

Historical Memory, Ethnic Identity and Globalization: an Intergenerational Study in Sanandaj

Gholamabbas Tavasoli¹

Professor of Sociology, Islamic Azad University, Science and Research Branch, Tehran

Jamal Adhami²

Ph.D. Student of Sociology, Islamic Azad University, Science and Research Branch, Tehran

Received 14 March 2012

Revised 22 May 2012

Accepted 16 June 2012

Abstract: *Identity and collective memory is one of the fascinating subjects in modern sociology. In Iran, it arose again as modern and government-nation discourse emerged, and has been endlessly discussed since then. Such subjects have assumed an increasing importance due to the multi-cultural and multi-ethnic existence of Iranian society and recent global developments. Accordingly, the present study has been undertaken to examine the relationship between historical memory, ethnic identity and globalization in Kurdistan, Iran and has been carried out through survey and technical of interviewing with the statistical population of 455 over 15 years old in Sanandaj. The results show high mean ethnic identity of old generation, historical memory of middle-aged and young generation exposed to international media. Also, the findings reveal that firstly, Kurdish socialization, secondly, the feeling of ethnic discrimination, and thirdly, historical memory have had the highest impact on the variable of ethnic identity, and in general, account for about 34% of changes in Kurdish identity.*

Keywords: *Historical memory, generation, ethnic identity, feeling of discrimination, globalization, socialization, economic capital, cultural capital.*

Introduction

The present article centers on exploring the relationship between historical memory, ethnic identity and globalization within the Kurdish society in Iran. Collective or historic memory refers to a group's reflection of its past whether it is shared or remembered by members, and it establishes the group's identity, describes its current situation, and gives its narration of future events. Ethnic groups are differentiated from each other based on characteristics such as religion, language and physical features (Jandt, 1995:12) and their historical memory. Giddens (2003:359) defines ethnicity as "cultural viewpoints and actions that characterizes a certain community", and develops a certain identity for members of an ethnic group. It is possible to establish ethnic identity based on cultural indices such as language, religion, customs and historical background through which individuals are connected to all or some aspects of identity of a group (Ghol Mohammadi, 1381[2002]).

Therefore, there is a past to each individual and society, the reflection upon which proves to be essential regarding creating identity and survival. Accordingly, social groups need a past full of heroism and myths. Special historical structures cause the creation special types of identity which can be discovered for each individual (Berger & Luckman, 1971:23). In fact, identity and memory are embedded in the history of a society and, according to Halbwachs, there is no memory outside social groups and membership in groups or belonging to one is due to common memories or events we have directly experienced with others or a similar feeling we have about such memories and events because of a shared narration we have of them. (Misztal 2003:50).

The area of collective memory can be surveyed within the framework of generational relationships. Based on experiencing socialization and membership outside family, school or even religion, new generation assigns different but somehow controversial meanings to narrations given by the previous generation. Such different narrations are indicative of efforts devoted by a generation to establish its position in the social scene. Because of facing different social and historical events and economic conditions of previous generations, there are some features to each generation which differentiate it from previous and succeeding generations and according to Mannheim (1976), what differentiates a generation from the previous ones is the reaction this generation shows to

¹ Email: tavasoli@chamran.ut.ac.ir

² Email: Adhamister@gmail.com (Corresponding Author)

common experience from previous generations or the experience it already has. Historical memory of past events is handed down from one generation to the next during socialization, acculturation and interactional trend, and is differently interpreted under the influence of social, economic and cultural factors, and finally, turns into a tool for expressing feelings shared by group members or a generation.

In the late century, most scientists in the field of social and political science believed that ethnic and racial identity and tendencies were some kind of repressiveness which plays second fiddle to superior ideologies of communism and liberalism, that is, “during cold war, communist regimes managed to curb separatist tendencies of ethnic minorities in Eastern Europe by developing an authoritarian system, however, increasing demand was pressed for creating a sovereign nation following the collapse of Eastern Bloc” (Bugajski, 1995:1). Today, some believe that micro-ethnic identity will eventually be assimilated into the global culture. On the other hand, some believe that globalization will not endanger ethnic groups. Rather, providing ethnic groups with tools, it will develop their self-awareness and will support ethnic movement. According to Castells (1996:24), resistance identity is created by actors who are in vulnerable situations or suffer from stigma, as far as domination is concerned. There is more evidence with regard to the second approach, therefore, nowadays, ethnic identity and ethnocentrism has become one of the important global issues, and as a social structure and everyday experience in the modern world and in the process of globalization, ethnicity is considered a significant factor in building personal and general awareness and reviving memory based on the heritage of popular tradition.

In Iran, after the formation of a democratic government attempts were made to ignore cultural differences and to consider Iran as a sovereign nation, therefore, ethnic groups such as Kurds, Balouchs, Turks and Turkmans mounted resistance (Maqsoodi, 1380[2001]). In Pahlavi Era, the then government assumed responsibility for history and ethnic memory, therefore, ethnicity became a political issue. Nowadays, globalization has weakened nation states and has undermined their credibility to some extent, therefore, one can claim that globalization has led to refreshed ethnic memory regarding global diaspora so that the members of such ethnic groups are identified with this memory. Furthermore, globalization does not tend to create monotony in a systematic way, rather, it acts in a special way; it reaches agreement with special places and ethnic groups and mobilizes special identities, therefore, there is always a constant dialectic between world affairs and local affairs (Hall 1996: 217-314).

Accordingly, in the present article, we tend to examine the dynamism of identity in Kurdistan, Iran with a backward-looking approach (investigating historical memory) and a forward-looking approach (examining the aspects of globalization). Based on the first approach, one can identify mental, political, cultural and social turning points in the memory of Kurdish people, which have helped maintain the identity of Kurdish people in Iran, Turkey, Syria and Iraq. In other words, bittersweet events such as establishing and overthrowing Mahabad Republic, and Halabja bombardment are among dozens of factors affecting Kurdish identity, however, some believe that Kurdish movement dates back to modern times, and world-ethnic media (satellite, the Internet, cell phones) have played an important role in refreshing memory and Kurdish struggles so that, compared to generations with direct-shared experience in the history of political life of their ethnicity, highly-educated generations which are exposed to mass media pay much more attention to their own ethnic identity, therefore, the present study is intended to answer the following questions using backward-looking and forward-looking approaches:

Research Questions

1. How dependent is ethnic identity on historical memory?
2. Has ethnic identity and memory been able to forge a bond among generations?
3. What historic events have affected individual mentality, views and knowledge? Or based on what events or historic figures is an identity to be developed?
4. Based on national and world media, to what historical memory is Kurdish ethnic identity related? Or how and based on remembering what events do Kurdish people identify themselves through media? Or how effective has globalization been regarding ethnic identity?
5. What factors constrain historical memory and on the other hand, strengthen the bond between historical memory and ethnic identity of individuals?

