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Autobiographical childhood narratives: Processes of remembering and reconstructing

Sebris, Sandra Beatrice, Ph.D.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL CHILDHOOD NARRATIVES:

PROCESSES OF REMEMBERING AND RECONSTRUCTING

by

SANDRA B. SEBRIS

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
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Abstract

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL CHILDHOOD NARRATIVES:
PROCESSES OF REMEMBERING AND RECONSTRUCTING

by

Sandra B. Sebris

Adviser: Professor Katherine Nelson

The interrelationship between individual and cultural-historical dynamics in the construction of autobiographical narratives is investigated in this study. Design of this study is based upon the premise that the autobiographical narrative is a selectively constructed text, influenced by various factors including the initial experience of the past event and the confluence of personal and communal interpretations, both from the past and present.

Autobiographical narratives were gathered from a group of adults who had experienced a common cultural-historical upheaval as children, 4 to 12 years old. The primary interviewees were 10 sibling pairs of Latvian ethnic origin, born between 1932 and 1940 in Latvia. All of these interviewees had left Latvia with their families in 1944, due to war-induced circumstances, in response to the advancement of the Soviet troops. As a result of the Nazi occupation of Latvia, they had been implicitly and explicitly coerced to leave for Germany, where they experienced the massive Allied bombings during the last several months of the war, as well as the continuous threat of the Soviet troop movement. Many of the events experienced during this time were imbued with cultural-historical significance.

This study aims to explore several focal relationships: the relationship between the "lived experience" of the past and the autobiographical narrative of the present; the relationship between the culturally-generated

meanings and "one's own voice"; and the relationship between the stable and changing aspects of the autobiographical narration. Discrepancies and similarities between sibling and peer accounts are identified and analyzed. Similarities among narrative accounts are shown to indicate patterns in the appropriation of culturally generated meanings. Differences in selection and elaboration of events are shown to engender a "making sense" of one's lived experience, the creation of "narrative identity" and the expression of ideological "voice", constructs proposed by Katherine Nelson, Paul Ricoeur and Mikhail Bakhtin, respectively. Comparison of interviewee accounts of the same experience recollected upon several occasions reveals that the narrative descriptions of a specific event tend to be repeated in a highly similar, although not identical form. The slight variations upon retelling suggest that the autobiographical narrative is not recollected in some rote manner, but rather as a temporally sequenced whole.

It is proposed that the interviewees of this study, who were children at the time of leaving Latvia and just slightly older while living in the DP camps, had constructed some form of autobiographical narrative during the post-war period, and that this same narrative has retained some continuity in retelling over the course of the interim years. On the other hand, the narrative form is not fixated not impenetrable to change, and undoubtedly undergoes continuous evolutionary alterations within the constant dialogical tension between the past experience and the many moment of recollecting. Upon occasion, even during the course of an interview, and especially within the course of both individual and joint interviews, the dynamic potential of the narratives became apparent. Instances of change within the narrative accounts which occurred during the narrating act indicate the potentiality of constructing different, perhaps more adaptive and enabling versions of one's autobiographical story.

To my grandfather and grandmother,
who provided me with their tales
of courage, perseverance and endurance.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter I

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE; DIALOGUE OF THE "AUTOS" AND THE "BIOS"

"Memory is a great artist. For every man and for every woman it makes the recollection of his or her life a work of art and an unfaithful record."

(Maurois, 1929)

In contrast to a conceptualization of memory as a "great artist", an implicit conceptualization of memory as a somewhat inefficient copying machine seems to have been a guiding principle for much of the psychological research over the past century concerned with the investigation of memory processes. Many studies have been designed in order to evidence facilitating and debilitating influences upon one's ability to remember experimentally presented stimuli in a verbatim manner. Beginning with Ebinghaus's studies in the later half of the 19th century, research based upon memorization of nonsense syllables and lists of digits has served to demonstrate the extent of memory's potential for veridical processing. These studies appear to be philosophically framed within the "copy theory" of memory, as outlined by Aristotle. In response to Plato's assertion that memory is the "recollection" of already possessed eternal truths about Order and Ideal Forms, Aristotle proposed that memories are direct copies of personal past experience, which become "isomorphically imprinted in the soul" (Casey, 1987). This conceptualization of memory as a veridical process of registering and storing information has since been incorporated into the more contemporary empirical tradition by the 17th century British philosophers Locke and Hume.

Recent psychological studies of autobiographical memory have also been largely influenced by this tradition, as is reflected in the methodology typically pursued. These studies most often have been based upon investigation of the subject's lists of discrete, personally experienced events, which the subject has written down at some point shortly following the event. For example, William Brewer (1988) has conducted a series of studies in which subjects were asked to carry with them a randomly-set beeper mechanism. Whenever the beeper went off, subjects were to record specific aspects of the event occurring at the moment, and were then several months later asked to recall these discrete facts. This methodology accords with Brewer's conceptualized of memory as providing discrete, categorizable units of information. Specifically, Brewer defines autobiographical memory as "memory for information related to the self", including "autobiographical facts" such as the location of one's summer vacation (1988).

In contrast, the present study is based upon a conceptualization of autobiographical memory as the process which unfolds during the narrative construction of a temporally sequenced whole, a story telling about the personal lived experience of one's past, reaching as far back as one's childhood. This study is not concerned with the veridical aspects of these stories, but rather with the creative and constructive processes. It is an exploration of memory as an "artist", limited by the experiential content of the past. An orienting framework is that the experienced past provides the basis for autobiographical memory, but that this memory is "continually reshaped in the present" and the the act of narration has a critical role in this process of "reshaping" (Casey, 1987). An assumption is that the autobiographical narrative does not provide veridical information about the past, and that it is not poss.ble to know if there was or is any past or present "reality" beyond our selected and constructed perceptions.

However, it is possible to identify and discuss consensual agreement regarding the occurrence of past events.

Autobiographical memory as a process unfolding in narrative form, a creative process not constricted by veridicality, has been extensively addressed by literary theorists, especially during the past several decades, when there has been a surge of literary criticism specifically concerned with autobiography. The question of non-veridicality has been laid out by George Gusdorf and James Olney, literary theorists often cited in literary discussion of autobiography. They seem to assume that surely no one would still attempt to adhere to a "copy theory" of memory. For example, Gusdorf rather emphatically states: "The idol of an objective and critical history worshipped by the positivists in the nineteenth century has crumbled" (Gusdorf, 1980, p. 40). He further remarks that more than a century ago Goethe entitled his memoirs Truth and Poetry, indicating that already in the era of Romanticism the ideal of photographic memories was beginning to erode. Olney expresses his view on the non-veridicality of memory as follows:

> Memory does virtually everything but what it is supposed to do: that is, to look back on a past event and to see that event as it really was (1980,p.254) .

The predominant view among literary critics concerning the constructivism of autobiographical narratives has been referred to as their "bias" that the "writing of autobiography entails a unique act of imagination" (Renza, 1980).

Understanding of the word "memory" has undergone continual change in the history of Western thought. Within Greek mythology, "memory" as represented by the goddess Mnemosyne, was attributed divine powers (Casey, 1987). Mnemosyne, mother of the Muses, was the provider of inspiration, and "illumination" or knowledge regarding the mythic past, and she was consistently paired with Lesmosyne, the goddess representing forgetfulness. This

mythological framework thereby acknowledged both the inspirational nature of memory and the counterpoised process of forgetting. The pre-Classical Greek view of memory as divine and inspirational seems to find its echo among current literary critics, in that they conceive of memory as an imaginative act and/or a means to a knowledge deeper than that of an experienced past event. For example, Roy Pascal refers to "true" autobiography as a " spiritual experiment" and a " voyage of discovery" of deeper designs than historical or factual truth (Pascal, 1960).

Literary discussion of autobiographical narrative has implicitly or explicitly centered on the relationship between the semantic connotations of the etymological roots of autobiography: the "autos" (self), the "bios" (life) and the "graphie" (writing). It has been noted that earlier literary criticism focused upon the autobiographical narrative as a relatively accurate or veridical reflection of one's life, the "bios". However, during the past several decades, literary theorists such as Gusdorf and Olney have expounded upon the autobiographical process as concerned with the "autos": that the autobiographical narrative is not a direct re-presentation of the personally experienced past, but rather a subjective construction concerned with one's self. Gusdorf has described the autobiographical process as a "creation of the self by the self" (Gusdorf, 1980, p. 44). Olney similarly states that the autobiographer "half discovers, half creates" the self (Olney, 1980, p.21). According to Gusdorf, the process of constructing an autobiographical narrative serves a threefold function: to provide coherence of one's past experience; to facilitate self knowledge; and to attribute meaningfulness to one's life. Gusdorf states: "the narrative confers a meaning on the event ...which, when it actually occurred, no doubt had several meanings or perhaps none". (1980, p.42) Olney proposes an interrelationship between one's

life and one's self, both of which acquire meaning through the autobiographical process:

> ...neither the autos nor the bios is there in the beginning, a completed entity, a known self or a history to be had for the taking. Here is where the act of writing assumes its true importance: it is through that act that the self and the life, completely intertwined and entangled, take on a certain form. (Olney, 1980, p. 22).

As Casey (1987) has noted, not only the act of writing, but verbal articulation as well has the capacity to provide clarification of thoughts and unification of disjointed ideas. Central to this present discussion is the notion that the act of narration, oral or written, public or private, is essential in order to provide meaning and form to the story of one's life and to the essence of one's self.

Olney makes the point that the "bios" in "autobiography" need not refer exclusively to the temporally-sequenced events of one's life. He argues that although "bios" is a Greek word meaning "life", or more precisely "the course of life: lifetime," the word "life" has broader connotations and applications in daily conversation. For example, common usage includes phrases such as : "that old man still has plenty of life left in him"; or "you live your life, I'll live mine." Olney points out that in these phrases the word "life" is used to designate "spirit", a "vital principle" or a certain way of living. The notion of life as a "vital principle" implies that which is eternally present and constant, whereas the notion of life as "lifetime" indicates a dynamic, ever-changing process. Olney argues that therefore the stem "bio" actually designates both "Heraclitus's moment-to-moment world of becoming" as well as "Paramenides' timeless world of being" (Olney, 1980, p. 241). It is therefore implied that "autobiography" deals not only with a person's "lifetime," or the ever-changing story of one's life, but also with a more timeless or essential aspect of one's life, of one's self -- thereby referring back to the "autos".

Yet a third aspect of the stem "bio" is proposed by Jeffrey Mehlman, who considers "bio" not as a noun, but rather as a verb. Mehlman looks upon the "autobiographical quest" as an attempt " to become alive (bio) to oneself (auto) in what the French call the elusive realm of l'ecriture (graphie: writing)" (Mehlman, quoted in Bree, 1980, p. 199). Mehlman's conceptualization of "bio" as a process of becoming alive or aware of one's self, appears to be the direct interface of Gusdorf's conceptualization of the self as awareness of one's life (Gusdorf 1956/1980). However, from either perspective, this relationship implies a dialectical, or dialogical, relationship between the "I" of the present and the "she" or "he" of the past (Lionnet, 1989).

Gusdorf delineates the autobiographical narrative is a "late product" of Western Civilization, which has developed concurrently with the philosophical tradition of individualism rooted in the Renaissance period, and expanded during the Romantic Era, when the virtues and freedom of the individual were exhaled. The ideology of individualism has, of course, been denounced by contemporary philosophers as a "possessive individualism" which fosters the belief that the strong and knowledgeable individual has a right to dominate and subjugate others. The glorification of subjectivity and individuality has been countered by the "extreme anti-subjectivism" of French post-structuralists such as Lacan and Derrida (Sass, 1988). Lacan, for example, proposes that the self does not exist as the author of its own discourse, but rather that every text is "a weaving together of what has already been produced elsewhere in discontinuous form" (Lacan, quoted in Sprinker, p. 325). Roland Barthes attributes his essence exclusively to the text, in stating: "I am writing a text, and I call it Roland Barthes ....the subject is merely an effect of language" (1975/1989, p.56). In essence, the post-structuralists have eliminated the "autos" and the "bios", acknowledging solely the "graphie", the act of writing and the narrative text.

Feminist literary critics, in addressing the autobiographical narrative have taken various positions regarding the "autos", the "bios" and the "graphie". Most have agreed upon the essential role of language. However, there are differing perspectives regarding the degree to which language is considered as constitutive of the "autos" and the "bios". For example, Sidonie Smith (1987) argues that the autobiographical process is one of "textual self-authoring" and that the self is "not an a prior essence, but rather a cultural and linguistic 'fiction' constituted through historical ideology of selfhood and the processes of our storytelling" (p.45). Other feminists have asserted that in conjunction with the "graphie", the "autos" and the "bios" also have significance and that all three aspects are in dialogical relationship with each other. Susan Stanford Friedman (1988) argues that the self is not "an empty play on words", but rather that the autobiographical act allows for the "formation of new identities". Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schenck (1988) address the "tension between selfhood and textuality", claiming that "she does indeed exist in the world".

Feminist critics also note the importance of "restoring" the "bios" in discussion of autobiography, especially in regard to the lives of those who have been subjugated, so that critical political questions of class, race and sexual orientation can be addressed (Brodzki & Schenk, 1988). Roger Rosenblatt poignantly expresses a similar view in his analysis of autobiographies written by Blacks. Rosenblatt states:

> When the central character is black, the abuses are authentic. No black American author has ever felt the need to invent a nightmare to make his point (Rosenblatt, 1980, p. 171).

Nancy K. Miller has indicated the necessity of acknowledging the "autos" as well as the "bios", arguing that in the case of minority writers a disavowal of the

author could result in a return to the anonymity previously experienced by Blacks, women and others (Stanton, 1987).

Feminist literary theorists tend to agree that feminist autobiography differs from the "androcentric paradigm of selfhood" (Smith, 1987) as defined by theorists such as Gusdorf and Olney. It has been noted that Gusdorf and Olney construe the autobiographer as an independent individual, who exists separately from others, and who is guided by conscious awareness, his autobiography thereby resulting in a unified, coherent self-portrayal. In contrast, feminist theorists have described the female autobiographer as related to others, influenced by the unconscious, and having multiple facets. The essential relatedness of the feminine self as "connected to the world" is discussed in juxtaposition to the "basic masculine sense of self as separate" (Smith, 1987, p. 12).

In discussion of Maxine Hong Kingston's autobiographical Woman Warrior, Stanford Friedman points out that Kingston presents her individual identity as inseparable from that of her family and community. The self and the other are interpenetrating, and the vehicle of this relationship is language: "Kingston finds an identity ....by reclaiming the power of words that are both communal and individual" (Stanford Friedman, 1988, p. 53). Smith also addresses the relationship between the autobiographer and his or her cultural matrix, in light of the essential role of the cultural discourse. She identifies the power of "cultural ideologies" to "help define and situate identities" (Smith, 1987, p. 166). Elizabeth Bruss describes the "delicate polyphony" (Bruss, 1980; this conceptualization of "polyphony" introduced by Bakhtin, 1929) of the non-homogeneous female autobiographer in contrast to "the phallic power that drives inexorably toward unity, identity, sameness" (Benstock, p. 19). The "polyphony" of the female is addressed, for example, in terms of the multiple

roles of the woman artist, wife and mother. Regarding the non-transparency of the autobiographer, Benstock states: "the workings of memory ...they are traversed and transgressed by the unconscious" (1988, p. 27).

Freud's analysis of autobiographical images

The question of the unconscious and its influence on autobiographical processes has, of course, been addressed by psychoanalytic theorists, of whom Sigmund Freud was the first to systematically propose the construct of an unconscious, and an explication of how the unconscious processes influence current behaviors, including the recollection of personal memories. Freud claimed that early childhood memories are merely "screen memories", by which he meant that the memories one is aware of serve to "screen", to cover-up, other more painful or unacceptable early childhood impulses and experiences. During the evolution of his theoretical views, Freud actually presented several different perspectives concerning the nature of these "screen memories".

In 1901 Freud expressed that "screen memories" are most often bland, neutral affectless. He wrote :

> A person's earliest childhood memories seem frequently to have preserved what is indifferent and unimportant, whereas (frequently, though certainly not universally) no trace is found in an adult's memory of impressions dating from that time which are important, impressive and rich in affect. (Freud, 1901/1953)

Freud proposed that through the defensive process of "repression," the "richly" affective memories have been "repressed" and relegated to the unconscious. This theoretical assumption was explored in later years by Waldfogel (1948). The results of Waldfogel's study did not confirm Freud's earlier claim. In studying the childhood memories of 124 adults, Waldfogel found that the majority of these memories were not neutral in affect: half of

these memories carried positive affect; and fear, anger and grief were affective components of a significant percentage of the other memories.

By 1917, Freud himself proclaimed that the childhood memories one remembers may not be totally uninteresting, and may contain valuable information for further analysis. In 1917 Freud wrote:

> It is not a meaningless or insignificant matter when some one particular of a child's life escapes the general forgetting of childhood. On the contrary, one must suppose that what has been retained in memory is also what was most significant for that period of life (translation of Neisser, 1982, p. 65).

As an illustration of this thesis, Freud analyzed a scene recollected by Goethe in his memoirs, a scene in which the poet remembers as a young child throwing pottery out the window and into the street. Freud claimed that this memory was the "screen" for unconscious wishes or desires, which stemmed from the young Goethe's feelings of sibling rivalry. Freud asserted that the throwing of the pottery out the window represented his unacknowledged desire to get rid of the little baby brother -- to throw the baby out. (Freud, 1917/1982).

Freud's analysis of an autobiographical note by Leonardo da Vinci is also illustrative of how Freud conceptualized the relationship between the "screen" memory and its latent content. The respective memory is one which the artist had recorded in his scientific notebooks, and which is, in fact, the only autobiographical note concerning his childhood. In general, biographical information about da Vinci's early life is minimal: he was born in 1452 as the illegitimate child of a notary, and at some time before the age of five was taken to live into his father's home. The autobiographical note which Freud analyzed is as follows:

> It seems that I was always destined to be so deeply concerned with vultures; for I recall as one of my very earliest memories that while I was in my cradle a vulture came down to me, and opened my mouth with its tail, and struck me many times with its tail against my lips. (Freud 1953a, p. 32)

Freud proceeded to argue that the scene which da Vinci "remembered" was actually symbolic of his early relationship with his mother. Freud claimed that although there might have been an actual incident regarding the young infant and a bird, that da Vinci himself would unlikely have remembered anything from the "cradle" period, and that if such an incident had occurred it probably had been retold to him by his mother.

Essential to Freud's analysis is his assertion that the memory actually served as a "screen" for da Vinci's adult "phantasies" of wanting to be suckled by his mother. Freud argued that both an actual event as well as a fantasy may be involved in the construction of a memory: "phantasies .... are attached to trivial but real events." Freud compared the process of an individual's memory to that of an entire culture or nation: Freud asserted that small and weak nations do not write their history; instead, when they become rich and powerful they "cast a glance back to the past" and reassemble traditions and legends. Similarly, Freud claimed that childhood memories are "not fixed" at the moment of being experienced, but rather are elicited at a later age, and that "in the process they are altered and falsified, and are put into the service of later trends."

Freud's analysis entails a sequence of "free associations", beginning with a comparison between the vulture in da Vinci's memory and the concept of motherhood. In arguing that the vulture in da Vinci's memory is symbolic of the mother's breast, Freud pointed out that an actual relationship between the vulture and mother is found in Egyptian mythology: the Egyptian Mother Goddess has a vulture's head. The same Egyptian goddess is pictured as androgynous, and Freud made further association to da Vinci's alleged homosexuality. Furthermore, Freud also speculated that not only had the artist felt a very strong bond to his mother, but that the mother had also behaved seductively towards her infant. Freud claimed that since the "vulture" had struck

the infant "many times with its tail" that the young infant had been "kissed by her into sexual maturity." Freud insisted that the single mother had no other "solace" for her own sexual desires. Freud proposed that as a result of his mother's advances, da Vinci's allegedly aroused infantile sexuality was "repressed" and eventually "sublimated" into his artistic expression and general urge for knowledge. It should be kept in mind that Freud had absolutely no biographical knowledge about da Vinci's mother, and whether or not she had any other "solace" than her young infant. One might, in fact, speculate that Freud's analysis is revealing of his own "phantasies" regarding his own mother.

Hermeneutical analyses of autobiographical images

In contrast to Freud's association of da Vinci, the "vulture", and da Vinci's mother, the memory could also be interpreted as a more positive image, especially in light of the fact that in the original Italian version of the text, da Vinci claimed that he had been truck by a "nibio", which is the Italian word for "kite". The memory or image of being struck by a "kite" could seemingly have influenced da Vinci's sense of curiosity and awe regarding flight, and his eventual attempts to create a "flying machine." Greg Ulmer (1989) proposes that such childhood images or memories likely play an important role in adult processes of creative discovery. Ulmer discusses Howard Gruber's study of Darwin's "informal" thoughts, which included images such as a branching tree and the tangled bank of a river. These are images which had emerged from Darwin's life story and which then served to guide the future course of his work. Ulmer also points to Gerald Holton's biography of Albert Einstein, in which the biographer remarks that the compass Einstein received from his father when he was four years old, served later for the adult scientist as a representation of the mystery of electromagnetism. Ulmer adds that Einstein was likely not only

inspired by the scientifically fascinating aspects of the compass, but that the image also served to symbolize an emotional support from his father. Similarly, Ulmer addresses Meredith Skura's biographical study of Kekule, where she posits Kekule's dream of a snake swallowing its tail as leading to his discovery of the configuration of the benzene molecule. Kekule's biographer points out that for Kekule the image of the snake was also associated with a conflictual relationship with his father. Ulmer emphasizes that these images carry symbolic significance because of both their emotional valence, as well as other more epistemically-oriented aspects.

Paul Ricoeur (1970) has differentiated these two approaches towards interpretation, the first approach being that exemplified by Freud's analysis and the second by the biographers of Einstein and Kekule. Ricouer has characterized Freud as belonging to the "School of Suspicion," the members of which are engaged in the process of "unmasking" illusions and distortions. Similarly, Freud himself has described his interpretive process as similar to that of an archaeologist, who must unearth the true "relics of antiquity," and then, in addition, fill in the "missing" parts. This approach implies that the consciously articulated text is merely a "guise" for the actual. Ricouer refers to a second interpretive approach as the "School of Reminiscence," which is concerned with the "restoration of meaning." This approach emphasizes the illuminating aspects of the symbol itself, in that the symbol is the means toward "revelation" of other meanings.

A primary concern of Ricoeur's is that any interpretive process must be initiated with an awareness of the interpreter's "notions presupposed." Ricouer claims that no one "speaks from nowhere," and that it is necessary for the self "to recover itself by deciphering its own signs," that one must always seek awareness of one's own presuppositions and biases. Without seeking such

awareness, these presuppositions and biases can exert their influence in an undesirable manner. As regards psychological research, this influence may affect not only the process of interpretation, but also the process of posing one's research questions and designing one's methodology (Glick, 1981).

Similarly to Ricouer, other hermeneutic philosophers have emphasized the critical role played by one's presuppositions within the interpretive process, as well as regarding any aspect of one's being-in-the-world. The dialectical relationship between one's fore-knowledge and the knowledge-to-be-acquired is exemplified in Kockelmans' description of the "hermeneutic circle":

> The meaning of the 'parts' or components is determined by the fore-knowledge of the 'whole', whereas our knowledge of the 'whole' is continuously corrected and deepened by the increase in our knowledge of the components (Kockelmans, 1975, p. 85)

Heidegger emphasized that one's already acquired "understanding" is not only a given, but it is also an essential component of one's activities within the world, or perceptions of the world. Consequently, the understanding which is a part of one's being is crucial for the projection of new possibilities. As stated in the above description of the hermeneutic circle, some previous fore-knowledge of the "whole" is essential so that possible questions might be addressed regarding the "parts", thereby leading to an ever-evolving understanding. Gadamer expresses the same idea in stating that one's "biases" lead to one's openness to the world and "are simply conditions whereby we experience something" (Gadamer 1975, quoted in Bleicher 1980). In other words, these "biases" are viewed as something positive in that they open upon possible fields of meaning as one encounters the world. Heidegger, Gadamer and other hermeneuticists such as Charles Taylor emphasize that these "biases" or "understandings" are greatly influenced by cultural practices and institutions, especially as mediated through language.

As regards the phenomena of autobiographical memory in general, both the concept of "presuppositions" as expressed by the above hermeneuticists, and the influence of the "later trends" as proposed by Freud, are relevant and related. These theoretical frameworks propose or imply that one's present "biases" or "trends" may potentially influence the way in which one's past experience is reinterpreted in the present. As regards the following study in particular, which will be concerned with the interpretation of autobiographical narratives, the above mentioned hermeneuticists alert one to the importance of being aware of these "biases", so that one is able to take a more reflective stance toward the narrative text to be interpreted. As Gadamer has asserted, only with an awareness of one's presuppositions is one able to approach the world with an appreciation of differing ideas and concepts. Gadamer states: "The important thing is to be aware of one's bias, so that the text may present itself in all its newness and then be able to assert its own truth against one's own fore-meanings" (Gadamer 1975, quoted in Bleicher, 1980, p. 110).

The "I" of the present and the "she" or "he" of the past

The autobiographical narrative consists of a reinterpretation of one's own previous experience and understanding from the vantage point of the present. Literary critic Francoise Lionnet has conceptualized this relationship as the dialogue between the "I" of the present and the "she" or "he" of the past. Lionnet bases this conceptualization upon an analysis of the Marie Cardinal's autobiography, The Words to Say It, in which the author describes how through the process of psychoanalysis and through the writing of her autobiographical manuscripts, she progressed from a state of total incapacitation to one of

creativity and life. Lionnet's conceptualization of the "I" of the present and the "she" of the past implies that in the autobiographical narrative the narrator and protagonist are both one and the same, yet different. In her autobiography, Cardinal expounds the relationship by writing " the little girl ...I was really her and me ... the same hands, the same fingernails." This relationship becomes interactive in that as the "I" of the present engages in an articulation of "her" or "his" personal past, this articulation is inescapably influenced by this person's entire matrix of being in the present. Simultaneously, the matrix of being in the present is inextricably bound to one's past. The past acts upon the present, and the present looks back in perceiving and articulating the past. The question as to what extent these relationships are deterministic will be further addressed.

Olney (1980) describes the relationship between one's being in the present and one's memories of the past as a "continuing, reciprocal relationship," emphasizing that the past plays a critical role in the evolution of one's present. However, any recollection of this past is dependent upon one's state at a given moment in the present. Olney states:

> Memory recalls those earlier states, but it does so only as a function of present consciousness: we can recall what we were only from the complex perspective of what we are, which means that we may very well be recalling something that we never were at all. (Olney, 1980, p. 241).

The relationship between the "I" of the present and the "she" or "he" of the past which appears in autobiographical narratives is elucidated by examining the difficulties this relationship holds in any attempt to create an autobiographical film. The difficulties arise precisely because of the interwoven dialectic between the "I" and the "she." As Elizabeth Bruss (1980) has pointed out, the film medium has been unable to replicate the autobiographical spoken or written narrative, in which the narrator and protagonist are both one and the same, yet different. The first problem

concerns the question of the perspective of the "I" in the present. Under normal circumstances, the filming of a scene takes place in a very "impersonal" manner, so that the viewer appears to be looking at an entire glimpse of "reality," rather than any one cameraman's idiosyncratic view. Of course, in the written or spoken autobiographical narrative, it is precisely this idiosyncratic view of the past which the reader or listener is faced with. Within the film medium, explains Bruss, if a cameraman attempts cinematic tricks such as "oddly angled" or "blurred" scenes, in order to present the feel of a subjective perspective, the end result may elicit the feel of a dream state or psychotic visions rather than purported reality. Within the autobiographical narrative, on the other hand, the subjectively reported past usually carries an aura of verisimilitude. The second problem concerns the "she" or "he" of the past: in the autobiographical narrative, an essential verisimilitude of the "I" and the "she" or "he" is taken for granted, but within the film medium this identity is violated: the young boy who plays the role of Woody Allen as a child is not Woody Allen.

But even regarding the autobiographical narrative, there is a question as to what extent the "I" of the present and the "she" or "he" of the past are or must be similar. This question revolves around the issue as to what extent one's personal past "determines" the present and future; as well as the issue of possible underlying "essential" characteristics or traits which may or may not be amenable to change. One position holds that the past becomes entrenched in relatively rigid, unconscious constellations, and that these unconscious forces are both deterministic and relatively impervious to change. Another view is that regardless of the possibility of unconscious influences, that the consciousness of the present is able to reflect upon the past in a constructive manner, thereby fostering change.

Francoise Lionnet, for example, heralds the possibility of change and, in fact, argues that one of the functions of autobiographical narratives should be to foster change. Lionnet writes: "Renewed connections to the past can emancipate us, provided they are used to elaborate empowering myths" (Lionnet, 1989, p. 7) For example, Lionnet emphasizes that language played a powerful role in this transformative process experienced by Cardinal and described in her autobiography The Words to Say It. Not only did Cardinal's perceptions of herself change, but after her estranged husband had completed the reading of her autobiographical text, the husband began to see his wife differently. Lionnet comments on "the power of language to redefine reality, to name the woman" (p. 198).

In examining this proposed potentiality of the autobiographical narrative as a vehicle for change, for defining more "empowering" versions of the self, it becomes apparent that the proposed function of the narrative and its structural characteristics merge. It has been expressed in slightly varying forms that the autobiographical narrative is structured so as to provide an integrated picture of one's past, and hence this process of integration serves to provide coherence and meaning in the present. Casey, for example, states that the autobiographical process involves the gathering and selecting of parts, in order to create a "synthetic whole". In fact, Casey points out that the word "recollection" contains the stem "collect" which comes from the Latin collecta, meaning a "gathering together." This process subsequently grants the narrator the freedom to decide "which features of ones previous life to honor or reject, celebrate or revile" (Casey, 1987, p. 291).

The autobiographical narrative not only provides an integration of previously disjointed episodes, but the process of writing or narrating necessitates for the author to reflect and to provide new meanings of the past

experiences. This self-reflection is precipitated by the observational vantage point of the present. Francois Mauriac points out that in the process of writing one's autobiography, the author "must render stationary and fixed this past life which was moving" (Mauriac, quoted in Gusdorf, 1980, p. 41). This process of fixating in a moment of time, that which was experienced as dynamic change enables one to take a more reflective stance regarding the past and to assign meanings which are only possible in retrospect. Barrett Mandell argues that while one is engaged in the process of experiencing a certain event, that there is "no time for ever knowing the meaning of what is happening for oneself (Mandell, 1980, p. 59). Mandell presents an example from the autobiography of Edmund Gosse in which the author relates a scene whereby he reluctantly obeys his father's request to get down on his knees and pray, but then deceives his father by claiming that the Lord had granted him permission to act against his father's wishes. In describing the scene Goose writes: "never before had I felt my resistance take precisely this definite form" (p. 58). Mandell comments that at the time of the experience the young boy could not have been aware that his actions were going to result in some "definite form," and that the young boy would not have had much understanding of "forms" of any kind. However, Mandell fails to acknowledge that at the time of the experience, the event most likely did have meaning for the child, but that as an adult the articulation and framing of this meaning has changed.

Not only is the process of reflection and attribution of meaning fostered by the advantage of a temporally distant and relatively stationary perspective, but also by the act of articulation. Taylor (1985) emphasizes that the process of articulation is essential for understanding and "explicit awareness," that language is essential for the appropriation of meaning. Taylor writes: "Words serve us in our framing of representations. Once we have understood this, we

have understood meaning" (Taylor, 1985, p. 254). Casey (1987) also maintains that the articulation of a memory is critical for the creation of meaning: "we reminisce not only to savor, but to understand, or re-understand the past more adequately" (Casey, 1987, p. 117).

"Internal images" in psychoanalytic theory

Others would argue, however, that the reconstruction of the personal past does not allow for the potentiality of freedom in choosing the to-be-remembered material, nor in consciously reflecting and providing meanings. This position is represented by Freud and those adhering to his views, including the contemporary psychoanalyst Martin Mayman (1968). Mayman asserts that the individual's selection and articulation of his or her earliest memories is deterministically influenced by the unconscious so as "to conform with and confirm ingrained images of himself and others" (Mayman, 1968, p. 304). He emphasizes that the earliest memories are very much symbolic of more complex underlying "psychological truths" or fantasies. He states that memory is not based upon a recollection of the actual experience, but rather upon "fantasized representations of self and others." As an example, Mayman presents the earliest memory of a depressed nine-year-old boy. When asked to describe his earliest memory, the child had responded: "I remember when I was born." The child had then proceeded to describe a scene in the hospital delivery ward, where each infant was isolated in his or her bassinet, without the presence of any caretakers. Whereas during the previous year this boy had lost his status as only child upon the birth of a baby sister, Mayman analyzes the boy's memory to be a reflection of his present sense of isolation, "his mood of desolate aloneness." Cardinal to Mayman's argument is the deterministic nature by which the proposed "ingrained images" serve to fashion the autobiographical memories.

Another construct of "internal models" has been proposed by John Bowlby (1969, 1973, 1980), who has been concerned primarily with exploring the attachment relationships between child and mother. Bowlby proposes that based upon the actual experience between the young child and the attachment figure, the child begins to develop internal representational models of the self in relationship to the other. Specifically, if the child experiences sensitive and responsive mothering, he or she will develop an "internal working model" of mother as loving and self as worthy of receiving love. In situations where the attachment figure is not responsive to the child's needs, Bowlby asserts that the child may develop an idealized model of the attachment figure. In such a situation, the earliest model based upon actual experience may become unconscious, but yet may have the greatest actual influence upon the child's perceptions and behaviors. Bowlby claims that the "internal models" are largely developed during a sensitive period in the child's early years, and that after this time they are relatively resistant to change.

Bowlby and other attachment theorists emphasize that the internal representations are critical determinants of how events are perceived, and what plans of action are constructed and executed. For example, Bowlby suggests that if the child has an "internal working model" of an attachment figure who is readily and consistently available in times of need, the child will be less prone to intense fear in a threatening situation, whether or not the attachment figure is physically present at the moment. Although Bowlby's work is mostly concerned with how the "internal working models" affect the present and future, his theoretical perspective also has direct implications for autobiographical memory: if the child has created an idealized version of the parents and repressed the negative aspects, then the autobiographical narrative will refrain from addressing these negative aspects, or only in an indirect manner.

Main and colleagues (Main & Goldwyn, 1984; Main, Kaplan & Cassidy, 1985), have explored the possibility that the "internal working model" which an adult has of their early attachment relationships may serve to influence the subsequent relationship with their own children. In order to test this hypothesis, they developed the Berkeley Adult Attachment Interview (BAAI), which is largely based upon the adult's childhood memories and is designed to assess whether or not the adult has a conflicted or unconflicted "internal working model" of their early relationships. The coding scheme is designed to utilize the childhood memories in order to interpret the childhood attachment relationships, and then to look for the presence or absence of idealized images in the narrative. The coding scheme results in a final categorical rating of either "detached," "enmeshed" or "freely valuing."

Although the the Adult Attachment Interview was developed by Main specifically to explore the "internal working model" construct, the interview itself and the respective coding system provide an independent contribution to the study of autobiographical memory. One of the major assumptions underlying the coding system is that an adult with an "internal working model" representing a securely attached relationship with one's parents will be reflected in the ability to readily access one's childhood memories and to provide a coherent, well-integrated narrative of one's childhood attachment relationships. In contrast, an internal representation of an insecure attachment relationship will be reflected in a narrative which is either less coherent due to inconsistencies between idealized images and contrasting specific memories; or due to a general sense of incoherence, stemming from verbal rambling and presently experienced anger.

Even though the attachment theorists generally accept Bowlby's claim that the early developed "internal working models" are fairly impervious to change, the underlying theory of the BAAI is that change is possible for an

adolescent or adult who has undergone periods of reflection, rebellion and/or therapy. The coding system is designed with the presumption that an adult with a past history of rejection from attachment figures, may be able to reorganize previously formed "internal models", and that such reorganization would be reflected in an ability to speak about the painful early experiences in an integrated and coherent narrative. Instead of presenting a narrative filled with idealizations and implicit statements of parental abuse, the narrative would include explicit assertions both of the parent's negative and perhaps positive qualities. Donald Spence (1982) also asserts that the outcome of successful therapy is the patient's reconstruction of his or her past memories into a form that is coherent and free of contradiction.

The "schema" in Bartlett's theory

The relationship between the "I" of the present and the "he" or "she" of the past has also been conceived as being dependent upon an underlying "schema". One of the most often cited proponents of a "schema-theory" is the British psychologist Frederic Bartlett, who in 1932 published the influential book Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology. Bartlett presented the results from a series of experiments which showed that adults create distortions when asked to recall specific pictures or story passages. Bartlett argued that the subjects' distortions or reconstructions were influenced by previously formed attitudes, interests and knowledge. In one of the studies subjects were asked to read a Native American folktale about ghosts and then to retell the story at various intervals of delay. Upon analysis of the subjects' responses, Bartlett came to realize certain recurring tendencies. For example, subjects would rearrange the elements of the story so that details of unusual interest would be moved to the front of the story; and they would substitute

more modern and familiar phrases, such as "boat" for "canoe." Bartlett pointed out that one of the most consistent distortions in the subjects reproductions concerned the role of ghosts in the story. Bartlett argued that ghosts are not a part of British society's socially constructed meaning system: hence in their "effort after meaning" the subjects especially tended to misrepresent this aspect of the story. Bartlett concluded that memories are not veridical, but rather are "reconstructed," in the sense that the remembering individual unconsciously applies transformational processes such as condensation, elaboration and misinterpretation.

Bartlett's own explanation of the reason for the subject's distorted recollections, actually is fairly similar to an explanation which might have been proposed by Heidegger or Gadamer. Bartlett claimed that in their responses the subjects were influenced by an "active bias, or special reaction tendencies," (1932, p.85) Furthermore, Bartlett emphasized that these "biases" are not part of a static knowledge system, but rather are dynamic and to a large extent socially constructed. And, as Rubin (1988) has pointed out, the title of Bartlett's book takes the form of an active verb – "remembering" -- in contrast to the static noun "memory".

