rubin & Schulkind, 1997a, 1997b), and also their life narratives (Formholt & Larsen, 1992).

After these studies, the results revealed the same distribution of autobiographical memories. That is to say, the amount of retrieved autobiographical memories of people above the age of forty systematically decreases until the age of thirty, then a bump occurs between the ages of thirty and ten. Afterwards, the amount of retrieved autobiographical memories begins to decrease again and after five years old, there are no reported autobiographical memories and this last case is known as childhood amnesia (Rubin, 2000).

The reminiscence bump is a cross-culturally consistent finding (Conway, Wang, Hanyu, & Haque, 2005; Aydın, 2004). In their study, Conway and his colleagues' (2005) asked 208 participants from the U. S., England, Japan, China, and Bangladesh to recall their specific memories from their life time and to date each memory. The results revealed that, although there were differences in the content of memories based on self conceptions, the reminiscence bump was the same for all five different groups. The reminiscence bump studies have been gaining importance in Turkey, too. Aydın (2004) conducted a three-phase study with thirty-six participants aged between fifty and ninety-tree. In the first phase the subjects were introduced to the classical autobiographical test in which they were asked to report the first autobiographical memory that came to their mind when the cue-word was

told. The second phase was a flashbulb memory test with free recall procedure in which subjects were asked to report five public or private events that had a surprising effect o their lifetime. The last phase was the cued flashbulb memory test in which the subjects were introduced to nine public events and were asked to rate some properties of these memories. The results of the first two phases revealed that the reported autobiographical memories were between the ages of ten and thirty.

Possible Accounts of the Reminiscence Bump

There are mainly three explanations for the reminiscence bump phenomenon. The first account is biological/maturational account. Based on the fact that the most cognitive abilities improve from childhood to adulthood and the descend later in life, the reminiscence bump is argued to be a result of these improvements and decreases in cognitive abilities across the life span (Bernsten & Rubin, 2002). That is to say, the information coming from the outer world is best processed in this specific bump period, and thus, is retrieved easily. In addition to this, Rubin et al. (1998) have some evolutionary claims for the importance of the bump period, such as this period, which is early adulthood, is favored by nature for its reproductive potential. So, the cognitive skills in this period are also favored by the nature.

One of the other possible accounts of the reminiscence bump was formulated by Rubin et al.(1998) as a cognitive account which was argued to be based on "the standard principles of experimental psychology applied to a situation in which the environment is changing" (p 13). According to this account the reason for better remembrance of events from late adolescence and early adulthood is due to their occurrences in a rapid change period which gives way to relative stability. It is

claimed that in this rapid change period, people encounter many novel events. These events benefit more from some memory-enhancing processes. These processes include increased effort to understand the event, minimal proactive interference and distinctiveness. That is to say events from this period are subject to more elaborate cognitive processing, because of their novelty and distinctiveness (Rubin, 2002). In addition, the stability period after these novel events also puts them in a beneficial position. Those kinds of events are argued to be reference points for the organization of memories, thus are rehearsed more (Rubin, 2002). According to Rubin, the behavior repertoires of people become stable during early adulthood and afterwards in old age people are more inclined to retrieve the knowledge acquired when they were twenty years old than the knowledge acquired when they were ten. Another main benefit of stability for later recall is that the stability period makes the cues more stable and gives more way to spaced practice. Related with these factors, encoding and the subsequent accessibility of the events of this period of life are improved. In line with this argumentation, a bump for other time periods where such novel and distinctive events were experienced is expected. The findings of Schrauf and Rubin's (1998) study supported this expectation. In their study, the participants were twelve people who had emigrated as adults from Spanish-speaking cultures to Anglo cultures. These immigrants spent at least thirty years in the host country. Researchers asked the participants to report autobiographical memories to cue words. The results revealed that beside the reminiscence bump which occurred between the ages of fifteen and thirty, there was an additional bump in their memories from the period of the age of immigration and settlement.

There is another study in which an additional bump in the period of thirty-five to fifty-five years old beside the period of fifteen to thirty years old has been

found (Conway & Haque, 1999). In this study researchers asked Bangladeshi participants to recall and date autobiographical memories from across their life span. The results revealed a second bump in the period of thirty-five to fifty-five years old, as noted above. This second bump period corresponded to a specific historical period for Bengalee people. This period is the time of a national conflict between Pakistan and the Bengalee people and this conflict resulted in independence for Bangladesh.

On the other hand, Conway (1997) proposed a self-identity account to explain the reminiscence bump. This account also underlines the importance of stability, but not the stability of life after rapid change. This stability is what Erikson (1963) called the emerging stability of the self during adolescence and early adulthood. According to Conway (1997), self is one of the main influences on the encoding and structure of autobiographical knowledge and as Erikson (1963) stated in his psychosocial development theory, the task in the young adulthood period is to accomplish a complete personal identity including social, ideological and intimate facets of the self. So, in this period of late adolescence and young adulthood lots of experiences which contain important knowledge about goal formation and goal attainment occur (Conway & Haque, 1999) and an integrative self, with fundamental and enduring life goals, emerges (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 1998). So, as Conway (1997) puts it: "(…) reminiscence bump reflects a body of memories that represent records of experiences that occurred during the transition from childhood to adulthood, one of life's major transitions" (p.35). In the formation of a stable self and unique identity, these memories have greater importance. Based on this, it is argued that the experiences in this period of life, which are seen as crucial for self development and identity formation, have privilege while encoding. Thus, this privilege leads to the preferential retention of events from this specific period and a reminiscence bump

occurs (Conway & Pleydell-Pearce, 2000; Holmes & Conway, 1999). Conway (1997) interprets Benson, Jarvi, Theiebar, Fyre and Gorcke McDonald's (1992) study as an evidence for his claims. In this study, ten vivid memories were collected from groups of Japanese and American subjects. The distribution of memories for both groups had reminiscence bumps. However, for the Japanese, the peak of the bump was in the second decade of life, whereas for the Americans, it was in the first decade. According to Conway (1997), this difference was due to the different conceptualization of adolescence in these two cultures. In Japan, adolescence is not valued as it is in American culture. Before an individual reaches the late twenties to early thirties, the full responsibility of one's life is not taken. This is seen as later emergence of self and identity. Thus, this later emergence is argued to explain the shift of the reminiscence peak from second decade to third.

The Cultural Life Script Account

Apart from these accounts, a new account for the reminiscence bump has been formulated. The main argument of this account is that the cultural age norms and expectations affect the distribution of autobiographical memories by putting more emphasis on a certain life period.

At first, Bernsten and Rubin (2002) conducted a study in which they were asked for the saddest, happiest, most traumatic, most important memories and recent involuntary memories of 1,241 respondents between the ages of twenty and ninety-three. Each account of the bump above predicts a bump between the ages of fifteen and thirty for all kinds of memories in question (Bersten, & Rubin, 2002). But the

results indicate that only the happiest, the most important and the happy involuntary memories bump in the twenties of the older adults.

Starting from the findings of their study that was mentioned above, Bernsten and Rubin (2002) argued for a life script account. According to them, these findings cannot be explained by biological, cognitive or narrative/identity accounts of the bump unless modifications are made. Neither of the accounts predicts distinction between the distributions of events with different emotional valences. Thus, it is proposed that autobiographical memory is organized by culturally shared life scripts which favor positive and important events, and these culturally shared life scripts allocate the positive and important events to young adulthood. These cultural life scripts structure retrieval at any present moments and also: "function as a mechanism of maintenance by repeatedly structuring retrieval over time and thus form the basis for spaced practice of the types of events included in the script" (Bersten & Rubin, 2002, p. 650).

In their further studies, Bersten and Rubin (2004; Rubin & Bernsten, 2003) structured this life script account more elaborately. Before mentioning these studies, it would be useful to give the description of the life script as Bernsten and Rubin (2002; 2004; Rubin & Bernsten, 2003) conceptualized it based on the definition of script by Schank and Abelson (1977) and age norms studies (such as, Neugarten, Moore, & Lowe, 1965; Settersten & Hagestad, 1996a; 1996b).

Schank and Ableson (1997) defined script as a structured description of an appropriate sequence of events for a particular context. Scripts are argued to be stereotyped sequences of actions that define a well-known situation. Starting from this point Bernsten and Rubin (2004) define life scripts as the cultural expectations, such as developmental changes or different life phases, for an idealized life course of

an individual who is born into and lives in the given culture. These cultural expectations are based on age. As Neugarten et al. (1965) states "in all societies, age is one of the bases for the ascription of status and one of the underlying dimensions by which social interaction is regulated" (p.710). Studies based on this assumption show that there really are determined age ranges for specific cultural transitional experiences (i.e. getting married, having a child, first job etc.) in peoples' minds. Although these age expectations were stated to be sensitive rather than being critical (Settersten & Hagestad, 1996a; 1996b); people commonly expect some specific experiences in specific life areas (i.e. work, family etc.) to occur in a specified age period. Thus, Bernsten and Rubin (2004) examined several other age norms and expectation studies and included the concept of cultural expectation based on age norms in their life script account.

The adjectives that describe the life script are determined as generic and nonpersonal (Bersten & Rubin, 2002). A life script is generic in the sense that it deals with cultural norms and expectations of a typical life's content and order; nonpersonal in the sense that it applies to all normal members of culture. Thus, a life script has a temporal order of events based on the culture it inherits and represents the shared public knowledge of the timing of major transitional events within the given culture.

In their most recent study, Bernsten and Rubin (2004) investigate the evidence for the existence of life scripts. Apart from the reanalysis of earlier studies on age norms, they conducted a survey with 1,485 Danish people and wanted them to estimate how old hypothetical protagonists were when they had lived their happiest, saddest, most important, most traumatic, most in love and most afraid experiences. The basic prediction was that there would be a bump between the ages of fifteen and

thirty for only the happiest, most important and most in love experiences. The second prediction was that the respondents would be more confident with their estimates about the positive events, i.e. the happiest, the most important and most in love. It is argued that a cultural life script is organized around only positive events, because the negative events are not expected to occur in a typical life course, except death, and it is not possible to know the time of death. They also conducted a second study in which they asked for the seven most important events that were likely to occur in the life of a newborn who was presented as a typical member of the given culture, i.e. Western culture. Here, the prediction was that the respondents would list events that fall into the ages between fifteen and thirty; because the anthropological, sociological and social psychological studies showed that this period is underlined in Western culture. All these predictions were supported. Thus, they concluded that Western culture's life script, which is shared by the members of the culture, emphasizes the ages between fifteen and thirty. This emphasis structures individuals' retrieval processes when they are needed.

A more recent study in Turkey also supported the claim that cultural life scripts include positive events and these events are mostly culturally transitional events. There was more agreement on the timing of events when they are positive rather than negative (Erdogan, Baran, Avlar, Çağlar, and Tekcan, in press). In this study, two hundred and twenty university students from Istanbul participated in a replication and extension of Bernsten and Rubin's (2004) second study. The results revealed that although there were minor differences concerning cultural practices (such as circumcision, compulsory military service, leave home), the two scripts corresponded to each other on the main points. Just like Danish people, the participants of this study shared a common script for the most important events for a

Turkish person. Besides, there was a bump in the distribution of age estimates for positive, but not negative, events, and this bump period corresponds to the reminiscence bump period (i.e. between the ages of fifteen and thirty).

A recent study of Collins, Pillemer, Ivecevic and Gooze (2007) supports the claim that cultural life scripts highlight adolescence and early adulthood which includes culturally shared transitional and role-related positive events, with a different method. They conducted four studies in which college students and middle-aged adults were asked to report events occurring between ages eight and eighteen in which they felt especially good or especially bad about themselves. While the distribution of positive memories showed a marked peak at ages seventeen and eighteen, the distribution of negative memories were relatively flat. When content analyses were applied to the positive memories, it was seen that these memories were about culturally-prescribed landmark events surrounding the major life transition from high school to college. These results not only support but also extend Berntsen and Rubin's (2004) claim that cultural life scripts organize recall of positive but not negative events.

Autobiographical Memories and Generation Identity

As mentioned in the beginning of this paper, autobiographical memories are seen as information relating to self (Brewer, 1986). An integrated self is seen as related with its immediate social groups and with society to a degree (Holmes & Conway, 1999). The self is not an isolated entity. It is related with the society one is born into. Considering this, the generation identity is a part of the self which is related with society at large and it is argued to be formed during adolescence (Erikson, 1963).

Generation, as a concept, is mostly seen as a sociological concept. It is defined as: "(…) a social cohort, whose collective experience of history is shaped by a significant event or events, and whose memory is constructed around recurrent rituals and significant places" (Abercombie, Hill, and Turner, 2000, p.150). Mannheim (1952), in his essay on the problem of generations, puts emphasis on collective memory for critical events and changes in consciousness while defining this concept. It is obvious that members of a generation share the same period in history. But for Mannheim, this biological or chronological criterion is not enough to define a generational identity. According to Mannheim, generations share a social location. This social location is formed with shared experiences which are public events that leave traces on a generation. What shapes and locates a generation in some specific point of history are shared cultural experiences, shared experiences of a type of event, common ways of responding to the world, common existential problems and shared conceptual knowledge. Mannheim called these entire shared phenomenon as mental data. This mental data is not only important for its content but also for its socializing effect. Conway (1997), who emphasizes the importance of generational identity in explaining the reminiscence bump, comments on Mannheim's definition as: "(…) it is clear that what members of a generation unit share are commonalties in autobiographical and semantic memory". (p. 29).

There are several examples of studies which are about the relationship between generation identity and autobiographical memories (such as Gaskell & Wrigt, 1997; Paez, Basabe, and Gonzalez, 1997; Pennebaker & Banasik, 1997). In their study Holmes and Conway (1999) investigated generation identity in an autobiographical memory test in which they inquired about the public and private events of participants aged between thirty to seventy years old. They wanted each

participant to free recall the public and private events that took place in their lifetime and to date how old they were when the event took place. The results revealed that the retention of public knowledge corresponds to the early period of the reminiscence bump which is ten to twenty years old. In addition, the retained public knowledge has different contents for different generations. This study is an example for the role of autobiographical knowledge in the definition and formation period of generation identity.

An earlier study by Schumann and Scott (1989) is also relevant. They argued that a cohort can be a true generation if there is a shared historical-social consciousness of the cohort at stake. This historical-social consciousness includes public event knowledge. Starting from this point, they conducted a survey with a national sample of adult Americans. This sample was asked to report the most important national or world events or changes over the past fifty years, afterwards they were asked to state the reasons for their choice. The results indicate that both the retrieved events or changes and the reasons for the choice of events differ from generation to generation. Besides, most of the retrieved events or changes came from adolescence or early adulthood. The authors claimed that generation identity is a result of personal memory and collective memory or national history.

Another example of autobiographical memories as a source of generation definition is Schumann, Akiyama and Knäuper's (1998) study in which they investigate the collective memories of the samples from the former West Germany and Yokohama, Japan. Each sample has thirteen five-years-span cohorts. Based on the results the authors claimed that the retrieved events that are personally important in an autobiographical sense are crucial for generation identity.

Turkish Cultural Life Script and Generation Definitions in Turkish Society

Cultural life script account is an alternative account for the explanation of the reminiscence bump. It will be interesting and useful to investigate this claim in a different culture, i.e. Turkish culture. There are several studies in which culture appears as an evident factor on differences in several memory processes, such as event recall, suggestibility, autobiographic memory performances (Han, Leichtman, and Wang, 1998; Roebers, Bjorklund, Schneider, and Cassel, 2002; Wang, 2004). The characteristics of the reminiscence bump also vary from culture to culture as noted before (Benson, Jarvi, Arai, Thielbar, Frye and McDonald, 1992).

Concerning the present studies, a few words should be said about Turkish society. According to Kentel, (2002) since 1945, Turkey has been undergoing a change in economic, societal and cultural areas. These changes have led to the rapid transformation of Turkish society from being a traditional, rural, agricultural, patriarchal society to an increasingly modern, urban, industrial one (Sunar & Fişek, 2005) However, this rapid change in several areas does not extent to the change in cultural norms and values. Concerning interpersonal relations, gender and family relations Turkish culture is still claimed to be traditional, authoritarian and patriarchal (see Ataca, 2006, for a review).

For examples of the change in Turkish culture, Sunar's (2002) studies can be mentioned. In her study, Sunar (2002) compared three generations in terms of family relations and values. The results indicated that there were some deviations from traditional patterns in the Turkish family structure with each succeeding generation, as well as some continuity. These changes were stated as an augmentation of perceived encouragement of effort and achievement and independence. In addition to

these, thinking, questioning, and emotional openness also increased with each succeeding generation. However, while some important aspects are changing from generation to generation, a totally independent self model is not expected to arise. For example, Baştuğ's (2002) research about Turkish families and households revealed that most college students or single adults live with their parents. Actually, this study partly supports Kağıtçıbaşı's (2005) conceptualization of Turkish culture on the basis of relatedness and separateness. According to Kağıtçıbaşı (2005), as basic human needs, autonomy and relatedness may seem as conflicting, but they are compatible. While evaluating the changes in Turkish society, Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) claims that the Turkish family is emotionally interdependent but economically independent and thus, new childrearing practices lead to the creation of an "autonomous-relational" self.

When Erdoğan et al. (in press) previously mentioned life script study and the Danish scripts (Bernsten & Rubin, 2004) were compared to each other, it is seen that the minor differences point to the claims above. Basically, the two scripts were similar with seventeen common events; six of the top ten events being the same; the top three events (marriage, having children and beginning school) being identical with a different order. On the other hand, apart from other minor differences, there were two events that were reported in both scripts with different ranks and values: "leave home" and "first sexual experience". The rank of "leave home" was the eight in the rank of the Danish script with an emotional valence of 1.12. In the Turkish sample, "leave home" was in the thirteenth rank with an emotional valence of -1.00. Concerning the different ranks, this finding is consistent with Baştuğ's (2002) research. Concerning both the rank and emotional valence of the "leave home" event, this result can be interpreted in line with Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996; 2005)

conceptualization. Because the self is emotionally related with the family in Turkish society, and as it is stated in Erdoğan et al.'s (in press) study since leaving home is mostly due to compulsory cases such as going to college in another city, it is understandable why Turkish participants assess the "leave home" event as rare and negative. When it comes to "first sexual experience", it was also mentioned more frequently by Danish participants (ranked twenty-four) than Turkish participants (ranked thirty-tree). There was also a difference between estimated age at event values: sixteen years-old for the Danish sample and 22.5 years-old for the Turkish sample. This difference can also be evaluated within the context of Turkish culture which is still traditional, authoritarian and patriarchal.

The present study consists of three experiments. The first two are replications of Bernsten and Rubin's (2002) and Rubin and Bernsten's (2003), respectively. The main purpose of the two is to investigate cultural age norms in Turkish culture with two different methodologies. The third experiment attempts to accomplish two goals. First, it will determine the distribution of autobiographical memories over the life span and determine to what degree the distribution overlaps with the cultural age norms obtained in the first two studies. Secondly, it will attempt to determine the (public) events that determine/distinguish different generations in Turkish culture.

CHAPTER 2: STUDY 1

This first study is a replication of Bernsten and Rubin's (2004) first study. In this study, participants were asked to make age estimations about a hundred-year-old person's happiest, most important, saddest, most traumatic, most fearful and most in love memories. Here, the aim was to see if life scripts highlight positive events rather than negative ones. It was expected that there would be more agreement on the age estimations of positive events, that is to say the standard deviations of age estimations for positive events would be lesser that the negative ones'. Besides, there would be a bump in the distribution of age estimations for only positive events in the reminiscence bump period (i.e. between the ages of fifteen and thirty) for all age groups.

Method

Participants

Two hundred and forty seven participants between the ages of twenty and eighty-two (M=40.6, SD= 13.6) were included in this study. Participants were recruited through convenience sampling. There are five different age groups in the present study. Table 1 shows the mean age and standard deviations and the number of women and men respondents for each age group.

Table 1. Participants in Study 1

Age Range	Mean	SD	N	Women	Men
20-29	25.4	2.6	78	40	38
30-39	35.5	2.7	50	32	18
40-49	45.3	2.6	52	28	24
50-59	55.3	2.7	52	22	30
≥ 60	68.5	7.1	15	8	7

Procedure

All participants filled a questionnaire individually at their homes.

Questionnaire

The original questionnaire used by Berntsen and Rubin (2004, Study 1) was translated into Turkish and was tested in a pilot study for the comprehensibility of the questions. After this pilot study, it was seen that it was necessary to inform the participants that they should give only one age estimate, not an age range.

Participants were informed on the first page of the questionnaire that this study was about people's expectations for a typical life course. The specific instructions were as follows:

> People are getting older nowadays. It is no longer unusual to live to become a hundred years old. Imagine a quite ordinary person (of your own gender), who has become a hundred years old and who is looking back at his/her life, thinking about a series of different events. Your task is to estimate the

person's age at the time when each of these events took place. If you have no idea as to when the event is most likely to have occurred, use your best guess. There are no correct or incorrect answers. We are interested in your intuitions about when each of these events is most likely to occur for a typical person.

Participants were also informed that they should give only one age estimate, not an age range. Following each age estimate, participants were asked about how confident they felt that their estimate was in the right decade of the imagined person's life. The Turkish version of the questionnaire is given in Appendix A.

Results

Figure 1 through 6 shows the distribution of age estimations for events with different emotional valences.