Literature Review

In his study “remembering the forgotten war: memory& US-Mexico war”, Van wagenen (2009) concluded that regional, racial and religious differences affect remembering wars. Also, in their article “generational memory& family relationships, Donfut& Wolff (2003:12-3) stated that changes in relationships between genders affect the changes in gender memories. In the article “collective memory& social identity: psychological explanation for memory of disintegration of Yugoslavia”, Kuzmanic (2008) claims that social position of individuals performs a decisive role in reflecting their social identity and their interpretation of reality. And in his article “Iranian Kurds in the age of globalization”, Gresh (2009:187) showed that being in the vicinity of autonomous government in Iraqi Kurdistan and globalization have led to the strength of Kurdish nationalism in Iran. Dijck, (2006), in a research regarding music, collective memory and cultural heritage, found out that residence, photos and media influence visual memory and generational historical awareness. Also, Wineburg (2007) states that music and stories affect remembering special events and help strengthen collective memory and maintain identity.

Approaches and Theoretical Framework

Identity and memory are among the issues of special importance in theories and viewpoints in sociology due to their relationship with widespread phenomena such as reflection, awareness, membership and collective attachment, social cohesion, symbolism and concepts, and have been conceptualized in different ways. This is why theoretical and practical approach to issues of identity and memory is considered as the main feature of theoretical and experimental works by modern sociologists (Taylor& Spencer, 2004: 109). The theoretical framework of the research includes historical memory, ethnic identity, globalization and generation. In other words, the present article is intending to examine the relationship between historic memory and ethnic identity among Kurdish generation and the effects of globalization on such a relationship, therefore, this is a backward-looking and forward-looking study. Accordingly, theories of social memory and ethnicity, ethnic identity, globalization and generation are discussed to establish a broad theoretical framework. In sociology, there are 3 basic approaches to collective identity: social constructionism approach, social realism approach, and combinatory approach.

Collective Identity& Memory: researchers such as Mead (1934), Blumer (1969), Stryker (2000), Berger and Luckman (1971), Tajfel and Turner(1986) have emphasized the role of mental-symbolic factors in developing collective identity in social constructionism approach based on which collective identities such as sexual, ethnic, and racial identities are created out of negotiation and linguistic interchange due to social interactions. In this approach, some trends are emphasized base on which social agencies organize cognitive, emotional and behavioral data of actors so that they reveal their “social self” (Burkitt, 1991:190). In social realism approach, researchers including Michael Hechter (1975), Aisenstsd (1998), Castells (1996) and Steve Fenton (2004) have analyzed identity in connection with historical, cultural, social, political and economic conditions and factors, and also major processes including globalization. Castells and Fenton’s approach has been used in the present article. Castells (1996) believes that, sociologically speaking, one can claim all identities are created, but the question is how, out of what, by who, and on what purpose? In order for identities to be created, materials such as history, geography, biology, production and reproduction institutions, collective memory and identity, personal dreams, power and divine inspiration are used, but individuals, social groups and societies reproduce such materials in concord with social norms and cultural projects embedded in social structure and chronological-spatial framework of these materials. Castells (1996) proposes the following hypothesis: that who and on what purpose creates collective identity determines somehow it’s symbolic content and what it means to those who identify with it and also to those who do not. Arguing that social structure of identity is always embedded in power relations and origin of identity is in concord with historical memory, Castells differentiates among 3 types of identity:

Legitimate Identity: this type of identity is created by social independent institutes so that they can dominate social actors and convince them that such a concept is an essential core of theories of authority and domination, and is also connected to different theories of nationalism (Castells, 1996:24). One can say this type of identity is preserved by official memory and authorities use invented memories through socially organized censorship, commemoration, forgetting or remembering with regard to their current objectives including nation building. In fact, this type of identity is a hermeneutic and domineering identity created by independent groups or the government for legitimization of power.

Resistivity Identity: this type of identity is created by actors who are in vulnerable situations or suffer from stigma as far as domination is concerned. Therefore, defensive trenches will be dug based on different principles or against the principles established by social institutions. The rise in ethnicity-based nationalism due to indignation against political, economic or social discrimination illustrates the point. This type of identity is in concord with collective memory and anti-memory through which social rejects and victims of injustice create an opposed identity against domineering identity and hegemonic discipline by reminding generations of shocking events and unpleasant memories, plights and discriminations (Castells, 1996:24).

Programmed Identity: this type of identity is created when using existing cultural material, social actors develop a new identity that redefines their situation in society, and consequently, they are inclined to change social structure: involved in resistance and maintaining the identity of women in patriarchal families, feminism challenged the whole production structure, and many more (Castells, 1996:24). Dynamic memory helps create programmed identity based on sources which redefine subjects. In response to how and under what circumstances collective identity and fidelity will be developed, Steve Fenton claims that external factors including globalization, poverty and lack of culture, crisis of legitimizing political structure, and isolation of a social group help distinguish it from others (Fenton, 2003:175-180).

Combinatory approach: in this approach, Bourdieu (1995), Alexander (1998) and Jenkins (2000) explain the process of creating identity and identification in modern days based on interactions between social structure and agencies. Bourdieu's viewpoint has been used in this article. In his analyses, Bourdieu combines micro levels (agencies and their actions) and macro levels (social structures). At macro level, he considers interactional structures and areas in which individuals find social positions based on total capital (economic and cultural capital) and capital structure (relative value of different economies and cultural capitals). Individuals with similar social positions and interactions use relatively similar habitus and action patterns (Bourdieu, 1995:112-16, 1984: 437). 2 approaches can be adopted as far as collective memory is concerned: Halbwachs classic approach and social constructionism approach (establishing tradition, collective memory, memory dynamism), As the first classic pioneer in social memory, Halbwachs believed groups create their own memory, and therefore, distinguish their own identity, and needs, issues and beliefs determine memory (Halbwachs, 1992 in Smith, 1998). Collective memory is social because the matter to be remembered and how it is remembered is determined by social groups and frameworks, and this memory is a proof of integration and stability of a group. Social memory is valid only when remembering, socially speaking, are in agreement and dependent on psychological turning points of an emotional society, and there is one memory per each group (Halbwachs, 1941 in Misztal, 2003: 52).

