Post-Memory of the Iran-Iraq War in Individuals born between 1986 and 1996 in Mashhad and Ahwaz, Iran; a Comparative Study

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ABSTRACT

Aims War is one of the most disastrous events for a nation and one of the most complex social phenomena affecting the involved people, families, and society in different aspects during the war and for many years after that. This study aimed to examine the formation of the post-memory of the Iran-Iraq war on the people of Ahwaz and Mashhad, Iran.

Materials & Methods The present study is quantitative research conducted using a researcher-built questionnaire. The sample included 384 people in 1986 to 1996 birth cohorts in Iran at Mashhad and Ahwaz cities. The tool validity was confirmed using content validity, and Cronbach's alpha coefficient was used to test its reliability. Then, using SPSS 22 statistical software.

Findings The mean of cultural memory and family memory, as two dimensions of the formation of post-memory, is Significantly more in Ahwaz than in Mashhad city. The post-memory dimensions had no significant relationship with age, employment, gender, income, and education between respondents in the two cities. There was a significant relationship between cultural memory and media as the formation aspects of family involvement in the Iran-Iraq war. In Mashhad city, school lessons were significant in forming post-memory regarding visiting the war areas. In the Ahwaz city, marital status had significant differences regarding family memory in post-memory formation, where differences were more among married than unmarried people.

Conclusion Although many years have passed since the war, its cultural and family effects on the citizens, especially the citizens of Ahwaz, who experienced the war up close, still remain.

Keywords Post-memory; War; Culture; Family; Social Media

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Introduction

The post-memory is a particular kind of memory that is made not only through the renewal of memory but also through imaginative structure and investment and is fundamentally different from memory. Remembrance is one of the most vital activities for humankind through which one can be connected to his/her past and shape his/her present and future [1].

What is unavailable about historical archives of painful natural events, war or alike, possibly because historians have been indifferent about writing it, is the lack of institutional structures referred to by Taylor [2] as Repertoire. Good or bad, these institutional structures are developed within the body of memories spoken from one generation to another in families. Huyssen [3] argues that what is the benefit of old memories? How can these memories address things that failed to be discussed by the history itself?

As the most protracted conventional war in the 20th century and the second-longest war of the century following the Vietnam War, the 8-year Iran-Iraq war lasted for about eight years. The city of Ahwaz was the first civil target bombarded by the Iraqi Airforce on September 24th, 1980. As such, the formation of post-memory in the cities of Mashhad and Ahwaz which were geographically near to and far from the Iran-Iraq border, respectively, is researchable.

Any society with any ideology needs to recognize itself as a continuation of the past, and precisely because of this reason, sustainable remembrances and forgetfulness will guarantee societies under special ideological conditions [4].

post-memory describes the communication within a generation that remembers a painful period of history experienced by a group of people in the past as they grow accompanied by a series of stories, behaviors, and photos. However, these memories are induced in the new generation in such a way that those were part of their own life and experiences. In fact, post-memory is not a product of the memories spoken from generation to generation. Those are results of fanciful investments and constructs.

Growing among these important memories and stories told since early ages when an individual starts to become conscious may create some threat: there may be someone who intentionally replaces the reality with his/her desired stories, or there are chances that stories are told which are already manipulated by ancestors. This is while these types of memories and stories are widely developing and spreading due to their fictional nature and the rich understanding formed as these are frequently told. This has been an issue in the past and continued to be one in the present.

As Hirsch [5] defined, post-memory describes the relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic, experiences that affect their lives; nevertheless, it has nothing to do with their memories.

Hirsch is going to answer these questions:
- How can a sense of life exist?
- Can this sense last for a long time?
- How can it share others as observers?

Keeping the personal traumatic memories and the past of a generation to which some are related, and this past is tied to their history is in danger. The sense of ownership and protection of individual, family, and generation is not only at risk, but the threat is also associated with traumatic memories as well [6]. The questions are how we can use what is known as pain for everyone, and what the survivors and the future generation owe to the victims, how the story of a traumatic event such as war and what happened to the victims can be told with no alteration, how the next generation is linked to a traumatic event in the past, and can the memory of that event be changed. The controversial issue, according to Hirsch, is that making the transfer processes as well as the post-generation matters can be, in turn, and regarding family and the associated problems to that, problematic and, at the same time, exciting [6].