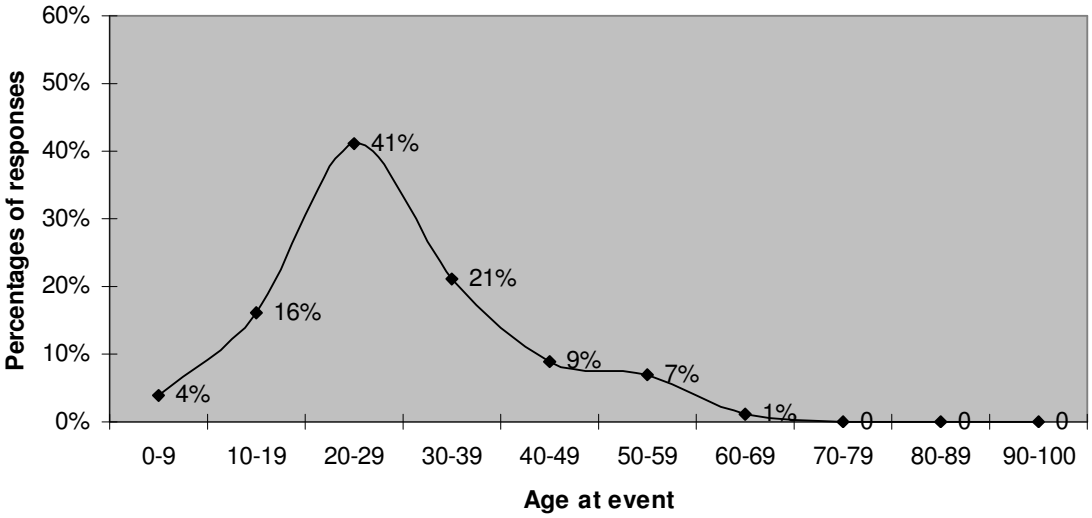

Figure 1. Distribution of Estimated Age at Happiest Event for a hypothetical hundred-year-old person

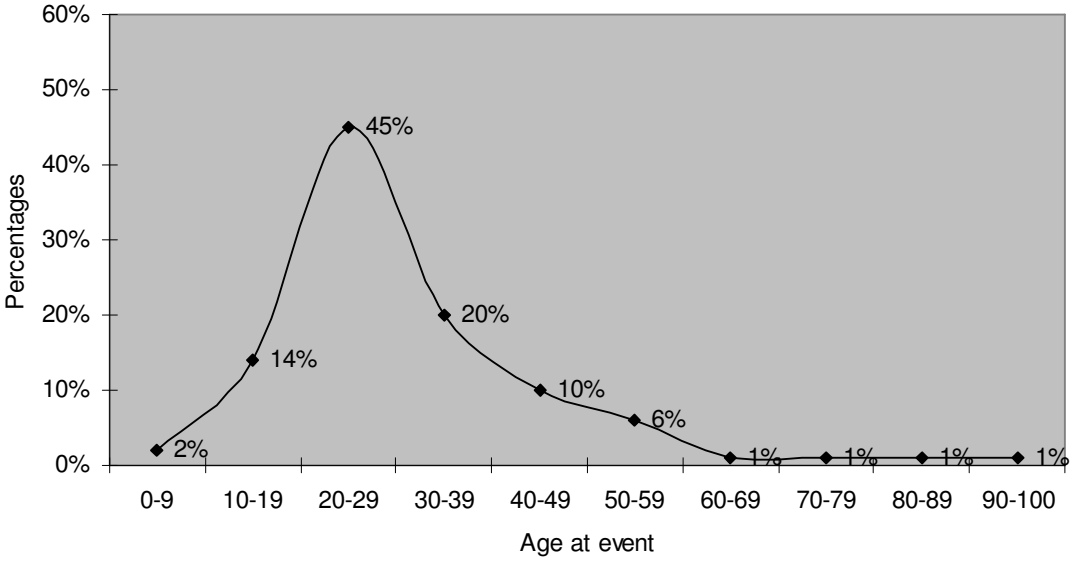

Figure 2. Distribution of Estimated Age at Most Important Event for a hypothetical hundred-year-old person

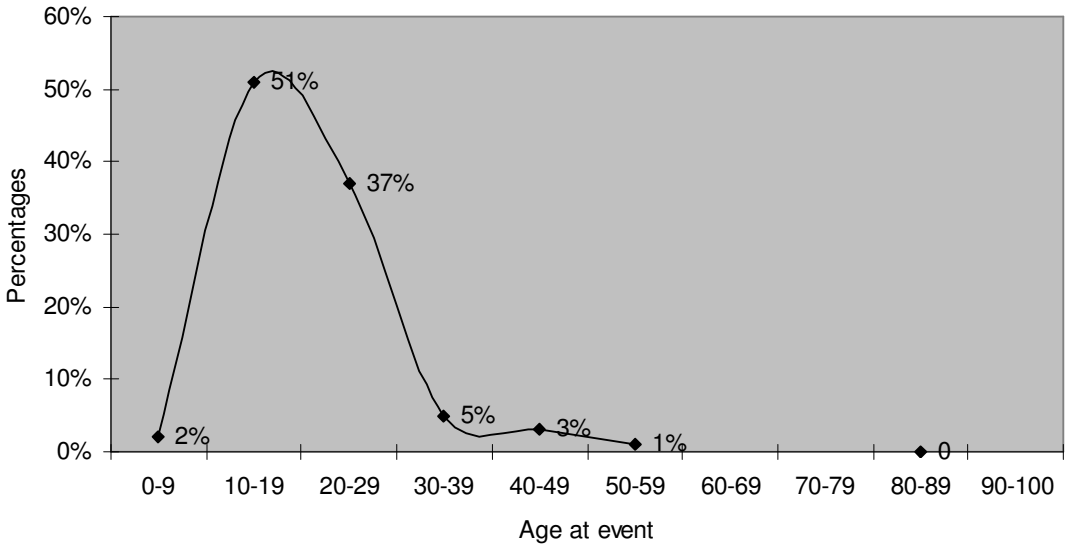

Figure 3. Distribution of Estimated Age at Most in Love Event for a hypothetical hundred-year-old person

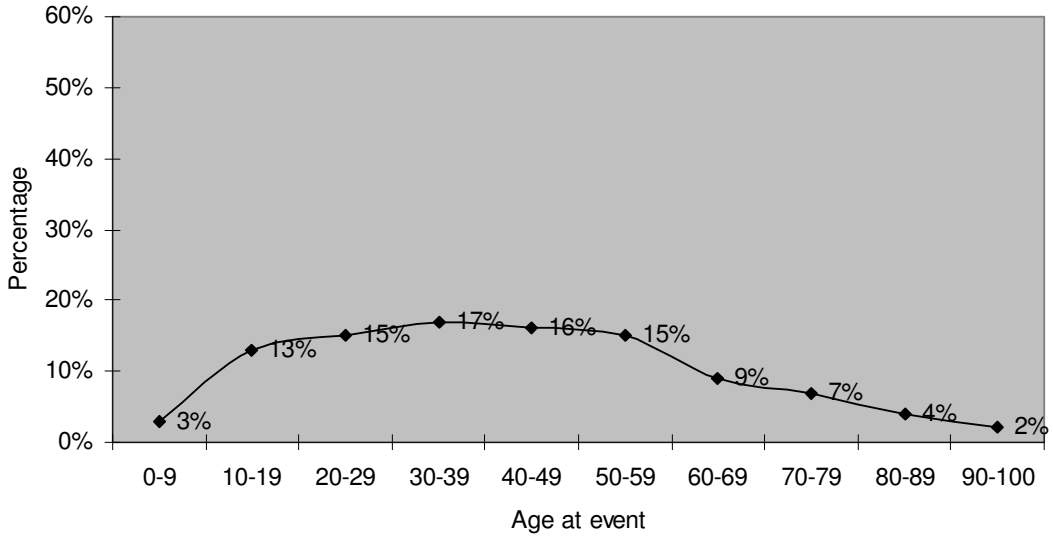

Figure 4. Distribution of estimated age at saddest event for a hypothetical hundred-year-old person

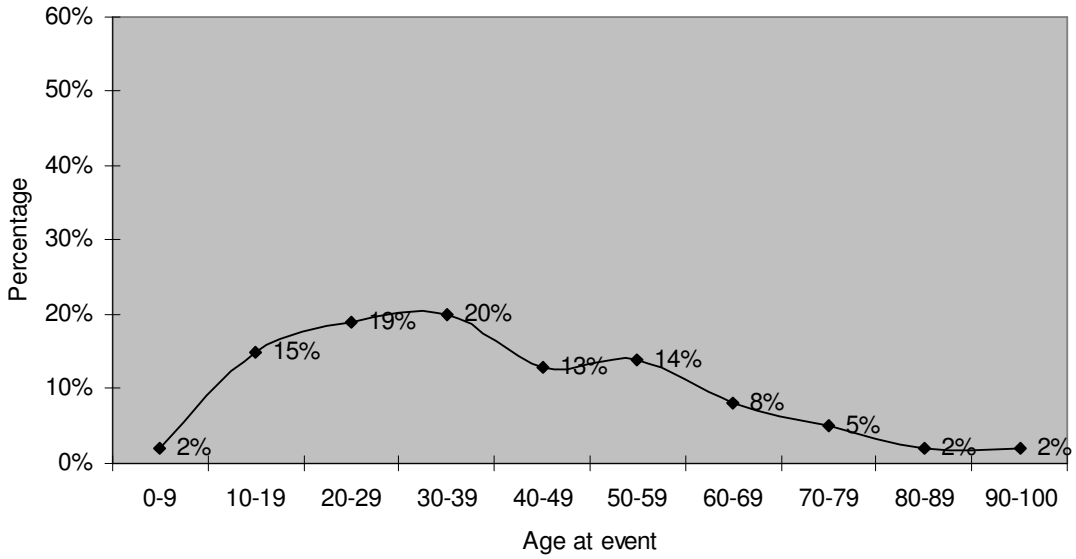

Figure 5. Distribution of estimated age at most traumatic event for a hypothetical hundred-year-old person

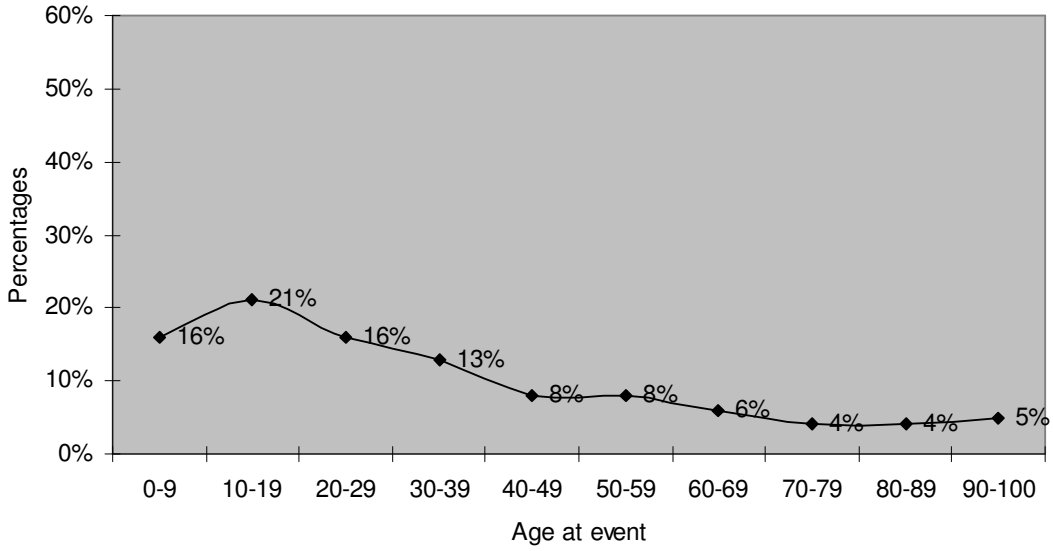

Figure 6. Distribution of estimated age at most fearful event for a hypothetical hundred-year-old person

Study 1 was a replication of Bernsten and Rubin's (2004) first study. Based on the results of this earlier study, it was expected that there would be clear bumps for the most important, the happiest and most in love events. This expectation was supported. For the most important events, the bump was between the ages of twenties and thirties with a peak in the twenties; for the happiest, the bump was between twenties and thirties with a peak in the twenties; and for the most in love, the bump was between the teens and twenties with a peak in the teens. These results were similar to the findings of Bernsten and Rubin's (2004) first study in which two of the positive events -happiest and most important- were reported to occur mostly in the time period of young adulthood and the third positive event, which is the most in love event, was reported to occur mostly in the time period of adolescence. For the saddest, most traumatic and most fearful events, the distributions were more flat. These results reflect that there is almost no agreement for when negative events are expected to take place in a life time.

The standard deviations of age estimates for the events were examined as another measure for the level of agreement across respondents. In line with the findings of Bernsten and Rubin's (2004) first study, the standard deviations for the most important, the happiest and the most in love events were lower than the rest. Lower standard deviation is an implication of a more shared cognitive structure about age expectations. The present findings support this view. While for the most important, the happiest and most in love events the standard deviations were 14.29, 12.91, and 7.73, respectively, for the saddest, most traumatic, and most fearful events the standard deviations are 20.45, 20.44 and 25.22 , respectively.

Confidence Ratings

There were no significant differences between the confidence ratings of the respondents about their age estimates for the six events. Individually, confidence ratings for the most important, happiest, most in love, saddest, most afraid and most traumatic events had means of 1.45, 1.4, 1.4, 1.48, 1.48, 1.54, respectively.

Gender differences

Agreement across gender on the age estimates for positive events would prove that there was a culturally shared age expectation script. Although the person's actual life differs from his/her cultural script because of his/her gender, that person has the same shared knowledge concerning age expectations. Figure 7 through 12 shows the distribution of age estimations for events with different emotional valences for women and men.

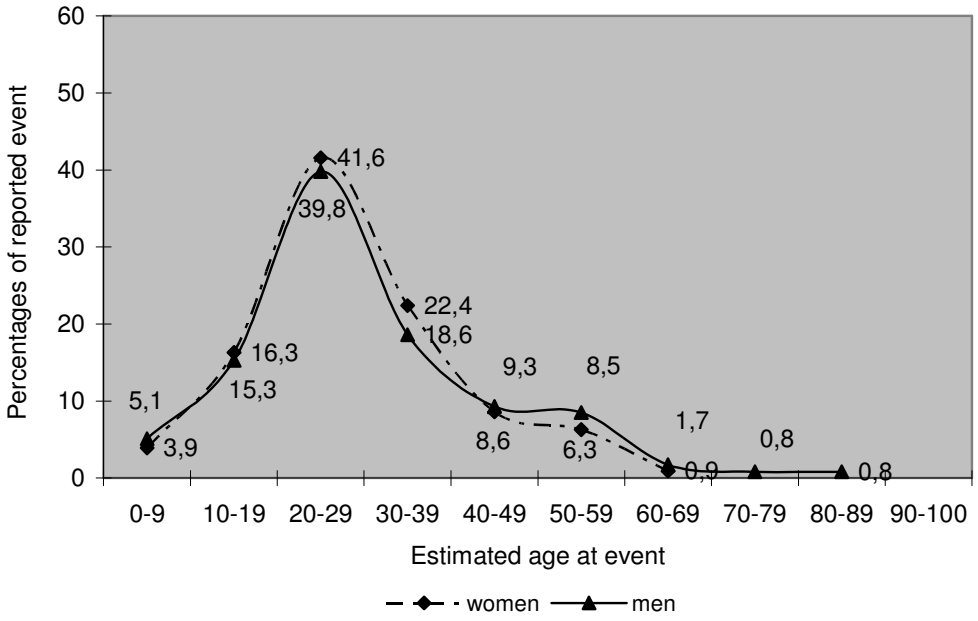

Figure 7. Distribution of age estimations of women and men participants for the happiest event

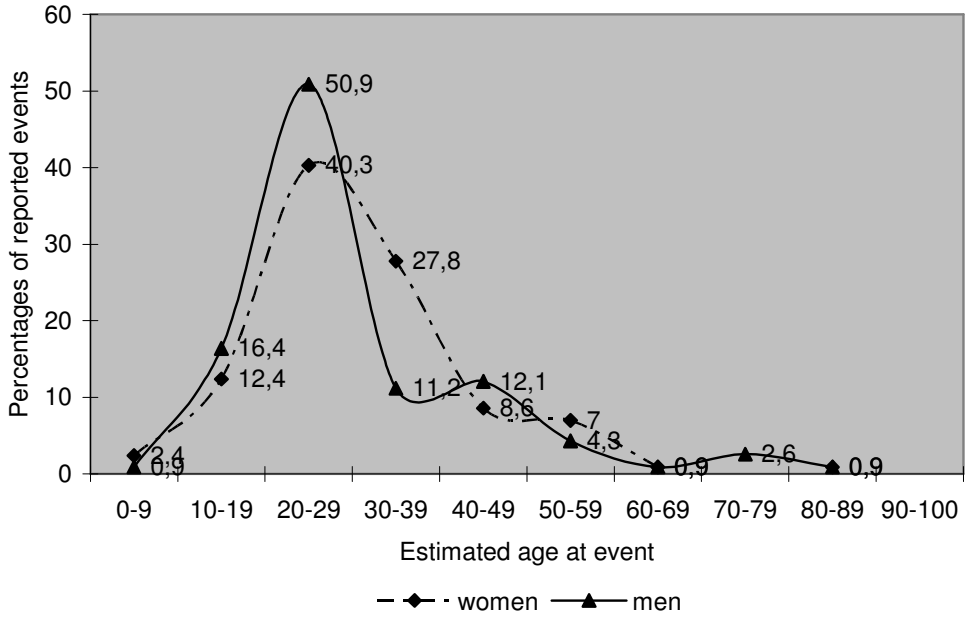

Figure 8. Distribution of age estimations of women and men participants for the most important event

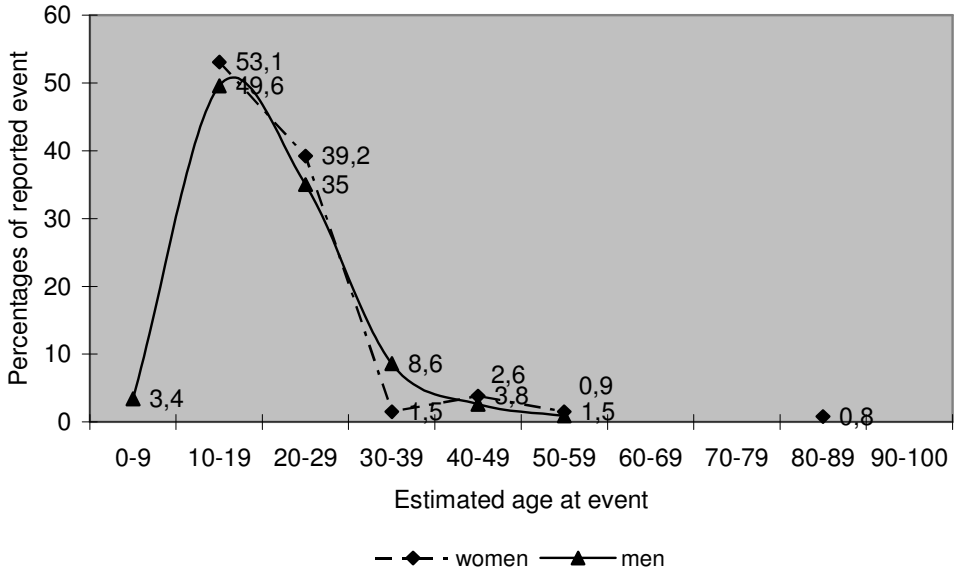

Figure 9. Distribution of age estimations of women and men participants for the most in love event

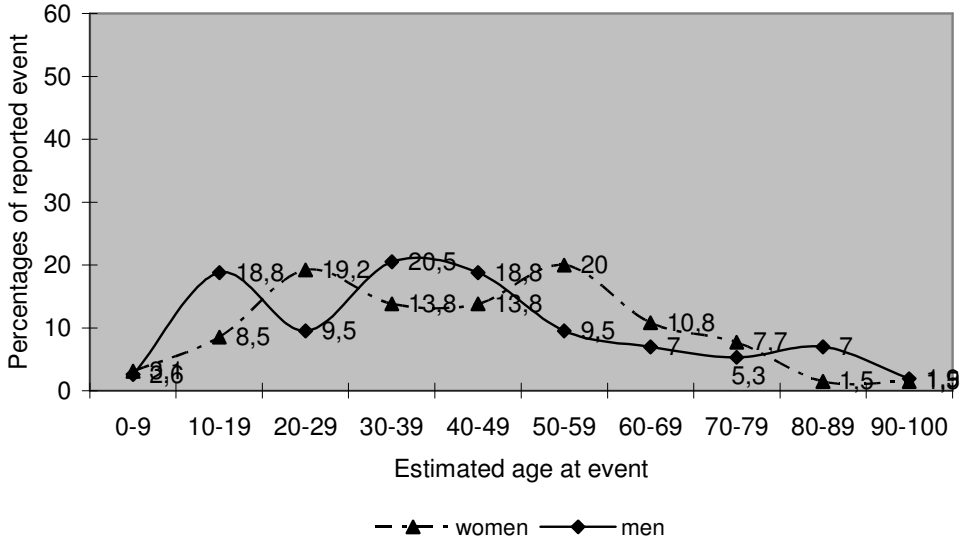

Figure 10. Distribution of age estimations of women and men participants for the saddest event

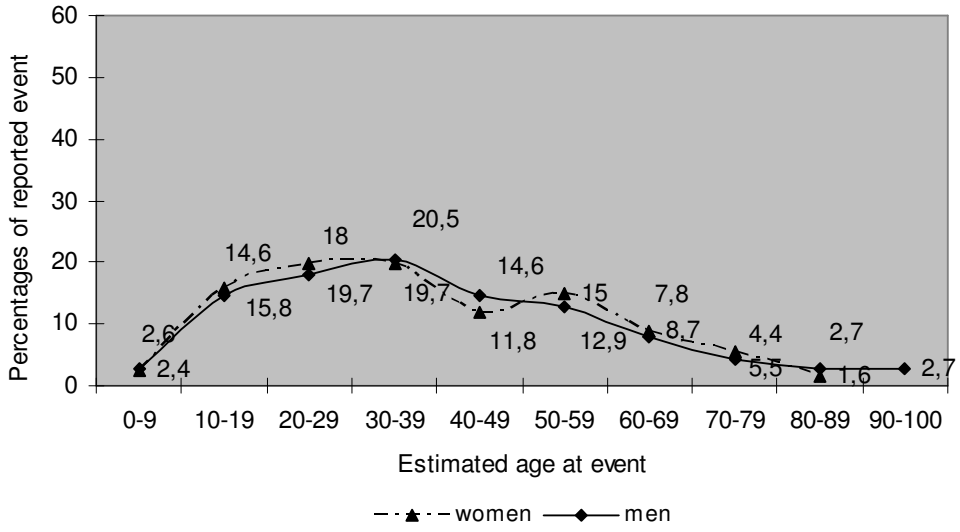

Figure 11. Distribution of age estimations of women and men participants for the most traumatic event

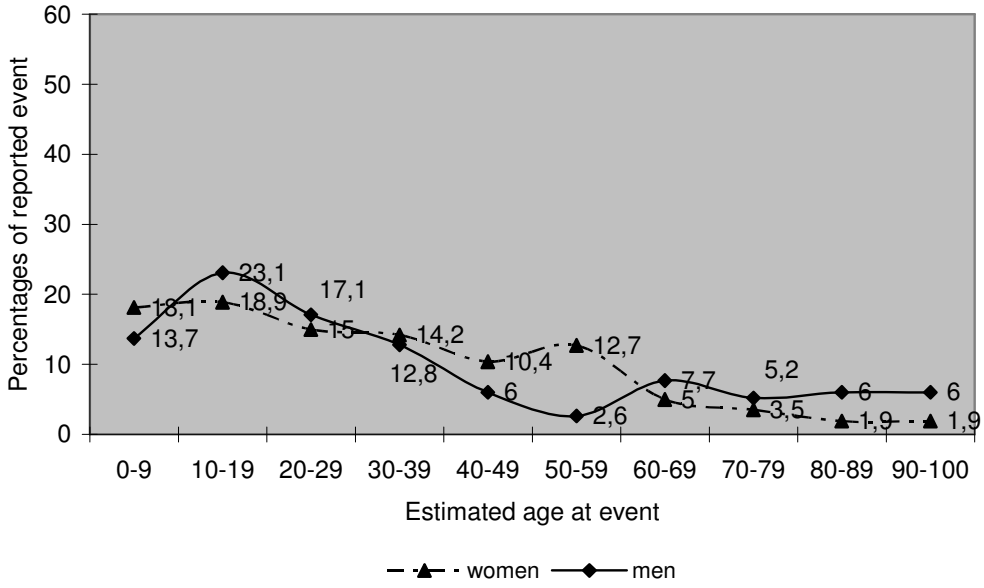

Figure 12. Distribution of age estimations of women and men participants for the most fearful event

Although the distribution of age estimations for men and women seemed to have differences, repeated measures of ANOVA revealed no significant interaction between gender and mean of age estimations with different emotional valences [$F(1, 227)= 0.02$, $p>0.05$].

Age differences

Because there were only fifteen participants above the age of sixty years of age, this group was not included in one-way ANOVA analysis. Thus, only four age groups were included.

The ANOVA analysis revealed that age group had a significant effect over the mean of age estimates concerning the happy, traumatic and fearful memories, [$F(3, 228)= 10.6$, $p< .001$; $F(3, 227)= 9.77$, $p<.001$; $F(3,227)= 4.25$, $p<.01$, respectively.] There was no significant interaction between age group and age estimates for the rest of the events, [$F(3, 228)= 0.33$, $p> .05$] Both Tukey HSD and

Table 2. Mean of age estimates for events with different emotional valences for four age groups.