Time and play a pivotal role in receiving collective memories: groups use time alongside important historical categories within a commemorative sequence, and group's image of external environment and it's stable relationship with this environment culminates in memory maintenance as a shared image of the past (Halbwachs, 1941 in Misztal, 2003:53). Theories of constructionism regarding criticism of Halbwachs 'exaggeration of social and socially deterministic factors suggest that he ignores the role of individual agency in cultural production processes. Recently, not only researchers in cultural studies but also the public have shown tendency towards memory and remembering issues based on constructionism. Nowadays, a large number of history movies, documentaries, talk shows base on the issues of the recent century including two world wars, particularly Holocaust, are shown by the mass media, and are especially important in remembering past events (Nunning&Erl, 2008:191). Furthermore, media reflection and remembering of historical events are affected by narrations and interpretations provided by different generations, symbols and interests of the present time. Therefore, social constructionists not only consider social constructionism of memory and its relationship with the needs and issues of the present time, but also analyze the way processes of collective remembering are affected by social change and culture (Schwartz, 1991:220-25). Constructionists regard collective memory as a historical product developed out of inter-cultural interactions, culture producers, culture consumers, power, individual cognition and tendencies (Kansteiner, 2002:191). Constructionist approach includes the presentist memory approach: the invention of traditions, the popular memory approach and the dynamics of memory approach.

The presentist memory approach: the invention of traditions holds an instrumental view on memory. Based on this approach, nationalist movements create a commemorative sequence so that they shed light on the shared past of their members and legitimize their needs and wishes regarding shared identity. This approach is intending to determine who is responsible for selecting memory and emphasizes the decisive factors. Official management of collective memory in non-democratic systems is fluctuating around the two poles of censorship and commemoration or organized forgetting and remembering as far as legitimization of power is concerned, and

accordingly, it has helped erect memorial monuments, invent new symbols, and revise history books. In fact, based on this approach, memory is built and controlled in a top-down manner, and any possible challenge regarding official narration of the past is removed (Misztal, 2003:56).

The popular memory approach centers on the hypothesis that our memory of the past is instrumental and affected by current tendencies and interests, and memory policies are controversial, and quite contrary to the invention of traditions approach, they refer to the possibility of building memory in a down-top manner. Memory is imposed on the public, however, agents and groups are able to defend their narration of the past (Misztal, 2003:61). Researchers of the popular memory approach analyze the relationship between hegemonic discipline and memory of local groups and categorize these special rememberings into “popular memory”, “anti-memory:,” “opposed memory”, or “unofficial memory”. According to Foucault, popular memory is a form of collective cognition available to individuals who are forbidden to write and publish their books and narrations of historical events, to those who are sidelined by popular discourse, and their knowledge is invalid on the ground of insufficiency. In Foucault’s opinion, mass media replan and reprocess memory by reflecting the values of independent social formations, and there is a bond between memory and popular resistance (Foucault, 1978 in Misztal, 1003:62).

In the dynamics of memory approach, collective memory regarded as a process in negotiation, and remembering is defined as a process in which individuals constantly change the memories, and current power limitations of actors are highlighted based on their benefits (Schudson, 1997). An alternative approach refers to the possibility of building memory in a bottom-up manner (Olick&Levy, 1997:922). Kammen (1995:340) argues that the past is not mental-fictional nor is it fake, and for instrumental reasons, individuals do not tend to necessarily revive the past so that their memories reflect value systems and viewpoints of a certain group. Although, in this approach, memory distortion and manipulation by political elite is not denied, the factor of agency is emphasized, and in some cases, intentional replacement of collective memory for a developing society is highlighted. In the dynamics of memory approach, quite contrary to Halbwachs’ approach in which the stability of collective memory is emphasized and identities are regarded stable factors in building memory, the temporariness of identities is emphasized and the effect of the past on the present is considered important. This approach centers most on the structure of identity both in the course of history (identity as a nation) and individuals. Researchers of the dynamics of memory approach have tendency towards examining how, when and why some events may become a major part of collective memory (Connerton, 1989:5, Olick& Levy, 1997:922).

Identity and memory are two interrelated concepts because, on one hand, identity is affected by memory, and on the other hand, what is remembered is defined by identity. Nowadays, memory most requires a legitimate identity because the core meaning of individual and collective identity is kept by remembering. Collective identities are indicative of both consistency and integrity within similar groups and difference outside groups, therefore, social memory shows collective experience as a decisive factor in group identity. Understanding the past leads to the formation of groups and reflects their ideals (Fentress & Wiekham, 1992:25).

Generations and Generational Memory

According to Mannheim, as a biological age group, generation includes individuals of a similar historic era and is of a unique identity due to shared experience related to social and historic trends, and also associates with collective memory (Mannheim, 1652 in Erll & Nunning, 2008). Halbwachs argues that there is a close bond between generations that indicates the past is conveyed through parents and grandparents, and goes beyond individual experience. It goes from one generation to the next, with each one protecting the heritage of ancestors, and this transfer is the foundation of social trends (Erll & Nunning, 2008). Each generation has a special generational memory; this is why generations have different identities from those of preceding and next generations. In other words, generational identity is created through collective actions and practice, and is established in reaction to bitter or decisive events requiring shared memory. Unique generational memory which is the product of its members’ shared exposure to social and mental processes depends on the rhythm of social change. The faster the rhythm, the rapider the rise of generation gap, therefore, older generations control the current historic concepts while younger generations quickly adopt new strategies for adaptation to life (Mannheim, 1972, Swindler, 1960 in Erll & Nunning, 2008). In the age of electronic society and globalization of popular culture, and with the importance of mass media, it is predicted that generations will easily find their position in society because they are able to easily assimilate into collective culture (Eyerman & Turner, 1998:97).

Generations are products of memory due to the decisive role played by memory of historical events in development of generational culture since early youth and early adulthood. Determination of generational identities is embedded in generational culture and includes actions and practice, attitudes, preferences and tendencies strengthened by managing collective resources (Eyerman&Turner, 1998). In Bourdieu's opinion, generation can be explained using habitus. He has adjusted Mannheim's primary concepts and defines generation as like-minded individuals who experience shared habitus. Sharing collective culture and habitus equips generations with collective memory. Habitus is a system of growing tendencies and is affected by economic and cultural capital. Based on generational habitus, all socially, politically and culturally important events, witnessed by a special generation, can firstly be considered as a part of a society in which generations develop their collective identity. In such a society, signs of generational distinction are displayed and generational memory is created (Eyerman& Turner, 1998).