The post-memory is a special kind of memory that is made not only through the renewal of memory but also through an imaginative structure and investment and is fundamentally different from memory. Indeed, post-memory is the result of an imaginary and innovative act that makes it radically distinguished from memory [7].

According to this definition, one may refer to the post-memory of Iran-Iraq war in the minds of those who were born during 1986-1996 decade and since then. post-memory looks for exploring and transferring all aspects of the painful phenomenon of war. War is an ugly and inhuman phenomenon; however, discovering the governing world of war, future generations can better deal with possible future wars.

Conforming to what has been said, the new-emerged concept of post-memory allows, through measuring that, achieving the formation of this imaginative capital. Since post-memory is dealt with tragic and traumatic events in the past, the study will identify, by answering the first question, the aspects of post-memory in the Iran-Iraq war. The eight-year war that was the longest-ever conventional war in the 20th century and the second-longest was in this century after the Vietnam War. The city of Ahwaz was the first civilian target in the war, where was bombarded on September 24, 1980, by the Iraq Air Force. Moreover, as a result of the imposed war, some immigrants went to Khorasan, especially Mashhad. In this context, the formation of post-memory in two cities of Ahwaz and Mashhad, which have been respectively located near and far from the war zone, is questionable.

Hirsch has generated the term "the hinge generation" in her studies. He has defined it as the generation who have not been directly involved in an event but received information from their predecessors. Considering that the imposed war ended in 1988, the formation of post-memory in the post-war generation, which include those born between the years of 1986 to 1996, is an important matter to be studied to find out the process of the formation of this transition to the generation for whom this war is history.

This study is also going to find out the transitional trend of this post-generation imaginary capital in the context of examining the dimensions of the post-memory, and whether such a process in Iran and the two mentioned cities is fluid; it also investigates in what field the factors were more effective. Also, keeping the footprints and archives results in deepening the sense of the past and transfers the meanings of these events to the next generation; therefore, the roles of culture, family, media, and education in the two mentioned cities (Ahwaz and Mashhad) in this transition are controversial.

The fundamental questions that can be answered while studying the post-memory are to what extent the cultural, family, media, and educational activities of the two cities could familiarize the current generation with the war heroes and sacrificed people in the sacred defense. Have those who have been on the battlefields been able to develop the values of the holy defense era and protect these critical achievements by an accurate understanding of the present and recognition of the current generation's morals, and transfer them to the next generation. The other fundamental question is whether these issues and experiences have been moved in such a way that one considers them as a part of his/her memories.

In this context, the set of questions this study is going to answer is briefly summarized as follows:

- ✓ What are the post-memory and its formation dimensions?
- ✓ What are post-memory dimensions in the Iran-Iraq war?
- ✓ Do those born between the years of 1986 and 1996 and have no memories of the war have any post-memory of that war?
- ✓ What is the difference between the post-memory in Mashhad and Ahwaz, which were located in two different places on the battlefield?

This study aims at achieving conclusions, by answering the mentioned questions, about the formation of post-memory of the imposed was in Mashhad and Ahwaz among those born between 1986 and 1996.

The Armed forces of Iraq, with predetermined objectives, eventually invaded Iran on September 22, 1980, from land, air, and sea. The Ba'athist regime in Iraq used 3.2 of its forces to capture the cities of Khuzestan Province. Therefore, Shalamche, Nashveh, Tangeh, Chazabe, and Dezful were occupied. In fact, the essential and strategic goal was the occupation of Khorramshahr. The name of many cities was changed to show Iraq's ownership over these regions; for example, Khorramshahr to Mahmareh and Khuzestan to Saudi Arabia.