AGE	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59
M Age Estimate for Happiest Event	25.6	25.3	27.4	36.9
M Age Estimate for Most Important Event	28.5	29.2	28.2	34.6
M Age Estimate for Most in Love Event	20.0	21.3	20.9	20.7
M Age Estimate for Saddest Event	42.0	37.9	38.1	41.0
M Age Estimate for Most Traumatic Event	31.6	33.8	39.6	49.6
M Age Estimate for Most Fearful Event	28.4	33.5	32.4	44.4

Scheffe post-hoc analysis revealed that participants from age decade fifty to fifty-nine, reported older age estimates than the participants from age decades forty to forty-nine, thirty to thirty-nine and the twenty to twenty-nine concerning happy and traumatic memories. When it comes to the fearful memories, there was significant difference only between the participants from age decade fifty and fifty-nine and the

participants from age decade twenty to twenty-nine. Participants from the first decade reported older age estimates than the latter ones.

Discussion

Two important findings concerning the life script account emerged from this study. In line with Bernsten and Rubin's (2004, Study 1) findings, the age estimates for the two positive events (the most important and happiest events) were mostly reported from the twenties of a life-time period. For the third positive event, which is the most in love event, the age estimates bumped in the teens of a life-time period. However, the distributions of the three negative events, which are the most traumatic, most fearful and saddest events, had a much more flat form. Thus, people have a shared age expectation for positive events and these age expectations are mostly from the teens and twenties, in other words late adolescence and early adulthood.

The second important finding was that the standard deviations for the age estimates were considerably smaller for the three positive events than for the three negative events. These two findings support the findings of Bernsten of Rubin's (2004) first study. They also found that participants had more agreement on when positive events would occur based on the share age estimations and smaller standard deviations for age estimations of positive events. On the other hand, the finding concerning the confidence rates was different from theirs. In the present study, the confidence rates for positive and negative events were not different. But still, the main findings support the idea that there are shared timetables guiding the age estimates for positive events, but not the negative ones. The third and fourth decades of the lifespan seem to be expected to be the periods for the happiest and most

important events take place in a person's life. For the most in love events to occur the expected age decades were the second and third ones. Still, the third life decade which is young adulthood was the shared period for the three positive event types.

Out of gender differences supports the view that one can perceive cultural expectations in spite of one's actual life style. On the other hand, there were age effects over the age estimations. As people get older, they report older age estimates. This may be because as one lives more, one has more event repertoires in mind.

In the second study, which is a replication of Bernsten and Rubin's (2004) second study, it was investigated if agreement on age estimates concerning the positive events could be explained by an underlying cultural life script.

CHAPTER 3: STUDY 2

This study is a replication of Bernsten and Rubin's (2004) second study. In this study participants were asked to report seven important events from a baby's life span and to evaluate the prevalence, importance, age at event and valence of these events. Here, the aim was to see if the participants of a given culture shared a common view of expected events in a lifetime period and to see if those mentioned events were culturally transitional events rather than purely biological ones. Besides, as it was the case in the first study, it was expected that the participants would report similar age estimations for positive events rather than for negative ones and there would be a bump in the distribution of age estimations for only positive events in the reminiscence bump period, as it was the case in Erdoğan et al.'s (in press) study.

As the main argument was that life scripts include positive events, the Beck Depression Inventory was given to the participants, in order to see if the psychological status of the participants would influence life script construction. It is possible that participants with negative moods may report more negative events than positive ones.

Method

Participants

One hundred and thirty five participants (Eighty-eight women, forty-seven men; mean age, 25.9; range, 20-49) were recruited through convenience sampling.

Procedure

All participants filled a questionnaire and the Beck Depression Inventory (BDI) individually, in that order.

Questionnaire

The original questionnaire used by Berntsen and Rubin (2004, Study 2) was translated into Turkish and was tested in a pilot study in order to see the comprehensibility of the questions. After this pilot study, it was seen that an event definition was needed. Thus, the event definition of an event, as: "An event is something that happens, has a clear beginning and end, in a determinate situation. Processes are not included in the definition of an event" was added to the Turkish version of the questionnaire.

The participants were informed that the aim of the study was to investigate people's expectations for a typical life course, on the first page. The specific instructions were as follows:

> Imagine a quite ordinary baby (of your own gender). It cannot be a specific infant that you know, but a prototypical infant in your culture with quite an ordinary life course ahead. Your task is to write down the seven most important events that you imagine are highly likely to take place in this prototypical infant's life. Write the events in the same order as they come to your mind. Give each event a short title that specifies its content.

After listing the events, the participants answered the following questions in the questionnaire for each of the recorded events: 1) Prevalence: How common is the event? Out of hundred people, how many will experience this event at least once during their lives? 2) Importance: How important is the event? (rating on a seven

point scale from 1=unimportant to 7=extremely important) 3) Age: At what age is the event expected to take place? In addition to this original form, participants were asked to rate how confident they were about their age estimate on a seven point scale (from 1=unconfident to 7=extremely confident) in the Turkish version of the questionnaire. 4) Valence: Is the event emotionally positive or negative? (rating on a scale from -3=extremely negative to 3=extremely positive) 5) Will the event involve one or more of these emotions: happiness, anger, love, fear, sadness, pride, jealousy, and other? They were also asked how old they were when the events they reported were happened, if they did. The Turkish version of the questionnaire is given in Appendix B.

Results

Forty three event categories were recorded. The events listed by the participants were categorized by one of the authors, then checked and re-categorized by both of the authors and two other researchers. The categorizations were based on the definitions of the events that were given by the participants. The categorization scheme used by Bernsten and Rubin was also taken into consideration. While the categorizations were basically similar to the participants' own labeling, sometimes there appeared two different categories that seemed similar to each other, such as "college" and "college entrance exam". The first one points to the university life that starts with registering to a college; the second one signifies the national college entrance exam, which is basically a serious problem for Turkish youth. There are also five different categories for death (own death, parents' death, relatives' death, other's death and a family-member's death) for the same reason. All of the categories, which are shown

in Table 3, include events that were mentioned by more than three participants, except for the "other" category.

Table 3. Events mentioned more than three times along with means and standard deviations of frequency of mention, estimated prevalence, importance, age at event and valence

	Frequency of	% of	Prevalence		Importance		Age at Event		Valence	
Event Type	Mention	Mention	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*
Marriage	95	70.4%	83.43	15.50	6.28	0.90	25.08	2.85	2.17	0.87
Begin school	80	59.3%	92.21	12.01	6.67	0.53	6.92	1.28	1.92	1.28
Having children	74	54.8%	76.34	15.45	6.59	0.68	26.84	4.31	2.64	0.59
First Job	56	41.5%	73.75	21.08	6.32	0.69	22.93	3.09	1.79	1.07
College	51	37.8%	44.43	22.28	6.22	0.81	19.61	2.32	2.18	0.96
Fall in Love	47	34.8%	76.66	26.28	6.19	0.85	15.91	4.16	1.81	1.08
Own Death	30	22.2%	100	.00	6.47	1.48	65.38	10.82	-0.73	2.07
College Entr. Exam	21	15.6%	62.14	23.69	6.29	0.85	17.86	0.66	-0.19	1.97
Puberty	19	14.1%	93.63	12.54	6.16	1.07	12.37	2.91	0.47	1.47
Begin Talking	19	14.1%	98.58	3.37	6.84	0.50	1.97	0.89	2.68	0.48
Begin Walking	18	13.3%	97.78	5.84	6.89	0.32	1.69	0.90	2.78	4.43
Military Service*	17	12.6%	97.53	3.26	5.41	1.58	20.41	1.50	0.18	1.91
Circumsicion*	14	10.4%	95.57	10.60	6.00	1.04	5.86	2.39	1.07	1.64
Illness	14	10.4%	65.00	31.87	6.43	0.76	23.39	20.37	-2.29	0.83
Parents' Death	12	8.9%	71.67	34.13	6.75	0.45	38.30	18.04	-2.75	0.45
Having Friends	11	8.2%	95.73	11.94	6.73	0.47	7.73	4.88	2.36	0.92
Sibling Birth	10	7.4%	79.00	18.53	6.30	0.48	2.89	1.27	0.80	2.15
Family Conflict	10	7.4%	61.50	25.71	5.20	1.48	14.80	4.08	-1.80	0.79
Traffic Accident	10	7.4%	47.90	34.12	6.10	0.74	14.56	7.67	-2.50	0.53
Career Problems	10	7.4%	50.50	30.05	6.20	1.03	30.30	7.06	-2.60	0.52
Having grandchild	10	7.4%	77.60	18.96	6.10	0.99	53.30	4.95	2.60	0.52
Relatives' Death	10	7.4%	96.10	6.49	6.80	0.42	30.40	16.90	-2.40	0.97
Begin Daycare	9	6.7%	73.22	25.85	5.56	1.81	4.44	0.88	1.44	1.81
Success in Career	8	5.9%	38.62	17.39	6.50	0.54	26.38	1.85	2.75	0.46
Family-member's death	8	5.9%	86.12	19.13	6.00	0.76	28.88	12.72	-2.38	0.74
High-school	8	5.9%	72.50	27.26	6.50	0.76	14.88	2.10	1.88	0.84
Subject to violence	7	5.1%	74.71	21.41	6.57	0.79	10.40	8.30	-2.29	1.89
Gender Problems	7	5.1%	64.00	26.08	5.43	0.79	10.14	6.47	-1.00	1.16
Accidents/Injuries	7	5.1%	58.29	40.25	5.00	1.29	9.29	5.09	-1.43	0.97
Getting Older	7	5.1%	90.57	22.38	6.43	0.98	60.71	12.05	0.43	1.62
Leave home	7	5.1%	46.43	22.12	5.86	0.69	20.43	4.24	1.00	1.16
Divorce	6	4.4%	30.33	16.85	5.33	1.03	36.17	4.49	-1.83	0.98
Retirement	6	4.4%	60.83	29.74	6.00	0.63	56.67	4.08	1.33	1.03
Others' Death	6	4.4%	69.17	38.53	6.17	0.98	19.00	11.41	-1.50	2.35
Realize Environment	5	3.7%	97.60	4.28	6.80	0.45	2.02	1.85	2.20	0.45
First Tooth	4	3.0%	100.00	0.00	6.00	1.41	2.38	3.09	-0.25	2.06
Crawling	4	3.0%	99.75	0.50	6.50	0.58	1.38	0.75	2.75	0.50
New Environment	4	3.0%	89.75	7.76	6.00	0.82	11.25	6.65	1.75	1.26
To be cheated	4	3.0%	60.00	14.14	6.50	0.58	25.67	6.66	-1.25	2.87
Choice of occup.	4	3.0%	79.50	21.00	6.50	0.58	21.00	3.56	-1.50	1.29
Restrictions	4	3.0%	73.75	31.98	5.50	1.00	4.75	6.19	-1.00	0.82
Own Birth	4	3.0%	100.00	0.00	7.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.25	1.50
Other	24	17.8%	64.27	34.85	5.81	1.02	16.17	10.29	-0.92	1.92

*These events were reported only by men. The percentages of these events were calculated by only including the number of men respondents. In that case, the percentage for military service was 36.2% and for circumcision 29.8%

The "Other" category includes events that were mentioned by only three participants. The following events were included in the other category: unfair treatment; failure in the college entrance exam; becoming permanently incapacitated; the high school entrance exam; learning to obey family rules; having toilet education; first big exam; parents' divorce. A hundred and sixty events that were mentioned less than three times were not included in the analysis. Thus, 783 events were analyzed and forty-three event-types, including the "other" category, were constructed. As it was stated in Erdoğan et al.'s (in press) study, the number of events, their frequencies and the age estimations support the idea that there is a shared understanding of a life script for Turkish culture. In line with both the Danish sample of Bernsten and Rubin (2004) and with the Turkish sample of Erdoğan et al. (in press), most of the events fell into the educational, family and work areas and were related to social roles or transitional events (i.e. having a child, thus being a father or mother, and also the transition from being a single person to a married one). There were also biological events such as puberty, death, to begin walking, begin talking and getting older. But it is arguable if these events are purely biological.

The results revealed that 59.5% (twenty-five out of forty-two events), and eight out of top ten events were positive (valence > 0). This result is similar to Erdoğan et al. (in press), in whose study 59.3% of all event types were positive. Another similar finding with the previous Turkish data (Edroğan, et al., in press) is that the standard deviations of the age-at-events estimates were higher for negative events. This can be seen in Table 3. While the mean standard deviation of age estimates was 2.90 for positive events (median=2.32), it was 8.53 for negative events (median=7.06). That is to say, there was more agreement on the age estimates for positive events, than for negative events. Another finding that supports this idea was

the participants' confidence about their age estimates. The means of confidence about the age estimates for positive and negative events were 4.86 and 4.24, respectively (with the standard deviations of 1.50 and 1.75, respectively). There was a significant difference between the confidence level of age estimates for negative and positive events [t (714) = 4.60, p<.001]. The other significant differences between positive and negative events were the prevalence and importance of events. The means of prevalence scores of the positive and negative events were 78.63 and 71.15, respectively (with standard deviations of 23.79 and 29.61, respectively). This was a significant difference [t(714)=3.43, p<.001]. There was also a significant difference between the importance of positive and negative events [t(714)=5.36, p<.001]. The mean score of the importance of positive and negative events were 6.43 and 6.02, respectively (with standard deviations of 0.76 and 1.22, respectively).

A more important finding was about the relation between the order of the reported events and age-at-event estimations. There was a strong positive correlation between these two variables, r(41)=0.88 p<0.01. The same correlation was found by Erdoğan et al. (in press) and Bernsten and Rubin (2004), 0.81 and 0.55, respectively. This finding is important because one of the main predictions of the life script account is that because of a shared cognitive structure for a typical life, people should think events chronologically. Thus, these correlations supported this expectation.

Finally, a distribution of positive, negative and neutral events was made. Of the 783 events in the life script, 68.11% was positive, 23.5% of the events were negative and 8.55% was neutral. Figure 12 shows the distribution of positive, negative and neutral events as a function of age-at event.

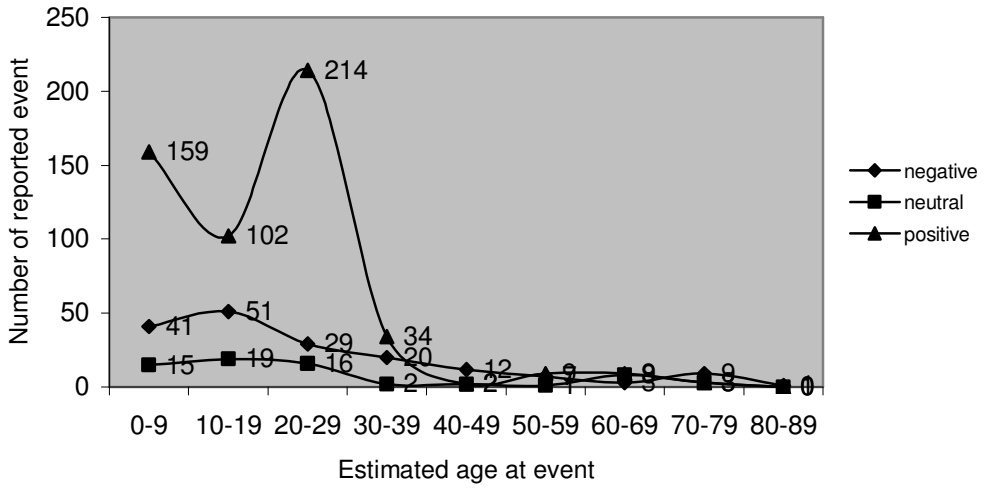

Figure 12. Distribution of negative, positive and neutral events within the life-time of the hypothetic newborn baby

As it is obvious, there was a clear and important bump for positive events in the third decade of life, similar to the finding of Erdoğan et al. (in press) and Bernsten and Rubin (2004, Study 2). Another shared feature of the distribution of events with the first Turkish sample (Erdoğan, et al., 2006) was the slight bump of negative events in the second decade of life. There were fifty-one negative events falling in that decade of life and twenty-one out of these fifty-one events were named as the same event: "the national college entrance exam". Following the same method with Erdoğan et al. (in press), when these twenty-one events were eliminated, no bump occurred.

Participants were asked to fill BDI in order to see if their mood influenced how they structured the life script. However, no significant relation between the depression scores and the valence of reported events was found. For a detailed analysis, the participants were grouped based on their depression scores. Participants with 25% of the highest depression score (range=16-30, *M*=23.2, SD=5.7) were grouped as "high depression score" (N=23, age range= 20-31, *M* =23.4, SD=3) and participants with 25% of the lowest depression score (range=0-6, *M*=3.6, SD=2.1)

were grouped as "lowest depression score" (N=23, age range=20-46, *M*=26.5, SD=6.3). Participants with the lowest depression score reported 111 (69%) positive events and thirty-five (21.7%) negative events out of 161 events. Participants with the highest depression score reported 116 (72%) positive events and thirty-three (20.5%) negative events out of 161 events. Tables 4 and 5 show how the top five events of life script were situated in these two groups' script.

Table 4. Top five events' means and standard deviations of frequency of mention, estimated prevalence, importance, age at event and valence for highest depression score group

	Frequency of Mention	% of Mention	Prevalence		Importance		Age at Event		Valence	
Event Type			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Marriage	18	78.3%	75.17	22.66	6.28	0.75	24.72	3.29	2.28	0.58
Having Children	15	65.2%	76.47	14.80	6.67	0.62	25.80	4.00	2.87	0.35
Begin school	12	52.2%	95.75	6.17	6.83	0.39	6.58	0.52	2.33	0.89
First Job	9	39.1%	70.56	27.21	6.56	0.73	22.22	3.19	2.22	0.44
College	8	34.9%	35	15.12	6.50	0.76	18.63	1.93	2.50	0.54

Table 5. Top five events' means and standard deviations of frequency of mention, estimated prevalence, importance, age at event and valence for "lowest depression score" group

	Frequency of Mention	% of Mention	Prevalence		Importance		Age at Event		Valence	
Event Type			M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
Marriage	18	78.3%	86.53	9.57	6.07	1.22	24.00	2.51	2.00	1.46
College	13	56.5%	54.62	6.31	0.75	0.62	19.00	2.16	1.25	0.89
Begin School	12	52.2%	91.92	6.67	0.49	0.39	7.00	6.75	1.75	1.55
Having Children	9	39.1%	78.89	19.80	6.67	0.50	25.78	2.64	2.56	0.53
First Job	8	34.9%	83.75	10.61	5.75	0.46	22.75	2.55	1.25	0.89

As can be seen from Table 4 "college" came before "begin school" for participants with the highest depression scores and Table 5 shows that "having children" came before "begin school" for participants with the lowest depression scores. Participants with the high depression scores seemed to evaluate events less positively than the

other group. However, among sixteen comparisons, the only significant difference between these two tables was about the valence of "first job". Participants with the lowest depression scores evaluated "first job" as more positive than participants with the highest depression scores [$t(15)=-2.2$, $p<.001$].

The result of this comparison supports the idea of the life script. Although the emotional values of the events change, they are still in the life script with high frequencies.

Gender Differences

There was no significant difference between the age-estimates of female and male participants, 19.3 (SD=14.9) and 21.2 (SD= 16.3), respectively. Concerning the valence of reported events, females reported more negative events than males (25.7% and 20.68%, respectively) and males reported more neutral events than females (10.53% and 7.54%, respectively). There was no difference between the percentages of positive events. 67.89% of events reported by females was positive, whereas 68.80% of events reported by males was positive.

Comparison of Existing Life Scripts

In the present study, there were fourty-three event types. Twenty four of these events were the same with the other Turkish life script (i.e., Erdoğan et al., in press). Twenty-seven events were categorized in Erdoğan et al.'s (in press) study. Nine of the top ten events were the same with this script with a different order. The top four events (i.e., marriage, begin school, having children and first job) of the present

study were identical with the other Turkish sample. For the top ten events while "begin talking" was included in the present script, this category was replaced with "other's death" in Erdoğan et al.'s (in press) script. The shared top nine events' frequencies, means of age at event estimations, standard deviations for means of age estimations and mean of valence scores were correlated individually. The results revealed that there were positive correlations between the two lists concerning these nine events' frequencies, means of age at event estimations, standard deviations for means of age at event estimations and mean of valence scores [$r(7) = 0.94$, $p < 0.01$; $r(7)=0.99$, $p < 0.01$; $r(7) = 0.95$, $p < 0.01$; $r(7) = 0.98$, $p < 0.01$; respectively]. Thus, these results supported the idea that Turkish people had a shared understanding concerning the expected events of the culture and the expected ages for experiencing these events.

In the Danish life script, there were thirty-six event categories. Twenty-one of these events were shared by the present study's results. Six of the top ten events were identical. There was only one event type that could not take place in the Danish script, but which was the eight event type of the present study: the college entrance exam. The four different events that took place in the top ten of the Danish scripts were: other's death, retirement, leave home and parent's death (with the order of sixth, seventh, eight and ninth, respectively). All these events were included in the present study's script, but with different order: thirty-fourth, thirty-third, thirty-first and fifteenth, respectively. The top three events were identical (marriage, begin school and having children, with the order of the present study) with different order (having children, marriage and begin school, with the order of Danish script). There were positive correlations only between the means of age at event estimations, and mean of valence scores of the top 6 events in both lists [$r(4) = 0.99$, $p < 0.01$ and

r(4)=0.84, $p < 0.05$, respectively]. Thus, there were similarities between the two different cultural life scripts in terms of the expected age of occurrence for events and their emotional valences.

Besides the similarities mentioned at the beginning of the comparison section, there were also some differences. These differences were mostly related to the unique features of each culture. For example, in the present study circumcision, military service and the college entrance exam were included in the reported events, just like they have been reported in Erdoğan et al.'s (in press) study. These events are not expected to be included in the Danish study. Because they are unique to the Turkish culture. Circumcision is applied to Muslim boys with a following celebration. This application is an important tradition for Turkish family. When it comes to military service, it is compulsory to do this for every Turkish man by law. Both events, as also noted by Erdoğan et al. (in press), are kinds of transitional event related with manhood. So it is easy to understand why these events were not in the Danish life script. Baptism is a similar example for this, while it takes part in the Danish script, it is understandable that it does not appear in the Turkish script.

On the other hand, there were some other differences concerning the timing, valence or prevalence of the reported event. For example, "leave home" was ranked as eight in the Danish life script. The same event was ranked at the thirty-first order in the present study. This event was ranked as thirstiest for Erdoğan et al.'s (in press) study. When it comes to the valence of the event, "leave home" was conceptualized as less positive by the Turkish sample (1.00) than the Danish sample (1.12) with greater standard deviation for the first (1.16 and 0.91, respectively). The valence of the same event was the least positive in Erdoğan et al.'s (in press) sample with the score of 0.20 and had the greatest standard deviation also, with 2.28. "Divorce" was

ranked as thirteenth in the Danish script with a frequency of twelve. The same event was ranked as thirty-second in the present study with a frequency of six. The rank of this event in Erdoğan et al.'s (in press) data was seventeen with a frequency of eight.

Although there were differences, which could be seen as differences in cultural practices, there was an overall similarity between the Danish and Turkish scripts, which was also noted by Erdoğan et al. (in press). Major transitional events were shared and there was a clear bump of positive events between the ages of fifteen and thirty for both of the samples. Those differences in minor details, which were shared by the comparison of Erdoğan et al.'s data with the Danish data, actually supported the idea that there was a unique cultural life script for Turkish culture.

