Emotional elaboration of collective traumas in historical narratives

Éva Fülöp[1], István Csertő[2], Barbara Ilg[2], Zsolt Szabó[2], Ben Slugoski[2] and János László[1],

[1]Institute of Cognitive Neurosciences and Psychology, Research Centre of Natural Sciences,

Hungarian Academy of Sciences

[2]University of Pécs

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Correspondence should be addressed to the first author: fulop@mtapi.hu

Narratives and narrative language are targets of social psychological inquiry for at least two related reasons. First, because they are means of constructing both personal and group identity, they can reveal actual or more permanent states and characteristics of identity (László & Fülöp 2010; László, 2003; 2008; Liu and László, 2007; László and Ehmann, this volume). Second, because they are means of communicating and thereby transmitting representations of the past through generations, they render possible studying the elaboration of individual and historical traumas in their natural context (Vincze and László, 2010; László, 2008, László, 2011; Bar-Tal, 2007; Pennebaker & Haber,1993; Vincze and Pólya, this volume). Narrative social psychology claims that states and characteristics of group identity that govern people's behaviour when they act as group members as well as elaboration of traumatic experiences which affect the group as a whole can be traced objectively, that is, empirically in the narrative composition and narrative language of different forms of group histories (see László and Ehmann this volume). In this chapter we will deal with the emotional basis of the Hungarian national identity as it is expressed in different forms of historical narratives and with the collective elaboration of a major historical trauma in narratives.

However, historical representations of a group necessarily manifest in variable ways, due to being influenced by ideological and individual differences. Some factors of these differences (e.g., identification with the nation, collective guilt orientation, etc.) are also investigated in this chapter.

Emotional basis of the Hungarian national identity

Narrative psychology presumes a strong interrelation between narrative and identity and correspondences between narrative organization and psychological organization of representations of events. Scientific narrative psychology serves as a means of identification of inner states and representations of social relations by connecting narrative compositions to psychological processes either in individuals and groups. Group identity is assumed to be constructed by a genuinely narrative group history. We have proposed that not only individuals have a 'life trajectory', which sequentially represents the positively or negatively evaluated events of their lives (see e.g. Gergen and Gergen, 1988), but this evaluative sequence of salient historical events as 'historical trajectory' is also characteristic of the identity of nations, including their emotional life (László 2008).

Historical trajectory resembles identity narratives of collective memory proposed by Wertsch (2002). Wertsch has reconstructed the Russian "heroic" narrative from several Russian historical accounts all suggesting that Russians after vicissitudes and sufferings eventually overcome the troubles. In similar vein, MacAdams (2006) described the American "redemption" story and Garagozov (2008) presented the Armenian "faithfulness" narrative. Each of these narratives clearly has emotional entailments.

In the Hungarian collective memory, positively evaluated events belong to the medieval period. Those having occurred in later centuries, e.g. local victories against the Ottoman Empire, wars of freedom and revolutions against the Habsburg Empire and the Soviet Union (1703, 1848, 1956), were always followed by defeats and repression. The pattern reoccurred in the world wars and is preserved in collective memory in this form (László, Ehmann & Imre 2002).

Fülöp & László (László & Fülöp, 2010; 2011; Fülöp, Péley & László, 2011) attempted to operationalize the theoretical concept of historical trajectory and to test empirically the emotional attributions and reactions of participants in a series of studies applying narrative psychological content analyses to the Hungarian historical trajectory. Narrative content analyses of historical narratives were performed using the NarrCat content analysis (see http://narrativpszichologia.pte.hu/). László and Ehmann (see in this volume) argue that national identity construction has three main channels. Historiography anchors one pole of the dimension of accuracy, providing the most canonized form of historical experiences by attempting to ascertain objective facts of events and to diminish ambiguities, while collective memory (e.g. diaries, family accounts, oral history), on the other hand, tends to represent history in a biased, that is, a group-serving way from the perspective of the ingroup. History textbooks and historical novels represent transitional forms of memory between historiography and collective memory since in these narratives concrete acts of history are saturated with psychological aspects of episodes (e.g intentions, perspectives, evaluations, emotions, agency, etc.). In the next section we will present results of three studies, which aimed to empirically operationalize the concept of historical trajectory and to explore emotional aspects of national identity through a narrative analysis of emotional entailments of the Hungarian historical trajectory.

Emotions expressed in Hungarian historical narratives

László and Fülöp, (2010) studied collective emotional representations of historical events in history textbooks and in folk history narratives. The analysed text corpora included of the ten

most important episodes of the Hungarian history from primary and secondary school books and lay stories from 500 persons about the same events served as material for our analyses. An emotional pattern of *fear, hope, enthusiasm, sadness and disappointment* was to prevail in the self-representation of the nation in both history books and folk narratives (see Table 1 & 2). Nearly half of the emotions assigned to the Hungarian group or to Hungarian characters in history books and more than two third in folk narratives belong to this set of emotions and appear significantly more frequently related to Hungarians than to other nations. This configuration of emotions was labelled as *historical trajectory emotions*. Beside on overwhelming appearance of historical trajectory emotions, there were two other symptomatic features of the Hungarian emotions. On the one hand, some affective responses occurred in incongruous situations (e.g. sadness related to positive events or hope related to negative events). On the other, outgroups were mostly endowed with hostile, negative emotions. These results suggest and that the national self-representation is organized around mistrust, bitterness, and dissatisfaction due to unfulfilled aspirations.