Coronado Ruiz [8] depicts the Spanish Civil War through post-memory. The Spanish Civil War has been portrayed in the cinema of that country; both from the losers' and the winners' points of views. Also, the war has been described by those who were not involved. This paper examines explicitly short films produced between 1936 and 1939 and the analyses and reviews of young filmmakers born in democratic conditions and depicted their narratives of the war, which are considered somehow their post-memory of the war.

Vayrynen [9] studied the works of a Finnish artist in his article. He showed how art could provide an essential link between the constituent elements of a nation. According to him, art is a kind of post-memory involving war and trauma of a country.

Kang [10], in his doctoral dissertation, studied the American-Vietnamese literature to find out the descriptive process of war through the writings of post-war generations. In this regard, he analyzed three works produced in 2004 and 2010 and argued that post-memory is the primary focus of the three works. His first objective was to obtain different documents of American-Vietnamese experiences that included graphic memoirs and stories, and then he sought to link the voices of American-Vietnamese heroes and their family memory. Since the authors of these works are about 1.5 generations after the heroes, the outstanding result of the study was the formation of post-memory and the consequences of failure to do that. His third and the most important objective was to create Hirsch's post-memory scholarship that could somehow encourage the scholars to work on American literature and refine and revitalize the Vietnamese identity in the United States through post-memory.

Ciocea & Cârlan [11] studied the confrontation between post-memory and the artificial memory in cultural encounters with the past in designing a communist museum. The two researchers studied the Romanian Museum Project to examine the guaranteed sources of the communist period and interaction with the past at the experimental museum. In this context, they analyzed public expectation of the experimental museum to be linked with the past. The project was based on Landsberg's post-memory and artificial memory. This analysis has an exclusive look at the difference between the general and communist attitudes towards the experimental museum. In this study, a museum is considered as a memory device, and the role of a museum in cultural memory is analyzed.

Delisle [12] outlines his concept of pedigree nostalgia in his article entitled "Iraq in My Bones." He went on to study the Canadian author, who is a second-generation immigrant. Leila Nadir, the author of the book "Trees of Orange in Baghdad," has described the pedigree nostalgia and its post-memory in the generation after. She has also described the specific situation of post-migration generations in the modern globalized world, which is worthy of consideration to Delisle.

De Menezes [13] has studied the causes of memory, post-memory, and trauma in a family through a detailed textual analysis of the trilogy of the internal conflicts of Josephina. The novel traces the allegory between family and nation to illustrate and overcome the intergenerational transmission of trauma. It also studies cultural memory and historical experience as a source of trauma.

Hirsch [5] has analyzed the works of two photographers and writer-artists who are the post-generation of Holocaust in her main work to present the post-memory theory. Two chapters of her work are written with the help of the historian "Leo Spitzer," and the other chapters are based on different scholars' views. Using photos and texts is a way to narrate the post-memory. This novel has studied the works of two artists: Sebald as a photographer and Spiegelman as a writer as well as the works of other artists including Hoffman, Tatana Kellner, etc. As mentioned earlier, Hirsch in her analysis considers the role of the family to be fundamental to the formation of post-memory. She used feminist and other movements' viewpoints for social changes to present her theory. Using feminist perspectives, she defines the post-memory structure. In the context of feminist views, she also relates past and present, picture and word, generation and gender. Hirsch works on over 50 graphics, texts, and multifaceted illustrations with fundamental and deep personal connections in memory, trauma, gender, and visual culture and tries to find a new understanding of history and the status of the present human being.

As Hirsch has defined post-memory, the term focuses on the prefix "post." While the memory is, for her, more or less obvious, this prefix does not imply that the generations after are "beyond memory." Instead, post-memory is distinct from memory and is connected with history by the generation gap and the deep personal connection. The prefix "post-" shows that post-memory is a particular kind of memory, which is not generated through the renewal of memory, but through imaginary creativity and investment. The fact is that post-memory is the result of imaginary and innovative activities, which distinguishes it from memory; however, the point that Hirsch points out is that memory is a mediator because memory is directly related to the past [7].