However, Bartlett's use of the term "schema" has been interpreted by some subsequent researchers as denoting a more static, or even rigid construct. As if anticipating such misinterpretations, in his text Bartlett provided an explanation regarding his choice of the word "schema" to describe these influencing tendencies. Bartlett explained that the term was adopted from the neurologist Sir Henry Head, who used it to describe a dynamic neurological construct. Head (cited in Bartlett, 1932) proposed that muscular changes in posture are entered into consciousness as the amount of change from the previous postural states, and that the ensuing sensory impulses serve to create a

"postural model" of the self, which he termed "schema." Bartlett, however, emphasized that he was not satisfied with the term, because it didn't explicate the dynamic nature of these impressions -- that they are constantly changing "from moment to moment" (1932, p. 201).

Reconstruction and veridicality in recent psychological research

Psychologists currently involved in the study of personal memories also often make reference to Bartlett's use of the term "reconstruction" as a description of the memory process. Although Marion Perlmutter (1989) writes in her concluding remarks to a recent anthology of memory research that "most contemporary views of memory adopt ... an appreciation of ... the constructed nature of knowledge" (1989), many current studies still appear to be designed to provide evidence for veridicality.

As Brewer (1986) has commented, perhaps one of the motivating influences for this search for veridicality is that an individual in the process of remembering believes that his or her memories are a veridical record of what was experienced. Apparently this comment applies as well to Brewer's own motivations, since, as mentioned previously, he has conducted a series of studies apparently designed in order to present evidence against a "reconstructive" view of memory as proposed by Bartlett. In these studies subjects were asked to carry with them a randomly-set beeper mechanism. Whenever the beeper went off, subjects were to record their location, actions, thoughts and feelings which were occurring at the moment. Subjects were tested immediately as well as several weeks or months later. In the first study, subjects were asked to what extent they recognize their own descriptions. In the second study, subjects were presented with a phrase from their initial description, such as the "action cue" of

"studying," and then asked to recall a different aspect of the initial description, such as the location, "in my room."

Although Brewer claims that his results indicate that memories are "fairly accurate copies," in his discussion he seems to undermine this claim. For example, he found that locations were the best recalled aspects of the description. However, Brewer himself pointed out that many of these responses "were almost certainly inferences." As can be seen from the above example, if a subject is presented with the "action cue" of "studying", then it would be fairly easy to correctly infer the location of that studying, unless one had a predilection for studying in many different locations. However, subjects did make errors, for example, by associating incorrectly the actions and locations of two separate events. Brewer's argument and conclusion is primarily based upon the finding that 90% of the subjects' errors involved incorporation of an aspect from another of their own beeper-stimulated descriptions, but did not involve "reconstructions" in Bartlett's sense, as actual unique inventions. Bartlett asserted that these were therefore not "true errors." He concluded that the study provides support for a "partly reconstructive view of autobiographical memory" (1988, p. 87).

Barclay and Decooke (1988) conducted a somewhat similar study, but found that their subjects did not remember their past experiences "exactly," but rather that they remembered what " could or should have happened." These researchers asked their subjects at the end of each day to select their five "most memorable" experiences of that day, and to write descriptions of these experiences. After a period of between one and 45 days, the subjects were presented with their original descriptions as well as created "foils," which they had to either accept or reject. Barclay and Decooke found that subjects tended to accept reasonable "foils". In looking at the content of the subject's "most

memorable" experiences, the investigators found that the subjects tended to report an abundance of typical events. They proposed the explanation that most people probably do not experience a great many novel and/or memorable events during the normal course of affairs. Barsalou (1988) also presented subjects with the task of listing recently experienced events and found that subjects often reported non-memorable events such as watching television.

What these researchers have failed to point out is that the task presented to the subjects is influential in determining the manner of the subject's responding. First of all, a task which requires the listing of events is likely to result in different types of content and elaboration, than a task requiring the telling or writing of an autobiographical narrative. Secondly, the investigators do not make explicit the obvious, that the subject is unlikely to report "memorable" events which might be very personal, such as sexual fantasies. Brewer (1988) makes reference to this confounding factor by referring to a study by Hurlburt (1976, quoted in Brewer, 1988). After conducting a beeper-study which required the recording of one's thoughts at the sound of the beep, Hurlburt had noted the following: "Two subjects during their individual debriefings naively told the experimenter that the sample was not representative of their usual thought patterns 'because I looked back over my notebook and there are no sex thoughts here; I know I spend 30 to 40% of my time thinking about sex" (p. 24). As a third factor, neither Brewer nor Barclay and Decooke mention that the subject's initial recording, which results in a fixation of the experienced event, was most likely to be influential regarding any subsequent recollections.

Marigold Linton (1982; 1988) has studied memory by using a methodology somewhat similar to those described above. Linton's methodology involved testing her memory once a month for "memorable" events which she

had written down on note-cards at the end of each day. Linton is very explicit in stating what aspect of memory she is studying: she compares herself to a population biologist, to the extent that the subject of her analyses is a "census of the contents of the mind" (1988, p. 50). However, similarly to the previously mentioned researchers, Linton has not acknowledged in her reports that the process of the card-writing and the monthly test-taking no doubt played a role in her memory storage and retrieval processes. Nevertheless, Linton arrived at some interesting conclusions. First of all, she found that especially during the first year cued recall was highly accurate and inclusive of details (in fact, she reported a memory loss of less than 1 %, during the first year after occurrence). Secondly, over the course of years, as similar events were experienced, they were either completely lost, or there was a diminution of memory for specific details regarding each event, simultaneously with an accrual of more general information about the situation.

Most relevant to the discussion of "reconstruction," Linton found that over the 12 year period of her study, a "rewriting" had taken place in respect to certain aspects of her personal memory. She specifically pointed out that the monthly recall task resulted in changes in emphasis and the appearance of new features: for example, she indicated that there had been some "rewriting" in her mind regarding the early meetings with a man whom she 5 years later began to date and eventually married. The analysis of the "rewriting" process would have been presumably even richer if, for example, at yearly interviews she had provided an open-ended narrative account of her remembered experiences, rather than limiting herself to recall of the note-card descriptions.

The opportunity for studying "reconstruction" in autobiographical memory is often limited by the methodological problems discussed above: if the subject records the event at the time of occurrence then the event becomes

unnaturally fixated. However, Neisser (1982), was able to examine a situation whereby he could verify the subject's recollections without having previously asked the subject to record the event. Neisser compared a subject's retrospective narrative account with verification from the transcripts of a hidden tape-recorder: Neisser compared the transcripts from John Dean's testimony before the "Watergate" Committee of the United States Senate, with the transcripts from the tape recorder in former President Nixon's office.

As the result of a detailed comparison between the two sets of transcripts, Neisser concludes that John Dean had not presented an accurate account of the specifics of his conversations with Nixon, but that Dean had presented a "true account of the facts lying behind the conversation ... of the long-run invariant state of affairs" (1982, p.139). Neisser found that although the two sets of transcripts were actually quite different, both the Oval Office and courtroom narratives indicated the critical "underlying" theme that Nixon was aware of the Watergate coverup. Neisser also asserts that at least some of the "distortions" or inaccuracies in Dean's testimony appeared to be influenced by what Dean would have liked to have happen. For example, at the committee hearing Dean recalled that at the beginning of his September 15th meeting with the President, Nixon had told him that he "had done a good job." According to the transcripts from the hidden tape-recorder, Nixon never made such a comment, and only near the end of meeting did he acknowledge that Dean's handling of the case had been "skillful". In analyzing Dean's tendency to include elements of wishful thinking in his courtroom testimony, Neisser makes reference to Freud's assertion that distortions are motivated by the individual's needs and character.

The "voice of the other" and "one's own voice"

The development of socially shared memory talk

In exploring the development of autobiographical memories, several theorists and researchers have found indications that the autobiographical memory system is dependent upon socially shared memory talk for its development. By means of a series of developmental studies, Katherine Nelson (1989), Judith Hudson (1990) and Robin Fivush and Nina Hamond (1990) have shown that very young children are not lacking in the ability to remember or talk about their past, but rather are lacking the ability to construct self-generated narratives about their personal experiences in the form of an autobiographical story, which would then be remembered as part of their autobiographical memory. The ability to construct such self-generated narratives appears to be the outcome of socially interactive situations of talking about previous experiences.

Nelson (1989) has analyzed the pre-sleep monologues of a young child referred to as Emily. These monologues were recorded with the use of a tape recorder placed underneath Emily's crib, which was turned on by the parents as they were putting Emily down to sleep. The monologues were collected from the period when Emily was 21 to 36 months old. Analysis of these monologues has shown that even at 21 months Emily was able to talk about an event which had happened two months prior, and was able to sustain talk of such a topic over 30 propositions, albeit with repetitions and occasional intrusions. Emily most often would talk about routine events, or variations upon a routine, such as sleeping in her parents' bed. These monologues provide evidence that the very young child

is able to encode and to later retrieve personally experienced events. However, events were talked about only for a limited period of time: for example, the family's broken car was talked about by Emily for a period of several months, but then not mentioned again. When Emily was questioned many years later, at the age of six, she could not recall any of the personal experiences she had talked about at age 2 1/2 (Nelson, 1990). Nelson points out that much of Emily's talk about the past appeared to be for the purpose of "making sense" of the situations in her immediate environment. After a certain incident had been adequately understood and integrated into her comprehension of the world around her, the remembering of the incident no longer served any adaptive value for Emily, and was hence forgotten.

Nelson suggests that socially instantiated "memory talk" is necessary for the development of the narrative format and awareness of the significance of remembering a personal event over time. Nelson (1988) also makes reference to the phylogenetically ordered levels of complexity of memory processes, as outlined by Oakley (1983). Oakley suggests that the episodic and semantic memory of human individuals (at Level 3) is superseded by a higher level memory process, which involves culturally shared and disseminated information (at Level 4). Nelson proposes that the autobiographical memory system, which is among the Level 3 processes, is actually dependent upon Level 4 socially shared interaction for its development.

Hudson (1990) has analyzed conversations between a mother and her young child about the personally experienced past. This study is an analysis of a series of recorded conversations with her own daughter Rachel, from when Rachel was 21 to 28 months old. Hudson found that during this time span Rachel began to contribute successively more "offers of information" about her experienced past. Whereas earlier on Rachel tended to respond to her mother's

"yes/no questions" with one-word replies, as Rachel became more experienced with the memory talk, she began to interpret the "yes/no questions" as prompts, to which she would respond with more complete information about the experience referred to. Hudson proposes that through the process of engaging in "memory talk" the young child develops the appropriate skills of memory-related discourse, as well as ability in directing one's own memory search. Of equal importance, asserts Hudson, is the child's growing awareness that remembering is a goal in itself, and that she can take on the role of equal participant in situations of reminiscing. Hudson draws upon the theoretical framework of Vygotsky (1978), who proposed that social and cognitive processes are first experienced jointly and then become internalized: hence it could be said that Rachel had begun internalization of the narrative structure and implicit value of remembering which her mother had provided through a process of social engagement.

Fivush and Hamond (1990) have also examined conversations between mothers and young children, 2-1/2 and 4 year olds, talking about personal experiences from the past. The results showed that the younger children reported a high percentage of typical, routine-like information, whereas the older children provided more distinctive information in their accounts. Fivush and Hammond propose that not only are the younger children more attuned to the routine aspects of events, because they are engaged in the process of comprehending their everyday world, but also the younger children have not yet internalized the more conventional narrative form of memory talk, which is a prerequisite for the recounting of more distinctive aspects of events.

Implicit in the above discussion is the point that the young child needs to develop an appreciation for the value of memory talk, and some intuitive sense, of the functional significance of autobiographical memory. The transcripts

from Hudson's conversations with her daughter show that whereas at 21 and 24 months, the mother would initiate the memory talk, at 28 months the child began one of the conversational sequences with the initiating question: "Do you remember the waves, mommy?" Hudson points out that this progression indicates Rachel's growing awareness that talking about experiences from the past is an enjoyable activity both for oneself and for mommy.

Nelson (1988) points out that the functional significance of autobiographical memory includes not only its value as a socially shared activity, but also its value of providing knowledge about the self and others, and in facilitating predictions about subsequent interactions in one's immediate world. Fivush (1988) asserts that autobiographical memory encaptures the "essence of who we are" (p.277), and provides a basis for thoughts about oneself. Studies of amnesiacs have shown that those patients who cannot recall personal memories from their earlier life are much more unhappy and frustrated than those amnesiacs who <u>can</u> remember their personal past, but have difficulty remembering non-personal information. Based upon their study of amnesiacs, Baddeley and Wilson (1982) conclude that that access to one's personal past is crucial for one's concept of self, which in turn is necessary for emotional well being.

Pillemer and White (1989) propose a two-system memory construct, in which they also emphasize the social function of one of these two systems. Pillemer and White distinguish a "socially accessible" memory system, from another memory system which is responsive to situational and affective cues. Nelson, Hudson and Fivush make a distinction between the kind of autobiographical narratives which develop from socially-constructed memory talk, in contrast to memories of routine events, which are often forgotten as one grows older.

The rationale and argument for the development of a separate socially-related autobiographical memory system is based upon various aspects pointed to by both groups. First of all, studies with adults have shown that rarely is an adult able to recall any experiences that happened before the age of 3, and that there is a relatively sharp increase in the number of memories recalled for the period from 3 to 6 years of age (Waldfogel, 1948; Rubin, Wetzler & Nebes, 1986). Secondly, during the early childhood years, as they gain more experience with memory talk, children become less reliant upon external cues, such as cuing or "scaffolding" from the mother (Eisenberg, 1985; Todd and Perlmutter, 1980; Fivush, Gray and Fromhoff, 1987). Thirdly, with development and experience in memory talk, the memory narratives become more organized and coherent (Eisenberg, 1985: Nelson, 1988). The above characteristics of developmental processes then seem to provide evidence for a newly developing, socially-initiated autobiographical system, which begins to emerge through child-other memory-related conversations. Pillemer and White make reference to an analogy proposed by Sechenov (cited in Pillemer and White, 1989): the young child's memory is at first like a badly organized library, and the adult conversational partner helps the child develop an organizational narrative structure, to help establish some order among the "library books". Again, in congruence with Vygotsky (1978), Pillemer and White conceptualize this process as the internalization of the externally experienced discourse structure.

The other memory system proposed by Pillemer and White, the system which responds to situational and affective cues, is less clearly explicated, although the construct certainly seems fruitful for future study. They propose that this system begins to function almost at birth, and most likely continues throughout life. After the other socially accessible autobiographical memory system begins to develop in toddlerhood, the first affectively based system

continues to operate in parallel. Pillemer and White suggest some similarities between their construct and psychoanalytic theory. They point out that Freud not only suggested that early experiences may be blocked from conscious awareness because of their unacceptability, but that in later writings Freud also proposed that early memory traces may be qualitatively different in that they are more highly based on images and feelings (Freud, 1963). As regards psychoanalytic practice, Pillemer and White suggest that during therapy the patient may experience affective states which serve as cues to reactivate early affective memory traces. A crucial aspect of this construct is that the affective-situational memory traces are inherently difficult to access, and are particularly difficult to narrativize and socially share.

Although little referred to in the secondary literature, Lev Vygotsky in Thought and Language (1934/1962), pointed to the importance of affect in the very first stages of language development. Vygotsky emphasized that the infant's early attempts at communication are based on emotional and/or social needs: he referred to the infant's earliest sounds as "affective-conative speech". Vygotsky made reference to the animal studies by Wolfgang Kohler, who had presented findings that chimpanzees use speech in an "instinctive" manner to express "subjective states and desires." Vygostky claimed that "human speech certainly originated in the same kind of expressive vocal reaction" (Vygotsky, 1934, p. 40). Although this particular statement refers to the very beginnings of language in the history of mankind, Vygotsky also maintained that the infant's early communicative gestures were based on "affective object directedness."

"Internalization" and "identification" conceptualized by Vygotsky and Freud

Vygotsky also pointed out the critical role of the adult during the early stages of language development, especially as concerns the relationship of

communicative gestures and meanings. Before his death at the early age of 38, Vygotsky did not provide much elaboration on this essential adult role in the child's early development. However, the relatively brief statement which does appear in his writing is vivid as an illustration of the proposed relationship. Vygotsky analyzed the evolution of the infant's movement from grasping to pointing as an example of "internalization." He stated that as the child attempts futilely to grasp an object, and as the mother responds to this grasping movement by giving the child the object, that the gesture assumes a different meaning for the child. Vygotsky expressed this as follows:

> When the mother comes to the child's aid and realizes his movement indicates something, the situation changes fundamentally. Pointing becomes a gesture for others. ... Consequently, the primary meaning of that unsuccessful grasping movement is established by others. (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 56).

James Wertsch asserts that although the details of this explanation may not be in accordance with more recent observational studies (Bates, 1976, cited by Wertsch, 1985), that the situation provides an illustrative example of the importance of the adult in helping the child to establish meanings.

Vygotsky also presented several more general statements concerning his views on "internalization." He emphasized that processes are initially developed on an interpersonal or social level, and only later on the intrapersonal or individual level. Vygotsky stated that "an interpersonal process is transformed into an intrapersonal one" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57). However, within the same passage Vygotsky asserted that his theory regarding the process of "internalization" needed further development. Vygotsky concluded that: "as yet, the barest outline of this process is known" (1978, p. 57)

Wertsch provides some further insight into this issue, by citing segments from Vygotsky's recently translated manuscripts. First of all, Wertsch points

out that Vygotsky did not conceptualize the process of internalization as one of imitating or copying the external, but rather that Vygotsky had asserted: "it goes without saying the internalization transforms the process itself and changes its structure and function" (Vygostky, cited in Wertsch, 1985, p. 63). Vygotsky credited the origins of his thoughts regarding "internalization" to French psychiatrist Pierre Janet:

> ... a much more general law governing the development of behavior. Janet calls it the fundamental law of psychology. The essence of this law is that in the process of development, children begin to use the same forms of behavior in relation to themselves that others initially used in relation to them. (Vygotsky, cited in Wertsch, 1985, p. 92).

It has been argued that Janet was influenced by American psychologist James Mark Baldwin, who in the early years of this century published works emphasizing the importance of the social system, and especially the dialectic between the social and individual as a critical feature of the child's development (Sjovall, 1967, cited in Dixon & Lerner, 1988). Janet, in turn, was a contemporary and rival of Freud, both of them having at one time been students of French psychiatrist Charcot. It has been noted that Janet's work influenced not only Vygotsky, but also Freud (Dixon & Lerner, 1988). This proposed cross-pollination of influences in interesting in light of both Vygotsky's and Freud's similar conceptualizations of "internalization" and "identification", respectively. Of course, Freud's conceptualization differs in that it is linked directly to his theory of the child's libidinal drives and sexual impulses.

Freud presented his views on "identification" rather late in his career, with the publication of his New Introductory Lecture on Psychoanalysis in 1933. In this text Freud specifically addressed the development of the superego, which he had proposed a decade earlier as a component of the Id-Ego-Superego structure. Freud presented the argument that the resolution of the Oedipus

complex is based upon the young child's "identification" with the parents. Whereas previously the opposite-sexed parent had been the object of the young child's desires, the child begins to appreciate that these impulses are unacceptable, and begins to identify with the same-sexed parent. Freud proposed that the child identifies not with the parents' behaviors, but rather with the "parental superego," which includes the parents' norms, injunctions and prohibitions. Freud asserted that the superego becomes "the vehicle of tradition, of all the time-resistant valuations that have thus propagated themselves across generations."

"Voices" conceptualized by Bakhtin

A contemporary of Vygotsky, Mikhail Bakhtin, also emphasized that language is the vehicle whereby ideas and thoughts are exchanged, and that dialogue is essential for the establishment of meaning. Bakhtin argues that language is primarily a social phenomenon, and that the meanings of words and utterances are established during the process of dialogical interaction. Bakhtin writes:

> The living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment ...cannot fail to become an active participant in a social dialogue. (Bakhtin, 1975, p. 276).

Language as constitutive of meaning is expressed by Bakhtin's colleague Volosinov (1929), who suggested the illustration that the "meaning" of the word "apple" is in the sign, and not in the object: when someone eats an apple, they bite into a juicy substance, but not into the "meaning."

Not only is the meaning of a word established in the course of dialogical interaction, but the meanings undergo historical development, as they are transmitted from person to person, yet constantly changing and evolving

through this dialogical interaction. As a child or even adult acquires new words and phrases, these utterances necessarily carry with them previous meanings and interpretations. In fact, Bakhtin typically equated words and meanings: he asserted that one's "voice" constitutes one's "point of view on the world" (Bakhtin, 1929). However, what Bakhtin also emphasized is that the child or adult has the choice or either accepting or rejecting the interpretations of the other. In the Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics, originally published in 1929, Bakhtin wrote:

> Our practical everyday speech is full of other people's words: with some of them we completely merge our own voice, forgetting whose they are; others, which we take as authoritative, we use to reinforce our own words: still others .... we populate with our own aspirations, alien or hostile to them. (1929, p. 195)

Bakhtin addressed what he called the "centripetal" and "centrifugal" aspects of language. The "centripetal" forces he conceptualized as those "normative" elements of language which are unifying elements, as , for example, a standard set of grammar rules that might be accepted by an entire cultural group. However, in contrast are the "centrifugal" forces, whereby language becomes diversified according to social and professional groupings, generational divisions, and then yet further diversified at the level of family jargon, and finally at the level of the "individual personality" (1975, p. 293). As phrases and utterances are used by specific groups, families, or individuals, they absorb the meanings which have been produced within the specific contexts: " every word smells of the context in which it has lived its intense social life." (1975, p. 289).

Bakhtin also commented on the process whereby the "voices" of the others are distinguished from one's own "voice":

> ....it becomes 'one's own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word.
> (1975, p. 293).

Bakhtin pointed out that one of the means for rejecting the voice of the "other" was through the means of parody or irony, which he defined as the repetition of another's words, yet providing "new values" and one's own "accents." As an example of the process whereby the voices of "the other" merge with one's own voice, Bakhtin presented Raskolnikov's monologue at the beginning of Crime and Punishment, in which Raskolnikov expresses his concern about his mother's attempt to influence her daughter's choice of a marital partner. Raskolnikov laments:

> It's clear that Rodion Romanovich Raskolnikov is the central figure in the business, and no one else. Oh yes, she can ensure his happiness, keep him in the university, make him a partner in the office .....But my mother? It's all Rodya, precious Rodya, her firstborn! For such a son who would not sacrifice such a daughter! Oh, loving, over-partial hearts. (Dostoevsky, quoted in Bakhtin 1929)

Bakhtin proceeded to analyze the monologue in respect to the various "voices" is contains, the "voice" of course representing each character's "position in life." In Raskolnikov's monological utterance "It's all Rodya, precious Rodya, her firstborn!" Bakhtin pointed out the voice of Raskolnikov's mother with her respective intonations of love and caring, but that in the same phrase there is Raskolnikov's voice with intonations of irony and indignation. The monologue by Dostoevsky illustrates well how a single utterance can contain two or more "voices" or points of view, whereby the second voice either confirms or rejects the use of the "other's" words.

The ironical stance as a means of reflecting upon the self and developing self-awareness has been espoused by Hayden White (1978). White proposes the process of the development of self-reflective consciousness is reflected in the developmental progression of the "master tropes," from metaphor to metonymy to synecdoche to irony. White argues that at the first stage of

"metaphorical characterization", development is at the level of the undifferentiated whole. The whole is subsequently differentiated and broken down into its constituent relations and parts, which is reflected in " metonymic deconstruction" (i.e. representing sovereignty with a scepter). At the stage of "synecdochic " representation the parts are related to what is presumed to be the essence of the whole (i.e. representing a house by its roof). At the final self-reflective stage of irony, one is able to purview and accept or reject aspects that are available to one's awareness.

Especially in his later writings, Bakhtin emphasized the dialogical relationship between the voice of the "other" and one's "own" voice, meaning that the one is not possible without the other. However, Bakhtin did not advocate a Hegelian or Marxist synthesis or resolution of this dialectical tension (Todorov, 1984). Bakhtin argued emphatically that "multi-voicedness" is an essential aspect of a creative and flourishing culture. Instead, in an appendix published in 1961 Bakhtin asserted that the dialogue between the self and the other must be continuous "as a special form of interaction among autonomous and equally signifying consciousnesses" (Bakhtin, 1929/1984 , p. 284) Bakhtin emphasized that the development of ones "own" voice is a critical aspect of such dialogue: " True dialogic relations are possible only in relation to a hero who is a carrier of his own truth." Yet the self cannot exist in isolation. The self is inextricably interwoven with the other:

> .....the impossibility of the existence of a single consciousness. I am conscious of myself and become myself only while revealing myself for another, through another, and with the help of another (1929, p.287).

Bakhtin's conception therefore calls for the continual presence of both

the voice of the "other" and one's "own" voice in continual dialogical interchange, where the "other's" voice becomes a part of one's "own" speech, yet with the peculiarities and accents of one's own point of view on the world.

Hermeneuticist Louis Sass (1988) asserts that the position of hermeneutic philosophy also lies in the "middle ground" between the concepts of absolute individualism and the total disintegration of the self. Sass asserts the hermeneutical position that both the self and the other are "in a circular and inseparable relation." Charles Taylor (1985) emphasizes that although the social matrix is essential to the human condition, that "a person must be a being with his own point of view on things" (1985, p. 97) in order to hold values and make moral choices.

Appropriation of meaning within the historical context

The following study is concerned with autobiographical memories which stem from events that occurred within a specifically circumscribed cultural-historical context. This provides for the opportunity to examine interrelationships between individual and socio-cultural factors as they are interwoven within autobiographical memories. Sociologist Glen Elder (in press) has pointed out that to date there have been few studies which have simultaneously explored human lives at both the "individual and macroscopic levels." Similarly, Elder points out that that there is a dearth of theory which extends across these levels. Elder and colleagues have conducted several extensive studies, examining the interrelationships between historical events and individual lives. In one study, Elder (1988) explored the relationship between individual personalities of young men who fought in the Vietnam war, and post-war emotional problems. In another study, Elder and colleagues (Elder, Caspi and Van Nguyen, 1986) analyzed previously collected data from the time of

the Depression in order to compare the relationship between individual personalities, family dynamics and Depression-induced economic difficulties.

Elder proposes five "theoretical orientations" which are applicable to the study of these interrelationships between "macro events" and individual life experiences. First, is a principle of Control Cycles, adopted from Thomas (cited in Elder, in press), which asserts that social change brings about individual loss of control which then motivates efforts to regain control. Second, is a principle of Situational Imperatives, which asserts that historical changes bring about specific demands for individuals and families. Thirdly, Elder proposes an Accentuation Principle, meaning that historical changes tend to accentuate trends already present in the individual personality. For example, Elder (Elder, Caspi and Van Nguyen, 1986) found that during the economic hardships of the Depression, men who tended to be explosive before the economic crisis became even more explosive. Fourth is the Life Stage Principle, which asserts that the specific effects of the historical event will vary according to the age of the individual. Fifth is the principle of Interdependent Lives, which emphasizes the interrelatedness among family members, based upon the Gestalt principle that the whole is greater than a sum of the parts.

The Life Stage Principle proposed by Elder is particularly relevant to the analysis of autobiographical narratives within the present study. In his analysis of outcome following the Depression, Elder found that males who were young boys during the Depression had lower ratings on resiliency, resourcefulness and self-adequacy during subsequent evaluations, than did males who had been adolescents at the time. Elder points out that during the Depression, the adolescent boys often had paid jobs which required them to spend more time away from home, and therefore they were not as involved in family conflicts.

The young boys, on the other hand, suffered within the family as a result of their "known vulnerability to family stress" (1986, p. 171).

As regards the autobiographical narrative in the present study, it is proposed that the maturational state or "life stage" of the individual at the time of the initial event, will effect the manner in which this event is initially experience, and hence how it is later remembered. Elder points out that one's "life stage" affects one's situational behaviors and responsibilities, as well as one's emotional responsivity within a situation. The analysis of the present study will also be concerned with the understanding of, or meaning attributed to events as they are experienced. It will be assumed that the older or more mature that a child was at the time of a politically-significant event, the more likely the child would have been to form an appropriate and historically-relevant understanding of the event.

Although Piaget did not address the question of how children come to appropriate experience with meaning, he did provide an extensive developmental explanation of how children's thought progresses from egocentric to concrete to abstract forms. One could presumably extrapolate from Piaget's theory to postulate that the older the child becomes, the more aware he or she will be of what is happening in their surroundings, and will be more likely to attempt concrete and/or abstract understandings of these events. As earlier emphasized, these attempts at understanding will always be influenced by the "other," especially by the caretaking adults. However, as the child matures, there will also be greater potential for taking a reflective stance and developing one's own "voice," one's own view or perspective.

Furthermore, it will be assumed that understanding and emotional responding are aspects of the same process, as explicated by Bowlby (1969). Bowlby asserts that "affects, feelings and emotions are phases of an individual's intuitive appraisals whether of his own organismic states and urges to act, or of

the succession of environmental situations in which he finds himself" (p. 104). Bowlby emphasizes that emotions are not discrete entities, but rather are an aspect of the process of appraising. He implies an analogy between emotions and "redness" or "squareness": one could imagine that the appraising process is similar to the heating of a horseshoe, and that the 'redness" of the iron corresponds to the expressive emotional state.

In integrating the developmental perspective of Piaget and the synthesis of appraisal and emotion suggested by Bowlby, one could postulate that the older the child was at the time of an event, the more involved and sophisticated would have been the appraisals, which would then have resulted in a complementary emotional experience. This effect would be particularly evident regarding events which are saturated with culturally-defined significance. Developmental theory would imply that the child's understanding and emotional involvement of a major life event at the time of its occurrence would then serve to influence that person's perspective in the present. And theorists of autobiographical constructivism would assert that the vantage point of the present serves to shape the recollection of the past.

Chapter II

DESIGN AND METHODS

General Design

The interrelationship between individual and cultural-historical dynamics in the construction of autobiographical narratives is investigated in this study. Design of this study is based upon the premise that the autobiographical narrative is a selectively constructed text, influenced by various factors including the initial experience of the past event and the confluence of personal and communal interpretations, both from the past and present.

Autobiographical narratives were gathered from a group of adults who had experienced a common cultural-historical upheaval as children, 4 to 12 years old. The primary interviewees were 10 sibling pairs of Latvian ethnic origin, born between 1932 and 1940 (with one exception born in 1929) in Latvia. All of these interviewees had left Latvia with their families in 1944, due to war-induced circumstances, in response to the advancement of the Soviet troops. As a result of the Nazi occupation of Latvia, they had been implicitly and explicitly coerced to leave for Germany, where they experienced the massive Allied bombings during the last several months of the war, as well as the continuous threat of the Soviet troop movement. Many of the events experienced during this time were imbued with cultural-historical significance. Other sibling groups who as children experienced culturally-significant events could have potentially served as interviewees. However, those of Latvian ethnicity were chosen because of my own Latvian ethnic origin and contacts within the Latvian ethnic community,

which facilitated the recruitment of interviewees and engendered access to within-cultural perspectives.

This study is designed to explore several focal relationships: the relationship between the "lived experience" of the past and the constructed autobiographical narrative of the present; the relationship between the culturally-generated meanings and "one's own voice"; and the relationship between the stable and changing aspects of the autobiographical narration. As outlined in the previous chapter, views regarding the proposed veridical vs. constructive nature of autobiographical memory appear to fall along a continuum. With noted exceptions, traditional psychological research has tended to investigate the veridical/rote aspects of memory, and literary theorists have been most outspoken regarding a constructivist view. An underlying premise of this study is that autobiographical narratives are most certainly not veridical. A second premise is that we cannot know if there is a "reality" beyond our selected and constructed perceptions, but that it is possible to speak in terms of an event having happened, to the extent that there is consensual, communal agreement regarding such an event.

As an organizational strategy, this study is based upon a tripartite conceptualization of the narrative process, as proposed by literary theorist Gerard Genette (1980). Genette addresses the "story", the "narrative text" and the "narrating action". As regards this study, the "story" can be reconceptualized as the "lived experience," a term used by Ricoeur (1988) and similar to the "lived time", "lived space" and "lived distance" discussed by Minkowski (1933/1970). "Lived experience" is addressed by Ricoeur in his recent analysis of Time and Narrative, an analysis which is concerned with the essential role of narrative in providing access to a conceptualization of temporality. Ricoeur states:

> Temporality cannot be spoken of in the direct discourse of phenomenology, but rather requires the mediation of the indirect discourse of narration (Ricoeur, 1988, p. 241).

In a similar discussion, Ricoeur writes:

> I take temporality to be that structure of existence that reaches language in narrativity and narrativity to be the language structure that has temporality as its ultimate referent (Ricoeur, 1980, p. 165).

Analogously, as concerns the present study, the childhood "lived experience" of the interviewee can only "reach" the listener or reader as it "reaches language in narrativity". An initial step in this inquiry, therefore is to explore the childhood "lived experience" as it becomes narrativized in the interview context. Consequently, a major portion of the actual interview questions were designed to elicit narrative accounts of the personally experienced past. Questions were also posed regarding the remembrance of one's childhood "thoughts and feelings" during the occurrence of specific events. The assumption is that one's thoughts and feelings are at least partially constitutive of the "lived experience".

As a heuristic procedure, the collected narrative accounts were initially analyzed not only through comparison of sibling texts, but also by comparing and contrasting texts according to the interviewee's age at the time of leaving Latvia, in 1944. This study is not an attempt to explore developmental issues per se, but rather to utilize a developmental framework for the purpose of exploring the nature of reconstruction. The first research question is:

> 1. What is the relationship between age at the time of leaving Latvia, and the narration of emotionality and understanding of the experience?

Expressions of "emotionality" and "understanding" are taken to be an indicative of the reconstruction of the "lived experience". Analysis of these expessions seems useful as a point of departure in this study concerned with the attribution of meaning to the "lived experience" within a specific culturally-defined historical context.

Considering the emphasis by literary theorists and others regarding the critical role of the autobiographer's vantage point of the present in narrating the past, the second part of the interview was aimed at eliciting the interviewee's present attitudes and "biases" regarding Latvia and the Latvian situation. In turn, the second research question is designed to address the nature of any potential relationships between the present "bias" and the narration of the past "lived experience". The second research question is:

> 2. What is the relationship between the interviewees' present attitudes and "biases", and the narration of emotionality and understanding of the experience of leaving Latvia?

The next two research questions concern the patterns of reconstruction emerging from the "narrative text". Through a comparison of sibling narratives, one is able to identify specific differences in the narrative construction of a commonly experienced childhood event, thereby enabling a more extensive discussion of the reconstructive peculiarities. As Genette (1980) has suggested, the reconstructive processes of the "work of memory" are perhaps similar in part of the reconstructive processes of "dream work" suggested by Freud (1953c). Bartlett (1932) has also discussed specific reconstructive memory processes such as omission, transformation, conventionalization, dramatization and rationalization. The third research question is aimed at further elucidation of the nature of reconstruction, especially as it concerns autobiographical memory. The third research question is:

> 3. What are the narrative patterns and reconstructive processes which constitute the autobiographical narrative?

In order to investigate this question, as a methodological procedure, the narratives were segmented as "events". In his discussion of textual analysis,

Roland Barthes suggests segmentation of the text as an initial operational procedure and proposes that any short fragment such as a phrase, sentence or group of sentences would be appropriate as a segmented unit. Barthes' primary consideration is that the segment allows one to "observe the distribution of meanings" which according to Barthes are the intratextual and extratextual "correlations" or "connotations" of a narrative unit (Barthes, 1989). Although an "event" as a unit of analysis seems appropriate to an exploration of autobiographical narratives, admittedly the "event" is a relatively large unit of analysis and may need to be further segmented for a more intimate reading of the text.

Although their philosophical presuppositions may differ dramatically, with Barthes acknowledging solely the text, and Ricoeur searching for a more primal unity and temporality, both theorists emphasize the primary function of narrative as synthesis. The similarity yet difference of their views is expressed in their comparison of the text to a braid and woven cloth, respectively. Barthes speaks of "a braid of different voices, of many codes, at once interlaced and incomplete" (Barthes, 1989, p. 292). Ricoeur addresses the autobiographical narrative as a interweaving of stories, to the effect that "the refiguration makes this life itself a cloth woven of stories told" (Ricoeur, 1988, p. 246). Barthes calls for both a "horizontal" and "vertical" reading of the text. He suggests an initial segmentation of the text in order to identify the narrative "codes" which express various meanings. However, Barthes also speaks of a "vertical" reading of the narrative, which is aimed at a coordination of these various meanings in order to address a "higher order of relation" (Barthes, 1989). Ricoeur (1980) addresses the "chronological" and "nonchronological" or "configurational" aspects of a narrative. He speaks of the narrative plot which "construes significant wholes our of scattered events" (p. 174). Ricoeur is particularly concerned that in

approaching a narrative text one does not decontextualize the parts from the whole.

The fourth research question of this study addresses the above cited functional aspect of the narrative, specifically in regard to the autobiographical text. The fourth question is:

> 4. What are the functional significances of these narrative patterns and reconstructive processes?

Specifically explored is how the synthesis of various narrative elements serves to provide meaning and to effect a "making sense" of one's experience, an adaptive process discussed by Nelson (1985). Simultaneously, this process of "making sense" serves to engender a series of "narrative identities" of the speaker as well as significant others included in the narrative stories. Ricoeur conceptualizes this "narrative identity" as a "dynamic identity arising from the poetic composition of a narrative text" (Ricoeur, 1988, p. 246).

This same discussion raises the question as to what extent the autobiographical narrative ultimately expresses "one's own voice" in contrast to the "voices" of others (the term "voices" being used in the Bakhtinian sense of world view, Bakhtin, 1929/1984). Some such as French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs have claimed that all autobiographical memory is unquestionably determined by group identification and currents of social thought (Halbwachs, discussed by Ross, 1991). Others, such as Bakhtin have pointed to the ironic stance, the critical mode, as allowing for the possibility of acceptance or rejection of the other's "voice", so that the eventual synthesized narrative becomes expressive of "one's own voice".