Table 1. Frequency of attributed emotions to ingroup and outgroup in Hungarian history textbooks (in proportion to text length: frequency of expressions/overall words × 10.000)

	Ingroup (463)	Outgroup (161)
Sadness	**5,39****	0,62
Hope	**14,68***	6,83
Respect	1,94	**7,45*****
Sympathy	0,86	**4,96****
Trust	3,02	**7,45***
Indignation	1,29	**4,34***
Contempt	0	**1,86****
Historical trajectory emotions	**44,92****	24,22

Table 2. Frequency of attributed emotions to ingroup and outgroup in Hungarian in folk narratives (in proportion to text length: frequency of expressions/overall words × 10.000)

	Ingroup (187)	**Outgroup (107)**
Sadness	**17,11***	6,54
Enthusiasm	**8,02****	0,93
Hope	6,41	1,86
Respect	3,21	**12,14****
Hatred	3,21	**20,56*****
Historical trajectory emotions	**34,22*****	12,14

In historical novels characters of stories convey identity patterns (e.g., Bar-Tal & Antebi, 1992; László és Vincze, 2004; Nencini, 2007). Based on this assumption, the second study (Fülöp, Péley and László, 2011) dealt with emotional representations in literary works. Four popular Hungarian novels were selected containing different significant events or periods of the nation's history. Emotional representation in these historical novels showed partial overlap with the results of the analyses of history textbooks and folk narratives. The historical trajectory related emotions assigned to Hungarian characters were less salient. Emotional dynamics of the Hungarians was represented with much more depressive emotions (sadness, disappointment) than that of other nations in all historical novels – independently of the given historical situation or intergroup relation (see Table 3.). Self-critical (guilt, shame) emotions were also attributed rather to the ingroup while outgroup characters were depicted with more hostile emotions (anger, hatred, disgust).

This result is consistent with the findings obtained by László, Szalai, and Ferenczhalmy, 2010, which show that Hungarians as compared to their outgroups exhibit very little agency in historical representations, both in positive and negative historical events. All these results point to a depressive dynamics of the Hungarian national identity (see also László and Ehmann this volume).

Table 3. Frequency of attributed depressive emotional to the ingroup and to the outgroups in Hungarian historical narratives (in proportion to text length: frequency of expressions/overall words × 10.000)

Depressive emotions	Ingroup	Outgroup
The Statefounder	27,13*	10
Stars of Eger	23,61**	12,98
The Golden Age of Transsylvania	15,41*	7,78
Sons of the cold-hearted man	18,64*	12,25

Historical trajectory emotions were also tested in an experimental setting (László & Fülöp, 2011). Hungarian participants were presented twelve stories in relation to different out-groups from various periods of the Hungarian history. The participants attributed emotions to the ingroup and to the outgroups and to themselves. In half of the stories the Hungarians were victims, in the other half they were perpetrators. The self-representations of the national group and the images of the enemy were highly similar to those found in previous narrative studies: historical trajectory-related emotions belonged to the ingroup, while outgroups were characterized by hostile emotions. Although the contemporary subjects' self-attributed emotions corresponded with attributed ingroup emotions, emotions of self-criticism and anger were more prevalent in their emotional repertoire (see Table 4 & 5).

Table 4. Frequency of attributed emotions to the ingroup and to the outgroups related to narratives about historical intergroup conflicts where Hungarian were perpetrators of the atrocities

perpetrator	Fear	hope	Disappointment	enthusiasm	Anger	Hated	satisfaction	disgust	guilt	shame	forgiveness	pride	sadness	happiness	relief	gratification
Ingroup	0.25	0.26**	0.15***	0.65*	0.52	0.38	0.87	0.04	0.4***	0.24***	0.02	0.86	0.15*	0.3	0.17	0.73
outgroup	0.17	0.12	0.03	0.32	0.3	0.5	1.4***	0.05	0.11	0.03	0	0.83	0.05	0.25	0.25	1.2***

Note: two-tailed t-tests were run between in-group and out-group for each emotion and for victim and perpetrator positions separately. *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table 5. Frequency of attributed emotions to the ingroup and to the outgroups related to narratives about historical intergroup conflicts where Hungarian were victims of the atrocities

victim	fear	hope	Disappointment	enthusiasm	Anger	Hated	satisfactio	disgust	guilt	shame	forgivenes	pride	sadness	happiness	relief	gratification
Ingroup	1.4***	0.11	1.08***	0.1*	0.91	0.93	0	0.17	0.05	0.23	0	0.07	0.86***	0	0	0.01
outgroup	0.9	0.07	0.7	0.02	1.5***	0.93	0.04	0.35*	0.04	0.23	0.02	0.11	0.5	0.02	0.01	0.02

Note: two-tailed t-tests were run between in-group and out-group for each emotion and for victim and perpetrator positions separately. *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

What implications do the above results convey on the emotional dynamics of the Hungarian national identity? Our results can best be interpreted in terms of an identity form, which has been called collective victimhood by Bar-Tal et al. (2009).

Group identity of collective victimhood as an interpretive framework for the Hungarian national identity

Victimization in the history of a group can cause substantive changes in group identity. Bar-Tal, Cheryak-Hai, Shori and Gundar (2009) have proposed the idea of self-perceived collective sense of victimhood, which describes the identity state arising as a consequence of recurrent or prolonged victimization. They define collective victimhood as a mindset of members of collectives that is based on the sense of being victim of a harm intentionally committed by another group. This harm is perceived as undeserved, unjust and immoral. It has important consequences on the regulation of intergroup relations, particularly in the management of intergroup conflicts. Collective victimhood is more likely to arise when people feel the sense of victimhood not because of the harm experienced by themselves but because of the loss or suffering of their group. The self-categorization theory (Turner et al. 1987) describes certain underlying psychological processes of these shared beliefs and emotions. Individuals identifying with a social group see themselves in group-related events as interchangeable members of the group and as a consequence of the actualization of social identity they assimilate to the norms, beliefs, emotions and acts of the group. These processes underlie the sense of collective victimhood as well. Being a victim of repeated traumas, losses, repressions and failures threatens the positive identity of the group, because are

opposed to the essential beliefs that the group is competent, strong and capable for resolving conflicts more difficult to maintain. Moreover, they may threaten the integrity or survival of the collective. At the same time, the sense of collective victimhood may have certain identity-serving functions as well. It provides explanation for threatening events, through sense-making it helps the group cope with stress induced by a conflict, it gives moral justification and a feeling of superiority, it prepares the society for future harms, it enhances ingroup solidarity, motivates patriotism, and can potentially gain international support, thus collectives are motivated to maintain this status. By providing a scheme for interpreting subsequent intergroup events, assuming the victim position can become permanent. These 'syndromes of victimhood' may become a very dominant part of the repertoire of collective reactions, being transmitted through generations in channels of social communication and societal institutions (e.g. educational system, public and political discourses, traditions, rites, cultural products).

