

Est.
1841

YORK
ST JOHN
UNIVERSITY

Öner, Sezin, Watson, Lynn Ann, Adıgüzel, Zeynep, Ergen, İrem, Bilgin, Ezgi, Curci, Antonietta, Cole, Scott ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8176-283X>, de la Mata, Manuel L., Janssen, Steve M. J., Lanciano, Tiziana, Markostamou, Ioanna, Nourkova, Veronika, Santamaría, Andrés, Taylor, Andrea, Barzykowski, Krystian, Bascón, Miguel, Bermeitinger, Christina, Cubero-Pérez, Rosario, Dessenberger, Steven, Garry, Maryanne, Gülgöz, Sami, Hackländer, Ryan, Heux, Lucrèce, Jin, Zheng, Lojo, María, Matías-García, José Antonio, Roediger, Henry L., Szpunar, Karl, Tekin, Eylul and Uner, Oyku (2022) Collective remembering and future forecasting during the COVID-19 pandemic: How the impact of COVID-19 affected the themes and phenomenology of global and national memories across 15 countries. *Memory & Cognition*, 51. pp. 729-751.

Downloaded from: <http://ray.yorks.ac.uk/id/eprint/6522/>

The version presented here may differ from the published version or version of record. If you intend to cite from the work you are advised to consult the publisher's version:

<http://dx.doi.org/10.3758/s13421-022-01329-8>

Research at York St John (RaY) is an institutional repository. It supports the principles of open access by making the research outputs of the University available in digital form. Copyright of the items stored in RaY reside with the authors and/or other copyright owners. Users may access full text items free of charge, and may download a copy for

RaY

Research at the University of York St John

For more information please contact RaY at ray@yorks.ac.uk

**Collective remembering and future forecasting during the COVID-19 pandemic:
How the impact of COVID-19 affected the themes and phenomenology of
global and national memories across 15 countries.**

Sezin Öner¹, Lynn Ann Watson², Zeynep Adıgüzel³, İrem Ergen³, Ezgi Bilgin³,
Antionietta Curci⁴, Scott Cole⁵, Manuel L. de la Mata⁶, Steve M. J. Janssen⁷, Tiziana Lanciano⁴,
Ioanna Markostamou⁸, Veronika Nourkova⁹, Andrés Santamaría⁶, Andrea Taylor¹⁰, Krystian
Barzykowski¹¹, Miguel Bascón⁶, Christina Bermeitinger¹², Rosario Cubero-Pérez⁶, Steven
Dessenberger¹³, Maryanne Garry¹⁰, Sami Gülgöz³, Ryan Hackländer¹², Lucrece Heux¹⁴, Zheng
Jin⁵, María Lojo⁶, José Antonio Matías-García⁶, Henry L. Roediger III¹³, Karl Szpunar¹⁶, Eylul
Tekin¹³, Oyku Uner¹³

¹Kadir Has University, Turkey

²Center on Autobiographical Memory Research, Department of Psychology and Behavioural
Science, Aarhus University, Denmark

³Koç University, Turkey

⁴University of Bari, Italy

⁵York St John University, United Kingdom

⁶Laboratory of Human Activity, Department of Experimental Psychology, University of
Seville, Spain

⁷School of Psychology, University of Nottingham Malaysia, Malaysia

⁸University of Hertfordshire, United Kingdom

⁹Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

¹⁰The University of Waikato, New Zealand

¹¹Applied Memory Research Laboratory, Institute of Psychology, Jagiellonian University,
Poland

¹²University of Hildesheim, Germany

¹³Washington University in St. Louis, United States of America

¹⁴Laboratoire de Psychologie et NeuroCognition, Université Grenoble-Alpes, France; College of Arts and Humanities, Swansea University, Wales, United Kingdom

¹⁵Zhengzhou Normal University, China

¹⁶Ryerson University, Canada

Author Note

*Correspondence should be addressed to: Sezin Öner, email: sezin.oner@khas.edu.tr

Author Declarations

Funding (information that explains whether and by whom the research was supported)

Krystian Barzykowski was supported by the French Government Scholarship ('Campus France'), the National Science Centre, Poland (UMO-2019/35/B/HS6/00528) and the Bekker programme from the Polish National Agency for Academic Exchange (no.: PPN/BEK/2019/1/00092/DEC/1).

The Washington University in St. Louis collaboration (Dessenberger, Roediger, Tekin, and Uner) was supported by a grant from the James S. McDonnell Foundation to HLR.

A. Taylor gratefully acknowledges support from The University of Waikato.

Conflicts of interest/Competing interests

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

Ethical approval

No animal studies are presented in this manuscript. All procedures performed in our study involving human subjects were in accordance with the ethical standards of the institutional and/or national research committees and with the 1964 Declaration of Helsinki and its later amendments

1
2
3 or comparable ethical standards. The study (including the treatment of participants) reported in
4 this article were approved by the Local Ethical Committees of the institutions involved.
5
6

7 **Consent to participate**

8
9
10 Our subjects were provided with written information about the study and their rights.
11
12 They gave informed consent prior to participation.
13
14

15 **Consent for publication**

16
17 Not applicable - all data were collected anonymously and no potentially identifiable
18 human images or data are presented in the manuscript.
19
20
21

22 **Availability of data and materials (data transparency)**

23
24
25 This study was pre-registered with the Open Science Framework. Further information
26 about the study and the materials used are available via the following link (<https://osf.io/m46nq/>).
27
28 Data from this study will be publicly accessible on the same webpage following an embargo
29 period (with the exception of a minority of countries based on country-level ethics and data
30 protection regulations).
31
32
33
34
35
36
37

38 **Code availability (software application or custom code)**

39
40
41 Not applicable
42
43
44

45 **Acknowledgements**

46
47
48 We thank Isabell Müller (French sample); Svenja Eickemeier, Johanna Murr, and Yannic
49 Seibert (German sample); Maria Stephanaki and Philippos Alexopoulos (Greek sample); Jia Yee
50 Chan and Narmataa Saravana (Malaysian sample); Sarah Wilson (New Zealand sample); Ewa
51 Ilczuk and Alicja Pieprzycka (Polish sample); Alena Gofman (Russian sample), Gülfem Dikici,
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Defne Yavuz, Dilan Kalabalık and Ece Beyaz (Turkish sample) for their help in participant recruitment and data coding. We are very grateful to PD Dr. Magdalena Abel for translating the questionnaire into German. We thank the MSH-Alpes and the SCREEN platform for providing access and help with the Qualtrics software, allowing us to collect the French data.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

**Collective remembering and forecasting during the COVID-19 pandemic:
How the impact of COVID-19 affected the themes and phenomenology of
global and national memories across 15 countries.**

Abstract

The COVID-19 pandemic created a unique set of circumstances to investigate collective memory and future simulations of events reported during the onset of a potentially historic event. Between early April and late June, 2020, we asked over 4000 individuals from 15 countries across four continents to report on remarkable (a) national and (b) global events that (i) had happened since the first cases of COVID-19 were reported, and (ii) they expected to happen in the future.

Whereas themes of infections, lockdown, and politics dominated global and national past events in most countries, themes of economy, a second wave, and lockdown dominated future events.

The themes and phenomenological characteristics of the events differed based on contextual group factors. First, across all conditions, the event themes differed to a small yet significant degree depending on the severity of the pandemic and stringency of governmental response at the national level. Second, participants reported national events as less negative and more vivid than global events, and group differences in emotional valence were largest for future events. This research demonstrates that even during the early stages of the pandemic, themes relating its onset and course were shared across many countries, thus providing preliminary evidence for the emergence of collective memories of this event as it was occurring. Current findings provide a profile of past and future collective events from the early stages of the ongoing pandemic, and factors accounting for the consistencies and differences in event representations across 15 countries are discussed.

Key words: COVID-19, pandemic, collective memory, cross-cultural, future forecasting

**Collective remembering and forecasting during the COVID-19 pandemic:
How the impact of COVID-19 affected the themes and phenomenology of
global and national memories across 15 countries.**

The COVID-19 pandemic has been a truly global phenomenon. Since the first case was identified in Wuhan in early December 2019, over 229 million cases have been recorded and over 4.7 million lives have been lost (Coronavirus Resource Center, 2021, September 22nd). The world has experienced a global recession; world leaders, politicians, and the World Health Organization have addressed global and national communities stating the need for urgent and aggressive action (i.e., World Health Organization, 11th March, 2020). In line with these calls to action, many countries have experienced prolonged periods of government enforced lockdown measures, with social distancing, mask mandates, work from home orders, school closures, and restrictions on both national and international travel (Hiscott et al., 2020; Thomas et al., 2020).

Whereas most public events typically affect only a small group of people directly, the COVID-19 pandemic is unprecedented in modern times in that it affected nearly everyone. Events related to the COVID-19 pandemic will likely leave their mark on history and become a part of nations', and the world's, collective memory—that is, memories that transcend individuals and are shared by a social group, be that cultural, religious, or based on national identity (Wertsch & Roediger, 2008). The pandemic, then, created a unique set of circumstances to investigate factors that shape collective memory and future simulations of events experienced universally by individuals across the globe from both national and global perspectives.

Collective Memory for Public Events

Since early work by Halbwachs (1992), there has been a steady rise in empirical and conceptual studies focusing on collective memory (e.g., Hirst, Yamashiro, & Coman, 2018; Roediger & Adel, 2015; Wertsch & Roediger, 2008). It is well established that memories for personal and public events are shaped by event-related factors, such as the distinctiveness, consequentiality and emotional intensity of the event (Er, 2003; Finkenauer et al., 1998); individual difference factors, such as the age and cultural background of the individual recalling the event (Koppel, Brown, Stone, Coman, & Hirst, 2013; Meeter, Ochtman, Janssen, & Murre, 2010; Wang, 2009); and the context in which the event is recalled (Stone & Jay, 2019). Importantly, the formation and retrieval of memories for public events experienced by a collective group are influenced by the motivations, goals, and context of the group (Abel et al., 2019; Wang, 2016, 2021).

Cross-country similarities in the events reported as part of world history demonstrate how mechanisms of collective remembering operate. Recent events, political revolutions, and wars are identified as events of most historical significance across many countries (Liu et al., 2005; Pennebaker et al., 2006). Events that change or enforce the collective identity of a group are maintained in world history over longer time periods, whereas traumatic or emotionally intense events that have less of an impact on overall collective identity are often lost over two to three generations (Wertsch, 2002). Importantly, striking socio-cultural differences are also evident. In broader representations of world history (Liu et al., 2005) and in relation to specific historical events with global impact, such as World War II (Abel et al., 2019), differences in events reported across countries are shaped by the political, religious, and cultural perspectives dominant within those countries.

1
2
3 Studies on flashbulb memories for public events (Brown & Kulik, 1977) have similarly
4
5 demonstrated that memories and the associated emotional and social responses are influenced by
6
7 the individual's group membership, as defined by respondents' national provenance (i.e., Curci &
8
9 Luminet, 2006; Curci & Luminet, 2009; Kvavilashvili et al., 2003; Luminet et al., 2004),
10
11 religious involvement (i.e., Curci et al., 2015; Tinti et al., 2009), political concerns (Conway et
12
13 al., 1994), geographic proximity (Pezdek, 2003), and personal involvement (Er, 2003). Taken
14
15 together, these findings demonstrate that representations of world events within collective
16
17 memory are shaped by the socio-cultural context in which group membership exists.
18
19

20
21 In contrast to the "symbolic" approach outlined above, a more "pragmatic" perspective
22
23 suggests that memorability of public events also depends on their impact on daily routines
24
25 (Brown et al., 2012; Brown et al., 2016). In accordance with this view, a living-in-history effect
26
27 has been observed, which demonstrates that the tendency to use public events as an
28
29 organizational framework for personal life stories is more pronounced in people who survived
30
31 enduring wars and natural disasters than in people who simply witnessed symbolically influential
32
33 events followed by a return to business as usual (Brown et al., 2016; Nourkova & Brown, 2015).
34
35
36

37 The studies outlined above demonstrate the emergence of long-lasting shared
38
39 representations of past events that had a global impact, which are held by many countries and
40
41 individuals decades *after* important periods in world history. Regarding the COVID-19
42
43 pandemic, the level of continuity between pre-pandemic and post-pandemic life is still uncertain.
44
45 As of yet, nobody can predict what aspects of the pandemic will be retained as part of collective
46
47 narratives over time. Therefore, it seems very informative from both pragmatic and symbolic
48
49 perspectives to examine memories of the pandemic period *at its outset* when the mnemonic
50
51 interrelations between public and private have just started to develop.
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Relatedly, whereas studies investigating collective representations of political and
4
5 conflict-related world events, such as WWII and September 11th, have been conducted (i.e., Abel
6
7 et al., 2019; Curci & Luminet, 2006; Hirst et al., 2009; Liu et al., 2005), psychological research
8
9 into collective representations of biological or viral events, such as pandemics (i.e., the Spanish
10
11 flu in 1918/1919; HIV in 1980s; Ebola in 2015/2016) is more limited (Erll, 2020). These events
12
13 are particularly interesting, because despite the extreme loss of life associated with them and their
14
15 long-term impact on the economy and society (Qiu et al., 2017), they are poorly preserved in
16
17 collective memory (Hirst, 2020). A first step in beginning to understand why these events are
18
19 poorly preserved within collective memory in the long term is to identify which features of the
20
21 pandemic are reported by collective groups *during* the event and the phenomenological qualities
22
23 of these events when they are brought to mind.
24
25
26
27

28
29 Whereas autobiographical memories are often positive in emotional valence (Walker,
30
31 Skowronski, & Thompson, 2003), events reported as collective memories (Öner & Gülgöz, 2020)
32
33 and as part of world history are often reported as negative in emotional valence (Liu et al., 2005;
34
35 Pennebaker et al., 2006). However, when comparing events reported as part of national history
36
37 across three nations (USA, UK, and India), Cyr and Hirst (2019) found a small positivity bias in
38
39 the top 20 events reported as part of one's own national history. Although these positivity effects
40
41 were also present when groups reported on the national history of another country, the effects
42
43 were less consistent. These results may suggest that individuals demonstrate a more robust
44
45 positivity bias when evaluating historical events from the perspective of their own group relative
46
47 to other collective groups to support their own positive identity. On the basis of these studies, we
48
49 predict national memories to be rated as less negative than global ones.
50
51
52

53
54 During the early phase of the pandemic, information was constantly available about the
55
56 spread of the virus in one's own country relative to other countries (i.e., via the Coronavirus
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Resource Center). Although theoretical comparisons are often drawn between personal and
4
5 public or collective memory in previous research, we sought to investigate how global and
6
7 national perspectives shaped the themes and phenomenology of the reported events. The
8
9 comparison between global and national event representations was selected, as it may better
10
11 reflect naturally occurring comparisons made by collective groups within the context of a global
12
13 pandemic.
14
15