Finally, the last research question indirectly addresses the question of determinism in the construction of the autobiographical narrative. Traditional psychoanalytic theory attributes deterministic power to the repressed "ingrained

images" (Mayman, 1968). An analysis of the stable vs. changing aspects of an autobiographical narrative indicates the degree to which the narrating process itself provides a freedom to create new versions of one's life story. This question is analyzed specifically with regard to those interviewees who narrated their stories upon several occasions, for example, during individual and joint sessions with both siblings. The fifth research question is:

> 5. What tensions unfold between stable and dynamic/changing aspects of the narrative during the narrating act?

Methods

The first part of this section includes descriptive information regarding the interviewees and the interviews. The second part includes a brief theoretical discussion regarding the qualitative/quantitative method of analysis, as well as explanation of the organization and specific approaches of investigation. Chapter III provides a historical account of the events experienced by the interviewees during the period 1940 - 1949, as well as a summary of the political events in Latvia, 1988-1991, happening shortly prior to or during the interview period.

Interviewees

The primary interviewees were 10 sibling pairs of Latvian ethnic origin, who were born in Latvia between 1932 and 1940 (with the exception of one sibling born in 1929). Interviewed and included in the analysis, when appropriate, were two additional participants born 1932-1940: one additional interviewee was a third sibling of those listed above; another was an interviewee whose sibling was unable to participate. Also interviewed were four mothers of the sibling pairs: five interviewee mothers were alive at the time of the interviewing, but one of the

mothers was too ill to be interviewed. There were in total 26 interviewees: 21 who had left Latvia as children; 1 who had left Latvia as a young adolescent; and 4 who had left Latvia as mothers of children participating in the study. The interviewees who were children at the time of leaving Latvia will hence be referred to as the "core interviewees".

Potential interviewee names were obtained through personal contacts within the Latvian ethnic community. Participants were chosen according to several criteria. First, it was required that there be a sibling, and that both siblings be willing to participate in the study. Second, both siblings had to have been born in Latvia between 1932 and 1940, and left Latvia in 1944 as children aged 4 to 12. (As discussed previously, research has shown that most adults have at least some autobiographical memory from the age of four, steadily increasing upward with age.) Third, an attempt was made to preselect participants so that approximately half of them would be actively involved in Latvian cultural and/or political activities either here in the United States or in Latvia. Only three persons who were contacted refused to participate, one for reasons of poor health. Two potential interviewees who had lost their father in 1941 as a result of Soviet executed deportations, simply did not wish to participate. Of those who did consent, none had lost immediate family members as a result of the war-related events.

All interviewees are presently living in the United States. Of the 22 interviewees who left Latvia as children (including the one adolescent), 11 are females and 11 are males. Educationally, 6 hold advanced degrees, and 5 others have completed undergraduate degrees. Of the remaining, 7 attended college, but did not complete their studies, primarily as the result of family responsibilities; and 4 have not attended college. Occupationally all but two of the interviewees are employed full time, either as professionals or skilled

technicians. Two interviewees hold part-time unskilled positions. Socioeconomically, judging from the family's occupational status and living environment, all are upper-middle or middle-class.

Age upon leaving Latvia

The "core interviewees" were grouped according to designated age categories. The "very young" group, those who left Latvia at the age of 4-6, includes 3 interviewees; the "younger" group, those who left Latvia at the age of 7-9, includes 8 interviewees; and the "older" group, those who left Latvia at the age of 10-12, includes 10 interviewees.

Ethnic involvement in the present

Ten of the 21 "core interviewees" were grouped as "ethnically involved", as judged by their active participation in cultural and/or political activities here in the United States or in Latvia. As stated above, an attempt was made to preselect interviewees so that approximately half would be actively engaged. This preselection, based upon information obtained through contacts in the Latvian community, was in all instances verified during the interview by the interviewees' responses to questions about their ethnically oriented activity. Their involvement included one or more of the following: participation in Latvian theater, musical or artistic projects; teaching in Latvian schools or workshops; and participation in Latvian political activity. The "ethnically involved" interviewee's responses also indicated that they hold a deep sense of personal commitment and emotional involvement regarding the Latvian situation. Four of the "ethnically involved" interviewees expressed a contemplated desire to return to Latvia to live as soon as they have reached the age of retirement.

Of those interviewees not actively involved in Latvian cultural and/or political activity, all have some degree of contact with other Latvians, and all speak Latvian fluently. The degree of contact varies from primarily family encounters to various social encounters in the Latvian community. All of the interviewees, including those grouped as "not ethnically involved" expressed strong emotional ties to their homeland as well as genuine concern regarding the ongoing political difficulties faced by the Baltic States. All interviewees indicated that they have been closely following in the news media the ongoing political developments. However, the interviewees grouped as "ethnically involved" are those who have given priority to their ethnical concerns as the basis for active involvement. Also, nine of the ten "ethnically involved" interviewees had been back to Latvia to visit and/or on professional exchange; only one of the "not involved" had been back.

Grouping by age and ethnic involvement

The grouping of the "core interviewees" according to age at the time of leaving, and their current ethnic involvement is presented in Table 1. The individual names are listed in this table so that it may serve as a reference point during the succeeding analysis, especially concerning sections of the analysis which discuss comparison of several individual interviewee's accounts. Of course, the names assigned to each interviewee have been changed for purposes of confidentiality.

Table 1
Interviewees by Age at Time of Leaving and Present Ethnic Involvement

	"Ethnically Involved"	"Ethnically Not Involved"
"very young" (4-6 yrs. old)		Vizbulite (age 4) Ludis (age 4) Venta (age 5)
"younger" (7-9 yrs. old)	Teika (age 7) Druvis (age 7) Gunta (age 7) Ina (age 8) Mikelis (age 8)	Imants (age 8) Viesturs (age 8) Dzilis (age 9)
"older" (10-12 yrs. old)	Namejs (age 10) Voldemars (age 10) Aiga (age 11) Aldona (age 11) Daira (age 12)	Ziedonis (age 10) Zenta (age 10) Benita (age 11) Ainars (age 11) Margita (age 11)

Reminiscence of childhood memories

Almost all of the core interviewees stated that they speak of their childhood memories of leaving Latvia only rarely. Only three interviewees expressed any indication that they speak of these experiences with any regularity: one sibling pair stated that they reminisce about these experiences perhaps twice a year; a third interviewee mentioned that she has told "these stories" many times both to her children, to colleagues at work and others. Most interviewees said that when relatives get together they usually talk of the present and/or future.

A few interviewees stated that they had discussed the leaving of Latvia with their children upon the occasion that their children were writing reports for school. Others implied that they would be pleased to talk more often with their children of these experiences, but that their offspring did not show interest in listening. In general, the responses indicated that this generation of Latvian immigrants is not involved in a cultural tradition of routinely reminiscing, at least not in regard to the leaving of Latvia and the war in Germany. This may be a situation similar to that which Studs Terkel (1980) and Arthur Miller discussed concerning families who experienced the Great Depression in the United States: that these families did not wish to reminisce about a painful, degrading experience. My familiarity with the Latvian community has indicated that reminiscing was more common by the older generation during the earlier years of immigration in the 1950s, and that it was focused upon a general romanticizing about the idyllic aspects of life in Latvia during the years of its independence, 1918-1940.

The narrative tradition as such has not been emphasized in the Latvian culture. There has been no cultivated tradition of sitting around and reminiscing of personal experience or the telling of folktales, as there is in certain other cultures. Rather, the primary cultural tradition has been the singing of folk songs. Consequently, there has been significant research in the collection and analysis of these folk songs, but not regarding Latvian narratives.

The problem of anonymity

Due to the relatively small size of the Latvian community in the United States the issue of retaining anonymity of the interviewees is particularly acute. Therefore, in discussing individual narratives a concerted effort was made to mention as

little as possible concerning the family situation of the interviewees either then in Latvia or now in the United States. Of course all names of individuals were changed. Occupational titles were generalized. Indication of number of siblings in each family was left purposefully vague. Names of cities were changed in some cases, in other cases descriptions of geographical locations were generalized.

Interviews

This study is based on the autobiographical narratives collected from 30 interviews, which took place primarily from April of 1990 through March of 1991. There were 26 individual, first-time interviews: 21 interviews with the "core interviewees", those who were children at the time of leaving Latvia; 1 with an interviewee who had been an adolescent at the time; and 4 with mothers of participants in the study. In addition, two of the "core interviewees" were interviewed twice. Also, there were two "joint interviews" , whereby two siblings who had been interviewed separately were then interviewed jointly. The inclusion of the one interviewee who was a young adolescent at the time of leaving was made because he and his sister were willing to participate in the study both individually and jointly The suggestion of a joint interview was rejected by most sibling pairs because of either geographical considerations or other personal reasons.

Interviewees were initially contacted by phone. As potential participants, they were informed that this is a study about childhood memories of leaving Latvia. If they agreed to participate, arrangements were made to conduct the interview in their home. The interview session began with a brief period of social conversation, followed by a general explanation of the study and

the confidentiality of the interview material. The interviewees were given an opportunity to ask questions and then were asked to sign a consent form.

It was explained to the interviewees that they could chose to answer the interview questions in either Latvian or English, or a mixture of both. This choice was presented so as to give the interviewee the opportunity to narrate his or her childhood memories in the language which seemed most naturally, or "ecologically" to fit the demands of the situation, and which would best facilitate the narrating process. All interviewees chose to speak in Latvian. Interviews were audio-recorded with a portable tape player.

Interview questions were pre-established and presented in the same manner during each interview. A major goal of the interviewer was to provide minimal direction. The interview questions were designed to be relatively broad and open-ended, such as: "What do you remember from the experience of leaving Latvia? Could you tell me what you remember from the moment there was any indication of leaving or preparation for leaving ?" If the interviewee stopped narrating before the sequence of leaving Latvia had been completely told, additional questions were asked such as: "What do you remember from after you arrived in Liepaja?" or "What do you remember from the ship and the leaving of the harbor?" The intent was to initially allow for as much uninterrupted narrative as possible, and then after the "first telling" to ask questions as necessary for clarification or as an attempt to illicit additional information. For example, a request for clarification might be: "I didn't quite understand -- how did it happen?" An attempt to elicit additional information might be: " Do you remember what songs they were singing?" Again, these additional questions or probes were made only after the interviewee had completed his or her initial narrative account in answer to the question, as indicated by pause.

The interviews were conducted with an awareness that the autobiographical narrative is produced in a dialogical moment involving the the interviewee and interviewer, and that this moment involves a unique constellation of moods and attitudes. The responses of the interviewee were no doubt influenced by his or her current concerns, as well as by presuppositions and attitudes regarding the interviewer (i.e. their estimation of how much historical knowledge the interviewer has; and to what extent the interviewer is to be trusted and confided in). It was also assumed that under no circumstances does an interviewee reveal all conscious memories, but rather that certain memories are withheld and safeguarded within the sanctuary of the "private narrative".

Interview protocol

Introduction

I am interested in finding out how much you remember from your childhood, particularly what you remember from the time of leaving Latvia, and of experiencing the war in Germany.

I'd like to start out by asking you a few questions about you and your family while still in Latvia. Right now I'm not asking you about what you remember, but rather just some background information.
First, if you could tell me where and when you were born, and what your home situation was like during those years you lived in Latvia: what your parents did for a living, and who lived together with you in your family's household.

Now, I'll begin asking you about your actual childhood memories. I'd like for you to describe what you remember in as much detail as possible. I'm really very interested in everything you can remember about your childhood experiences..

So, to begin, I'd like to ask you about your very early childhood, before the leaving of Latvia began. -- What is your very earliest memory? -- Please describe this memory in as much detail as possible.

What is your earliest memory of your mother?

What is your earliest memory of your father?

Childhood memories:

(The questions concerning the Soviet and German occupations are presented only to those interviewees born prior to 1937).

Do you remember anything about the first Soviet occupation in 1940 to 41? (If not already stated) Do you remember anything about the deportations of June 14th? If so, did you have any understanding of why this was happening? Do you remember any mention of "Siberia" at the time? If so, what did "Siberia" mean to you?

Do you remember anything about the German occupation? If so, did you have any understanding of what was happening?

What do you remember about the experience of leaving Latvia? Could you tell me what you remember from the moment there was any indication of leaving or preparation for leaving?

(If the narrative stops before the sequence of leaving Latvia has been completely told, ask additional questions based upon where the narrative stopped, i.e. --What do you remember happening next? or -- What do you remember from after you arrived in Liepaja? -- What do you remember from the ship and the leaving of the harbor?)

(If not already stated). What were you feelings at the time? What was your understanding of the situation?

What do you remember from the period in Germany, while the war was still going on?

(If not already stated) What were your feelings? What was your understanding of the war?

What do you remember from your experience in the DP camps?

What did Latvia mean to you at the time? What did the Latvian flag mean to you at the time?

When talk began of emigrating to the United States, what preconceived notions did you have of America? From whom or from where?

What do you remember from the journey by ship to America?

What you you remember from the first years in America?

How do you think your childhood experiences of leaving Latvia and the war have affected your adult experience?

How do you think the experience of leaving Latvia affected other members of your family?

During the years following the leaving of Latvia and the war in Germany, did you have dreams or nightmares related to these experiences?

In general, how do you remember Latvia?

Present attitudes and involvement

What does the Latvian flag mean to you now?

At present , do you consider yourself a Latvian, an American, or a combination of both – and why?

During the first few years after arriving in America, did you experience a conflict in desiring to belong to the Latvian culture and/or the American culture? If so, in what way?

How long did it take for you to learn English? Did English at any time become the stronger language?

What language do you speak with your children? What has influenced your decision to speak either Latvian or English with your children?

How would you describe your present involvement with the Latvian community here in the united States?

(If the interviewee doesn't spontaneously mention participation in specific activities, ask: During the past ten years, have you participated in any of the following Latvian events -- political meetings? educational activities? social events? cultural activities? Latvian church involvement? private gatherings with Latvian friends and relatives?))

What has influenced your decision to either maintain or not maintain contact with the Latvian community?

Do you maintain any contact with Latvians in Latvia? If so, to what extent?

Have you been to Latvia to visit? Why or why not? If so, what affect did this visit have upon you? Will you go again to visit?

If the situation changes so that Latvia becomes an independent, democratic nation, would you want to return to Latvia to live? Why or why not?

As a summary statement, why did your parents leave Latvia?

How would you describe the present situation in Latvia?

Procedure for second interviews

Two subjects were individually interviewed twice with the purpose of assessing to what extent their narrative accounts of leaving Latvia would be the same or different upon retelling. The second interview protocol contained only those questions geared specifically to the leaving of Latvia and the war-time experiences in Germany.

Procedure for interview with the mothers

The four mothers participating in the study were asked primarily about the Soviet and Nazi occupation periods, the leaving of Latvia, and the war-time in Germany. Questions were initially presented according to the interview protocol, so as to allow for relatively undirected narrative accounts. However, because the mothers were interviewed after their children, it was possible to ask about specific experiences mentioned by their offspring, for example: "Was there a period of hiding in the woods during the Soviet occupation?"

Procedure for joint interviews

The structure of the joint interviews, which included two siblings and myself, was less specifically preestablished than for the individually-conducted

interviews. Questions were presented in a more spontaneous fashion depending upon the inner group dynamics of the joint session as it proceeded. The joint interviews were characterized by a great deal of spontaneous turn-taking between the two siblings.

Siblings participating in the joint interviews were informed that the purpose was to assess if mutual reminiscing would be facilitative of additional autobiographical remembering. Questions were spontaneously generated to address the following topics:

1. Childhood memories of their home in Latvia (e.g. How do you remember your home in Cesis?)

2. Childhood memories of their parents (e.g. How do you remember your mother/father from your childhood?)

3. Memories from the Soviet and German occupations, if both siblings were born before 1937.

4. Memories of the leaving of Latvia (e.g. And how do you remember the actual leaving of Latvia, from the time there was any talk of leaving of preparations for leaving?)

The questions were generally directed to the younger sibling first, since the older siblings generally had more extensive memories, at times encompassing those of the younger sibling. As with the individually-conducted interviews, an attempt was made to allow for as much undirected narrative and sibling dialogue as possible, with additional questions asked only after both siblings had completed their accounts.

Transcribing and translating

As previously mentioned, all interviewees chose to respond to the interview questions in Latvian. Subsequently, the tapes were transcribed in Latvian, and the

initial reading and initial analysis of the texts was done with the Latvian transcripts. Only at the final stages of the analysis, in preparing the narrative manuscript regarding the gathered narratives, did the process necessitate a translation of specific excerpts into English. The translation of these specific excerpts also enabled an independent rater to code and discuss aspects of these texts. It must be acknowledged that the process of translation inevitably results in the loss of certain nuances and idiomatic subtleties.

Methodology and Organization of the Analysis

Qualitative and quantitative approach

The analysis of this study has been guided by the conviction that interpretive/qualitative analysis is the most appropriate and essential methodology for exploring the meaning-laden narrative constructions of the autobiographical memory process. Analogous to Clifford Geertz's (1973) call for the necessity of interpretive "thick description" in anthropological research, I would argue for the necessity of interpretive "thick analysis" in research which involves meaning-full narratives. The argument that "statistical analysis can not shed light at the level of meaning" (Tudge & Chivian, 1989, p. 30), as recently stated in The Genetic Epistemologist implies that meaning-laden constructions contain more complex and more polyphonic aspects than can be captured simply with numbers. As Geertz has indicated, "deep" analysis involves a non-reductive approach which is aimed at exploring and integrating that which is "beyond the obvious".

Quantitative analysis has been incorporated in this study as well, but primarily as an outgrowth or derivative of the initial interpretive investigation of the narrative texts. In other words, the quantitative coding schemes (which are

discussed in the next section) were developed on the basis of relationships which became apparent only in response to the qualitative/interpretive analysis. These quantitative coding schemes in turn served dialogically to suggest additional patterns which were then addressed in turn interpretively.

The qualitative/interpretive analysis of this study was based largely upon hermeneutical principles. As discussed in the introduction, hermeneutic philosophers have emphasized that each interpreter has a particular set of fore-knowledge and attitudes which influence his or her approach to a particular text or discourse. As Glick (1981) has suggested, the interpreter's "biases" and attitudes influence not only processes of interpretation, but also the posing of the research questions and the designing of the methodology. In addition, each interpreter has a particular manner or style of proceeding in the attempt to develop a consistent and coherent interpretive formulation. It appears the responsibility of each interpreter to develop and maintain increasingly greater awareness of his or her particular presuppositions, in order to evaluate how these attitudes might be influencing the interpretive act. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Gadamer (1975, quoted in Bleicher, 1980) has emphasized that an awareness of one's biases enables a reevaluation of a text in light of these preconceptions.

Although, as Geertz has pointed out, "interpretive approaches tend to resist conceptual articulation" (1973, p.24) occasionally sets of criteria have been proposed to guide the interpretive process. It has been suggested that the process of interpretive understanding can best be conceptualized in terms of the "hermeneutic circle", which involves a dialectical interaction between the whole and its parts (Radnitzky, 1973, cited by Zahaykevich, 1983). In this dynamic "circle" the conception of the whole guides the interpretation of the parts; and each new interpretation of a part must cohere within the emerging conception of the whole. As an orienting framework for interpretation, hermeneuticist G.B.

Madison (1990) has proposed several criteria, of which the following have been the most applicable in the interpretive analysis of this study:

1. coherence -- development of a unified, non-contradictory interpretation
2. comprehensiveness -- taking into account of the narrator's thought as a whole
3. penetration -- bringing out of underlying themes from the text
4. contextuality -- consideration of the immediate and broader context of the narration

From the specific to the general

The analysis of this study has also been based upon a methodological strategy of movement from the specific to the general: from the exploration of narratives by individual interviewees, to a comparison of sibling accounts, to a comparison among all interviewees, and finally to broader generalizations. This principle of analysis from specific to general has been advocated by theorists/researchers who believe that microanalysis of individual cases or situations enables one to discern principles and processes which are operative as well in other contexts. This is not to say that the individual case is representative of other populations, but rather that the operative processes evidenced in a specific situation can be abstracted in a more generalizable form which is relevant on a broader scale (Geertz, 1973).

Overall organization: the "lived experience", the "narrative text" and the "narrating act"

As outlined previously, the analysis of this study was organized with respective emphasis upon each of the following: the "lived experience", the

"narrative text", and the "act of narrating", an organizational strategy based upon the conceptualization of literary theorist Gerard Genette (1980). He has proposed three interrelated aspects of the narrative process as the "story", the "narrative text" and the "narrating action". In regard to autobiographical narratives, the "story" is one's "lived experience" (a phrase used by Ricoeur, 1988; similar to the "lived time", "lived space" and "lived distance" discussed by Minkowski, 1933/1970). Of course, a more complete conceptualization of autobiographical narrating must also consider the memory process itself, especially one's personal memory of the "lived experience", including: a). what was attended to and "encoded" at the time of the experience; and b). what is actually remembered at the time of the retelling. However, since I have access neither to the initial "encoding", not to the "private narrative" which includes all of the actually remembered, then this study will remain limited to exploration of the autobiographical narrative itself.

I. "Lived experience" as narrated in the present

The "lived experience" considered as primary in this analysis is the narration of those events directly related to the leaving of Latvia and the living in Germany during the last phase of the war in Europe. These experiences generally took place from the autumn of 1944 until May of 1945. The interpretive analysis began with the investigation of one particular segment of this primary lived experience, namely, the narration of the actual departure. The actual moment of leaving then became the "core lived experience", the basis and focal point of the investigation. This focal point included only the "first telling" of the experience: only the direct response to the initial questions concerning this event. All comments made in response to later probes, or made spontaneously during later portions of the interview were considered as additions to the "first telling". The

complete interview text, of course, contains recollections of events and experiences from almost all other periods of the interviewee's life. These other experiences were considered interpretively in the process of constructing a coherent, comprehensive interpretation, but the initial interpretive analysis focused on the narration of the "core lived experience" of departure from Latvia.

Expression of emotionality: "modes" of presentation

The initial interpretive analysis of the "core lived experience" involved comparison of sibling accounts regarding expressions of emotionality. Analysis of the qualitative differences in expressing emotionality led to the suggestion that these narrative segments could be categorized as either of the following modes of presentation: "minimized/neutral emotionality" or "accentuated emotionality". These modes are discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV, and are outlined more specifically in the coding manual, Appendix 1. Briefly, narratives with minimized emotionality included ample description of the event itself, but either a dismissal or minimalization of emotionality, especially in comparison to the sibling's account. Narratives with neutral emotionality were relatively brief, straight-forward accounts with little or neutral emotional expression. Narratives with accentuated emotionality included statements of personal emotional distress attributed to the culturally-signified tragedy of the departure.

Texts of the "core lived experience" of leaving Latvia from 17 interviewees were initially coded. Only the texts of those interviewees who left by ship were considered in this particular analysis, since the leaving by ship afforded a specific moment of departure, in contrast to the more gradual leaving by train. Eight of the 17 interview excerpts were also coded by an independent rater, a clinical psychologist with a specific interest in narrative interpretation. Ratings from both coders were in agreement 100%. This high percentage of reliability is at least

partially attributable to the relatively simple, dichotomous nature of the coding scheme. The categorizations were also grouped according to age. In order to assess the statistical power of the differences by age group, a chi-square analysis was performed. It must be acknowledged that the small sample size does not warrant extensive statistical analysis. Rather, the statistical computation was intended to assist in the illustration of some general tendencies which became apparent during the qualitative exploration of the texts. The analysis includes discussion of defense strategies and appropriations of socially-constructed meanings in relation to age at the time of the experience.

Expression of understanding: appropriation of meanings

Statements regarding what the interviewees said was their understanding of the departure at the time of its occurrence were also analyzed. In most cases the interviewee did not make mention of their understanding during the "first telling" of the departure. These statements were usually made in response to additional questioning and spontaneously during subsequent portions of the interview. As will be addressed in greater detail in the following chapter, certain patterns of variation became apparent regarding the conceptualization and terminology by which the interviewees described their understanding at the time. From each complete interview text were extracted and listed separately all statements concerning the interviewee's childhood understanding of the leaving of Latvia and the war. All statements referring to the Russians or Communists as "evil", "bad", "monstrous" or "horrifying" were categorized as "emphatic", and the use of such "emphatic" expressions was tabled according to age group. An investigation of the interview text as a whole indicated how the variation by age might be explained. The means of cultural signification and transmission of meanings as identified by the interviewees is also discussed.

II. Narrative text: "Processes of constructive memory work"

The second part of the analysis focuses upon the more structural aspects of the narrative text. Comparison of sibling accounts revealed that mutually experienced sequences of events were in all instances narrated differently by each sibling. The overall strategy of analysis developed to systematize these discrepancies was first to examine differences in the selection and ordering of events, and second to investigate differences in the elaboration of those events. Initially this involved a segmentation of the primary lived experience, and a visual presentation of the events upon "event diagrams" The selectivity, organization and similarity of events was compared among the sibling accounts. Subsequently, specific processes of event elaboration were identified and exemplified.

The analysis of these structural differences in sibling accounts also engendered discussion of the function of these constructive memory processes. Two primary functions are discussed: the "making sense" of one's experience and the telling of a story which eventuates in a "narrative identity". These terms are further addressed and discussed in Chapter V.

Selection and ordering of events: "Event diagrams"

"Event diagrams" were constructed to present a visual and conceptual overview of the primary lived experiences recollected by the interviewee during the "first telling." The narrative of the primary lived experience was segmented into events, each event defined as what the interviewee described as a coherent activity. Each description of an experienced event was extracted from the narrative and charted onto an "event diagram".

The "event diagram" involved a categorization of the events as "extended", "brief" or "repeated", according to specified directives (see Appendix

2). Events were considered as "extended" if described as lasting for a duration of longer than 24 hours; considered as "brief" if lasting less than 24 hours and occurring only once; and considered as "repeated" if lasting less than 24 hours and occurring more than once. Events were visually diagrammed in the sequential order as recollected in the narrative.

Percentages of events mentioned similarly by both siblings were calculated according to the following formula: the number of events mentioned by both siblings served as the numerator; and the number of events mentioned by one or both siblings as the denominator. The calculation was based upon events of which both siblings were participants. Events unique to one sibling (i.e. "I left my dolls on the shelf") were charted onto the event diagram, but were not included in the calculation of percentage of similarity. The rationale for this was that the percentage of similarity is meant to illustrate the extent of similarity or difference in the narration of events which were experienced by both siblings.

Elaboration of events

Interpretive comparisons of similarities and differences among sibling accounts pointed to variation in the elaboration of specific events and indicated certain patterns of narrative construction. The following processes of construction are identified and discussed:

1. Selective focusing -- the selection or omission of descriptive details from a narrative account, resulting from a focus upon particular aspects of the experience.

2. Importation -- the importation of detail into the narrative account: this importation can also be conceptualized as the transference or displacement of detail from one part of the autobiographical story to another ("importation from within"); or the transference of a detail from a completely different story ("importation from without").

3. Inferential completion -- the apparent creative elaboration of details, based upon inferential processes, in order to develop a coherent account of an incomplete memory.

4. Dramatization -- all of the identified processes can serve to produce a more dramatic story. However, the term "dramatization" will be used to refer to instances of direct speech within the narrative account.

5. Condensation/expansion -- the description of several experiences as one; or the description of one experience as several

III. The narrating act

The process of the narrating act was explored by analyzing the narrating process as it unfolds during the course of the interview. Both individual and joint interviews were considered as dynamic moments of dialogical interaction: with the individual interview, as an interaction between interviewee and interviewer; with the joint interview, as interaction between all three participants. This analysis is focused upon two issues which can be conceptualized as lying on two perpendicular axis: one axis incorporates the tension between the fixed and dynamic aspects of the narratives; and the other axis holds the tension between the "voice of the other" and "one's own voice".

"Biases" of the interviewer/reader of the texts

My personal roots within the Latvian ethnic community undoubtedly influenced not only the interviewees' perception of and responsiveness to me as interviewer, but also my own sensitivity within the interview situation. While the interviewees may have felt more apt to elaborate certain aspects of an experience because of an acknowledged, shared understanding of the historical context, there may have been other moments when they were less responsive regarding more personal issues. It might have been uncomfortable to discuss certain matters with someone they would be likely to meet at an upcoming

Latvian cultural event. However, to my surprise, the interviewees narrated a much greater extent of personally-oriented stories than I had anticipated.

My own family's autobiographical narrative has undoubtedly influenced my approach to and interpretation of the collected interview narratives. As will be discussed within a broader historical context in the next chapter, my family was variously affected as a result of the historical events. My maternal grandmother was among those deported by the Soviets from Latvia in 1941. Since my grandfather had been commissioned to a work site in another part of Latvia at the time, he was not arrested. Nor was my mother, who was already married and living separately at the time. Subsequently, my grandfather, mother and father all left Latvia in 1944, spent several years in Displaced Persons camps in Germany, and eventually entered the United States in 1950. I was born in 1953. My grandmother, having spent 15 years in Siberia, soon after the death of Stalin in 1953, was allowed to return to Latvia and eventually rejoined my family in the United States in 1960.

As I was growing up my parents were not particularly communicative, especially not concerning that which had been disturbing. There was minimal direct family talk about the events experienced during the 1940s. When my grandmother arrived, however, she would consistently tell me about her various past experiences, including the deportation to Siberia. These conversations usually took place in private, for example, as my grandmother was putting me to sleep. Nevertheless, despite the family silences, certain messages wre implicitly related by my parents, especially concerning their horror of Stalin and the Soviet regime. These messages were reemphasized through my participation in the Latvian ethnic community. Other, often contradictory, culturally-generated messages were encountered as I attended the university.

My present "biases", of course, are constituted not only by the familial and cultural attitudes I encountered as a child and young adult, but also by many years of subsequent reflection and a critical search for my own perspectives. Consequently, my approach to the texts of the present study is not only informed by a specific sensitivity to the "lived experience" of leaving Latvia, but also by a specific personal need to approach the culturally-transmitted meanings from a critical, reflective stance.

An example of how my "biases" have affected the reading of these narrative texts is as follows. As mentioned previously, interview excerpts of the experience of leaving Latvia were coded for expression of emotionality, both by myself as well as by an independent rater. This procedure for purposes of ascertaining the reliability of the coding scheme, enabled an opportunity to discuss different interpretations of the narratives. Although the second rater and I both agreed 100% at the macro-level of the coding scheme, there were certain differences in interpretation upon a more intimate reading and discussion of the excerpts. For example, we both coded the following narrative as "minimized/neutral" in emotionality. This narrative is a description of the moment of leaving Latvia, while already onboard the ship, waiting to leave the harbor:

> You had to sit in one place and there wasn't much sleeping. There was a lot of noise. They sang Latvian songs -- but I don't remember the actual leaving of the harbor.
>
> I: Do you remember which songs they sang?
>
> Oh, they sang a lot of Latvian -- I think they sang "Dievs, sveti Latviju" [the national anthem] -- I don't remember
>
> I: do you remember your feeling at the time, for example, when they sang "Dievs, sveti Latviju"?

> No, that was in the middle of the night -- I was leaning against something and I stayed there -- let them sing.

In my reading of this text I was particularly struck by the nonchalance of the interviewee's comments regarding the singing of the Latvian national anthem. My assumption had been that anyone raised in the Latvian ethnic community would have appropriated at least some of the emotional weight symbolically carried by this song. To me it seemed very odd to hear a Latvian adult (who had been a member of the Latvian community, at least as a child and adolescent), to refer to the Latvian anthem as if it were just any old song. The second coder of these excerpts did not initially attribute any particular meaning to the interviewee's nonchalance. However, after some discussion she was able to relate this concern to her own extended family's narrative, particularly her Israeli relatives' emotionality associated with the singing of the Isreali anthem, and consequently to understand my questioning of the lack of any emotional expression on the part of the Latvian interviewee in describing this experience.

The main point of this discussion is to acknowledge the undoubted effect of my "biases" upon the collection and interpretation of the narratives of this study. The intent is to attempt an awareness of these "biases" so that continual comparison and dialogue can ensue between my pre-suppositions and my constantly evolving understanding in the reading of any new text.

Chapter III

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The historical sequence of events which preceded the Latvian emigration in 1944 is significant to the cultural and emotional meaning of the exile. Briefly, Latvia was an independent country from 1918 to 1940. In August of 1939, the representatives of Hitler and Stalin signed a non-aggression pact, which included a secret protocol dividing Eastern Europe into spheres of influence. In October of 1939 Stalin coerced the Baltic governments into allowing Soviet troops to be stationed in the Baltic countries; 30,000 Soviet troops were stationed in Latvia (Spekke, 1951). In June of 1940 Soviet tanks advanced into the Latvian capital of Riga and the Soviets assumed control of the government and revoked most civil liberties. The sequence of events was almost identical in Estonia and Lithuania.

The Soviet Occupation, 1940-1941

The event which aroused the most horror in the Latvian people during the period of this first Soviet occupation concerned the mass deportations on June 14, 1941. During the night from June 13th to 14th at least 15,000 citizens of Latvia were awoken from their sleep, taken from their homes by groups of armed men, and loaded into boxcars destined for Siberia. This was in addition to the continuous stream of arrests and deportations which had occurred during previous months. In total, at least 35,000 citizens from the Latvian population of 2 million had been sent to Siberia during this period from June of 1940 through June of 1941 (Streips, 1984). The primary targets of these deportations were those who had been members of the government, intelligentsia, landowners,

industrialists and merchants. The deported were mostly Latvians, but also Jews and members from other ethnic groups. Sent to Siberia were also family members and approximately 3,000 children (Spekke, 1951). My maternal grandfather, who during the years of Latvia's independence had operated a construction firm, was not at home on the night of June 13th, since he had been sent to construct bridges in another province of Latvia. However, the Soviets arrested and deported my grandmother, their adolescent son and her elderly mother.

On June 22, 1941 the Nazis broke the non-aggression pact, opened fire against the Soviets, and invaded Latvia from the southeast. After the Nazi invasion, mass graves were uncovered revealing the Soviet-mutilated bodies of Latvian military officers and government officials. Upon the retreat of the Soviets, lists were found which implicated thousands more who were slated for deportation to Siberia during the last week of June. The period of the first Soviet occupation was later referred to by Latvians as the "year of terror."

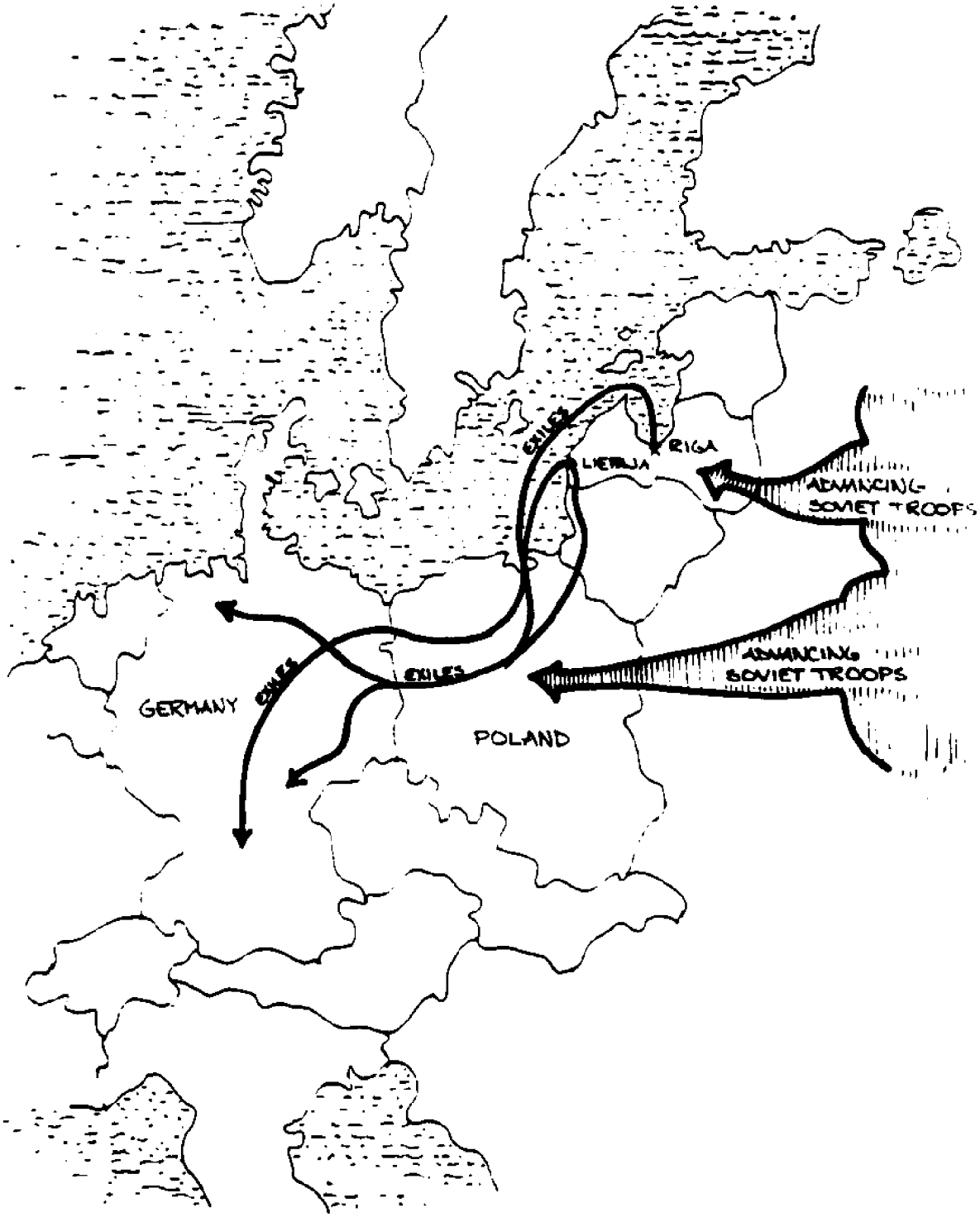
The Nazi Occupation, 1941-1945

From the summer of 1941 to the summer of 1944 the German Nazis occupied Latvia. As the Nazi troops entered the country, massive Nazi intelligence operations were conducted in order to defend against resistance from the people, proclaiming themselves as the "liberators" (Spekke, 1951). As a result of these Nazi propaganda efforts and the granting of some civil liberties, as well as memories of the terror which had been instilled by the Soviets, many did experience the Nazi occupiers as being more benign than the Soviets had been. The Latvians were not, of course, the primary targets of the Nazi persecutions of the moment. At the time of the Nazi occupation the Latvians were not aware that already in 1941 the Nazis had begun compiling "Generalplan Ost" which

called for the eventual deportation or elimination of large segments of the Baltic peoples in order to provide room for a new German state (Spekke, 1951). The immediate consequence of the Nazi occupation was the execution of almost the entire population of Latvian Jews, gypsies and the institutionalized. During the months of July through December of 1941, at least 68,000 Latvian Jews had been murdered (Ezergailis, 1986). In addition, 25,000 Balts were also killed in the Nazi concentration camps (Spekke, 1951). Shortly following the Nazi defeat at Stalingrad in February of 1943, which marked the beginning of the German retreat on the Russian front, the Nazis began mobilization of Latvian men, from the ages of 15 to 37.