Discussion

The results of the present study supported the findings of Bernsten and Rubin (2004) and Erdoğan et al. (in press).The results mainly revealed that there was a significant overlap of reported events among the participants; more positive events than neutral or negative events were reported; most of the positive events were reported to occur between the ages of fifteen and thirty; the age estimates for negative events had higher standard deviations than the positive ones. In addition to these, there was a dominance of culturally sanctioned transitional events (i.e. marriage, having children) rather than purely biological (i.e. begin walking) ones. Most importantly, it was seen that a chronological list of events were shared by people cognitively. Also, most of the positive events were reported to occur between the ages of fifteen and thirty, but for negative and neutral events the distribution was flat. All of these findings were expected by the cultural life script approach and supported by the

hypothesis that there was a shared cognitive structure for cultural life, which was an idealized version of life, that is to say positive events were included rather than negative ones.

Specifically these results, when compared with Erodğan et al.'s (in press) study, supported that there is a shared cultural life script for Turkish people. This script's main parts were shared with the Danish script, but the Turkish script has its own features related to Turkish cultural practices; such as circumcision, compulsory military service and the college entrance exam. On the other hand, events like "leave home" or "first sexual intercourse" either has a later rank or was not reported. These findings from two different Turkish samples support the view that Turkey, as a modernizing country which is urban and industrial, still has a traditional feature especially in family and gender relations (see Sunar & Fişek, 2005). Kağıtçıbaşı (1996)'s claim that the Turkish family is emotionally interdependent, but economically independent and thus, new childrearing practices lead to generate an "autonomous-relational" self was also supported.

CHAPTER 4: STUDY 3

In the third study participants were asked to provide three types of memories: word-cued autobiographical memories, emotional memories and public events. Here, the aim was to compare the cue-word autobiographical memory distribution with autobiographical memories with different emotional valences and to reach a distribution of public events by generation. The results would be compared with the results of the first and second studies.

Method

Participants

115 participants (age range=20-77, *M*= 41.6, SD= 15.1) were included in this study. Participants were obtained by convenience sampling. There are five different age groups in the present study. Table 6 shows the mean age and standard deviations, the number of women respondents for each age group.

Table 6. Participants in Study 3

Age Range	Mean	SD	N	Women	Men
20-29	24.5	2.1	30	19	11
30-39	34.3	3.6	30	18	12
40-49	44.3	2.7	20	14	6
50-59	55.6	2.9	20	10	10
≥ 60	68.3	4.7	15	6	9

Procedure and Questionnaires

Each participant completed a questionnaire individually. They were given a booklet. On the first page of the booklet, the participants were informed that study did not aim to assess intelligence, memory performance, talent or knowledge, but was an autobiographical research for generation definition. The booklet consisted of three parts: 1) Word-cued autobiographical memory test, 2) questions about autobiographical memories with different emotional valences 3) free recall public event memory test.

Word-Cued Autobiographical Memory Test

The instructions for the first section were as follows:

> In this section you will be introduced to 6 words one by one and asked to shortly describe the first personal memory of your own that comes to your mind. After reading each word, try to remember your experiences that the word reminds you of. You should have taken place in or witnessed those events or experiences. Those events or experiences could have lasted seconds, minutes or hours long. But, you are not asked to narrate a period which lasts months long. You are asked to report only a short part of that long period or a short-termed, detailed and personal memory of your own. For example, if the word is "pencil", the memory that comes to your mind can be: "In the first day of primary school my mother gave me a pink pencil as a present, but I forgot it at home because of excitement".
> Do not begin writing after seeing the first word. Give yourself time to think. Then report the first memory that comes to your mind.
> This event can be a very old or a recent one. But please not report memories that occurred in the last two years of your life. Describe your memory at most in five sentences.

Then, participants were introduced with six different words (boat, velvet, bell, key, soup, chest; the Turkish of these words are *gemi, kadife, zil, anahtar, çorba, sandık*) one by one and were asked to report an autobiographical memory that came to their

minds. These cue words were used by Aydın (2004) and through these words typical autobiographical memory distributions were obtained. Participants were also asked to report how old they were when the reported memory took place and to assess the emotional value of the reported memory on a scale. The scale was a seven point scale between "-3" (extremely negative) and "3" (extremely positive).

Autobiographical Memories of Different Emotional Valence

The instructions for the second section were as follows:

> In this section, you will be asked about some of your personal memories with different emotional values. You are expected to describe at most in five sentences one of your personal memories that lasted at most a couple of hours, has a definite beginning and end and is directly related with you. This personal memory should not have taken place in the last two years of your life time.

After this instruction, participants were asked to remember and report their most important, saddest, most in love, most traumatic, most fearful and happiest memories, with this order. After each memory, participants also reported their age of at the time of the event.

Public Event Memories

The instructions for this last section were as follows:

> In this section, you will be asked to write about three most important public events which you consider as impressive and transformative for your country or world. These public events should have taken place in your life time. Please write down three events that you think of initially. Please note at most in two sentences that why this events are important for you

After each event, the participants were asked to write down at what age the event had occurred and to assess the emotional value of the reported event on a seven point scale (from -3 = extremely negative and 3 = extremely positive).

The Turkish version of the questionnaire is given in Appendix C.

Results

The results are presented in three sections, corresponding to the three sections of the questionnaire.

Word-Cued Autobiographical Memories

Of the 690 possible memories (115 participants, six cue-words) that participants could come up with, there were a total of 643 memories. Figure 13 shows the aggregate distribution of the percentages of autobiographical memories as a function of age at event for the participants above the age of 40.

The distribution of word-cued autobiographical memories showed that people above the age of fourty reported more memories from the second and third decade of their lifetime period. Aydın's (2004) study revealed the same pattern for a Turkish sample. In the present study, fifty-five out of 115 participants were above the age of forty. Of the 330 possible memories that participants could come up with, there were a total of 307 memories. 59.6% (183 out of the 307) of the reported memories occurred in bump periods (i.e., between the ages of fifteen and thirty).

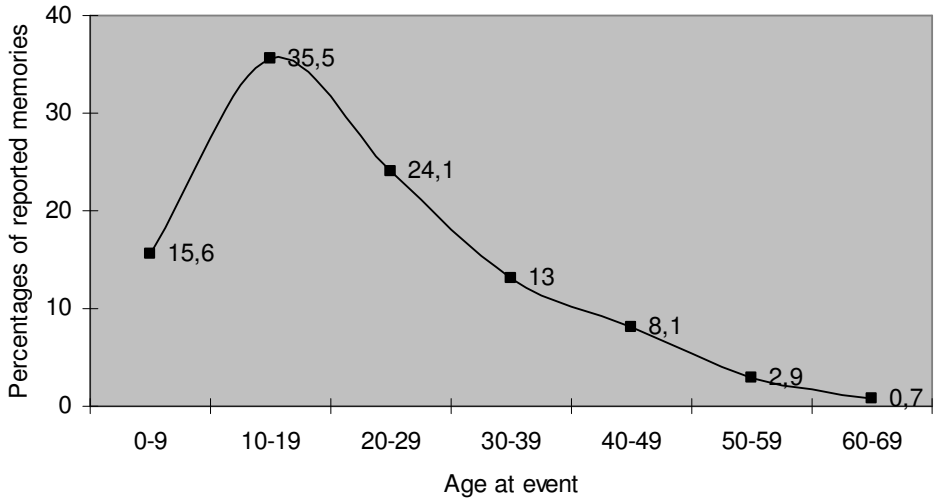

Figure 13. Distribution of word-cued autobiographical memories' of participants above the age of fourty.

Concerning the second and third decades, it is seen from Figure 13 that more memories from the second period, 35.5% (109 out of 307) were reported than from the third period, 24.1% (74 out of 307). As can be seen, the findings are in line with earlier work.

The reminiscence bump is a robust finding. But in order to see if there is any age related differences in the distribution of cued recall of autobiographical memories, the distributions for cue recalled autobiographical memories were plotted. Figure 14 shows the distribution of cued recall of autobiographical memories for different age groups.

Of the five age groups, four stated the peak in the second decade; for the remaining age group the peak extended to between the second and the third decades. Leaving aside the participants between the ages of twenty to thirty-nine (i.e. these age decades were not included in reminiscence bump studies), we focused on the other three age decades.

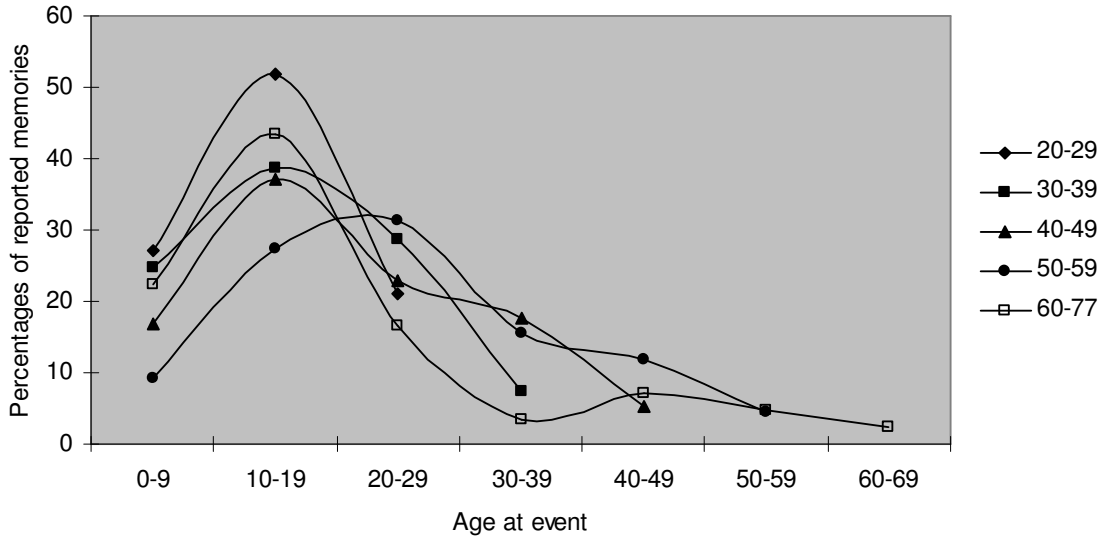

Figure 14. Distribution of word-cued autobiographical memories by age for different age groups

For the participants between the ages of forty and forty-nine, most of the reported memories were from the second decade of life, then the third, fourth, first and fifth decades (37.1%, 23%, 17.7%, 16.8% and 5.3%, respectively). That is to say, the majority of the reported memories (50.1%) were from the reminiscence bump period. This is almost the same for the participants from the age decades of forty to forty-nine, with a difference. For this age decade, most of the reported events were not from the second but from the third decade of life (31.2% from the third decade and 27.5% from the second decade). However, for the participants between the ages of sixty and seventy-seven, although the majority of the reported memories was from reminiscence period when added together, memories from the third decade of the lifetime came after the first decade (22.4% from the first decade and 16.5% from the third decade). On the other hand, 43.5% of the reported memories were from the second decade of the lifetime period. It can be said that for this age group, the reminiscence bump shifted from the second and third decades to the first and second decades of life.

According to the life script account, cultural life scripts include only positive events and because of that the reminiscence bump only occurs in the distribution of memories with positive valence (such as happiest or most in love memories) (Bernsten & Rubin, 2004). In order to investigate this claim, participants were also asked to evaluate the emotional valence of the reported memory in this section of Study 3. The prediction was that there would be a bump in the second and third decade of the lifetime period for positively valued cued recall autobiographical memories, but not for negatively valued ones. Previous studies did not examine the emotional valence of the cue-recalled autobiographical memories. Figure 15 shows the distribution of the positive and negative memories by age at event.

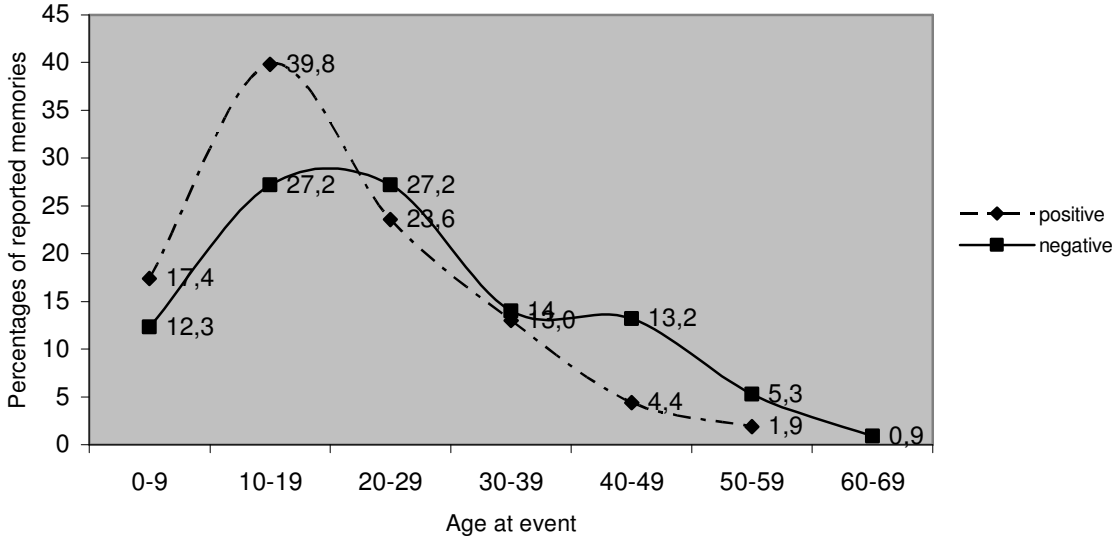

Figure 15. Distribution of positive and negative memories of participants above forty years of age

54.4% (350) of the 643 reported memories were evaluated as positive, 34.2% (220) were as negative and 11.4% (73) as neutral, including all age groups. Leaving aside participants between the ages of 20-39, it was seen that 52.8% (162) of 307 memories were evaluated as positive, 37.1% (114) as negative and 10.1% (31) as neutral.

As can be seen from the figure, there were clear bumps for both positive and negative memories in the reminiscence bump period. While 67% of the positive memories fell into the second and third decades of the lifetime period, 54.4% of negative events felt into these decades of the lifetime period. However, for the negatively evaluated events the distribution of memories according to reminiscence bump periods was even, but there was a strong peak for positive events. Thus, the assumption was partly supported.

Autobiographical Memories of Different Emotional Values

When Bernsten and Rubin (2002) asked participants their most important, saddest, happiest, most traumatic and recent involuntary memories, the results indicated that only the happiest, the most important and the happy involuntary memories bump between the period of fifteen and thirty years old. In this section of Study 3, one of the concerns is whether the reports of a Turkish sample reflect the same pattern, and the results are compared with the results of Study 1.

Figure 16 through 21 show the aggregate distributions of the responses from participants above the age of forty for memories with different emotional valences.

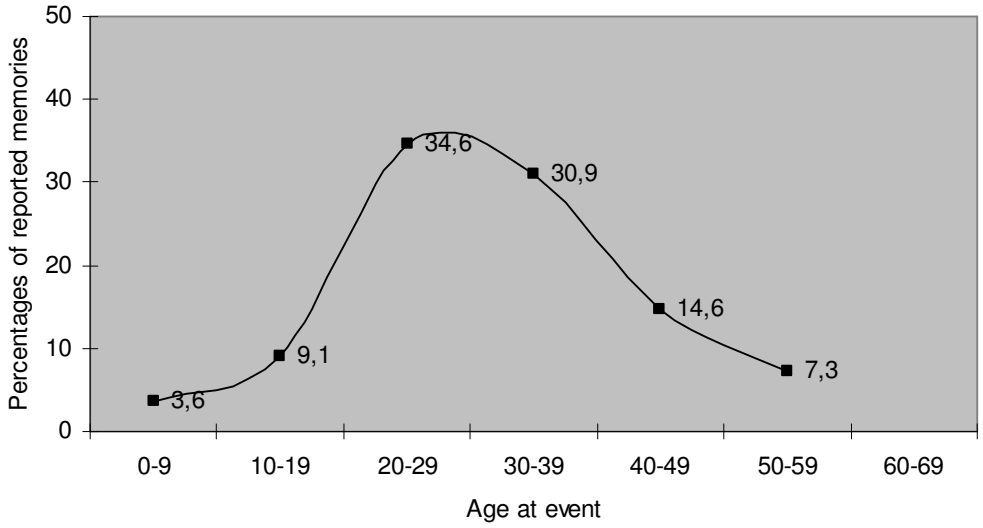

Figure 16. Distribution of happiest memories from participants above forty years of age

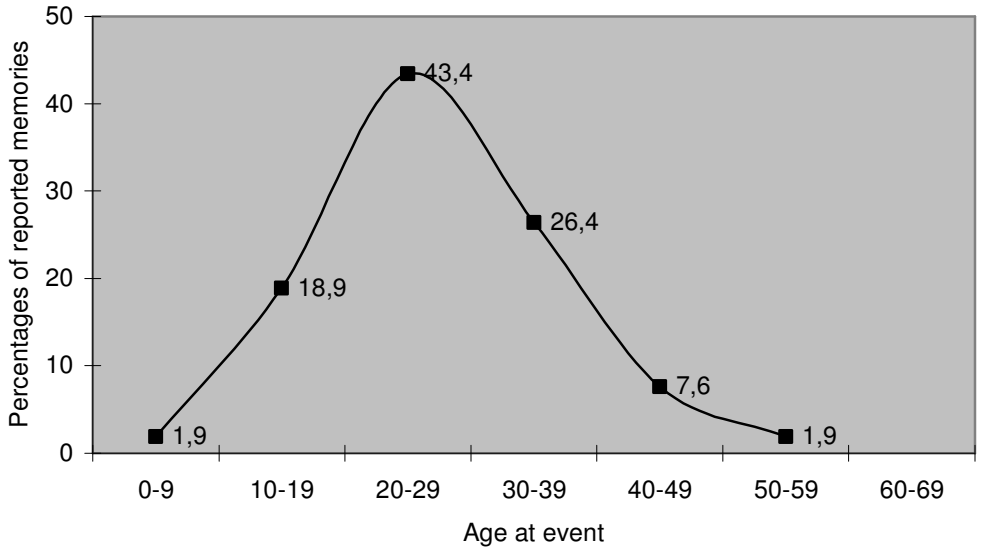

Figure 17. Distribution of most important memories from participants above forty years of age

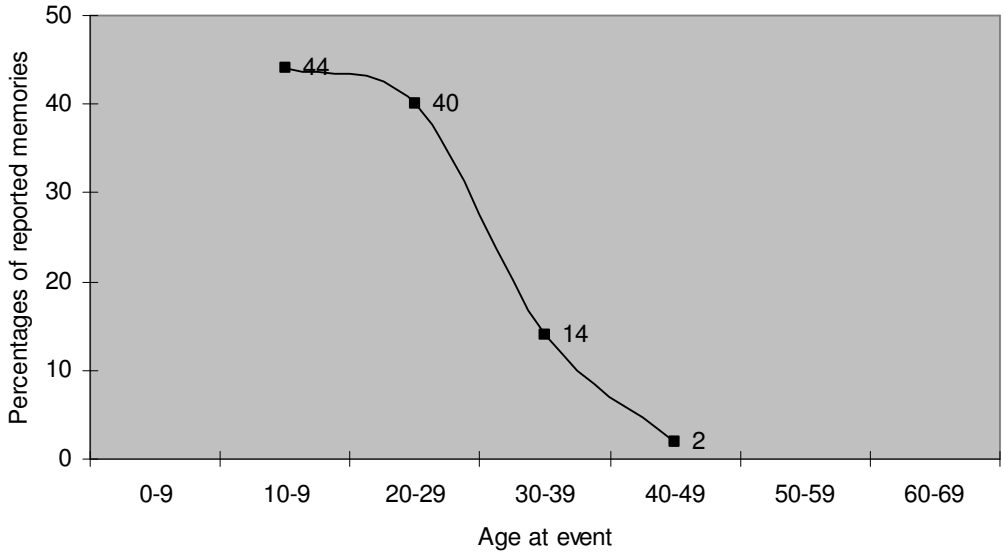

Figure 18. Distribution of most in love memories of participants above forty years old

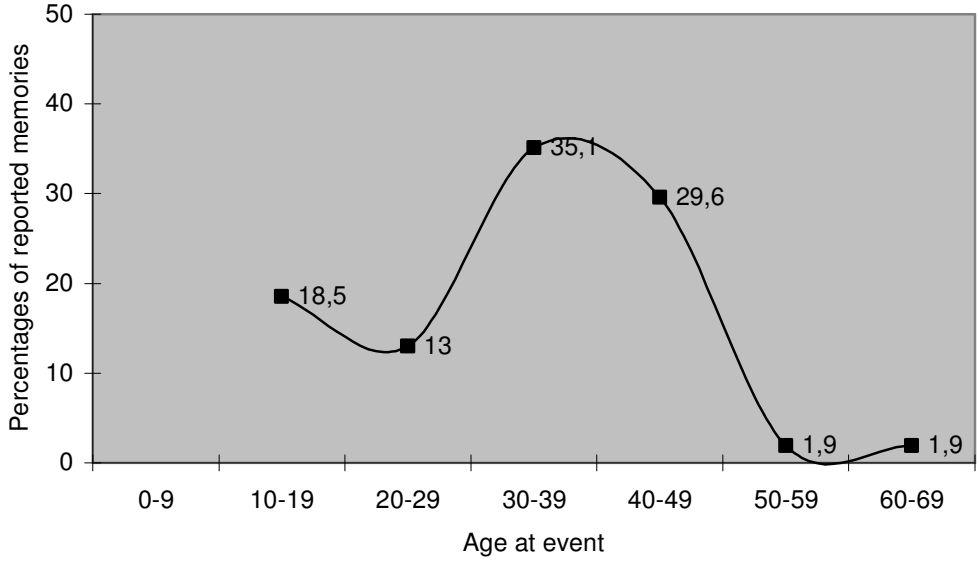

Figure 19. Distribution of saddest memories from participants above forty years of age

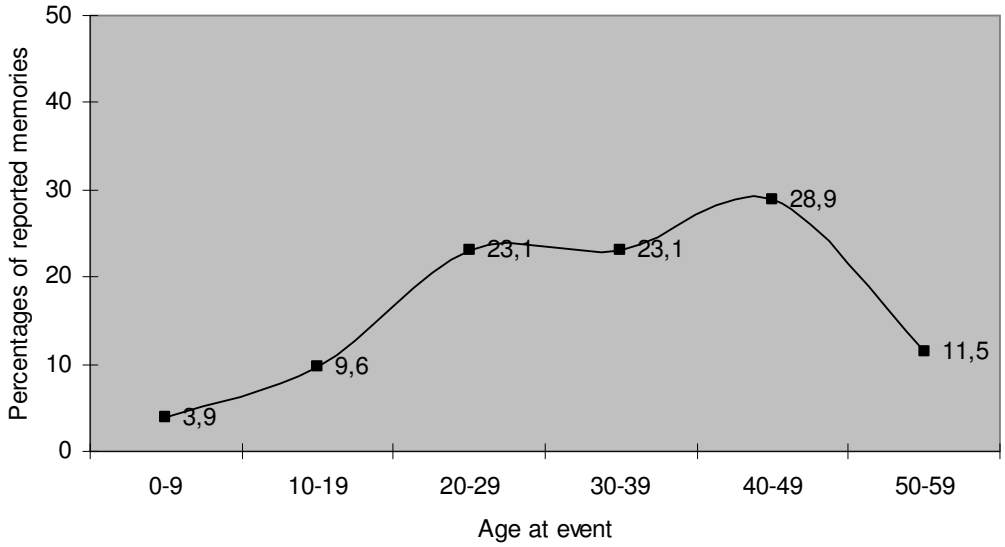

Figure 20. Distribution of most traumatic memories from participants above forty years of age

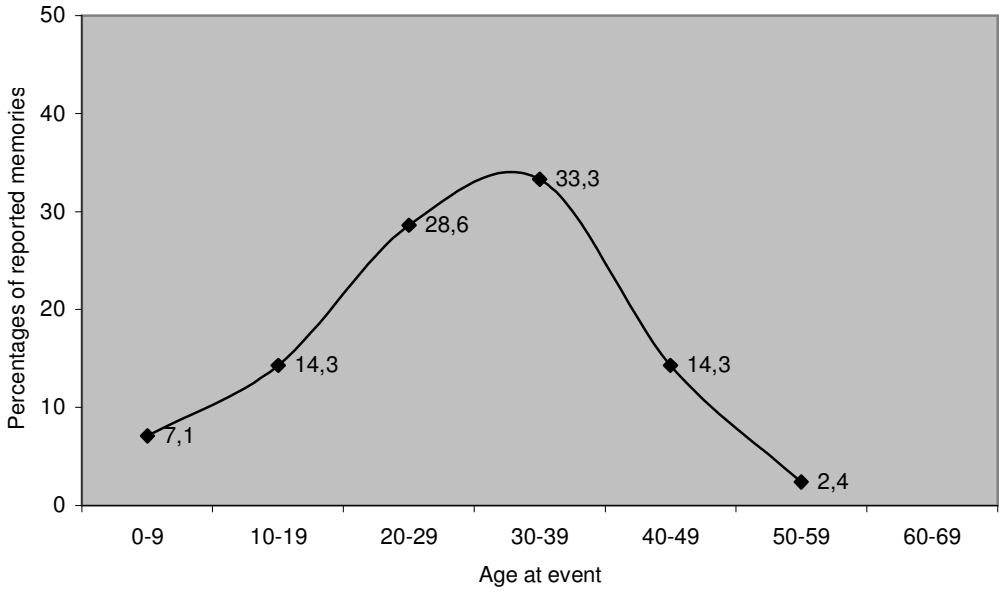

Figure 21. Distribution of most fearful memories for participants above forty years of age

As can be seen from the figures distributions of the most important, happiest and most in love memories – which were labeled to be the positive events- bumped in certain periods. For the most important memories, thirty-seven out of fifty-three (69.8%) reported memories were from the third and fourth decades of life.