16
17 Another contextual factor which may shape shared event representations during the early
18
19 phase of the pandemic is variations in the impact of the pandemic across different countries. The
20
21 severity of the pandemic outbreak and the stringency of the government restrictions put in place
22
23 to limit the spread of the virus may have influenced the type of public events that occurred within
24
25 each country and the accessibility and phenomenological qualities of such events within
26
27 collective (i.e., media, health systems) and inter-personal (i.e., discussion with friends, cognition)
28
29 information processing systems. Although previous research has sought to examine the influence
30
31 of personal impact of public events on collective remembering (Neisser, 1996, Koppel, Brown,
32
33 Stone, Coman, & Hirst, 2013; Tinti et al., 2009), less research has focused on how the impact of
34
35 public events at the national level influences collective remembering. We therefore examine the
36
37 influence of country-level pandemic impact on shared event representations and investigated
38
39 collective memory in fifteen countries around the world.
40
41
42
43
44
45

46 47 **Collective Future Thought**

48
49 Whereas the study of collective memory is well established, the field of collective future
50
51 thought is still in its infancy (Michaelian & Sutton, 2019). Collective future thought is defined as
52
53 the act of imagining an event that has yet to transpire on behalf of, or by, a group (Szpunar &
54
55 Szpunar, 2016). It has been suggested that collective future thought may underpin how people
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 predict, communicate about, and respond to events that could impact future outcomes and
4
5 associated collective group identity (Szpunar & Szpunar, 2016).
6

7
8 There is some emerging evidence of similarities and differences between collective future
9
10 thought for public events and other forms of public event representations. Öner and Gülgöz
11
12 (2020) found that the themes of public events reported were similar across both past and future
13
14 orientations and that the frequency of reported collective events in both the past and future was
15
16 associated with closer psychological (temporal) distance and stronger belief that the events
17
18 reported form part of a shared group representation. In line with personal event memory, the
19
20 association between visual imagery and reporting of public events was stronger for past than
21
22 future representations. Conversely, whereas a positivity bias is evident when individuals report
23
24 on personally experienced events, events reported in the past and future of collective groups have
25
26 been found to be more negative in emotional valence (Öner & Gülgöz, 2020; Shrikanth, Szpunar,
27
28 & Szpunar, 2018). Topcu and Hirst (2020) also found strong correspondence between the themes
29
30 and phenomenology of past and future national events. However, some differences were
31
32 observed as well. In line with studies of autobiographical memory, future events were found to be
33
34 less specific and more positive than past events and the positivity bias in the future was partially
35
36 explained by viewing the nation as more agentic in future than past temporal perspectives.
37
38
39
40
41

42 It is also possible to argue for differences in the phenomenology of public events
43
44 occurring in one's own country and abroad. National events are self-relevant, serving to define
45
46 collective identity, bonding with the collective, and guiding future behaviors (Hirst & Manier,
47
48 2008). These functions result in national events to be represented as more positive and more vivid
49
50 representations compared to global events (Liu et al., 2009). In addition, national events benefit
51
52 from the availability (Zaromb et al., 2018), they are rehearsed more in the collective through
53
54 social conversations or the media.
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 The above-mentioned results demonstrate that the events reported in the context of
4
5 collective future thought show a number of shared and distinct features when considered in
6
7 relation to other forms of psychological event representations. The similarities and differences
8
9 identified in previous research may demonstrate that, as for collective memory, the event
10
11 represented in the collective future of a group may act as an interface on which the goals and
12
13 values of the individual and the society interact (Hirst & Manier, 2008). The pandemic provides a
14
15 unique set of circumstances to explore the extent to which future event representations are shared
16
17 across global and national collective groups during an event of historical significance that is
18
19 likely to have far-reaching implications for the future of individuals and society at large.
20
21 Identification of the themes and phenomenological characteristics of the events reported in the
22
23 context of the collective future will help us better understand the relationship between collective
24
25 memory and future thought and help elucidate the socio-cultural mechanisms that shape
26
27 representations of collective future events.
28
29
30
31

32 33 34 35 **The Present Study**

36
37 The current pre-registered study¹ had two related aims. First, we aimed to explore the
38
39 types and phenomenological qualities of remarkable public events people reported *during* the
40
41 early stages of the COVID-19 pandemic. Second, we aimed to examine how contextual factors at
42
43 the national level might alter the lens through which the wider pandemic was understood. To
44
45 address these aims, we asked over 4000 people across 15 countries to report remarkable events
46
47 that have happened in a) the world, and b) their country, following the reports of the first case of
48
49 COVID-19 in Wuhan. We also asked participants to report remarkable events that they expected
50
51 to happen in the future in both the world and their country.
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 We expected that reported events will be mostly related with the COVID-19 pandemic,
4
5 however, because the COVID-19 pandemic is an unprecedented situation, we made no a priori
6
7 hypotheses about the specific themes evident in the events reported by participants or if the
8
9 themes reported would differ between past and future perspectives. To address this aim, a
10
11 thematic coding scheme was developed specifically for this study using a bottom-up data-driven
12
13 approach. Comparisons of the themes evident in the events reported by participants were based
14
15 on the frequency with which themes were reported from global and national perspectives across
16
17 past and future temporal orientations.
18
19
20

21 In relation to the second aim, we explored similarities and differences between event
22
23 representations as a function of two contextual factors operating at the group level to examine
24
25 their influence on past and future event representations during the early stage of the pandemic.
26
27 The first contextual factor was the group perspective from which events were retrieved (i) global
28
29 or (ii) national. The second contextual factor was the impact of the pandemic at the national level.
30
31 Namely, the severity of the pandemic outbreak within each country (as measured by the total
32
33 number of COVID-19 cases per million) and the stringency of the governmental restrictions
34
35 within each country (as measured by the governmental stringency index, see Balmford et al.,
36
37 2020, for a similar approach).
38
39
40

41
42 When exploring the similarities and differences in the types of events reported from
43
44 global and national perspectives, we expected that events that characterize the onset and course of
45
46 the pandemic would be represented similarly across countries. Given the influence of national
47
48 identity (Abel et al., 2019), national provenance (Curci & Luminet, 2006), and geographical
49
50 proximity (Pezdek, 2003) on memory for public events, it is possible that greater discrepancies
51
52 might be observed for national collective events relative to global events, as these events may be
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 more closely linked to country related differences in the content and accessibility of pandemic-
4
5 related information.
6

7
8 We also conducted exploratory analyses on the emotional valence of past and future
9
10 events and the vividness of past events. Based on previous research, we expected that the events
11
12 reported by participants would not necessarily be positive in emotional valence (Öner & Gülgöz,
13
14 2020; Shrikanth et al., 2018) but differences may be observed, such that future events are more
15
16 positive, or less negative, than past events (Topcu & Hirst, 2020), although this effect has not
17
18 been observed consistently (Öner & Gülgöz, 2020). We also expected that individuals would
19
20 demonstrate a group bias for national events (Cyr & Hirst, 2019), such that these events may be
21
22 rated as more positive (or less negative) than global events, and that national events would also
23
24 be more vivid in memory.
25
26
27

28 Method

29 Multi-country design

30
31
32
33 The study is an international collaboration between memory researchers from universities
34
35 across 15 countries (i.e., Canada, China, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Malaysia,
36
37 New Zealand, Poland, Russia, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States of
38
39 America). Initially, an expression of interest in a research collaboration was posted within a
40
41 memory research interest group (March 24, 2020). Additional countries were then targeted to
42
43 ensure that the countries participating in the study were fairly representative of global variations
44
45 in the nature of the COVID-19 outbreak (i.e., severity of the situation) and pandemic regulation
46
47 strategies implemented at the national level (i.e., lockdown regulations). Table 1 and
48
49 Supplementary Figure 1 outline the severity of COVID-19 parameters across the countries
50
51 included in the study relative to worldwide statistics from the same period. Supplementary Figure
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 2 presents a world map with countries categorized by their severity and stringency, and
4
5 Supplementary Figure 3 shows a scatterplot of stringency and severity across countries.
6

7
8 The study was pre-registered during the period of data collection and all collaborators
9
10 consented to the registered study design and protocols. A master survey was first constructed in
11
12 English as a result of a “crude and effective” process with the aim of collecting comparable data
13
14 from different countries. Researchers located in each specific country were responsible for
15
16 translating the master survey into the primary language in their country and obtaining IRB/ethical
17
18 approval in line with local standards. Using a thematic coding scheme, written descriptions of the
19
20 collective events were also coded at country-specific sites in the original language. The master
21
22 survey, study aims, procedures for data collection, and coding manuals can be accessed here
23
24 (<https://osf.io/m46nq/>)¹.
25
26
27
28
29

30 31 **Participants**

32
33 Over 100 individuals from each country participated in the study between the 11th of
34
35 April - 28th of June 2020. The length of the data collection period within this timeframe differed
36
37 across countries. We included only participants who completed at least one group of memory
38
39 questions (i.e., past global, future global) as well as the demographic information in the survey.
40
41 Final analyses were conducted with 3983 participants (68.8% female, $M_{\text{age}} = 33.54$, $SD = 13.84$).
42
43 Participant demographic information for each country is presented in Table 2. To maximize
44
45 recruitment, strategies differed across countries. In the majority of countries, participants were
46
47 recruited through social media outlets and undergraduate subject pools. In addition, other
48
49 platforms (e.g., MTurk in the USA and Wjx in China) were used when possible.
50
51
52
53
54
55

56 57 **Procedure**

58
59
60

1
2
3 The survey was developed and distributed anonymously using Qualtrics. On accessing the
4 Qualtrics survey link, participants were informed about the aims of the study and their rights as
5 participants. Informed consent was then obtained. The survey covered general demographic
6 information, the personal impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, six key memory phenomena which
7 were flashbulb events, past global, future global, past national, and future national events,
8 involuntary past and future thinking, and the potential future consequences of the pandemic (see
9 <https://osf.io/m46nq/>). At the end of the study, participants had the option of providing their
10 email address for participation in possible future studies. Any email addresses obtained are held
11 in accordance with ethical regulations at country-specific sites.
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

26 **Materials**

27
28 *Past and future collective events.* The survey sections focusing on past collective events
29 (global and country-specific) and future collective events (global and country-specific) are of
30 relevance to the research questions under investigation. Within these four collective event
31 categories, participants were asked to report three events for each category, regardless of event
32 content. Specific instructions for these collective event categories were as follows:
33
34
35
36
37
38
39

- 40 ● Past global: “Please indicate three remarkable events that have happened *in the*
41 *world* (not in your own country, but in other countries) since the disease first
42 appeared in Wuhan.”
43
44
- 45 ● Past national: “Please indicate three remarkable events that have happened *in your*
46 *country* after you first heard about the first case in the world.”
47
48
- 49 ● Future global: “Please indicate three remarkable events that you expect to occur *in*
50 *the world*.”
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

- Future national: “Please indicate three remarkable events that you expect to occur *in your country.*”

Individuals reported the events in the same order, first reporting past global and national, then future global and national events. Participants were asked to rely on their memory and not to check details of reported events using other sources. Seven percent of the participants indicated they looked up either content or date information for the past collective events. We did not exclude these participants, because the number of participants who searched for the events were similar country-wise. The instructions did not ask participants to write the specific details of events but rather to provide the name of the event or a short label for it. Participants were also informed that the order in which the three events were reported within each category was not important. Additional information about the estimated dates and phenomenological characteristics of the events was also obtained. For the purposes of the present study emotional valence (“How did/will this event affect you?”, 5-point Likert: 1=Very negative, 5=Very positive) and vividness (only for past events, “How vivid is your memory of this event?”, 5-point Likert: 1=Not vivid at all, 5=Extremely vivid) were recorded.

Thematic coding. To determine the proportion of reported events related to the COVID-19 pandemic and the events’ themes, a thematic coding scheme was developed specifically for this study. The same coding scheme was used across all four collective event categories (i.e., global past, national past, global future, and national future).

A bottom-up data-driven approach was employed for the development of the thematic coding scheme. The thematic coding scheme was based on the coding scheme used by Topcu and Hirst (2020) and adapted to consider additional pandemic relevant themes. The coding scheme was organized using the following hierarchical structure: first, events were coded as *COVID-19 related* or *non-COVID-19 related*. COVID-19 related events were then categorized into 20 main

1
2
3 thematic categories (e.g., *lockdowns, deaths, infections, economy, travel, culture, politics and*
4 *pandemic management, health, social solidarity, media*). Nine of these 20 main COVID-19-
5 related categories included thematic subcategories that reflected a higher event specificity (e.g.,
6 the main thematic category *lockdown* included five subcategories, such as *lockdown in Wuhan,*
7 *lockdown in Italy, or lifting of lockdown*). The thematic subcategories will not be considered
8 further in this study. Events identified as non-COVID-19-related were categorized into six
9 separate thematic categories (e.g., environment, politics, economy). Finally, reported events that
10 did not correspond with the specific task instructions (6.7% for global past events, 3.1% for
11 national past events, 2.1% for future global events, 1.2% for future national events) were coded in
12 four separate categories (e.g., autobiographical events, listing multiple events). This thematic
13 coding system allowed us to quantitatively inspect the broad range of event themes reported by
14 the participants and examine cross-country overlaps and discrepancies.

15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31 Using the thematic coding scheme, all events were initially categorized at each country-
32 specific site in the original language. Coders from each country categorized 10% of the events
33 reported by participants from their country, compared codes, and resolved any disagreements
34 through discussion. The coders then categorized the remaining events. Interrater reliability was
35 computed among raters in each country and the agreement between the raters was found to be
36 moderate to high². Country-specific data along with their associated thematic codes were
37 subsequently collated in a large multi-country dataset. The coding scheme with all the thematic
38 categories and subcategories, along with some exemplar events representative of different
39 thematic categories, can be found on the project's Open Science Framework page
40 (<https://osf.io/m46nq/>).