The notion of 'emotional orientation' (Bar-Tal, 2007) refers to the tendency of the society to express a certain emotion or set of emotions. This emotional orientation attunes members of the group to some cues and signals of social situations. Collective victimhood is also reflected in the emotional orientation of the group. Social construction of reality including the emotional orientations of a society can be influenced by the current political, economic or cultural factors. However, when a society is affected by events as a nation, or ethnic categorizations become salient, history and historical representations come to the forefront and will determine emotional orientation of the group. The history of the group through recurring experiences makes collectives more sensitive to certain emotions and, as a consequence, every nation has its own characteristic emotion repertoire and norms of emotion expression.

Results of the previous studies on the emotional representation of the Hungarian history indicate a marked convergence of emotional responses which comprise the characteristic emotional pattern of national identity. The very fact that collective memory splits history into a glorious distant past and a subsequent series of defeats and losses with occasional heroic revolutions represented as starting with celebrated victories but ending with subjugation and suppression suggest that this historical trajectory is not a favourable ground so as to build an emotionally stable identity around. The Hungarian social scientist, István Bibó (2004) traced back the state of mind he called 'political hysteria' to the historical evolution of nation-states in the Central-European region. As results show, the emotions comprising this trajectory are fear, sadness, disappointment, enthusiasm and hope.

Testing the collective victimhood hypothesis

In order to test the interpretation based on collective victimhood hypothesis, we conducted an experiment in which varied the victim and perpetrator roles in different historical situations. As in the previous study (László & Fülöp, 2011) narratives about historical events were exposed to participants and they attributed emotions to the ingroup and to themselves from a selected range of emotions. Concerning emotional attributions and reactions of subjects a high overlap was expected between affective responses in victim and perpetrator context that would indicate that one determining reaction-tendency directs emotional processes in intergroup situations independently of situational factors of the conflict. More specifically, the dominance of those emotions also in perpetrator situations that normally emerge in victim situations (e.g. depressive and hostile emotions) also appearing in perpetrator situations suggest an identity structure which is organized around victimhood. Similarity of perpetrator and victim emotions was significant in case of historical trajectory and hostile emotions (see Figure 1 & 2). (Crames's V: C= 0.457, p=0, 01; C = 0,678, p<0,05, respectively). In the present study, participants in both victim and perpetrator situations reported hostile emotions (disgust, hatred, anger) and emotions of bitterness (disappointment, sadness) while the frequency of self-critical emotions (shame, guilt, forgiveness) related to responsibility and elaboration was considerable although, it did not reach the frequency of the former sets.

Figure 1. Frequency of attribution emotions to the ingroup according to emotion categories related to narratives where Hungarians were victims of the historical atrocities
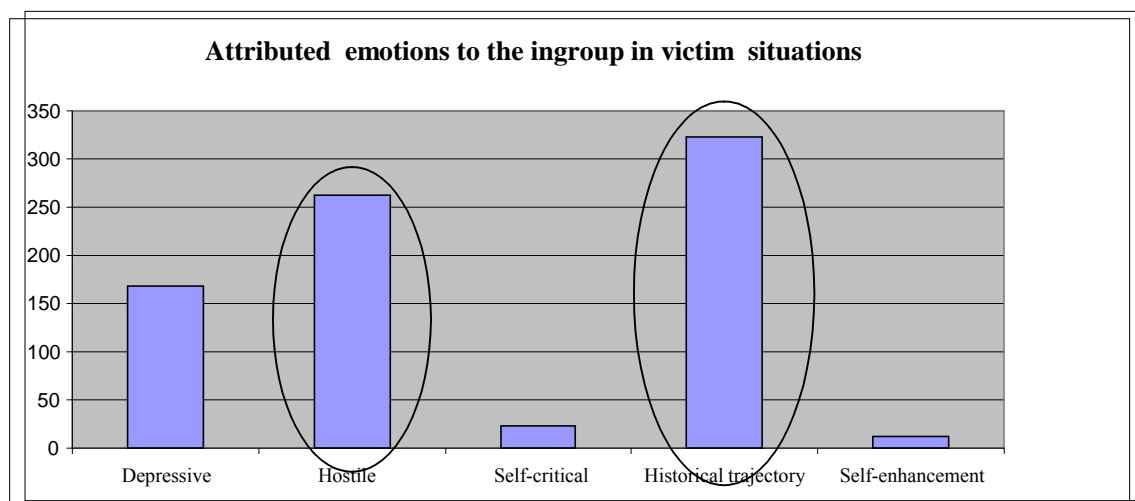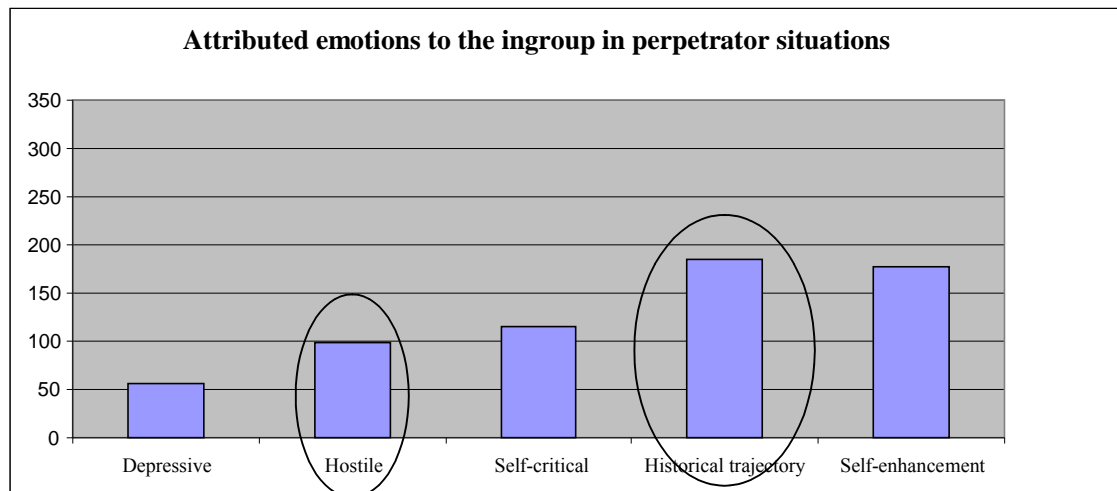
Figure 2. Frequency of attribution emotions to the ingroup according to emotion categories related to narratives where Hungarians were perpetrators of the historical atrocities