"Deep personal connection" was claimed by Hirsch for the children who are in contact with their parents, through which connection with the past is possible; this is due to identification and strong relationship with parents. Regarding memory as a mediator does not mean that the imaginary and creative post-memory is in all aspects beyond memory, but rather that memories are not merely the transparent events of the past [14].

Hirsch compares the term with the concept presented by Nadine Fresco [15], called "Missing Memory" and that by Henri Raczymow [16], called "Memoire Trouee." Hirsch intends to use this term for close personal contact with the children with parents while talking about an indirect and non-connected memory. post-memory, in fact, indicates the will of the descendant of the living children to be connected with their parents' past, which is not necessarily promising; it can be hopeful or disappointing based on family and the way of thinking. However, it can be a special dynamic between children and their parents. The term "post-memory" shares the idea of intergenerational transmission of trauma. The theory of fundamental intergenerational continuity has been proposed by several theorists including Stein and Fresco, and then by Friedman [17] and Hoffman based on the dynamics between the child and the living parent and the lack of connection among them. The theory of lack of context proposed by these theorists does not necessarily refer to personal/ emotional feeling but is based on intelligibility. In this regard, the more a child feels unrelated to the parents' past, the fewer s/he can understand them, and on the other hand, the child feels the need to communicate and be in contact with parents [17].

post-memory is specifically associated with the feminist viewpoint, three powerful elements that are effective in shaping the intergenerational structure of post-memory after World War II. These elements make the post-memory dimensions [6].

- Memory;
- Family;
- Media

Assmann concluded in his studies that there are four types of memories. The first two types are individual and family (group) memories, which are related to Hoffman's communicative memory or communicative remembrance. While national/ political memory and cultural/archival memory include parts of cultural memory. The main hypothesis, in this regard, is that people's memories are connected. He believes that oral memories can be shared by language, increasing the probability of distortion and change, and therefore, the main memory may change and then be written [6].

The post-memory structure reveals how radical, fundamental, and multiple gaps created by traumatic events and disasters reflect a transition of

inter and coming generations. This structure develops and complicates the lines drawn by Assmann to be used as a way for the interaction of people, family, social groups, and structured historical archives.

Regarding the traumatic events, exile, and dispersion of the Jews, the archive has lost its direct connection with the past, causing the communications in the society and community confused. Assmann's model presents how post-generation can undo these losses.

Hirsch, in the post-memory theory, tries to reactivate national/social and cultural/archival structured memories by re-investing in frames and family and personal aggravating types through aesthetic expression. According to Nadell [7], the survivors of traumatic events do not keep silent, and communicate directly in their homes; their language shows more aggression than the language used by the public. The family members describe the past by using the words implying the sense of fear, pain, sigh, and crying; all remind them of the times when mothers and fathers have endured.

The children of the parents who experienced a horrible and traumatic past and directly influenced by this unfamiliar history. Novels, stories, and testimony of the second generation are made by living with parents who experienced and witnessed traumatic events in the past. The stories are shaped by the children who feel confused and responsible for compensating for the past that cannot be expressed in words. The loss of family, home, feeling of belonging, and security from one generation to another becomes a matter of frustration this is the issue argued by Art Spiegelman who describes his role as the father in the family *my father was the blood of history*. The works by researchers and artists of the new generation reveal that even the most private family feelings about the past are transferred by public stories and narrations and the pictures visible to all [5].

Another element that Hirsch knows as trauma and post-memory is a confrontation, either through photos and films or visual views. From her point of view, memory is one of the most vital activities for human beings through which one can be connected with the past and make their present and future.

A place is where events happen. Norberg-Schulz refers to the term "take place" which is mixed with the term place in English. In his opinion, human identity and place identity serves as a requirement for one another. A commonplace means a common identity, i.e., to belong to the same group [18]. Place recognition is a social phenomenon. Based on social features such as social class, age, gender, ethnicity, nationality, expertise, etc., places refine the information they are provided with to develop an image of the area. Indeed, it can be said that, though the sense of place can be something personal, the final output is a public perception of the place (Ibid).