41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54 ***Country-specific COVID-19 severity and stringency parameters.*** Two parameters were
55 used in the present study to examine the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic across the 15
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 countries represented: (1) total confirmed cases of COVID-19 per million at the last day of data
4 collection in each country which considered as the severity and (2) the governmental stringency
5 index. The total confirmed cases of COVID-19 per million was used as a severity index of the
6 spread of the disease within each country. The stringency index was used as a measure of the
7 governmental response to the pandemic at the national level. The governmental stringency index
8 was developed by the University of Oxford and consists of a composite score across a number of
9 indicators including travel bans and school and workplace closures. The index is recorded as a
10 score from 0-100 with 100 indexing the strictest form of governmental response (Hale, Petherick,
11 Phillips, & Webster, 2020). The data for these measures was extracted for each country site from
12 the coronavirus pandemic dataset available at the website run by Our World in Data (2020).
13
14 Since the pandemic began, governmental restrictions have varied within countries. For that
15 reason, to calculate each country's stringency index, we extracted the data from the very
16 beginning of the pandemic to the last day of data collection in each country and then computed
17 the average level of stringency between these dates. A bivariate Pearson's correlation between
18 the severity and stringency parameters demonstrated a moderate negative correlation ($r = -.34$, p
19 $< .01$), suggesting that although related, these two parameters represent separate underlying
20 constructs.
21
22

23
24 We divided the countries into three categories (low, medium and high) in terms of both
25 COVID-19 severity and governmental stringency. To create these groups, we calculated the mean
26 and standard deviation of each index, and assigned countries to a group on the basis of where
27 they fell in relation to these metrics. More specifically, countries 1 SD or more below the mean
28 score of each index were assigned to the "low" severity or stringency group; countries 1 SD or
29 more above the mean score of each index were assigned to the "high" severity or stringency
30 group; and the remaining countries were assigned to the "medium" severity or stringency group.
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Table 1 shows the exact numbers of total cases and deaths per country, along with the countries
4 and their categorization.
5
6
7
8
9

10 **Results**

11 **Data analytic strategy**

12
13
14 The results are organized into three sections in which we address our primary aims. First,
15 we summarized the types of events reported across the 15 countries and compared these events
16 between countries. For these analyses, we focused only on the COVID-19-related themes which
17 appeared at least in 4% of the reported events. Although there are studies using a higher value
18 (e.g., 10%; Topcu & Hirst, 2020) or relying on the number of participants (Tekcan, Boduroğlu,
19 Mutlutürk, & Aktan-Erciyes, 2017), we set a lower minimum value of 4% in an effort to be
20 relatively representative of the different event themes reported across countries. Second, we
21 compared the frequency of the themes evident in the reported events across the three levels of
22 severity and stringency to examine if the themes reported were related to country-specific
23 COVID-19 factors (see Table 1 for the severity and stringency categories of countries). Finally,
24 we investigated whether the phenomenological properties of global and national events differed
25 across past and future orientations.
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43

44 **COVID-19 related event themes**

45
46 To determine the frequency and content of COVID-19 related event themes, we
47 calculated the mean percentage of participants across the 15 countries who reported events
48 corresponding to the various themes. As Tables 3-6 show, the majority of reported events across
49 all event categories were COVID-19-related events (81.4% of global past events, 87.5% of
50 national past events, 85.4% of global future events, and 85.2% of national future events).
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 For past events, infections (14.8% and 10.3%) and lockdown (9.2% and 20.1%) were the
4 most commonly reported themes across the majority of countries in both global and national
5 events, respectively. Infections in global and national events and lockdown in national events
6 were reported by at least 4% of participants across 14 of the 15 countries, whereas lockdown in
7 national events was reported by at least 4% of participants across 10 of the 15 countries. In
8 addition, politics (7.1% and 6.3%) and impact on health systems (4.1% and 5.0%) were also
9 reported frequently. Politics was reported by at least 4% of participants across 10 countries and
10 impact on health systems was reported by at least 4% of participants across 7 countries for global
11 events and 4 countries for national events. For global events specifically, deaths (5.7%, > 4%
12 across 11 countries), cultural events (4.9%, > 4% across 6 countries), travel limitations (4.2%, >
13 4% across 7 countries), and media-related themes (4.0%, > 4% across 4 countries) were reported
14 frequently. Whereas for past national events, events related to mass closures (8.9%, > 4% across
15 7 countries), hygiene and social behavior (6.1%, > 4% across 12 countries), and to a lesser degree
16 social solidarity (4.6%, > 4% across 2 countries) were reported by >4% of participants.

17
18
19 Economy (22.4% and 26.8%) and a second-wave of the pandemic (6.4% and 4.4%) were
20 listed by the majority of countries in global and national events, respectively. The economy was
21 reported by more than 4% of participants across 14 countries for both event types and a second
22 wave was reported by more than 4% of participants across 13 countries for global events and 11
23 countries for national events. Whereas developments in health science (8.9%, < 4% across 12
24 countries), politics (5.0%, < 4% across 11 countries), and travel (4.8%, < 4% across 8 countries)
25 were common themes in global future events, lockdown related events (12.4%, < 4% across 10
26 countries) were mentioned by the majority of countries for future national events.

27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56 **Thematic differences based on severity and stringency measures.**
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 We then investigated the relationship between COVID-19 related event themes and the
4 impact of COVID-19 within each country. Figures 1 and 2 demonstrate that, for each event
5 category (past global, past national, future global, and future national), the frequency of reported
6 events varied significantly, with a small effect size, depending on the severity and stringency of
7 the pandemic within the country in which participants were living.
8
9

10
11
12 The themes of past events differed significantly across levels of severity (for global
13 events, $\chi^2(14) = 414.46, p < .01$ Cramer's $V = .221$; for national events, $\chi^2(10) = 535.83, p < .01$,
14 $V = .240$) and stringency (for global events, $\chi^2(14) = 531.16, p < .01, V = .250$; for national
15 events, $\chi^2(10) = 393.92, p < .01, V = .206$). For past global events (see Figures 1a and b),
16 individuals in countries where pandemic severity was medium and high reported significantly
17 more events across almost all themes, with the exception of infections and politics-related
18 themes. An opposite pattern was observed for stringency, where individuals from high-stringency
19 countries reported more political and infection-related events. In addition, low-stringency
20 countries reported more events related to travel, culture, lockdown, and health. This difference
21 was more robust for deaths, such that high-stringency countries reported 6 to 9 times fewer death-
22 related events than low- and medium-stringency countries (see Figure 1b).
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39

40 For past national events, the theme of lockdown was reported frequently regardless of
41 pandemic severity and stringency. Events related to infections and hygiene were reported more
42 frequently in high-severity (see Figure 1c) or low-stringency countries (see Figure 1d), whereas
43 health and social solidarity-related issues were reported more frequently in low-severity or high-
44 stringency countries.
45
46
47
48
49
50

51 Thematic differences in future events as a function of pandemic severity and stringency
52 are shown in Figure 2. Similar to past events, for future events, themes differed significantly
53 across levels of severity (for global events, $\chi^2(10) = 237.75, p < .01, V = .172$; for national events,
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 $\chi^2(6) = 127.24, p < .01, V = .232$) and stringency (for global events, $\chi^2(10) = 263.36, p < .01, V =$
4
5 $.181$; for national events, $\chi^2(4) = 215.57, p < .01, V = .271$). Although the economy was a
6
7 frequent theme across future global and national events, Figures 2a and b indicate that people
8
9 living in low-severity or high-stringency countries brought to mind more future thoughts about
10
11 global events related to the economy relative to other severity/stringency groups whereas people
12
13 living in either high-severity or low stringency countries brought to mind more future thoughts
14
15 related to lockdown. Whereas events related to the developments in health science were
16
17 comparable across different levels of severity, this theme was more common in individuals from
18
19 countries where stringency was low compared to countries with higher stringency levels.
20
21
22

23
24 For future national events, the pattern was similar to the pattern for future global events.
25
26 Participants in countries with low severity and high governmental stringency brought to mind a
27
28 greater proportion of future thoughts related to the economy relative to individuals from countries
29
30 with high severity and low governmental stringency levels, whereas participants in low severity
31
32 and high stringency countries brought to mind more future thoughts about lockdowns.
33
34
35

36 37 **Phenomenological properties of reported events**

38
39
40 To examine the emotional valence of global and national events for the past memories
41
42 and future simulations, we conducted a two-way within-subjects ANOVA with time (past-future)
43
44 and event type (global-national) as the within-subject factors and valence as the dependent
45
46 variable. The main effects of time, $F(1, 2997) = 1120.40, MSE = 2159.60, p < .01, \eta^2 = .27$, and
47
48 event type, $F(1, 2997) = 110.85, MSE = 120.68, p < .01, \eta^2 = .06$, were significant, indicating that
49
50 individuals reported past memories ($M = 2.45, SD = 0.73$) as more negative than future
51
52 simulations ($M = 3.31, SD = 1.36$), and global events as slightly more negative ($M = 2.76, SD =$
53
54 0.75) than national events ($M = 2.99, SD = 1.18$).
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 The interaction between event type and time was also significant, $F(1, 2997) =$
4
5 181.71, $MSE = 186.04$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .09$. Pairwise comparisons indicated that whereas past
6
7 national events ($M = 2.43$, $SD = 0.96$) were perceived as more negative than past global events
8
9 ($M = 2.48$, $SD = 0.75$), for future events, national events ($M = 3.53$, $SD = 1.97$) were perceived as
10
11 less negative than global events ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 1.19$) (See Table 7).
12
13

14 We also controlled for the severity and stringency to examine whether observed
15
16 differences could be explained by the context in each country. We conducted a two-way within
17
18 subjects ANCOVA using severity and stringency as covariates. In general, significant main
19
20 effects of time and event type, and their interaction remained when severity and stringency were
21
22 used as covariates. The main effect of event type remained significant when the severity was used
23
24 as a covariate. However, severity had a significant effect on the valence of global and national
25
26 events, $F(1, 2996) = 45.58$, $MSE = 48.89$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .03$, suggesting that the difference in
27
28 emotional valence becomes more salient for individuals from high severity-low severity
29
30 countries. When we controlled for the effect of stringency, differences in the valence of past and
31
32 future events, $F(1, 2996) = 18.31$, $MSE = 35.09$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .05$, and global and national
33
34 events, $F(1, 2996) = 1265$, $MSE = 13.72$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .02$, remained significant. However, the
35
36 main effect of event type failed to reach significance, suggesting that the stringency in preventive
37
38 measures accounts for the differences in the emotional valence of global and national events. The
39
40 interaction between event type and valence remained significant when severity and stringency
41
42 were included as covariates.
43
44
45
46
47
48

49 Finally, we examined whether individuals recalled global and national events with
50
51 differing degrees of vividness. Event type had a significant effect on the vividness of reported
52
53 memories, $F(1, 3307) = 1184.08$, $MSE = 398.96$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .28$, showing that individuals
54
55 recalled national events ($M = 3.69$, $SD = 0.90$) more vividly than global events ($M = 3.19$, $SD =$
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 0.91). When we controlled for the effects of severity and stringency measures on vividness, the
4
5 covariate effects of severity, $F(14, 3293) = 1.95, MSE = 0.65, p = .018, \eta^2 = .01$, and
6
7 stringency, $F(14, 3306) = 3.91, MSE = 1.32, p = .048, \eta^2 = .01$, were significant, however the
8
9 main effect of event type was maintained.
10
11
12
13

14 **Discussion**

15
16
17 The COVID-19 pandemic has led to a dramatic change and an unprecedented challenge to
18
19 people's lives worldwide. The outbreak of the virus has changed daily routines of individuals and
20
21 reshaped the goals and concerns of societies. Although the entire world was alarmed by the virus,
22
23 how countries experienced the pandemic differed depending on the timing and severity of the
24
25 outbreak. Responses to the pandemic varied too; accordingly, some countries implemented very
26
27 harsh restrictions from the very beginning, whereas others remained more passive (Hale et al.,
28
29 2020), all of which influenced how the situation was viewed at the individual level. Thus,
30
31 although the COVID-19 pandemic is a globally shared event resulting in a common concern
32
33 across the world, individuals may have unique representations of the pandemic depending on the
34
35 country they are living in, which are tied to the goals and motivations of that national collective
36
37 group.
38
39
40

41
42 Here, we asked individuals from 15 countries to report the most remarkable past and
43
44 future public events from during the early phase of the pandemic and examined the themes and
45
46 phenomenology of events reported. We were interested in investigating the emergence of shared
47
48 pandemic-related event representations during this period and the influence of contextual group
49
50 factors on these event representations. First, we compared event representations of global and
51
52 national events. Then, we conducted country-level analyses testing whether past and future
53
54 events differed across countries with different levels of pandemic severity and governmental
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 stringency. Finally, we focused on individual responses to examine whether reported events
4
5 differed in terms of their phenomenology.
6
7
8
9

10 **Collective Events for COVID-19**

11
12 As the main concern of the countries during the spring of 2020 was presumably the
13
14 COVID-19 pandemic, we expected reported events to be dominated by themes related to the
15
16 pandemic. In line with this expectation, about 85% of all events were related to COVID-19 across
17
18 past and future orientations, reflecting a pattern of remembering and simulation congruent with
19
20 active goals and concerns of the collective (Hirst & Manier, 2008). Importantly, we found
21
22 substantial overlap in the most frequently recalled event themes reported in past events across
23
24 countries, thus providing evidence for the emergence of event themes shared both by individuals
25
26 within countries and across countries *during* the pandemic. Themes of lockdown and infections
27
28 dominated memories of public events at both national and global levels and themes of politics
29
30 and health systems were also evident. These findings suggest that the spread of the virus
31
32 (infection), responses limiting the spread (lockdown), and the systems acting to fight COVID-19
33
34 (politics and health systems) were prevalent in the minds of individuals throughout the world
35
36 during the early stages of the pandemic. Differences were also identified across global and
37
38 national events. Although event themes relevant to the spread of the disease across international
39
40 borders were frequent in past global events (i.e., travel restrictions and cultural events), themes
41
42 related to more local concerns and of intra-cultural relevance (e.g., hygiene, social distancing,
43
44 mass closures) appeared distinctively for national events.
45
46
47
48
49
50

51 For future events, there was a far greater overlap across countries in the events expected
52
53 both globally and nationally relative to past events. Importantly, this overlap suggests that, in
54
55 addition to countries or social groups (Szpunar & Szpunar, 2016), collective future thought can
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 occur at a global level during ongoing collective events. The impact of the pandemic on the
4 future economy was the most common event theme in global and national events with over 20%
5 of events focusing on this theme. Themes of a potential second wave and lockdown were also
6 represented in both global and national future events. The focus on the economy in future
7 thinking is a clear contrast to the themes reported in past events, demonstrating a change in focus
8 to thinking about how the pandemic may continue to impact on systems integral to daily life.
9

10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17 Although the study of future collective thought is still in its infancy, current views suggest
18 that the greater overlap in future event themes may be shaped to a larger degree by the views
19 conveyed by mass media and global or local authorities (Szpunar & Szpunar, 2016). Individuals
20 may have even experienced the initial signs of, or been exposed to speculation about, such events
21 at the time of the data collection, resulting in shared future thought, not only for their nation, but
22 also for the broader global collective.
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32

33 **Levels of Severity and Stringency Influence Recall**

34
35 We expected measures of severity and stringency to constitute the context of retrieval and
36 to influence which events would be reported across countries. We believe these measures also
37 reflect the context of encoding, in the sense that they are indices of the way people experienced
38 the reported events while they were occurring. In countries where stringency levels were high,
39 the severity of the pandemic tended to be low, resulting in a consistent pattern in the recall of
40 events at high and low ends of the respective measures (Dalton, Corbett, & Katelaris, 2020). High
41 stringency measures may prevent the pandemic becoming more severe in a country or vice versa,
42 and this association may influence the way individuals attend to or evaluate the information
43 related to the pandemic. Thus, we expected contextual features of severity and stringency to
44 shape collective memory and future thought both at the country and individual level.
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 For global past events, people in countries where severity was high and stringency was
4 low (e.g., the United States) reported more events related to the lockdown and deaths than did
5 people in countries where severity was low and stringency was high (e.g., China). As individuals
6 perceive more threats in their own country, they may have become more interested in the
7 situation in other countries. Similarly, these individuals reported more media-related global
8 events, including COVID-19 related briefings or social media. Perhaps these individuals had a
9 tendency to turn to media or other information sources around the world—especially during crisis
10 situations when fear and uncertainty is high (Longstaff & Yang, 2008). Surprisingly, infection-
11 related events were reported more frequently in low severity-high stringency countries than in
12 high severity-low stringency countries. On the one hand, we might have expected the opposite
13 pattern, which would have been consistent with the reports of deaths and lockdown, because all
14 three themes could be considered as pandemic-related threat indicators. On the other hand, it is
15 possible that in high severity countries, the number of deaths (rather than infections) may have
16 been a better indicator of global risk (Sornette et al., 2020). Furthermore, perhaps in low severity
17 countries, media coverage of infections in other countries was more prevalent to remind people of
18 the severity of the pandemic elsewhere and the importance of following mandated restrictions.