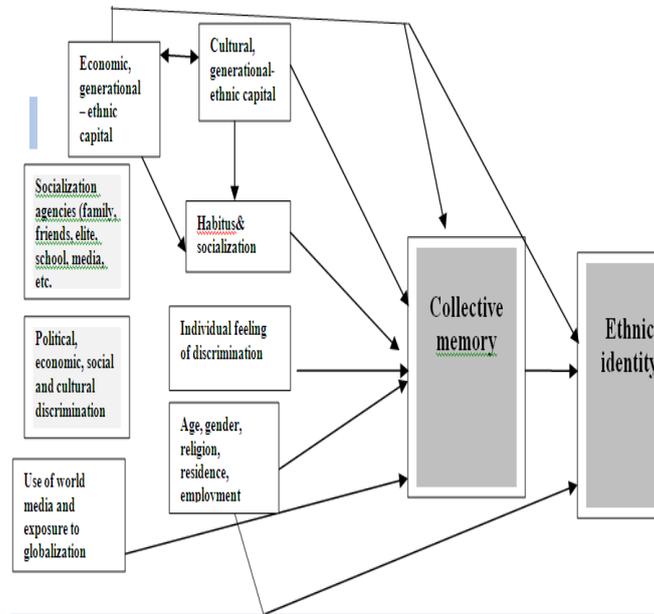
In the past, generational identities were in concord and had a close bond with place, time, culture and historic-collective memory, however, nowadays, generations are differently identified, and even the identity of a generation is affected by various discourses, and therefore, is unstable and fluctuating. Since contemporary world evolves with regard to sovereignty, such evolution is not only to the benefit of traditional identities, but also increases the need of attachment (Touriance, 2000). Anthony Giddens (1991) believes that in the process of recreating, identity development is changed. With decreasing dominance of tradition, individuals become obsessed with choosing a lifestyle and try to cling to tools for traditional identity development to survive identity crisis. These people are seeking peace established by semi-closed social and cultural atmosphere of traditional societies, and therefore, join the movements that tend to recreate such atmospheres in response to globalization. Most individuals and groups are mobilized against ideologies and movements showing tendency towards traditional identity development, one of which is ethnic movements (Ghol Muhammadi, 1381[2002]). According to Castells, globalization is a setting for reappearance of forgotten identities and cultures and is a process which, on one hand, creates a bond between old and new identities and cultures and, on the other hand, develops a close relationship among old cultures, but it shows tendency towards reconstruction of cultures with historic and native origins (Ameli, 2002:42-3). According to Reconstructionist, although other places are not considered safe enough for creating identities, they are still one of the ways of developing social identities. Individuals, intentionally or unintentionally, are exposed to other cultures and, accordingly, affected, but they are not assimilated into cultures, rather, they are involved in reconstructing identity thanks to global resources (Ameli, 2002:43).

Regarding ethnicity and nationalism, some theories were developed without which it would prove futile to refer to historical memory and define reconstruction of ethnic identity in connection with generations. Based on primordialism paradigm, one can agree that ethnic groups have an identity of symbols and myths, historical memory and culture. Emphasizing factors such as religion, language and land, primordialism paradigm considers a natural relationship among ethnic factors, identity, and ethnic nationalism. This is why ethnic groups must have distinguishing elements (Moytl, 2000:945, Maqsoudi, 1380[2001]:21, Ahmadi, 1389[2010]:143). One can also agree that nationalism and ethnocentrism are modern phenomena and ethnic groups have adopted nationalistic attitudes, that is, politicization of ethnicity is a modern phenomenon (Ahmadi, 1389[2010]:147). According to primordialism, Halbwachs' and Mannheim's theories, memory and identity were embedded in real communities, but based on Anderson's imagined communities and Hobsbawm's invention of tradition, one can claim that ethnic groups symbolically remember bittersweet memories through ethnic and world media (satellite, the Internet, cell phone) and international immigrations, and accordingly, reconstruct their identity and memory (Ozkirimili, 2000: 176, Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1992).

Based on Smith' ethnic symbolism, nations and nationalism are modern phenomena the emergence of which depends on old materials including symbols, myths and shared bittersweet memories. Other researchers have emphasized the role of economy, politics and culture in ethnocentrism, ethnic nationalism, reconstruction of identity and ethnic memory (Smith, 1986, 1998, 2001). According to Lenski's discrimination theories, Hechter's internal colonialism, and Glener's second-class citizen, one can claim that deprivation, feeling of inequality and a feeling of being exploited lead to a symbolic return to the past, revival of painful memories and defining ethnic identity (Grabb, 1986:10-1). The ethnic group to be studied here has been sidelined in political, economic, social, cultural aspects, and we tend to examine the situation. Some thinkers emphasize the role of geopolitics and political geography in tendency towards nationalism and reconstruction of ethnic memory and identity. We do not explore the relationship between political geography and memory due to vast geographical territory and diaspora position of the Kurdisk people, though one should bear in mind that the role of awareness in feelings of discrimination is of overriding importance.

To explain the dependent variable (ethnic identity), variables of economic and social capital and generational socialization, variable of feeling of ethnic discrimination, variable of historical memory and globalization have been selected from Bourdieu's theory, ethnic inequalities theories, and constructionist theories about memory and, castells and hall theories, respectively.

Theoretical Model



Research Hypotheses

1. It seems that there is a relationship between historical memory of different generations and their ethnic identity.
2. It seems that there is a relationship between feelings of discrimination against Kurdish people and their ethnic identity.
3. There is seemingly a relationship between the use of ethnic world media (the Internet, satellite, etc.) and Kurdish ethnic identities.
4. There seems to be a relationship between economic capital of the Kurdish people and their ethnic identity.
5. It seems that there is a relationship between cultural capital of the Kurdish people and their ethnic identity.
6. There is seemingly a relationship between individual variables (age, gender, residence, marital status, employment, education and income) of the Kurdish people and their ethnic identity.
7. It seems that there is a difference between generations regarding ethnic identity.
8. There seems to be a relationship between socialization of the Kurdish people in families, schools, etc. and their ethnic identity.

Research Method

The data was collected through survey and questionnaires. Therefore, statistical unit and analysis unit for the present study are Sanandaj citizens and generation, respectively. The statistical population consists of 3 generations: 15-29, 30-54, and over 55. Based on statistical yearbook in 1385, Sanandaj population of over 15 consist of young generation (15-29), middle-aged generation (30-54) and old generation (over 55) standing at 117589, 100268, and 30689, respectively. Based on Cochran's formula and total population of over 15 standing at 248546, a population density of 455 was calculated: young, middle-aged, and old generation, at 204, 180, and 71, respectively. The methods used in this study are single-level cluster, simple random and stratified sampling. Accordingly, with the use of single-level cluster sampling, 3 districts in Sanandaj were selected: affluent districts (Bolvar Shebli, Shalman, Mobarak Abad, Shahrak Sa'di, etc.), working-class district (Shohada st., Feiz Abad, Baharan, Chaharbagh, Ghatarchian, Tekye chaman, etc.) and poor districts (Abbas Abad, Kani Koozaleh,

Taghtaghan, etc.) with the use of simple random sampling, Bolvar Shebli and Shahrak Sa'di, Feiz Abad and Ghatachian, Abbas Abad and Kani koozaleh were chosen out of affluent, working-class, and poor districts, respectively. Then, with the use of heterogeneous stratified sampling, some blocks were chosen and different age groups in these blocks were interviewed. Subsequently, theoretical and operational definitions will be provided for dependent and independent variables and their levels of Alpha.