Yuill [19] asserts that the present and future generations should take lessons from these places and remember them. Events that will never happen again. Similarly, Stone [20] states that the aim of visiting places like Hiroshima and Nagasaki is learning about war and remember that. The younger generations of Japanese and some veteran soldiers have no desire for silence about the past and like to visit the battlefields and take part in debates held in the media to help people understand how humanistic traits were destroyed in wars.

Since post-memory looks for dimensions through which it can investigate the generation-to-generation transfer of memories, one may refer to the theory of cultural reproduction based on the works by outstanding European thinkers, namely Bourdieu, as well as the basic hypothesis of the function of education in transferring cultural heritage through the society. According to cultural reproduction theory, it is important to know what is transferred in schools via either the particular educational program or the organizational form of the school. Educating and attending school is a sort of communication system where a specific cultural message is generated and promoted [21].

Considering the mentioned theoretical framework, the post-memory dimensions can be studied. This study aimed to examine the formation of the post-memory of the Iran-Iraq war on the people of Ahwaz and Mashhad cities.

Materials and Methods

The present cohort study was a cross-sectional survey in 2019 and consists of those born between 1986-1996 in Mashhad and Ahwaz. Estimating the sample size, a preliminary study was conducted on 30 people born between 1986 to 1996 in Mashhad and Ahwaz to determine the variance of the studied traits. Then, by using the Cochran formula with a confidence level of 95% and the variance in the pre-test (p=0.5, q=0.5), 384 people were selected; in other words, 192 people in each city answered the questions, based on the multistage clustering method. The sampling method was such that in the first stage, each of the municipal areas of Mashhad and Ahwaz was considered a cluster. In the second stage, the sampling work inside each cluster continued in a simple random manner and based on that, most of the neighborhoods and streets of each cluster were included in the sampling plan. In the third stage, proportionally and in each cluster, the eligible people in multiple areas of the municipality, streets and neighborhoods were selected. In the second stage, the final sample was selected by regular random sampling. In the city of Mashhad, based on the block map of municipal areas according to the census, 13 districts and in the city of Ahwaz, 8 urban areas were selected.

The collecting data tool in this study is a questionnaire. Approving the validity and reliability

in the preliminary stages, the questionnaire was used to collect the required data in the final stage. Collecting information, a self-made questionnaire was used, which was proposed based on the theoretical frameworks in the literature. The questions were about the formation of the post-memory of the Iraq-Iran war, and the questionnaire, in this regard, consists of 24 items on family memory, 25 items on the media, and 7 items on school lessons. Also, there are four basic questions (age, gender, marital status, and education) and two questions about the family members' experience to participate in the war and the number of visiting the war areas. Finally, reliability was determined by the Cronbach alpha test. As the alpha for all structures was bigger than 0.70, an internal correlation and the reliability of the research tools were confirmed. In this study, content validity has been used (Table 1).

Table 1) The reliability coefficient of the variables

Structure	Cronbach's Alpha
Post-memory	0.889
Cultural memory	0.811
Family memory	0.732
Media	0.835
School lessons	0.725

Ethical approval was obtained from Yazd University. Participants participated in the study with the information provided by the researcher. To analyze the data, according to the type of variables, a one-sample t-test, independent t-test and Pearson correlation coefficient were used.

Findings

The mean and Standard deviation of the respondents' age in Ahwaz was 25.68±2.90 and in Mashhad was 25.46±2.92. The findings showed that 61.5% of the respondents in Ahwaz were male, and 38.5% were female. In Mashhad, 67.2% were male, and 32.8% were female. 30% of the respondents in Ahwaz had a master's and higher degrees, 7% had an associate degree, and 16% had a diploma and high school education; 31% of the respondents in Mashhad had a master's and higher degrees, 46.4% were a bachelor, and 20% had a diploma and lower degrees.

There was a significant difference between participants of Ahwaz and Mashhad cities in terms of cultural memory and family memory (p<0.05). However, no significant difference was found in media and school lessons between the two city participants (p>0.05; Table 2).

There was no significant difference between post-memory dimensions and gender in Ahwaz and Mashhad participants (p>0.05; Table 3).