19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40 At the national level, reporting of infection-related events increased with pandemic
41 severity, showing a more consistent pattern with reports of deaths and lockdown measures.
42
43 Individuals may have been more attuned to the rate of infections, as well as measures of hygiene
44 and social distancing, when considering the severity and spread of the virus in their own country.
45
46 On the contrary, issues related to social solidarity and health (e.g., mental health, health systems)
47 came up more frequently in these countries. It appears that when pandemic threat was high—as
48 in high severity-low stringency countries—, threat-related information (e.g., infections, hygiene)
49 was prioritized (Mathews & Mackintosh, 1998). On the contrary, in low severity-high stringency
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 countries, individuals retrieved a wider range of information, allowing them to attend to civil
4
5 engagements and social collaboration to deal with the immediate effects of COVID-19.
6

7
8 For future events, economy-related changes were common in individuals' reports. In low
9
10 severity-high stringency countries especially, people reported more economy-related events for
11
12 both global and national events than in the high severity-low stringency countries. High severity
13
14 countries, however, tended to report the more direct consequences of the pandemic, such as
15
16 lockdown and second wave of COVID-19, reflecting how current concerns can be embedded in
17
18 one's thoughts about the future (Cole & Berntsen, 2016) in those countries. We also observed
19
20 similarities in future expectations. For global events, irrespective of the levels of severity or
21
22 stringency, expectations for the development of cures and vaccines for COVID-19 were
23
24 comparable across countries. For national events, there were only slight variations in reports on
25
26 the course of the pandemic (e.g., the end of the pandemic, the second wave of COVID-19). Such
27
28 consistency across levels of stringency and severity suggests the adoption of common goals at
29
30 global and national levels.
31
32
33
34

35
36 Comparing the past and future events, there was some variation in the themes of global
37
38 and national events occurring in the past, suggesting individuals focus on different issues in their
39
40 relatively closer micro context relative to the broader macro context. However, for future events,
41
42 there was greater overlap: all the themes reported for national events were also evident in the
43
44 global events, which may be a function of the semanticized schematic information people use to
45
46 infer the 'unknown' (Michaelian & Sutton, 2017; Scherman, Salgado, Shao, & Berntsen, 2017).
47
48 Themes evident in future simulations target how to re-establish the pre-pandemic state of the
49
50 collective and the consequences to be experienced post-pandemic, both of which serve to reduce
51
52 the uncertainty in the future of the nation and the world.
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Individual Level Analysis: Phenomenology of Reported Events

Research on personal events has demonstrated that reports of future events tend to be more positive but less vivid compared to past events (D'Argembeau & Van der Linden, 2006; Shao, Yao, Ceci, & Wang, 2010). Although there has been less evidence for the phenomenology of collective events, existing evidence suggests considerable consistency in the valence and vividness of past and future collective events. In line with personal events, the collective future is perceived more positively than the collective past (Topcu & Hirst, 2020), which may reflect individuals' willingness to create a more positive future for their collective group. In the context of national events, the country that individuals are living in represents a collective in-group with which individuals have a shared context and culture. In contrast, global events could be perceived as occurring within a wider collective group (i.e., humans on earth) or, as occurring for an out-group (i.e., our nation vs. other nations), and both of these global perspectives may make global event representations less relevant to individuals relative to national events. For this reason, we expected differences in the phenomenology of the global and national events reported for the past and the future.

We found a positivity bias for the future events. Consistent with previous findings (e.g., Cole, Staugaard, & Berntsen, 2016), future events were perceived as less negative than past events and this difference was more salient for national events compared to global events. When thinking about their nation (i.e., the social group of greater relatedness), individuals tend to envisage a more positive future. On the other hand, although we expected a more positive national past, we found that individuals reported relatively more negative past events that had happened in their own country, by which comparisons of their nation with other countries preserves a less favorable view of their national collective. One reason could be that the pandemic as the source of the reported events is ongoing. It could be more functional to hold

1
2
3 even the negative event representations salient so that they could have a directive function for the
4
5 national collective and this might prevent the adaptive utilization of the self-regulatory or self-
6
7 enhancement function of remembering.
8
9

10 It is also important to point out that the pattern of the phenomenology of reported events
11
12 persisted, even when we controlled for severity and stringency. Specifically, although contextual
13
14 factors of the pandemic influence what is reported at a global and national level, the way these
15
16 events are recalled could have a universal function for these individuals that serves them to
17
18 adaptively represent the closer and more distant collectives. The only exception was that
19
20 preventive measures explain why national events were perceived more negatively than global
21
22 events. Governmental policies represent a national response to the pandemic, and when more
23
24 strict regulations are implemented, it is likely that individuals experience more direct and
25
26 concrete consequences of the pandemic, which might account for the differences in the emotional
27
28 valence of global and national events.
29
30
31

32
33 In addition to valence, we asked participants about the vividness of past events and
34
35 compared the richness of global and national event memories. We found national events were
36
37 recalled more vividly than global events and the stringency or severity of the pandemic had no
38
39 influence on these vividness ratings. The source of information for global events is likely media
40
41 outlets, thus although the information is detailed, paired with vivid images, it may be less
42
43 personally relevant. On the other hand, for national events, although the events may not be
44
45 directly experienced and also learned of through media, individuals may have experienced the
46
47 consequences of the events at a more personal level. In addition, frequent exposure to
48
49 information may be less likely for global events, whereas for national events, exposure through
50
51 media as well as social sharing of event-related information within the collective may serve as
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 additional forms of rehearsal, thus facilitating consolidation of memories of the event and
4
5 contributing to the saliency of event representations.
6

7
8 This pattern could also be explained by the self-relevance effect, making memories more
9
10 salient (i.e., Bluck, 2003; Conway, 2005). Individuals are part of the national collective, and other
11
12 than the shared goals and the history, the shared context of living binds these group of individuals
13
14 (Hirst et al., 2009), As such, these events are perceived as more self-relevant, which in turn
15
16 activates a more organized, highly elaborated knowledge of the nation group as a collective
17
18 (Johnson et al., 2002). Thus, reference to the national collective at the time of recall may enhance
19
20 the accessibility of the positive information, favoring the group and aiding the retrieval of vivid
21
22 representations of these national events. Future research could serve to examine the relationship
23
24 between self-relevance and the phenomenological characteristics of collective past and future
25
26 thought. In a world where globalization is increasing and issues, such as COVID-19 and climate
27
28 change, are likely to have worldwide impact, these findings also highlight the need for further
29
30 research investigating how different features of collective memories, beliefs, and worldviews are
31
32 shaped by conceptualisations of global identity and how national and global identities are formed
33
34 and relate to one another.
35
36
37
38
39
40
41

42 **Theoretical Implications**

43
44 The COVID-19 pandemic has changed the world's agenda. Individuals' memory
45
46 representations have become aligned with these changes as evidenced by the overrepresentation
47
48 of COVID-19-related events in both the national and global events. These findings support the
49
50 view that shared concerns are represented through consistent recall across individuals at different
51
52 levels of the collective (Hirst & Manier, 2008). We found overlap in reports of global and
53
54 national events about critical information related to the spread and minimization of the COVID-
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 19 pandemic. However, the situation in each country was unique, resulting in small differences in
4
5 reports of national and global collective events.
6

7
8 Also, in line with previous findings (Abel et al., 2019), the events countries recalled
9
10 differed depending on the country-specific factors. The contextual dynamics of stringency and
11
12 severity in each country characterized the situation of the pandemic, which also informed
13
14 members of the collective about which events were more remarkable. These two measures are
15
16 especially important, because severity of the pandemic represents the degree of pandemic threat
17
18 within each country, potentially influencing both the individuals' emotional responses to the
19
20 pandemic and the general affective climate in the society (e.g., frequent media exposure to
21
22 infections, deaths). Similarly, stringency represents a preventive collective action, a collective
23
24 goal, shared by the members of the social group. Thus, from the bottom-up, these measures
25
26 characterize the shared features of the pandemic in a particular context and provide objective
27
28 sources of information about the context in which individuals begin to form mental
29
30 representations of collective events.
31
32
33
34

35 Accordingly, high degree of overlap in countries where the contextual factors were similar
36
37 indicated unique collective concerns and event representations for the smaller national and larger
38
39 global collective. Importantly, these findings build on previous research by demonstrating that
40
41 shared representations of world events emerge within global and national collective memory
42
43 during ongoing events which have worldwide impact and are likely to be of historical
44
45 significance (Hirst et al., 2018). In line with studies of collective event representations of events
46
47 which occurred decades previously (Abel et al., 2019; Pennebaker et al., 2006), these event
48
49 representations for ongoing world events are also influenced by country-specific contextual
50
51 factors. It is important to note that other contextual group factors may also play a role at the
52
53 national level, such as the size of the nation, the economic and welfare systems in place, and
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 previous experience with epidemic or pandemic diseases (e.g., SARS). These contextual group
4
5 factors warrant further investigation in future research.
6

7
8 Because there are many unknowns regarding the long-term effects of COVID-19, future
9
10 simulations are likely to be shaped by the external sources of information, such as conversations
11
12 with friends or family or media input (Anderson, 2012), showing how shared knowledge in the
13
14 collective can lead to mnemonic convergence. Although we observed considerable overlap in the
15
16 themes reported in past and future events (Öner & Gülgöz, 2020; Topcu & Hirst, 2019), we also
17
18 observed greater consistency across countries in the event themes reported in the future relative
19
20 to the past. These findings correspond well with previous research demonstrating higher levels of
21
22 consistency within future events relative to past event representations (Kane, Van Boven, &
23
24 McGraw, 2012). The future event themes were similar to the messages promoted by
25
26 governmental and health regulation authorities on how to manage the virus (i.e., developments in
27
28 health science) and the associated societal consequences (i.e., the economy, lifting of lock-down,
29
30 and politics).
31
32
33
34
35
36

37 **Possible Limitations**

38
39 The current research has several limitations. First, although the data from all countries
40
41 were collected within the same two-and-a-half-month period, the duration of active data
42
43 collection differed in each country. In addition, the outbreak and the spread of the COVID-19
44
45 virus was different across countries. Although severity and stringency measures may countervail
46
47 part of this variability, it is possible that the rapidly changing COVID-19 situation within each
48
49 country influenced the events individuals reported. As individuals gradually have more
50
51 information, the types of events they preferentially keep salient may change accordingly.
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Additionally, data was collected during one time point and therefore was not analyzed
4
5 longitudinally. However, we hope to address this limitation in follow-up studies.
6

7
8 Second, we asked participants to report remarkable events since the pandemic outbreak.
9
10 We used this restriction as a time limit for the responses reported. On the one hand, this
11
12 instruction may have biased responses toward pandemic related events, resulting in COVID-19-
13
14 themed events dominating the responses. On the other hand, the period during which we
15
16 collected data was dense with pandemic-related events and due to the uncertainty in the situation,
17
18 it is very likely that individuals preferentially attended to COVID-19-related information. Thus,
19
20 even if we used a more neutral instruction, we would expect a similar pattern in event themes.
21
22 Despite this limitation, the study demonstrates important similarities and differences in the
23
24 themes and phenomenological characteristics of past and future collective events reported during
25
26 the early stage of the pandemic which are informative within the field of collective thinking.
27
28
29

30
31 Third, sample characteristics differ across countries. Our goal was to include a range of
32
33 100 to 300 participants from each country in proportion to the population of the country. For that
34
35 reason, some researchers used crowd-sourcing data collection tools, some recruited student
36
37 samples, and some distributed the survey through social media. As such, this sampling method
38
39 resulted in samples of differing age and education levels. Although the current research does not
40
41 rely on demographics, this variation makes it difficult not only to generalize the findings across
42
43 the nations but also to make direct country-wise comparisons. A related issue with respect to
44
45 sampling is the sample size, in that, although we recruited at least 100 participants from each
46
47 country, a larger sample would be preferable, and more representative of the population
48
49 characteristics, for collective memory research. Nevertheless, by measuring three events per
50
51 condition, we increased the overall power and reliability of the data.
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 Another issue about sampling is related to the possible diversity within and between
4 countries. Especially in large countries, like China, Russia, and the United States, contextual
5 factors differ across regions, states or cities, potentially resulting in variation in the psychological
6 responses of individuals. Our measures of severity and stringency, however, were taken across
7 the whole country, not particular provinces or states. We addressed this problem not in regard to
8 the content but to the phenomenology. Although country-level severity and stringency had
9 significant effects on the phenomenology, differences in the past-future and global-national
10 events persisted. Although this finding provides a general view of how individuals represent
11 events at a country-level, individual-level data could be examined in future research by looking
12 into the effect of the pandemic on individuals' lives.
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25

26 Finally, although this study involved a large collaborative effort to obtain data from
27 participants across 15 countries, future studies should seek to include a wider range of countries
28 from the global south. In these regions, differing governmental responses, onset of the pandemic,
29 social and cultural beliefs and access to international media sources may lead to the emergence of
30 different collective memories during the early stages of the pandemic relative to the global north.
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39

40 **Final Conclusions and Future Directions**

41
42 The present study took advantage of the unique opportunity to examine cross-country
43 differences in collective memory and forecasted events in a large dataset of almost 4,000
44 participants recruited from 15 countries across Asia, Europe, North America, and Oceania.
45
46 Despite a diverse range in cultures, there was a clear congruency in the content of collective
47 events across all nations in this study. Although we asked for only three events per condition
48 (past global; past national; future national; future global), the most frequently mentioned events
49 were typically shared rather than idiosyncratic to specific countries. This global sharing of key
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3 events is in line with how people remembered World War II (Abel et al., 2019; Roediger & Abel,
4
5 2015); with some exceptions, commonalities in collective remembering across nations was
6
7 typical.
8
9

10 However, differences in events were found as well. Themes of infection and lockdown
11 dominated reports of public past events, and themes of impact on the economy and a second
12 wave dominated future thought. In line with previous research, future events were reported as
13
14 less negative than past events. Furthermore, events reported from the perspective of the future of
15
16 the nation were less negative than global future events, suggesting that the collective group from
17
18 which events are constructed influences the phenomenological characteristics of past and future
19
20 events. In addition, we used a ‘big data’ approach to show how country-level statistics explained
21
22 specific differences in the content of past and future collective events (e.g., greater frequencies of
23
24 economic events for low severity-high stringency countries) and presented the first study of
25
26 shared representations of global and national events for the ‘collective future’ (a fledgling but
27
28 promising area of study; Szpunar & Szpunar, 2016).
29
30
31
32
33
34

35 This study was cross-sectional and future research should explore how changes in national
36 narratives on the impact of COVID-19 (e.g., national ‘successes’ in eradicating its effects) could
37
38 potentially alter collective memory and forecasted events (perhaps creating divergence in key
39
40 memories across countries). The current study therefore not only provides an expansive
41
42 ‘snapshot’ of collective understanding from within a global pandemic, but also presents a solid
43
44 starting point to examine the longer-term effects of the COVID-19 pandemic on collective
45
46 memory and collective forecasting.
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Footnotes

¹ We intend to make the data available online via OSF so that researchers can benefit from this unique data set to test separate hypotheses. However, in a minority of cases, data was not available for sharing due to either specific IRBs or individuals not giving such consent.