Concerning the second period, ten out of fifty-three (18.9%) reported memories were included in this period. A similar result was obtained for happiest memories: thirty-six out of fifty-five (65.5%) reported events were from the third and fourth decades of life and the second period of life included only five out of fifty-five (9.1%) reported memories. The only type of memory that bumped between the second and third period of life was the most in love memories: forty-two out of fifty (88%) reported memories were from the second and third decades of life.

Here, the point is that the bumps in the distribution of positive events were not in the expected reminiscence period, which is the second and third decades of the life time period, except for the most in love memories. On the other hand, the distribution of cued-recall memories showed a bump in the exact reminiscence bump period. Figure 22 shows the comparison of the distributions of the happiest, most important, most in love and cued-recall autobiographical memories.

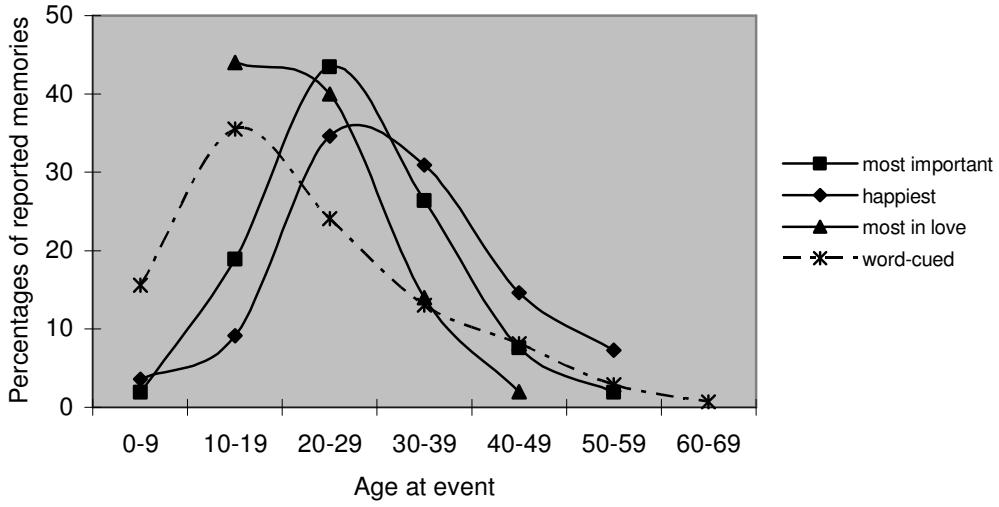

Figure 22. The comparison of the distributions of positive autobiographical memories and word-cued autobiographical memories.

However, these results corresponded with the results of Study 1 and also the results of Bernsten and Rubin's (2004) first study. In those studies people were asked to

make age estimations about a hypothetical hundred year old person's most important, most in love, happiest, most traumatic, most fearful and saddest memories. Figure 23 through 28 show the comparison of expected age at different emotional events (obtained from Study 1) and actual age at different emotional memories.

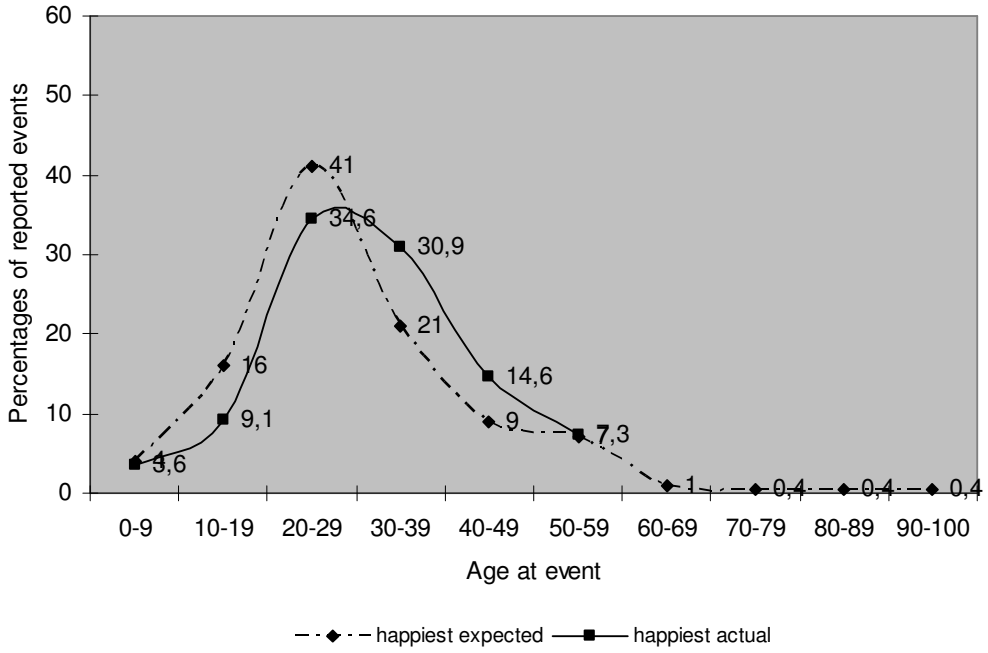

Figure 23. Comparison of the distribution of expected age for happiest events and distribution of actual age at happiest memories

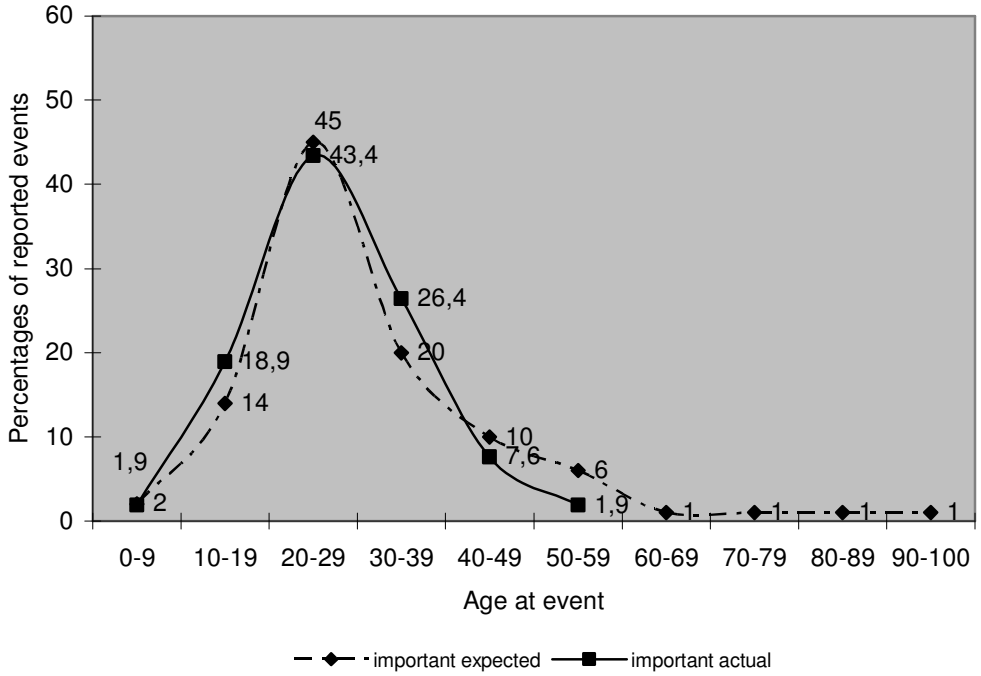

Figure 24. Comparison of the distribution of expected age for most important events and distribution of actual age at most important memories

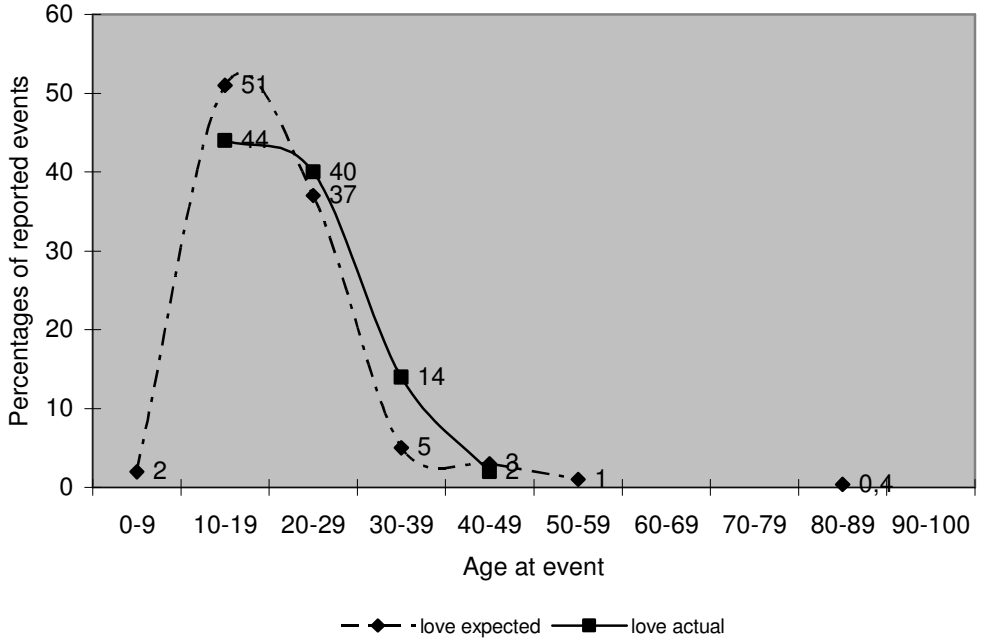

Figure 25. Comparison of the distribution of expected age for most in love events and distribution of actual age at most in love memories

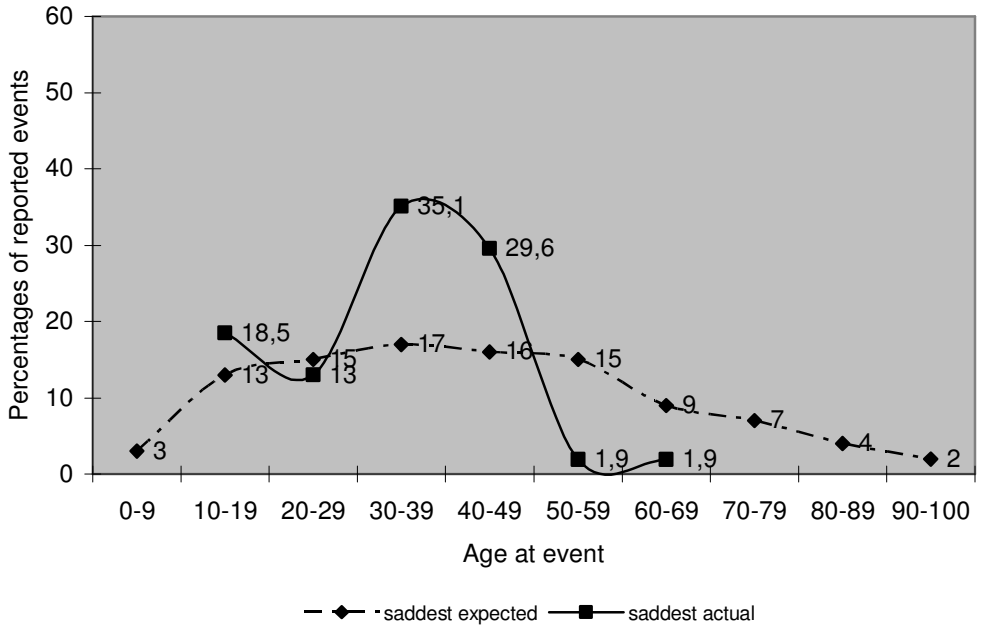

Figure 26. Comparison of the distribution of expected age for saddest events and distribution of actual age at saddest memories

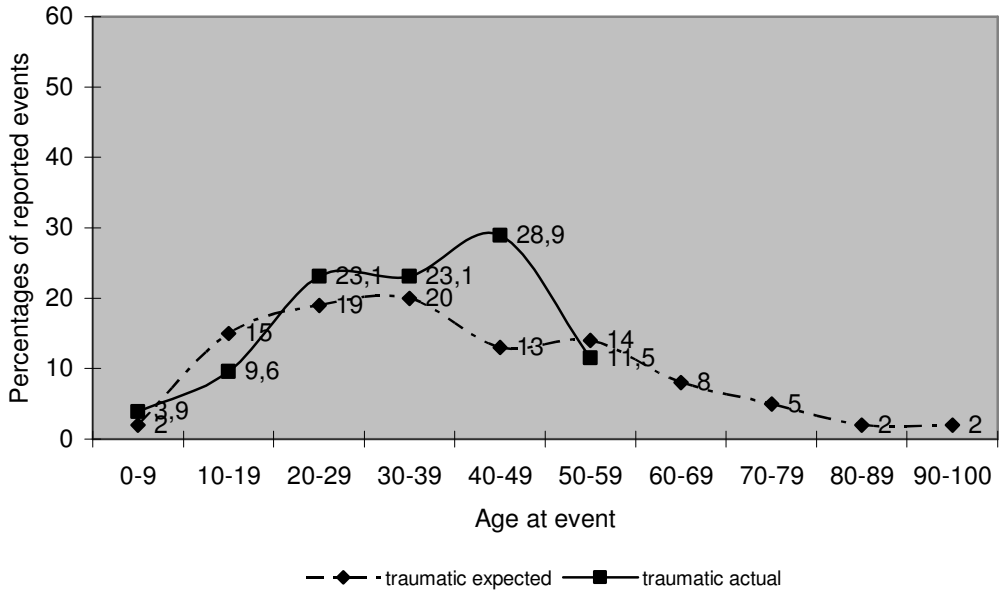

Figure 27. Comparison of the distribution of expected age for most traumatic events and distribution of actual age at most traumatic memories

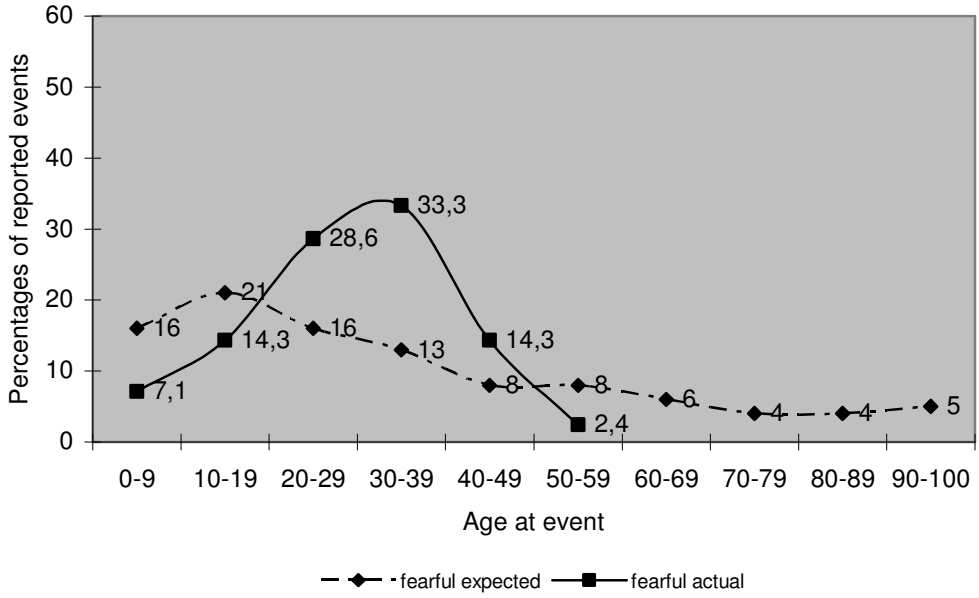

Figure 28. Comparison of the distribution of expected age for most fearful events and distribution of actual age at most fearful memories

The results revealed the same distributions for the happiest and most important memories as the peaks of these memories were in the third decade of life, and for the most in love memories the peak was in the second decade of life. When the present distributions of the saddest, most traumatic and most fearful memories were compared with the distributions of the saddest, most traumatic and most fearful events in Study 1, it was obvious that there was no overlap between these distributions. This, in a way, supports the view that positive- rather than negative-events are culturally- and ideally- expected, even if real life does not correspond to these expectations.

Here, the most striking difference was in the distribution of the saddest autobiographical memories. In this distribution there actually was a bump in the fourth and fifth decades of life with a peak in the thirties. The content analyses revealed that 37.1% (13 out of 35 reported memories) of these memories between the ages of thirty to forty-nine were about a parent's death. Table 7 shows the labels of

the memories in the fourth and fifth decadesof life along with frequencies and percentages. These labels were given based on the contents of the memories.

Table 7. Frequencies and Percentages of Memory Types from the fourth and fifth decades of life.

Event Type	Frequency	%
Parent's Death	13	37.1%
Child's Death	3	8.6%
Spouse's Death	2	5.7%
Child's Illness	2	5.7%
Relative's Death	1	2.9%
Grandparent's Death	1	2.9%
Sibling's Death	1	2.9%
Other	12	34.3%
TOTAL	35	100%

"Parent's Death" category ranked fifteenth in the present life script and was also the ninth rank in the Danish script. Based on this, this bump in the distribution of saddest memories can be explained in terms of the cultural life script account. Although negative events do not take place in an "ideal life script", death as a reality is a part of our life. Thus, a parent's death is an expected event in an old-age person's life and it can also be included in the cultural life script. When the "parent's death" event type was eliminated, the number of reported events from the thirty to thirty-nine decade of life decreased to from nineteen to twelve and the number of reported events from the forty to forty-nine decade of life decreased from eighteen to ten.

Besides, the distribution of the most fearful memories also had a more shaped distribution and a kind of bump. However, when examined in detail it was seen that this distribution was shaped by a catastrophic event in the near history of Turkey: The earthquake of 17 August 1999. Out of fifty-one most fearful memories, twenty-eight were from the seen bump period. 32.1% (9) of these 28 events were about this earthquake and when these nine events were eliminated from the analysis a more flat distribution was obtained.

In order to see if there are any differences based on age, distributions for the different age groups were obtained. Figure 28 through 32 show the distributions of these different memories for different age groups.

For participants from the age decade of forty to forty-nine, the distributions of the most important, most in love and happiest memories were in the same pattern with the aggregated distribution of most important, most in love and happiest memories. 63.1% of the most important memories and 70% of the happiest memories were from their twenties and thirties, and 76.5% of the most in love memories were from their teens and twenties.