According to Tables 4 and 5, there was no significant relationship between age and the post-memory dimensions in Ahwaz and Mashhad participants (p>0.05). There was a positive significant relation coefficient between school lessons and the number

of visiting the war areas among the participants of Mashhad (p<0.05). But, there was no significant relationship between other post-memory dimensions and the number of visiting the war areas for the respondents in both cities (p>0.05).

Table 2) The output of the independent t-test for the comparison of the post-memory dimensions in Ahwaz and Mashhad participants (N=384)

Dimensions	Mean±SD	t.	df.	Sig. (2-tailed)
Cultural Memory				
Ahwaz	3.07±0.55	2.620	369.23	0.009
Mashhad	2.93±0.45			
Family Memory				
Ahwaz	2.73±0.44	4.877	382.00	0.001
Mashhad	2.51±0.42			
Media				
Ahwaz	2.76±0.67	1.289	343.14	0.198
Mashhad	2.68±0.47			
School lessons				
Ahwaz	2.39±0.73	1.765	382.00	0.078
Mashhad	2.26±0.66			

Table 3) The output of independent t-test for the comparison of the post-memory dimensions in the male and female in Ahwaz and Mashhad participants (N=384)

Dimensions	Gender	Mean±SD	t.	Sig.
Ahwaz				
Cultural memory	Male	3.10±0.59	1.065	0.288
	Female	3.01±0.50		
Family memory	Male	2.74±0.43	0.377	0.707
	Female	2.71±0.46		
Media	Male	2.81±0.70	1.397	0.164
	Female	2.67±0.61		
School lessons	Male	2.40±0.70	0.192	0.848
	Female	2.38±0.77		
Mashhad				
Cultural memory	Male	2.95±0.46	0.882	0.379
	Female	2.89±0.44		
Family memory	Male	2.51±0.42	-0.072	0.943
	Female	2.52±0.41		
Media	Male	2.71±0.49	0.992	0.323
	Female	2.63±0.42		
School lessons	Male	2.27±0.67	0.258	0.797
	Female	2.25±0.63		

Table 4) Pearson correlation coefficient for the relationship between age and post-memory dimensions in Mashhad participants (N=192)

Variable	Age	5	4	3	2	1
1-School lessons	0.075	0.173*	0.329*	0.293*	0.383*	1
2-Media	0.141	0.049	0.661*	0.540*	1	
3-Family memory	-0.062	0.098	0.554*	1		
4-Cultural memory	-0.125	0.086	1			
5-Number of visiting the war areas	1	1				

Table 5) Pearson correlation coefficient for the relationship between age and post-memory dimensions in Ahwaz participants (N=192)

Variable	Age	5	4	3	2	1
1-School lessons	-0.035	0.025	0.304*	0.355*	0.454*	1
2-Media	-0.112	-0.041	0.678*	0.587*	1	
3-Family memory	-0.110	0.002	0.592*	1		
4-Cultural memory	-0.081	0.023	1			
5-Number of visiting the war areas	1	1				

*p<0.05

According to Table 6, in Ahwaz, the mean of cultural memory among the families whose members have the experience of participating in the war is

significantly higher (3.16) than that of the families whose members did not (2.90). Also, there was a significant difference in the post-memory dimensions in terms of the media (p<0.01). The mean of the media in forming post-memory among the people whose family members participated in the war was higher (2.86) than that among those whose family members had no such an experience (2.58). Also, in Mashhad, there was a significant difference in cultural memory in post-memory in terms of participation in the war (p<0.05).