² Most of the countries computed the agreement between two raters and they tested interrater reliability using Cohen's Kappa. However, the countries having more data points used more than two coders and, for these countries, Krippendorff's Alpha was used as the index of agreement between more than two raters. For the two measures, we found a fair to good level of agreement across raters with values ranging from .53-.69 (for Krippendorff's Alpha) and .61 to .89 (for Cohen's Kappa).

³ Total confirmed COVID-19 deaths per million was also considered as a measure of COVID-19 severity, and analyses using this index demonstrated a similar pattern of findings. Total COVID-19 cases per million was selected as the final index of severity for this study to minimize the influence of variations in national health system response on the index of COVID-19 severity.

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Open Practices Statement

The study was preregistered and can be accessed at <https://osf.io/m46nq/> . The data have not been made available on a permanent third-party archive, because Institutional Review Boards in each country did not approve that we could not post the data; requests for the de-identified data can be sent via email to the corresponding author.

References

- Abel, M., Umanath, S., Fairfield, B., Takahashi, M., Roediger III, H. L., & Wertsch, J. V. (2019). Collective memories across 11 nations for World War II: Similarities and differences regarding the most important events. *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*, 8(2), 178–188. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jarmac.2019.02.001>
- Anderson, R. J. (2012). Imagining novel futures: The roles of event plausibility and familiarity. *Memory*, 20(5), 443–451. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2012.677450>
- Balmford, B., Annan, J. D., Hargreaves, J. C., Altoè, M., & Bateman, I. J. (2020). Cross-country comparisons of Covid-19: Policy, politics and the price of life. *Environmental & Resource Economics*, 76, 525–551. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10640-020-00466-5>
- Berntsen, D., & Bohn, A. (2010). Remembering and forecasting: The relation between autobiographical memory and episodic future thinking. *Memory & Cognition*, 38(3), 265–278. <https://doi.org/10.3758/MC.38.3.265>
- Bluck, S. (2003). Autobiographical memory: Exploring its functions in everyday life. *Memory*, 11(2), 113–123. <https://doi.org/10.1080/741938206>
- Brown, R., & Kulik, J. (1977). Flashbulb memories. *Cognition*, 5(1), 73–99. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0010-0277\(77\)90018-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/0010-0277(77)90018-X)
- Brown, N. R., Hansen, T. G., Lee, P., Vanderveen, S. A., & Conrad, F. G. (2012). Historically defined autobiographical periods: Their origins and implications. In D. Berntsen & D. C. Rubin (Eds.), *Understanding autobiographical memory: Theories and approaches* (pp. 160–180). Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, N. R., Schweickart, O., & Svob, C. (2016). The effect of collective transitions on the organization and contents of autobiographical memory: A transition theory perspective.

1
2
3 *American Journal of Psychology*, 129(3), 259–282.

4
5 <https://doi.org/10.5406/amerjpsyc.129.3.0259>

6
7
8 Cole, S. N., & Berntsen, D. (2016). Do future thoughts reflect personal goals? Current concerns
9
10 and mental time travel into the past and future. *The Quarterly Journal of Experimental*
11
12 *Psychology*, 69(2), 273–284. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17470218.2015.1044542>

13
14
15 Cole, S. N., Staugaard, S. R., & Berntsen, D. (2016). Inducing involuntary and voluntary mental
16
17 time travel using a laboratory paradigm. *Memory & Cognition*, 44(3), 376–389.

18
19 <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-015-0564-9>

20
21
22 Conway, M. A. (2005). Memory and the self. *Journal of Memory and Language*, 53(4), 594–628.
23
24 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jml.2005.08.005>

25
26
27 Conway, M. A., Anderson, S. J., Larsen, S. F., Donnelly, C. M., McDaniel, M. A., McClelland,
28
29 A. G., ... & Logie, R. H. (1994). The formation of flashbulb memories. *Memory &*
30
31 *Cognition*, 22(3), 326–343. <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03200860>

32
33
34 CoronaVirus Resource Center (2021, March 8th), John Hopkins University & Medicine.
35
36 <https://coronavirus.jhu.edu/>

37
38
39 Curci, A., Lanciano, T., Maddalena, C., Mastandrea, S., & Sartori, G. (2015). Flashbulb
40
41 memories of the Pope's resignation: Explicit and implicit measures across differing
42
43 religious groups. *Memory*, 23(4), 529–544.

44
45 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2014.908923>

46
47
48 Curci, A., & Luminet, O. (2006). Follow-up of a cross-national comparison on flashbulb and
49
50 event memory for the September 11th attacks. *Memory*, 14(3), 329–344.

51
52 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210500340816>

- 1
2
3 Curci, A. e Luminet, O. (2009). Flashbulb Memories for Expected Events: A Test of the
4
5 Emotional-Integrative Model. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 23, 98-114.
6
7 doi.org/10.1002/acp.1444
8
9
- 10 Cyr, T. G., & Hirst, W. (2019). Reflections on conversations and memory. *Topics in Cognitive*
11
12 *Science*, 11(4), 831–837. <https://doi.org/10.1111/tops.12437>
13
14
- 15 D'Argembeau, A., & Van der Linden, M. (2006). Individual differences in the phenomenology of
16
17 mental time travel: The effect of vivid visual imagery and emotion regulation strategies.
18
19 *Consciousness and Cognition*, 15(2), 342–350.
20
21 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.concog.2005.09.001>
22
23
- 24 Dalton, C. B., Corbett, S. J., & Katelaris, A. L. (2020). COVID-19: Implementing sustainable
25
26 low cost physical distancing and enhanced hygiene. *The Medical Journal of*
27
28 *Australia*, 212(10), 443–446. <https://doi.org/10.5694/mja2.50602>
29
30
- 31 Er, N. (2003). A new flashbulb memory model applied to the Marmara earthquake. *Applied*
32
33 *Cognitive Psychology*, 17(5), 503–517. <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.870>
34
35
- 36 Erll, A. (2020). Afterword: Memory worlds in times of Corona. *Memory Studies*, 13(5), 861-874.
37
38 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698020943014>
39
- 40 Finkenauer, C., Luminet, O., Gisle, L., El-Ahmadi, A., Van Der Linden, M., & Philippot, P.
41
42 (1998). Flashbulb memories and the underlying mechanisms of their formation: Toward
43
44 an emotional-integrative model. *Memory & Cognition*, 26(3), 516–531
45
46 <https://doi.org/10.3758/BF03201160>
47
48
- 49 Halbwachs, M. (1992). On collective memory (L. A. Coser, Trans.). Chicago, IL: University of
50
51 Chicago Press.
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

- 1
2
3 Hale, T., Petherick, A., Phillips, T., & Webster, S. (2020). Variation in government responses to
4
5 COVID-19. Blavatnik school of government working paper, 31, 2020-11. Available from:
6
7 www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/covidtracker. Accessed on 03.01.2021
8
9
- 10 Hirst, W. (2020). Remembering COVID-19. *Social Research*, 87(2), 251–252.
11
- 12 Hirst, W., & Manier, D. (2008). Towards a psychology of collective memory. *Memory*, 16(3),
13
14 183–200. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210701811912>.
15
16
- 17 Hirst, W., Phelps, E. A., Buckner, R. L., Budson, A. E., Cuc, A., Gabrieli, J. D., ... & Vaidya, C.
18
19
20 J. (2009). Long-term memory for the terrorist attack of September 11: Flashbulb
21
22 memories, event memories, and the factors that influence their retention. *Journal of*
23
24 *Experimental Psychology: General*, 138(2), 161–176. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0015527>
25
26
27
- 28 Hirst, W., Yamashiro, J. K., & Coman, A. (2018). Collective memory from a psychological
29
30 perspective. *Trends in Cognitive Science*, 22(5), 438–451.
31
32 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2018.02.010>
33
34
- 35 Hiscott, J., Alexandri-di, M., Muscolini, M., Tassone, E., Palermo, E., Soultsioti, M., & Zevini,
36
37 A. (2020). The global impact of the coronavirus pandemic. *Cytokine & Growth Factor*
38
39 *Reviews*, 53, 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cytogfr.2020.05.010>
40
41
- 42 Johnson, C., Gadon, O., Carlson, D., Southwick, S., Faith, M., & Chalfin, J. (2002).
43
44 Self-reference and group membership: evidence for a group-reference effect. *European*
45
46 *Journal of Social Psychology*, 32(2), 261–274. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.83>
47
48
- 49 Kane, J., Van Boven, L., & McGraw, A. P. (2012). Prototypical prospection: Future events are
50
51 more prototypically represented and simulated than past events. *European Journal of*
52
53 *Social Psychology*, 42(3), 354–362. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ejsp.1866>
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

- 1
2
3 Koppel, J., Brown, A. D., Stone, C. B., Coman, A., & Hirst, W. (2013). Remembering President
4 Barack Obama's inauguration and the landing of US Airways Flight 1549: A comparison
5 of the predictors of autobiographical and event memory. *Memory*, *21*(7), 798–806.
6
7
8
9
10 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2012.756040>
11
- 12 Kvavilashvili, L., Mirani, J., Schlagman, S., & Kornbrot, D. E. (2003). Comparing flashbulb
13 memories of September 11 and the death of Princess Diana: Effects of time delays and
14 nationality. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, *17*(9), 1017–1031.
15
16
17
18
19 <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.983>
20
- 21 Liu, J. H., Goldstein-Hawes, R., Hilton, D., et al (2005). Social representations of events and
22 peoples in World History across 12 cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*,
23
24
25
26
27 *36*(2), 171–191. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022104272900>
- 28 Longstaff, P. H., & Yang, S.-U. (2008). Communication management and trust: Their role in
29 building resilience to “surprises” such as natural disasters, pandemic flu, and terrorism.
30
31
32
33
34 *Ecology and Society*, *13*(1), 171–191. <https://www.ecologyandsociety.org/vol13/iss1/art3/>
- 35 Luminet, O., Curci, A., Marsh, E., Wessel, I., Constantin, T., Gencoz, F., et al. (2004). The
36 cognitive, emotional, and social impacts of the September 11 attacks: Group differences
37 in memory for the reception context and the determinants of flashbulb memory. *The*
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46 *Journal of General Psychology*, *131*(3), 197–224.
47
48
49
50
51 <https://doi.org/10.3200/GENP.131.3.197-224>
- 52 Mathews, A., & Mackintosh, B. (1998). A cognitive model of selective processing in anxiety.
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60 *Cognitive Therapy and Research*, *22*(6), 539–560.

<https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1018738019346>
- Meeter, M., Ochtman, D. J. C., Janssen, S. M. J., & Murre, J. M. J. (2010). Of sports and politics:
Predicting category-specific retention of news events from demographic variables.

1
2
3 *European Journal of Cognitive Psychology*, 22(1), 117–129.

4
5 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09541440802708037>

6
7 Michaelian, K., & Sutton, J. (2017). Collective memory. In M. Jankovic & K. Ludwig (eds.),

8
9 *Routledge Handbook of Collective Intentionality* (pp. 140–151). Routledge.

10 Michaelian, K., & Sutton, J. (2019). Collective mental time travel: Remembering the past and
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

imagine the future together. *Synthese*, 196(12), 4933–4960.

<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11229-017-1449-1>

Neisser, U. (1996). Remembering the earthquake: Direct experience vs. hearing the news.

Memory, 4(4), 337–358. <https://doi.org/10.1080/096582196388898>

Nourkova, V. V., & Brown, N. R. (2015). Assessing the impact of “The Collapse” on the

organization and content of autobiographical memory in the former Soviet Union. *Journal*

of Social Issues, 71(2), 324–337. <https://doi.org/10.1111/josi.12113>

Öner, S., & Gülgöz, S. (2020). Representing the collective past: Public event memories and

future simulations in Turkey. *Memory*, 28(3), 386–398.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2020.1727520>

Our world in data (January 6, 2020). <https://ourworldindata.org/>

Pennebaker, J. W., Páez, D., & Deschamps, J. C. (2006). The social psychology of history:

Defining the most important events of the last 10, 100, and 1000 years. *Psicología*

Política, 32, 15–32. <https://www.uv.es/garzon/psicologia%20politica/N32-2.pdf>

Pezdek, K. (2003). Event memory and autobiographical memory for the events of September 11,

2001. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 17(9), 1033–1045. <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.984>

Qiu, W., Rutherford, S., Mao, A., & Chu, C. (2017). The pandemic and its impacts. *Health,*

Culture and Society, 9, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.5195/hcs.2017.221>

- 1
2
3 Roediger III, H. L., & Abel, M. (2015). Collective memory: A new arena of cognitive study.
4
5 *Trends in Cognitive Science*, 19(7), 359–361. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tics.2015.04.003>
6
7
8 Scherman, A. Z., Salgado, S., Shao, Z., & Berntsen, D. (2017). Life script events and
9
10 autobiographical memories of important life story events in Mexico, Greenland, China,
11
12 and Denmark. *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*, 6(1), 60–73.
13
14 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jarmac.2016.11.007>
15
16
17 Shao, Y., Yao, X., Ceci, S. J., & Wang, Q. (2010). Does the self drive mental time travel?
18
19 *Memory*, 18(8), 855–862. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658211.2010.514272>
20
21
22 Shrikanth, S., Szpunar, P. M., & Szpunar, K. K. (2018). Staying positive in a dystopian future: A
23
24 novel dissociation between personal and collective cognition. *Journal of Experimental*
25
26 *Psychology: General*, 147(8), 1200–1210. <https://doi.org/10.1037/xge0000421>
27
28
29 Sornette, D., Mearns, E., Schatz, M. *et al.* (2020). Interpreting, analysing and modelling COVID-
30
31 19 mortality data. *Nonlinear Dynamics*, 101, 1751–1776. [https://doi.org/10.1007/s11071-](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11071-020-05966-z)
32
33 [020-05966-z](https://doi.org/10.1007/s11071-020-05966-z)
34
35
36 Stone, C. B., & Jay, A. C. (2019). From the individual to the collective: The emergence of a
37
38 psychological approach to collective memory. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 33(4), 504–
39
40 515. <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.3564>
41
42
43 Szpunar, P. M., & Szpunar, K. K. (2016). Collective future thought: Concept, function, and
44
45 implications for collective memory studies. *Memory Studies*, 9(4), 376–389.
46
47 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698015615660>
48
49
50 Szpunar, K. K., Addis, D. R., & Schacter, D. L. (2012). Memory for emotional simulations:
51
52 Remembering a rosy future. *Psychological Science*, 23(1), 24–29.
53
54 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797611422237>
55
56
57
58
59
60