Leaving of Latvia

In early fall of 1944 the Soviet front began to move forward into Latvia. At this time an estimated 240,000 to 300,000 Latvians left their homeland (a definitive documentation of the numbers that left has not been published). For many this decision to leave was based almost solely upon their fear of the advancing Soviet troops. In fact, many of the refugees were those members of the former government or intelligentsia who had not been deported in 1941. Others were subtly or explicitly coerced by the retreating Nazis who were interested in augmenting the depleted work force in Germany. In any case, the Nazis enforced that the only open route of escape be to Germany. Many Latvians with anti-Nazi conviction had attempted to secure illicit passage by fishing boat to Sweden. However, few of these attempts were successful since the coastline was heavily guarded by the Nazi forces. Instead most of the Latvians who had decided to flee had no other recourse but to board the ships destined for Germany. The journey by ship was fraught with danger since the Baltic sea was being mined, torpedoed and attacked from the air by the Soviets. Some Latvian



Routes of Latvian Refugees, 1944-45

refugees made the journey to Germany by train, travelling south through Lithuania and Poland. Of those who fled from Latvia 120,000 were documented shortly after the war as having survived the journey and last phase of the war, and were residing in Western or Central Europe or North Africa. Many perished as the result of air attacks, the sinking of ships, or as soldiers at the front. Others had been overcome by the Soviets and sent back eastward to labor camps (Streips, 1984).

The exile took place primarily during the months of August, September and October in direct response to the movements of the Soviet troops. The Soviet army entered eastern Latvia on July 23, 1944. By July 29th the Soviet troops had occupied central Latvia; and on October 13th they overtook the capital city of Riga. The western part of Latvia was occupied by the Soviets after Germany's capitulation on May 8, 1945 (Dunsdorfs, 1974). Consequently, departure by ship from Riga was possible only until October 13th, but departure from the western harbor of Liepaja throughout the autumn of 1944, after which time the Soviets had almost completely cut off access by the Baltic Sea. Departure by train along the western coast of Lithuania was possible until the middle of October.

The leaving of Latvia was a highly charged emotional event for those who were adults at the time. For the purposes of a Latvian oral history project, during the period 1979-1980, I interviewed 60 Latvians who had been adults at the time of leaving. Many of these interviewees expressed their sadness at having to leave what had been built and created during the years of independence, either regarding national or personal accomplishments. For example, one interviewee, who was 32 years old at the time of leaving, had just begun to establish herself professionally as an actress with the National Theater of Latvia. She described the moment of leaving as follows:

> One last time we ran into the theater -- when everything was already packed. That was a difficult moment. We had to leave everything that we had -- all of the beautiful times. We had to leave not only Latvia, but all of our efforts, our envisioned futures. Difficult. I can't remember when else I have cried as greatly as when I closed for the last time the door to our apartment in Riga.

Most of the interviewees stated that they left Latvia in 1944 with the hope that they would be able to return at the end of the war. Many cultivated hopes that the Allies would restore Latvia's independence after the defeat of the Germans. Such hopes were based upon belief in the Allies as defenders of democracy, and upon the Atlantic Charter of 1941, which called for universal self-determination. What happened in effect was that as early as February of 1944, at the Yalta meeting of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin, the Soviets were given a free hand in Poland and the rest of the Baltics and Eastern Europe upon their promise of establishing "free elections" in these areas. One Latvian refugee, who had been a school director explained his hopes and beliefs (upon leaving Latvia in the autumn of 1944) as follows:

> We knew for certain, that the same force was facing us, with whom we had become acquainted in the "year or horror" -- that I didn't have any chance of staying alive. But we said good-bye with the hope, that it was only until the end of the war -- when the war ends -- no matter how long it takes -- but when the war ends -- certainly the Allies -- the Americans, the English -- will be strong enough that they will restore the previous boundaries, the previous governments. And then we will be back. -- Well, that didn't happen.

Most of the Latvian exiles experienced the last period of World War II in Europe (from the autumn of 1944 through May of 1945) as refugees in Germany. Since many Latvian families had been routed to work in factories in Germany's industrialized areas, they subsequently were recipients of significant Allied air attacks, which were particularly heavy in the eastern part of Germany during the late winter and early spring of 1945 (e.g. the bombing of Dresden took place

February 13-14, 1945). However, most of the interviewees stated that their families never looked upon the Allies as an enemy force, but rather considered the continuously advancing Soviet ground troops as the one "monstrous" enemy. Consequently, during the last months of the war, the Latvian refugees were constantly fleeing further west to the Allied-occupied zones, hoping to reach the western side of the Elbe River.

Shortly after May of 1945 the Latvian refugees were given shelter in the Displaced Persons (DP) camps established for Baltic and Eastern European refugees by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (UNRRA). However, these camps had been created as a temporary measure, since UNRRA officials held the erroneous assumption that the refugees would desire to quickly return to their homelands, which had been "liberated" by the Soviets (Carpenter, 1988). A major mission of the refugees became to explain and justify to the UNRRA officials why they did not consider such a return desirable. The Latvian refugees explicated the atrocities of the Soviets both to outsiders, as well among themselves through the elaboration and publication of materials concerning the events from the period of Soviet occupation. Simultaneously there evolved an "ideology of exile" which proclaimed that the mission of the Latvian refugees was to maintain their cultural heritage, as well as to fight for the reestablishment of Latvia's independence (Carpenter, 1988). This ideology was based upon the premise that freedom could only be won through the efforts of the refugees, since they were not being subjugated and persecuted by the Soviets.

Displaced Persons Camps

Most of the exiled Latvians lived in Displaced Persons camps from the end of the war in 1945 until about 1949 to 1951. Characteristic of these camps was that members of the same ethnicity were grouped together and allowed to

establish their own local administrative, cultural and educational institutions. Since many of the refugees were from the intelligentsia, there was no shortage of former professors and schoolteachers to fill educational positions, nor shortage of artists, actors and musicians to provide cultural events and performances. Actual living conditions and food provisions were minimal: several families often had to live in one large barrack, which they provisionally subdivided by hanging up blankets. Those who were adults at the time often speak of their experience in the DP camps as a time of hardship, not only because of the living conditions, but also because they had no real place or position other than being a "displaced person". Nevertheless, the interviewees of this study, who were children at the time, recollect their DP camp experience as a "wonderful time" when many opportunities for children were provided, such as folk dancing, sports events and Boy Scout and Girl Scout activities. The children apparently were not as concerned with the soup they ate or the blankets subdividing their sleeping quarters. One of the interviewees, Daira, who was 12 years old at the time, described her experience as follows:

> We had great fun. We did all kinds of things – always being together, it was simply fun. It was like being in a summer camp. All right, so you didn't have much to eat, or you didn't have clothes and waited for CARE packages, but everyone was in the same boat. If you walked barefoot in November, there was someone else who didn't have shoes either -- so it didn't bother you.

Beginning around 1947, the Latvian refugees gradually began to emigrate to other countries, including England, Australia, and Canada. The largest group of Latvians, about 47,000, emigrated to the United States (Streips, 1984) following the establishment of the new immigration quotas in 1948. The interviewees of this study, of course, all were among the emigres to the United States. After arrival in this country, their parents spent the first couple of years

working manual labor for those who had sponsored their journey across the Atlantic. Eventually many of the adults attended courses which enabled them to perform more skilled work, i.e. as laboratory technicians, and to eventually advance their living situation. The families of the interviewees all maintained some degree of affiliation with the Latvian community. Opportunity for ethnic engagement included cultural activities such as the Latvian choir, folk dancing and theater groups, as well as extensive social events.

Latvian political organizations were also formed to continue the mission established during the post-war years: striving to free Latvia from the Soviet occupants, and upholding the cultural heritage. Political activity included letter-writing campaigns, demonstrations to mark events such as the June 14th deportations, and lobbying efforts in the United States Congress and the United Nations. Nevertheless, the political situation in the Baltic States remained unchanging until the emergence of political upheaval from within Latvia during the period 1988 to 1991.

Political Events in the Baltic States, 1988-1991

The political changes which have taken place in the Baltic States during the period 1988-1991 have been marked by several major turning points which occurred shortly prior to or during the interviewing phase of this study, April of 1990 through March of 1991. These turning points in the Baltic States took place during October of 1988, the spring of 1990, and January of 1991. Subsequently, in response to the failed attempt of Kremlin reactionaries to overthrow Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in mid-August of 1991, all three Baltic States called for immediate independence from the Soviet Union. The establishment of diplomatic relations by a succession of Western countries, including the United States on September 2nd, eventuated in the reorganized Soviet government's

recognition of the independence of the Baltic nations on September 6, 1991. This last series of events, however, took place after the interviewing had been completed, and therefore is not within the political context of the interviews.

The drive toward independence began its acceleration in October of 1988 when the first congresses of the Popular Front movements in each of the Baltic States were held. Resolutions were passed to pursue economic self-determination as well as other sovereignty-oriented measures. In the spring of 1990, the democratically organized free elections of delegates to the respective Parliaments of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia took place. The Lithuanian Parliament called for immediate independence, and Gorbachev responded with the boycott of oil to Lithuania. The Latvian and Estonian Parliaments declared their intentions of independence, pending transitional periods. During 1990 there was an escalation of Soviet-armed force presence in the Baltic States, eventuating in the killing and injury of unarmed citizens in Lithuania and Latvia in January of 1991. These incidents in January coincided with the onset of Persian Gulf War. (See Appendix 2 for a more detailed listing of political events).

It has been generally acknowledged that an opportunity for political change in the Baltic States was engendered by the policy of "glasnost" and "perestroika" of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, initiated soon after he came to power in March of 1985. These policies affected the Baltic situation in several respects. First, the loosening of general restrictions provided for civil liberties such as freedom of speech in reporting the news and in publicly demonstrating. Second, the general movement to reexamine past Soviet history led to the acknowledgement of certain atrocities and illegal acts, such as the secret pact between Hitler and Stalin, dividing up Eastern Europe amongst themselves. Third, Gorbachev's consideration of the Baltic republics as particularly receptive

to economic reform, based upon their Western European tradition and orientation, led to his cultivation of a particular relationship with the Baltics.

The news media in the West have noted that although Gorbachev initiated the reforms which provided the impetus for changes in the Baltic States, that he apparently did not anticipate the velocity or direction of the independence movements. In response to the calls for Baltic independence, Gorbachev's immediate response was to express his disapproval and instantiate obstacles such as the boycott of oil to Lithuania. U.S. News and World Report in the June 11, 1990 issue summarized Gorbachev's actions as follows: "Gorbachev acknowledges that Stalin had no right to seize Lithuania, but refuses to give the republic back its freedom". Gorbachev repeatedly implied that by demanding the restoration of their independence, that the Baltic States were menacing his efforts to improve the general state of affairs in the Soviet Union. In effect, Gorbachev was failing to acknowledge that the Soviet Union was still the aggressor against the Baltic States and not otherwise. Latvian poet Imants Ziedonis suggested an analogy between the Soviet Union and a large animal whose "foot is on the anthill, and he complains to the world that the ants are biting". Consequently, during the interviewing phase of this study, through March of 1991, the political context regarding the Baltic States remained extremely tenuous. The demands for independence had been made, but the Soviet troops and military provocations remained, and the major Western powers were refraining from any significant political support of the independence drives.

Chapter IV

THE "LIVED EXPERIENCE": EXPRESSION OF EMOTIONALITY AND UNDERSTANDING

A strong underlying assumption of this study is that the autobiographical narrative is constructed in a dialogical relationship between the "lived experience", one's remembrance of that lived experience, one's vantage point of the present and the process of narrativization itself. A correlative assumption is that the autobiographical narrative is not a "reflection" or "re-presentation" of the lived experience, but rather a reconstruction of that experience based upon some memory of the event. The intent of focusing upon the lived experience is to elucidate some of the processes by which the interrelationship between the experience and the reconstruction is realized. The questions to be initially addressed concern the influence of age at the time of the experience, and the influence of present attitudes and concerns as they affect the recollection of the past.

Recent literature in developmental, literary and philosophical theory, as it relates to autobiographical narratives and childhood experience (as reviewed in Chapter I), leads one to hypothesize a circular relationship between the childhood "lived experience" and the adult's vantage point in the present. Such a hypothesis asserts that: the degree of emotionality and understanding during childhood experiences leads to the development of certain emotional concerns and cognitive beliefs in the adult's present, which then influence how the adult reflects upon the past. Along this same line of reasoning, at the beginning stages of the present study I hypothesized that those interviewees who were older children (10-12 years old) at the time of leaving Latvia, would have experienced the event with greater understanding and emotionality. This, in turn, would

have led to the cultivation of greater involvement and commitment to the Latvian community in the present. The present set of beliefs and attitudes, in turn, would have influenced greater patriotic sentiment and emotionality in the recollection of the initial experience of leaving their homeland. However, this direct, circular relationship did not hold to be true.

In order to elucidate the more complex interrelationships of factors at play, I will begin by presenting an interpretive analysis of the autobiographical narratives of several sibling pairs. This initial analysis will focus upon the interviewees' expressions of emotionality and understanding during the narration of the actual leaving of Latvia. Comparison of the variations in expression will result in a more quantitative formalization of the relationships which have become apparent during the qualitative investigation. The following analysis will begin with a discussion of the remembered "lived experience" of two siblings during the period from 1940-1944. The experience of this period provides the contextual framework for their recollections of the actual departure.

Zenta and Viesturs

The autobiographical tale of Zenta and Viesturs truly seems to approximate an expulsion from paradise. Zenta was born in 1934 and her brother Viesturs in 1936. They describe their childhood as happy and carefree, characterized by closely knit family ties and comfortable living conditions. During the fall, winter and spring they lived in a spacious apartment in the capital city of Riga, where both parents were members of the patriotically-oriented intelligentsia. Their mother was a consistently caring presence in their lives and their father during the day held an administrative post in the local city government, but in the evenings would play the piano and sing songs with his children. The summer months were spend at their grandparents' farm, riding

horses, playing in the fields. During the period of the first Soviet occupation, 1940-41, their father had been demoted from his administrative post in the local city government. However, for Zenta and Viesturs even the periods of Soviet and Nazi occupation did not greatly affect their well-being or childhood joyfulness. Zenta remembered the Soviet occupation as a time when "there were always demonstrations and father never went to them. And I couldn't understand why not, because it was like a parade".

However, the mother of Zenta and Viesturs was also interviewed, and she recollected the period with much greater seriousness. Her memory of the period is marked by the continuous stream of arrests:

> —Living was not very pleasant, because you heard so-and-so is arrested, so-and-so is arrested, so-and-so was seen being taken down the street -- he didn't at all look like himself. Then those black cars, that drove through the streets of Riga, that were transporting the arrested.

Their mother stated that the family had barely escaped from the the June 14th deportations to Siberia. She explained that the family had spent the weekend at a relative's farm, because her husband had been forewarned (by his replacement as administrator) not to remain at home. Viesturs, who was 5 years old at the time, recollected that in response to this forewarning, the family had found a hiding place in the woods:

> -- We were at my father's parent's farm that week. And I don't know why, but everyone put food and whatnot in a horse-drawn wagon and with the horse drove into the woods and then watched the farmhouse to see if anything is happening or not. And it seemed that nothing was happening so we came back the next morning. And from what I understand then someone had warned father not to be at home that night.

Neither Zenta nor their mother recollected such an experience of hiding in the woods, not even upon direct questioning. Zenta did recall an emotion-laden journey through the woods during the summer of 1944, in preparation for their actual departure.

The family of Zenta and Viesturs was directly affected on June 14th by the deportation of their father's sister and her family. Zenta stated that her memories from this period primarily concerned her deported cousin's belongings, which had been put into storage, apparently in hope of their relatives' return:

> –I remember only that the veranda, which was a part of our apartment, suddenly was filled with belongings, because my father's sister and her family were deported and their furniture was placed there. And you couldn't go in there. There wasn't any space. That's where Ilze's things were. And Ilze's things interested me greatly.

In this narrative excerpt Zenta implies an intent to talk about her memories with an air of openness; that she will not attempt to deliberately conceal memories of her thoughts and feelings at the time, such as her interest in her deported cousin's belongings. However, to what extent concealment of emotions may take place without awareness, will be discussed further on.

Significant to the "lived experience" of the siblings was also the extent to which the parents apparently felt that they had to conceal their own feelings and political opinions from their children. The mother of Zenta and Viesturs explained that during this period parents were particularly careful not to speak in the presence of their children about the occupation or the occupants, in fear that the children might publicly repeat some anti-Soviet remarks, which would then implicate both children and their parents. Zenta's mother replied to my question as follows:

> – At the time, did you explain to your children anything about the Communists?
>
> –No, but you <u>couldn't</u> say anything at the time. If the child says anything [in public], then the parents are put in jail. You can't explain that they are monsters or anything like that.

The period of Nazi occupation, from 1941-1944, was remembered by both Zenta and Viesturs as a time marked by their memory of the persecution of the Latvian Jews. Zenta remembered how they had given food to Jewish prisoners who were working nearby:

> What I remember very, very clearly is that I couldn't understand why there were people with yellow stars, why they can't walk on the sidewalk -- why they have to walk in the street. And also I remember that some of the Jews were taken from the ghetto to work where my father was working. And mother -- if we had some food left over then my brother and I went to visit one of the people and gave it to him -- I guess she was afraid herself to take it.

Viesturs remembered a sheltering of Jews. These narrative segments are discussed further in Chapter IV, in the context of ideological "voices".

In the fall of 1944, upon the advancement of Soviet troops from the east, many Latvians, especially those who had felt personally threatened in 1940-41, made a decision to leave their homeland. Within Zenta's family, thoughts of leaving Latvia were influenced by the simultaneous departure of other relatives, all of whom feared the consequences of a second Soviet occupation. Zenta recollected that their departure was initiated by a rather frightening journey to their greatgrandfather's farm:

> --When the war was getting nearer, then we travelled to my grandmother's father's farm and I remember that I was afraid, because father had borrowed some vehicle which he shouldn't have borrowed ...and then we traveled on these small road and I am sitting -- that was a small truck, by the way -- that I am sitting in this truck and the telephone poles are going past. And that road is actually like a road for horses to travel.

Zenta's actual experience at the farm, however, was filled with excitement:

> We stayed there for at least a couple of weeks, and it was really a lot of fun for us children. One of mother's uncles fed us with honey. He also had put me on the back of a horse -- I loved to ride -- that horse carried me into the farmyard with a bold gesture and almost threw me into the drinking trough. And I remember that one of the aunt's scolded that uncle terribly --

> doesn't he know that no one has ever ridden that horse and he goes and puts a child on it.

Upon returning to their apartment in Riga, and preparing to leave for the harbor, Zenta remembered most clearly the belongings she had personally secured:

> Then I don't remember exactly how we left there, but we travelled back to Riga and then soon afterwards was the packing to go to Germany. The packing as such I don't remember -- I remember only that there is a horse and wagon with rubber wheels and putting things inside. And we are all dressed. That must have been August, but we had coats on. Somehow very strange. And then it's time to go to the harbor and climb aboard the ship -- and I say, wait, and I run back inside. And you'll never believe what I grabbed -- the last two things -- it was a grate, a square grate with which you can grate potatoes and a small book about rabbit raising. And I placed all of my dolls sitting, on the shelves. And with those two things I climbed into the wagon.

Zenta recollected the moment of standing on deck of the ship and looking back upon the harbor:

> I don't remember the travelling to the ship, but I remember that the wagon was taken someplace to be unloaded and we climbed aboard the ship. I was standing at the edge of the ship and my brothers -- the ship had a ledge, but there were openings -- and my brothers are sitting on the deck and have stuck their heads out the openings .... and I remember standing at the edge of the ship and looking out and saying "I will never forget this". I know, that I had read somewhere, that when you leave someplace then that's what you should think and say. But I myself didn't really care. Maybe the feeling was that we will return again. In no way was there the feeling that we will leave and never return.

From the actual journey, her recollections concerned the emotional atmosphere among the refugees, and their experience during an air attack:

> I don't remember how the ship started moving. About the journey I remember only that there were people, there were an awful lot of people. And I guess the journey took a couple of days. During the daylight people went up on the deck. They sat person to person and talked and some were crying. Once there was an air attack, and then everyone fled underneath the deck, and my brother Ludis fell. He had on a gray coat and a gray cap and people were running right over him. Mother somehow pulled him up and pulled him along. So everything turned out ok. And I don't remember when we climbed off the ship in Danzig.

Zenta's narrative account surprised me in its assertion of indifference regarding the leaving of her homeland. Zenta was already 10 years old at the time of the departure, one of the "older" interviewees, and according to my initial hypothesis, I had expected her narrative to reflect greater expression of understanding and emotionality regarding the culturally-defined tragic dimension of the event. I expected to encounter a narrative closer in similarity to the emotionally-laden narratives of those who were adults at the time (i.e. see Chapter III).

What is most striking to me about this account is that it not only lacks expression of any emotion of regret about the leaving of her home and homeland, but that it includes the rather demonstrative statement: " I myself didn't really care". Zenta invokes a phrase from some book she had read, indicating that one ought to be sentimental about leaving one's home, one's country, but that for her it didn't really matter. An acknowledged distance is created between the sentimentality to be found in books and the assertion of her own indifference. In contrast to any feelings of sadness or regret, Zenta includes in her narrative account how during the first part of the journey of leaving, she had experienced great "fun" at her greatgrandfather's farm.

My surprise was even greater upon interviewing her brother Viesturs, 8 years old at the time, who recalled the leaving of Latvia with statements describing a much more affectively-laden experience, complete with a much more explicit cognitive understanding of the socio-historical significance of the event:

> –When the front was getting nearer, then from what I understand, my father had decided that our family must leave Latvia and travel to Germany, so as not to come under the Russians again. Because after all, on the night of those deportations they had come looking for my father at our

apartment in Riga. Since he wasn't deported on that night they thought if the Russians come a second time, then he will be deported, or shot.

I mostly remember -- I don't remember packing or anything like that. I remember when we were on the deck of the ship, that I remember. And everyone was standing there at the edge of the ship and the ship left the shore. And I couldn't see over the ledge, so I watched through one of the holes. And I thought that I would never return.

--And how did you feel at the time?

-- I cried -- wanting to cry -- but I don't really know why. Probably because I assumed that I would never get back. And why I thought that I don't know.

Viestur's narrative account of leaving Latvia begins with a relatively detailed explanation of why it seemed most reasonable for the family to flee, due to the possibility of a threat to their father's life from the advancing Soviet forces. His narration of these circumstances is unavowedly dramatic, culminating in the assertion that remaining under a second Soviet occupation could mean not only that his father be deported, but that he be "shot". By indicating the dramatic effects of Viestur's narrative I do not wish to underrate the extent of the Soviet atrocities during this period, but rather to emphasize the difference between the two sibling accounts, and to maintain the possibility of discrepancy between the lived experience and one's later retellings. Viesturs also tells us that during the actual leaving of Latvia, upon the deck of the ship, that he "cried -- wanting to cry".

In attempting to understand the differences between these two sibling accounts, the questions now become more complex. In fact, the narrative of Viesturs suggests that he, as the younger sibling, may have had a greater understanding of the event at the time. Viesturs includes a socio-historically based justification for their leaving, as well as the assertion that the event had led him to cry. The emotional tone of his account in unavowedly dramatic -- one

might argue that it is overdramatic. For example, there is reason of question Viestur's statement that by staying in Latvia, his father might have been "shot". Such Soviet actions had been carried out in Latvia only with regard to specific members of the population, for example, upon the killing of former Latvian army generals. Viestur's father was not a member of such cadres.

Imants and Voldemars

The dramatic quality of Viestur's narrative is shared by others from the "younger" sibling group. An example is the narrative told by Imants, who was also born in 1936, eight years old upon the leaving of Latvia, and who also had lived in Riga. Actually, the experience which Imants retells is even richer in dramatic tonality than the account of Viesturs. Imants began his narrative account by explaining that upon travelling from their apartment in Riga to the harbor, they had been forewarned of possible danger upon the seas:

> --The moment of leaving, that was dismal -- that was dismal. That I remember -- that I remember. It was very early in the morning. We left with a wagon, there was a horse and wagon and we loaded everything. And we left with that wagon, to the harbor.
>
> All of a sudden a woman ran up to us and she said to my mother, she grabbed the horse and she said to my mother, " Woman, woman, what are you doing, you have small children, what are you doing, have you lost your mind? Don't do it, the Germans and the Russians are sinking all the ships -- go back, go back home." And mother said, " Thank you, woman, thank you. Onward, "kucieri"!"

The actual leaving of harbor was a very emotional moment, as Imants remembered:

> And then we arrived at the harbor, by the ship. Some people helped place the larger things in a pile and then a crane lifted them up. We all climbed up the little stairs. There were a lot of people. And the actual moment of departing, that left a very deep impression. I know that it was the first time I cried -- tears gathered in my eyes. Oh yes, my brother -- my mother, where did she come up with such as idea? She had forgotten something at home. Now Voldemars goes back to our apartment -- was it some

> document, some important paper or what? -- Voldemars, he went back (to the apartment) and I don't know how he returned, but somehow he had managed at the last moment. ....I was standing and waiting and watching -- where is my brother? They were already beginning to pull up the ramp. At the last moment, there comes my brother Voldemars -- up the ramp.
>
> But what left an impression -- it was the first time I heard "Dievs, sveti Latviju" [the national anthem]. The ship was slowly turning. It was a foggy morning. And everyone very quietly and beautifully was singing "Dievs, sveti Latviju !" My heart was trembling and I know that tears were running down my cheek. That was a moment of such emotionality. At that moment I thought that I would never again see these shores in my lifetime.

The dramatic qualities of this narrative are glaring. Imants repeatedly emphasizes that the moment of leaving was "dismal", that it was a moment to be remembered, that it left a "very deep impression". One of the more striking dramatic aspects of this narrative is that there are so many statements describing his emotionality. Imants tells us that " it was the first time I cried," that tears had "gathered" in his eyes, and finally that "my heart was trembling and I know that tears were running down my cheek". All of these phrases indicate such tremendous emotional response that one begins to question this apparent intensification of the emotional experience. For example, it certainly seems unlikely that the moment of departure was the first time Imants had cried, seeing that he was already 8 years old at the time. Furthermore, the assertion "I know that tears were running down my cheek", leaves one to question if the narrator has reason to think that the listener might be doubting the sincerity of his statements. It appears an attempt to reestablish the "autobiographical pact" (Lejeune, 1989), whereby the narrator and listener have mutually assumed the sincerity of the account.

Both Imants and Viesturs, not only remember crying upon leaving their homeland, but also recollect thinking that they would "never again" see the shores of Latvia. The question which emerges from a comparison of these narratives is -- why do the narratives of the younger siblings share this dramatic

quality -- where is it "coming from", so to speak? This question will be addressed shortly.

The narratives of both older siblings -- of Zenta and Imant's older brother Voldemars -- are marked by a dearth of emotional expression, which is especially apparent in comparison with the younger sibling's accounts. Voldemars was born in 1934, very similar in age to Zenta. Although the narrative presented by Voldemars is framed within a historically specified context, indicating an understanding of the implications of the event, his account is nevertheless sparse in statements of emotionality, especially in comparison with the previously cited narrative of his brother Imants. Voldemars begins with an explanation of the political circumstances:

> --The front was getting nearer. Riga was filled with refugees. It already began in August, in July already. They were saying that the front is getting nearer, the Red Army was already coming in. And the Russians had already rolled into Jelgava and Tukums. That was already in September or August that the Russians had broken through. ....When we decided to leave, there no longer was any choice. We thought it would only be for a year or a few months.
>
> On October 2nd we left Marijas Street. The name of the ship was The St. Moritz. On that 2nd of October the ship didn't leave the harbor. Only around midday or in the evening of the 3rd of October. And now mother says --

Similarly to his brother Imants, Voldemars describes a forewarning regarding the perilousness of the journey by sea:

> We left our home with a horse, a wagon. Even though there was other means of transportation, during the war it was hard to come by. There were all sorts of obstacles in the streets -- tanks and barricades. And now we leave our home and some people run up to us and say , "Woman, don't go anywhere, stay where you are. Don't you know that now there are submarines in the Baltic Sea? " All of those ships are being sunk. But

> everyone is going, everyone is running. Because Riga fell on October 13th, remember? (Voldemars laughs).

After having arrived at the harbor, it was necessary for Voldemars to run back home:

> And now we are on the ship and now mother says , "We have left our booklets of food coupons and the silk stockings also." (He laughs). She says, " Voldemar, run home. I don't have my silk stockings -- and the booklets -- what will we do in Germany?" When it was already dawn -- all is empty, the streets are completely empty -- not a soul -- I quickly jumped into a trolleycar, got home, grabbed those booklets, the silk stockings, back into the trolleycar. Now, now its about midday, and the ship is already preparing to leave. What am I going to do? Everything is loaded, everything is being pulled up. I though I would remain on the shore, separated from my family. Then I climbed into that net and was lifted up.

The actual departure is described briefly:

> And finally the ship left, slowly left the harbor. All of those people singing "Dievs, sveti Latviju". Tears are flowing for everyone -- the same as usual.

The various processes of reconstructive memory illustrated by this narrative segment will be discussed in Chapter IV.

Regarding the lived experience recounted in Voldemar's narrative, there is almost a complete lack of expressed emotionality, especially in comparison to the account given by his younger brother. The only actual statement of affectivity is the very last: "Tears are flowing for everyone -- the same as usual." However, this statement is generalized to focus upon the emotional experience of sadness of "everyone", thereby shifting the focus from any expression of his own affective experience. Also, any indirectly acknowledged sadness is immediately and drastically minimized with the phrase "the same as usual," --as if the experience of leaving Latvia was just an everyday occurrence. This phrase probably refers directly to a characteristic occurrence among the Latvian refugees in exile -- that tears are often present upon the

singing of the Latvian national anthem. Voldemar's use of this assertion, however, serves to minimize the emotionality as narrated.

The "older siblings": Zenta and Voldemars

These aspects of Voldemar's narrative share some similarity with Zenta's previously cited discourse. Zenta also acknowledged the sadness of others on the ship -- she stated that "some were crying." She also minimized even this indication of emotionality: her narrative account ends with a running underneath the deck, and the assertion that "everything turned out ok". Zenta presented the experience as having resulted in a return to normality, as if a daily reestablishment of harmony and order.

In addressing this question regarding the relative lack of emotional expression, I looked to the possible influence of their present "biases" and attitudes regarding what Latvia and being Latvian means to them. Both Zenta and Voldemars are married to non-Latvians and neither of them is actively involved in Latvian social or cultural affairs (some Latvians who are married to non-Latvians markedly cultivate such involvement either with or without their spouses). In neither family do their children speak Latvian, at least not more than a few words or phrases. It could be possible that Latvia is unimportant to them in the present and therefore in their memory, or at least in their narrative account, the leaving of Latvia has become unimportant.

However, for neither Zenta nor Voldemars is Latvia unimportant. For many years Voldemars has been acting upon his concern through self-initiated projects, such as the close following of politics in the news media, especially in regard to the Baltic states, and the subsequent writing of letters to Congressmen, to the President, to newspaper editors, and others. These actions on behalf of the Latvian political cause have been in addition to his substantial professional

responsibilities. Voldemar's sense of commitment was, in fact, emphasized by his brother:

> For Voldemars the Latvian cause is very close to his heart. He tries to foster an awareness of the Latvian situation -- to talk about it and illuminate it. It is like his mission in life. ... He listens to Radio Free Europe ...he reads the newspapers and he writes all sorts of letters. I don't do anything like this.

Voldemars spoke of his involvement in similar, but less laudatory terms; " I write to all the Senators and try to do something to help the situation. They even answer me."

Zenta expressed her present "biases" in terms of a continuously strong emotional bonding to Latvia and all that symbolizes Latvia. When asked what the Latvian flag meant to her while still in Germany, Zenta responded: " The Latvian flag, it was always inspiring. It was my flag -- it still is my flag". During the joint interview with Zenta and her brother Ludis, in what I initially intended as a means of stimulating the discussion, I asked them to describe how they remembered their apartment in Riga and their grandmother's farm. Zenta's account was particularly poignant in its specificity, indicating that she has by no means forgotten her homeland, literally nor emotionally. Zenta remembered the precise location of various rocks, shrubs and trees:

> -- To get to the farm you went across a small bridge by which there was a rock -- one often went walking there -- sat on that rock. When you crossed that bridge, then you could either go along the path which the horses travelled -- and then you went past a spot where whortleberries were usually growing, but also some mistletoe -- and then went up the hill. On the right were the large birches and to the left the shed for firewood.

At another point in the interview Zenta explained that during the years subsequent to the leaving of Latvia, while in Germany , and even during the initial period living in the United States, that she would routinely engage in a

private reminiscing of these scenes from Latvia. Zenta stated, " Upon going to bed, in my thoughts, I walked down all those paths and looked at all my memories". During the joint interview, Zenta also listed the names of all the cows and horses on her grandmother's farm (cows as well as horses were given names in Latvia). " I remember the cows better than my cousin. That's strange. But that was my home -- that was my home". Both the flag and the farm belong to Zenta, and Zenta belongs to them in her emotional bondedness. There does not seem to be a lack of emotional ties to Latvia in Zenta's present.

The possibility, of course, exists that Zenta and Voldemars simply had not experienced any emotionality or felt any regret upon leaving. However, statements made by their younger siblings implied the contrary. For example, during the joint interview between Zenta and her youngest brother Ludis, these was discussion of Zenta having cried at the moment of departure:

> – And how do you remember getting ready to leave?
>
> –Zenta: I remember in front of our apartment the packing of all those belongings into the wagon. And that I still went back in and grabbed in one hand the book on raising rabbits and in the other the grate
>
> –Ludis: I somehow remember – I don't remember if it was then, or on the ship, or later in Germany – that you were crying terribly – and I couldn't understand why you were crying. No one explained it to me. I think it was still in Riga. ... But that really affected me. I thought, my sister is older, she maybe knows something that I don't know.
>
> –Zenta: I remember looking out to the shore .... it could be that at the time I was crying. I don't remember.

In addition, Zenta's mother told about an experience in Germany, shortly after the family had left Latvia. They were travelling by train to a town in southern Germany when it became necessary to switch to another train car. Because of some confusion which each of the family members relates differently, the mother

remembers Zenta running toward her and crying. During the joint interview between Zenta and Ludis, I related their mother's memory. Zenta responded that she could not remember crying either then, nor upon leaving Latvia. Regarding both situations, she described herself as an observer of the ongoing activity: "that I was somewhere watching". Watching, of course, involves a necessary distance between oneself and the situation being watched.

Similarly, Voldemar's younger brother Imants recalled his brother's emotionality. Imants described seeing his brother emotionally "shaken" during an incident which Voldemars had previously retold without any verbal expressions of emotional valence. The following narrative excerpts concern an experience from the subsequent period in Germany, 1945-1949, when they were living in the DP camps. A valuable bicycle had been stolen from Voldemars. Voldemars described the event in the following terms:

> And we still had with us from Latvia a bicycle. Well, one day I was riding this beautiful Erenfleiss bicycle and I went into the bakery. There were a lot of people inside. I left the bicycle outside, it wasn't locked. I turned around and someone had stolen it. I went to the police, they couldn't do anything. That's how my Erenfleiss disappeared. (Laughs).
>
> No actually, I think I was mistaken, it wasn't brought from Latvia, some textile goods had been exchanged for it. Mother exchanged the textiles and got the bicycle.

Imants related the same story in the context of him and his brother having helped their mother earn money by selling fish:

> Mother saved enough money and then bought Voldemars a good bicycle, an Erenfleiss bicycle made in Latvia. And can you imagine, that bicycle was stolen from Voldemars. How he was shaken, how my brother was shaken. ... That was an incredible treasure after all.

Significant to this discussion is that Voldemars made no verbal acknowledgment of having been "shaken" or upset by the experience. Rather, he laughed. Also,

this laughter resonated during his retelling of the departure from Latvia. Laughter is present during Voldemar's narrations of various potentially upsetting experiences. And one of these experiences, regarding the stolen bicycle, is identified by Imants as having caused his brother emotional concern. It does seem that the laughter in Voldemar's narration may be indicative of a more painful emotional experience.

There is reason, then, to think that Voldemars and Zenta had experienced an emotional response at the time of leaving which was greater in intensity and negative valence than the emotionality expressed in their present accounts. Similarly, it seems appropriate to question why the dearth of expressed affectivity in the narrative accounts.

The "younger" siblings: Viesturs and Imants

This analysis now returns to questions regarding the apparent accentuation of emotionality in the "younger" sibling's narratives. As pointed out previously, both the narratives of Viesturs and Imants ended with the assertion of no return. Viesturs stated: " And I thought that I would never return". Imants stated: " At that moment I thought that I would never again in my lifetime see these shores." Upon hearing these assertions of no return,I instantiated further probes. My questions were generated almost as an automatically triggered reflex, since the almost all Latvians who were adults at the time of leaving have insisted that they left with the conviction of due return (see Chapter II). Many have indicated that at the time of departure they believed that the Allies would win the war and that the democratic powers England and the United States would restore Latvia's independence.