Attributed emotions to the ingroup in perpetrator situations

Collective victimhood involves an emotional functioning where emotions, which are adequate in victim situations, also occupy the group also in perpetrator role and group-members feel negatively towards other groups, they are unable to face their own sins and show signs of regret. As Bar-Tal et al (2009) note, the groups which perceive intergroup events from the perspective of the victim, tend to feel fear, anger and self-pity. These are exactly the same emotions what we obtained in our historical trajectory emotions studies, and *what is more important we obtained them not only in the stories of ingroup victimhood but in the perpetrator narratives as well*. Considering the emotional dynamics of collective victimhood, this indicates an attitude such that we are entitled to feel self- enhancing and other-critical emotions also when we commit harm, because we are right and we are essentially the victims. Emotions which seem incongruent in a given role, e.g., feeling pride when being a victim or forgiveness as perpetrator, or, in general, the overrepresentation of negative emotions in perpetrator role, can be interpreted in the conceptual framework of a historically evolved patterns of emotional reactions, namely, collective victimhood.

There are at least three features of experiences that can contribute to the emergence of collective victimhood in a given society. *Prolongation* of suffering as in the case of an intractable conflict consolidates emergency states and hostility, and maintains the victim role continuously. *Recurrence* of losses and damages focuses reactions on failures, and prevent the complete reparation and reconciliation. *Extremity* of events strains coping potentials very intensively and threatens the survival of the victimized by shattering the core of the self.

Traumatic experiences as extreme negative events in this approach are special incidents of victimhood.

Trauma and trauma elaboration

The twentieth century witnessed several cases of mass traumatization when groups as wholes were ostracized or even threatened with annihilation. Members of these groups suffered only because of having been associated with a particular group. Most salient cases are genocides and ethnic cleansings, but increasing cruelty and scope of wars, mobile state borders, which deprived countries of their former territory and population, civil wars, dictatorships ruling with terror, etc. all lead to shared traumatic experiences. These experiences also require elaboration and healing. Nevertheless, from the perspective of identity trauma, when harms are inflicted upon a group of people by other groups because of their categorical membership, ethnic and national traumas stand out. Psychological trauma is an emotional shock which challenges a person' relation to reality. Freud in his paper on trauma repetition (Freud, 1908) argues that until the person who suffers from trauma manage to elaborate it, this experience compulsively recurs in dreams, fantasies and misdeed ("trauma re-experiencing") and seriously endangers the person's psychological wellbeing and her adaptation to reality. Similarly, Freud (19..) describes the process of grief as a form of elaboration of traumatic object loss.

Contemporary psychopathology devotes substantial attention to mechanisms and consequences of individual traumatization. DSM IV classifies these consequences under the diagnostic category of post-traumatic stress disorders: such as serious injury, threatened physical or psychological integrity of the self with intense sense of fear and helplessness, persistent re-experience of the traumatic event, persistent avoidance of stimuli associated with the trauma and persistent symptoms of increased arousal.

In psychoanalytic tradition process models have been developed both for trauma elaboration (e.g. Laub and Auerhahn 1993) and grief (Kübler-Ross, 1969). Until recently, however, relatively less attention has been paid to processes of mass traumatization, that is, to cases when not individual but group identity is threatened. Philosophers and historians, such as Ricoueur (2006), La Capra, (2001), Novick, (1999) or Rüsen (2004), have attempted to draw parallels between individual and collective traumatization and to describe the phenomena of trans-generational traumatization, mostly focusing on the Holocaust as the most extreme traumatisation of the twentieth century. Ricoueur (2006, 78.) carries the issue of collective

trauma elaboration even to the opportunities of therapy. He claims that the role of the psychotherapists in collective trauma elaboration should be taken by critical thinkers, who assist society to cope with its traumas in the public sphere of open debates.

In individual personality development, creative resolution of a crisis or successful elaboration of a trauma may strengthen a person's ego. The term posttraumatic growth refers to a positive psychological change experienced as a result of the struggle with highly challenging life circumstances (Calhoun & Tedeschi, 1999, 2001). Posttraumatic growth involves better coping capacities and a higher level of stress tolerance. Similar phenomena can be observed at a group level. However, there are other ways of dealing with traumatic experiences. In certain historical contexts collective remembering is organized around collective traumas which are destructive or harmful to group identity. Volkan (1988) describes the phenomenon of "chosen trauma" when ethnic groups or nations stick to their heroic defeats without being able to elaborate or mourn the loss.