- 1
2
3 Tekcan, A. İ., Boduroglu, A., Mutlutürk, A., & Erciyes, A. A. (2017). Life-span retrieval of
4
5 public events: Reminiscence bump for high-impact events, recency for others. *Memory &*
6
7 *Cognition*, 45(7), 1095–1112. <https://doi.org/10.3758/s13421-017-0724-1>
8
9
- 10 Thomas, T., Angrist, N., Cameron-Blake, E., Hallas, L., Kira, B., Majumdar, S., Petherick, A.,
11
12 Phillips, T., Tatlow, H., Webster, S. (2020). Oxford COVID-19 Government Response
13
14 Tracker, Blavatnik School of Government. (accessed 28.01.21)
15
16 [https://www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/research/research-projects/coronavirus-government-response-](https://www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/research/research-projects/coronavirus-government-response-tracker)
17
18 [tracker](https://www.bsg.ox.ac.uk/research/research-projects/coronavirus-government-response-tracker)
19
20
- 21 Tinti, C., Schmidt, S., Sotgiu, I., Testa, S., & Curci, A. (2009). The role of
22
23 importance/consequentiality appraisal in flashbulb memory formation: The case of the
24
25 death of Pope John Paul II. *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 23(2), 236–253.
26
27 <https://doi.org/10.1002/acp.1452>
28
29
- 30 Topcu, M. N., & Hirst, W. (2020). Remembering a nation's past to imagine its future: The role of
31
32 event specificity, phenomenology, valence, and perceived agency. *Journal of*
33
34 *Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 46(3), 563–579.
35
36 <https://doi.org/10.1037/xlm0000746>
37
38
- 39 Walker, W. R., Skowronski, J. J., & Thompson, C. P. (2003). Life is pleasant—and memory
40
41 helps to keep it that way! *Review of General Psychology*, 7(2), 203–210.
42
43 <https://doi.org/10.1037/1089-2680.7.2.203>
44
45
- 46 Wang, Q. (2009). Are Asians forgetful? Perception, retention, and recall in episodic
47
48 remembering. *Cognition*, 111, 123–131. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2009.01.004>
49
50
- 51 Wang, Q. (2016). Remembering the self in cultural contexts: A cultural dynamic theory of
52
53 autobiographical memory. *Memory Studies*, 9(3), 295–304.
54
55 <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698016645238>
56
57
58
59
60

REMEMBERING AND IMAGINING THE PANDEMIC

45

1
2
3 Wang, Q. (2021). The cultural foundation of human memory. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 72,
4
5 151–179. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-psych-070920-023638>
6

7
8 Wertsch, J. (2002). *Voices of Collective Remembering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
9
10 <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511613715>
11

12 Wertsch, J. V., & Roediger III, H. L. (2008). Collective memory: Conceptual foundations and
13
14 theoretical approaches. *Memory*, 16(3), 318–326.
15
16 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658210701801434>
17
18

19 World Health Organisation (11th March, 2020) WHO Director-General's opening remarks at the
20
21 media briefing on COVID-19 [Press Briefing] [https://www.who.int/director-](https://www.who.int/director-general/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-opening-remarks-at-the-media-briefing-on-covid-19---11-march-2020)
22
23 [general/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-opening-remarks-at-the-media-briefing-on-covid-](https://www.who.int/director-general/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-opening-remarks-at-the-media-briefing-on-covid-19---11-march-2020)
24
25 [19---11-march-2020](https://www.who.int/director-general/speeches/detail/who-director-general-s-opening-remarks-at-the-media-briefing-on-covid-19---11-march-2020)
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60

Figure Captions

Figure 1. *Frequency of past events reported as a function of COVID-19 severity and stringency*

Figure 2. *Frequency of future events reported as a function of COVID-19 severity and stringency*

Table 1*Stringency and Severity Indices of Countries*

Abbr.	Date	Country	Continent	Stringency Index (Mean)	Categories for Stringency	Total Cases	Total Deaths	Total Cases (per million)	Categories for Severity	Total Deaths (per million)	Info on Stringency Index
USA	23-05-20	United States	North America	37.69	Low	1631175	100399	4927	High	303.46	(SD = 33.500, max = 72.69, N=144)
CAN	15-05-20	Canada	North America	39.55	Low	75959	5679	2012	Medium	150.468	(SD = 33.959, max = 74.54, N=116)
DNK	03-06-20	Denmark	Europe	43.90	Low	11971	580	2066	Medium	100.135	(SD = 30.886, max = 72.22, N=135)
DEU	25-05-20	Germany	Europe	45.85	Low	180600	8309	2155	Medium	99.172	(SD = 29.748, max = 76.85, N=126)
MYS	21-05-20	Malaysia	Asia	47.78	Medium	7059	114	218	Low	3.522	(SD = 26.488, max = 73.15, N=122)
GBR	05-06-20	United Kingdom	Europe	47.79	Medium	264150	38505	3891	High	567.201	(SD = 32.593, max = 79.63, N=137)
POL	26-05-20	Poland	Europe	48.26	Medium	22074	1024	583	Low	27.057	(SD = 35.361, max = 83.33, N=127)
GRC	05-06-20	Greece	Europe	49.29	Medium	2967	180	285	Low	172.69	(SD = 34.639, max = 84.26, N=137)
RUS	26-06-20	Russia	Europe	50.33	Medium	619936	8770	4228	High	60.1	(SD = 35.588, max = 87.04, N=127)
NZL	05-06-20	New Zealand	Oceania	50.54	Medium	1504	22	312	Low	4.562	(SD = 33.855, max = 96.3, N=137)
TUR	28-06-20	Turkey	Asia	51.74	Medium	197239	5097	2338	Medium	60.435	(SD = 27.739, max = 75.93, N=160)
ESP	20-06-20	Spain	Europe	53.57	Medium	245938	28322	5260	High	605.756	(SD = 32.236, max = 85.19, N=152)
FRA	02-06-20	France	Europe	57.89	High	190735	28943	2922	Medium	443.411	(SD = 33.371, max = 87.96, N=134)
ITA	30-05-20	Italy	Europe	63.93	High	232664	33340	3848	High	551.422	(SD = 30.769, max = 93.52, N=131)
CHN	15-05-20	China	Asia	69.83	High	84038	4637	58	Low	3.222	(SD = 12.626, max = 81.94, N=116)

Note. Date refers to the last day of data collection in the respective countries. Severity categories were obtained using total cases per million.

Table 2
Demographics Grouped by Countries

	% of study completed			Age		Gender			Education		Home country	COVID diagnosis (Self)		COVID diagnosis (other)	
Country	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Male (%)	Female (%)	Other (%)	Higher education (%)	Up to high school (%)	(%)	<i>N</i>	(%)	<i>N</i>	(%)
Canada	189	99.5	4.95	31.59	10.64	60.85	38.1	1.06	75.13	24.87	86.6	1	0.52	49	25.93
China	610	100	0	23.48	6.4	19.84	75.41	4.75	84.26	15.74	100	1	0.16	4	0.66
Denmark	151	99.8	0.6	42.32	19.16	21.85	78.15	0	76.16	23.84	96.7	0	0	47	31.13
France	159	82.52	25.74	41.46	17.98	29.56	69.18	0	88.05	10.69	94.9	2	1.27	79	50.32
Germany	115	98.3	9.3	25.12	7.71	12.17	84.35	2.61	25.22	73.04	93.8	1	0.88	35	30.7
Greece	187	87.09	22.11	42.1	11.11	22.99	74.87	1.07	74.33	24.06	99.5	0	0	29	15.68
Italy	337	92.98	13.8	30.28	10.85	24.33	75.37	0.3	62.02	37.98	98.8	0	0	114	33.83
Malaysia	107	99.99	0.1	22.93	5.25	17.76	82.24	0	70.09	29.91	75.7	0	0	14	13.08
New Zealand	91	90.86	20.99	28	10.57	14.29	85.71	0	53.85	46.15	78	0	0	15	16.48
Poland	240	82.52	24.7	29.92	9.07	16.25	79.58	0.42	72.92	22.5	99.1	2	0.87	26	11.26
Russia	197	89.55	20.91	39.35	14.77	26.9	69.54	0	84.26	9.14	92.6	2	1.05	53	27.6
Spain	352	83.94	23.51	38.31	15.06	34.38	64.77	0.57	74.15	25	95.7	2	0.57	189	53.69
Turkey	563	99.53	3.09	37.03	14.62	25.22	72.82	1.78	67.32	32.15	100	6	1.07	182	32.38
UK	120	89.72	20.7	29.74	11.48	13.33	78.33	1.67	74.17	18.33	77.3	0	0	42	37.84
USA	565	87.38	22.72	38.24	12.4	52.21	46.9	0.88	70.97	29.03	96.6	8	1.42	150	26.55

29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47

Table 3. *The Frequencies of Event Themes for Past- Global events*

Themes	Countries															Total
	Canada	China	Denmark	France	Germany	Greece	Italy	Malaysia	N.Z.	Poland	Russia	Spain	Turkey	UK	USA	
COVID-19-related themes (%)																
Environment	3.8	1.5	4.6	1.6	2.4	6.5	1.8	2.3	3.9	5.1	10.8	2.1	1.8	.5	2.9	2.9
Economy	4.1	6.0	1.4	.8	2.4	1.1	1.6	4.7	.5	0.0	6.3	.6	2.7	0.0	2.1	2.9
Travel	8.4	.5	2.6	3.3	8.9	4.5	2.8	3.5	4.9	25.4	9.3	4.4	2.5	2.4	5.2	4.2
Culture	4.3	3.2	7.7	7.3	1.6	1.7	6.1	2.9	15.0	0.0	4.2	1.9	3.8	3.8	8.2	4.9
Mass closures	3.0	1.3	.6	2.2	.8	.3	1.1	1.2	1.0	6.8	.9	1.1	.9	3.8	2.3	1.6
Lockdown	10.7	6.9	7.4	13.6	13.3	9.4	12.3	16.4	5.8	0.0	11.4	8.6	4.6	19.2	11.2	9.2
Deaths	5.3	.8	7.1	2.4	12.1	22.4	3.1	9.9	7.8	0.0	6.0	6.3	6.1	9.1	6.5	5.7
Infections	14.5	35.5	10.3	9.8	8.1	9.9	7.8	18.7	12.6	0.0	9.0	13.7	6.5	11.1	12.0	14.8
Politics	3.8	15.5	15.4	6.0	3.6	6.5	9.7	4.1	2.9	0.0	5.4	6.3	4.0	4.3	1.6	7.1
Health	3.6	2.1	7.1	1.4	6.5	4.8	6.1	8.2	2.9	0.0	2.4	4.6	6.0	2.9	3.8	4.1
Media	2.8	1.0	3.7	11.7	2.4	.6	9.9	9.4	3.9	0.0	3.6	3.2	3.0	2.4	5.0	4.0
Misinformation	1.3	.3	1.1	.3	7.3	1.7	3.4	1.2	1.0	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.0	6.7	1.5	1.6
Social solidarity	0.0	4.8	.9	.3	3.2	2.0	.4	2.3	0.0	1.7	1.2	.6	.5	1.9	.7	1.6
Hygiene	3.0	1.1	3.1	3.5	3.6	3.4	4.4	0.0	1.9	0.0	.3	1.7	2.4	3.4	2.0	2.2
Civil rights	2.5	.1	4.6	0.0	.8	1.7	.7	.6	1.0	5.6	.3	1.7	.3	0.0	.9	1.0
Health Science	0.0	.5	0.0	0.0	.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	1.1	.3	0.0	.8	.4
Digitalization	.8	.3	0.0	.3	0.0	.6	0.0	1.8	0.0	.6	1.2	.4	.4	0.0	.2	.4
Second wave	0.0	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.4	.6	.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	.1	0.0	.3	.1
End of pandemic	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.1	.0
Non COVID-19-related themes (%)																
Environment	5.3	8.3	4.9	11.7	4.4	5.7	7.2	1.8	9.7	17.5	6.6	6.1	23.3	4.8	6.5	9.5
War	2.3	1.3	1.1	1.1	3.2	8.2	6.2	0.0	3.4	5.6	5.1	1.9	10.6	1.4	3.4	4.2
Politics	4.6	3.3	8.3	13.0	10.1	4.8	6.2	1.8	3.9	17.5	6.6	13.9	5.5	8.2	8.3	6.9
Culture	18.6	5.3	3.2	4.0	4.6	3.2	2.6	5.2	1.2	8.3	5.6	6.6	11.2	5.4	1.9	6.6
Crime	4.1	1.3	2.0	2.7	1.2	.9	2.1	1.2	5.3	1.1	0.0	3.4	1.7	5.8	1.9	2.0
Other	6.6	.9	2.0	2.7	.4	.6	1.3	6.4	2.4	5.6	1.5	3.8	6.5	6.3	6.0	3.5

Note: N.Z. = New Zealand, Hygiene = Hygiene & Social Behavior, Digitalization = Digitalization of society