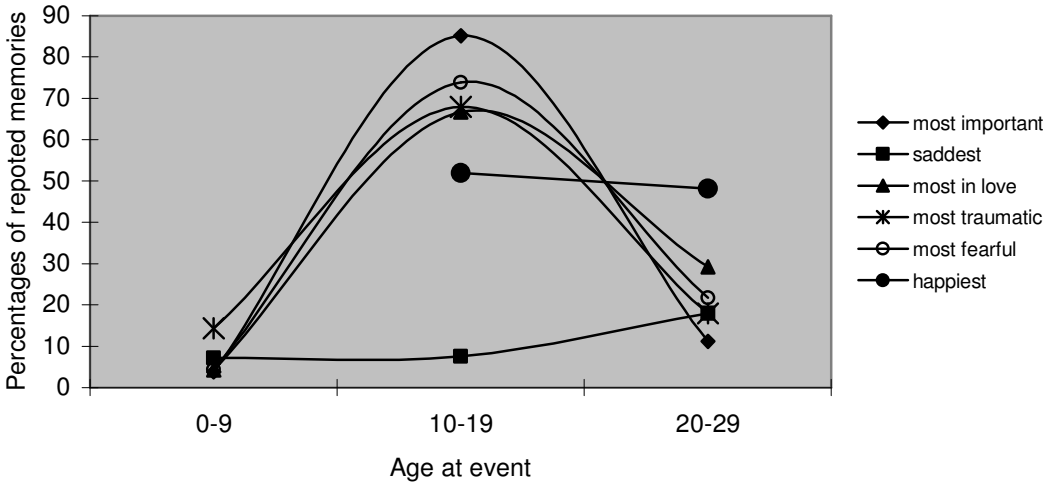

Figure 28. Distribution of Memories with Different Emotional Valences for Participants from the age decade of twenty to twenty-nine

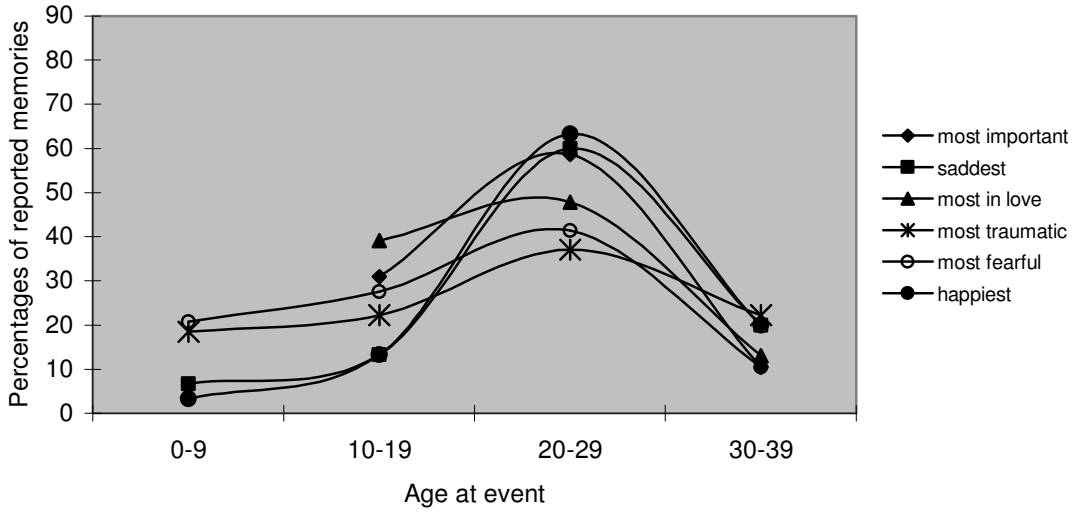

Figure 29. Distribution of Memories with Different Emotional Valences for Participants from the age decade of thirty to thirty-nine

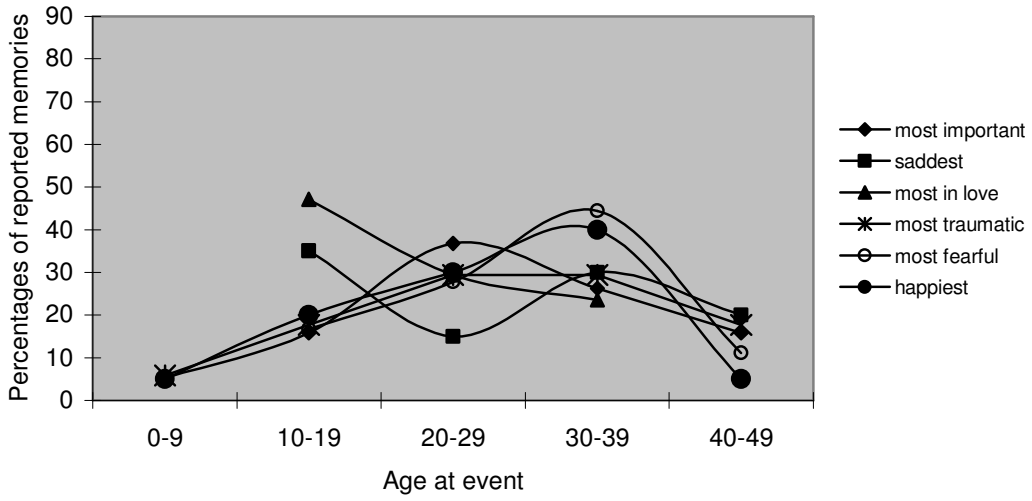

Figure 30. Distribution of memories with different emotinal valences for participants from the age decade of forty to forty-nine

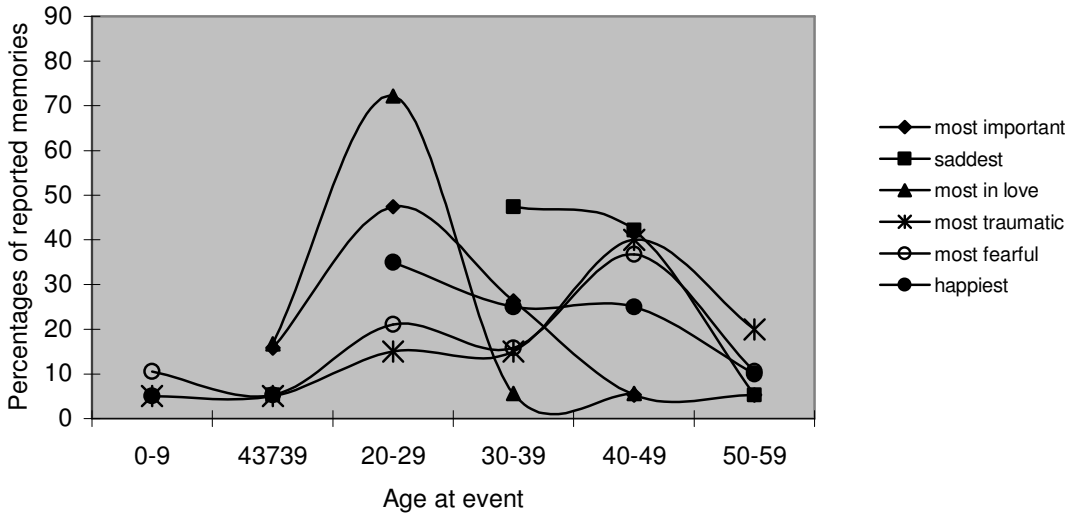

Figure 31. Distribution of Memories with Different Emotional Valences for Participants from the age decade of fifty to fifty-nine

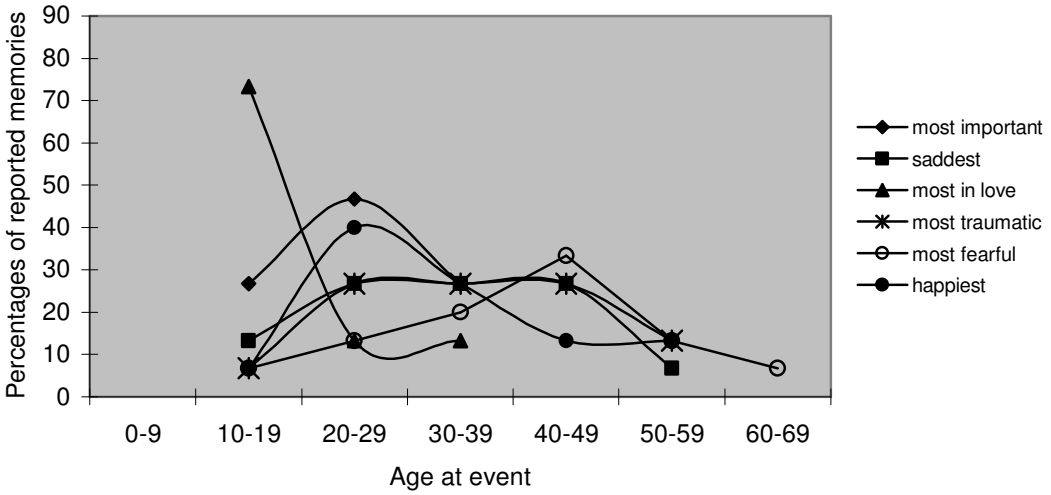

Figure 32. Distribution of memories with different emotional valences for participants from the age decade of "above sixty"

A similar pattern was also valid for participants from the age decade of fifty to fifty-nine except the peak of most in love memories. For this group, 73.7% of the most important memories and 50% of the happiest memories were from the twenties and thirties of the lifetime and 88.9% of the most in love memories were from the teens

and twenties of the lifetime with a difference: the peak was not in teens but in twenties. For the participants between the ages of sixty to seventy-seven, it is interesting to see that there were no memories from the first decade of life. Although the peaks for the distribution of the most important, most in love and happiest memories did not change; the distribution of the most important and most in love memories seemed very even because there were only three decades: the second, third and fourth. For the most important memories 46.7% of the reported memories were from the twenties, whereas the rest of the memories were distributed evenly between the teens and thirties of the lifetime periods. Each got 26.7% of the reported memories. For the most in love memories, 73.3% of the responses were from the teens and twenties and thirties got even share: 13.3% of responses, each. In line with the other age groups, 66.7% of the reported happiest memories were from the twenties and thirties, with the peak in the twenties.

Content Analysis of the Distribution of Positive Events

Collins et al. (in press), found that although most of the positive memories which had occurred at ages seventeen and eighteen were related with salient and significant life transitional events, this pattern was not valid for negative events. In this present study the bump period of the most important and happiest memories was the third and fourth decade of lifetime with the peak in the third decade of life. A content analysis was applied to the most important and happiest memories that were from the third and fourth decade. Table 8 shows the contents of the happiest and most important memories.

Table 8. Content of the happiest and most important memories along with frequency and percentages.

Happiest Event Type	Frequency	%	Most Important Event Type	Frequency	%
Having a Child	16	44.4%	Having a Child	10	27.1%
Marriage	5	13.9%	Marriage	9	24.3%
Child's Achievement	2	5.6%	Success in Career	3	8.1%
First Job	1	2.8%	Having a Grandchild	1	2.7%
Success in Career	1	2.8%	Child's Achievement	1	2.7%
Other	11	30.6%	Other	13	35.1%
TOTAL	36	100%	TOTAL	37	100%

As can be seen from the table, the majority of the happiest and most important memories were about transitional events (i.e. having a child, marriage, having a grandchild). For the happiest memories, 61.1% of the responses and for the most important memories 54.1% were transitional events.

Although participants between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine were not included in the aggregated distribution, in order to see if the most important and happiest memories were related with transitional events, content analysis was applied to these groups too. Table 9 and 10 show the content of reported happiest and most important memories for age group 1 (age range=20-29) and age group 2 (age range=30-39). Here, no decade differentiation was made, because the reminiscence bump was not valid for these age groups.

Table 9. Content of the happiest and most important memories along with frequency and percentages for age group 1 (20-29).

Happiest Event Type	Frequency	%	Most Important Event Type	Frequency	%
Beginning University	2	7.1%	Beginning University	5	18.5%
Graduation from University	2	7.1%	Graduation from University	2	7.1%
Beginning High School	2	7.1%	Beginning High School	2	7.1%
First Job	1	3.7%	Sibling's Birth	1	3.7%
Sibling's Birth	1	3.7%	Marriage	1	3.7%
Other	19	70.4%	Other	16	59.3%
TOTAL	27	100%	TOTAL	27	100%

Table 10. Content of the happiest and most important memories along with frequency and percentages for age group 2 (30-39).

Happiest Event Type	Frequency	%	Most Important Event Type	Frequency	%
Marriage	11	40.7%	Marriage	8	26.7%
Having Children	7	25.9%	First Job	4	13.3%
Success in Career	3	11.1%	Having Children	3	11.1%
Child's Achievement	2	7.2%	Beginning High School	2	6.7%
Sibling's Birth	1	3.7%	Success in Career	2	6.7%
Beginning University	1	3.7%	Beginning University	1	3.3%
Other	2	7.2%	Other	10	33.3
TOTAL	27	100%	TOTAL	30	100%

First of all, it should be noted that the participants from the age decade of twenty to twenty-nine reported the majority of the happiest and most important memories from the second decade of the life time (51.9% and 85.2% respectively). For this age group, 44.2% (12) of the reported twenty-seven happiest memories were about transitional events or events that were reported in Study 2. 50% (6) of these events were reported from the third decade of their lifetime. Concerning the most important memories, 40.8% (11) of twenty-seven memories were about transitional events or events that were reported in Study 2. 27.3% (3) were reported from the third decade of the lifetime.

Participants from the age decade of thirty to thirty-nine reported the majority of the happiest and most important memories from the third decade of their lives (63.3% and 58.6% respectively). 92.6% (25) of the reported twenty-seven happiest memories were about transitional events or events that were reported in Study 2. 68% (17) of these twenty-five memories took place in the third decade of the lifetime, the rest were from fourth decade. Concerning the most important memories, 60% (18) of the thirty reported memories were about transitional events or events that were reported in Study 2. 83.3% (15) of these memories took place in the third decade of the lifetime, the rest took place in the fourth decade.

Distribution of Public Events

One of the aims of this study was to identify the public events which determine/distinguish different generations in Turkish society. To do this, participants were asked to report three important public events, either national or international, from their lifetime. After each public event, they were asked to report why this event was important and how old they were when the event took place. They were also asked to evaluate the emotional valence of the public event.

Before examining the age groups one by one, an aggregated distribution of public events will be discussed. Of the 345 possible public events that participants could come up with, there were a total of 324 reports. Twenty of these 324 events were eliminated either because they were personal or general or not within the lifetime of the participant. Then, these 304 (237 negative, fifty-five positive and twelve neutral) events were categorized by the authors. Thirty-four different public events reported various times were constructed from these 304 events. In addition, public events that were mentioned only once were categorized as "other". The "other" category includes thirty different public events. Table 11 shows the aggregate ranking of the public events and their emotional valences, except for the other category.

Eighteen events out of these thirty-four public event categories were related with Turkey, including the "Military Operation to Cyprus in 1974"and "The Arrest of Abdullah Öcalan". Twenty-four of these thirty-four event categories were evaluated as negative and the rest were positive.

Table 11. Public events mentioned more than once along with frequencies, percentages and means and standard deviations of valence

PUBLIC EVENT	Frequency	%	Valence	
			M	*SD*
Earthquake of 17 August 1999	57	42.2%	-2.8	0.4
11 September Attacks	28	20.7%	-2.3	1.4
The Coup D'état of 1980	23	17.1%	-1.4	2.1
USA's Occupation of Iraq	21	15.6%	-2.5	1.3
AKP's Winning the 2002 Elections	15	11.1%	0.9	2.3
Military Operation to Cyprus in 1974	12	8.9%	0.2	2.4
28 February Operation	8	5.9%	-2.5	0.8
The Coup D'état of 1960	8	5.9%	-2.0	2.1
Crisis between Israel and Palestine	7	5.2%	-2.9	0.4
I. Gulf War in 1990	6	4.4%	-2.8	0.4
The Economic Crisis of 2000	6	4.4%	-2.3	0.8
Collapse of SSRR	6	4.4%	-0.8	1.8
Revolution in Iran	6	4.4%	1.0	2.4
Tsunami in Indonesia in 2004	5	3.7%	-3.0	0.0
Death of Turgut Özal	5	3.7%	-2.2	1.3
Chernobyl Nuclear Accident	5	3.7%	-3.0	0.0
Fall of the Berlin Wall	4	3.0%	1.3	1.0
Ban of the Headscarf in Universities	4	3.0%	-2.8	0.5
War of Bosnia Herzegovia	4	3.0%	-2.3	0.5
Invention of the Internet	4	3.0%	1.0	1.8
Boom of PKK Terror	4	3.0%	-2.8	0.5
Hrant Dink Assassination	4	3.0%	-3.0	0.0
Global Warming Warning	4	3.0%	-2.0	2.0
The Arrest of Abdullah Öcalan	3	2.2%	2.3	0.6
World War II	3	2.2%	-2.3	0.6
EU Negotiations	3	2.2%	1.3	1.5
Saddam's Execution	3	2.2%	-1.3	1.5
Turgut Özal's Election as Primeminister	3	2.2%	3.0	0.0
Turgut Özal's becoming President of the Turkish Republic	3	2.2%	2.0	1.0
Uğur Mumcu Assassination	2	1.5%	-3.0	
"Demokrat Parti" Government	2	1.5%	2.5	0.7
Adnan Menderes's Execution	2	1.5%	-3.0	0.0
USA's Nuclear Bombing of Japan	2	1.5%	-3.0	0.0
Israel's Bombing of Lebanon	2	1.5%	-3.0	0.0
TOTAL	274			

According to Conway (1997) an evidence for the self account explaining the reminiscence bump is that memories from the third decade of life are mostly about public events. In order to examine this claim, the distribution of public events by age

decades for only the third, fourth and fifth age groups was obtained. Figure 33 shows this distribution.

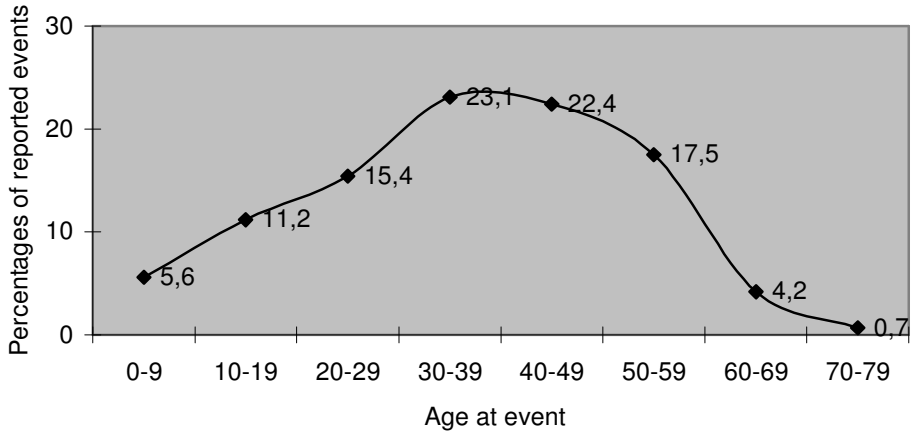

Figure 33. Distribution of public events to age decades for participants above forty years-old

As can be seen from the figure, the accumulation of the reported events were not in the reminiscence bump period, actually the bump was in the fourth and fifth periods with the peak in the fourth period. Thus Conway (1997)'s claim was not supported.

For a detailed examination the top five public events were distributed as a function of age at event. Figure 34 shows this distribution.

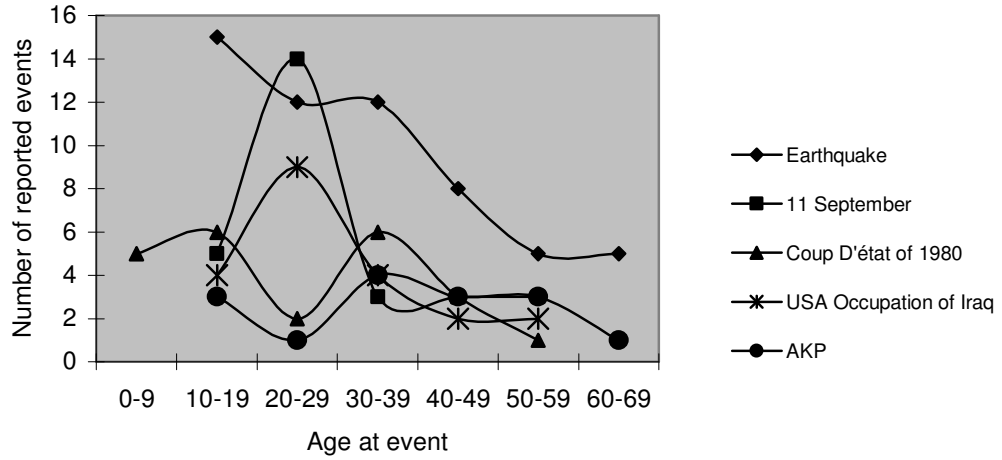

Figure 34. Distribution of first 5 public events to age decades

Figure 35 through 39 show the distribution of the top 5 public events by age, individually.

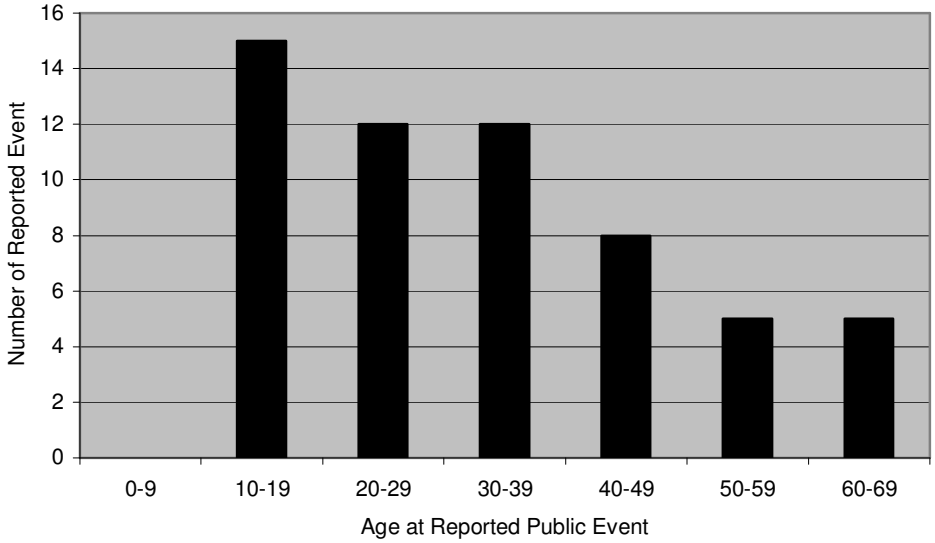

Figure 35. The distribution of "The earthquake of 17 August 1999" to age at event