Dependent variable: Ethnic identity: a type of collective identity based on the mental duality “we-they”, that is, part of it shows how members observe their ethnicity, and the other part of it indicates how others observe the members, therefore, ethnic groups are always surrounded by two dynamic forces one of which is internal forces leading to the stability of “we”, and the other is external forces causing the formation of “they” (Chalbi, 1378 [1999]). All the factors and forces leading to the stability of “we” are considered as elements of ethnic identity.

Scale: Honor of Kurdish language, honor of land, customs, necessity of knowledge of Kurdish history, preference of Kurdish names, identification with Kurdish culture, feeling of hatred of being a Kurd and being born, nostalgia, music. ($\alpha=0.784$)

Independent variables: Collective and social memory: it refers to a group’s reflection on the past shared by many and collectively remembered, and is indicative of the group’s identity, its present situation and narration of future events (Miształ, 2003:158).

Scale: Semko’s uprising, Molla Mustafa Barzani’s uprising, and Ghazi Muhammad’s uprising and establishing Mahabad Republic, Hanging Ghazi and fall of the Republic, 3-month battle in Kurdistan, Halabja bombardment& and Kurdish genocide in Iraqi Kurdistan, Autonomous government in Kurdistan, Capturing Abdullah Ucalan Bahman 2, 1946, Mordad 25, Farvardin 10, Tir 22, Shahrivar 26, Esfand 3, Kurdish Hiroshima, chemical Ali, Kurdish books, Kurdish artistic works& poems ($\alpha=0.93$)

Socialization: a process during which a child turns into an acceptable member in the society and behaves properly, know how to communicate, has acquired social skills and knows about prevailing opinions in the society.

Secondary socialization: part of a socialization process from early youth to early adulthood, and it is a cycle.

Scale: Speaking in Kurdish, Obligation of a Kurd to marry a Kurd, Acquaintance with Kurdish culture through friends, Necessity of familiarizing children with Kurdish culture, Acquaintance with Kurdish culture through satellite, Acquaintance with Kurdish culture through elite, the need of learning Kurdish language alongside Persian ($\alpha=0.67$)

Feeling of discrimination: when members of an ethnic group are not entitled to their rights or do not live in similar political, social and cultural conditions, or have limited access to economic goods, they are discriminated against (Gurr, 1993:402). And feeling of discrimination is experienced by members of ethnic groups who believe so.

Scale: Kurds are provided with positions in Kurdish areas What is the effect of Kurdish identity on being employed?, Kurdish people feel free to name their children Kurdish names, Publishing Kurdish material is satisfactory, compared to Persian, Kurdish programs are broadcast just like Persian ones, Teaching in Kurdish is allowed, Unemployment reaches the highest level in Kurdish areas, Investment in Kurdish areas is satisfactory, Healthcare is satisfactory in Kurdish areas ($\alpha=0.70$)

Capitals: in Bourdieu’s opinion, capitals can be categorized into economic, social and cultural capitals. Economic capitals are easily liquidated and have rights of ownership. Social capitals include social duties, requirements and bonds and can be turned into economic capital in special circumstances.

Cultural capitals take on 3 aspects:

1. Mental aspect which is related to individual psychological tendencies towards using cultural goods.
2. Material aspect which includes consumed cultural goods. This type of capital in materials such as stationery, painting, and tools can be transferred.
3. Institutional aspect which includes university degrees.

We assess economic capital and cultural capital with regard to the employment and income and with regard to education and consumed cultural goods, respectively. Globalization: globalization refers to global interconnectivity and sovereignty, and increasing awareness of individual’s worldwide (Robertson, 1992:36). Globalization provided the ground for development of social life using communication technology and the distance between time and place. In other words, through deterritorialization, globalization weakens the bond between culture and space, and exposes cultures to one another. Consequently, customs prevail globally due to advanced communication technology. In the present article, we explore globalization with the use of mass media.

Data Analysis

As previously stated, the present study is intending to examine the relationship among ethnic identity, historical memory and globalization. Accordingly, a sample of 455 was chosen out of young, middle-aged and old age groups and then, interviewed. Data was collected out of completed questionnaires and processed using SPSS, version 18. Descriptive and analytical results are presented in 3 sections that is firstly, data is analyzed descriptively, individual characteristics of the subjects are presented, and the views of the subjects regarding statements are presented in tables of percentage distribution, frequency distribution and comparison of means. In the second section entitled “inferential analysis”, research questions and hypotheses are examined, and finally, in the third section, data multivariate analysis, multivariate regression and path analysis (intending to assess the effect of independent variables on dependent variables and the path of such effects) are presented.

In order for the characteristics of generational groups to be described, the results are displayed in the following tables:

Table (1): frequency and percentage distribution of variables per each generational group

variables	Classification of variables	old	Middle-aged	young	total	
generation	frequency	71	180	204	455	
	percentage	15.6	39.6	44.8	100	
district	affluent	frequency	24	59	72	155
		percentage	33.8	32.8	35.3	33.9
	Medium	frequency	25	61	68	154
		percentage	35.2	33.9	33.3	34.1
	poor	frequency	22	61	64	146
		percentage	31	33.3	31.4	31.9
gender	male	frequency	21	21	80	149
		percentage	29.6	29.6	39.2	32.7
	female	frequency	50	50	124	306
		percentage	70.4	70.4	60.8	67.3
Marital status	married	frequency	...	23	151	175
		percentage	...	12.8	74	28.9
	unmarried	frequency	67	155	52	274
		percentage	94.4	86.1	25.5	68.5
	Etc.	frequency	4	2	1	7
		percentage	5.6	0.12	0.5	2.07
Education	unliterate	frequency	34	9	...	43
		percentage	47.9	5	...	17.6
	diploma	frequency	24	112	131	267
		percentage	33.7	62.1	64.3	53.4
	academic	frequency	34	59	73	144
		percentage	18.6	32.9	35.7	29.06

As is shown in table 2, out of the statistical population of 455, 15.6%, 39.6%, and 49.8% belong to old generation, middle-aged generation and young generation, respectively. Almost one third of the population is distributed equally to old, middle-aged and young generations in affluent, working-class and poor districts, and the same applies to gender distribution. 29.6% of old generation, 26.7% of middle-aged generation, and 39.2% of young generation belong to females, and 70% of old and middle-aged generation and 60.80% of young generation belong to males. In general, the ratio of males to females is 2.05% higher. With regard to marital status, the majority of 94.4%, 86% and 25.5% belong to old, middle-aged and young generations, respectively. Approximately 5.6% of old generation, 0.12% of middle-aged generation and 0.5% of young generation fall into other categories. As for education, 47.9% of old generation, and 5% of middle-aged generation are uneducated, and approximately 33.7% of old generation and 62.4% of middle-aged and young generation does not have university degrees while 18.6% of old generation and approximately 33-35.7% of middle-aged and young generation have higher education. Also,

65.5%, 20.9% and 5% of the statistical population receive an income of less than 500/0000 Rials, 5010000-10010000 Rials, and over 10020000 Rials, respectively.