Table 6) The output of independent t-test for the comparison of the post-memory dimensions based on family involvement in the wartime in Ahwaz and Mashhad participants (N=384)

Dimensions	Family involvement in the wartime	Mean±SD	t.	Sig.
Ahwaz				
Cultural memory	Yes	3.16±0.54	3.163	0.002
	No	2.90±0.53		
Family memory	Yes	2.78±0.44	1.926	0.051
	No	2.65±0.42		
Media	Yes	2.86±0.66	2.829	0.005
	No	2.58±0.64		
School lessons	Yes	2.44±0.75	1.729	0.196
	No	2.30±0.68		
Mashhad				
Cultural memory	Yes	2.99±0.46	2.382	0.018
	No	2.83±0.43		
Family memory	Yes	2.54±0.46	1.282	0.201
	No	2.47±0.35		
Media	Yes	2.71±0.45	0.887	0.276
	No	2.65±0.50		
School lessons	Yes	2.27±0.68	0.160	0.873
	No	2.26±0.63		

df=190 for all variables

Discussion

Formation of memory is possible within the territory of collective residents, i.e., city and neighborhoods. As such, since collective memory is social, its formation basis shall be where social interactions take place. On the other hand, collective memory is usually transferred from one generation to another. In this case, the background of residence in the city will act as a factor in boosting the collective memory [21]. Memories may be transferred either verbally or by preserving their physical consequences. Urban memorials (memorials, architectural styles, graffiti works, and place designations) play an important role in this regard. Some of these memorials are created by authorities, such as the construction of particular memorials, designation of streets, etc., while other memorials are indeed natural features [22]. With a background of being directly involved with the war, Ahwaz has preserved the holy values of the war in the post-war year; this preservation has been in the form of preserving artworks in the form of memorials, museums, street designations, special occasions, etc. All around the city of Ahwaz, the urban environment still recalls war and the Holy Defense, and this helps form post-memory. Sculptures of martyrs are installed all around the city, streets are designated

after the martyrs' names, urban banners recall the Iran-Iraq war, and there are always occasions where martyrs and veterans are respected. As such, it seems reasonable to have significant differences in cultural memory between the two cities since the formation of these memories is based on the mentioned factors.

Based on the theories studied in this paper and the literature, there are eight independent variables as the dimensions of post-memory. They are age, sex, marital status, education, income, and employment, the experience of participation in the war, and the number of visiting the war areas. This part studies and analyzes the relation between the independent variables and dependent ones including cultural memory, family memory, the media, and school lessons.

The first hypothesis of this study was significant. It stated that there is a difference in the post-memory dimensions in terms of the living place. According to the results of this study, this difference in a family memory and cultural memory in forming post-memory in terms of the living place was significant. These results conform to the findings by Benjamin [23], Montgomery [24], Griffin [25], Larkin [26] and Hirsch [5]. According to Marcel Proust, the passage of time in its real form is bound to the place. The social nature of memory reveals its relation to the public space of the city.

Forming memories is possible around collective settlements; that is, the city and neighborhoods. Therefore, as collective memories have social nature, they must be formed through social interactions. On the other hand, collective memories are usually communicated from one generation to another. In this regard, living in a city reinforces collective memory [27].

Memories are possible through oral transmissions or the preservation of their physical forms. Urban memorabilia (memorials, architectural styles of buildings, wall letters, and names of places) play an important role in this regard. Some are created by the owners of power; for example, the construction of memorials, and naming the streets, and some others are natural elements [22]. Ahwaz was dealing directly with the war and preserved the sacred values of the war after that in the form of memorials, museums, names of streets, ceremonies, etc. All over the city, the atmosphere reminded us of the war and sacred defense, resulting in post-memory; the martyr's statutes in the city and names of the streets, wall letters, and ceremonies for celebrating martyrs and devotees. Therefore, it can be expected that the difference in cultural memory that includes the mentioned cases is significant in terms of the living place. Regarding the mentioned reasons, based on preserving the values of the sacred defense in Ahwaz, family memory are acceptable.

The combination of these elements with the daily lives of people and their reproduction in the family

that experienced the war can be an example of the result of this hypothesis indicating that family memory in forming post-memory in terms of the living place is significant.