A serious problem of the parallel between individual and collective traumas is that whereas loss of a beloved person by death is final and unchangeable, territorial or prestige losses of ethnic or national groups will never seem to be irreversible. A further difficulty is that in several cases compatriots, that is, ingroup members remain in the lost territory whose persisting situation keep the trauma alive, not to mention the historical experience of "shuttling" territories between ethnic groups or states. Nevertheless, the emotional shock of traumatic defeats and losses of territory and prestige should be elaborated at a group level even if without a proper "rememberance formation" (Volkan, 1990)

The process of group- level elaboration in history and collective memory has rarely been studied. An empirically grounded stage model of social sharing after traumatic experiences has been recently developed by Pennebaker & Gonzalez (2009). This stage model emphasizes dynamic aspects of group traumatization deriving from changes of the social environment of trauma elaboration over time. The first 2 or 3 weeks after the trauma is the time of social sharing of experiences and social bonding. In this *emergency stage* people seek help together in order to cope with the emotional shock. This exaggerated social activity is followed after a couple of months by the stage of *inhibition* with a decreased level of communication about the event. Although people speak less about the trauma, an increasing rates of illnesses, trauma-related dreams and assaults can be observed. Last, in the final-*adaptation stage* people are no more engaged in the event, they continue their normal lives.

Although this model helps to predict people's reactions to traumatic events, the ways in which nations may cognitively and emotionally cope with past traumas and how they accept and integrate defeats and losses into their identity have not yet been explored.

Historical narratives as written accounts of past experiences are available sources of collective memory representations that make them valuable tool for identification while also enabling the empirical analysis of linguistic markers of trauma elaboration. Based partly on theoretical models of trauma elaboration (e.g. Freud, 1908; Laub and Auerhan, 1993) and partly on previous experimental evidences (Pólya, László, Forgas, 2005) it is expected that weak trauma elaboration will manifest in the following narrative structural and content characteristics: 1. re-experiencing of trauma: *present time narration, interjections 2.* high emotional involvement reflected in a high number of emotional expressions: *explicit emotions, emotional evaluations and extreme words* instead of cognitive words 3. ~~2.~~ regressive functioning: primitive defence mechanisms, such as *denial,* splitting (devalvation and idealization) in *extreme evaluations*, distortion in *biased perception* and self-serving interpretation of events, projection of negative intentions and feelings in *hostile enemy representations (hostile emotion attribution)* 4. narrow perceptual field: *inability to change perspectives,* 5. paralysis: perseverance of *cognitive and emotional patterns* 6. a sense of losing agency and control: *transmission of causal focus* and responsibility to others. Additional markers in the case of group trauma: 7. polemic representations instead of hegemonic representations (see Moscovici,1988) 8. intense occupation with the topic in social discourses, active communication, need for sharing: *constant rate of trauma-related narratives.*

In the previous we have dealt with emotional aspect of the Hungarian historical trajectory. In the next two studies we focus on a single but highly traumatic event of this historical trajectory, the Treaty of Trianon which ended World War 1. These two studies were performed on longitudinally sampled text corpora thereby providing opportunity for examining the *process of trauma elaborations* in its dynamic nature.

The elaboration process of the traumatic consequences of the defeat in WW1
One of the most significant events in the twentieth-century Hungarian national history was the collective trauma of the Treaty of Trianon in 1920. The treaty ending the First World War for

Hungary approved the detachment of approximately 2/3 of its territory with 3.3 million Hungarian inhabitants, assigning the territory to neighbouring enemy countries. Although till the end of the second world war there were temporary chances for the revision of the treaty, in 1947 it was ultimately affirmed that meant re-traumatization for the nation.

Following Ricouer (2006) notion that elaboration of group traumas proceed in public sphere, Ilg, Fülöp & László(2012) analysed the narratives of the daily press about the Treaty of Trianon. Newspaper articles such as news, reports, interviews, readers' opinions are also parts of the official history, as in certain aspects they approximate to historiography or history textbooks. However, polemic representations of divergent ideologies emerge in those scripts a much more appreciable way. Subjective comments, evaluations of narrators are more permissible, papers with different political orientations represent historical events from different perspectives with different motives fitting their present goals and needs.

Articles were chosen from the period ranging from the year of the treaty (1920) to our days (2010) in five year intervals. The sample included right-wing, left-wing and centrist papers. However, there is no data from the era of communism (1950-1990) because in that period, the issue of the Treaty of Trianon was excluded from political discourses. The obtained patterns of overall emotions and each emotion category (positive, negative, self-critical, other-critical, self-enhancement and historical trajectory) indicate that from the beginning of the narration a decline can be observed to the 1940s and then the frequency of emotional reactions rises from the 1990s again (see Figure 3). Results show that an initial period of refusal of the national losses until the end of the second world war was followed by a period of ideological repression by the communist rule that prevented the thematization of the trauma, and after the democratic political system change in 1989 the narratives partly returned to the initial narrative representation implying the refusal of the loss. The tendency of extreme words (expressions with high emotional connotation) and that of the linguistic markers of denial further provide support for this suggestion. Using these linguistic categories rate of expressions remains constant over time (see Figure 4). These representational patterns with recurrently increasing or constant frequency of emotions and denial imply a very weak emotional elaboration of the trauma. Consistent with our preliminary expectations, the articles of the right-wing press are in every period more emotional than those of the left-winged newspapers, considering especially negative emotions. Emotional involvement and a lack of elaboration in right-winged newspapers manifests in an increase of narrator's emotions, denial and extreme words in the previous 5-10 years. Contrary to the findings reported by Pennebaker (1997) and Pennebaker and Francis, (1996), where emotional words

decreased and cognitive processes replaced them during the elaboration process of a significant emotionally straining event, these results represent an emotionally unresolved situation. The constant rate of denial can be explained by a lack of acceptance of the current reality and persistent attempts to change the past.