Describing Main Research Variables

In this section, dependent and independent variables have been described. Independent variables include socialization, feeling of discrimination, economic and cultural capital, exposure to world media, historical memory and dependent variable of ethnic identity.

Table (2): Mean per Each Generation (subjects=455)

	variables	Old generation	Middle-aged generation	Young generation	Total means	Compare means test
1	Ethnic identity	88.38	85.48	80.11	84.65	F=8.2 Sig=0.000
2	Socialization & ethnic identity	61.8	65.5	63.4	63.5	F=3.8 Sig=0.02
3	Historic memory	105.2	117.2	99.3	107.2	F=5.12 Sig=0.006
4	Feeling of discrimination	67.8	71.6	69.3	69.5	F=1.8 Sig=0.1
5	Cultural capital	8.7	11.7	13.3	11.23	F=46.35 Sig=0.000
6	Economic capital	23	11.4	27.7	20.7	F=4.46 Sig=0.01
7	Exposure to media globalization	124 mts	188.8 mts	285.7 mts	199.5 mts	F=9.7 Sig=0.000

As is displayed in table 3, the average feeling of attachment to Kurdish identity in all generations is above the average level (50) and equal to 84.65%: the highest mean of Kurdish identity belongs to the old generation (88.38%), middle-aged generation (85.48%) and the lowest mean belongs to young generation (80%). Also, the results of compare means test for ethnic identity showed that old generation has a different average feeling of ethnic identity than middle-aged and young generations, that is, based on Scheffe-Test, the average Kurdish identity in old generation is higher than that of middle-aged generation with a difference of 5.4% and with sig=0.02, And is higher than that of young generation with a difference of 7.8% and with sig=0.000. Also, average Kurdish socialization among all generations is higher than 50% and equal to 63.5%, but the results of compare means showed that average Kurdish socialization is different than that of old generation. Based on Tukey and Scheffe’s test, mean Kurdish socialization of middle-aged generation is higher than that of old generation with a difference of 1.8% and with sig=0.02, whereas mean difference in the second and third, and in the first and third generations is not significant.

Table (3): Testing the relationship between dependent& Independent Variables (Ethnic Identity)

Dependent variable Independent variables		Ethnic identity								
		Old generation			Middle-aged generation			Young generation		
		r	sig	n	r	sig	n	r	sig	n
Pearson Correlation test	socialization	0.33**	0.004	71	0.48**	0.000	180	0.50**	0.000	204
	discrimination	0.30*	0.01	71	0.31**	0.000	180	0.02	0.7	204
	Economic capital	0.06	0.4	71	-0.16**	0.02	180	-0.16**	0.02	204
	Cultural capital	-0.2	0.4	67	-0.27**	0.000	165	-0.08	0.2	191
	globalization	-0.02	0.8	71	-0.03	0.8	180	-0.10	0.1	203
	Historical memory	0.19	0.1	71	0.04	0.5	179	0.37**	0.000	204

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Also, the average historical memory of middle-aged generation is higher than that of the other two and according to compare means test, average historical memory in middle-aged generation is different than that of young generation. Also, mean historical memory of middle-aged generation is higher than that of the other 2 generations and the results of compare means test showed that there is a difference between mean historic memory of middle-aged generation is different from that of young generation so that, based on Tukey and Scheffe's test, mean historical memory of middle-aged generation is higher than that of young generation with a difference of 17.9% and with the sig=0.005 level. However, the mean difference between first and second, and between first and third generations proves to be insignificant. Average feeling of ethnic discrimination in all generation is equal to 69.5%, but according to compare means test it is not significant. Regarding economic and cultural capitals, young generation is in a better situation. The average cultural capital is different in all generations. Based on Tukey and Scheffe's test, mean cultural capital in middle-aged generation is higher than that of old generation with a difference of 2.9% and with sig=0.000. Also, mean cultural capital in young generation is higher than old and middle-aged generation with a difference of 4.5% and 1.5%, respectively. And with sig=0.000. as for economic capitals, the results of compare means test showed that mean economic capital for middle-aged and young generation is different: mean economic capital of young generation is higher than that of middle-aged generation with a difference of 16.3% and with sig=0.009. As for exposure to world media, young generation is exposed to globalization and world media more than the other two, and according to Tukey and Scheffe's test, exposure to media in young generation is higher than old and middle-aged generation with a difference of 161.6 and 96.8 minutes, respectively, and with sig=0.000.

Testing hypothesis 1:

It seems that there is a relationship between individual ethnic socialization and their ethnic identity.

Based on the data descriptive analysis, mean ethnic socialization in middle-aged generation is higher than that of old generation, and based on theories, a relationship was expected to exist between ethnic socialization and ethnic identity. In order to examine the relationship between variables of ethnic socialization and ethnic identity, we used Pearson Correlation Test based on which there is a significant relationship between individual ethnic socialization and their ethnic identity, with correlation coefficient of $r=0.33$ and level of significance sig=0.0004, and Alpha level of 0.01. There is also a significant relationship between ethnic socialization of the middle-aged and young generation and their ethnic identity, with correlation coefficient of $r=0.48$ and $r=0.50$, respectively, and with level of significance sig=0.000, and Alpha level of 0.01. This relationship is more significant in young generation.

Testing hypothesis 2:

It seems that there is a relationship between feeling of ethnic discrimination and ethnic identity.

Base on the data descriptive analysis, average feeling of discrimination in middle-aged generation is higher than that of old and young generations. But, there is a strong feeling of discrimination against old generation and the stronger the feeling of discrimination, the more the attachment to ethnic identity, therefore, Pearson Correlation Test was used to examine the relationship between variables of ethnic discrimination and ethnic identity, based on which there proves to be a significant relationship between feeling of ethnic discrimination in old generation and their ethnic identity, with correlation coefficient $r=0.30$ and level of significance sig=0.01, and Alpha level of 0.05. However, there is no significant relationship between these two variables in young generation.

Testing hypothesis 3:

It seems that there is a relationship between economic capital and ethnic identity.

In the present study, the index of economic capital was determined based on income and employment due to the features of the statistical population and difficulty in economic capital assessment. Therefore, no questions were asked to collect data on economic capital. In order to examine the relationship between variable of economic capital and ethnic identity, we used Pearson Correlation Test: there proves to be a significant and inverse relationship between economic capital of middle-aged and young generations and their ethnic identity, with correlation coefficient $r=0.16$ and level of significance sig=0.02, and with Alpha level of 0.05. But, there is no significant relationship between these two variables in old generation.

Testing hypothesis 4:

There seems to be a relationship between cultural capital and ethnic identity.