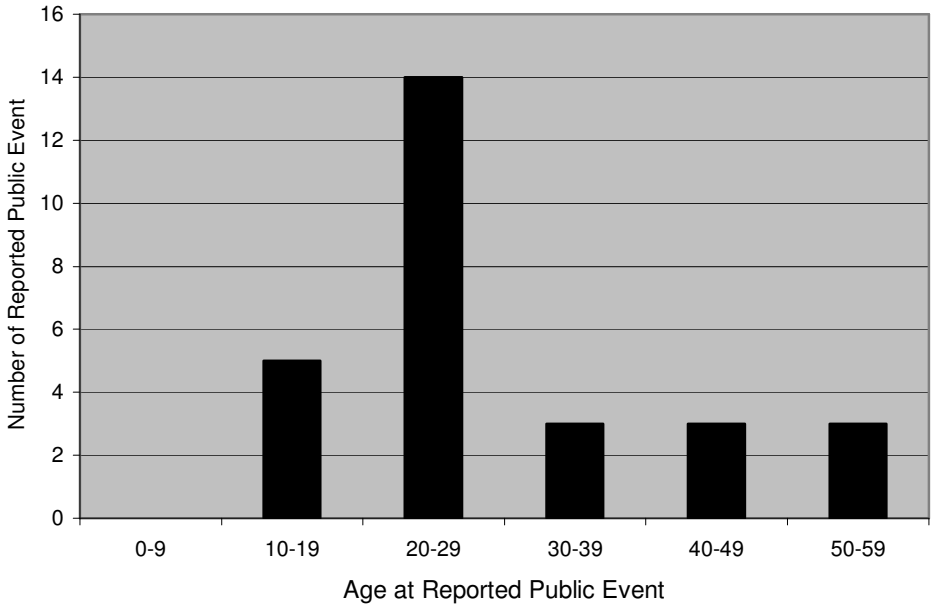

Figure 36. The distribution of "11 September Attacks" to age at event

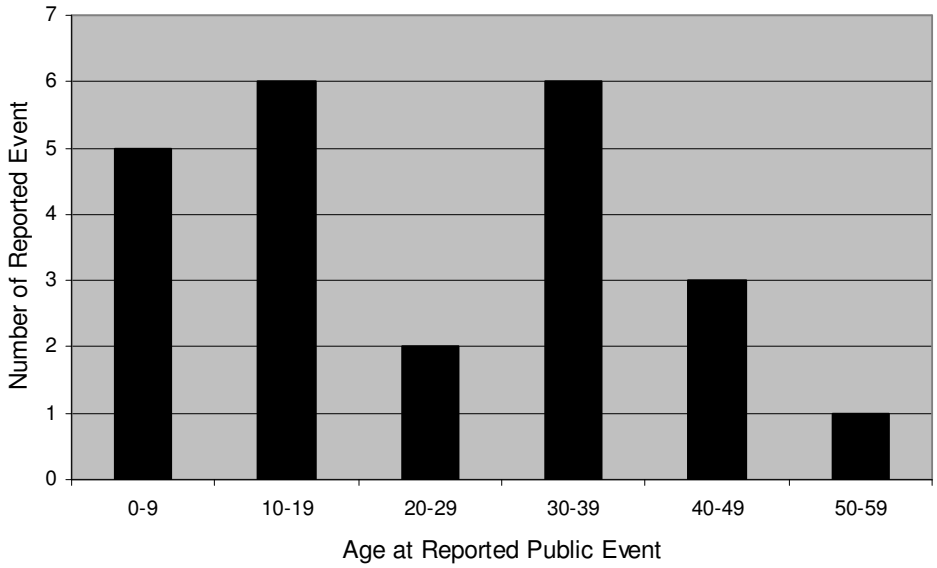

Figure 37. The distribution of "The Coup D'état of 1980" to age at event

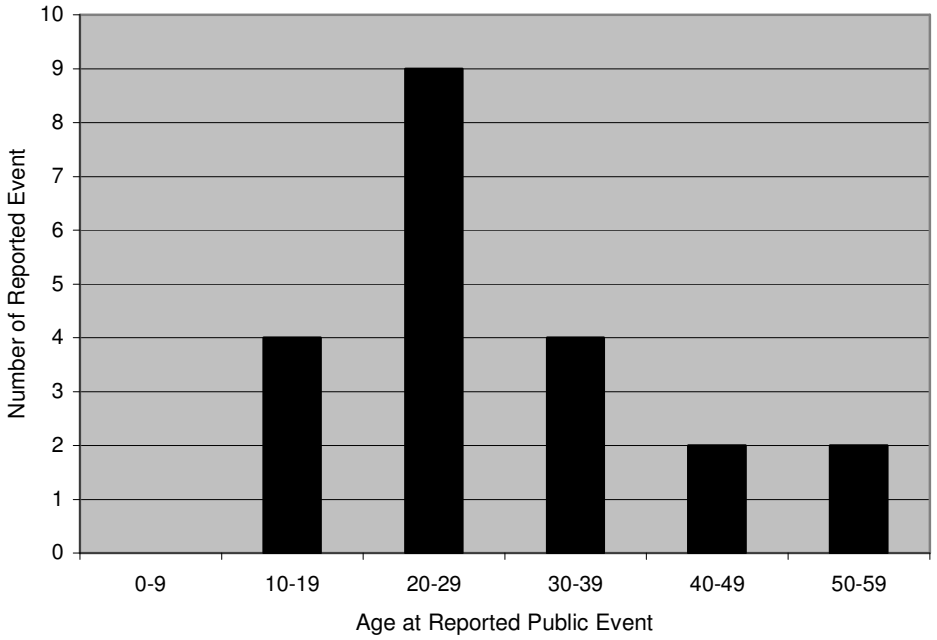

Figure 38. The distribution of "USA's Occupation of Iraq" to age at event

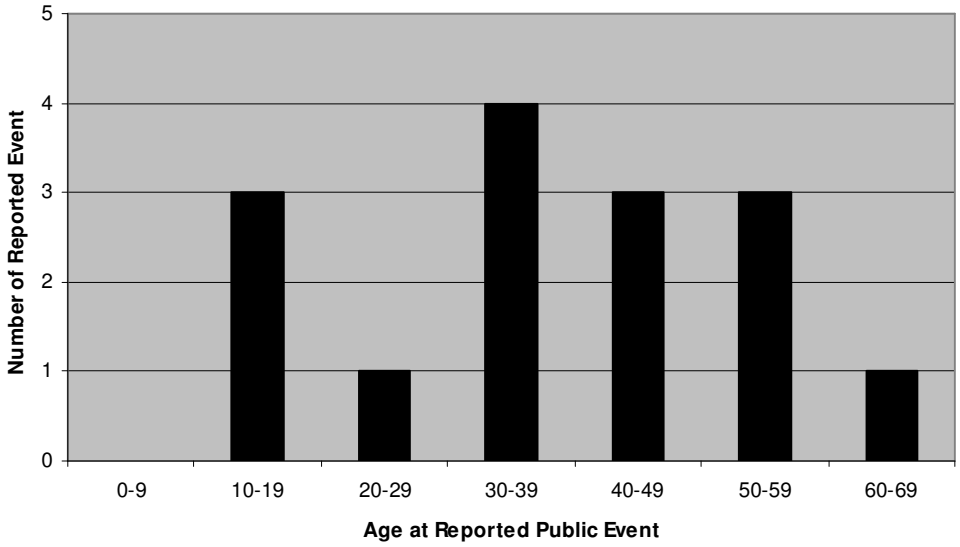

Figure 39. The distribution of "AKP's Winning the 2002 Election" to age at event

In the first age group, which includes the participants aged between twenty and twenty-nine, there was only one participant who was born before 1980. Thus, it can be said that four of the first five public events (the exception was "The Coup D'état of 1980") occurred during the lifetime of each age group. However, this is an aggregated distribution of public events. This cannot be the same for all age groups. Table 12 through 16 shows the top five events for each age group.

Table 12. Top five events, their frequencies and emotional valences along with standard deviations for participants between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine.

Public Event	Frequency	%	Emotional Valence	
			M	SD
Earthquake of 17 August	16	53.3%	-2.7	0.4
USA's Occupation of Iraq	12	40.0%	-2.4	1.5
11 September Attacks	11	36.7%	-2.5	0.5
AKP's Winning the 2002 Elections	4	13.3%	0.8	2.9
February 28 Operation	3	10.0%	-2.0	2.9

Table 13. Top five events, their frequencies and emotional valences along with standard deviations for participants between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine.

Public Event	Frequency	%	Emotional Valence	
			M	SD
Earthquake of 17 August	16	53.3%	-2.8	0.5
11 September Attacks	10	33.3%	-2.3	1.9
The Coup D'état of 1980	8	26.7%	-2.3	1.0
The Economic Crisis of 2000	5	16.7%	-2.4	0.9
USA's Occupation of Iraq	4	13.3%	-3.0	0

Table 14. Top five events, their frequencies and emotional valences along with standard deviations for participants between forty and forty-nine ages

Public Event	Frequency	%	Emotional Valence	
			M	SD
Earthquake of 17 August	10	50.0%	-2.8	0.4
11 September Attacks	4	20.0%	-2.8	0.5
The Coup D'état of 1980	4	20.0%	-0.5	1.3
Cyprus Military Operation in 1974	3	15.0%	1.7	1.6
USA's Occupation of Iraq	2	10.0%	-3.0	0

Table 15. Top five events, their frequencies and emotional valences along with standard deviations for participants between the ages of fifty and fifty-nine.

Public Event	Frequency	%	Emotional Valence	
			M	SD
Earthquake of 17 August	7	35.0%	-2.9	0.4
The Coup D'état of 1980	5	25.0%	0	2.8
AKP's Winning the 2002 Elections	5	25.0%	-0.4	2.3
Revolution in Iran	4	20.0%	0.3	2.6
11 September Attacks	3	15.0%	-0.7	2.3

Table 16. Top five events, their frequencies and emotional valences along with standard deviations for participants above the age of sixty.

Public Event	Frequency	%	Emotional Valence	
			M	SD
Earthquake of 17 August	8	53.3%	-2.8	0.5
The Coup D'état of 1960	7	46.7%	-1.9	2.3
The Coup D'état of 1980	6	40.0%	-1.8	2.4
Cyprus Military Operation in 1974	5	33.3%	-1.4	2.6
World War II	3	20.0%	-2.3	0.6

It is seen from the tables that the Earthquake was the common public event for each age group. As mentioned earlier, the earthquake of August 1999 was a catastrophic event that affected the Marmara region of Turkey. For the more, as one of the participants mentioned when explaining why this event was important, "earthquake" became an agenda setting event for a long period. It is obvious that this catastrophic

event cannot be efficiently employed to distinguish generations from each other. Thus, leaving aside this event, the focus will be on the other four events.

For the first age group, there were seventy-seven valid responses nineteen out of seventy-seven events were reported by only one participant. As can be seen from Table 12, the ranking of public events for this group differed from the aggregated ranking. “28 February Operation” was reported mostly by only this group. Thus it can be said that this event was the only event which differentiated this age group from other groups.

For the second age group, there were eighty-four valid responses. Sixteen out of eighty-four events were reported by only one participant. The rank of the second age group’s top three events was same with the aggregated distribution of public events. The fourth event for the second group was “The Economic Crisis of 2000” mentioned five times by this age group and as it is seen in Table 13 the frequency of this event was six. It can be said that “The Economic Crisis” had a defining feature for people born between 1968 and 1977. When the answers for why this event was important were examined, it was seen that five participants were affected by the event directly. For example, one of the participants had to close her café because of the economic crisis and she also reported this event as her saddest event. The rest of the events were either shared or evaluated similarly by the other age groups.

For the third group, there were forty-five valid responses. Fifteen of these responses were mentioned only once. Although the fifth event was seen as “USA Occupation of Iraq” mentioned twice, the AKP’s Winning the 2002 Elections Government, Chernobyl and The War of Bosnia Herzegovina also had the same frequency. Chernobyl and The War of Bosnia Herzegovina were evaluated as

negative events (*M*=-3, *SD*=0; *M*=-2.5, *SD*=0.7, respectively) and AKP's Winning the 2002 Elections was evaluated as a positive event (*M*=3, *SD*=0).

For the fourth age group, there were fifty-five valid responses. Twelve of these responses were mentioned only once. "The Coup D'état of 1980" was mentioned by five participants. While three of these participants evaluated the event as a positive one, two of them evaluated the event as extremely negative. So the event's mean of emotional valence was zero with a standard deviation of 2.8. This event was evaluated as "neutral" only by this age group. Those three participants who evaluated this event as positive stated that they found the event important because "this coup ended the chaotic situation in Turkey in that period" and "the Turkish army showed its power". The third event for this age group was "AKP's Winning the 2002 Elections". This group was the only age group evaluated this event as negative. The fourth event was "The Revolution in Iran". Four of the six "The Revolution in Iran" responses were made by participants from this age group. The last event was "11 September" with three frequency of mention. However, there were three more events that shared the same frequency: "USA's Occupation of Iraq", "The Military Operation to Cyprus in 1974" and "The Collapse of the Berlin Wall". "The Military Operation to Cyprus in 1974" and "The Collapse of the Berlin Wall" were evaluated as positive events (*M*=0.7, *SD*=2.3 and *M*=1.3, *SD*=1.2, respectively) and "USA's Occupation of Iraq" was evaluated as negative (*M*=-1.7, *SD*=1.5). From these results, it can be said that three events had a defining feature for the people born in between the years of 1948 and 1957: Coup D'état of 1980, AKP's Winning the 2002 Elections and Revolution in Iran. Although the two public events, The Coup D'état of 1980 and AKP's Winning the 2002 Elections were shared by the other age

groups, the emotional evaluations of these two events by the other age groups were totally different.

For the last age group there were forty-four valid responses. Nine of these events were mentioned only once. Out of eight "The Coup D'état of 1960" responses, seven were made by this age group and the fourth event -"The Military Operation to Cyprus in 1974"- was evaluated as negative only by this age group. When the answers of these participants were examined it was observed that each participant had either himself taken place in the expedition or her husband had taken place in it and it was seen as a catastrophic event. On the other hand, the responses that belonged to other age groups were made by national pride. Thus, this event can be taken as having a defining feature for people born in between 1947 and 1930. "World War II" along with "The Coup D'état of 1960" can also be taken as having a defining feature for this age group.

Gender Differences

There was only one difference for public events based on gender. Females reported significantly more negative events than males did: $t(302)= -3.4$, $p<0.01$. This difference was significant for the first second and fifth age groups[$t(75)= -0.47$, $p<0.05$; $t(82)=-3.1$, $p<0.01$; $t(42)= -1.2$, $p<0.05$, respectively); but not for the rest. No significant effect of gender on the distribution of public events by age decade was found.

Discussion

There were three main purposes of Study 3: 1) to obtain a distribution of autobiographical memories from participants above age forty, 2) to obtain participants' distributions of the most important, most in love, happiest, saddest, most traumatic and most fearful autobiographical memories; to compare these distributions with each other and with the distributions obtained from Study 2, 3) to identify the public events that have a defining feature for each generation.

In line with the literature, the distribution of cued autobiographical memories bumped in the second and third decades of life with the peak being in the second decade. In Aydın's (2004) study, a similar finding was obtained. Benson et al.'s (1992) study revealed that although there was a reminiscence bump for both Japanese and American participants' distribution of autobiographical memories, the peak for the Japanese was in the third decade whereas for the Americans it was in the second decade. This difference was presented as a cultural difference based on the difference between the conceptualization of youth in the two cultures. So the reminiscence bump for Turkish people was similar to the Americans' rather than the Japanese'. When the results of the second study were examined it was seen that reported positive events formed a bump in the second and third decades of life but the majority of events and the peak was in the third decade of the life period. Concerning the results of the first study, although the bump for the most important and happiest memories was in the third and fourth decades, the majority of the age estimates and the peak were again in the third decade of the life period. Thus, both studies showed that the emphasis was on the third decade of the life time. However, the actual distribution of autobiographical memories for the present study showed

that the emphasis was on the second decade of the life time. From the results of this comparison, it is seen that the cultural life script account was not supported.

When it comes to the distribution of memories with different emotional valences, the resulting distribution of the most important, happiest and the most in love memories were identical with the distributions in the first study. Here, the reminiscence bump for the most important and happiest memories was in the third and fourth decades of life with a peak in the second decade and for the most in love memories the reminiscence bump was in the second and third decades of life with a peak in the second decade. Distributions of the other three emotional memories which were the saddest, most traumatic and most fearful were more scattered. The correspondence between the results of the first and second studies' second section supports the cultural life script account. On the other hand, if we take into account the results of Study 3's first section, it is obvious that while the cued recall of autobiographical memory distribution highlighted the "late adolescence" period, the distribution of emotional autobiographical memories highlighted the "young adulthood" period. Thus, it can be argued that the cultural life script account only explains the distribution of memories with different emotional valences, but not the reminiscence bump in general.

On the other hand, the content analysis of the most important and happiest memories revealed that the majority of the memories reported for these emotional valences were about role transition or transitional events such as becoming a mother, getting married or beginning college. A deeper examination revealed that most memories of this type were reported to take place in the reminiscence bump period, especially the third decade of the lifetime. This supported the view that cultural life scripts affected the organization of autobiographical memories.

In the third section of Study 3, it was seen that although the majority of personal memories were evaluated as positive (350 out of 643 memories were positive), the reported public events were evaluated mostly as negative (237 out of 304 events were negative). This finding supports the general belief that public events which are ingrained in people's minds are mostly negative. It was also seen that females were more inclined to report negative public events than males. Actually, there was no gender effect on recalling cued autobiographical memories concerning emotional valence. Maybe this is because social events affect women much more than men. This can be a further research question.

In this third study, an initial endeavor was put forward for the definitions of different generations in Turkey. According to Mannheim (1952), to form a generation, people from the same cohort should share a common pool of memories and a certain consciousness about these events. The present study revealed that not only some particular events but also the evaluation of those particular events were important while defining a generation. For further detailed studies about generation definitions, here are some important implications: "USA's Occupation of Iraq" and "28 February" seemed to have a defining feature for the first age group; "The Economic Crisis of 2000" had a defining feature for the second age group; for the fourth group "The Revolution in Iran" had a defining feature, on the other hand, the evaluations of "The AKP Government" as negative (valence<0) and "The Coup D'état of 1980" as neutral (valence = 0) differentiated this group from other age groups; for the last age group "Coup D'état of 1960" and "World War II" had defining features and the evaluation of "The Military Expedition to Cyprus in 1974" as negative (valence <0) differentiated this group from the other age groups. No differential finding for the third age group was obtained. It can be argued that this

age group (between the ages of forty and forty-nine) was more like a bridge between younger (participants from the first and second age groups) and older (participants from the fourth and fifth age groups) generations.

When the distribution of public events by age for the participants above forty years old was examined, it was seen that the distribution bumped in the fourth and fifth decades of the life time, not in the third decade as it was argued by Conway (1997) based on his self-identity account.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Three studies were conducted in order to examine the Turkish cultural life script and its relation with autobiographical memory distribution. In Study 1, the results revealed that there exists shared cultural age expectations for positive events, which are the most important, most in love and happiest, but not for negative events, which are the saddest, most traumatic and most fearful. The participants' age estimations for the happiest and most important events were dominantly from the third and fourth decades of the life span. The peak for both events was in the young adulthood which is between the ages of twenty and twenty-nine ages. As for the most in love events, participants predicted this event would happen mostly in the second and third decades of life span with a peak between the ages of ten and nineteen. However, hardly any consensus was found for when negative events would occur. These results were in line with Bernsten and Rubin's (2004, Study 1) results. They also found that people expected positive events, but not negative ones, to occur in certain periods (i.e. the third and fourth decades for the happiest and most important memories and the second and third decades for the most in love memories).

The results of Study 2 revealed that Turks had a shared life script for transitional events. This script included mostly positive transitional events, such as marriage, having children or a first job, and participants had more agreement on when positive events would happen than on negative ones. The distribution of age estimations for events showed that positive events were expected to occur between the ages of fifteen and twenty-nine with a peak in the twenties. These results were the same with Erdoğan et al.'s (in press) results. Thus, the existence of a shared life script assumption for Turkish people is strongly supported. Besides, a comparison of

the Turkish life script with the Danish script (Bernsten & Rubin, 2004) revealed that in spite of apart minor differences, two scripts had most in common.

In Study 3, participants recalled autobiographical memories for different cue-words, their happiest, saddest, most fearful, most in love and most important and most traumatic autobiographical memories and their memories for three public events from their lifetime. The cued-recall results were in line with other autobiographical memories (such as Aydın 2002; Hyland & Ackerman, 1988; Janisari & Parking, 1996). Participants above age forty recalled most of their memories from when they were fifteen to twenty-nine. Participants were also asked to value the emotional valence of the reported memories. The distribution of negatively and positively evaluated memories revealed that both bumped in the second and third decades of the life span. But while the bump for negatively evaluated events was evenly shared between the two decades, positively evaluated memories had a severe peak in the teens, or late adolescence. On the other hand, the distributions of emotionally charged autobiographical memories were different from cued-recall memories. Participants above age forty mostly reported that their happiest and most important memories occurred between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine and their most in love memories between the ages of ten and twenty-nine. Here, early adulthood, rather than late adolescence, was highlighted. These distributions corresponded to the distributions that were obtained from the first study and besides, the content analyses of the most important and happiest memories revealed that the majority of the memories were about transitional events. However, the distributions of the saddest, the most traumatic and the most fearful memories had almost no correspondence with the distributions of negative events that were obtained in Study 1. These results support Bernsten and Rubin's (2004) claim that

life scripts predict the distribution of positively, but not negatively, charged memories across the lifespan. On the other hand, one of the striking findings of Study 3 was that there actually was a bump in the fourth and fifth life decades. This seems a contradictory finding for the life script account. The content analysis for the saddest memories revealed that memories that were reported from the fourth and fifth life decades were mostly about one of the parent's or a previous-generation-relative's death. Although ideally a life script does not expect negative events, "death" was an actuality of life. It is not surprising for a person above age forty to witness the death of a relative from a previous generation. For further life script researches, it is suggested that the content of the saddest memories should be analyzed beside the happiest and most important ones.

The results of the first and second studies revealed that the Turkish cultural life script highlights young adulthood (i.e. the twenties) in the life span. This finding explains the distribution of emotionally charged autobiographical memories that were obtained from Study 3. However, the word-cued autobiographical memory distribution of the same participants' bumped in late adolescence. This finding was in line with other autobiographical memory studies (such as Conway et al., 2005; Hyland & Ackerman, 1988; Janisari & Parking, 1996; Rubin & Schulkind, 1997a, 1997b; Scharuf & Rubin, 1998). Although the cognitive and identity account cannot explain the distribution of emotionally charged autobiographical memories, it should be noted that the cultural life script was weak while explaining the distribution of cued-recall autobiographical memories.

From all these distributions, it can be argued that all life decades have a certain emotional value of their own: the second life decade corresponds to love, the third life decade corresponds to happiness and importance, and the fourth life decade

corresponds to sadness. Different cue-words with these emotional valences can be used in autobiographical memory tests in order to see if emotion has a relation with life decades.

The last section of Study 3 examined the autobiographical basis of generations in Turkish society. This was an initial endeavor to state definite public events for different generations. However, the number of participants was limited. Thus, this study could be evaluated as an introduction to this area. Here are the public events that might be examined in detail: The Economic Crisis of 2000, AKP's Winning the 2002 Elections, 28 February Operation, The Revolution in Iran, The Coup D'état of 1960 and of 1980 and The Military Operation to Cyprus in 1974. These events were not only reported with different frequencies by participants from different age decades, but were also evaluated differently too. As Schumann and Scott (1989) state, the reasons why participants choose the event at stake and how they evaluate it differs from generation to generation. For example, while the Military Operation to Cyprus in 1974 was evaluated as negative by participants above age 60, this event was evaluated as positive by participants aged between 40 and 60. A closer look at the importance attributed to this event revealed that the latter participants approached this event with national pride; on the other hand the previous group evaluated this event as grievous because either themselves or one of their close relatives (i.e. husbands) took part in this operation.

One of the important findings of this public event section was about the distribution of the age at reported public events. While explaining the reminiscence bump phenomenon, Conway (1997) argued that these periods (i.e. the second and third life decades) were the periods in which the self is stabilized, and especially the third life decade is the period in which the public-self/generation identity is formed.

Thus, autobiographical memories about public events were argued to be reported mostly from this period of life (such as, Holmes & Conway, 1999; Schumann & Scott, 1989), and this finding was presented as an evidence for the self-account (Conway, 1997). However, the results of Study 3 revealed that the distribution of public event memories bumped in the fourth and fifth decades of the lifespan. Thus, the self-account was not supported.

There were three main accounts for the reminiscence bump: cognitive account, self account and cultural life script account. However, none of them seemed to fully explain this phenomenon. The mechanism for the retrieval of autobiographical memories seems to be more complex than any account takes into consideration. Culture does not affect the timing of the reminiscence bump (Conway et al., 2005), but when it comes to the emotionally charged memories the cognitively shared life script of a culture seems to shape the distribution. Emotionally charged autobiographical memories should be studied cross-culturally in order to examine this claim. Culture, self/identity and cognitive processes seem to play role in the distribution of autobiographical memories in their own ways.

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APPENDIX A: TURKISH VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE IN STUDY 1

Bu çalışma Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü tarafından gerçekleştirilmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı tipik bir yaşam seyri ile ilgili beklentileri ortaya çıkarmaktır. Araştırma zeka ya da yetenek ölçmemektedir. Az sonra karşılaşacağınız soruların doğru ya da yanlış cevapları yoktur. Sorular kişisel hayatınızla ilgili değildir. Araştırmamıza yaptığınız katkıdan ötürü teşekkür ederiz.

Sıradaki sayfaya geçmeden önce lütfen aşağıdaki bilgileri doldurun:

Doğum yılınız:
Cinsiyetiniz:
Medeni Haliniz:
Eğitim Durumunuz:
Mesleğiniz:

Teşekkürler. Bir sonraki sayfaya geçebilirsiniz

Günümüzde insan ömrü giderek uzuyor. Artık yüz yaşına kadar yaşamak çok da şaşırtıcı bir durum değil. Türkiye'de yaşayan, oldukça sıradan bir yaşam sürmüş olan 100 yaşındaki bir kişi düşünün (cinsiyeti sizin cinsiyetinizle aynı olsun). Bu kişi o yaşına kadar başından geçen olayları düşünüp bir hayat muhasebesi yapıyor. Sizden istenen bu olaylar sırasında bu kişinin kaç yaşında olduğuna dair birer tahminde bulunmanız. Eğer bu konuda herhangi bir karara varamazsanız, sizce en makul olan tahmini yapabilirsiniz. Bu soruların doğru ya da yanlış cevapları yoktur. Sizden istediğimiz aşağıda sözü edilen olaylar sırasında Türkiye'de yaşayan tipik bir Türk'ün kaç yaşında olabileceği ile ilgili şahsi sezgileriniz.