Figure 3. Frequency of emotions in newspaper articles about the national trauma of Treaty of Trianon (in proportion to text length: frequency of expressions/overall words × 10.000)
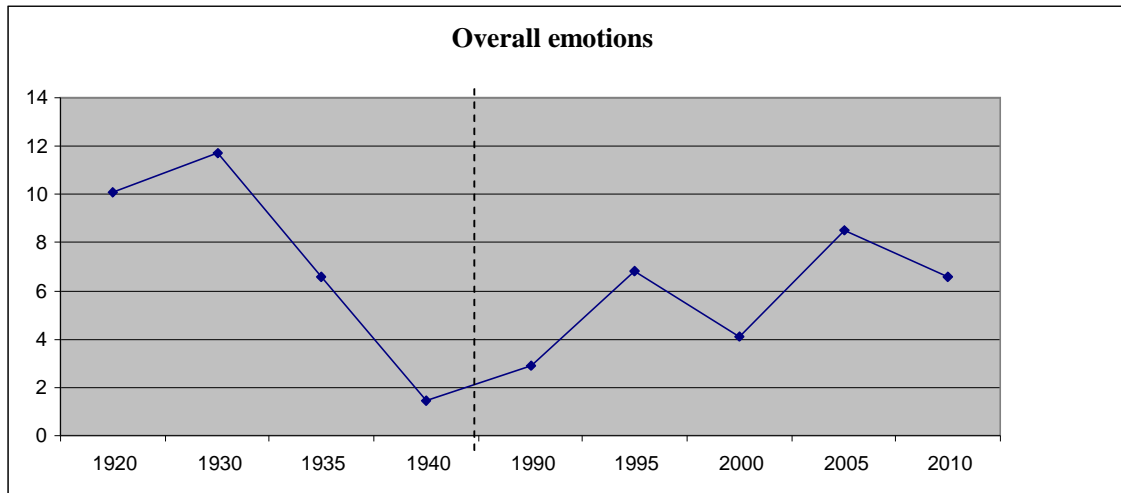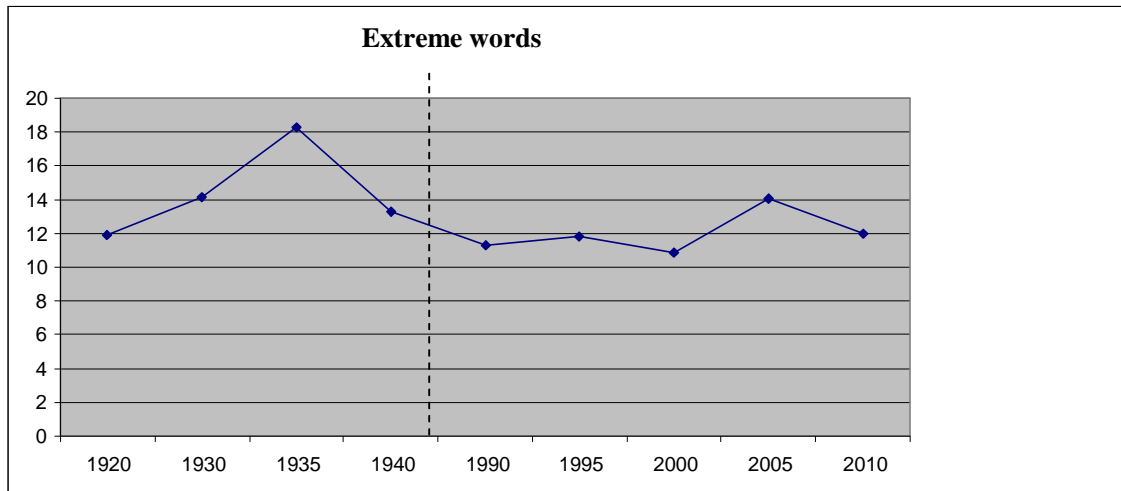
Overall emotions

Figure 4. Frequency of extreme words in newspaper articles about the national trauma of Treaty of Trianon (in proportion to text length: frequency of expressions/overall words × 10.000)

Extreme words

The trauma elaboration process was studied by Csertő and László (2012) through longitudinal content analysis of history textbook narratives. The content analyzis focused on intergroup evaluation. The concept of narrative intergroup evaluation refers to a set of linguistic

instruments by which explicit social judgments are made on the characters of a narrative, either by the narrator or by the characters themselves. According to the tendency of intergroup bias in the narratives, that is, the distributions of positive and negative evaluations between the Hungarians and the outgroups, the overall sample ranging from 1920 to 2000 was divided into four segments that roughly correspond to four historical eras (1920-1940, 1950, 1960-1980, 1990-2000) (see Figure 5 & 6). The results obtained for these segments showed that an initial period of refusal of the national losses until the end of the second world war (1920-1940) was followed by a period of ideological repression by the communist rule that prevented the thematization of the trauma 1950 and 1960-1980), and after the democratic political system change in 1989 the narratives partly returned to the initial narrative representation implying the refusal of the loss (1990-2000). The overall rate of evaluations and, within that, the rate of extreme evaluations in the Trianon narratives followed a decreasing tendency through the successive historical periods, reflecting an increasing psychological distance from, or decreasing emotional significance of, the traumatic event over time. Considering intergroup bias, narratives of the initial period after the peace treaty were characterized by a strongly biased distinction, that is, the ingroup was positively evaluated while the outgroups negatively, reflecting the justification of the demand for compensation for the losses. However, in the communist period this biased pattern was replaced by an entirely different one corresponding to an anti-western propaganda, and after the political system change the original biased pattern partly recurred, showing a strong negative dominance of evaluations on the former outgroups. This recurrence suggests that the responsibility and guilt assigned to the former victorious countries for the loss that Hungary suffered remained relevant in the altered contemporary collective memory, in a completely altered social reality. Around 1990 and 2000, Hungary was still represented as a victim of Trianon in the official history.