		Countries															
Themes		Canada	China	Denmark	France	Germany	Greece	Italy	Malaysia	N. Z.	Poland	Russia	Spain	Turkey	UK	USA	Total
COVID-19-related themes (%)																	
Environment		1.4	.1	.8	0.0	0.0	.8	.5	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.6	1.2	.4	0.0	.4	.5
Economy		1.4	1.7	3.0	.6	.8	1.6	1.0	.4	1.5	0.0	7.0	2.3	3.7	.5	4.2	2.5
Travel		10.6	.2	2.5	1.9	7.1	1.3	.7	2.9	6.4	9.3	13.3	1.2	3.4	2.1	3.2	3.2
Culture		6.7	0.0	0.0	.6	0.0	.3	0.0	.4	1.0	0.0	2.1	.9	.4	15.3	1.1	1.1
Mass closures		21.0	5.1	6.9	14.0	12.6	10.9	7.5	4.9	3.4	42.6	5.2	5.6	8.4	11.1	8.3	8.9
Lockdown		4.8	27.6	30.5	23.7	13.0	22.0	28.3	24.7	32.8	0.0	20.8	18.1	11.5	17.9	16.1	20.1
Deaths		1.1	.9	1.4	1.0	3.2	5.3	6.5	.8	5.9	0.0	2.3	4.0	5.2	.5	7.4	3.8
Infections		2.8	13.9	1.9	7.1	11.5	8.0	15.5	30.5	7.4	0.0	3.6	8.9	3.9	11.6	14.7	10.3
Politics		11.5	6.6	19.7	5.8	4.7	5.3	3.9	12.8	2.0	0.0	1.6	4.7	5.7	2.1	6.4	6.3
Health	87.5	3.1	10.6	2.2	3.2	.4	4.0	7.3	.8	1.5	0.0	2.6	5.2	4.3	2.6	3.4	5.0
Media		5.3	.7	4.4	10.4	4.0	5.6	2.7	4.5	11.8	0.0	1.0	4.7	2.9	3.7	2.5	3.2
Misinformation		0.0	.7	.3	0.0	.4	1.3	1.1	.4	.5	2.2	.5	.7	.2	0.0	5.6	1.4
Social solidarity		1.1	18.8	2.8	1.3	2.8	1.1	1.8	.8	1.0	2.7	.5	1.9	.7	7.9	.7	4.8
Hygiene		5.6	3.4	6.9	4.5	16.2	5.3	11.3	4.1	5.9	0.0	1.3	6.3	8.3	8.4	4.6	6.1
Civil rights		1.7	0.0	1.1	0.0	3.2	2.9	2.5	.4	1.0	10.9	4.7	2.8	0.0	0.0	3.2	1.7
Health Science		.3	.6	0.0	0.0	.4	.3	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.5	0.0	.2	.3
Digitalization		2.0	.6	0.0	0.0	5.1	2.9	.3	.8	0.0	1.6	6.5	.9	1.6	1.1	.8	1.3
Second wave		0.0	.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.0
End of pandemic		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.0
Non COVID-19-related themes (%)																	
Environment		1.1	2.8	1.7	1.9	.8	1.3	1.4	0.0	3.4	8.7	.8	2.6	15.1	0.0	1.5	4.0
War		0.0	.1	0.0	0.0	.8	8.2	.2	.4	.5	.5	.3	0.0	10.0	0.0	.3	2.1
Politics		2.8	.7	3.3	16.6	7.1	5.8	.6	4.9	3.4	8.7	15.9	16.2	3.5	4.2	6.9	5.2
Culture	12.5	.6	1.9	8.3	4.2	2.0	2.7	1.9	0.0	2.5	4.4	3.6	8.2	.7	3.2	3.8	2.8
Crime		11.8	1.4	1.4	1.0	3.6	2.9	1.8	0.0	2.0	.5	1.3	0.0	.9	0.0	1.2	1.7
Other		3.4	1.5	.8	1.9	.4	.3	2.4	4.9	5.4	7.7	3.4	3.5	8.8	7.9	3.6	3.7

31 Note: N.Z. = New Zealand, Hygiene = Hygiene & Social Behavior, Digitalization = Digitalization of society

32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46

Table 5: The Frequency of Event Themes for Future-Global events

Themes	Countries															Total	
	Canada	China	Denmark	France	Germany	Greece	Italy	Malaysia	N.Z.	Poland	Russia	Spain	Turkey	UK	USA		
COVID-related event themes (%)																	
Environment	3.1	5.9	2.5	7.9	4.2	0.0	1.5	4.3	2.6	3.8	3.5	5.3	1.7	0.5	1.8	3.1	
Economy	23.4	26.9	10.2	19.0	15.1	30.4	29.8	26.6	17.9	0.0	35.8	19.4	23.1	16.6	15.4	22.4	
Travel	10.0	0.5	18.6	5.4	8.4	2.7	2.7	3.3	15.4	18.3	10.2	1.8	3.8	4.3	2.3	4.8	
Culture	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.6	0.2	
Mass closures	1.4	1.4	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	2.2	0.0	1.0	0.3	0.2	0.1	1.6	0.6	0.7	
Lockdown	6.9	1.2	2.2	3.2	7.1	1.6	7.7	17.9	1.0	0.0	3.5	13.9	1.6	10.2	15.8	6.1	
Deaths	0.9	1.0	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.2	1.1	2.1	0.0	0.5	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.7	0.5	
Infections	2.3	5.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	4.9	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.3	1.4	
Politics	85.4	5.4	4.8	5.8	7.5	0.8	1.6	5.6	3.3	5.1	0.0	5.3	5.5	6.0	4.3	4.9	5.0
Health		2.9	2.7	0.6	1.8	1.7	4.0	7.6	3.8	1.0	0.0	3.2	2.4	3.3	2.7	1.9	3.0
Media		1.1	0.2	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.3	0.2	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	
Misinformation		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.1	0.3
Social solidarity		0.0	3.6	0.3	0.7	1.3	0.8	0.2	1.6	0.5	1.0	1.9	0.4	0.6	2.7	1.1	1.3
Hygiene		2.6	1.7	1.4	1.1	1.7	3.2	3.8	5.4	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.7	1.5	4.3	0.9	1.8
Civil rights		1.7	0.1	1.1	2.2	1.7	10.2	2.0	4.3	0.5	11.5	3.5	2.2	0.6	2.1	1.2	1.9
Health Science		4.6	8.2	11.1	15.4	6.3	14.2	0.0	0.0	15.4	0.0	4.3	20.5	6.3	13.9	13.4	8.9
Digitalization		2.0	1.0	0.8	0.7	2.1	2.4	1.8	4.3	0.5	3.8	7.8	2.4	6.3	3.2	0.4	2.7
Second wave		7.4	2.9	5.3	12.9	7.9	8.3	10.6	4.9	4.6	17.3	4.8	7.9	3.8	5.9	8.2	6.4
Pandemic end		3.7	4.7	5.3	5.7	3.3	2.2	5.6	3.8	3.1	0.0	3.5	8.8	3.5	2.1	0.8	3.8
Non COVID-related event themes (%)																	
Environment		3.7	6.4	6.4	2.5	11.7	4.6	4.2	0.0	2.6	8.7	1.3	1.1	11.6	1.1	6.5	6.0
War		2.3	3.1	0.6	0.7	3.3	4.0	5.0	0.0	1.5	10.6	1.3	0.4	6.9	1.6	4.8	3.7
Politics	14.6	9.4	13.0	22.7	7.2	17.6	8.6	4.7	6.0	12.8	17.3	6.1	2.6	6.6	15.5	5.8	9.0
Culture		0.6	0.2	0.6	0.7	3.8	0.0	3.8	0.0	2.6	0.0	1.6	1.5	0.1	2.7	5.1	1.6
Crime		1.1	1.2	1.1	0.4	0.8	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.5	4.8	0.5	0.0	1.0	1.1	0.5	0.8
Other		3.1	3.6	2.5	3.9	0.4	0.3	1.4	0.5	6.2	1.9	0.5	1.5	10.3	2.7	6.7	4.4

Note: N.Z. = New Zealand, Hygiene = Hygiene & Social Behavior, Digitalization = Digitalization of society

Table 6: The Frequency of Event Themes for Future-National Events

Page 57 of 62

		Countries																
Themes		Canada	China	Denmark	France	Germany	Greece	Italy	Malaysia	N.Z	Poland	Russia	Spain	Turkey	UK	USA	Total	
1		COVID-19-related themes (%)																
2		COVID-19-related themes (%)																
3	Environment	1.5	2.6	0.3	4.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	1.4	0.5	0.0	2.2	0.6	0.3	0.0	0.5	1.0	
4	Economy	24.9	32.8	8.9	19.4	13.7	43.3	31.3	23.9	18.1	0.0	33.3	29.4	33.9	14.2	18.1	26.8	
5	Travel	8.5	0.4	12.8	3.6	5.7	0.3	0.9	1.9	22.1	3.3	4.0	1.7	1.3	1.3	0.4	2.8	
6	Culture	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.2	0.6	0.8	0.2	
7	Mass closures	2.8	5.3	0.3	0.8	0.9	0.3	0.7	0.9	5.0	0.8	1.5	0.6	0.3	0.6	1.5	1.7	
8	Lockdown	23.4	1.7	17.7	9.9	24.2	2.7	18.8	32.9	12.1	0.0	0.9	24.9	3.2	38.1	20.1	12.4	
9	Deaths	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	1.9	2.7	0.6	
10	Infections	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	1.4	2.5	0.0	0.3	0.6	0.8	2.6	1.0	0.9	
11	Politics	85.2	3.8	3.8	1.3	1.2	0.0	1.8	3.0	8.0	1.0	0.0	1.9	4.9	1.7	0.6	4.0	2.8
12	Health	2.3	3.5	2.6	5.9	4.4	8.9	6.2	2.3	1.5	0.0	3.4	4.0	3.8	5.2	1.4	3.6	
13	Media	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	
14	Misinformation	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.2	0.1	
15	Solidarity	0.0	3.5	1.0	2.0	0.9	0.9	0.4	1.4	0.5	0.8	1.2	0.6	0.3	1.3	0.3	1.1	
16	Hygiene	3.5	3.1	2.3	1.2	2.6	3.3	4.1	3.8	1.5	0.0	0.3	0.9	1.3	7.1	1.1	2.2	
17	Civil rights	1.8	0.2	0.3	8.3	2.6	5.0	2.4	1.4	0.5	26.4	14.8	2.9	0.8	0.0	2.0	2.7	
18	Health Science	4.8	9.0	5.2	2.4	2.6	3.3	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.5	4.6	1.2	4.5	5.3	3.7	
19	Digitalization	1.5	2.1	4.9	2.4	5.7	3.6	2.8	3.8	1.5	4.1	8.0	1.7	1.8	2.6	1.1	2.5	
20	Second wave	6.0	1.4	5.2	11.1	8.8	7.7	5.8	6.1	4.0	5.0	3.1	8.9	1.5	3.9	5.0	4.4	
21	Pandemic end	2.3	7.4	6.2	8.7	3.1	1.5	2.8	0.0	6.0	0.0	3.4	10.6	3.6	0.6	0.4	3.9	
22		Non COVID-19-related themes (%)																
23	Environment	3.0	4.2	6.9	1.6	2.6	3.3	0.7	0.9	2.0	5.0	0.3	0.0	9.1	0.6	2.7	3.9	
24	War	0.5	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.1	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.9	1.1	
25	Politics	14.8	5.0	7.8	15.4	14.2	14.1	7.7	9.5	6.1	16.6	43.8	14.2	2.3	16.0	9.0	18.6	12.7
26	Culture	0.8	1.1	3.9	0.8	5.3	0.3	0.7	0.0	1.0	0.8	0.3	0.6	0.4	1.9	4.8	1.6	
27	Crime	0.8	0.8	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	1.0	1.9	0.5	0.8	1.5	0.0	2.8	0.0	1.0	1.2	
28	Other	2.3	7.5	2.3	2.0	1.8	2.1	4.4	0.5	2.0	9.1	2.8	0.6	13.0	3.2	5.9	5.9	

34 Note: N.Z. = New Zealand, Hygiene = Hygiene & Social Behavior, Digitalization = Digitalization of society

35

36

37

38

39

40

41

42

43

44

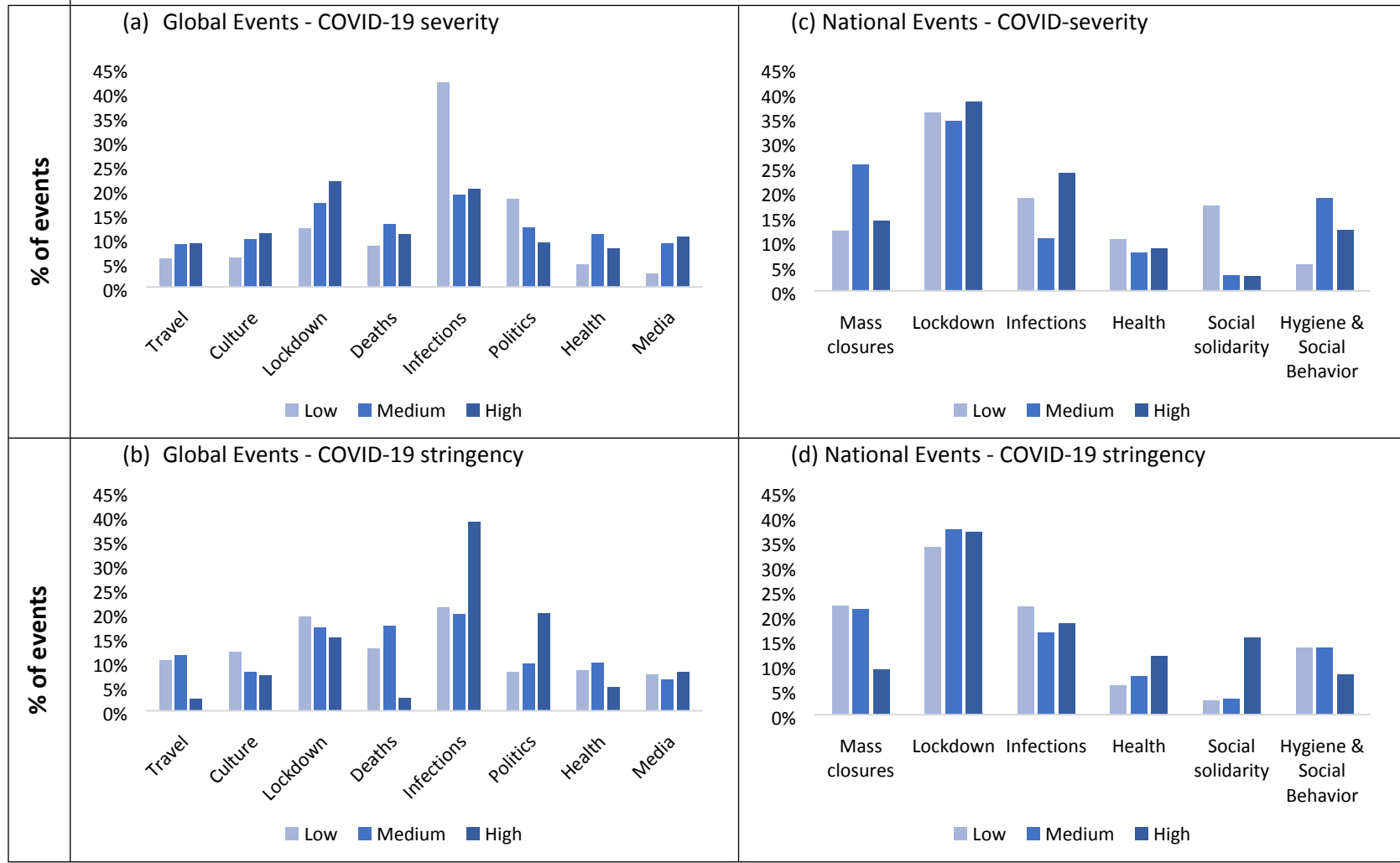
45

46

Table 7. Means and standard deviations for the phenomenological properties of reported events