1- Hayatının belli bir anında 100 yaşındaki bu kişi kendisini çok mutlu eden bir olay yaşıyor. Sizce bu kişi hayatının en mutlu deneyimini kaç yaşında yaşamış olabilir? (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz). …..yaşında

Cevabınızın bu kişinin hayatındaki yaş aralığına uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

---

2- Hayatının belli bir anında 100 yaşındaki bu kişi kendisini çok üzen bir olay yaşıyor. Sizce bu kişi hayatının en üzücü deneyimini kaç yaşında yaşamış olabilir? (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz). …..yaşında

Cevabınızın bu kişinin hayatındaki yaş aralığına uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

---

3- Hayatının belli bir anında 100 yaşındaki bu kişi kendisi için son derece önem taşıyan bir olay yaşıyor. Sizce bu kişi hayatının en önemli deneyimini kaç yaşında yaşamış olabilir? (Lütfen kesin bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz). …..yaşında

Cevabınızın bu kişinin hayatındaki yaş aralığına uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

---

4- Hayatının belli bir anında 100 yaşındaki bu kişi travmatik bir olay yaşıyor. Bu olayda o veya bir başkası ciddi şekilde yaralanmış olabilir; ya da kendi yaşamı veya bir başkasının yaşamı ciddi şekilde tehlikeye girmiş olabilir; ya da derin bir şok yaşamış, çaresiz, çok korkmuş ve ne yapacağını bilmez bir hale gelmiş olabilir. Travmalar şu gibi durumları içerir: ciddi kazalar, aşağılamalar, tacizler, birinin ani ölümü, ölüm tehdidi içeren hastalıklar, savaşlar, işkenceler... Sizce bu kişi hayatının en travmatik deneyimini kaç yaşında yaşamış olabilir? (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz). …..yaşında

Cevabınızın bu kişinin hayatındaki yaş aralığına uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

---

5- Hayatının belli bir anında 100 yaşındaki bu kişi birine çok aşık oluyor. Sizce bu kişi bu aşkı kaç yaşında yaşamış olabilir? (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz).
…..yaşında

Cevabınızın bu kişinin hayatındaki yaş aralığına uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

---

6- Hayatının belli bir anında 100 yaşındaki bu kişi son derece korktuğu bir olay yaşıyor. Sizce bu kişi bu çok korktuğu deneyimi kaç yaşında yaşamış olabilir? (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz). …..yaşında

Cevabınızın bu kişinin hayatındaki yaş aralığına uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

APPENDIX B: TURKISH VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE IN STUDY2

Bu çalışma Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü tarafından gerçekleştirilmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı tipik bir yaşam seyri ile ilgili beklentileri ortaya çıkartmaktır. Araştırma zeka ya da yetenek ölçmemektedir. Az sonra karşılaşacağınız soruların doğru ya da yanlış cevapları yoktur. Sorular kişisel hayatınızla ilgili değildir. Birinci sayfadan başlamanız ve birinci sayfayı bitirmeden diğer sayfalara bakmamanız önemle rica olunur. Araştırmamıza yaptığınız katkıdan ötürü teşekkür ederiz.

Birinci sayfaya geçmeden önce lütfen aşağıdaki bilgileri doldurun:

Doğum Yılınız:
Cinsiyetiniz:
Medeni Haliniz:
Eğitim Durumunuz:
Mesleğiniz:

Teşekkürler. Bir sonraki sayfaya geçebilirsiniz

Oldukça sıradan ve normal yeni doğmuş bir bebek düşünün (cinsiyeti sizin cinsiyetinizle aynı olsun). Bu tanıdığınız bildiğiniz bir bebek olmasın. Daha ziyade önünde oldukça sıradan ve normal bir yaşam seyri uzanan, bizim kültürümüze doğmuş tipik bir bebeği düşünün. Sizden beklenen bu tipik bebeğin önünde uzanan yaşantısında başına gelmesi muhtemel en önemli yedi olayı yazmanız. Olayları aklınıza ilk geldiği sırayla yazınız. Her olaya, olayın içeriğini belirten kısa başlıklar veriniz.

Bu araştırmada "olay"dan kasıt ortaya çıkan, başı ve sonu fark edilebilen, belirli bir durumdur. Geniş kapsamlı isimlendirmeler ve süreçler "olay" tanımına dahil değildir.

1. Olay

2. Olay

3. Olay

4. Olay

5. Olay

6. Olay

7. Olay

Lütfen belirttiğiniz her olay için aşağıdaki soruları teker teker cevaplayınız:

1. Olay

A) Sizce bu olay ne kadar yaygındır? 100 insan arasından kaçı bu olayı hayatında en az bir kere yaşar? %....

B) Sizce bu ne kadar önemli bir olaydır?

1	2	3	4	5	67	
Hiç önemli değil	Önemli değil	Önemli sayılmaz	Ne önemli ne önemsiz	Önemli sayılır	Önemli	Çok önemli

---

C) Sizce bu bebek belirttiğiniz olayı kaç yaşına geldiğinde yaşar? (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz) .... yaşında.

Yaşla ilgili tahmininizin gerçek hayata uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

---

D) Bu olayın içerdiği duygu olumlu mudur, olumsuz mudur?

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok olumlu

---

E) Bu olayın içinde aşağıdaki duygulardan biri ya da birkaçı olacak mıdır? Lütfen içereceğini düşündüklerinizin yanına işaret koyun. Aklınıza gelen başka bir duygu varsa, lütfen "diğer" seçeneğinin yanına yazın.

Mutluluk
Kızgınlık
Aşk
Korku
Üzüntü
Gurur
Kıskançlık
Diğer:

2. Olay

A) Sizce bu olay ne kadar yaygındır? 100 insan arasından kaçı bu olayı hayatında en az bir kere yaşar? %....

B) Sizce bu ne kadar önemli bir olaydır?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç önemli değil	Önemli değil	Önemli sayılmaz	Ne önemli ne önemsiz	Önemli sayılır	Önemli	Çok önemli

---

C) Sizce bu bebek belirttiğiniz olayı kaç yaşına geldiğinde yaşar? (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz) .... yaşında.

Yaşla ilgili tahmininizin gerçek hayata uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

---

D) Bu olayın içerdiği duygu olumlu mudur, olumsuz mudur?

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok olumlu

---

E) Bu olayın içinde aşağıdaki duygulardan biri ya da birkaçı olacak mıdır? Lütfen içereceğini düşündüklerinizin yanına işaret koyun. Aklınıza gelen başka bir duygu varsa, lütfen "diğer" seçeneğinin yanına yazın.

Mutluluk
Kızgınlık
Aşk
Korku
Üzüntü
Gurur
Kıskançlık
Diğer:

3. Olay

A) Sizce bu olay ne kadar yaygındır? 100 insan arasından kaçı bu olayı hayatında en az bir kere yaşar? %....

B) Sizce bu ne kadar önemli bir olaydır?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç önemli değil	Önemli değil	Önemli sayılmaz	Ne önemli ne önemsiz	Önemli sayılır	Önemli	Çok önemli

---

C) Sizce bu bebek belirttiğiniz olayı kaç yaşına geldiğinde yaşar? (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz) .... yaşında.

Yaşla ilgili tahmininizin gerçek hayata uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

---

D) Bu olayın içerdiği duygu olumlu mudur, olumsuz mudur?

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok olumlu

---

E) Bu olayın içinde aşağıdaki duygulardan biri ya da birkaçı olacak mıdır? Lütfen içereceğini düşündüklerinizin yanına işaret koyun. Aklınıza gelen başka bir duygu varsa, lütfen "diğer" seçeneğinin yanına yazın.

Mutluluk
Kızgınlık
Aşk
Korku
Üzüntü
Gurur
Kıskançlık
Diğer:

4. Olay

A) Sizce bu olay ne kadar yaygındır? 100 insan arasından kaçı bu olayı hayatında en az bir kere yaşar? %....

B) Sizce bu ne kadar önemli bir olaydır?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç önemli değil	Önemli değil	Önemli sayılmaz	Ne önemli ne önemsiz	Önemli sayılır	Önemli	Çok önemli

---

C) Sizce bu bebek belirttiğiniz olayı kaç yaşına geldiğinde yaşar? (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz) .... yaşında.

Yaşla ilgili tahmininizin gerçek hayata uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

---

D) Bu olayın içerdiği duygu olumlu mudur, olumsuz mudur?

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok olumlu

---

E) Bu olayın içinde aşağıdaki duygulardan biri ya da birkaçı olacak mıdır? Lütfen içereceğini düşündüklerinizin yanına işaret koyun. Aklınıza gelen başka bir duygu varsa, lütfen "diğer" seçeneğinin yanına yazın.

Mutluluk
Kızgınlık
Aşk
Korku
Üzüntü
Gurur
Kıskançlık
Diğer:

5. Olay

A) Sizce bu olay ne kadar yaygındır? 100 insan arasından kaçı bu olayı hayatında en az bir kere yaşar? %....

B) Sizce bu ne kadar önemli bir olaydır?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç önemli değil	Önemli değil	Önemli sayılmaz	Ne önemli ne önemsiz	Önemli sayılır	Önemli	Çok önemli

---

C) Sizce bu bebek belirttiğiniz olayı kaç yaşına geldiğinde yaşar? (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz) .... yaşında.

Yaşla ilgili tahmininizin gerçek hayata uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

---

D) Bu olayın içerdiği duygu olumlu mudur, olumsuz mudur?

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok olumlu

---

E) Bu olayın içinde aşağıdaki duygulardan biri ya da birkaçı olacak mıdır? Lütfen içereceğini düşündüklerinizin yanına işaret koyun. Aklınıza gelen başka bir duygu varsa, lütfen "diğer" seçeneğinin yanına yazın.

Mutluluk
Kızgınlık
Aşk
Korku
Üzüntü
Gurur
Kıskançlık
Diğer:

6. Olay

A) Sizce bu olay ne kadar yaygındır? 100 insan arasından kaçı bu olayı hayatında en az bir kere yaşar? %...

B) Sizce bu ne kadar önemli bir olaydır?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç önemli değil	Önemli değil	Önemli sayılmaz	Ne önemli ne önemsiz	Önemli sayılır	Önemli	Çok önemli

---

C) Sizce bu bebek belirttiğiniz olayı kaç yaşına geldiğinde yaşar? (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz) .... yaşında.

Yaşla ilgili tahmininizin gerçek hayata uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

---

D) Bu olayın içerdiği duygu olumlu mudur, olumsuz mudur?

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok olumlu

---

E) Bu olayın içinde aşağıdaki duygulardan biri ya da birkaçı olacak mıdır? Lütfen içereceğini düşündüklerinizin yanına işaret koyun. Aklınıza gelen başka bir duygu varsa, lütfen "diğer" seçeneğinin yanına yazın.

Mutluluk
Kızgınlık
Aşk
Korku
Üzüntü
Gurur
Kıskançlık
Diğer:

7. Olay

A) Sizce bu olay ne kadar yaygındır? 100 insan arasından kaçı bu olayı hayatında en az bir kere yaşar? %....

B) Sizce bu ne kadar önemli bir olaydır?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç önemli değil	Önemli değil	Önemli sayılmaz	Ne önemli ne önemsiz	Önemli sayılır	Önemli	Çok önemli

---

C) Sizce bu bebek belirttiğiniz olayı kaç yaşına geldiğinde yaşar? (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz) .... yaşında.

Yaşla ilgili tahmininizin gerçek hayata uygunluğundan ne kadar eminsiniz?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiç Emin Değilim	Emin Değilim	Emin Sayılmam	Kararsızım	Emin Sayılırım	Eminim	Kesinlikle Eminin

---

D) Bu olayın içerdiği duygu olumlu mudur, olumsuz mudur?

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok olumlu

---

E) Bu olayın içinde aşağıdaki duygulardan biri ya da birkaçı olacak mıdır? Lütfen içereceğini düşündüklerinizin yanına işaret koyun. Aklınıza gelen başka bir duygu varsa, lütfen "diğer" seçeneğinin yanına yazın.

Mutluluk
Kızgınlık
Aşk
Korku
Üzüntü
Gurur
Kıskançlık
Diğer:

Lütfen birinci sayfaya geri dönerek listelediğiniz bu 7 olay arasından yaşamış olduklarınızın yanına bu olay başınıza geldiğinde kaç yaşında olduğunuzu belirtin.

Örnek:

1. Olay (62 yaşında)
2. Olay
3. Olay
4. Olay
5. Olay (13 yaşında)
6. Olay
7. Olay

APPENDIX C: TURKISH VERSION OF QUESTIONNAIRE IN STUDY 3

Bu çalışma Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü tarafından gerçekleştirilmektedir. Araştırmanın amacı kişisel anılardan yola çıkarak bir kuşak tanımı yapmaktır. Araştırma zeka, yetenek ya da bilgi ölçmemektedir. Az sonra karşılaşacağınız soruların doğru ya da yanlış cevapları yoktur. Sorular hayatınızla ilgilidir; ancak kimliğinize dair bilgiler sorulmayacak ve doldurduğunuz formun aslı araştırmacılar haricinde kimseyle paylaşılmayacaktır. Araştırmamıza yaptığınız katkıdan ötürü teşekkür ederiz.

Sıradaki sayfaya geçmeden önce lütfen aşağıdaki bilgileri doldurun:

Doğum yılınız:
Cinsiyetiniz:
Medeni Haliniz:
Eğitim Durumunuz:
Mesleğiniz:

Teşekkürler. Bir sonraki sayfaya geçebilirsiniz

Bu çalışma üç bölümden oluşmaktadır. Sırası geldikçe her bölümde sizden ne istendiği açık ve anlaşılır bir şekilde anlatılacaktır. Dikkatiniz için teşekkür ederiz.

1. BÖLÜM

Bu bölümde size bazı kelimeler sunulacak ve bu kelimelerin hatırınıza getirdiği *ilk anıyı* kısaca anlatmanız istenecek. Her kelimeyi okuduğunuzda, kelimenin size çağrıştırdığı olayları ya da deneyimlerinizi hatırlamaya çalışın. Bunlar mutlaka sizin de içinde bulunduğunuz ya da tanık olduğunuz olaylar olmalıdır. Uzunluğu saniyeler, dakikalar veya saatler sürmüş olabilir. Ama mesela, bir ay boyunca süren uzun bir dönemi anlatmanızı istemiyoruz. Daha çok o uzun olayın kısa bir parçası ya da başınızdan geçen kısa süreli, ayrıntılı ve özel herhangi bir anıyı anlatmanızı rica ediyoruz. Mesela okuduğunuz kelime "kalem" ise, hatırladığınız anınız: "Annem bana okula başladığım ilk gün pembe bir kalem hediye etmişti; fakat ben heyecandan onu evde unutmuştum" olabilir.

İlk kelimeyi gördükten sonra hemen yazmaya başlamayınız. Kendinize düşünmek için zaman tanıyınız. *AKLINIZA GELEN İLK OLAYI SÖYLEYİNİZ.*

Bu olay, eskiden yaşadığınız ya da yeni bir olay olabilir. Fakat lütfen yazacağınız olayın *son iki sene* içinde meydana *gelmemiş* olmasına dikkat ediniz. Aklınıza gelen bu anıyı *en fazla 5 cümle* ile anlatınız.

1. KELİME: VAPUR

Bu kelimeyle ilgili aklınıza gelen ilk otobiyografik anınızı 5 cümleyi aşmayacak şekilde anlatın. Bu anı, en fazla birkaç saat sürmüş, başı-sonu belli ve doğrudan sizinle alakalı olmalıdır. Anlatacağınız anı, yaşamınızın son iki senesi içinde gerçekleşmiş olmamalıdır.

Yukarıda anlattığınız anınız kaç yaşınıza ait? …… yaşıma (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

Yukarıda anlattığınız anının içerdiği duygu olumlu mu, yoksa olumsuz mu? Lütfen aşağıdaki derecelendirmeye göre bir rakamı işaretleyin.

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok Olumlu

2. KELİME: KADİFE

Bu kelimeyle ilgili aklınıza gelen ilk otobiyografik anınızı 5 cümleyi aşmayacak şekilde anlatın. Bu anı, en fazla birkaç saat sürmüş, başı-sonu belli ve doğrudan sizinle alakalı olmalıdır. Anlatacağınız anı, yaşamınızın son iki senesi içinde gerçekleşmiş olmamalıdır.

Yukarıda anlattığınız anınız kaç yaşınıza ait? …… yaşıma (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

Yukarıda anlattığınız anının içerdiği duygu olumlu mu, yoksa olumsuz mu? Lütfen aşağıdaki derecelendirmeye göre bir rakamı işaretleyin.

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok Olumlu

3. KELİME: ZİL

Bu kelimeyle ilgili aklınıza gelen ilk otobiyografik anınızı 5 cümleyi aşmayacak şekilde anlatın. Bu anı, en fazla birkaç saat sürmüş, başı-sonu belli ve doğrudan sizinle alakalı olmalıdır. Anlatacağınız anı, yaşamınızın son iki senesi içinde gerçekleşmiş olmamalıdır.

Yukarıda anlattığınız anınız kaç yaşınıza ait? …… yaşıma (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

Yukarıda anlattığınız anının içerdiği duygu olumlu mu, yoksa olumsuz mu? Lütfen aşağıdaki derecelendirmeye göre bir rakamı işaretleyin.

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok Olumlu

4. KELİME: ANAHTAR

Bu kelimeyle ilgili aklınıza gelen ilk otobiyografik anınızı 5 cümleyi aşmayacak şekilde anlatın. Bu anı, en fazla birkaç saat sürmüş, başı-sonu belli ve doğrudan sizinle alakalı olmalıdır. Anlatacağınız anı, yaşamınızın son iki senesi içinde gerçekleşmiş olmamalıdır.

Yukarıda anlattığınız anınız kaç yaşınıza ait? …… yaşıma (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

Yukarıda anlattığınız anının içerdiği duygu olumlu mu, yoksa olumsuz mu? Lütfen aşağıdaki derecelendirmeye göre bir rakamı işaretleyin.

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok Olumlu

5. KELİME: ÇORBA

Bu kelimeyle ilgili aklınıza gelen ilk otobiyografik anınızı 5 cümleyi aşmayacak şekilde anlatın. Bu anı, en fazla birkaç saat sürmüş, başı-sonu belli ve doğrudan sizinle alakalı olmalıdır. Anlatacağınız anı, yaşamınızın son iki senesi içinde gerçekleşmiş olmamalıdır.

Yukarıda anlattığınız anınız kaç yaşınıza ait? …… yaşıma (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

Yukarıda anlattığınız anının içerdiği duygu olumlu mu, yoksa olumsuz mu? Lütfen aşağıdaki derecelendirmeye göre bir rakamı işaretleyin.

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok Olumlu

6. KELİME: SANDIK

Bu kelimeyle ilgili aklınıza gelen ilk otobiyografik anınızı 5 cümleyi aşmayacak şekilde anlatın. Bu anı, en fazla birkaç saat sürmüş, başı-sonu belli ve doğrudan sizinle alakalı olmalıdır. Anlatacağınız anı, yaşamınızın son iki senesi içinde gerçekleşmiş olmamalıdır.

Yukarıda anlattığınız anınız kaç yaşınıza ait? …… yaşıma (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

Yukarıda anlattığınız anının içerdiği duygu olumlu mu, yoksa olumsuz mu? Lütfen aşağıdaki derecelendirmeye göre bir rakamı işaretleyin.

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok Olumlu

BİRİNCİ BÖLÜM BİTTİ. İKİNCİ BÖLÜME GEÇMEDEN ÖNCE *15 DAKİKALIK* BİR ARA VEREBİLİRSİNİZ.

2. BÖLÜM

Aşağıda sizden belirli duygular içeren farklı anılarınız sorulacaktır. Sizden istenen, en fazla birkaç saat sürmüş olan, başı-sonu belli ve doğrudan sizinle alakalı bir anınızı en çok 5 cümle ile anlatmanızdır. Bu anı yaşamınızın son iki senesi içerisinde gerçekleşmiş olmamalıdır.

1. Şimdiye kadar yaşadığınız en önemli anınız nedir? (Lütfen tek bir anınızı anlatın)

Yukarıda anlattığınız anınız kaç yaşınıza ait? …… yaşıma (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

2. Şimdiye kadar yaşadığınız en üzücü anınız nedir? (Lütfen tek bir anınızı anlatın)

Yukarıda anlattığınız anınız kaç yaşınıza ait? …… yaşıma (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

3. Şimdiye kadar yaşadığınız en büyük aşkınızla ilgili anınız nedir? (Lütfen tek bir anınızı anlatın)

Yukarıda anlattığınız anınız kaç yaşınıza ait? …… yaşıma (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

4. Şimdiye kadar yaşadığınız en tramvatik anınız nedir? Travmalar şu gibi durumları içerir: ciddi kazalar, aşağılamalar, tacizler, birinin ani ölümü, ölüm tehdidi içeren hastalıklar, savaşlar, işkenceler... (Lütfen tek bir anınızı anlatın)

Yukarıda anlattığınız anı kaç yaşınıza ait? …… yaşıma (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

5. Şimdiye kadar yaşadığınız en korkunç anınız nedir? (Lütfen tek bir anınızı anlatın)

Yukarıda anlattığınız anınız kaç yaşınıza ait? …… yaşıma (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

6. Şimdiye kadar yaşadığınız en mutlu anınız nedir? (Lütfen tek bir anınızı anlatın)

Yukarıda anlattığınız anınız kaç yaşınıza ait? …… yaşıma (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

İKİNCİ BÖLÜM BİTTİ. TEŞEKKÜR EDERİZ. ÜÇÜNCÜ BÖLÜME GEÇEBİLİRSİNİZ.

3. BÖLÜM

Aşağıda sizden yaşadığınız süre içerisinde ülkenizi ya da dünyayı ilgilendiren, etkileyen, bir değişime yol açan, sarsıcı olarak nitelendiren en önemli gördüğünüz 3 olayı anlatmanız istenmektedir. Lütfen aklınıza gelen en önemli ilk 3 olayı sırasıyla yazınız. Lütfen bu olayların sizin için neden önemli olduğunu en fazla 2 cümle ile ifade endiniz.

1. OLAY

Önemli, çünkü….

Yukarıda anlattığınız olay kaç yaşınızda gerçekleşti? …… yaşımda (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

Yukarıda anlattığınız olayın içerdiği duygu olumlu mu, yoksa olumsuz mu? Lütfen aşağıdaki derecelendirmeye göre bir rakamı işaretleyin.

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok olumlu

2. OLAY

Önemli, çünkü….

Yukarıda anlattığınız olay kaç yaşınızda gerçekleşti? …… yaşımda (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

Yukarıda anlattığınız olayın içerdiği duygu olumlu mu, yoksa olumsuz mu? Lütfen aşağıdaki derecelendirmeye göre bir rakamı işaretleyin.

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3

Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok olumlu

3. OLAY

Önemli, çünkü….

Yukarıda anlattığınız olay kaç yaşınızda gerçekleşti? …… yaşımda (Lütfen tek bir yaş belirtiniz, yaş aralığı vermeyiniz. Emin olamıyorsanız yakın olduğuna inandığınız bir tahminde bulununuz.)

Yukarıda anlattığınız olayın içerdiği duygu olumlu mu, yoksa olumsuz mu? Lütfen aşağıdaki derecelendirmeye göre bir rakamı işaretleyin.

- 3	- 2	-1	0	1	2	3
Çok olumsuz	Olumsuz	Biraz olumsuz	Ne olumlu ne olumsuz	Biraz olumlu	Olumlu	Çok olumlu

ÇALIŞMAMIZ BİTMİŞTİR. SABIRLA KATKIDA BULUNDUĞUNUZ İÇİN TEŞEKKÜR EDERİZ.