Further questioning of both Imants and Viesturs resulted in their contradiction of their own initial statements. Whereas initially they expressed

the belief that they would never return, upon further questioning Imants indicated that at the time he had "very little" understanding of the motives for leaving, and had no reason to think that they would not be returning. In response to my probes, Imants explained :

> – I'll tell you, I had very little. For me one thing was clear, that we were fleeing from something evil. We were fleeing from the war, and that our dream was to return soon. That this is only a brief moment when we will be gone. I didn't know if it was necessary for the Germans to win the war, or for the Americans to win the war -- but certainly the Russians shouldn't win the war -- that much was clear.

Viesturs also stated that he had minimal understanding of the political situation and the motives for leaving, other than:

> --We had to leave, the war was coming and war isn't good .....I didn't worry much about who would win the war. It was just a matter of waiting for the war to end. There was still the thought of returning to Latvia.

What is immediately apparent regarding these two excerpts is that the tone of sophistication is much different from the previously cited "first tellings" of the leaving. The earlier narratives were not only much more dramatic in tone, but they also incorporated descriptive phrases that an 8 year old child would be most unlikely to use. Examples are Imant's description that "my heart was trembling", and Viestur's relatively elaborate explanation regarding why the Russians were considered a threat. In contrast, the above cited statements are spoken in language likely to be characteristic of an 8 years old, including phrases such as "war isn't good". Therefore, it might be suggested that both the content and the form of the initial leaving of Latvia narratives of Imants and Viesturs have been constructed through the appropriation of an older person's story.

Returning to the initial assertion of no return by both "younger" siblings, I would like to question the similarity of these expressions. In considering the influence of the vantage point of the present, one might look to

the fact that neither Voldemars nor Imants have been back, since their original departure. Therefore, this assertion of no return might be a statement reflective of the fact that they, indeed, have not yet returned -- not even to visit. However, neither of their "older" siblings Zenta nor Voldemars have been back either, and these older siblings did not include such an assertion in their stories. Therefore, again the relationships appear to be more complex than originally hypothesized.

Expressions of understanding: Appropriations of meaning

Investigation of the commonalities among the entire group of "younger" sibling narratives revealed a similar usage of certain descriptive terms. These commonly used terms were especially apparent in responses to questions of their childhood understanding of the departure and the war. Particularly noticeable was that the "younger" siblings had a greater tendency to use emphatic terms in describing the Russians. These terms were used to describe their alleged understanding at the time, yet they were spoken in the present without any qualifications. For example, as cited above, Imants stated that they were "fleeing from something evil". Mikelis, who is of the same age, described his understanding at the time as follows:

> -- I had heard enough about the war -- about the Russians. Certainly about the Russians. The Russians are coming -- the Russians will come. That concept, I think, was pretty clear even to children -- that it is something horrifying.

Druvis, 7 years old at the time, referred to the Russians as the "most evil" and "the greatest villains".

These adamant expressions describing the Russians were also characteristic of narratives from interviewees who were young girls at the time. For example, Gunta , 7 years old at the time, described her understanding of the situation as: " the Russians are coming -- the Russians are bad". Teika, the same

age, described the Russians as "monsters, who were coming in upon us". From one perspective, expressions which refer to "the Russians" as "evil", "horrifying" or "monstrous," seem naively dogmatic. From another perspective, they seem appropriately descriptive of the thoughts and feelings of those who directly experienced Soviet committed atrocities. Teika was from a family that had variously been affected during the first Soviet occupation. During this time Teika's aunt and uncle had been deported, and her parents had taken in the two cousins left behind. Teika's father had been targeted for deportation, but had escaped. Her two godfathers had been sent to Siberia. However, most important to this discussion is that the narratives of the older siblings are almost totally void of such expressions, as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2
Emphatic Descriptions by Age at Time of Leaving
(numbers indicate the number of interviewee texts within each category)

	emphatic (Russians "evil")	non-emphatic
"very young" (4-6 upon leaving)	_	3
"younger" (7-9 upon leaving)	7	1
"older" (10-12 upon leaving)	_	10

*Chi-square is significant at $p < .001$ level (chi-square = 17.04, df = 2).

As seen in Table 2, only children from the "younger" sibling group used certain emphatic phrases, as for example, labeling "the Russians" as "evil" or

"monstrous" or "horrifying". Interviewees from the "very young" group emphasized that they understood very little at the time, and mentioned an awareness of some general notions such as "war is bad". Interviewees from the "older" sibling group also tended to respond in relatively general terms. For example, Benita cited her understanding of leaving as "to get away from the Russians," and Ziedonis his understanding of the war as a time when " planes come and throw bombs".

The commonality of the "younger" siblings' empathic terminology leads one to pose several questions. First, when and from whom might these expressions have been appropriated? Second, why are these empathic terms used only by the "younger" siblings? The first question is indirectly addressed by the interviewees themselves in their subsequent descriptions of their experience in the DP camps. As mentioned in Chapter II, all of the interviewees lived in or near such camps from 1945 until around 1949, when the emigration to the United States took place. All of the interviewees described their experience as a child in these camps as very pleasurable. Aldona, of the "older" sibling group, described the years spent in the DP camps as a "wonderful, wonderful time." She indicated that they were taught by the "best teachers from Latvia," and that there was a flourishing of cultural events, such as theater and musical performances, which could be attended by children and adults alike virtually for free. Many of the interviewees talked about enjoying their involvement in the active Girl Scout and Boy Scout movements. Aldona spoke with affection of a former Latvian ballet dancer who had established a ballet school in the DP camps, and had chosen her as a protege. Aiga also mentioned dancing Latvian folk dances and singing with the high school choir in the annual Latvian Song Festivals. Several interviewees emphasized that both in school and in after-school activities with the Scouts, that projects were often focused upon the preservation of Latvian

traditions. For example, one Girl Scout project was to make booklets of collected and illustrated Latvian folk songs.

During this period of living in the DP camps, there was also much talk of the atrocities committed by the Soviets. At least partially this discourse was perpetuated by the felt necessity to explain to the English, American and French administrators of the DP camps, as to why they did not wish to be repatriated to Soviet-occupied Latvia (Carpenter, 1988). Particular impact was created through the publication of the book "The Year of Terror", which through photographs graphically depicted the mutilated bodies of former Latvian army generals. Aldona described the emotional reaction she personally experienced upon seeing this book:

> --You know, I think that to this very day I haven't been able to leaf completely through that book. One of those photographs -- I think it is of General Goperis [his body mutilated] -- that has horrified me so. To such as extent that I don't even want to think about it.

Through her narrative progression, Aldona inadvertently linked the publication of the book to her "hatred" of Russians. Her narrative continues:

> And I have a tremendous hatred towards the Russians. Totally sick. It's completely clear to me that I shouldn't feel so against the Russians, that the Russians aren't the ones to blame or whatever. But I have it. ... I have this hatred, which I don't particularly like. I know that I shouldn't.

However, although these statements by Aldona express a "hatred" toward the Russians, they simultaneously express a questioning of this hatred -- its appropriateness and utility. The tone of Aldona's comments is distinctively different from the adamant declarations by the younger siblings-- who uncritically described the Russians as "evil" and "horrifying". However, it seems likely that the source of these convictions is similar: not only the publication

showing the mutilated bodies, but also the rhetoric engendered by the entire community.

Druvis, of the "younger" group, described the overwhelming presence of patriotic symbols and discourse within the DP community. His narrative also indicates the extent to which these symbols had been accepted and appropriated by the Latvian refugee children:

> – Latvian flags were raised at school and at every sporting event and at Scout camps. And I think that no one had the feeling, oh, it's something we have to go through with again. I felt that there truly was a deep respect toward such symbols. I would even say that we were completely saturated. But it seemed totally natural. All of that symbolism and the entire time the horror stories about the soldiers....The Latvian patriotism was tremendous.
>
> – And what did Latvia mean to you at the time?
>
> -- Oh, I think that everyone was ultra-patriotic. And all of those speeches, that one could hear -- that Communism will collapse or that America will step in.... The entire mood was that this is only temporary and that next year we will go back and so forth.
>
> –And what did Latvia mean to you personally?
>
> – I think that it meant home, that we must return there, that Latvians will live in Latvia. The entire focus, all of the propaganda, all of the school assignments were about Latvia. And I think that all of the children understood that they are Latvian and that they will work for the Latvian cause and that this is their mission in life. ....to get Latvia back. And I think that there was a tremendous hatred towards everything Russian and Communist.

This narrative by Druvis contains several crucial points. First, he describes how thoroughly ubiquitous were the patriotic symbols and rhetoric. Secondly, he explicates one of the primary goals stated within this rhetoric: that Latvians in exile have a mission in life, to "get back" or restore the independence of Latvia. As does Aldona, Druvis indicates that hatred for the Russians was generated by the publications and speeches of this period.

At the time of their experience in the DP camps, from 1945 until about 1949, both "younger" and "older" siblings had, of course, advanced developmentally. For example, those who were 8 years old at the time of leaving Latvia in 1944, were 11 years old during the mid-point of the DP camp experience; those who were 11 at the time of departure were 14 at the DP camp mid-point. In other words, those who were children upon departure were reaching puberty; those who were prepubertal, had become adolescents. Literature and research regarding the appropriations of ideology from a developmental perspective is minimal. However, there is a recognition that adolescence, both early and late, is a period of ideological inclination, in response to the individual's developing ability to think abstractly and to consider alternative ideological formulations (i.e. Erikson, 1963).

From a psychoanalytic perspective, Anna Freud has also addressed the adolescent's "passionate" attachment to certain principles (1966). In addition, Anna Freud and others have characterized the early pubertal period as one of particularly heightened emotional lability. I would like to suggest that regarding the interviewees of this study, those who were at this stage of reaching puberty during the DP camp period (the "younger" sibling group) were as a result of their emotional lability and newly formed ability to entertain abstract reasoning, the most susceptible to indiscriminately appropriating the patriotic rhetoric of the DP camp Latvian community. It must be emphasized that this is a speculatively suggested relationship which could be further explored in subsequent studies.

Several of the narratives from the "older" sibling group indicate that as adolescents at the time of the DP camps, they were able to evaluate the patriotic discourse more critically and reflectively. As a result, their narratives do not contain the rigid, non-questioning statements of the "younger" siblings. Rather,

several narratives exemplify an ironic stance, indicative of greater sophistication and awareness (White, 1978). For example, Zenta speaks ironically of the speeches prophesying immanent return to Latvia:

> Every time when people came together -- on the 18th of November [Latvian Independence Day], the 14th of June [in remembrance of the deportations] -- there was speech after speech -- Well, let's hope that next year we will celebrate in our freed Latvia. And one year passes, and the second year the same and the third year the same.

Aldona indicates an ironic stance towards the patriotic manifestations, yet also acknowledges the importance they held at the time:

> --It was taught to us, that when the flag was being raised, that you stood like a little rod.... And Ambassador Zarins [Latvian Ambassador to England] had arrived and I was placed by my Scout leader to stand by the flag and to salute. And it wouldn't go up. It got stuck. He came up and snapped at me -- that I remember very well. I felt horrible. And then we would parade around the camp and salute the official administrators. That was an interesting time. Definitely it influenced me in some way. That was the time when I learned all of these flag and hymn doings.

Of course, it is impossible for us to know the interviewees' actual response to the rhetoric at the time of its occurrence. However, it seems reasonable to suggest that these "older" siblings were able to take a more critical and questioning stance as the result of their greater reflective abilities.

It is interesting that the narrative of Druvis, from the "younger" sibling group, also carries markings of an ironic, certainly ambivalent stance toward this rhetoric. For example, Druvis used such terms as "propaganda" and "completely saturated" in describing the patriotic discourse. Also, Druvis attributed the acknowledgement of the Latvian "cause" to "all the children", thereby diminishing the extent to which the Latvian "cause" had become significant to him personally.

One interpretation of the ambivalent markings in Druvis's narrative is that his discourse has been influenced by his vantage point from the present --

but not in any simplistic, linear manner. To understand this point it is important to consider the historical and personal context of the interview. During a great deal of his life as an adult, Druvis seems to have been guided by a "mission" to free Latvia. He has been active in many Latvian political and cultural organizations. However, at the time he was being interviewed, in June of 1990, there was a turning point occurring within the ideological orientation of Latvians here and in Latvia. At the time of the interview, the Baltic republics were in the mist of their self-generated political growth. The newly elected Latvian delegates had just recently, on May 4th, declared Latvia as a newly independent state. This event created a disjuncture in the ideological orientation of the Latvian organizations in exile. Since the early years of exile, the Latvian refugees had asserted that it was their "mission" to free Latvia. In other words, that freedom for Latvia would come from without. Instead it came from within.

Within the course of the interview, Druvis chooses to include the story of his first Christmas in exile, a Christmas marked by disillusionment:

> It was the Christmas of 1944. All of the Latvians came together to celebrate Christmas. And there was some kind of dinner. There really was nothing at the time [in terms of food]. It was one of the most disappointing moments in my life. Everyone was waiting for Santa Claus. And I was restless and didn't stay in that hall and started to run around in the adjoining room.
>
> I went into one room-- which was the greatest shock. When I went into that room there was a Latvian. I knew he was from our group. He already had the boots on and he was putting on the Santa Claus clothing. And I realized that Santa Claus doesn't exist. And that was the first time I realized that I had been deceived. The war didn't leave such an impression and the fleeing didn't leave such an impression, but that the entire Santa Claus affair -- that it is all made up and just a theater performance.

Perhaps this is one instance, where as Vincent Crapanzano (1980) has proposed, "the 'real' as well as the 'imaginary' can serve a metaphorical function" (1980, p. 139). Conceivably, Druvis did experience a moment of realization during that

Christmas in war-time Germany -- a realization that the Santa Claus who brings presents is not a mystical figure from some mystical land. More significantly, he realized that the adults had been deceiving him. At the time of the interview, in light of the recent independence movement fermenting in Latvia, Druvis was experiencing another realization -- that Latvia's independence will come primarily from within, not from the Latvians in exile.

In addition to the cultural rhetoric, as perpetuated by literature and narratives circulated in the schools and other institutions, interviewees from all three age groups indicated that they also had appropriated certain meanings from their parents. And, it seems that these meanings communicated and transmitted within the family were more of an affectively-based, non-verbal nature. Several interviewees mentioned that an implicit understanding occurred upon seeing their parents, more often their mothers, crying. For example, Vizbulite explained that through her mother's emotionality she gained an understanding of the significance of having departed from her homeland:

> --I remember the first feeling I had was in one of the DP camps. They played "Put vejini" on the radio and the adults sat there crying. And then all of a sudden, it was the first time that it hit me what really had happened and what we had gone through. Up until that point it was more or less like we just followed and didn't question much. But when I saw my mother crying after they played "Put vejini" I remember sitting there and I was kind of choking.
>
> -- How did you understand <u>why</u> they were crying?
>
> --I think I must have picked up the feelings from my mother -- because I lived through her. I picked it up through her.

Teika also described an absorption of meaning through her mother. Teika referred specifically to the period before leaving Latvia, a period when parents in general were unlikely to discuss issues concerning the immediate political

situation. Teika explained how she acquired an understanding of the deportations::

> -- I picked up a lot from my mother. No one spoke about it. No one told us now this and this is happening. It was too awful....What they experienced, that is a part of me, that is really a part of me. ...That which I absorbed at the time. .. Precisely because they didn't speak about it, we picked it up even more.

Several other interviewees mentioned that by noticing their parents talking amongst themselves in "whispers" or in an "upset" manner, the children realized that there was something very troublesome happening. Two brothers mentioned that their understanding of the experience was facilitated by what their father told them.

Whether from within the family, the schools or other institutions, during the DP camp period the children and adolescents were "en masse" exposed to and most often initiated into these culturally-defined meanings. Most of the interviewees stated that at the time of leaving Latvia, they had very little understanding of what was happening politically and militarily. As Benita stated: "When we started school in Germany, then it was explained to us why we left".

The influence of the DP camp rhetoric upon the interviewees' appropriation of meaning is significant to a more general understanding of the processes of autobiographical memory. The autobiographical narratives, particularly those of the "younger" siblings, include elements of the cultural discourse which was generated and defined not during the event of leaving, but at some point afterwards. Thereby, it appears that the autobiographical narrative is a construction based not only upon one's age and understanding at the time of an experience in conjunction with one's understanding and

perspective of the present, but also upon the appropriations of meaning which have taken place in the interim period.

Expression of emotionality: Modes of presentation

The commonality of expression by the "younger" siblings was prevalent not only in descriptive phrases regarding their understanding, but also in the manner by which they expressed their felt emotionality at the time of leaving. As indicated in the previous discussion, the narratives of the two "younger" siblings Imants and Viesturs, included various accentuations of emotionality , for example, Imant's assertion of tears running down his cheeks. In contrast, the narratives of both "older" siblings Zenta and Voldemars were marked by a decreased expression of emotionality, with minimizing statements such as – "everything turned out ok" and that it was "the same as usual".

Further comparison of interviewee texts led to the formalized grouping of narrative accounts as either "accentuated" in expression of emotionality or "minimized/neutral", as presented in Table 3.

Table 3
Expression of Emotionality by Age at Time of Leaving
(numbers indicate the number of interviewee texts within each category)

	"accentuated emotionality"	"minimized/neutral emotionality"
"very young" (4-6 yrs. old)	-	2
"younger" (7-9 yrs. old)	5	1
"older" (10-12 yrs. old)	2	7

* Chi-square is significant at $p < .05$ level (chi square = 7.13, df = 2).

NOTE: Table includes texts of interviewees who left by ship.

These categories were applied only to those texts of interviewees who had left Latvia by ship rather than by land, because the leaving by ship afforded a more specifically marked moment of departure. As indicated in Table 3, the texts of both "very young" siblings were grouped as "minimized/neutral in emotionality"; the majority of the "younger" sibling texts were grouped as "accentuated in emotionality"; and the majority of the "older" sibling texts were classified as "minimized/neutral in emotionality". The ethnic involvement of the interviewees was not directly related to these three modes of expression. However, more qualitative differences regarding this relationship will be addressed shortly.

The narrative of Zenta's younger brother Ludis, who was 4 years old at the time of leaving, is illustrative of a text "neutral in emotionality". Ludis tells us that his only memory from the ship involves the shooting off of a machine gun:

> --I remember that journey by ship. When the Russian planes attacked and in the back of the ship was a machine gun that fired at the planes. And the shells were falling off to the side. Like a machine gun. But I didn't know that. I thought that those were the bullets. I remember wondering how will they shoot down the plane if the bullets are falling off to the side.
>
> -- And did you have any feelings about the fact of leaving Latvia?
>
> --No, I think that my parents said that so and so must be done, so I went along.

Most of the narrative texts classified as "neutral in emotionality" contain very little memory of the event. One might suggest that their experience was so painful as to result in total repression; or, that the experience really did not leave much of an impression, except as an interesting excursion. The narrative description of Ziedonis, 10 years old at the time, seems to support the

later suggestion. After having declared virtually no memory for the experience of leaving, other than "getting on the ship", Ziedonis later stated:

> --It was my first journey by sea. I remember the feel of being at sea -- that the ship is at sea. I don't remember any events. Just the sensation of travelling by sea. Water all around.

I would like to argue that in general the interviewees from the "younger" group had, in fact, little or no memory of the actual lived experience -- that the actual experience had been relatively void of understanding or emotionality. However, as suggested previously, this "younger" group was apparently particularly susceptible to the patriotic rhetoric of the post-war DP camps, and had subsequently appropriated the general tone, if not the specific phrases of this cultural discourse in constructing their autobiographical stories.

The relationship to "ethnic involvement"

Although almost all of the "younger" siblings narrated accounts "accentuated in emotionality", these texts indicate important qualitative differences, which appear to be related to the interviewee's present perspective. For example, the already cited texts of Imants and Viesturs appear to be the most dramatic -- in fact, overdramatic -- in tonality, with their assertions such as "it was the first time I cried". Perhaps significant is that neither Imants nor Viesturs are at present actively involved with the Latvian ethnic community: Imants, in fact, explicitly expressed feelings of "guilt" for his lack of participation. It may be that the "dramatic" elements of their narrative indicate some overcompensation, some attempt to declare that they really do, or did care. It may be that Viestur's expression of "crying -- wanting to cry" says something about feelings in the present regarding what he thinks he should have felt then and should be feeling now.

The remaining five narratives spoken with "accentuated emotionality" were spoken by interviewees who are actively involved within the Latvian ethnic community. The sequence of events is described in all five narratives in astonishingly similar terms, almost as if constructed jointly, but most certainly not. (Other than those of the same family, these interviewees all left Latvia on different boats or trains, lived in different DP camps, and presently are not in close contact socially). Nevertheless, they all narrate an initial feeling of excitement upon the prospect of travelling to a new country, followed by a dramatic and instantaneous moment of recognition. This moment occurs when already upon the deck of the ship, upon hearing the singing of the national anthem. As Aldona expresses this moment: " Suddenly it became so terribly sad". Most of these narratives are also descriptively vivid and "evocative" of imagery, visual and/or emotional within the listener. Teika's narrative seems illustrative of such an "evocative" quality. Teika explained how initially she was looking forward to the prospect of travelling to Germany, because her cousin had received a beautiful doll from there. Teika then went on to describe how this initial excitement was reversed in affective valence:

> – The leaving of the shore of Latvia, the leaving of Latvia, that really remained like a drama, like a tragedy. On the ship. There was a fog, it was gray. It was like rain, it was completely foggy. Maybe it was approaching dusk. Everything was in a dusky fog. And I think this moment was as dramatic for everyone -- now I'll start to cry. – Everyone said to us, they really said to us " Now look how Latvia remains". And I remember the shoreline of Latvia. The people were crying. The Latvian group, everyone was standing wrapped in winter coats. All was dark. Black. The people dressed in dark. All around, everyone is standing and crying. And the shore, I remember how it disappeared. Like a ribbon in that fog. Really, that was tragic, that entered into me.

This description seems to approximate a work of art which captures a "reality" not located in time and space. The image of leaving the shoreline appears to

symbolize a separation that carries continuous significance -- a continuous longing for her homeland.

The non-simplicity of the relationship between present perspective and narration of the past is evidenced by the fact that not all interviewees with this sense of deep commitment have narrated texts "accentuated in emotionality". Three of the interviewees -- Aiga, Voldemars and Namejs -- share such commitment and act upon it in their daily lives, but their narratives are characteristically "minimized in emotionality".

As indicated previously, there is some indication that those siblings who presented texts with "minimized emotionality" did indeed experience some emotional upset at the time of leaving, but that at the time there was little understanding of the felt emotion, leaving them confused regarding the affective aspect of the experience. Reason to suggest such experienced emotionality is based upon comments by the younger siblings, who claim memory of their older siblings' upset. Also, from a developmental perspective regarding emotional development, the "older" siblings at the time of leaving would have been at the emotionally vulnerable and labile prepubertal stage, as identified by Anna Freud (1966). Accordingly, this developmental period is also characterized by a heightening of defensive measures. Anna Freud states that the child reaching the pubertal stage, confronted by the intensity of emotions, "employs indiscriminately all the methods of defense: it represses, displaces, denies" (1966, p. 147).

It seems probable that the interviewees of this study who presented their narratives with "minimization of emotionality" have a need to defend against an evoking of unpleasant emotions, which may be feared as too overwhelming or confusing. In fact, two of the interviewees who presented such narratives "minimized in emotionality" made comments to this effect. At one

point in the interviewee Aiga commented on her difficulty in expressing her emotions in a manner acceptable to herself. This comment was made in the context of discussing her feelings while in Germany. She explained:

> –My feelings already then were so deep and heavy, that I couldn't think about it. Because then I feel tears coming on. And when I start to cry I become hysterical. I don't cry beautifully. I become hysterical right away.

Zenta also commented on her general disposition regarding emotionality. Near the beginning of the interview she stated: "I guess I have always been capable of sweeping everything under the bed -- and looking at the good side". Nevertheless, Zenta later described a recent incident whereby she had spent three days continuously – but privately -- crying in sadness over the lost and destroyed farm once owned by her grandmother in Latvia.

Psychoanalyst Roy Schafer (1980) has suggested that defensiveness against the expression of emotionality may be a self-protective measure, utilized, for example, to uphold one's pride and honor. Or, it might be that the person has not yet developed a narrative structure which enables the incorporation of such expression. However, as will be illustrated in Chapter VI, the potentiality for dynamic change within the narratives does exist.

In conclusion

The above analysis has explored the interviewee's narration of their childhood "lived experience" of leaving Latvia. Expressions regarding recollection of the emotionality and understanding at the time were specifically investigated as markers referring to the "lived experience". A developmental framework was used as a heuristic procedure to analyze the reconstructive process. Differences in expression of emotionality and understanding were found according to the interviewee's age at the time of leaving. Specifically,

interviewees who were in the middle age group, 7 to 9 years old at the time (referred to as the "younger" group), tended to narrate their experience with "accentuated" expression of emotionality. The interviewees from this group also had a tendency to narrativize their experience with the use of emphatic terms such as "villains" and "monsters" in describing "the Russians". In attempting to understand the similarities among these narratives from the "younger" interviewees, further exploration of the interview corpus pointed to possible significance of their experience during the period directly after the war, from 1945 to 1949, while living in the DP camps in Germany. Both the interviewees themselves as well as other investigators of this cultural context (Carpenter, 1988), describe the voluminosity of the Latvian political discourse generated within the camps. In light of the similarity among the "younger" interviewee texts in expression of "accentuated" emotionality and the use of "emphatic" terms to describe the Russians, the possibility that these similarities may have arisen as the result of appropriations of the political discourse generated in the DP camps. At that time these interviewees were reaching puberty, a time described by some as a period of emotional vulnerability (Anna Freud, 1966) and ideological susceptibility (Erikson, 1963).

The narratives of those interviewees who were 10 to 12 years old at the time of leaving (the "older" group) tend to be "minimized/neutral" in expression of emotionality and devoid of the "emphatic" expressions found in the narratives of the "younger" group. On the other hand, several of the "older" interviewees expressed an ironic stance in discussing the DP camp political discourse. It seems possible that those interviewees who were adolescents during the DP camp period had already developed some critical abilities, and therefore were not as apt to appropriate the political discourse in the same manner as the "younger" interviewees. The "minimized/neutral" emotionality of their

narratives also seems to be congruent with a developmental explanation. From a comparison of sibling accounts and from their own indirect statements, it seems likely that the "older" interviewees did experience some emotionality upon leaving, but that the emotional experience was undefined and confusing. The "minimized/neutral" emotionality of their narratives may be functioning as a defensive strategy in order to refrain from having to confront these undefined and confusing feelings.

Important to acknowledge is that many of the above statements are made within a speculative mode, and could serve as topics of further research. What the present analysis does indicate are certain patterns regarding the expression of "emotionality and "understanding" as related to the interviewee's age at the time of leaving Latvia. Although the small sample size precludes extensive statistical computation, for the sake of discussion, these differences were statistically calculated and found to be statistically significant. The analysis also indicates that these differences in the expression of "emotionality" and "understanding" are not primarily attributable to the interviewee's degree of ethnic affiliation or concern in the present. Rather their present "biases" regarding the Latvian situation seem to be related to more minute, qualitative differences in the narrations. Finally, perhaps the most significant point of this initial analysis if that the autobiographical narrative is not reflective of a simple relationship between the past and the present, between the "lived experience" and the vantage point of the narrator. Rather the autobiographical narrative appears to be a construction which has been in continual formation, with continuous appropriations of meaning at different points in time, which evolves along a spiraling continuum of temporality.

Chapter V

THE NARRATIVE TEXT: PROCESSES OF CONSTRUCTIVE MEMORY WORK

Comparison of sibling accounts of a commonly experienced sequence of events enables an investigation of processes by which the autobiographical text has been constructed. Such comparison by contrast makes apparent how each sibling has selected, organized, elaborated or omitted certain episodes and/or descriptive aspects of a shared experience. Analogously to Freud's conceptualization of constructive dream processes as "dream work", Genette has suggested that the constructive "work of memory" serves to alter the recollection of experienced events (1980, p. 156). The following analysis will address what the autobiographical narrative text reveals about such memory processes, first, by examining the differences in selection and ordering of events, and second, by exploring the differences in the elaboration of events.

Selection and Ordering of Events

The selection or omission of certain experienced events from one's autobiographical narrative is most likely a process that occurs without awareness. Nevertheless, such selection or omission results in a narrative text which tells a specific story and in effect creates particular meanings. The contrast between the told and the not-told alerts one to the significance of certain silences (Massey, 1991). As literary theorist E.S. Burt has stated, "the choice of events told" is crucial in determining the meanings expounded in the autobiographical story (1988, p. 251). In order to investigate the process of selection/omission, the events presented by each interviewee in his or her autobiographical account were segmented, diagramed and compared with those of the sibling's account,

according to the methodology described in Chapter II and Appendix 1. Briefly, this comparison was based upon those sections of the narrative which specifically describe the leaving of Latvia and the experiences in Germany up until the end of the war, a period approximately from the fall of 1944 through May 8, 1945. This procedure involved segmenting the narrative into discrete, yet temporally ordered, events and then plotting the depicted events onto an "event diagram". This consisted of the sequential listing and categorization of each event retold. The events were categorized as either "extended," "brief" or "repeated" (see Chapter II).

The purpose of such diagraming was twofold: a.) to enable an analysis of the temporal organization within the narrative; and b.) to facilitate the comparison of event selection and elaboration as it differs among the sibling accounts. Sequential organization is inherent in narrative construction: a narrative consists of sequentially articulated phrases, often punctuated by markers such as "and" and "then". Ricoeur speaks of the "reciprocity between narrativity and temporality" (1980, p. 166), in that the narrative structure is temporally, chronologically organized, and that temporality "reaches language" through the narrative structure. However, Ricoeur has also indicated that the narrative contains both a chronological structure as well as an "a-chronological 'themes'". The "event diagrams" facilitate an analysis of both the chronological structure of the narrative as well as a interpretation of a-chronological themes. Although the autobiographical narrative is by definition a story yet lacking a conclusion, nevertheless, the narrative does eventuate in a story with meaning. Finally, the autobiographical narrative is inherently spiral in its temporal structure, since the speaker/writer is recollecting the past from a present perspective in time.

As an illustrative example, Table 4 presents an "event diagram" depicting the events narrated by Daira, who was 12 years old at the time of leaving. Her father had been mobilized by the occupying Nazi forces, and had suffered injury on the Russian front which resulted in his being transported to a hospital for wounded soldiers in Germany. Daira left Latvia from the western port of Liepaja, together with her mother and other siblings.

Table 4
"Event Diagram" Depicting Events Narrated by Daira
(12 years old at time of leaving)

"EXTENDED" (lasting longer than 24 hrs..)	"BRIEF" (lasting less than 24 hrs..)	"REPEATED" (event occurring more than once)
–at grandfather's farm		
	–mother sewed knapsacks	
		–mother and aunt struggled over belongings
	–dog shut in room as left for the train station	
– in Liepaja		
	–stood in line for ship to Germany	
		–sought shelter from air attacks
–aboard the ship		
	–sang "Dievs, sveti Latviju"	
	–saw planes overhead	
	–landed in Gottenhaven; mother struggled with sewing machine	
–aboard the train		
–in refugee camp in Germany		
	–were "delicad"	
	–mother telephoned father in hospital	
–in town near hospital: lived in barracks		
		–ate in mess hall
		–went into woods to collect bark to heat room
		–visited father in hospital
	–had hair cut	
	–saw Jews being transported	
		–heard sirens; sought shelter
		–watched "Christmas trees"

The "event diagram" of Daira's narrative account was chosen as illustrative for several reasons. First, because it includes a balance of "extended" (22.7%) vs. ""brief" (50%) vs. "repeated"(27.3%) events, which is fairly representative of the entire sample, as presented in Table 5. Daira's narrative illustrates how all three types of events serve essential purposes in the creation of the autobiographical story. As Barsalou (1988) has suggested, "extended-event time lines" may serve as an underlying organizational principle for autobiographical memories. In Daira's narrative account the briefer, more specific experiences are grouped together and located chronologically respective to a particular "extended event". The greater percentage of "brief" (50%) vs. "repeated" (27.3%) events indicates that one-time, unique occurrences tend to become more salient in memory and its subsequent narrative account. The six "repeated" events which Daira does include in her narrative are all descriptive of experiences which are also relatively uncommon and laden with emotional significance. "Repeated" events such as visiting her father in the hospital and seeking shelter from air attacks are "routine" in the sense of occurring repeatedly, but they certainly are not "routine" in the sense of being mundane or emotionally bland. In fact, Daira explicates that, for example, visiting her father in the hospital was very painful, and that the air attacks were extremely frightening.

Almost all of the "brief" and "repeated" events recollected by Daira are emotionally-laden experiences (this is not necessarily so for all of the interview corpus). Daira indicates that the preparations for leaving Latvia were marked by her mother's "sadness", and that she herself was "very sad" upon having to leave their dog behind. Standing in line to board the ship to Germany was frightening due to "not knowing if you could get on". On board the ship Daira recalls experiencing both "excitement" and joy at the prospect of rejoining her father, as well as sadness and "the fear of going towards the unknown". Landing

in Gotenhaven was chaotic, and the "delicing" was humiliating. Seeing a group of Jewish prisoners, Daira remembers with sadness --"a very heavy feeling".

The only event narrated by Daira which is not described with emotional expression is that of eating in the mess hall in Germany. This event is also described with the least amount of elaboration, a judgement based upon amount of descriptive language. However, this is not to imply that there is some direct relationship between the amount of elaboration and the emotional experience. In fact, Daira states that her "strongest childhood memory" is the "sound of the sirens" which she remembers both from the air attacks while still in Latvia, as well as when in Germany. Daira does not provide much actual description of the siren blasts, nor would it be an easy task for anyone to verbally describe these sounds. Rather, Daira merely states: " I hear the sirens", and then adds in a more general context, "it's sounds I remember --the atmospheres --which I kind of feel as if it was today".

The sequential organization of Daira's narrative is such that description of particularly painful or fearful experience is often followed by description of an affectively positive event. For example, after describing the "repeated" event of going to visit her father in the hospital, a painful experience, Daira pauses briefly and then goes on to recollect the joyful experience of having her long braids cut off:

> --Then we made regular visits to my father, spent lots of time in the hospital. And I remember that hospital very well -- because it hurt me so to see those people -- legs and arms, lying in pain. And my father was soon to be released -- he still didn't have an artificial limb.
>
> (pause)

> --I remember the first time I cut my hair, in the spring of 1945. And I distinctly remember a day when I came home and I had this cut off -- it felt so free and it moved. And forsythias were blooming and I had these white kneesocks on. And I felt so happy -- sun and this hair in the wind -- totally happy.

Similarly, after Daira remembers her fear at the sound of the sirens, she counteracts this feeling with a memory of the "beautiful Christmas tress", which were devices dropped by Allied planes at night prior to an air attack in order to light up their targets. Daira does not deny the sadness and fear which her remembering arouses. However, it appears that as a defensive strategy so as not to be overwhelmed by these feelings, Daira alternates in her narrative account between the emotionally negative and positive.

Daira's selection of events eventuates in the development of several a-chronological themes. Foremost is the pain and fear engendered by the war. Daira herself summarizes this theme in response to a question about what the war meant to her as a child:

> --people losing arms and legs -- and their lives. Also losing possessions, because every time we moved we left ...this total sense of you don't own anything. You don't belong anywhere. You don't know where you will be tomorrow --kind of a being nowhere. A sense of fear -- fear for your life -- seeing others suffer.

This theme of the destructiveness of war is, of course, universal. A second a-chronological theme concerns the members of Daira's family. Daira mentions several events which portray her mother as someone who was struggling: struggling to secure the belongings necessary for their journey; and struggling with these belongings once they had disembarked. In portrayal of herself, Daira describes events whereby she is strong and assuming of responsibility to ensure her family's well-being, as in securing their passage by ship, and in collecting firewood to heat their barrack in Germany. These a-chronological themes are

developed in the process of the entire temporal narration, and are dependent for their development upon both the "extended", "brief" and "repeated" events.

"Extended", "brief" and "repeated" events

A quantitative calculation of the types of events narrated by each of the interviewees who left Latvia as a child is presented in Table 5.

Table 5
Categorization of Events by Age Group

	% "extended"	% "brief"	% "repeated"
"very young" (4 to 6 years old)	26.4%	58.4%	15.2%
"younger" (7 to 9 years old)	25.7%	56.8%	17.5%
"older" (10 to 12 years old)	26.3%	56.4%	17.3%
TOTAL	26.1%	57.2%	16.7%

As shown in this table, on the average, all narratives included a predominance of singular "brief" events (57.2%), a lesser number of "extended" events (26.1%), and even less "repeated" events (16.7%). The respective percentages do not differ by age group, as might be expected from a developmental perspective. The lack of difference may indicate that by the age of 4, children have developed an ability to perceive extended events and to incorporate these events during the encoding process. Alternatively, the extended events may be incorporated as an organizing framework of the autobiographical narrative at some point after the initial encoding of the experience. There does, however, appear to be a more

qualitative difference in the narration of "extended" events by the younger and older siblings. A look at the actual events listed by each interviewee shows that the younger subjects were at times less specific in the identification of an extended event. For example, one of the younger interviewees simply stated that she and her family had lived "in the woods in Bavaria", whereas the older sibling identified the name of the village.

There was marked similarity in the context of "repeated" events mentioned by the interviewees of all ages, a similarity undoubtedly influenced by the nature of their common experience. "Repeated" events described most often were one or more of the following: staying overnight at farms during the initial journey to the ship/train; running to shelters during air attacks in Germany; attending school in Germany; parents going to work; parents and/or children searching for food; parents engaging in special, yet routine, activities with their children, such as a father teaching his daughter to read or taking her for walks to see the nearby sights.

The question regarding what types of routine events would be remembered and incorporated in the autobiographical narrative, was spontaneously addressed by several interviewees in the course of describing their memories of their mothers. The interviewees either explicitly or implicitly stated that something which has been a totally constant, consistent factor may be absent from memory as a distinct image. For example, all three siblings Zenta, Ludis and Viesturs emphasized the consistency of their mother's care, and also expressed their own lack of distinct memories of her. These statements were made either during the initial interview in response to the question of their earliest memory of their mother, or during the joint interview in response to the more general question regarding how they remember their mother from their

childhood. (Their mother is still living and was interviewed for this study). For example, Zenta stated:

> She was always there -- she always could do whatever was necessary. There's not much else to say. We had to obey her. She was there -- she took care of us.