The finding shows that there is not a difference in the post-memory dimensions in terms of gender in Ahwaz and Mashhad. This result does not conform to the results found by Hirsch [5]. It can be said that there is no significant difference among the post-memory dimensions in terms of gender. Despite the relation between trauma and gender in post-memory theory by Hirsch, and since she studies the post-memory of a traumatic event and considers a relationship between gender and post-memory, gender was not an effective factor in this study. Oakley, in her known book entitled "Sex, Gender, and Society", could show the social construction of gender remarkably. She argues how western cultures exaggerated gender differences [28], but recent works on gender have indicated that implications in gender differences are social structures and can be changed. Therefore, the biological facts about people that seem scientific and precise depend on local cultural and historical texts and can be changed [29]; in this context, gender, in general, is an identity generated from social relations between men and women.

The identity is formed, re-produced, and fixed by living in the society. Gender is an unnatural and non-intrinsic identity that differs based on where one lives. In this regard, the difference in the research scopes and fields of this study and those in Hirsch's study can be influential in the inconsistency in the results of the two research. On the other hand, war impacts all the people in Iran, and by considering the context in which the formation of post-memory has been investigated, the aftermath of the traumatic event (war), memories, etc. are globally communicated. Men and women use the shared media and shared educational systems. Therefore, gender has not influenced the formation of their post-memory, as revealed in this study.

The results of examining the other hypothesis on the relation between the post-memory dimensions and age in Mashhad and Ahwaz showed that this hypothesis could not be accepted. The generations questioned in this study have no understanding of the imposed war, and it is only a part of history to them. In this regard, we may refer to Mannheim's generation theory. The focus of this theory is generational units referring to age-biological units. One of its features is the shared point in social and historical movements. It determines the extent of experiencing the situation. Also, according to David White's generation theory, creating a sacred space that protects collective memory may cause an event to influence all the people of a generation similarly. Moreover, according to this theory, historical-

geographical conditions can affect a generation as well; this result shows that the first and second generations of the Islamic Republic of Iran, who experienced directly eight years of the imposed war, life, and culture in that time, transferred these experiences to the third generation. Such reactions can be observed among the respondents in Ahwaz and Mashhad. On the other hand, it can be noted that the field of study, in the present paper, was those born between 1986 to 1996, and the variance of their age was low; therefore, lack of any significant relation between post-memory and age among them is expected.

The results of examining the other hypothesis on any relation in the post-memory dimensions and the number of visiting the war areas indicated that the relation between school lessons in forming post-memory and the number of visiting the war areas is significant; this result is on the line with the results found by Hirsch [5]. Hirsch believes that experiencing a trauma that one did not experience directly, either through pictures or visual spaces, affects one's shared a feeling, identity, and hence, his/her post-memory [6].

Finally, according to the other hypothesis, there are differences in the post-memory dimensions in terms of participation in the war. The results of examining this hypothesis showed a significant difference between cultural memory and the media as the post-memory dimensions in terms of participation in the war in Ahwaz and Mashhad. The difference in cultural memory in the two cities in the forming of post-memory in terms of participation in the war was significant. In other words, family members' experience of participation in the war in Ahwaz significantly led to the formation of post-memory in the context of cultural memory and the media. These results conform to those found by Louč [30], Hirsch [5], and Larkin [26]. Deep personal connection suggested by Hirsch was proposed for the children who are in contact with their parents and therefore, they can be connected with the past through a deep connection with their parents. As mentioned before, Hirsch in her analysis considers the role of a family in forming post-memory fundamentals [6]. Danneels expresses the post-memory concept as a desire and obsession of the generation after the survivors; the obsession caused by their effort to fill their absence in the traumatic event [31]. In this context, the experience of participation in war can be influential on forming post-memory. Family, due to participation in the war and experiencing the event, directs one finds post-memory of the traumatic events, either through cultural fields including urban symbols, memorials, ceremonies, etc. or through the media. It can be said that the family members' experience of participation in the war keeps the memories of the war flowing in one's mind outside of a family environment. One's

post-memory is formed along with such flow.

Conclusion

The Ahwaz citizens, who were more involved in the war due to their geographical location, scored higher on average in some post-memory components, including family memories and cultural memories, compared to Mashhad, but in terms of media. And school education, no significant difference was observed in these two cities. These findings show that although many years have passed since the war, its cultural and family effects on the citizens, especially the citizens of Ahwaz, who experienced the war up close, remain.

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