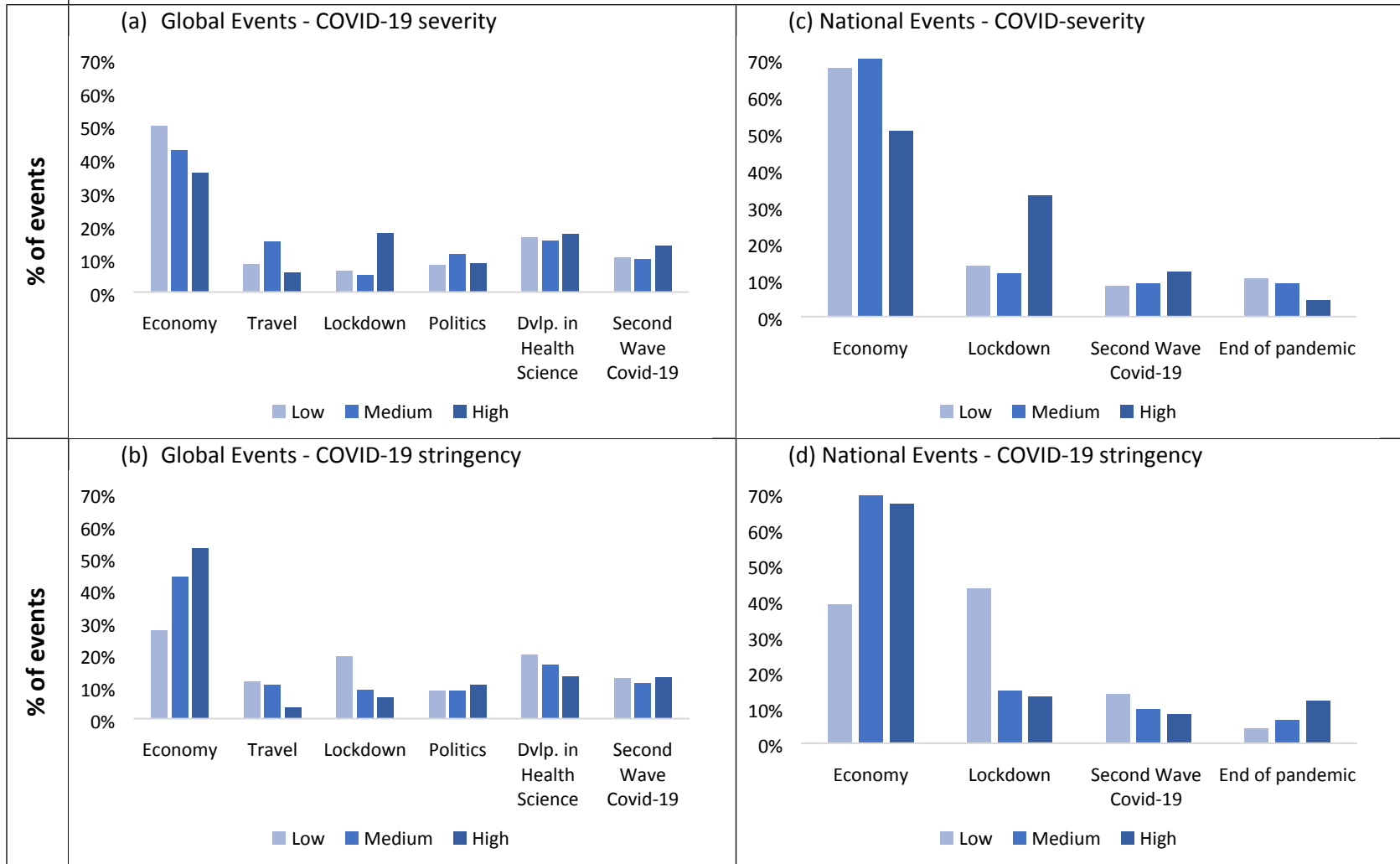
	Past		Future	
	Global	National	Global	National
Valence	2.48 (0.75)	2.43 (0.96)	3.08 (1.19)	3.53 (1.97)
Vividness	3.19 (0.91)	3.69 (0.90)		

Figure 1: Frequency of past events reported as a function of COVID-19 severity and stringency



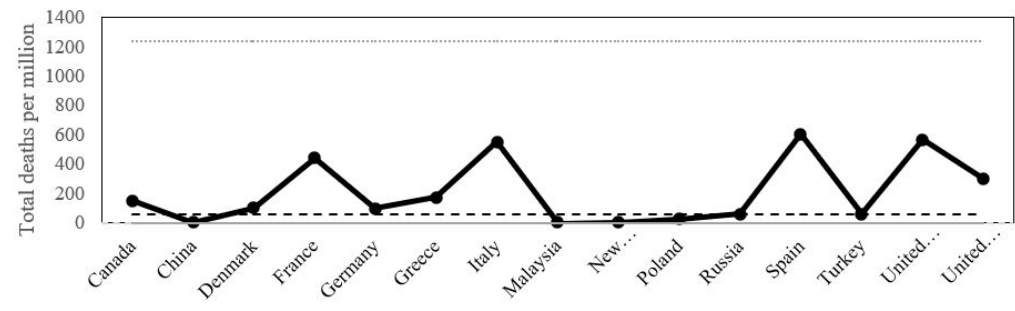
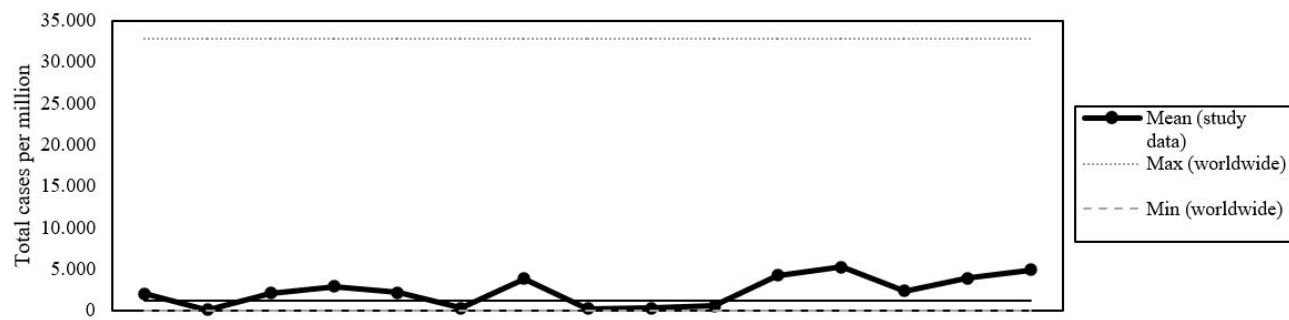
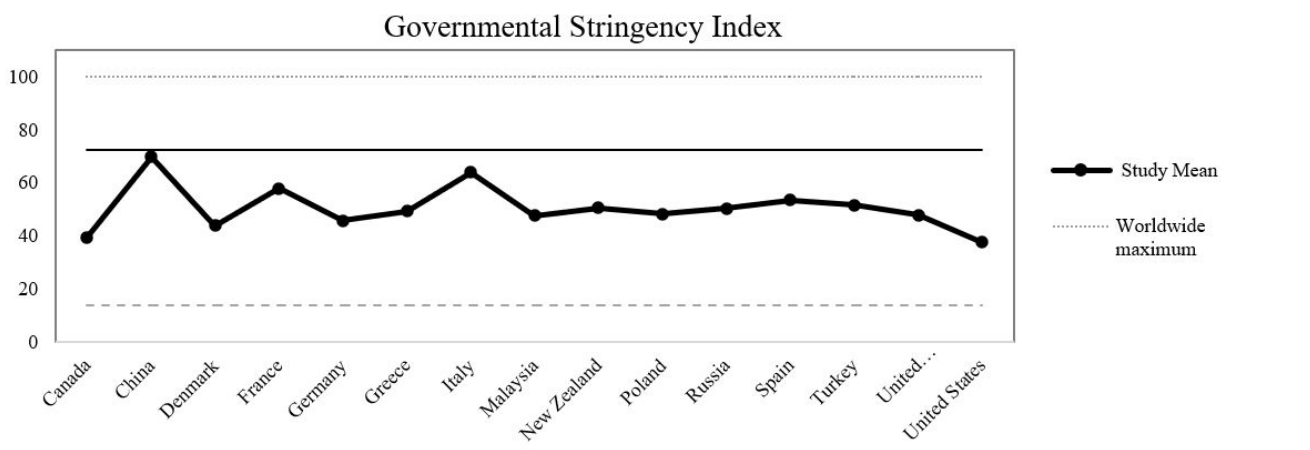
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47

Figure 2: Frequency of future events reported as a function of COVID-19 severity and stringency



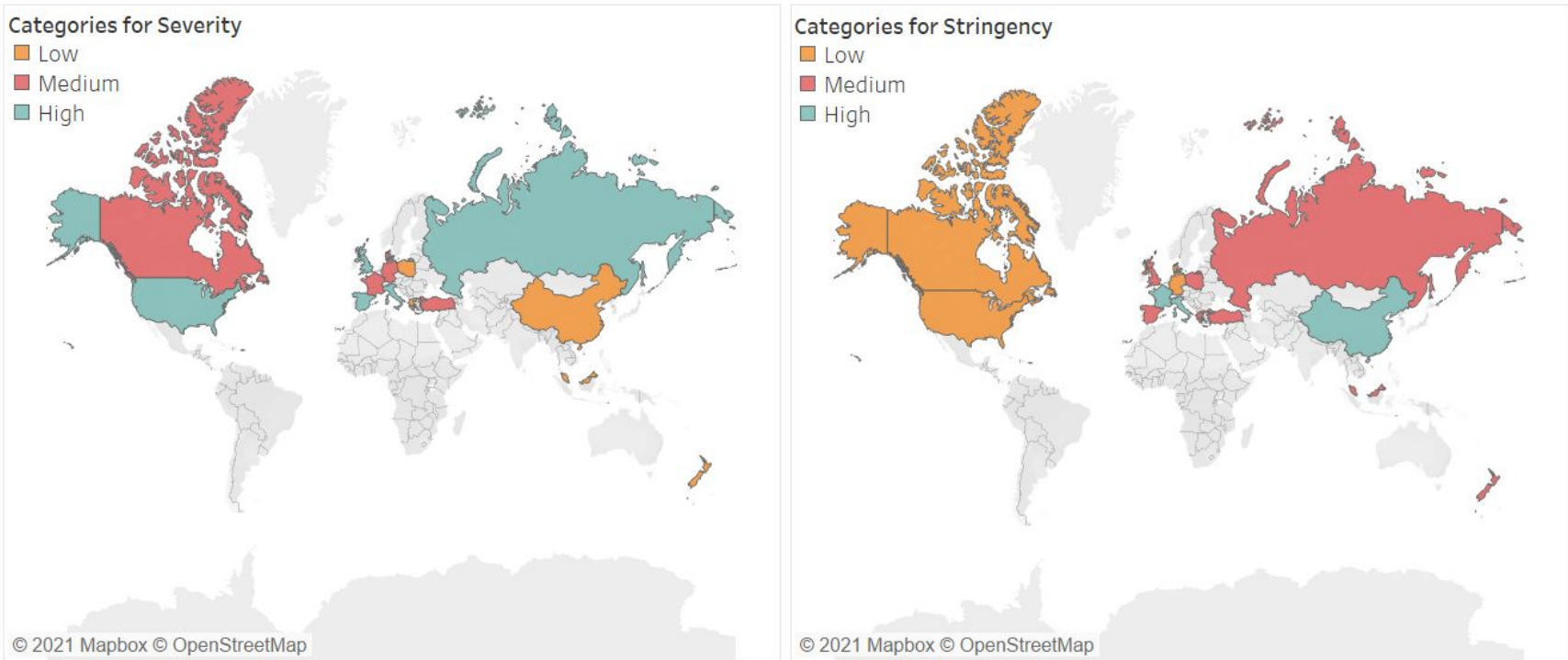
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47



the period of data collection. *statistics during*

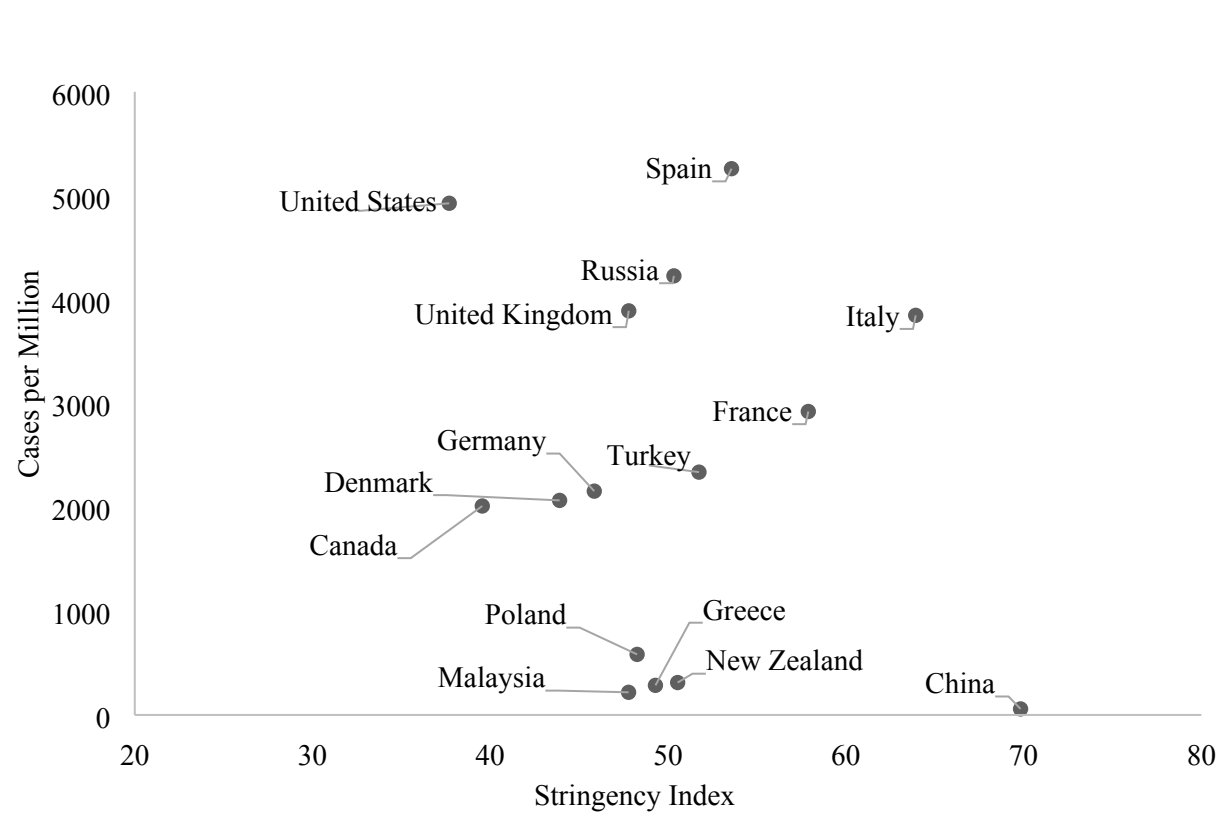
Supplementary Figure 2: *Three categories of countries for the COVID-19 severity (left panel) and governmental regulation (right panel) indexes around the world*



Note. World maps were created in Tableau

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47

Supplementary Figure 3: *The scatterplot showing the values of the COVID-19 severity and stringency measures for 15 countries*



1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47