Ludis explained that he had little visual image of his mother as part of his childhood memories. He did, however, mention one specific memory of her regarding an incident which took place in Germany, when Ludis might have been 5 or 6 years old (probably still very much in an "Oedipal" phase, from the psychoanalytic perspective). Ludis stated:

> In my memory of her, she is without a face -- she is simply something that is there -- but almost completely without an image.
>
> Except one time, I don't remember exactly when it was -- but we were sitting in a train compartment and she had on a white blouse and some kind of black skirt and she looked so beautiful and I told her how beautiful she looked. I was still very little, but that's what struck me.

Their brother Viesturs also expressed his general lack of distinct memory of their mother, and attributed this lack of memory to there not having been occasion to particularly think about her:

> I didn't spend time thinking about my mother. Perhaps it's because one's mother is such a stable entity that you don't need to think about it -- why do you have to think about breathing? -- if you breath you don't have to think about it. If you have trust in your mother then you just accept it as something which doesn't need explanation.

Other interviewees also made similar comments regarding a lack of distinct memory of their mothers, except upon some particularly unusual or emotional occurrence. Several interviewees also mentioned, as implied in the citations above, that they remembered the emotional safety or feeling of well-being, rather than a specific, visual or verbal image. For example, Aldona remembered a

feeling of security upon travelling by ship to Germany: " It was scary, but I also had a secure feeling -- that she is right there next to me".

The question of remembering routine events, was also implicitly addressed by Viesturs in his description of the family's extended train ride upon arriving in Germany. He recollected that when the train would stop at a station, that food would be offered to the refugees:

> There was some kind of huge kettle and steam and they gave us something to eat -- I don't remember what food it was -- I also remember that there was some difficulty regarding bottles for the babies -- I remember that the babies were being fed -- I don't remember where one went to the toilet or things like that.

Another interviewee's comments concerning the last point mentioned by Viesturs -- the routine event of going to the toilet. Jumis (the one interviewee who was an adolescent at the time) remembered the unpleasantness of the toilet upon the ship which took them to Germany. Jumis recollected:

> I remember that in order to go to the bathroom you had to go down these corridors -- to climb over people who were sleeping -- and then it was -- it all smelled -- there was everything all over.

These particular comments seem to rather graphically illustrate how a normally mundane, uneventful event would usually not be remembered, but that an unusual, perhaps emotion-arousing variation of the same type of event would be.

Comparison of the actual events selected by each sibling showed that there is significant variation in the selection/omission of events, as presented in Table 6. The percentages of similarity of events narrated by both siblings ranged from 20.5% to 66.7%, with a mean percentage of similarity at 40.9% for the entire group of sibling pairs. A calculation of similarity among the "extended" events was also performed, and it was found that even regarding the selection of extended events there was considerable variation, with an average similarity of

65.1%. In effect, a sibling pair may have mentioned in common 3 out of 5 extended events.

Table 6

Similarity of Narrated Events by Age Difference Among Siblings

	similarity of all events	similarity of "extended" events
sibling pairs with age difference of 1-1/2 to 2-1/2 yrs.	42.9%	67.9%
sibling pairs with age difference of 3 to 6 yrs.	38.5%	61.6%
ALL SIBLING PAIRS	40.9%	65.1%

Percentages of similarity were also calculated separately according to the difference in age between the two siblings: the first group includes sibling pairs with age difference of 1-1/2 to 2-1/2 years; the second group includes sibling pairs with age difference of 3 to 6 years. As seen in Table 6, sibling pairs with less age difference tended to have a greater percentage of similarity among the narrated events.

The ordering of the events was highly similar for those siblings who were both at least 7 years old at the time of leaving. This is not surprising since the chronological sequence of the lived experience was in most cases marked by abrupt and distinct dislocations geographically, especially if the family left by ship: the journey was typically from one's home, to the harbor in Latvia, to the

port in Poland/Germany, and finally to some location in Germany. However, if the family's experience included numerous relocations upon arrival in Germany, then the siblings did at times implicitly or explicitly indicate uncertainty as to the exact order to these multiple relocations. The "very young" interviewees, especially those who had experienced such multiple relocations, had a greater tendency to narrate their memories in an order differing from that of their siblings, mother and/or the historical account as documented in history texts.

Vizbulite and Mikelis: "Making sense" and creating "narrative identities"

Illustrative of marked differences in the ordering of events are the narrative accounts of Vizbulite, who left Latvia at the age of 4, and that of her brother Mikelis, who was 8 years old. Vizbulite remembers having left home on foot, together with her siblings and their mother, and having walked for 50 kilometers. Vizbulite narrated:

> My mother tied my little sister to the bicycle and the suitcases, and whatever she could. And I had to walk and I had to carry my coat, which was so heavy. And I had to carry my doll, so it seemed like fifty kilometers. I just remember walking forever. And all I did was scream, the whole way....And I just screamed and screamed and my little legs were killing me. And if I stayed behind, they just kept going. And that was awful. I just remember screaming and screaming. And we saw a dead horse in the woods. And I just remember walking a lot. The walking. And then I remember the panic. I remember my mother crying.

Vizbulite's brother, on the other hand, remembers having left their home by horse and wagon. Mikelis recollected:

> That is actually a time that has remained in my memory as very, very exciting. As a boy I considered it a big adventure. All of the belongings were piled onto a horse-drawn wagon -- creating a huge stack. Because at the beginning we had all sorts of boxes and even furniture. And it was all piled up in a stack, and then we sat up on the very top. And now we are going away and we are leaving like heroes.

An examination of the "event diagram" depicting the events narrated by Vizbulite facilitates an understanding of her selection and ordering of her experiences.

Table 7
"Event Diagram" Depicting Events Narrated by Vizbulite, First Retelling
(4 years old at time of leaving)

"EXTENDED" (lasting longer than 24 hrs..)	"BRIEF" (lasting less than 24 hrs..)	"REPEATED" (event occurring more than once)
	--sat on hillside and watched city burn --mother packed photographs --took doll --walked 50 kilometers	
--took train		
	--helped by English soldier --mother made pillow from grass -- crowded, dark train ride --crawled across bridge	
--stayed in Breslau		
		--mother traded belongings for food --ran to shelters
	--heard of little boy dying --shown rifle by soldier	
--placed in orphanage		
	--taking bath when sirens went off	

Vizbulite was interviewed upon two separate occasions, marked by a temporal interval of almost a year, and upon both occasions retold her memories of the leaving of Latvia. In addition, she retold these experiences a third time at the end of the first interview session. Upon each retelling she maintained the exact same sequential order of events and each time she emphasized with elaboration and heightened emotional expression four main episodes. She narratively placed all four of these events at the beginning of the journey. These four events are:

--the walking of 50 kilometers
--being helped by an English soldier
--riding in a dark, overcrowded train
--crawling upon a beam to cross a bridge

In addition to interviewing her brother Mikelis, I also had the opportunity to interview their mother. Both Mikelis and their mother describe the first segment of the journey as by horse and wagon. After travelling for several weeks in such manner they procured passage by train, which took them south through Lithuania and Poland. Their first point of destination was a center for refugees, located in a gymnasium in Breslau. It is here that they locate the episode of the air raid sirens going off while Vizbulite and her sister were being given baths. Vizbulite mentions this episode as having occurred near the end of the journey. Both mother and Mikelis then describe travelling to central Germany where they experienced an extended period of hardship characterized by lack of shelter, lack of heat, and lack of adequate food, punctuated with massive air attacks. Vizbulite makes almost no mention of experiences from this period.

The event of walking "50 kilometers", as described by Vizbulite, is mentioned by Mikelis and their mother as having occurred during the very last month of the war, when the Soviet forces were closing in upon Berlin, and the Latvian refugees were once again fleeing to the west in fear of the advancing Soviet troops. The urgency of the situation and the general chaotic circumstances of the time necessitated their travel by foot for a stretch of "12 kilometers", according to the mother. The episode of riding in the dark and overcrowded train most likely also took place during this last part of the journey, although it is not mentioned in either of the other two narratives. Both mother and son locate the episode of having to cross the river as having occurred just moments before the end of the war. The episode concerning the tool shed, according to Mikelis and his mother, occurred a few days after the end of the war, when the family had reached the Allied side of the river Elbe. They had been standing on a train platform having no idea where to seek shelter -- it was heavily raining and

approaching darkness -- and an English soldier had broken open the lock on a tool shed so that the mother and her children could spend the night.

Nelson (1991) has suggested that young children are able to remember and even narrate individual episodes, but that they lack the ability to develop a chronology of events. Vizbulite's narrative indicates that this certainly seems probable. The order of events presented in Vizbulite's narrative is consistent in all three of her retellings, but is almost the complete reverse of the sequences presented by her brother and mother. One could suggest a "recency effect" and this might be true to some extent, but the sequence presented by Vizbulite is not straightforwardly inverted, but rather the events are sequenced 1-4-2-3. Alternately, the events may have been without awareness sequenced by Vizbulite so as to "make sense", a function of remembering also elaborated by Nelson (1984). Presumably this process of "making sense" of one's childhood experiences takes place to some extent during or shortly after the event, but there are apparently instances when this "sense-making" is still going on many years afterwards. A narrative segment from the second interview with Vizbulite illustrates this process of "making sense" as it is occurring during the time of narrating. Although it is 47 years after the experience, Vizbulite is still striving to make sense of two contradictory pieces of "information" -- her own memory of walking behind a bicycle and her mother's assertion that they left their home with horse and wagon:

> I don't remember exactly how we started out. Mother said that we had a horse and a small wagon. But she had a bicycle. And my sister was tied to that bicycle along with the suitcase and the sack of flour and the tub of salted pork ("tauku pods"). --"Unbelievable" -- I think that she started out with that bicycle and she acquired the horse later. -- Maybe.

According to Vizbulite's mother and brother, the family had been preparing for the departure for several weeks and consequently left well provided for with

foodstuffs, such as the tub of salted pork. In contrast, the "50 kilometer" journey apparently took place after months of hardship as refugees, when the family no longer had foodstuffs nor anything other than what the mother considered the most essential, as for example, the children's winter coats. In Vizbulite's narrative she apparently combines the foodstuffs from their departure in Latvia with the bicycle used to flee during the last months of the war in Germany.

The sequential consistency of Vizbulite's story across the three retellings, as well as the above cited insistence by Vizbulite that the family departed from home by bicycle, seems to support the suggestion by Bartlett (1932) that once a story has been constructed it tends to become relatively fixated in the constructed format. Vizbulite seems to have constructed a narrative which she does not want to alter: she does not want to change the vehicle of departure from bicycle to wagon. For her, the story makes the most sense in its present format, even though for someone else it might not be particularly logical to imagine a sack of flour, tub of lard, suitcase and small child heaped upon a bicycle rather than placed in a wagon.

Other narrative details also indicate that Vizbulite has reconstructed the sequence so as to attain a coherence which is logical to her. Although an accurate description of the Allied troop positions may be important to a historian of World War II, for Vizbulite it obviously does not matter a great deal if in her story the English soldier is placed east or west of the Elbe River, before or after May of 1945. In fact, the historical naivete of the narrative would support an argument that this construction and organization of events and details had been "fixated" by Vizbulite fairly soon after the war, while she herself had a child's perspective of the historical situation.

The "logical consistency" of Vizbulite's narrative is not substantiated by historical or logico-mathematical reasoning. Rather, the story is constructed so

that it makes sense of her lived experience -- particularly her emotional experience before, during and after the war. The lived experience of fleeing from Latvia is likely to have been more difficult for this family than for others who, for example, had been relocated to Bavaria, where there was relatively little in the way of air attacks, and not the direct threat of Soviet troops. Vizbulite's narrative is structured so that it tells the story of hardship, beginning with a visually and emotionally dramatic moment. The narrative structure, in effect, provides a "narrative identity" of Vizbulite, her family and the socio-historical context.

The term "narrative identity" will be used in the following discussion to designate a construction of the narrative process, a construction which has been engendered in a dialogical interaction between the speaker/writer and the "Other" (used in the sense of Bakhtin, 1929 , who has suggested that in speaking or in thinking one is always publicly or privately addressing an "Other"). This constructivist conceptualization of "narrative identity" is based upon that of Ricoeur (1980) who has suggested that:

> It is in telling our own stories that we give ourselves an identity. ...It makes little difference whether these stories are true or false, fiction as well as verifiable history provides us with an identity (p. 214).

The idea that autobiographical narrative functions to create an "identity" or a "self" has been, of course, argued recently by various post-structuralist philosophers and literary theorists. Some, for example Barthes and Derrida, have proposed that there is no essential "self" as referent of the narrative construction. The following discussion of "narrative identity", however, is not concerned with the question of whether or not there is a signified, essential "self". Rather, the following analysis of "narrative identity" is concerned with the manner in which language and narrative serve to constitute a publicly addressed story about

oneself. As Benveniste (1971) has succinctly stated: "It is in and through language that man constitutes himself as a subject."

The "narrative identity" constructed in the process of autobiographical narration is, in fact, analogous to an a-chronological theme regarding the narrator. In her narrative Vizbulite expresses a theme regarding her suffering and hardship at a very personal level. This suffering concerns fears of separation, fears of abandonment, fears of being left behind. At several points in the narrative, Vizbulite actually intersperses asides such as, "I kind of felt abandoned". This feeling of abandonment is accentuated climactically in her description of having been placed in an orphanage during some later phase of the war. Vizbulite recollects:

> This must have happened ...now whether this was during this time –it could have happened during that year. Because my mother definitely, probably couldn't get food -- at all. Because what she did was give us into -- put us into an orphanage. And I was really, really – you know, just turned four -- was really young. And to be separated from my mommy in a German orphanage. I couldn't speak the language. And I remember doing nothing but crying.

Vizbulite is tenuous about the timing of her stay in the orphanage ("It could have happened during that year"), as well as the reason for having being placed there ("my mother definitely, probably couldn't get food"). However, the emotional experience which she recollects is totally unambiguous. Vizbulite's mother, on the other hand, described quite differently the circumstances concerning the "orphanage". She said that the children were placed for several weeks in a "children's rest home" which was similar to a summer camp, near the Baltic Sea, after the end of the war. Vizbulite's construing of the experience as placement in a "orphanage" functions as the ultimate symbol of her feelings of abandonment. Her construction of this symbolic episode seemingly entails an incorporation of

the "orphanage" from her family's story regarding the fate of Vizbulite's cousins, who were deported to Siberia and subsequently placed in an orphanage upon the death of their parents.

In the course of the interview Vizbulite also described another situation, whereby meanings appropriated from the family's story had been transposed to symbolize her personal fears. In the story of her extended family's experience the "Communists" had come and taken away -- had separated her cousins from their home. The deportations by the "Communists" had resulted in the death of her cousins' parents -- an irreversible act of separation. In describing the experience of giving birth to her first child, Vizbulite related how at that moment she experienced a fear of separation -- a fear of the "Communists":

> --I was screaming and I was hallucinating. I was seeing Communists coming in the window. I was shrieking. They were going to take my baby away from me.
>
> --Why did you think that the Communists would come?
>
> --It was just the idea that they were frightening and they were after us and they were going to -- And also, as a small child, from an early age on, I knew the stories about my relatives that were taken to Siberia. That the Communists came. And I also heard the stories of how they mutilated our generals and our people. And these stories came into my hearing very early. So that was a deep-rooted fear that lived with us all the time, that they're going to come and take us away and separate us.
>
> And the biggest fear that I personally lived with all my life was that when the communists did come -- I was a small baby, in a crib with my cousin. My mother happened to be visiting and the Communists did come that night, and did take that family, and did take my mother and me and put us in a truck ready to take us to Siberia. And at the last minute my mother said, but I don't live here. At that moment she grabbed me and she ran for it.

Vizbulite in this narrative addresses many issues. First, she indicates to what extent she has been influenced by the culturally-transmitted stories of the

Communists and the mutilated bodies -- stories which she most likely heard from the Latvian community during the period of the DP camps. Second, she reiterates her fears of separation, fears of separation from those she most loves. Third, she tells a story of how the Communists "did come", a story told to her by her mother, a story which has acquired tremendous symbolic power. The symbolic power of the story is heightened by the fact that two years following the deportation, the cousin's mother died and the cousin was placed in an orphanage. The sequence of events then becomes: Communists -- death/separation -- orphanage. Communists have come to symbolize for Vizbulite causal agents which address her own personal fears of separation. This symbolic use contributes to the development of Vizbulite's "narrative identity" as someone fearful of separation, fearful of abandonment.

A comparison of Vizbulite's account with that of her brother Mikelis provides through contrast an opportunity to explore how the "narrative identity" is a particular construction of a particular speaker/writer. The selection and ordering of events in Mikelis's narrative is shown in Table 6. As cited earlier, Mikelis begins his narration of the leaving of Latvia by placing himself in a heroic image. He describes the piled-up wagon with which his family departed, and then emphasizes that he himself sat up on top of the pile, assuming a heroic stance: "we ourselves sat on the very top and we were like heroes who were leaving". Mikelis goes on to explain how they transferred from horse-drawn wagon to a train, which took them to Breslau in German-occupied Poland. He continues with the initial image of hero high-up above the world in his description of their stay in Breslau. Mikelis recollects that the refugees were placed in a gymnasium filled with bunk beds and that he had slept on the top bunk of a "four-story" bunk bed. On top of this tremendous bunk bed he had

Table 8
"Event Diagram" Depicting Events Narrated by Mikelis
(8 years old at time of leaving)

"EXTENDED" (lasting longer than 24 hrs..)	"BRIEF" (lasting less than 24 hrs..)	"REPEATED" (event occurring more than once)
	--gave toy to friend	
	--waved good-bye	
--travelled by wagon		
	--stopped and made pancakes	
		--slept in hay stacks
	--taught to ride a bike	
--took train		
	--ate German sausage	
		--ate salted pork
--"nomadic" moving around		
--stayed in Breslau		
		--made model planes
		--ran to shelters
	--taking bath when sirens went off	
		--attended day care center
	--went to round shelter	
	--sister lost on train	
	--foot stuck under suitcases	
	-- walked to catch train	
	--found stamp collection	
--stayed in Halle		
		--mother sacrificed her food
--family was sick		
		--heavy air attacks
	--mother sheltered children	
	--train attacked by machine-gun fire	
	--crawled across bridge	

also spent time making paper airplanes and hanging them from the ceiling. This image of being up so high and "flying" airplanes appears analogous to that of a heroic airplane bomber pilot. Whether or not Mikelis was actually perched at the top of a <u>four</u> story bunk bed is open to question. Mikelis himself implies the tenuousness of his assertion: " There were bunk beds which were not only two, but three -- perhaps four stories high -- I think it was four -- four stories high".

It was in Breslau that the family experienced several major air attacks, which the mother recollects as very frightening. Mikelis, on the other hand describes one of the air attacks as follows:

> --I remember how the sky looked -- of course you could hear the sound of the bombs all over -- exploding and trembling -- but you could also see the planes. They were shooting the illuminations which were like a strip in the air. And they shot from the ground also. Almost like fireworks. And I know that once we were in the shelter and I had even gone out. It was a little uncomfortable, but others had gone out as well. It was really interesting to watch.

Actually it is quite typical in these narratives to find similar descriptions of the bombings as interesting rather than fear-inducing. Only a few of the female interviewees who were 11 and 12 years old at the time, explicitly stated that the bombings induced significant fear. A majority of the interviewees stated that the bombings had no effect upon them, other than in creating an interesting spectacle. However, several interviewees did indicate at some later point in the interview, as did Mikelis, that the bombings had aroused emotional reactions which perhaps were not present to awareness at the time. For example, Mikelis stated at the very end of his interview:

> --even upon arriving in America the sounds of sirens -- during that whole time of living in the refugee camps the sirens were so imminent that they were on everyone's mind -- that you knew that the first siren and then the second siren -- there never was time (to get to the shelter) -- when the first siren came then the bombs started falling. Somewhere in the unconscious it evokes some horror.

However, nowhere in the initial telling of his experience does Mikelis indicate any such fear, conscious or unconscious. And, if the interview had ended earlier, then this fear would not have been expressed. Mikelis's initial telling of the story also makes no mention of his having been ill and placed in several hospitals during the war period, a concern mentioned by his mother and sister. Only after specific questioning did he mention this. In the initial telling of the

story Mikelis retains very much the image of the "heroic" boy constructed at the very beginning of the story, an image which may serve as a defensive strategy to ward off any feelings of fear.

The differences in the "narrative identities" constructed by Vizbulite and Mikelis in their initial narrations is exemplified in their retellings of an incident concerning a train stopped on a bridge. According to both Mikelis and their mother, this incident took place within the last few days of the war. Both siblings differ from their mother in explaining the reason why the train had stopped. Vizbulite and Mikelis indicate that the train stopped as the result of one final air attack. In fact, Mikelis in his narrative claims that "the bombing is going on ....probably the shooting was getting closer". Their mother, on the other hand, stated that during this time there were indeed planes flying overhead, but that these were German fighter planes simply flying to get out of the Soviet occupied zone -- that there was no bombing. The inclusion of an air attack in the descriptive accounts by Vizbulite and Mikelis may be a logically-based inference, or may be a descriptive detail unconsciously included to heighten the dramatic impact of the story.

Mikelis narrates his account as follows:

> --and it so happened that the train stopped right above the river. That was a special bridge which was meant only for train use, and you couldn't get across except by going down the middle of the tracks. And the train is standing on the tracks. But over to the side is another pair of tracks and connecting them are some individual beams, maybe a foot wide, maybe a little wider. And meanwhile the bombing is going on and you don't know if they will come over the train or not ...And so some young men climbed out and balanced across the beams to the other tracks and finally more and more people started doing this, because probably the shooting was getting closer. And we decide to do it also. And then I remember that we all went in a row -- we balanced across -- it probably wasn't very far, but underneath you see the river -- it's flowing -- and I see all sorts of boxes and German uniforms flowing -- I think that was a very meaningful moment. Finally we got off.

Vizbulite remembers:

> –the train was being bombed and it stopped on top of a river. And the only way to get off the train was to crawl on the square, wooden beams. And on the bottom – when you looked like this – between the beams was a running river and you could see helmets and you could see guns and stuff floating. So my mother crawled across that thing – it was like from here to the end of the room – and she said, 'Now , Vizbulite, look at my face, look at mommy's face and crawl to me' –this I remember. And I just kept looking and she said 'don't look down, don't look down' – well, you know, one slip and I would have been gone because the river, the river was running

These accounts again are similar, yet different. Both siblings construct their story within the same framework: there was bombing, the train was stopped on a bridge and they had to crawl across wooden beams to get off. The account of Mikelis includes much greater description of the bridge itself, and at no point is there any indication that Mikelis might have been frightened. Rather, he implies that he bravely followed the young men who were the first to go across. The focus of Vizbulite's account is entirely different: the emphasis is on the words of her mother, and how her mother helped her and soothed her into getting across. In this narrative her mother is totally there for her, and no bridge is able to separate them. This episode of the train stopped on the bridge, then, serves as the vehicle for the narration of what in this case might more aptly be termed as "narrative wish-fulfilling identities".

Aiga and Ziedonis: "Narrative identity and ideological "voice"

The narrative construction may also eventuate in the development of a "narrative identity" with a particular ideological perspective or "voice" (as the term is used by Bakhtin, 1929). A comparison of the narrative accounts of Aiga, her brother Ziedonis, and their mother, illustrates how the selection and description of certain events serves to create an ideological statement.

Aiga was 11 years old upon the leaving of Latvia. She lived with her family in Riga and usually spent the summers at her grandfather's home in northern Latvia. Here in the United States, Aiga has been an active member of the Latvian community, and is presently among those emigres who are attempting to foster ties and joint endeavors with Latvians in Latvia. Her narration of the experience of leaving Latvia begins with a description of how her mother, her brother and she herself spent the summer of 1944 in the provincial town Saldus. Aiga narrates as follows:

> –That summer we no longer went to my grandfather's home, because the thinking was, that if the Russians would return, that Vidzeme [the northeastern province] would be the first to be occupied. We went to visit friends of the family in Saldus [in the western province]. We spent the summer there. That summer was for us totally carefree and wonderful. We were learning to ride a bicycle. We did all the joyful activities of childhood.
>
> Until there came that telephone call from my father, who said -- next week they are evacuating my workplace, my factory, including me and my family. And you have to be home Sunday evening – or whatever. -- We are leaving on Monday. –And then we had to get back to Riga. But there was something strange because the front hadn't come directly across Latvia [from the Russian border to the east], but was somehow coming from the south and Jelgava was already taken.
>
> We tried to take the train back [to Riga] through Jelgava, but the train was stopped. There was an air attack, bombing. We were standing in the night somewhere next to the train and saw the bombs being dropped on Jelgava. We had to go back to Saldus ....and on the way back for some reason we were on an open train car, like a freight car and of course mother sheltered us when the planes came overhead ....Mother laid down on top of us. But I was angry that she was in my way, that I couldn't see the plane. And then a few days later with some private automobile we got back to Riga.

Aiga goes on to describe that back in Riga they began preparing for the journey. She left her favorite doll sitting upon her bed, and explained to her mother, " I will leave her here in my bed, in my room. After all, we are coming back. Let her wait for me here". Aiga then describes going to the harbor and departing

from their relatives. Her family was among the earliest to leave, in August of 1944. Aiga states that their relatives had attempted to convince her parents to stay:

> -- Our relatives were there at the departing – at the time they thought that we were being too rash for leaving so soon -- we could go into hiding and all sorts of things
>
> It was an emotional departing. My aunt runs up to me crying, and places upon me a necklace of amber beads. –Let those bring you back to Latvia.

The events selected in the construction of Aiga's narrative carry particular meanings. First of all, the statements describing the last summer in Saldus indicate that life in Latvia was bucolic and wonderful. In direct contrast, the advancing front created a threat to one's life, as illustrated in the episode about the stopped train. There was then no longer any choice but to leave. Aiga also implies that her father was being forced to leave, since the Germans were evacuating the factory where he had been working ("there came that telephone call from my father, who said – next week they are evacuating my workplace, my factory, including me and my family"). Furthermore, in narrating the episode of leaving her doll on her bed, Aiga indicates that she most certainly had the intention of returning. As further comparison with the narratives of her brother and mother will show, Aiga's narrative is selective of events that contribute to the construction of a certain ideological perspective.

Aiga's brother Ziedonis, a year younger, does not include any telephone call from their father, nor any train ride or bombings in his account of the events related to the leaving of Latvia. In general, already before the interviewing began, Ziedonis declared that he had few memories of his childhood, and the ensuing narrative was evidence of this point. Ziedonis describes the leaving of Latvia as follows:

I remember that we were going to the ship -- we got on the ship --we travelled by ship. And that it was a time of upset.

I: Do you remember any of the preparations for the journey?

That we were walking with suitcases -- I remember that there were suitcases

I: Do you remember anything from the departure?

No.

I: Do you remember anything about the ship?

It was my first journey by sea. I remember the impression of the sea -- that the ship was on the water. The impression of travelling across the sea -- water all around.

I: And what was your feeling at the time?

As far as I remember I was happy -- an adventure -- something happening. I don't remember any great sorrow.

Their mother also gives a relatively brief account of the actual departure. She makes no mention of the father being forced or coerced to evacuate, but rather she implies that he had been given a choice: "The ship was organized from the factory where my husband was working". Their mother describes the decision to leave as one of free choice, albeit influenced by the urging of her sister: " ...upon the relentless insistence of my sister that we leave".

Aiga's narrative is constructed so as to emphasize a certain significant piece of information: the family really had no other choice but to leave. For purposes of the present discussion it is really irrelevant as to whether or not their father was actually <u>forced</u> to evacuate. Aiga develops her story to indicate that this certainly was the case, primarily through the selection and organization of the events she chooses to narrate: bucolic life in the provinces -- urgent message

from father concerning forced evacuation -- air attacks threatening their lives -- the conviction and commitment to return.

What is relevant to the issue at hand is that Aiga is one of four interviewees who did express a serious desire to return to Latvia to live. Also relevant is that later in the interview she expresses a feeling of guilt for having fled from an unpleasant situation, with the implication of having deserted her homeland. (Other emigre Latvians share similar feelings of guilt for having left and living now in well-off circumstances). By integrating the events of her father's phone call concerning forced evacuation, the dangerous train ride, and her conviction that she will return to her dolls, Aiga has developed a story of an unfortunate necessity to leave and a sense of commitment to return.

Ideological "voices" of Zenta and Viesturs

Ideological perspective or "voice" is also expressed in the narrative segments of Zenta, Viesturs and their mother, concerning their recollections of the period of Nazi occupation, 1941-1945. Zenta recollects:

> --I remember the German soldiers, but only as if in a fog. Only that they were in uniforms. What I remember very, very clearly is, that I couldn't understand why there were people with yellow stars, why they can't walk on the sidewalk, why they have to walk in the street. And also I remember that some of the Jews were taken from the ghetto to work where my father was working. And mother -- if we had some food left over then my brother and I went to visit one of the people and gave it to him -- I guess she was afraid herself to take it.

Viesturs remembers:

> I remember from the German occupation standing by the window and watching that the Jews with the stars had to walk in the street. Then for a time there was a Jew, who I guess was working with my father , and he was hiding in our basement from the Germans. I don't know how long he was hiding, but we weren't allowed to talk about it.

Their mother recollects:

--Well, first of all, when we returned to Riga it was very awful that the Jewish people had to walk with yellow stars in the streets. They weren't allowed to walk on the sidewalk. They weren't allowed to sit on the benches in the park and that was an awful feeling that this person has been driven into the street. That was the primary.

But then through all that was interwoven that you are happy, that you haven't been deported, that your mother hasn't been deported.

--And your son told me that you had been hiding Jews in your basement.

--No, we weren't hiding Jews, but we gave them some food. They were working with my husband, and then we'd call them to help pile the firewood and then we could give them some food.

These narrative fragments are similar in that they all express a state of concern regarding the Jews, their having to wear yellow stars and having to walk down the middle of the street. They also all mention having helped the Jews. It is interesting that these accounts are so fundamentally similar, especially since this appears not to be a communally-retold family story. If it was, presumably, such an important detail as feeding vs. sheltering Jews would not have been contradictory. Similar is that no one mentions the eventual fate of the Jews in Latvia, which was similar to their fate elsewhere in Eastern Europe. Although the Jewish mass murders were not a part of the lived experience of these family members, at least the mother must have been aware that after December of 1941 there were no more Jews with yellow stars walking in the streets (because the mass murders of the Latvian Jews, as directed and carried out by the Nazi occupying forces had been completed, Ezergailis, (1986).

These three accounts of the Jew's plight in Latvia seem to be "echoing" one another, and simultaneously calling out in one's "own voice". The differences in the above narrative fragments, concerning the feeding vs. sheltering of the Jews, are likely influenced by the family members' differing perspectives then as well as now. To the regret of many Latvians, there was

actually little sheltering of Jews in Latvia, similarly to the situation in other Eastern European countries, but in contrast to the situation in Holland and Denmark. Viestur's retelling of the experience as his family having actually sheltered Jews in their basement seems likely to be influenced by his present vantage point as a professional, probably having Jewish friends and colleagues. Evidence for such an assertion is supported by the narrative of another male interviewee of similar professional standing who also related episodes of taking a strikingly anti-German stand as a child. It seems quite probable that Viestur's wish is that such sheltering had taken place.

Processes of "Memory Work"

Virtually all of the excerpts cited illustrate processes by which autobiographical narratives are reconstructed, processes which have been identified and variously conceptualized by earlier theorists. Bartlett (1932) identified and provided examples of numerous processes of reconstruction, including the following: abbreviation, modernization, omission, rationalization, conventionalization, dramatization and importation. Genette (1980) likened the processes involved in the reconstructive "work of memory" as similar to those of the "dream work" explicated by Freud, who elaborated the processes of "condensation" and "displacement". Theorists have also implied that the processes of the reconstructive "work of memory" are most likely to be functioning without the speaker's/writer's awareness.

A majority of the interviewees of this study indicated some realization that their autobiographical narratives may contain reconstructive aspects. For example, one interviewee stated: "It's very difficult sometimes to distinguish what you find out later from what you knew at that moment." Another interviewee asserted that his description might be "mixed-up with later

memories". Some interviewees commented upon the effect of emotional experience upon the memory process: "a child only remembers the positive, no?" However, there were also several interviewees who insisted upon a photographic, veridical quality of their memories. For example, one interviewee mentioned that her memories differed from those of her mother, but that "I could swear, that I have the truth". In a similar vein, one interviewee expressed the conviction that if she returned to her family's farm in Latvia, that each tree and rock would be located exactly where she remembered them to be. Also, during the joint interviewees, the interviewees often expressed surprise upon hearing a different version from their sibling, indicating that they had believed their own version to be virtually true.

The primary aim of the following discussion is to illustrate how these processes of "memory work" serve to construct a particular "narrative identity" of one's self, one's family and one's cultural-historical situation. Previous discussion in this chapter has already specifically addressed the processes of "selection/omission" and "rationalization" (in terms of "making sense") and how these processes function to create a particular narrative story. The following discussion will also address the likelihood that some functioning of reconstructive mechanisms may primarily be an artifact of the non-veridical, incomplete nature of the memory system, which by nature requires narrative elaborations. Hence, narrative elements may be "condensed", "expanded", "imported" etc. in order to fill in forgotten or initially unencoded aspects of the event. Some theorists, such as Freud, contend that all such lapses in memory could be attributed to specific dynamic issues of the psyche. Bartlett has proposed that the initial encoding of an event may incorporate only certain general features, and that this encoding may be selectively influenced by one's preconceived "biases". I believe that in certain situations this is the case, and that

certain lapses may indeed be causally related to one's unconscious or conscious predispositions, which would also include one's emotional arousal during a particular event. However, I also would contend that in certain cases missing elements of the narrative story may have been forgotten or not initially encoded for less dynamically based reasons, such as the child's fluctuating attention or lack of conceptual framework in which to incorporate certain aspects of an event. Finally, I would suggest that in some cases these mechanisms of reconstruction serve primarily the purpose of creating a lively and interesting story. Such would most likely be the case with the use of direct speech in the narrative account.

The following discussion concerns those reconstructive processes which were identified during the comparison of sibling accounts and which are in addition to the processes that have already been discussed ("selection/omission" and "rationalization/making sense"):

1. Selective focusing -- the selection or omission of descriptive details from a narrative account, resulting from a focus upon particular aspects of the experience.

2. Importation -- the importation of detail into the narrative account: this importation can also be conceptualized as the transference or displacement of detail from one part of the autobiographical story to another ("importation from within"); or the transference of a detail from a completely different story ("importation from without").

3. Inferential completion -- the apparent creative elaboration of details, based upon inferential processes, in order to develop a coherent account of an incomplete memory.

4. Dramatization -- all of the identified processes can serve to produce a more dramatic story. However, the term "dramatization" will be used to refer to instances of direct speech within the narrative account.

5. Condensation/expansion -- the description of several experiences as one; or the description of one experience as several

Selective Focusing

Comparison of the descriptive details from the narrative accounts of two siblings recollecting the same event often indicated that each was focusing upon a different aspect of that event. This difference in narrative focus may have resulted from either (a). selective focusing and respectively selective encoding at the time of the initial experience, and/or (b). selective focusing during the act of remembering, both at present and during previous recollections. Selective attention appears to be a given in one's interactions in the everyday world (Neisser, 1976): it would be virtually impossible to attend to every aspect of the world one encounters. This selective attention is undoubtedly in part influenced by random focusing; and in part influenced by deliberate focusing upon aspects which are of particular interest or produce particular emotional arousal. Also, selective attention and selective encoding are likely to be influenced by one's current understanding and knowledge which enables the assimilation of new information.

Analysis based upon the narrative texts from this study does not enable a differentiation between what might have been selective encoding at the time of the initial event; or what might be selective "editing" during the process of remembering. What does become evident from an analysis of these interview texts is that often each sibling's account focuses upon selectively different descriptive details. Illustrative of such selective description are the narrative segments of the siblings Ludis, Viesturs and Zenta, each of whom recollected a memory of experiencing an air attack while travelling by ship from Latvia to Germany. Ludis (4 years old at the time) remembered:

> I remember that Russian planes attacked the ship and at the back of the ship there was a machine gun that shot at the planes. And the shells fell from the sides, as they do with machine guns. But I didn't know that -- I thought that

> those were the bullets. I remember thinking -- how will they shoot down that plane if the bullets are falling out the sides?

Viesturs (6 years old at the time) recalled:

> I remember that two planes flew overhead. And they weren't German planes. And either they were dropping bombs or shooting. There were also two other ships -- I presume also carrying refugees. So one ship was in front -- and actually the planes were closer to those ships. And there was a siren and we again had to go down and we couldn't watch the air attacks

Zenta (10 years old at the time) narrated:

> Once there was an air attack -- two or three ships. And then everyone fled back inside -- under the deck. And Ludis fell -- I remember that he had on a gray coat and a gray cap. And people were running over him. And mommy somehow pulled him to his feet and pulled him along.

These narrative segments reveal that the descriptive details presented by each sibling are differentially selective -- focused upon different aspects of the event. The narrative of Ludis is focused on the shooting off of the machine gun aboard the ship; the narrative of Viesturs is focused on the Russian planes flying overhead; and the narrative of Zenta is focused on her younger brother. These examples seem almost too stereotypical in that both of the male interviewees are focusing on the shooting of either the machine gun or the planes; and the female interviewee, in a more nurturing mode, is focusing on the well-being of her younger brother. Nevertheless, this appears to be the case. And, as mentioned above, the retrospective nature of this study does not allow one to tease apart to what extent the focusing was differentiated at the time of the initial experience, from the extent that it has become differentiated in the retelling.