Due to the features of statistical population and difficulty in cultural capital assessment, the index of cultural capital was determined based on factors of degrees and exposure to world media. In order to examine the relationship between variables of cultural capital and ethnic identity, we used Pearson Correlation Test based on which there proves to be a significant inverse relationship between cultural capital of middle-aged generation and their ethnic identity, with correlation coefficient $r=0.27$, level of significance $sig=0.000$ and Alpha level of 0.01. However, there is no significant relationship between these two variables in old and young generations.

Testing hypothesis 5:

It seems that there is a relationship between use of world media and ethnic identity.

Pearson Correlation Test was used to examine the relationship between variables of use of world media and ethnic identity. There proves to be no significant relationship between the two variables.

Testing hypothesis 6:

It seems that there is a relationship between historical memory and ethnic identity. Pearson correlation test was used based on which there proves to be a significant relationship between historical memory of young generation and their ethnic identity with correlation coefficient $r=0.37$, level of significance $sig=0.000$, and Alpha level of 0.01. However, there is no significant relationship between these two variables in old and middle-aged generations.

Table (4): Main Elements in Multivariate Regression Analysis using Enter Method for Explanation of Changes in Dependent Variable (Ethnic Identity)

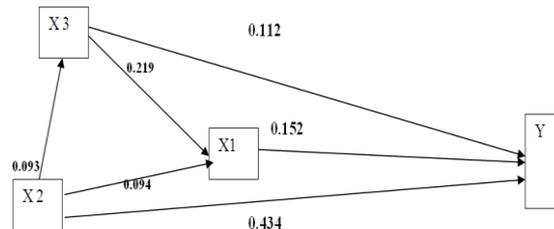
Regression elements	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	<i>B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	β
constant	21.18	-	29.8	-	81.3	-
socialization	0.41	0.43	-	-	-	-
Historical memory	0/013	0.11	0.020	0.22	-	-
Feeling of discrimination	0.104	0.152	0.069	0.09	0.75	0.09
<i>R</i>	0.60		0.24		0.009	
<i>R</i> ²	0.36		0.062		0.009	
<i>Adjusted R Square</i>	0.34		0.057		0.006	

From the table above, it can be inferred that firstly, based on coefficients of F, out of 12 independent variables in equation, 3 variables of socialization, feeling of discrimination, and historical memory have a significant relationship with dependent variable of ethnic identity with $sig=0.000$, secondly, multiple correlation coefficient ($R=0.60$) is indicative of relatively high correlation between variables in the final equation of regression, thirdly, the adjusted coefficient of determination (adjusted R square=0.34) indicates that 34% of changes in the dependent variable (ethnic identity) are accounted for by the 3 variables in the model, and fourthly, one should assess the role of the 8 variables in explaining the dependent variable based on Beta values because these are standard values that prepare the ground for comparing and assessing the role of each variable. Based on Beta values, socialization has the most significant relationship with the dependent variable of ethnic identity and accounts for 43% of changes in the dependent variable. Therefore, independent variables of socialization and feeling of discrimination play a more significant role in accounting for the dependent variable with Beta coefficients of 43% and 15%, respectively. Based on Beta values for socialization, one unit of change creates 43% unit of change in the standard deviation of the dependent variable. Also, based on Beta values for feeling of discrimination, one unit of change in the standard deviation of feeling of discrimination creates 15% unit of change in the standard deviation of the dependent variable of ethnic identity.

Finally, based on Beta values of the first model in table 4, one can claim that variables of socialization, feeling of discrimination and historical memory affect the dependent variable of ethnic identity. In the second model, the variables of ethnic discrimination feeling and historical memory and the variable of socialization were applied to the equation as independent and dependent variables, respectively. It should be noted that historical memory plays

a more important role than that of feeling of discrimination in explaining ethnic identity, and in the third model, the variables of historical memory and feeling of discrimination were applied to the equation as dependent and independent variables, respectively. The effect of the independent variable is calculated as 0.9%.

Path Analysis Model



Dependent variable

Kurdish identity = Y

Independent variable

X1 = socialization

X2 = feeling of discrimination

X3= total memory

Conclusion

The results show that there is at least a strong tendency towards ethnic-local identities between Kurdish people in Sanandaj and their cognitive, emotional and practical orientations are limited to ethnic communities to a great extent. However, old generation enjoys a more significant ethnic identity compared to middle-aged and young generations, that is, however ethnic identity and attachments are at a significant level in all generations and ethnic intergenerational identity is following a downward trend and young generation is showing tendency towards a more dynamic identity. Furthermore, the average Kurdish socialization and historical memory in middle-aged generation is higher than that of the other generations and feeling of ethnic discrimination is above 50%. However, regarding fair distribution of wealth, power, position and knowledge, middle-aged generation experience a stronger feeling of discrimination, young and old generations, and middle-aged and young generations are in a better position regarding entitlement to economic capitals and cultural capitals, respectively. Young generation has greater exposure to media globalization compared to the other generations, and considering the effective factors in ethnic identity, there is a significant correlation between Kurdish socialization of all generations and ethnic identity. It should be noted that young generation shows a more popular tendency compared to old generation because they are most socialized through world media, on the other hand, young generation is entitled to more cultural and economic capitals, and experience feeling of discrimination, however, and they have a weaker ethnic and historical memory, compared to old generations. Ethnic identity will not be established without historical memory; therefore, Kurdish society in Iran will be most likely to experience a more significant generation gap in the future.

Based on the collected data, one can claim that national media emphasized the legitimate identity and official memory, and only cross-border media deal with bittersweet events in Kurdistan and her history full of conflicts, insecurities and feeling of discrimination, reflect “famous Kurdish personalities”, “Mahabad Republic”, “Halabja bombardment” and many more, change historic and political events into a symbol of Kurdish sovereignty, and turn Kurdish issue into a global one. Such media have been successful in making a distinction with other Iranian ethnic groups; however, they have failed to create a shared feeling among Kurdish people. The reason is that since the majority of Kurdish satellite channels are under the supervision of political parties with different guidelines, they have not been able to adopt a similar approach and therefore, have failed to resolve the differences such as dialects, local traditions and ideologies among Kurdish people, and therefore, their efforts regarding establishing sovereignty and preserving integrity among them have come to nothing.