Figure 5. Frequency of evaluation on the outgroups in history textbook narratives about the national trauma of Treaty of Trianon (in proportion to text length: overall evaluations/overall words× 10.000)

Evaluations on the outgroups (in proportion to text length: overall eval. / overall words × 10.000)

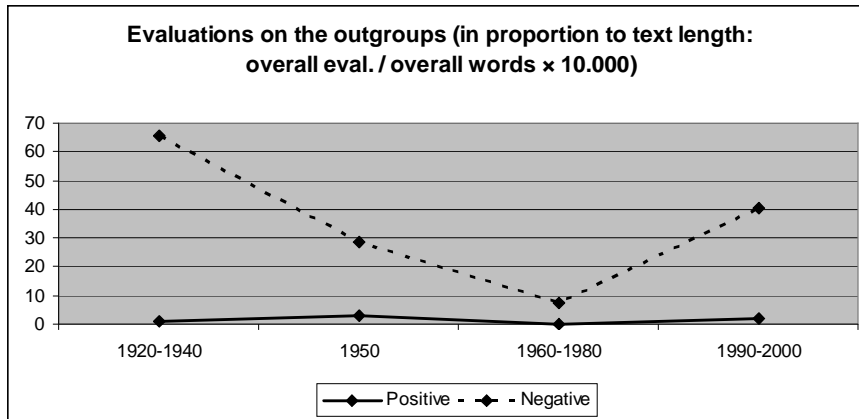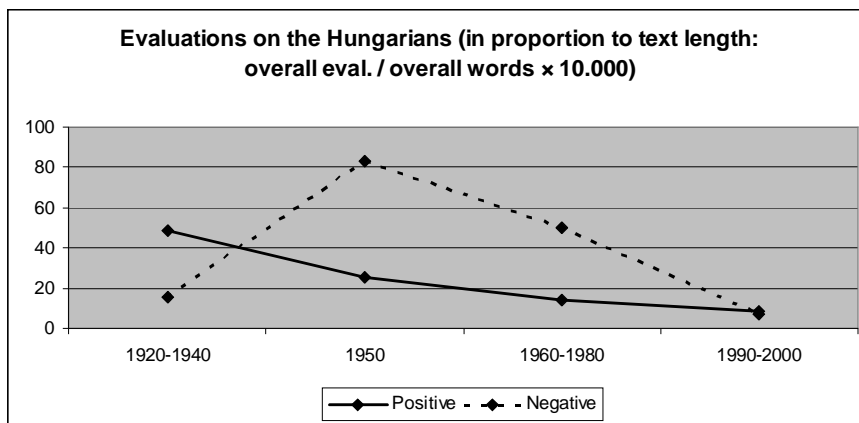|	1920-1940	1950	1960-1980	1990-2000
Positive				
Negative				

Figure 6. Frequency of evaluation on the ingroup in history textbook narratives about the national trauma of Treaty of Trianon (in proportion to text length: overall evaluations/overall words× 10.000)

Evaluations on the Hungarians (in proportion to text length: overall eval. / overall words × 10.000)

	1920-1940	1950	1960-1980	1990-2000
Positive				
Negative				

Interrelation of the individual and collective processes

Baram and Klar (2011) note that descendants' commitment to a consensual ingroup narrative mediates between the identification with the ingroup and their action tendencies to change the existing narrative templates. People who are more committed to ingroup narrative tend to reconstruct conflict-related events in a biased way. This suggestion raises the issue of interrelation between individual and collective processes.

In a content analytic study we investigated whether individual differences in the significance of collective guilt and identification with the nation play an important role in the elaboration of traumatic national historical memories.

Collective guilt, on the one hand, was associated with acceptance of group responsibility and to be linked to the willingness to perform compensatory actions (Branscombe, Slugoski & Kappen, 2004). Legitimization strategies, on the other hand, can be used to protect the group from disturbing effects of facing their own past misdeeds (Doosje et al, 1998).

Participants' collective guilt was measured with the Collective Guilt Scale (CGS) (Slugoski, Branscombe, & Kappen, 2002; Branscombe, Slugoski & Kappen, 2004;) that was developed to reflect a person's views on the impact of one's group's past harmful actions on others, as well as to predict entailments in the domains of social action (e.g., apology, restitution, revenge, etc.) and, in the present study, the scale was used to predict the effects of different views on collective guilt on the ways of narrative construction of significant group historical events. The 20-item Collective Guilt Scale (Slugoski et al, 2002, Branscombe et al, 2004,) comprises of four relatively homogeneous subscales of five items each: *Collective Guilt Acceptance, Collective Guilt Assignment*, *Whole Group Accountability* and *Acceptance of Collective Responsibility*. The adaptation of the CGS to Hungarian (Csertő, Szabó and Slugoski, 2012) showed that the Hungarian version of the Collective Guilt Scale is a multidimensional scale and consists of the same four factors as the original one.

Identification seems to be an important factor in taking responsibility and feeling emotions of self-criticism such as collective guilt. Participants' identification with Hungarians was measured with the Identification with the Nation Scale (INS) developed by Szabó and László (2012). Following Roccas, Klar and Liviatan's (2006) categories, the INS distinguishes between two modes of identification: *attachment to the nation* (e.g. 'I am linked to Hungarians by strong bonds') and *glorification of the nation* (e.g. 'Hungarians always acted in their history more morally than other nations'). These two modes do not exclude one another but together give the overall measure of identification. Previous studies (Roccas, Klar & Liviatan, 2006, Szabó et al.) showed that attachment to the ingroup relates to the willingness to accept the negative aspects of the ingroup image and to the experience of group-based guilt, while glorification relates to the rejection of the ingroup's responsibility and therefore to a lack of experience of self-critical emotions.