Almost all of the interviewees recollected episodes of bombing in Germany, and the sibling recollections of the bombing experience inevitably differed. It seems most likely that the differences in the accounts can at least to some extent be attributed to differences in the initial experience, but that one's

present thoughts and feelings would contribute to the narrative construction. Illustrative of very marked differences in descriptive details are the narrative segments of Dzilis and Ainars, concerning a bombing attack they experienced in Germany while travelling by train. Dzilis, who was 9 years old at the time remembers:

> I think it was somewhere in Poland or Czechoslovakia -- we were travelling by train and then we were bombed. We arrived near a town and got out of that train. They were constantly bombing -- and they were Americans. They all must have been shooting with their left hands because they always hit to the side. And us kids were running around. Our parents were yelling -- look what's happening and bombs are exploding everywhere. There were some round wooden beams. Total chaos. We were playing there. The train was stopped. Everyone was yelling -- get out. We had all run off somewhere -- at least I had. I think that one bomb had fallen on each side of the train. No one was hit.

Ainars 11-1/2 years old at the time recollects:

> Our train was attacked. We arrived in a small town D. The station was outside the town -- up a slight hill. It was a beautiful day. And at the time the Americans were bombing constantly -- day and night the planes were flying. You could see some thirty planes coming. And just at that moment, all of the people were tired from the trip -- finally we will get out. And they came -- we fled from those train cars. There was a pile of telephone poles -- we crawled underneath them. It was amazing that no one was hit. There were bombs on both sides and none hit us.

There is actually significant similarity as well as dissimilarity in comparison of these two sibling accounts. Both siblings mention that the train was stopped just outside a town, and that people fled from the train in response to the air attack. Both siblings also mention that the bombs hit either side of the train, and that no one was injured. Each narrative account includes recollection of telephone poles/ wooden beams. However, it is the action centered around these telephone poles which marks the major difference in the two accounts: one brother remembers the action as one of "playing", and the other brother as one of

"crawling underneath" the poles. It could be that in the initial experience both siblings were playing as well as crawling underneath; or that one sibling was playing and the other was hiding. The initial emotional response may have ranged from indifference to fear to a combination of both The present narration may be influenced by defensive strategies to ward off against the evocation of any disturbing emotional arousal. Nevertheless, the selection of detail in the respective accounts eventuates in two significantly different stories – one of playful mischief, the other of a more rational seeking of shelter.

Not surprisingly, similar differences appear in other portions of their interview texts. For example, in describing the actual leaving of Latvia, Ainars talks about the difficulties encountered and surmounted by their family. In contrast, a good portion of Dzilis's narrative concerns a humorous description of dialect differences they encountered along the way. In recollecting their memories of the DP camps, Ainars tells about going to school, playing sports, fishing, and going on school excursions. Dzilis, on the other hand, describes how he and his friends would take apart the back-up lights on American Army jeeps, so that they could use the glass balls they found inside to play marbles with. In effect, the narratives of Dzilis and Ainars indicate how selective inclusion of particular events and particular details serves to constitute a "narrative identity" -- whether it be mischievous and light-hearted or serious and contemplative.

Importation

As used in this context, importation of detail refers to the reconstructive process whereby elements have been "borrowed" directly from another aspect of one's experience or from another known story. Illustrative of this process is the appearance of the "crane" in the narrative accounts of Voldemars and Imants. As cited in Chapter III, Voldemars recollects a rather heroic scene in describing the

events just prior to their leaving of Latvia. Voldemars tells how after having boarded the ship to Germany, their mother had sent him back to their apartment for some belongings which she had forgotten. Voldemars narrates that he arrived back by the ship at the very last moment, when all of the gangplanks had already been pulled up: "Everything is loaded, everything is being pulled up .....then I climbed into the net and was lifted up". His younger brother Imants mentions the same crane, but in the context of the crane having lifted their baggage onto the ship: "Some people helped place the larger things in a pile and then a crane lifted them up". Imants remembers that his brother returned to the ship at the last minute, when the ramp was already being "pulled up", but that it was let back down again for his brother to climb aboard. Voldemars recollects that the "crane" was used to hoist himself up onto the deck. However, during subsequent probing Voldemars did not repeat this assertion. Voldemar's initial statement regarding the "crane" appears to be an an example of "importation" or transference of details from one part of the story to another: from the lifting up of the baggage to the lifting up of Voldemars. The image of being hoisted onto the deck by a crane certainly adds dramatic impact to the scene of leaving, and has the effect of implicating a heroic stance.

Inferential completion

The identified processes of selective inclusion, importation and inferential completion all address discrepancies in the descriptive details of sibling accounts. The process of inferential completion refers to those instances which cannot be attributed to selective focusing, or the "borrowing" of details from other personal experiences. In effect, this process would be analogous to that of creative invention. It would most likely be operative in situations where the speaker/writer has partial or incomplete memory of an experience, which

necessitates an invention or fabrication of the missing links, based upon inference of what would have been likely or probable. Bartlett and others have also suggested the likelihood of this process being operative. Bartlett's experiments indicated that subjects would often remember a visually-presented image or verbally-presented story only in part and then would inferentially add on descriptive details. However, in contrast to Bartlett's experiments, the autobiographical narratives of this study have no available referent, since they are based upon a personal experience which was not recorded at the time. Therefore, it is speculative to say to what extent a memory is complete or incomplete -- one can only through contrast of narrative accounts identify discrepancies which appear to have been inferentially completed.

A comparison of narrative segments from Ziedonis and his mother reveals discrepancies in the recollection of an episode involving a shooting by a German soldier. This is an incident which according to them both happened while they were still in Latvia. Ziedonis recollected:

> -- We were travelling by train. I don't remember why , but the train was stopped and we were watching.... He was running and the soldier was running after him. He ran and ran. But he was brought back. And there were some shots.

Their mother, who is now in her nineties but still active and alert, also remembered an interrupted train ride. However, the mother described the incident as follows:

> --I was travelling back to Riga, again on an open platform with scrap iron. And I saw only that a German with a gun in his hand was taking a war prisoner to the woods. And I saw this precisely and then I heard a shot and the German came back, alone.

Ziedonis and his mother both described a train stopped and a shooting by a German soldier. In one description the soldier is chasing someone who then gets shot, and in another the soldier is leading someone to the woods in order to

shoot him. It is, of course possible that Ziedonis and his mother are remembering two separate episodes. However, such instances of publicly-witnessed shooting were apparently quite rare, since this is the only such episode mentioned in the interview corpus. Therefore, is seems likely that there was only one shooting incident which they both witnessed. Or perhaps they may have only heard the shooting. Nevertheless, the discrepancies in their descriptive accounts could be attributable to inferential completion: that a partial memory was completed through inference regarding what might have been likely or probable.

Dramatization

In this analysis the term dramatization refers to the incorporation of direct speech, a reconstructive process which was uncommonly evidenced in these collected interview texts. In fact, it was used consistently only by Voldemars and Imants, who both indicated that they tend to enjoy and seek opportunity for storytelling. However, other interviewees did make use of dramatization occasionally.

Direct speech often functions to heighten the emotional or dramatic impact of an episode. As cited previously, Vizbulite used direct speech in describing the tension-filled moment of crossing a river on a wooden beam. Vizbulite described her mother as saying: "Now, Vizbulite, look at my face, look at mommy's face and crawl to me". Also as quoted beforehand, Aiga used direct speech to describe the emotion-laden sequence of events just prior to the leaving of Latvia. Aiga described her father as saying: "next week they are evacuating my workplace, my factory". Aiga also mentioned the words she said to her mother, regarding her favorite doll: " I will leave her here in my bed". As discussed previously, both the remarks by Aiga's father and her own direct

speech regarding the leaving of her doll are critical components of Aiga's story: that the family had no choice but to leave, and that she had every intention of returning.

Viesturs and Imants included direct speech at various points in their narrations. They both incorporated direct speech in describing the process of travelling by horse and wagon from their apartment in Latvia to the harbor. Voldemars recollected:

> Some people run up to us and say, "Woman, don't go anywhere, stay where you are. Don't you know that now there are submarines in the Baltic Sea? " All of those ships are being sunk.

Imants remembered:

> " Woman, woman, what are you doing, you have small children, what are you doing, have you lost your mind? Don't do it, the Germans and the Russians are sinking all the ships – go back, go back home." And mother said, " Thank you, woman, thank you. Onward, "kucieri"!"

Both instances of direct speech are similar in that they describe a warning that was addressed to their mother en route to the harbor. Again, the use of direct speech heightens the emotional impact of the moment, especially regarding the dangers of travelling across the Baltic Sea. One difference between the two accounts concerns historical accuracy. Imants, the younger brother who was 8 years old at the time, described both Germans and Russians as sinking the ships. However, according to historical accounts Germans were operating the ships, not sinking them. The excerpts also differ in how they portray, or construct, the mother. Voldemars mentions nothing of the mother's response. Imants describes the mother as gallantly thanking the woman who gave them warning, and then instructing the driver to continue. This description evokes an image of a woman resourceful and courageous, an image which Imants continues to instantiate in later portions of the interview, as for example, in describing how

their mother managed through personal courage to secure food for them in Germany.

Condensation/Expansion

The condensation of several episodes as one or one episode as several was also identified as a reconstructive process in these narrative texts, but as a process which occurs only rarely. Perhaps this is because many of the events being described by the interviewees of this study were inherently such one-time, unusual occurrences: i.e., there was only one experience of boarding the ship. Experiences which were repetitive, i.e. running for shelter or riding by train through Germany, were usually identified as having been recurrent. Some interviewees specifically commented to the effect that there had been "so many bombings" or "so many train rides" that they are no longer were able to remember them distinctly. However, a few instances of apparent expansion/condensation were identified through comparison of the narrative accounts.

Illustrative is a comparison of the accounts of Druvis and Namejs (6 and 10 years old at the time), who both remember that their family had intended to travel by fishing boat to Sweden. This was a difficult endeavor: the occupying German forces made every attempt to stop such journeys, as the intent of the Germans was to route all refugees to Germany. Such illegal journeys to Sweden were made clandestinely by fishing boat in the middle of the night. The parents of Druvis and Namejs had made such arrangements with the captain of a fishing boat, but their intent was halted by the Germans before they even boarded the boat. Druvis remembers taking their belongings to the dock alongside the fishing boats:

> –My parents had made arrangements that we would flee to Sweden. They had offered money to some captain of a fishing boat -- he had a small boat. And that he would by night take us away to Sweden. And I remember some boxes -- they were nailed together and the family valuables were placed inside. And the boxes were taken to that fishing boat. And they were loaded. And then, what I remember being told, is that the Germans had seen this and had arrested the captain. ... And I just remember that we were told that we are not allowed to go to the dock ... And our parents, they just didn't go near that boat. Because they thought that they could be arrested. And I just remember that there was a lot of upset ("tur bija lieli uztraukumi") concerning those valuables which we wanted to save, which were left in that boat.

Druvis's brother Namejs recalls the situation as follows:

> –One alternative was that we would travel across to Sweden, by fishing boat. I still now remember that father took us along to the harbor to show us where that boat might be . I remember the boat, but I don't remember why we didn't go to Sweden. Something went wrong. And I remember also that together with my mother's brother's family we were preparing to go to Germany. Our belongings were packed in boxes and they were taken to the ship. But for some reason, which I don't remember now, we didn't get on that ship. Those belongings remained on the dock. They were all stolen. And this was certainly an upsetting experience for my parents ("liels zaudejums, pardzivojums")...And then after a couple of weeks we left on a different ship.

Both brothers recollect that preparations had been made to travel by fishing boat to Sweden. And both brothers state that during the period prior to the leaving of Latvia, boxes containing the family's valuables were lost. However, Druvis (the younger brother) relates one continuous event: the boxes were loaded onto the fishing boat and were left there, since the captain had been arrested and their parents did not venture near the boat to retrieve their baggage. Namejs relates two separate, discrete, episodes: the journey by fishing boat was halted; the boxes were taken to the dock alongside a ship bound for Germany and were stolen from the dock. This then appears to be an example of either the "condensation" of two events by Druvis, or the "expansion" of one event by Namejs.

I would suggest that this apparent instantiation of either "condensation" or "expansion" arose from the necessity to create a coherent story from fragmentary bits of memory. Namejs himself asserts that he had forgotten aspects of the events. The incompleteness of their memory may have been at least partially a result of their cognitive understanding at the time: neither Druvis nor Namejs would likely have developed a conceptual framework in which to incorporate or assimilate the extent of the parents' preparations. Their cognitive understanding, would of course have been influenced by their young age, as well as by the general attitude of parents, not to speak extensively about such matters with their children. I would further suggest that the incompleteness of their memory concerning exactly how and when their family possessions were stolen is related to their respective interests. Presumably neither a 7 nor 10 year old boy would be particularly interested in boxes filled with their parents' silverware, and other such belongings. What both brothers do remember similarly is the emotional upset experienced by their parents. Each brother uses a different narrative phrase to describe their parents' affective reactions ("lieli uztraukumi" and "liels zaudejums, pardzivojums"), but the recollected emotional experience is the same. In effect, what has been remembered is the emotional component of the experience.

In conclusion

Comparison of sibling narratives regarding their commonly shared experiences has shown significant difference in the selection and elaboration of experienced events. Differences in the selection of events was investigated by segmenting the narrative description of the "core lived experience" of leaving Latvia into separate event segments. Events included by both siblings in this description of leaving were similar at a mean percentage of 40.9%. Of those

events that were included in the narratives of both siblings, they were generally narrated in the same chronological order. However, the elaborative descriptions of these events was invariably different.

A comparison of the narrative accounts of Vizbulite and Mikelis was peculiar in that their chronological ordering of the events was almost directly in inverse relationship. An analysis of this discrepancy provided illustration of how the narrative constructions serve to "make sense" of one's experience, at the same time creating a "narrative identity" of oneself, as well as of others who are included in the autobiographical story. Vizbulite, one of the youngest interviewees, who was 4 years old at the time of leaving, had structured her narrative account so that those events she described as being most traumatic were placed chronologically at the beginning of her narrative sequence. Although Vizbulite's account does not accord with that of her brother, her mother, or history texts regarding the sequence of events, her personally generated version has apparently helped her to "make sense" of the experience. Also interesting is that I had opportunity to interview Vizbulite upon several occasions, and each time she repeated the events in the same historically-illogical order. The similarity of her retellings seems to support Bartlett's (1932) contention that once a narrative becomes constructed it is retold in relatively stable form. The historically illogical aspects of Vizbulite's narrative also indicate that this narrative was in all likelihood constructed at some point shortly after the experience, perhaps as suggested in the previous chapter, during the relative calm of the DP camp period, when Vizbulite still had a childishly naive historical understanding.

Particularly the comparison of sibling accounts provided illustration of the "narrative identities" and ideological "voices" expressed within each text. As discussed previously, Ricoeur (1988) speaks of "narrative identity" as a "dynamic

identity arising from the poetic composition of a narrative text" (p. 246), and Bakhtin refers to one's "voice" as one's "point of view on the world". One might assume that inherent to any autobiographical narration is an implicit description of how one views oneself and the world. Exploration of the similarities and differences in the sibling accounts provided particular exemplars of how these "identities" and "voices" are narratively expressed. For example, Vizbulite describes her lived experience and consequently her "narrative identity" as fraught with fears, particularly fears of abandonment. Her brother Mikelis, on the other hand, describes his experience as one of courageousness, riding atop a piled-high wagon, or flying airplanes atop a four-story bunk bed. Mikelis does not include in his initial narrative that he was also very sickly during this period and was hospitalized several times -- descriptions which certainly would not facilitate a "narrative identity" of courage.

Ideological "voices" were also expressed through the selection and elaboration of events, as illustrated by the narrative accounts of Ziedonis and Aiga. Aiga includes in her narrative account an elaborate description of how her family was being forced to evacuate from Latvia, and how she had every intention of returning, as indicated by her recollected conversation with her dolls. Aiga's ideological perspective expressed is one of loyalty to her homeland and a promise to return. Her brother, Ziedonis, does not include any of the descriptive, and ideologically expressive details which his sister narrates.

In addition to the selection of events, several other reconstructive processes of elaboration were identified and discussed. However, most important are not the specific characteristic of each process, since within a different interview corpus there would probably be a different set of reconstructive processes at work. Rather, important is the functional significance of these processes. Some may serve to create a more interesting story. Some may

express narrative "identities" and "voices". Some may merely be narrative forms which hold together otherwise disjointed fragments of remembered experience.

Chapter VI

THE NARRATING ACT: REPETITIONS AND ALTERATIONS

Joint interviews were arranged with the intent of exploring the extent to which joint reminiscing between both siblings would eventuate in alterations of their narrative accounts. The primary question addressed by the analysis concerns the dialogical tension between the fixated and dynamic aspects of the narrations as they unfold during the narrating act.

It was possible to arrange two such joint interviews: between Ludis and Zenta (ages 4 and 10, respectively, at the time of leaving); and between Aldona and Jumis (ages 11 and 15, respectively). The choice of these sibling pairs was based upon certain considerations, including geographical proximity of the siblings, and, of course, willingness to participate. Also, all four of these interviewees had indicated that they had not previously engaged in such joint reminiscing concerning their personal experience of leaving Latvia. Zenta and Ludis indicated that when they as family members get together, they generally talk of the present and future, only rarely discussing discrete anecdotes concerning past experiences. Aldona and Jumis stated that recently their children had begun asking them about certain aspects of their early experience, but that among themselves they had not jointly reminisced about the said period. Both sets of siblings share close family ties and were enthusiastic about the suggestion of participating in this joint endeavor. Consequently, the interview atmosphere was warm and marked by extensive spontaneous turn-taking between brother and sister.

Characteristic of both joint interviews was variation in the degree of agreement concerning memories of their shared childhood experiences. There

were moments when the siblings agreed from the onset regarding a certain experience, and other moments when each sibling described an event in contradictory terms. Also characteristic was variation in their responses upon encountering such diverging accounts. The sibling pairs evidenced a range of reactions, from a steadfast hold upon their initial version, to a willingness to consider the possibility of alternative narrations.

In general, the dialogical situation was facilitative of reminiscing. In addressing each other, each sibling would spontaneously mention episodes and aspects of his or her experience which would then engender the other sibling's response along the same or a tangential narrative thread. These spontaneous comments were such that they were specifically oriented towards another who had experienced the same event. An example is Zenta's recollection of their father playing the piano, as addressed to her bother Ludis: "One thing that you might remember, in the big room, in the evenings before we went to sleep, father played the piano and we sat and sang". As another example, in discussing the first period of Soviet occupation, Aldona and Jumis began discussing by name the new Communist teachers, and the romances which had developed among them. And, in generating such new descriptive aspects of an experience, the siblings did not necessarily repeat all of the descriptive information they had included during their initial interview. For example, in the initial interview Aldona spoke of having learned to sing the "Internationale", and Jumis spoke of how Stalin was presented in school as "father and teacher", but these descriptive aspects of their experience were not repeated in the joint session. It seemed to be the case that both siblings considered certain major events of this period as worthy of restating, whereas the "details" could be just as well omitted for perhaps pragmatic reasons. In fact, at one point in the interview Jumis said to me: "I already told you about the elections, I don't need to tell you again".

Repetition and Stability

When the interviewees did repeat upon both occasions similar descriptions of an event, the descriptive phraseology was strikingly similar from their first to their second retelling of an experience. For example, during the first interview Ludis described a memory of his father as: "he was teasing me , he was singing this song ...." and in the second interview: " he was singing some song which teased me". During the first interview Ludis described a hernia attack as "I was by the tablet and I was struck by a hernia", and in the second interview: "I got that hernia by the table".

In describing an incident of bombing in the port city of Liepaja, Aldona varied her descriptive accounts only slightly between the initial and joint interviews. Aldona recollected that just prior to their leaving of Latvia, while temporarily residing in a school building, they had experienced an air attack. She remembered:

> --And then there was heavy bombing. I don't remember if we went down to the basement. But I know that after it was finished -- the sirens went off and then it was over -- and then I didn't see it but I heard -- I was always listening to what the adults were saying -- and I heard that they said that on the streets there were horses killed ("zirgi nosisti").

During the joint interview Aldona's recollection of this experience was very similar, although not identical:

> --And then once there was bombing and I know only that the next day -- I myself didn't go onto those streets, but father came back -- and I heard that he was saying that there were killed ("tur ir nosists") -- there were buildings destroyed and there were horses ("zirgi bija") -- do you remember this also?

Upon both interview occasions Aldona included in her description several main points: during their stay at the school there was bombing; and afterwards adults were saying that horses had been killed. The details presented in each story

differ: a siren is mentioned in the first version; her father is designated as the informant about the dead horses in the second version.

Comparison of the initial and joint interview texts from these four siblings provides many examples of such similarities in descriptive statements, regarding both content and form. However, the statements from one interview to the next are almost always highly similar, yet not identical. In Chapter IV there was discussion of similarities in the various retellings by Vizbulite, especially concerning her identical reordering of the episodes. As mentioned in that context, the similarity seems to provide support for Bartlett's contention that once a story becomes constructed in memory, it remains fixated in a relatively stable form. However, it does not appear that this is some process of simple rote memory: the descriptive phrases upon retelling are not identical. It does not appear to be the case that a singular text has been created and then recollected in some "manuscript form". Rather, it appears that certain aspects of the autobiographical experience have become integrated as a temporally arranged narrative whole, which then becomes similarly, but not identically formulated during the narrating act.

There appears to be relative stability not only in what is remembered, but also in what is not remembered. Upon proposing the joint interview, it was mentioned that the purpose of such a joint endeavor would be to investigate whether or not it would be facilitative of additional remembering. During the course of the joint interview, the siblings occasionally commented directly in response to this research question. For example, at the beginning of the joint interview, the interviewees were asked to talk about how they remembered their home in Latvia. Zenta recollected a very detailed description of their apartment. As mentioned, she also described memories of their father playing the piano and the children singing. Ludis responded that he nevertheless could remember only

the two brief episodes he had recollected during the initial interview. Ludis commented in response to his sister's descriptive narrative: "that doesn't help me at all ....from what you have described nothing additional comes to me ("nenak klat"). During the interview with Aldona and Jumis, Jumis began describing his memories of sports activities being played in the field next to their home. Upon hearing her brother's account, Aldona asserted that she could not remember any such sports activities, and that she could remember this field only as an open space where she would venture to find solitude.

Compromise and Alteration

Only rarely did the dialogue result in some compromise agreement. For example, in discussing a train ride from the port of Danzig to southern Germany, Zenta indicated that they had travelled by box car. Ludis on the other hand stated: "No, they were passenger cars". Zenta suggested a compromise: "Maybe at times it was one and at time it was the other". Ludis agreed. Whether or not the siblings were willing to alter their previous versions seemed to depend at least partially upon how much "evidence" or logical probability the other sibling's version carried. For example, regarding the question of passenger vs. box car, both Zenta and Ludis produced "evidence" in favor of their particular account. Ludis recollected "sitting in a train compartment on a bench". And Zenta more explicitly stated: "I remember these huge doors, like in a cattle car, and that there are packages underneath and I am sitting on top of them".

Regarding a more emotionally-laden event, both Zenta and Ludis expressed somewhat different memories of a hernia attack suffered by Ludis while still in Latvia. The following dialogue illustrates their initial divergence of the account, as well as Zenta's eventual agreement with her brother's version:

Zenta: I remember one spring when we were at our grandmother's farm and we were sledding and you had that hernia.

Ludis: I got that hernia by the table. I don't remember how it started, but at that moment when I couldn't stand up anymore, I was by the table – a big, tall table. And in my mind I remember trying to hold on and not being able to hold on. It hurt me -- I just collapsed.

Zenta: That I don't remember – but I remember the sledding -- the only time we were at that farm when there was still snow on the ground.

Interviewer: Why do you think that's where Ludis got the hernia?

Zenta: Because I remember something -- that maybe I was supposed to be pulling the sled and I made him do it -- as if it had been my fault that he got it – and it all had something to do with a sled and the snow.

Ludis: I would be ready to swear that it was in the summertime.

Zenta: Maybe you're right -- maybe they wanted to figure out why and then mentioned that maybe it was when we were pulling the sled.

Although this joint interview occurred after my interview with their mother, I was particularly curious about her memory of the event, and therefore raised this question in a telephone conversation. Their mother responded that she remembered the incident happening in the summer, and that they had not been able to ascertain the cause of the hernia. It seems likely that at the time of its occurrence, especially upon the family's discussion of the possible cause of the hernia, that Zenta had <u>at that time</u> associated her brother's illness with an incident of his pulling a sled, perhaps just several months previously. It seems probable that a certain guilt which Zenta had been feeling in regard to the sledding incident, had become in her version directly associated with the hernia attack, and consequently both the sledding and the hernia attack were remembered both as having occurred while there was still snow on the ground.

Upon a few occasions there was indication that the joint dialogue actually served to engender the remembering of an experience which during the initial

interview had been inaccessible to conscious awareness. (In contrast to the already noted phenomena whereby the interaction facilitated reminiscing upon already conscious memories). For example, after Zenta had described their grandmother's farmhouse, I asked Ludis if he now remembered anything additional. Ludis responded:

> Nothing much more -- except when Zenta mentioned aunt Olga, then I see in my mind an old, slowly moving body walking around. -- Wasn't she the one who had arranged for her coffin to be ready upstairs?

In addition to some remembering directly in response to the other sibling's narrative, there also was some indication of a more general effect of the dialogue in evoking additional memories. For example, at one point Ludis indicated:

> Now that Zenta has started talking, then it comes to my mind, -- wasn't there some bag or something where all my belongings were put into -- maybe a backpack or something, that I was responsible for. That hadn't come to my mind earlier.

Prior to the joint interviews, I had anticipated that the dialogical interaction would lead to the "joint completion" or "co-construction" of partially complete memories. However, this generally did not turn out to be so. Basically, each interviewee maintained the same manner and degree of memory as in the first interview. Also, there was minimal attempt at joint construction of a coherent story in situations where each sibling remembered only fragmentary pieces. I had anticipated that in such a situation of two partially complete memories regarding the same events, that the siblings might have attempted to "co-construct" what had happened. That, for example, they would have begun suggesting inferentially probable conditions such as, "well, it may have happened that first it was _____, and then it was _____, and then .....".

Illustrative of such partial memory of the same event is by Aldona and Jumis (11 and 15 years old at the time), who both remembered fragmentary

aspects of an experience from the summer of 1944 prior to the leaving of Latvia, when they were taken to a relative's home in the forest. These narrative segments also exemplify the manner in which the personal experience and the culturally-defined historical context intersects in the construction of the autobiographical account. This episode seems to have occurred in late July of 1944, in response to the Soviet troops' invasion of central Latvia. Aldona was unable to place this event chronologically. During the interview she asked her brother: "Wasn't that during the Soviet occupation?" [1940-41]. Jumis, on the other hand provided a historically-specified explanation of this episode as happening either in "June or July" of 1944, in direct response to the advancement of the Soviet troops into the nearby city of Jelgava. More specifically, Jumis provided and explanation of the reason for hiding: "The fear was that the Russians would come in. It seemed that we would be immediately threatened, because we had seen what happened in 1941". (Previously both siblings had spoken of how their cousins and other local townspeople had been deported by the Soviets in 1941). Considering Jumis's apparent attempt to place his experience within a specific historical context, it is somewhat surprising that his chronological placement of the experience is somewhat vague, as having happened during <u>either</u> June or July. The exact date when the Soviet troops moved into central Latvia is an easily accessible piece of historical information, included in many Latvian history books, and undoubtedly taught in the DP camp schools in Germany. The point regarding this analysis is that the autobiographical narrative is not a construction which combines personal experience and an adult's perspective of history in any simple, direct manner. Rather, the autobiographical text is a unique constellation of "information", including memory of the personal experience and the historical context as it was understood at the time, from a child's perspective, integrated perhaps with

pieces of historical information which have been appropriated at other points in the course of one's lifetime.

In contrast to Jumis's contextually-based explanation of the hiding in the woods, Aldona recollected different aspects of the situation. For example, Aldona recollected sleeping on hay in a loft in a barn, and that their mother had assigned to them different names: Aldona was to respond to the name "Annina". In response to Aldona's description, Jumis asserted that he had no memory of these aspects of the experience. He, on the other hand, remembered driving to the woods in a wagon pulled by two horses. Both siblings asserted their stance that even after hearing the other sibling's memory, this did not facilitate or elicit a similar memory on their own:

> Aldona: I remember that when we were in those woods, that mother told us -- now your name is no longer Aldona, but you are Annina -- but I don't remember what you were named. -- There was a big forest all around and we were living in the hay -- in a loft in the barn, in the hay.
>
> Jumis: That was not far from our uncle's home ...
>
> Aldona: And we were going outside to pick mushrooms or something in the woods -- and before going outside, mother said -- now I will call you Annina. And I know that if someone was seen coming, then we had to hide -- that was pretty scary.
>
> Interviewer: And what do you remember, Jumis, from that place?
>
> Jumis: Well, I remember travelling there -- because the journey was extremely ... a huge pile of belongings piled up on the wagon and two horses, and mother driving. And the road through that forest was difficult -- there were tree stumps and potholes and I remember mother trying to manage it all. I remember that she was worried if we would make it.
>
> Interviewer: Do you remember your mother giving you a different name?
>
> Jumis: No
>
> Aldona: I had Annina.

Interviewer: And what was your feeling, hiding there?

Aldona: For me -- what I remember is the big forest -- very beautiful -- but I was a little scared -- that I might screw things up. And afraid that someone might come.

Jumis: I remember that there was a fear of the Russians coming -- a feeling of insecurity. And if you see the grownups packing all the belongings in a wagon and driving with horses somewhere deep in some forest -- then, naturally, it isn't a family picnic. So the feeling is there -- that there is insecurity. But I don't remember any loft in a barn.

The above excerpt illustrates, first of all, that during this joint interview, 47 years after the experience, Aldona and Jumis were not making any attempt to "co-construct" the experience: they each held on to their own fragmentary recollections. Also, this excerpt exemplifies differences in the manner of expressing the felt emotions. Of course, we do not know what lived experience was at the time of the event -- and it was most likely somewhat different for each sibling. However, of interest here is the manner in expressing whatever the recollected emotion might be. Aldona states straightforwardly: "I was a little scared." Jumis never directly expresses his own emotionality, at least not in the first person mode of narration. He only tells us what his mother was feeling, and what the general feeling of the times was like, expressed in the third person "everyone". And even after expressing this bit of emotionality, he quickly changes the topic back to the less emotional issue of their sleeping quarters.

Potentiality for Dynamic Change

The potentiality for change or alteration of one's autobiographical narrative was exemplified by both Zenta and Aldona (10 and 11 years old at the time of leaving, respectively). Several major childhood experiences of these two interviewees were described as strikingly similar. Of great personal importance was that they both left Latvia with siblings and their mothers, but without their

fathers. In both cases, the fathers were being detained by the Nazis. In both situations, their daughters apparently experienced this separation as emotionally traumatic, but the emotionality of the experience was not initially expressed. It became evident only in the course of the narrating process, during the initial interview with Aldona and during the joint interview with Zenta and Ludis.

Interestingly, during the post-war years both Zenta and Aldona had engaged in a routine-like private reminiscing about the homeland they had left behind, a reminiscing which was particularly centered around memories of their grandparents' farms. During the initial interview with Zenta, she explained that "for a long time in Germany, and even in America before going to sleep I would in my thoughts walk along all those paths and take a look at all my memories". With surprising similarity, Aldona said that she too had during the post-war years often thought about her grandparents' farm in Latvia. During such moments of private reminiscing, Aldona "played games" with the farm animals, or sought out some special corner of the fields to "revisit". As a result of such routine periods of private reminiscing, it is likely that certain memories would have become narrativized in a specific narrative form, which then would have become routinely repeated and stabilized as a narrative whole. In other words, one might speculate that such repeated moments of recollection would facilitate the fixation of the autobiographical accounts.

Nevertheless, both Zenta and Aldona evidenced their potentiality for alteration of their autobiographical stories. Zenta exemplified this potentiality in respect to her memory of the actual leaving of Latvia, which for her was also a separation from her father. During the initial interview Zenta described that upon leaving the harbor, while standing upon the deck of the ship, she had repeated to herself some phrase from a book. Zenta recollected during the initial interview:

I was saying 'I will never forget that', I know that I had read this somewhere During the joint interview Zenta's recollection was just slightly, but perhaps quite significantly different. Zenta stated:

> I said 'I will never forget that' -- I also somehow felt fairly strange saying it, because it was as if from some book.

These narrations by Zenta are, of course, very similar. In fact, the core phrase "I will never forget that" is narrated identically in both situations. However, the slight modification indicates the dynamic potential of these remembered stories. In the initial interview Zenta declared definitively that she had "read somewhere" that upon departure from one's homeland it would be appropriate to say "I will never forget that". In Chapter IV, Zenta's statement was discussed in the context of the expression of emotionality: that by attributing the sentimentality to a book she had read, Zenta was distancing herself from the expression of her personal emotions. In contrast, during the joint interview Zenta stated that this sentimental phrase was "as if from some book" -- but possibly otherwise -- allowing for the possibility that she herself might have experienced some of the emotionality implicated by the phrase.

Zenta's second narration of the leaving took place during the joint interview, after her brother Ludis had described his memory of his sister crying at the moment of departure. In response to this assertion, Zenta insisted that her brother's statement did not serve to invoke the memory of any emotional response. In fact, Zenta insisted: "I don't remember crying". However, somewhat later in the interview Zenta became less definitive and stated: "Maybe I was crying -- I don't remember". Nevertheless, the slight modification in Zenta's second retelling of the departure (" as if in some book"), does indicate that

Zenta may be willing to alter her narration of the leaving and to allow for some emotional acknowledgement.

When Ludis mentioned his recollection of Zenta crying, he suggested that the crying may have been related to the leaving of their father. Zenta never directly acknowledged this as a possibility. However, later during the joint interview, Zenta did describe a memory of crying at the moment of reunion with her father, an expression of emotionality not present in the initial retelling. Initially Zenta stated:

> I also remember when father arrived from Latvia and when I -- in that side room, where all the things that didn't fit in my room were stuffed -- I stood there and said, "thank you God that you brought me my daddy right on my birthday". --But if it was exactly on my birthday, that I don't know.

During the joint interview Zenta recollected:

> It was right before or right after my birthday. I just remember that I crawled into this space -- some side room -- and I said thank you to God, that He had send him to me. And then I remember that I cried, that I sat there in that space. I don't have any images in my mind of how he came in or what he might have said -- I just know that he is there.

During the joint interview Zenta remembers the emotionality of the moment -- in fact, the emotionality is primarily what she remembers and describes. Zenta attributes the recollected tears to her state of happiness, which would be a probable emotional reaction upon reunion with a loved one. However, it may also be that the acknowledgment of tears upon reunion with her father is indicative of a more general willingness to express emotionality.

The possibility of dynamic change within one's autobiographical story was exemplified to an even greater extent by Aldona during both the initial and joint interviews. The first alteration in Aldona's narrative concerned her attribution of the cause of her emotionality upon leaving Latvia. Aldona explained that before leaving their home, she had imagined the possible trip to

Germany as something "very interesting" and that she, in fact, had included this anticipated journey in her evening prayers. However, Aldona narrated that upon leaving the farm animals and experiencing the bombings in Liepaja, that she was already starting to have some regrets. Then, upon boarding the ship she was overcome by sadness:

> --it felt like the ship was terribly crowded -- with all the belongings, we sat down there. And I know that when we left Latvia -- I think we were on the deck and then suddenly -- I think Dievs Sveti Latviju [the national anthem was being sung -- and then suddenly I felt terribly sad -- I was willing to take back all of my prayers about Germany ....and then there was talk, when the night came, that the mines are in the sea, and then I unconsciously knew that there is some kind of danger -- there was talk that some ship had been blown up or something

In discussing this moment of leaving Latvia, and in response to some additional interview questions, Aldona began remembering that while standing on the deck of the ship, she had seen people down below on the dock, and that "somehow in those face, I think, I saw that this isn't a joke". In continuation of this same discussion, Aldona also began to recollect the whereabouts of her other family members. Her father, as mentioned before, was temporarily staying behind in Latvia:

> --I only remember my mother -- I absolutely don't remember my sister and brother -- mother I remember on that ship. Because father remained in Latvia, father didn't leave with us.

Then suddenly Aldona paused and reflected:

> -- you know, then maybe that was it, that father was standing down below -- because father didn't leave with us, he wasn't allowed, he still had to stay -- maybe that was what hit me.

Aldona's visual memory of the scene of departure did not change, as she herself later indicated. She did not actually visualize seeing her father standing down below on the deck. What did change was the meaning the Aldona was

attributing to her sadness. Whereas initially she had implied that the sadness was due to hearing the national anthem, in the course of the discussion, Aldona altered her understanding of the event and stated that the sadness may have been due to the leaving of her father. The essence, the meaning of the memory has changed even though the specific image have have remained the same. Apparently, different inferences and attributions of meaning can be generated during the process of the narrating act.

During the course of the joint interview Aldona's narrative was altered even further. Aldona's initial shift in attributing the cause of her sadness from the national anthem to her father apparently served to allow for the second alteration in her narrative. As a result of the initial shift, the national anthem no longer was pivotal in her story. Consequently, during the joint interview the singing of the national anthem was virtually dismissed. This change was undoubtedly also influenced by her brother's assertion during the joint interview that he had no memory of such singing:

> Aldona: Do you remember "Dievs, sveti Latviju", or have I imagined this?
>
> Jumis: No, I don't remember
>
> Aldona: I'm starting to think, who could have been the ones singing. It's strange. Is that something which I later -- I fantasized a lot -- you know I have this tendency to make things more beautiful. You know, if I don't like something, I make it very beautiful. Especially in early childhood I did this. So maybe I composed a poetic tone to it.

This dynamic change in Aldona's narrative appears also related to her present "biases" or attitudes. Aldona has been one of the most ethnically involved interviewees. However, during the past few years, her emotional ties have been shifting from the Latvian community in the United States -- which she finds becoming more and more Americanized -- to the Latvian community in Latvia.