References

1. Ahmadi, Hamid (1389[2010]), qowmiyat va qowmgaraee dar Iran. [Ethnicity and Ethnocentrism in Iran], Tehran: Ney Pub. (in Persian).
2. Alexander, J. (2001), The Binary discourse of Civil Society, In Seidman, S. & J. Alexander (eds). *The New Social Theory Reader*. London: Sage.
3. Ameli, S.R. (2002), *Globalization, Americanization and British Muslim Identity*, London: ICAS Press.
4. Attias-Donfut, Claudine Wolff, François-Charles (2003) *Generational memory and family relationships*. <http://www.sc-eco.univ-nantes.fr/~fcwolff/wolff/articles/CHAA05>.
5. Berger, Peter and Thomas Luckman (1971), *The Social Construction of Reality* (Penguin Book)
6. Bourdieu, P. (1995), *Social Space and Symbolic Power*. *Sociological Theory*.
7. Bourdieu, P. (1995), *The field of Cultural Production*. Cambridge Polity Press.
8. Bugajski, J. (1995), *Ethnic politics in Eastern Europe*, The center for strategic and international studies.
9. Burkitt, Ian. (1994), *The shifting concept of the self*. *History of the human sciences*.
10. Castells, Manuel (1996), *The rise of the network society*, Oxford: Blackwell.
11. Castells, Manuel (1997), *The Power of Identity*, Oxford: Blackwell.
12. Chalabi, M. (1378[1999]) *Hovyat-e qowmi va rabate an ba hovyat-e Meli*, [Ethnic Identity and its relation with National identity], Social Affairs of Ministry of Affairs. Tehran (in Persian).
13. Connerton, P. (1989), *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
14. Dijk, J. V. (2006), *popular music between personal and collective communication*.
15. Eisenstadt, S. N. (1998), *The Construction of collective Identities : Some Analytical and Comparative Indications*. *European Journal of Social Theory*.
16. Erll, Astrid and Ansar Nunning (2008), *Media and Cultural memory*, Berlin.
17. Eyerman, R. and Turner, B. (1998) *Outline of a theory of generations*, *European Journal of Social Theory*
18. Fenton, S. (2004), *Beyond Ethnicity : The Global Comparative Analysis of Ethnic Conflict*. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*
19. Fentress, J. and Wickham, C. (1992) *Social Memory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
20. Gholmohammadi, Ahmad (1389[2010]), *Jahani shodane farhang, howyat* [The Globalization of Culture, Identity], Tehran: Ney Pub. (in Persian).
21. Giddens, A (1991), *Modernity and Self Identity*. Cambridge: Polity Press
22. Giddens, A (2003). *Sociology*, Polity Press
23. Grabb, G. Edward. (1986), *Social Inequality: Classical and Contemporary Theorists* Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
24. Gresh, Geoffrey (2009) *Iranian Kurds in an Age of Global*, Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden.
25. Gurr, Robert. Ted. (1993), *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethno political Conflicts*. United State Institute of Peace Press.
26. Hall, S. (1996), *The Question of Cultural Identity*. In S. Hall, D. Held and A. McGrew (eds) *Modernity and its Future*. Cambridge. Polity.
27. Hechter, M. (1975), *International colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1996*. London and Henley : Routledge & Kegan Paul.
28. Hobsbawm, E. (1990). *Nation and Nationalism since 1780*. Redwood press, London.
29. Hobsbawm, Eric and Ranger Terence O. (1992), *The invention of tradition*, Cambridge University Press
30. Holocaust myth and rationality in German politics, *American Sociological Review*, 62: 927–36.
31. Jandt, F. E. (1995). *Intercultural Communication*. London: Sage
32. Jenkins, R. (2000), *Categorization: Identity, Social Process and Epistemology*. *Current Sociology*, Jun 01.
33. Kammen, M. (1995a) *Review of Frames of Remembrance*, *History and Theory*, 34(3): 245–66.
34. Kammen, M. (1995b) *Some patterns and meanings of memory*, in D.L. Schacter (ed.) *Memory Distortion*, pp. 329–44. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
35. Kansteiner, Wolf (2002), *finding meaning in memory : methodological critique collective memory studies , history and theory*.
36. Kuzmanic, Marja (2008) *Collective Memory and Social Identity: A social psychological exploration of the memories of the disintegration of former Yugoslavia*, *Psihološka obzorja / Horizons of Psychology*.
37. Maghsoudi, Mojtaba (1380[2001]) A. D.) *tahavvolat-e qowmi dar Iran* (Ethnic changes in Iran) Tehran: Institution for National Studies. In Persian.
38. Misztal, B. A. (2003) *theories of social remembering*, Open university Press
39. Motyl, Alexander J. (2000), *Encyclopedia of nationalism*, Academic Press
40. Olick, J. K. (1999) *Genre memories and memory genres*, *American Sociological Review*, 64: 381–402.

41. Olick, J.K. and Levy, D. (1997) Collective memory and cultural constraint:
42. Olick, J.K. and Robbins, J. (1998) Social memory studies, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24(1): 105–41.
43. Ozkirimili, Umut (2000), *Theories of nationalism: A critical Introduction*, Palgrave Macmillan
44. Robertson, R (1992), *Globalization*. London: SAGE.
45. Schudson, M. (1989) The present in the past versus the past in the present, *Communication*, 11: 105–13.
46. Schudson, M. (1997) Lives, laws and language: commemorative versus noncommemorative forms of effective public memory, *The Communication Review*, 2(1): 3–17.
47. Schuman, H, Belli, R.F. and Bischooping, K. (1997) The generational basis of historical knowledge, in J.W. Pennebaker, D. Paez and B. Rime (eds) *Collective Memory of Political Events*, pp. 47–78. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
48. Schuman, H. and Corning, A.D. (2000) Collective knowledge of public events: the Soviet era from the Great Purge to Glasnost, *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(4): 913–43.
49. Schuman, H. and Scott, J. (1989) Generations and collective memories, *American Sociological Review*, 54 (June): 359–81.
50. Schwartz, B. (1982) The social context of commemoration: a study in collective memory, *Social Forces*, 61(2): 374–402.
51. Schwartz, B. (1990) The reconstruction of Abraham Lincoln, in D. Middleton and D.
52. Smith, A. D. (1986). *The Origins Of Nations*, Oxford Press,
53. Smith, A. D. (1998). *Nationalism and Modernism*, London & New York, Rutledge.
54. Smith, A. D. (2001). *Nationalism*. London, Polity Press.
55. Smith, Philip (2001), *Cultural Theory: The Introduction*. Blackwell.
56. Taylor, C. (1989) *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
57. Taylor, G and Spencer S (2004), *Social Identities*. London: Routledge.
58. Touraine, A. (2000) *Can We Live Together? Equality and Difference*, trans. D. Macey. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
59. Wagenen, Michael Van (2009) *Remembering the forgotten war: memory and the United States-Mexican War, 1848-2008*. Dept. of History, University of Utah
60. Wineburg, Sam Personal author, compiler, or editor name(s); click on any author to run a new search on that name. Mosborg, Susan, Porat, Dan and Duncan, Ariel (2007) The name assigned to the document by the author. This field may also contain sub-titles, series names, and report numbers. *Common Belief and the Cultural Curriculum: An Intergenerational Study of Historical Consciousness*. The entity from which ERIC acquires the content, including journal, organization, and conference names, or by means of online submission from the author. *American Educational Research Journal*, v44 n1 p40-76