After having filled in the CGS and then the INS, half of the subjects were asked to write a story about "the Treaty of Trianon", half of them about „the Jewish holocaust in Hungary". The topic of the Treaty of Trianon provided the context in which Hungary was the victim of a trauma, whereas in the Holocaust Hungary played the role of the perpetrator as an ally of the Nazi Germany, actively cooperating in the deportations. Linguistic markers of

evaluation were analyzed with the NarrCat content analytic tool and then the object and subject references of the evaluations were coded. Correlations among the collective guilt scale and subscales, the type and level of identification and the indicators of narrative evaluation were tested. In the narratives about Trianon, significant negative correlation was found between the 'no denial of responsibility for group' subscale of the CGS and the rate of narrator's evaluations (in percentage of overall word count) (-,313*) . The 'No denial' scale indirectly assesses the measure of acceptance of responsibility for the harm caused by the ingroup. Earlier results showed that a relatively high rate of narrator's evaluations in the case of Trianon indicates a lower level of elaboration (Csertő and László, 2012). Thus, the more one can accept collective responsibility, the fewer direct (narrator's) evaluations he uses in his narrative about Trianon, that is, the more psychological distance he takes from the event. It is assumable that those who generally consider the role of the ingroup's own actions in the outgroup's harmful actions against them, can more easily construct or accept a narrative which assigns an active role to Hungary in the events leading to the peace treaty, instead of the role of a victim without any chance to influence its fortune. (E.g. Hungary mistreated its ethnic minorities thus they strived for national autonomy.) This way the consequences of the harmful event are more acceptable emotionally and the experience can be integrated into an acceptable national identity. In the stories about the Holocaust, the 'Whole group accountability' scale significantly correlated with the rate of negative evaluations on the outgroup (,384*) and with the rate of narrator's evaluations (,365*). It seems that the more one assigns importance to collective responsibility in general, the more he is emotionally affected by the trauma (narrator's evaluations), and the more he externalizes the responsibility for the Holocaust (negative evaluations on the outgroup). These results suggest that Hungarian people are far not open yet to accept Hungary's responsibility for the Holocaust, as opposed to the Trianon peace treaty, that can be accounted for by such circumstances as the smaller temporal distance from the events and Germany's leading role in the genocide. Considering the Identification with the nation scale, significant correlations were obtained between the rate of negative evaluations on an unspecified object and each of the Glorification subscale and the overall measure of identification with the nation (-,404* and -,341*, respectively). These results indicate that those strongly identifying with the nation and especially glorifiers tend to avoid the use of unspecified object references which do not distinguish between the actions of the outgroup and the ingroup in relation to events of an unacceptable inhuman nature. Negative evaluations on such unclear references in the context of the „Jewish holocaust in Hungary" leave the way open to easily relate them to Hungarians and this implicit connection

between the generally evaluated harmful events and Hungarians threatens the positive distinction of the ingroup that glorifiers are concerned in, thus they eliminate these implicit indicators of responsibility.

The results of this study imply that the tendency to hold entire groups accountable enables the recovery of national identity in the sense that it balances the biased perspective of the victim that maintains the experience of helplessness, depression and hostility.

Conclusion

The presented studies show a remarkable convergence of shared beliefs and emotions in collective memory representations of national historical events. Narrative analysis of these representations provides insight into emotional contents of the Hungarian national identity from the perspective of elaboration of historical conflicts. Collective victimhood seems to be an integrated part of national identity. The pervasive occurrence of fear, depression and hostility found empirically in history books, novels and contemporary narratives corresponds to the emotional dynamics of collective victimhood suggested in theoretical descriptions. In this mostly depressive emotional functioning, temporary emotions of enthusiasm occur in situations where they are incongruent and occur parallel to a perceived lack of self-agency, so they rarely manifest in constructive actions. The sense of victimhood expands to all intergroup situations and the victim perspective is maintained even in perpetrator role. Although these studies indicate a universal presence of collective victimhood in the society, the individual quality of identification and the inclination to feel collective guilt seem to be important mediator factors of national identity templates. It seems that those who are prone to accept the responsibility of the ingroup for past misdeeds, they are more likely to process the events of the past emotionally. In studies on the Collective Guilt Scale, correlation of collective guilt acceptance and complex temporal attribution (see Fletcher et al, 1986 for attributional complexity scale) was revealed. It raises the idea that people who perceive history in a more complex way, as a trajectory of causally connected successive events and consider more antecedents of a certain negative event, they will more easily accept the ingroup's responsibility and will be able to accept the unchangeable past. Further studies may confirm that.

Collective victimhood has an inhibitory effect on the emotional elaboration of a trauma as well. Extremely negative experiences such as traumas do not diminish automatically over time, elaboration requires active and constructive mobilization of coping potentials. Faced our own misdeeds and undertaking responsibility for them, mourning of

losses, ventilation of sufferings, forgiving and forgetting past harms, fading of intense emotions are crucial conditions of trauma elaboration. Stagnation in the position of the victim obstructs the process of healing processes. Experiences of loss of control, lack of outer support, exaggeration and repetition of trials, divergence of inner interests or failures of sharing can contribute to the psychological state of being traumatized. All of them pervaded the Hungarian history. Even so, the Treaty of Trianon represents an extreme trauma in this victimhood narrative. The detachment of 2/3 of the territory of the country generated not only a very serious injury of the integrity and a threat to the survival of the group but the issues of the transborder Hungarian population have remained to be resolved and have become regular topics of political discourses, and the emphasis put on the irreversibility of the losses keeps it on the agenda. Unresolved issues of transborder Hungarians mean a real challenge for removing the past and leaving the victim role, because being subject to political provisions and casual discriminations they are still real victims on the ground of their nationality. Obviously, this situation has consequences for the identity of the whole nation. This state can be considered identical with other intractable conflicts in respect of its socio-psychological conditions (see Bar-Tal, 2009) and preserves a sense of collective victimhood, although in these situations conflicts of interests occurs not at the level of wars but at the level of diplomacy and political conflicts.

High emotional involvement in, and some divergence of representations of, the Treaty of Trianon in newspapers with different political orientations originates from the long-term repression of sharing and the emergence of different political interests after the change of regime. Elaboration entails a process of collective meaning construction through narratives and traumatization involves the experience that victims are unable to organize events in a reasonable and meaningful narrative. Victim identity helps this meaning construction because it offers a coherent perspective which is on halfway between a constructive coping and a total disintegration. Despite its advantages, the sense of victimhood can never be satisfying because of its consequences: *rejection of responsibility, inhibition of elaboration and prolongation of reconciliation* can facilitate the emergence of alternative discourses, victimhood becomes tradition and the trauma remains unresolved.

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