Aldona is also one of the four interviewees who expressed a serious desire to return to Latvia to live. Simultaneously Aldona feels less sentimental regarding the Latvian symbols which have been elements of the ethnic community "in exile". For example, in response to a question about what the Latvian flag means to her today, Aldona stated: "Something different than in the DP camps in Germany, when I was taught to love the flag. It is still dear to me ...but it's not as big of a symbol. A little more neutral." I would suggest that the initial version of Aldona's memory, complete with her sadness attributed to the singing of the national anthem, most likely had been a relatively "fixated" memory for many, many years – probably from the time of the DP camps. As discussed earlier in respect to the nature of the "evocative" memories, it seems likely that this initial version was very "real" in its symbolic power. However, in light of both her changing attitudes, and in light of the dialogical narrating process itself, the narrative discourse can and does change. The change, in essence, results in a differentiation of Aldona's "own voice" from the "voices" of the cultural discourse.

In their initial narrative accounts of the leaving of Latvia, Aldona and Jumis differed not only in respect to whether or not there was a singing of the national anthem. The divergence between their accounts primarily concerned their recollection of the bombings they experienced shortly prior to the actual departure. As cited previously, Aldona recollected that the bombings had occurred while they were residing in a school building, waiting to board the ship. Jumis remembered the bombing as having taken place when already aboard the ship. During the initial interview his description of the air attack was particularly poignant. Jumis recollected:

> —And then on the ship -- you know, it was crowded, many people with all their belongings -- and then what happened -- it was already evening, I think nine or ten o'clock -- there was an air attack by the Russians -- and it was pretty heavy. You couldn't run off the ship -- you couldn't run off -- you are inside and that's it. And you hear that somewhere above bombs are exploding. Nothing actually hit the ship, but all around it was like hell. And the people, some were screaming and some were yelling and some had thrown up -- you know, it was horrible.
>
> ....that horrible feeling of uncertainty, that you are being bombed and you are on the ship. You can't run away anywhere. That was such a shocking experience that the journey itself -- well, let's get away from here. And if I'm not mistaken a bomb had hit the neighboring ship, a couple of hundred meters away. There were definitely bloody things that were very near. For example, I remember seeing a horse, dead, on the shore.

The central thematic element of Jumis's story seems to be the impossibility of escape -- that something horrible was happening, something unknown, something "uncertain", and that there was no way to escape from it. This emotional theme corresponds closely with Jumis's experience after arriving in Germany.

In comparison of the two sibling accounts, it becomes evident that they have narrated similar descriptive details of an event, only that each sibling has placed these details in a somewhat different context. For example, both siblings mentioned a dead horse, but Aldona recollected that she had heard her father talking about dead horses on the street, whereas Jumis recollected that he saw a dead horse upon the dock. Both siblings also mentioned a ship being blown up: Jumis recollected that it was the neighboring ship in the harbor; Aldona remembered hearing the adults talking about a ship having been blown up at sea.

Whether or not the bombing took place while they were residing in the school or aboard the ship, for the purposes of this discussion does not really matter. What matters is an attempt to understand the reconstructive process and the functional significance of the reconstruction. However, for pragmatic

reasons, to further this discussion it will be assumed that Aldona's account of the event is perhaps closer to the actual "lived experience" -- that the bombing most likely took place while they were residing at the school, and that the dead horse was lying in the street.

I would suggest that Jumis has without awareness constructed a narrative which incorporates all of the horrifying images of those days in Liepaja, and locates them all within or near to the ship, which serves as a symbolic metaphor to express his fear. The ship in effect becomes a symbolic container of a felt terror. I would also suggest that the terror being expressed in his narrative is not necessarily a terror which he felt at the moment of departure, but rather a terror which he had experienced shortly afterwards upon arriving in Germany. I am making this assumption upon the basis of inferring that Jumis's subsequent experience in Germany was most likely extremely terrifying for a 15-year old boy. And this episode Jumis related very matter-of-factly; and certainly minimized his expression of any emotional experience.

During the initial interview Jumis explained that after they arrived in Germany they were placed in a camp for refugees, and that two or three days later all of the men had been called forth and told they were being taken to a work site. Jumis recollected:

> --On the second or third day they suddenly announced that all of the men were being taken somewhere to work. That they would be taken away. And I was included, I was 15 years old at the time....And they put us on a train and took us away.... And we were there about a month. During the day we had to dig trenches ...And that definitely wasn't some easy job. It was cold and raining -- and tiring -- in the morning they gave us coffee and bread -- I don't remember what we ate for lunch -- and then in the evening they gave us something to eat, you know, then it was already dark. You had to dry your clothing and shoes somewhere and then the next morning it all started again ... all of November...

The narrative simply describes how at the age of 15 in a completely foreign land, he was taken away from his family, amongst a group of total strangers, to dig trenches for the entire cold and rainy month of November.

> – And how did you feel at the time?
>
> –The feeling -- you are there and you have been placed there, and nobody knew. You were needed and you had to be there -- the feeling was very awful. Who knows where the others from my family were sent. But I didn't worry terribly about what to do – I'm that way -- ok, if we have to go, then I will go -- it's bad but somehow it will probably turn out ok.

Upon direct questioning, Jumis admitted that "the feeling was very awful," but then adds several disclaimers to this expression by stating that he "didn't worry terribly" and that he was sure everything would "turn out ok". This was an experience certainly marked by "uncertainty" -- an uncertainty concerning his family's whereabouts as well as his own future. This was an experience also marked by coercion and no possibility of escape. Jumis's description of the departure by ship contains these same elements: uncertainty, impossibility of escape, and a feeling that "it was like hell". The ship does appear to be a symbolic container for these feelings of terror. These feelings have not been fabricated, rather they have been incorporated within a concrete image. It is perhaps less difficult to express one's feelings in symbolic form.

During the joint interview, Jumis waited until his sister had narrated her memory of the departure before describing his remembered experience. Having heard his sister's descriptions of the bombings while they were staying in the school, Jumis presented a slightly altered narrative account:

> Jumis: --When the ship was leaving -- crawling along the shore – you could see -- in the early morning, in a foggy morning -- there wasn't anything so horrible, but it was a bad feeling -- now you know that you are leaving your home, your homeland and travelling to some hell knows where and of course the danger was with the submarines. ....

....and there was the air attack. I don't know what time of day it was, but there was an air attack. We were all inside the ship and outside the bombs were being thrown

Aldona: Oh, I thought the air attack was while we were in that school

Jumis: We were on the ship when the air attack happened.

Aldona: See, I have this memory that the air attack was while we were at the school. Because when we were going to the ship -- I don't know how we were travelling, if in a truck or what -- but I really wanted to see those dead horses. I have this horse in my mind -- you know, that was in the street -- but unfortunately I didn't see anything.

Jumis: You know, maybe

Aldona: I remember looking if I might see something. ... I think that it was father, that father had gone to the ship and he was saying that they (the horses) had been killed.

Jumis: I don't remember the killing of the horses ..... but there definitely was an air attack.

Jumis never explicitly changed his account However, during the continuous discussion, individual elements were dismissed. For example, there is no longer "screaming and yelling" aboard the ship; there is no dead horse laying on the dock; and the "hell" is not outside the ship but rather at the end of the ship's journey ("travelling to some hell knows where").

In conclusion

The dialogical interactions which took place during the joint interviews pointed, first of all, to the nature of such dialogue as facilitative of reminiscing. However, the dialogue did not seem to engender the bringing to awareness of previously forgotten memories. Nor, in contrast to my expectations, did the dialogue result in the joint construction of a common experience which each interviewee had remembered in differing bits and pieces. Rather, the joint

interaction had a more general effect of facilitation. To be more specific, it was if Ludis's presence seemed to inspire and encourage Zenta to be more explicit and elaborative regarding certain aspects of her childhood memories. The dialogue, in effect, became one of closeness whereby the siblings engaged in discussion of what "we" had experienced, for example, when Zenta asked Ludis if he remembered when "father played the piano and we sat and sang".

Striking was the effect to which the joint interviews illustrated the stable and dynamic aspects of the narrative constructions. During the joint interviews the interviewees often described and elaborated different events than they had described during the initial, individual interview. In fact, they sometimes directly or indirectly implied that they did not see the purpose of repeating a description. However, to the extent that they did spontaneously or with prodding repeat a description of an event, the narrative structures of both descriptions was in most cases strikingly similar. For example, during the first interview Ludis described a hernia attack as "I was by the tablet and I was struck by a hernia", and in the second interview: "I got that hernia by the table". These similarities appear to support Bartlett's (1932) contention that once a narrative construction of a memory becomes established, that it is repeated in relatively stable form. However, there were also specific moments during the narrating process when the interviewees actually made major alterations of their narrative constructions. The most vivid illustration of this is by Aldona. Already during the course of the initial interview, she began to alter her narration. She initially recollected the moment of departure from Latvia as a traumatic moment, with a feeling of sadness upon hearing the national anthem. Through the course of the interview dialogue Aldona began to question the cause of her sadness and eventually attributed this emotionality to the fact that she was leaving her father behind. During the joint interview, upon hearing her brother's description of the

same moment, without the inclusion of the national anthem, Aldona completely deleted this aspect from her autobiographical story.

The changes in Jumis's narration are also very interesting. During the initial interview he described a major, frightening air attack as occurring when he was already onboard the ship, awaiting to leave the shore. He went on to describe how, having arrived in Germany, at the age of 15, he was separated from his family and sent off to dig trenches. Jumis described this later experience with minimal emotionality. During the joint interview Aldona stated that the air attack had occurred beforehand while they were staying in a school building. Upon hearing his sister's account, Jumis seemed to agree. However, what seems most important to this analysis is not that Jumis had presumably reconstructed the location of the air attack, but rather that in his narrative he had created the ship as the symbolic container of his experienced fear, fear not only upon hearing the bombs explode, but perhaps also upon separation from his family.

The above excerpts illustrate the symbolic power which autobiographical narrative is capable of providing and carrying. These excerpts also indicate to what extent the narratives can serve as a dynamic vehicle to express changes in one's own conceptualizations of the past and present.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION: REMEMBERING AND RECONSTRUCTING

Remembering and reconstructing one's childhood "lived experience" has been explored through comparison of autobiographical narratives from siblings and peers who experienced a common culturally-defined historical event. It has been assumed that autobiographical narratives are not veridical accounts, but rather that they express aspects of the "lived experience" as this experience "reaches" out through language, an assumption based upon Ricoeur's conceptualization of the relationship between narrative and temporality (Ricoeur, 1980). The analysis has led to the suggestion that the significance of the "lived experience" in the construction of the autobiographical narrative is analogous to the significance of memory "traces" within the memory process, as conceptualized by Bartlett (1932). Bartlett referred to the "direct excitation of certain traces" as providing the basis for subsequent reconstructions.

In addressing the relationship between the "lived experience" and the autobiographical narration, similarities and differences among interviewee texts were identified and analyzed. In effect, the similarities between sibling interview texts were much less than expected. In analyzing the narration of the "lived experience" of the sequence of events directly related to the leaving of Latvia, it was found that the selection of events was similar at a mean of 40.9% between sibling accounts. Furthermore, even for those events included in common by both siblings, the descriptive elaboration was invariably different.

The most striking similarities in narrative accounts were found among narratives of interviewees from the same age group, particularly those who were

7 to 9 years old at the time of leaving Latvia (referred to as the "younger" group). As discussed earlier, the primary purpose of this analysis by age was not to address developmental questions per se, but rather to explore the relationships among narratives in order to provide insight into the nature of the reconstructive processes. As a result of the comparison by age, however, conspicuous similarities became apparent. Those from the "younger" group tended to narrate the moment of leaving with expressions of "accentuated" emotionality. The narrative sequence of their accounts was genre-like in its commonality. Narratives often began with an initial feeling of excitement upon the prospect of traveling to a new country, followed by a dramatic and instantaneous moment of recognition of the tragic dimension of the departure. This moment of recognition occurred while standing on the deck of the ship upon hearing the singing of the Latvian national anthem. Interviewees from this "younger" group also tended to use certain "emphatic" expression to describe their understanding at the time. For example, their narratives included unqualified "emphatic" expressions referring to "the Russians" with terms such as "evil" and "horrifying". Narratives from neither the "older (10-12 years old) nor the "very young" (4-6 years old) groups included any such "emphatic" statements. And, in contrast to the "younger" group, the narratives of the "older" and "very young" interviewees tended to be "minimized/neutral" in expression of emotionality.

Many interviewees described their experience directly preceding the war as being "saturated" by the patriotic sentiment and discourse generated within the Displaced Persons (DP) camps. All of these interviewees had spent the post war years, from approximately 1945 to 1949, in Germany living in or near one the many DP camps set up by the United Nations. The cultural discourse generated within the camps provided explanation both to the camp administrators and the community itself as to the reasons for choosing not to return to Latvia after the

war had ended. Emphasized were the atrocities committed by the Soviets during the 1940-41 occupation, and created was an "ideology of exile", demanding that the refugees uphold their cultural tradition and strive for the restoration of Latvia's independence (Carpenter, 1988). In all likelihood, such ideology also served as a "psychological resource" to provide structure and signification to the experienced trauma (Garbarino, Kostelny & Dubrow, 1991).

The cultural ideology of the DP camp period seems to have been variously appropriated by the interviewees of this study. The commonalities in the narratives of the "younger" group indicate that these narrative constructions are more closely situated among the culturally generated meanings. While living in the DP camps, these "younger" interviewees were reaching puberty, a developmental period described by some as a time of emotional vulnerability (Anna Freud, 1966) and ideological susceptibility (Erikson, 1963). At this time the "older" interviewees were already well into adolescence and perhaps had developed greater ability and inclination to be more critical of the culturally transmitted messages. In fact, several of the "older" interviewees narrated with some irony their experience of the patriotic rhetoric and manifestations. However, these relationships between age and the manner in which meanings are appropriated remain speculative and demand exploration in further studies.

Upon the basis of these interview texts I would like to suggest that the actual moment of leaving Latvia, at the time of its occurrence, was relatively void of meaning for those who were children. In fact, the moment may have been undefined for the adults as well. As some of the interviewed mothers indicated, upon departure they were primarily concerned with the whereabouts and safety of their children, and did not have opportunity to reflect upon the tragic dimensions of the event. But even more importantly, the finality of the event was unknowable at the time, especially since the Latvian exiles were leaving with the

intention of returning at the end of the war, upon the anticipated restoration of Latvia's independence. According to interviews with those who were adults at the time of leaving, the expectation was that the Allies would assure such independence, as Roosevelt and Churchill had declared in the Atlantic Charter of 1941, regarding the right of self-determination for all people.

The last nine months of the war was a time of continuous movement for many of the Latvia exiles, initially fleeing from the Soviet troops as they were moving into Latvia, and then again fleeing from the same troops as they were entering the eastern parts of Germany, in addition to the nightly fleeing to air raid shelters in response to the Allied bombing attacks. In contrast, the period from 1945 to 1949 spent living in the DP camps was relatively calm and stationary. Consequently, this was a time which would have allowed for reflection upon and narrativization of that which was recently experienced. In the course of dialogue with oneself or another, autobiographical narratives were undoubtedly created. Since the narrative form, in general, is such that it generates coherency among disparate narrative elements (Ricoeur, 1980), a narrativization of the "lived experience" of leaving Latvia in all likelihood served to provide coherence and significance for individual members of the Latvian community, as well as for the Latvian community as a whole.

From the interview texts collected in this study there is indication that once constructed, the narrative tends to be retold in relatively stable form, as Bartlett proposed (1932). Comparison of interviewee accounts of the same experience recollected upon several occasions revealed that the narrative descriptions of a specific event tended to be repeated in a highly similar, although not identical form. The slight variations upon retelling suggest that the autobiographical narrative is not recollected in some rote manner, but rather as a temporally sequenced whole. Further indication of the narrative's relative

stability is pointed to by the lack of historical sophistication within many accounts. Even though the narratives were being told by an adult, from an adult's vantage point, they nevertheless often locate specifics of the experience within a child-like historical context, that is to say, a historical framework not congruent with cultural consensus.

I am suggesting that the interviewees of this study, who were children at the time of leaving Latvia and just slightly older while living in the DP camps, had constructed some form of autobiographical narrative during the post-war period, and that this same narrative has retained some continuity in retelling over the course of the interim years. On the other hand, the narrative form is not fixated not impenetrable to change, and undoubtedly undergoes continuous evolutionary alterations within the constant dialogical tension between the past experience and the many moments of recollecting in the present. Upon occasion, even during the course of an interview, and especially within the course of both individual and joint interviews, the dynamic potential of the narratives became apparent. Instances of change within the narrative accounts which occurred during the narrating act indicate the potentiality of constructing different, perhaps more adaptive and enabling versions of one's autobiographical story. At any specific moment of recollection, one's present attitudes and "biases" will in all likelihood contribute to that particular narrative reconstruction, just as within this study the interviewee's present perspectives and "biases" regarding themselves within the Latvian cultural matrix, were related to the more subtle, qualitative differences within the genre-like descriptions of the departure from Latvia.

Through the comparison of differences and similarities of sibling and peer accounts, it became apparent that the commonalities within the interview texts point to reconstructed aspects which seem particularly reflective of the

culturally-generated discourse of the DP camp period. The uniqueness in event selection and elaboration, on the other hand, served to create the interviewee's "narrative identity" (referring to a dynamic, poetic construct as discussed by Ricoeur, 1980) and to express the interviewee's own "voice" (referring to one's ideological perspective, as discussed by Bakhtin, 1929). Differences between narrative accounts indicated the extent to which culturally-generated meanings have been appropriated as "authoritative" or, in contrast, have been "populated with one's own aspirations" (Bakhtin, 1929). The symbolic potential of autobiographical descriptions, as suggested by Crapanzano (1986), was illustrated by specific narrative moments which apparently served to express the interviewee's experience indirectly, in symbolic form.

The importance of the narrating act as essential to the autobiographical memory system has been recently addressed (Nelson, 1991; Hudson ,1990; Fivush & Hamond, 1990; Tessler, 1991). Nelson has proposed a model of the autobiographical memory system whereby personally experienced novel events are incorporated as memorable autobiographical events through the process of narrativization. The ability to narrativize personal experiences, to construct an autobiographical story, has been shown to be a developmentally evolving skill acquired by the child during the first several years of life, through engagement in memory talk with others. The interviewees of the present study, who were at least 4 years old at the time of leaving Latvia, would presumably already have had developed this ability at the time of the departure. More specifically, it appears that in the case of these exiles, the actual narrativizing of the experience took place one or more years later within the context of the DP camps, where the meaning of the departure was being culturally defined. The interviewees' narratives, once constructed, in all likelihood have enabled their continuous ability to recollect selected aspects of their "lived experience". And, as Nelson

has discussed, the autobiographical narratives also serve to engender "social solidarity". Even though the majority of the interviewees of this study indicated that they do not socially reminisce about the moment of leaving Latvia, they nevertheless continue to implicitly share this experience. Even though the autobiographical narratives are not spoken aloud, they nevertheless serve to implicitly define and join individuals within specific cultural matrices.

The analysis of this study indicates that autobiographical narratives may serve as a framework to enable the recollection of non-verbally expressible memories or "traces". Although not addressed directly in this study, several interviewees had indicated in their narrations that they remembered the sounds and smells of particular childhood experiences. "It's sounds I remember -- the atmospheres -- which I kind of feel as it is was today", Daira stated in recollecting her experience during the Allied air attacks. In addressing memories of her grandparents' farm in Latvia, Teika emphasized:

> I remember absolutely visually -- it is like I can completely see the fields. I remember the birds' eggs, I remember the thin eggshells with all different colors. But it is more than just seeing, it is reexperiencing -- it is not just visual -- it is like an essence. -- Those cowdungs -- we would step in them -- and I can still now completely sense the feel of how the dung seeps through between your toes.

Such memories may be attributable to the "second" memory system proposed by Pillemar and White (1989), a memory system which is responsive to situational and affective cues. Virginia Woolf may have been addressing this "second" memory process as well when she stated: "I am hardly aware of myself, but only of the sensations .....strong emotion must leave its trace" (cited in Benstock, 1988, p. 27). Similarly, Walter Benjamin (1969) has emphasized the importance of Marcel Proust's involuntarily recollected memories, particularly his memory of the smell and taste of the "madelaine" dipped in linden tea. Benjamin has

suggested that the involuntary memories based upon sensation serve to provide the "warf" or underlying basis for the voluntarily woven or constructed narrative account. This brings us back to the assertion by Bartlett (1932) that memory entails the "direct excitation of certain traces", which then serve as the basis of a more elaborately constructed narrative memory. It may be that the narrative, once constructed, serves as the framework to enable the continuity of these "traces" of experienced, but non-verbally expressible affects and sensations. After all, the "woof" of a weaving holds together the "warf".

In addressing the relationship between a memory "trace" and the narrative structure, I am assuming that at the time of a "lived experience" some aspects of this experience become "encoded" within the memory system. However, this "encoding" is not veridical, but rather based upon the selected and constructed perceptions of the moment. I am suggesting that the autobiographical narrative is constructed at some point after the event when there is opportunity for reflection, and that the narrative structure provides significance and gives coherence to the "lived experience". But again, the narrative is not directly re-presentative or reflective of the remembered "traces". In fact, as Mink (1980) has suggested, perhaps "the narrative itself is precisely what is not remembered, but reconstructed" (p. 235). In arguing that autobiographical narratives may serve to provide explanation and context for "sensations" experienced in the past, Burt has proposed that the narrative is "invented to explain the persistence of a memory fragment of uncertain provenance" (1988, p. 261). Finally, Ricoeur (1988) refers to autobiographical narrative as "the work of art that states the meaning of the impression" (p.150).

Perhaps most fascinating is that the autobiographical narrative is an artistic expression engaged in by people of many lands, of many cultures, of many ages, and that the richness and subtlety of this artistic creation is in

constant, dynamic evolution through the course of the continuous dialogical tension of remembering and reconstructing.

Appendix 1
Guidelines for Coding Expressions of Emotionality

Of those interviewees who left Latvia by ship, their description of how they remember the actual moment of departure from Latvia will be coded for "mode" of expression, as either "accentuated" or "minimized/neutral" in emotional expressiveness.

1. Narrative segments of "accentuated" emotionality will be characterized by statements of emotional distress attributed to the culturally-signified tragedy of the departure.

2. Narrative segments of "minimized/neutral" emotionality will be characterized by statements of dismissal or minimization of emotionality, by lack of emotional expression, or by a mixture of some positive and negative affects. These narrative will be minimal in emotional expressiveness in comparison to statements made by the other sibling regarding the same experience.

Since narratives will be categorized upon the basis of comparison between sibling accounts, the following examples are presented to illustrate this relationship:

Imants and Voldemars

1. Illustrative statements from Imant's narrative, "accentuated" in emotionality are as follows:

> --The moment of leaving, that was dismal -- that was dismal. That I remember -- that I remember.
>
> ..... the actual moment of departing, that left a very deep impression. I know that it was the first time I cried -- tears gathered in my eyes.
>
> But what left an impression -- it was the first time I heard "Dievs, sveti Latviju" [the national anthem]. The ship was slowly turning. It was a foggy morning. And everyone very quietly and beautifully was singing "Dievs, sveti Latviju !" My heart was trembling and I know that tears were running down my cheek. That was a moment of such emotionality. At that moment I thought that I would never again see these shores in my lifetime.

2. Illustrative of a narrative segment of "minimized/neutral" emotionality is that of Voldemars, who describes his memory of the departure as follows:

> And finally the ship left, slowly left the harbor. All of those people singing "Dievs, sveti Latviju". Tears are flowing for everyone -- the same as usual.

Particularly relevant to the categorization is Voldemar's "minimizing" statement : "the same as usual".

Zenta, Viesturs and Ludis

1. The narrative account of Zenta is illustrative of "minimized/neutral" emotionality:

> ... and I remember standing at the edge of the ship and looking out and saying "I will never forget this". I know, that I had read somewhere, that when you leave someplace then that's what you should think and say. But I myself didn't really care. Maybe the feeling was that we will return again. In no way was there the feeling that we will leave and never return.
>
> Once there was an air attack, and then everyone fled underneath the deck, and my brother Ludis fell. He had on a gray coat and a gray cap and people were running right over him. Mother somehow pulled him up and pulled him along. So everything turned out ok.

Particularly relevant to the categorization are Zenta's "minimizing" statements: "But I myself didn't really care" and "everything turned out ok".

2. The narrative account of Viesturs is illustrative of "accentuated" emotionality:

> --When the front was getting nearer, then from what I understand, my father had decided that our family must leave Latvia .... Because after all, on the night of those deportations they had come looking for my father at our apartment in Riga. Since he wasn't deported on that night they thought if the Russians come a second time, then he will be deported, or shot.
>
> I remember when we were on the deck of the ship, that I remember. And everyone was standing there at the edge of the ship and the ship left the shore. And I couldn't see over the ledge, so I watched through one of the holes. And I thought that I would never return.
>
> --And how did you feel at the time?
>
> -- I cried -- wanting to cry -- but I don't really know why. Probably because I assumed that I would never get back. And why I thought that I don't know.

Particularly relevant to the categorization are Viestur's statements that the family had to leave so that his father would not be "shot" (which happened only upon specific occasion, i.e. in the elimination of Latvian army generals, which Viesturs father was not one of); the thought of no return; and the emotional expression of crying.

3. The narrative account of Ludis is illustrative of "minimized/neutral" emotionality:

> –I remember that journey by ship. When the Russian planes attacked and in the back of the ship was a machine gun that fired at the planes. And the shells were falling off to the side. Like a machine gun. But I didn't know that. I thought that those were the bullets. I remember wondering how will they shoot down the plane if the bullets are falling off to the side.
>
> – And did you have any feelings about the fact of leaving Latvia?
>
> –No, I think that my parents said that so and so must be done, so I went along.

Some of the narrative texts classified as "minimized/neutral" contain very little memory of the event. One might suggest that their experience was so painful as to result in total repression; or, that the experience really did not leave much of an impression, except as an interesting excursion. The narrative description of Ziedonis, seems to support the later suggestion. After having declared virtually no memory for the experience of leaving, other that "getting on the ship", Ziedonis later stated:

> –It was my first journey by sea. I remember the feel of being at sea – that the ship is at sea. I don't remember any events. Just the sensation of travelling by sea. Water all around.

Appendix 2
Guidelines for "event diagram" construction

Events considered for the "event diagram" will be categorized as either "extended", "brief" or "repeated" according to the following criteria:

a. An "extended event" will be recollected as having lasted for more than a day. Examples of "extended events" are:

> "we travelled by horse-drawn wagons from Kuldiga to Liepaja."
> "we travelled by train from one end of Germany to the other"
> "we lived in Breslau"
> "we lived a nomadic existence in Germany, moving from one place to another"

Also, a description of the initial moment of an extended event, such as "we left home" will be considered as a part of the extended event, unless this initial moment is specifically elaborated, for example, if there is specific description of how they locked the door.

b. A "brief event" will be recollected as having lasted for less than a day. A "brief event" can be either nested within an "extended event" or presented separately. Examples of "brief events" are:

> "at the side of road I found a briefcase with a stamp collection"
> "my father went back for a spare wagon wheel"
> "my mother told us to stay away from the hole"
> "we slept in a tool shed"
> "this was the first time I ate German bread"
> "they smoked the meat and put it in containers"

C. A "repeated event" will be considered a "brief event" which is recollected as having occurred more than once. Examples of "repeated events" are:

> "we slept in barns along the way"
> " mother would go out looking for firewood"
> "we ran to the shelters every night when the sirens went off"
> "we ate a lot of soup"

1. Each event listed in the "event diagram" must involve a personally experienced action which is recollected as having occurred during the leaving of Latvian, in the autumn of 1944, or during the last phase of the war in Germany, up until May 7, 1945. The action must have been performed by the interviewee, a family member, or someone within the immediate social group. In other words, each event listed in the "event diagram" must be recollected as part of the "lived experience" of the said period.

2. Actions which the interviewee explicitly describes as not having part of the initial experience, but rather as later learned, will not be listed in the "event diagram". An example of such a statement is: "later I found out that my mother had buried the silverware".

3. Events described during the narrative sequence, but indicated as either "flashbacks" or "flashforwards", will not be listed in the "event diagram", but will be noted in a separate column

4. Statements of what someone thought, felt or desired will not be considered as separate events for the purposes of the "event diagram", nor will statements of what someone did not think, feel or desire. Also, statements directly implying thoughts or feelings, such as "my mother started to cry" will not be listed as separate events.

5. Descriptions of direct or indirect speech will not be considered as separate events, but rather as aspects of an event.

6.. Statements of historical or general information will not be listed in the "event diagram". An example of historical information is: "Riga was occupied on October 13," or "after we left, Liepaja was totally demolished". An example of general information is "Breslau was the German name" or "the authorities had allocated a gymnasium". Dates will not be listed as events.

7. As regards two or more events which are nested within one another, if the narrative contains statements regarding or referring to either both or all three types of events, then they should be listed separately. For example, if the following statements were made, three separate events would be listed:

> "extended": "while we were in the hospital"
> "brief": " the boy with diphtheria crawled into my bed"
> "repeated": "my mother would bring us milk and eggs"

However, if the "extended" event is only implied, but never mentioned at all, then it should not be listed separately.

8. In certain instances, judgments will have to be made as to whether a phrase or clause is merely a descriptive aspect of an event, or an event in itself. If the phrase contains no humanly performed action or act, such as "there were diapers hanging", then it will be considered as a descriptive aspect of an event., and not listed separately.

If the phrase contains a humanly performed action, but is not presented as a central aspect of the event, for example the phrase, " some people waved good-bye" , then the following rule of thumb should be followed: if it is a single clause and the action is performed by someone other than the interviewee or immediate family, then do not list separately.

If the phrase contains an ongoing action, co-existing with an "extended event", then it should be considered as an aspect of that event. For example, the following statements would be considered as aspects of one "extended event": "we travelled by horse-drawn wagons from Kuldiga to Liepaja – we sat on top of the baggage."

9. Judgments will also have to be made regarding indirect indications of an "extended event". If the interviewee makes an actual statement such as "we arrived in Breslau" , and then goes on to describe an event or events which occurred in Breslau, indicating that the time spent in Breslau lasted more than a day , then "we arrived in Breslau" will be considered an "extended event". However, if no mention is made of having arrived or lived in such a city, then there will be no "extended event" listed, even though the interviewee may go to describe a "brief" event which most likely took place in Breslau. In other words, not every "brief event" or "repeated event" will necessarily be presented in the diagram as nested within an "extended event".

Appendix 3
Political events in the Baltic states, 1988-1991

Major events in the Baltic states from the summer of 1988 through March of 1991. These events were reported in one or more of the following periodicals: Laiks, the Latvian newspaper in the United States, The New York Times, and U.S. News and World Report:

summer of 1988 -- Latvian Writer's Congress calling for reexamination of past illegalities and accentuation of democratically-oriented future aspirations; mass demonstrations in Latvia on June 14th in commemoration of those deported to Siberia and on August 23rd in protest of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

summer of 1988 -- founding of the Popular Front movements in the Baltic republics.

beginning of October, 1988-- first congress of the Popular Front in Estonia, calling for a democratic political system, free-market economy, Estonian currency and Estonian as the official language, as well as a minimum residency requirement.

October 9-10, 1988 -- first congress of the Latvian Popular Front (1,083 delegates and more than 100,000 members), calling for economic self-determination, the right to veto mandates from the Kremlin, and Latvian as the official language.

end of October, 1988 -- first congress of the Lithuanian Popular Front

May, 1989 -- first session of the popularly-elected delegates to the Supreme Soviet legislature.

July, 1989 -- Soviet legislature approves proposals by Lithuania and Estonia to develop market-oriented economies independent of central planning from Moscow.

August 23, 1989 -- 2 million people from the Baltic states form a 370 mile long human chain in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

January, 1990 -- Gorbachev visits Lithuania in an effort to dissuade demands for independence, issuing promises of a freer Soviet federation.

February 26, 1990 -- popular elections in Lithuania of delegates to the Lithuanian Parliament; the Popular Front delegates win a majority

March 11, 1990 -- Vytautas Lansbergis elected Chairman of the Lithuanian Parliament. The Parliament declares Lithuania as an independent nation no longer subject to the Soviet Constitution.

March 14, 1990 -- Soviet Parliament elects Gorbachev as President of the Soviet Union.

March 15, 1990-- Soviet Parliament rejects the Lithuanian declaration of independence as illegal in terms of the Soviet Constitution.

March 18, 1990 -- popular election of delegates to the Latvian Parliament; 120 of 170 deputies support the Popular Front and a call for independence.

March 21, 1990--Gorbachev orders Lithuanians to give up weapons.

March 27, 1990-- Soviet military forces attack psychiatric hospital in Vilnius and arrest 20 young Lithuanian men who had left the Soviet army and were seeking shelter in the hospital. The young men were beaten and the hospital was vandalized.

March 30, 1990 --Soviet forces seize the Lithuanian State Prosecutor's Office and printing plant; foreign reporters banned from Lithuania.

March 30, 1991 -- Estonian Parliament declares the 1940 occupation of Estonia as illegal, and announces that independence will be renewed gradually (Chairman of Parliament Arnold Ruutel).

March 31, 1990 --President George Bush sends letter to Gorbachev calling for peaceful dialogue between the Kremlin and Lithuania.

April, 1990 -- Soviet Parliament passes law stating requirements for succession from the Soviet Union: referendum of the republic's residents with 2/3 majority; a transition period of 5 years, and satisfaction of financial and territorial claims; and final approval by the Soviet Parliament.

April 18, 1990 -- Soviet boycott of oil and natural gas to Lithuania.

April 24, 1990 -- Bush decides not to follow up on threat of action against the Soviets for boycott against Lithuania.

April 25, 1990 -- Lithuania cuts off milk and meat exports to the Soviets.

May 3, 1990 -- Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene meets with President Bush; Bush expresses a cautious attitude.

May 3, 1990 -- first meeting of Latvian Parliament, election of Anatolijs Gorbunovs as President

May 4, 1990 -- Latvian Parliament announces a step-by-step plan to establish Latvia's independence, and declares an open-ended period of transition during which time most Soviet laws would apply (138 delegates vote for/ 57 did not take part in the elections)

May 5, 1990 -- Gorbachev expresses his disapproval in a telephone call to Alfreds Rubiks, First Secretary of the pro-Kremlin Latvian Communist Party.

May 12, 1990 -- the newly elected presidents of the three Baltic States meet to coordinate plans of foreign and domestic policy.

May 14, 1990 -- Gorbachev states that the actions of the Latvian and Estonian Parliaments are in violation of the Soviet Constitution.

May 14-15, 1990 -- Interfront, anti-independence protestors attempt to occupy the Latvian Parliament buildings in Latvia and Estonia

May 15, 1990 -- Latvian Parliament establishes an alternative service to the Soviet-imposed obligatory duty in the Soviet Army.

June 14, 1990 -- Gorbachev instantiates a modest increase of fuel to Lithuania

June, 1990 -- Gorbachev meets with Bush in Washington, D.C.

June 30, 1990 -- Lithuanian Parliament freezes independence for 100 days in order to engage in negotiations with Gorbachev

July 2, 1990 -- Soviet government lifts sanctions against Lithuania.

July 20, 1990 -- Latvian Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis meets with Secretary of State James Baker

July 28, 1990 -- Baltic States issue a joint statement refusing to take part in Gorbachev's call for Union Treaty, which would effect a looser federation of the Soviet republics.

September 26, 1990 -- Gorbachev meets with Latvian Prime Minister Godmanis and restates the Soviet law regarding succession.

September 28, 1990 -- Denmark approves the established of a Baltic Information Bureau in Copenhagen

fall of 1990 -- Denmark, Norway and Sweden engage in political and/or economic ties with the Baltic States: Germany and England refrain.

October, 1990 -- the "Black Berets", a special commando force controlled by the Soviet Interior Ministry surrounds the Press Building in Latvia

October 12, 1990 -- Estonia Prime Minister Edgars Savisars meets with Bush.

November 9, 1990 -- the "Black Berets" attack local policemen in Jurmala, Latvia.

fall of 1990 -- Lithuanian and Latvian Parliaments give permission to local authorities to stop food supplies to the encroached Soviet Army divisions.

November 26, 1990 -- Gorbachev meets with Latvian Deputy Prime Minister Krastins and indicates that he is against Baltic independence and wants them to sign the Union Treaty.

December 1, 1990 -- the Presidents of the three Baltic States announce that they will not sign the Union Treaty

December 2, 1990 -- Boris Pugo, former KGB director in Latvia becomes Soviet Interior Minister.

December 19, 1990 -- Lithuanian President Landsbergis meets with Bush

December, 1990 thorough early January, 1991 -- heightened Soviet military presence in the Baltic States and provicatory actions.

January 2, 1991 -- "Black Berets" occupy the Press Building in Latvia; on this day the publishing house was to become a joint stock company, no longer the exclusive property of the Communist Party.

January 7, 1991 -- Lithuanian Parliament establishes price increases

January 9, 1991 -- "Black Berets" storm the Television Center in Vilnius, Lithuania

January 10, 1991 -- Gorbachev tells Lithuanian government to act in accordance with Soviet laws.

January 11,1991 -- Lithuanian government alls upon Lithuanian civilians to defend major buildings

January 13, 1991 -- United States Congress passes authorization of war against Iraq.

January 13, 1991 -- "Black Berets" and Soviet troops storm the Television Center in Vilnius; at least 14 people killed, 140 injured. Attempts made to install pro-Moscow government.

January 13, 1991 -- civilian-manned barricades set up in Latvia and Estonia, to defend major buildings; pro-independence demonstrations in solidarity with Lithuania.

January 16, 1991 -- "Black Berets" attack civilian column of cars in Latvia and kill a chauffeur

January 20, 1991 -- "Black Berets" launch assault and occupy Latvia's Interior Ministry Building; 4 people killed, 11 wounded

January 21-22, 1991 -- Western countries denounce Soviet actions and the European Commonwealth agrees to boycott food to the Soviet Union.

February 9, 1991 -- general referendum in Lithuania; 86.5% turnout, 90.5% vote for independence

March 3, 1991 -- general referendums in Latvia and Estonia; in both countries majority votes for independence (77% in favor in Estonia; 75% in favor in Latvia, despite the fact that only 52% of Latvia's population is ethnic Latvian).

March 17, 1991 -- Soviet referendum, Baltic States and 3 other republics not participating; majority of those voting are in favor of continuing national unity

March and April, 1991 -- "Black Beret" presence and intimidation tactics continue in the Baltic States.

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